CHANGING THE SUBJECT:

HUMAN RESOURCE MANAGEMENT IN POST-SOCIALIST WORKPLACES

by

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Abstract

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In the last decade, Serbia has undergone radical changes in its social, political and economic systems. As one of the consequences of these changes, Serbia experienced a significant influx of foreign capital, resulting in an increasing presence of multinational corporations and their local subsidiaries. The purpose of the present study is to explore these new workplaces as sites of emergence of some new social values, i.e., new ways of thinking, feeling, acting and relating to oneself and others in response to the changing socio-historical circumstances (Daiute, Stern, & Lelutiu-Weinberger, 2003), and their role in mediating the processes of 'regulated' subjectivity development of their employees.

In the present study, I foreground the notion of *subjectivities* as the possible ways of being and understandings of oneself and others (e.g., Weedon, 1987) and theorize individual *subjectivity development* as the continuous, dynamic and precarious process of negotiation – acceptance, rejection and/or transformation - of the institutional discourses (i.e., set of institutional knowledges and practices) which encode certain values as normative and/or desirable (e.g., Daiute et al, 2003). This socio-cultural and discursive perspective to human development is complemented in the present study with the

governmentality approach which highlights the role of institutional practices in 'conducting the conduct' of individuals towards some specific or normative set of values (e.g., Foucault, 1977; Rose, 1989).

The methodological approach and design of the study were informed by these theoretical considerations. The methodology entailed a fine-grained examination of the institutional human resource discourses for the presence of different sets of social values and regulation practices that construe specific normative visions of selves at work. To explore how local HR practitioners engage with power relations embedded in the (global) institutional HR knowledge and practices, I have also conducted semi-structured interviews with local HR professionals. Importantly, the interviews have been designed in such a way as to elicit different social-relational stances (Daiute, 2011), illustrating the dialogical nature of 'selves-in-the-making' as well as the dynamic, context-sensitive and often precarious nature of participants' enactments of institutional values.

As the analyses of the institutional discourses and participants' interviews reveal, the participants' engaged in different patterns of enactments, contestations and transformations of the 'flexible enterprise', a form of subjectivity constructed and regulated as normative in the global institutional discourses of the nine corporations in the sample. The findings indicate that the professional and autobiographical narrating afforded the emergence of perspectives which were predominantly consistent with the institutional values, such as being dynamic, personally responsible and self-regulating, striving for excellence and re-framing work as a means of self-actualization and self-fulfillment. On the other hand, engaging participants in a more 'private' social-relational sphere of friendships allowed for the emergence of more critical engagements with the institutional values.

These complex and dynamic patterns of negotiation of institutional discourses were contingent on both the immediate dialogical context as well as the scope and consistency of local implementation of HR initiatives and the associated 'technologies of governance' (Foucault, 1977; Rose, 1989), as a set of local HR practices aimed at regulating – directing, channeling or otherwise mobilizing – individuals' identification with the values and objectives of these multinational corporations. Additionally, the results point to the importance of more distal contexts, such as local practitioners' (lack of) commitments to the discourse of 'flexible enterprise' as HR experts and professionals, as well as citizens of the wider post-socialist transition culture. Finally, in the light of the emergence of participants' perspectives that critically engage with the enterprising values – such as suppression of individuals' non-work interests (e.g., leisure activities) or identities (e.g., as mothers), over-involvement in work and struggles over moral agency as professionals, the emancipatory rhetoric of global human resource management discourses is questioned.

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CHAPTER 1: BACKGROUND AND THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

Introduction

"The essence of European integrations is the internal reforms and reforms of the system of values…But, the value system can hardly be built anew in one decade, because more time is always needed for development than for destruction…[In time], a profound change will take place in our society, and that is the change in our value system" (Boris Tadic, Serbia's former President, 2010)

"In order for Serbia to change, each one of us must change a little in his approach to problems, his mentality, and his work habits." (Zoran Djindjic, former Serbian prime minister, 2001)

Serbia's transformation to a market economy has a long history; however, since the overthrow of Slobodan Milosevic in October 2000, the country has undergone an accelerated market reform program, reintegrating into the European and international financial institutions within the global market system. Although the Yugoslavian form of socialism was a unique blend of economic democracy (i.e., worker self-management system) and decentralized, market socialism (Woodward, 1995), this most recent wave of political and economic reforms has resulted in the renewed process of creation of political and economic practices in new institutions that mirror those of other Western countries. These changes have entailed, among other things, transformations of political structures from one- to multi-party electoral system[1], change from social to private ownership

[1] Although, technically, multi-party system was in effect since 1990, Milosevic remained in power until October 2000, despite allegations of voting irregularities and other manipulations of the election procedures.

through privatization of enterprises, renewed liberalization of foreign trade, banking and investment law reforms, harmonization of numerous legislations with that of the European Union (aka 'twinning' projects), including reforms in the educational system and public administration, and numerous other ongoing, complete or partially complete reform processes (Begovic & Mijatovic, 2005). These reforms, especially in terms of economic policy, are decidedly neoliberal in orientation[2] (e.g., McCann & Schwartz, 2006, Albert, 1993, Martin, 2002, Begovic & Mijatovic, 2005). Parallel with these structural transformations and societal reforms in the economic, judicial and political spheres, the creation of market economy entails changes in the "terrain of values, spaces, cultural practices and people's subjectivities" (Cohen, 2010, p. 9; see also Dunn, 2004; Verdery, 1997). In other words, it entails the transformations of the very foundations of what it means to be a normal, good or successful person who can fit un-problematically into the new society.

The new forms of subjectivities - defined here as possible ways of being an individual, the inherently social understandings and ways of relating to oneself and others (Weedon, 1987; Rose, 1989) - are fashioned simultaneously across contexts in contemporary Serbia. Many of these contexts have become radically transformed by the new patterns of material and social relations ushered by the process of transformation from socialist (or more specifically, market-socialist) to capitalist system of governance.

[2] The reforms are part of the economic agenda known as the "Washington consensus" (Williamson, 1989) for promoting economic growth in the developing world, and entail a broad set of policies aimed at structural adjustments, privatization, fiscal discipline and reduction of social subventions, foreign trade liberalization, unrestricted foreign investment, deregulation and minimized role of the state, although these policies have been somewhat transformed over the past few decades (Marangos, 2008).

The privatized workplaces, reformed classrooms, glitzy shopping malls act in some new ways to organize one's time, transform one's activities, relationships with others, ways of conducting selves, goals one considers important or worth pursuing. In other words, these contexts act to (re)define possible ways of being in the world with which individuals can identify in their efforts to lead good, normal, productive lives. Individual lives and development thus need to be understood as nested within a matrix of broader institutional changes, and socio-political and historical currents, which, as I suggest in this work, work to both enable and constrain developmental processes of individuals in specific ways.

As the results of the present study illustrate, for instance, Serbia's neoliberally-infused reforms divest the state from its prior responsibility of ensuring 'for-life' employment for a large majority of its citizens (rising unemployment under socialism notwithstanding, cf. Woodward, 1995), transferring this responsibility to the individual job-seekers. The job-seekers in turn find that their employability and upward mobility in the new market economy is increasingly conditioned on their ability to embrace and enact free-market values – for example, the new foreign-owned companies offer both material and symbolic rewards for those who can adopt the prescribed 'enterprising' ways of conducting themselves (such as being dynamic and innovative, ambitious, flexible and self-regulating), working to constitute, on a global level, the new kind of 'mentalities' for the 'new', 'changed' Serbia. At the same time, the pursuit of excellence expected from professional employees in these new workplaces requires extensive commitments of both time and energy, often at the expense of individuals' domestic lives, non-work relationships and leisure activities, a trend noted in other analyses of the manifestations of neoliberal economic globalization processes on local citizens (e.g., Sassen, 2007; Bourdieu, 1998).

To examine the dynamics of these processes of nested institutional and individual changes, I have chosen to focus on the role of workplaces (now privatized by an increasing number of foreign multinational 'parent' companies) as one of the relays, or points of contact, between the ambitions of wider (global or transnational) institutions and the private lives of citizens (e.g., Rose, 1989). This broad 'governmentality' perspective is grounded in the present study with the fine-grained tools for empirical analysis drawn from the socio-historical discursive approaches to human development (e.g., Daiute, 2004, 2010, 2011; Bamberg, 1997), critical organization studies (e.g., Townley, 1993), and post-structuralist discourse theories (e.g., Weedon, 1987). The combined approach allows me to provide a context-sensitive exploration of the kinds of values that comprise new visions of personhood in the newly established market economy of Serbia, as well as of the social practices through which individuals adopt and/or change these visions in corporate institutional contexts.

In the next section, I present more information on the contemporary context of work organizations in Serbia, as well as the rationale for conducting the study, followed by the explication of the theoretical and methodological framework used in the study.

The context and rationale for the present study

The last wave of the restructuring of Serbian economy involved first and foremost the process of privatization of social enterprises. In what was the 'third' wave of privatization since 1989, nearly 2300 companies changed ownership, the majority of which became foreign-owned (many as subsidiaries of larger multinational, or smaller foreign

corporations) (Privatization Agency, 2010). In a majority of companies, the first order of business was internal restructuring, in the form of downsizing, as well as reorganization of work departments to fit the 'lean' and 'flexible' requirements of the global economy (Bogicevic-Milikic, Janicijevic, & Pektovic, 2008), i.e., mechanization of work tasks, introduction of new information technology (IT) and business tracking systems, task-rotation, de-centralization, introduction of team- and project-based work, and, most importantly for my present inquiry, the introduction of new, 'human-resource management' (HRM) systems devised and carried out by the newly staffed Human Resource (HR) departments.

The introduction of Human Resource departments represents a distinct shift from the kind of "self-management" that characterized workplaces in former Yugoslavia. Decisions on such matters as organization of work, employment, dismissals, recruitment, incentives and remuneration were under the control of various commissions, committees, workers' councils and other self-management bodies (e.g., Purg, 1992; Svetlik et al, 2010). In these contexts, institutional personnel departments had only administrative functions and had very little decision-making capacity and virtually no involvement in the overall running of the enterprise. The transition to capitalism changed the entire context of organizational functioning, introducing a whole new set of demands on the workers, enacted through human resources management.

In the span of just several years, the new, 'human resource' type of management became institutionalized in a majority of Serbian companies, regardless of size, maturity or industrial sector (Bogicevic-Milikic, et al, 2008). Moreover, the HRM function and HR departments have been set up by law for all government bodies and courts as mandatory

(Bogicevic-Milikic, et al, 2008). While some HR departments still retain the personnel function prevalent in socialism (essentially dealing only with administrative functions of record-keeping, many, mostly foreign owned companies, have implemented the Western management models in which HR is an integral part of company's overall business strategy (Bogicevic-Milikic, et al, 2008). In these models, the scope and nature of activities go beyond just administrative duties and include practices such as recruitment, selection, training, career planning, compensation, performance appraisal and employee development (Bogicevic-Milikic, et al, 2008).

These practices, as this study is designed to explore, implicate new forms of employee regulation, allowing companies to place new demands and expectations on the workers as companies pursue their objectives of greater productivity, profitability and efficiency. However, despite the fact that the process of Serbia's economic transformation has been well under way for nearly a decade, and that over $20 billion of foreign direct investment has been infused into Serbia's economy since 2001 (Serbia Investment and Export Promotion Agency - SIEPA, 2011), there is a definite lack of academic and public knowledge about what those new demands and expectations entail. While the occasional press reports shed some light on the unfavorable conditions of Serbian industry workers, there is almost no data on the new expectations placed on workers in the professional fields in Serbia. Given that this is the fastest-growing sector in the global 'knowledge economy' and that the biggest inflow of foreign direct investment is precisely in the so-called services industries (e.g., banking, finance, IT, commercial sales), this study offers much needed insights into the kinds of new demands and systems of regulation placed on Serbian workers in both kinds of workplaces.

The present study, in systematically examining the interacting developments of the new systems of management and development of individuals within them, will contribute to a better understanding of these companies' roles in the creation of a new set of societal values as part of Serbia's transformation towards a free-market economy and membership in the European Union, as well as the ways in which individual employees negotiate such demands in the context of their work lives.

Previous research

Studies of transfer and reception of Western human resource management knowledge and practices in the context of post-socialist countries are few. The most notable example comes from Dunn (2004) who, using an ethnographic case study approach on a Polish baby food factory privatized by a US corporation, explored how various new managerial practices such as total quality control techniques, employee evaluation programs, new accounting standards and others became methods for Gerber corporation to construct desired images of personhood for the Polish employees which reproduce the kinds of employees that the US-based company 'already knows'. The kinds of selves the US corporation 'already knows,' or in other words, that it constructs as normative in its US location, are 'enterprising selves', the "self-directed, self-activating, self-monitoring workers…who flexibly alter their bundles of skills and manage their careers, but also become the bearers of risk, thus shifting the burden of risk from the state to the individual" (Dunn, 2004, p. 20-22). Indeed, as Dunn shows, these new managerial philosophies emphasized the process of 'self' transformation as a preferred method of dealing with

problems (e.g., training and workshops), as opposed to the more 'socially' oriented strategies she identifies as characteristic of socialism (e.g., through mutual favors). While she finds that the enterprising 'imagination of personhood' embedded in the managerial discourses (i.e., set of knowledges and practices) is internalized with relatively little success by the local employees, Dunn's study points to the importance of the managerial attempts to 'work' on the interior qualities of persons – their subjectivities (inherently social ways of understanding, feeling, and acting towards themselves and others, Weedon, 1987) – as the primary target of the new corporate regulation practices (such as employee evaluations) introduced to Polish factory workers.

Dunn's findings regarding the managerial practices that the US corporation sought to reproduce in its local subsidiary are consistent with the broader trends identified in Western scholarship. A historical look at the changes in the nature of organization of work in general (characterized by smaller and more 'flexible' workforce, team- and project-oriented work processes, decentralization, life-long learning, and others), and work regulation in particular (i.e., processes of employee monitoring and control) have amplified the importance of workplace identity processes. Because of the greater subjectification of work, meaning an 'intensified consideration and involvement of the subjectivity of workers in the work processes' (Pongratz & Voss, 2003), and stronger emphasis on the building of workplace 'cultures' (e.g., Willmott, 1993), the role of managerially-devised normative subjectivities has been increasingly implicated in the processes of self-constitution of individuals within organizational contexts (Crump & Costea, 2003; Barley & Kunda, 1992; Rose, 1989).

Empirical research provided different kinds of evidence of such organizational attempts to manage employee subjectivities, taking the research in multiple directions. Some illustrative examples include historical and content analyses of job ads (Dorfler &Van de Werfhorst, 2009; Jackson, 2001; Cremin, 2003) that demonstrate an increased demand in the past 20 years for personal attributes such as 'being energetic,' 'young', possessing 'confidence', 'creative ability', 'stress-resilience', 'interpersonal skills' and others, especially in professional (white collar) occupations in 'knowledge-intensive' service industries such as IT, marketing, and finance. For example, Cremin's (2003) study "highlighted the extent to which a normative language of personality (qualities related to a person's character) becomes part of employment vernacular as requisite qualities for getting a job" (Cremin, 2005, p. 317). Ackers and Preston (1997), in examining specific 'manager development' programs and subsequent participant reactions, conclude that these development programs enter "an emotional and existential terrain which was previously the province of religion, employing a rhetoric that appeals to similar ideals of self-discovery, faith and commitment" (p. 689).

However, while establishing the extended reach of managerial interests to shape the employees' 'insides,' these studies do not tell us much about the processes through which such regulation may occur. The most productive line of inquiry to address these questions has focused on the mediating role of official (i.e., top management-devised) organizational discourses in the processes of employee identity- and subjectivity-constitution (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002; Deetz, 1997). These studies conceptualize institutional discourses as providing the scripts and specific discursive positions (i.e., subject positions) that organizational members can draw on, enact or identify with in the continuous processes of

self-constitution, therefore pointing to the importance of the more or less intentional processes of "manufacture of subjectivity" as the central means of organizational regulation of identity (Willmott, 1993). Empirical examples include discursive production of 'flexible consultants' (Deetz, 1994a), 'corporate athletes' (Kelly, Allender & Colquhoun, 2007), and 'enterprising employees' (Du Gay, Salaman, & Rees, 1996; Pongratz & Voss, 2003), indicating that the notion of 'enterprising self' as normative ideal has gained a dominant status in organizational management discourses, at least as they pertain to the US and Western European locations.

Previous research has also drawn attention to how such processes of self-identification with the normative forms of subjectivities are 'helped along' by various Human resource management techniques. Mostly conducted from Foucault-inspired perspectives, these studies re-inscribe the HRM techniques as a set of regulatory practices which aim, through specific methods, to act upon, intervene, or otherwise mobilize the processes of subjectivity development of its employees towards certain managerially-devised objectives (e.g., Alvesson & Willmott, 2002). For example, McCabe (1998) shows how a Criteria Based Interview employed in a UK bank (which made current employees re-apply for their current jobs by 'presenting evidence of being enterprising') served to encourage employees to reflect on, judge and articulate themselves within the discourse of enterprise promoted by the banks' HR professionals (i.e., focus on initiative, client-orientation, business awareness and teamwork). Other studies explored the role of human resource practices such as performance appraisals, which legitimize continuous surveillance and examination of employees, whereby employees' 'interior qualities' (including emotional, motivational and moral capacities) are made into an 'object' to be

seen/observed, measured against corporate norms, and ultimately made amenable to correction via numerous 'professional development and training' initiatives (e.g., Covalesky et al, 1998; Bergstrom & Knights, 2006; for role of psychological science in enabling such efforts, see Rose, 1989).

Collectively, these have been referred to as 'technologies of governance,' following Foucault's initial consideration of institutional power (Foucault, 1977, 1980, 1982), as well as Rose's (1989) later insights that such attempts at regulation usually take a technological form. What this means is that, in the context of organizations, action upon the subjectivity processes of employees are enabled by a 'tactical arrangement' of discourses, various techniques (such as surveillance, or examination), devices (electronic or other), instruments (assessment inventories, etc.), calculations and inscriptions (Rose, 1989, p. 8; see also Latour, 1986) which not only encode desirable norms in and of themselves, but help render individual subjectivities governable (meaning that they become knowable, calculable, correctable by self and by others) towards such ideals.

From a developmental perspective, these studies are significant in (at least) two ways. On one hand, by drawing attention to the increased managerial interests in regulating (directing, channeling, acting upon) employees' subjectivities, they situate workplaces as important developmental contexts in which struggles over identity/subjectivity play out, in relation to the new 'enterprising' norms and within the matrices of some new forms of employee regulation. Second, considering the development of individuals in the post-socialist contexts, these studies implicate the local subsidiaries of multinational corporations as the important sites in which socialization of the new, 'market-economy' (i.e., enterprising) values takes place. On the other hand, where

developmental inquiry such as is used in the present study can contribute to these important fields of research is in providing a closer, more fine-grained look at how subjectivity development unfolds in complex and unpredictable ways by local employees in the shifting organizational and social-relational contexts, answering the call by Bergstrom and Knights (2006) for more studies to produce empirical evidence of "*how* and *when* organizational discourses and subjectivity are integral to one another and mutually reinforcing" (p. 352, italics in original).

The next section provides information on the theoretical and methodological considerations that informed the questions and design of the present study, followed by the specific research questions developed to guide the present inquiry.

Theoretical and methodological framework

Focus on institutional discourses and individual uptake

The theoretical and methodological frameworks I have relied on in the present study foreground the notions of discourse and subjectivities as central to the analysis of the situated processes of development of individuals in the changing institutional contexts. The socio-historical approaches to the study of development (e.g., Bakhtin, 1935/1981) have long since drawn attention to how discourses both mediate and constitute the self. For example, Bakhtin's notion of 'internally persuasive discourses' speak to the process of individual assimilation of external, authoritative discourses, which then become constitutive of individual consciousness: "Persuasive discourse – as opposed to the one that

is externally authoritarian – is, as it is affirmed through assimilation, tightly interwoven with 'one's own word.' (Bakhtin, 1935/1981, cited in Daiute, 2010, p. 12).

In this study, I build on those original insights about the mediating and self-constituting power of discourses, arguing that process of negotiation of 'external, authoritative discourses' is precisely what constitutes the dynamics of subjectivity development of individuals in institutional contexts (e.g., Daiute, 2010; Bamberg, 1997). More specifically, I suggest that the corporate discourses of human resource management encode specific visions of what is a good, normal, or desirable way of being and conducting oneself as an organizational member. I propose that these discursively constructed normative ideals represent referential frameworks that organizational members are forced to negotiate – draw on, resist or transform – as part of their everyday life activity at work.

In line with the post-structuralist theorizing about the processes of self-constitution (e.g., Weedon, 1987), I use the term 'subjectivity', instead of identity, to refer to subjectivity as a shifting phenomenon - as "a process of negotiation, working out the meanings of various interactions, strategizing one's position and choosing particular images to take up or resist" (Fenwick, 2002, p. 162). The process of individual constitution of subjectivity is thus seen as an inherently dynamic, social and relational process, "existing as a nexus of relations with others and with a life world" (Venn, 2009), and always constructed within power relations (Weedon, 1997; Daiute et al, 2003; 2010). Such a consideration of subjectivities as inherently social and discursive entails several interrelated processes: one, set of processes that refer to the discursive production of subjectivities, i.e., the conditions of possibility for their emergence (Butler, 1997), and two, the processes through which individuals identify with, resist or transform the discursive possibilities so-created.

In conceptualizing subjectivity as the continuous process of enactment and identification (and conversely resistance or dis-identificaton) with the already socio-culturally produced discursive positions (i.e., subject positions), it is useful to consider Butler's (1997) elaboration of these points:

> Power acts on the subject in at least two ways: first, as what makes the subject possible, the condition of its possibility and its formative occasion, and second, as what is taken up and reiterated in the subject's 'own' acting. ... The notion of power at work in subjection thus appears in two incommensurable temporal modalities: first, as what is for the subject always prior, outside of itself, and operative from the start; second, as the willed effect of the subject (p. 14).

The production of discursive possibilities on offer to organizational members, as particular discursive constructions of 'ideal employees,' necessitates an analysis of institutional discourses. While many discourses may circulate in a given organizational context, for the purpose of this study, I define institutional discourses here as those 'authorized' or 'official' ideas and practices that are devised, or at least sanctioned by the company's senior human resource management, often located in the US or Western-Europe based company headquarters. Wider societal discourses constitute part of the context in which specific institutional discourses and values are embedded, where, especially in the contexts of social change, these may or may not share affinities (for example, corporate HRM discourses may draw on and extend wider discourses of 'enterprise culture,' but be in opposition with the self-management discourses characteristic of the Yugoslavian socialist system).

With a few exceptions, "power" is not typically examined in terms of actual interactions among individuals, groups, and institutional discursive activities. I build on developmental analyses of such interactions to examine whether and how employees take up, reject, and/or transform the new human resources practices. Following Daiute, Stern and Lelutiu-Weinberger (2003), I operationalize discursively embedded constructions of ideal subjectivities as comprised of different social values, where values are defined as culturally specific ways of knowing, feeling and acting in response to environmental, economic and social circumstances" (p. 85), including, to extend this definition, ways of understanding and relating to oneself. Such values are encoded, implicitly and explicitly, in the institutional contexts, embedded within and across a wide range of institutional discourses and organizational practices. For example, in order to promote innovative thinking on part of its members, an organization may communicate this value in organizational mission statements and informal and formal stories of 'employee successes'; encode it as part of individual's performance evaluation and resulting bonuses, or in practices such as 'suggestion boxes,' or brainstorming sessions.

Particular configurations of social values, i.e., ways of thinking, feeling, acting and relating, cohere in institutional discourses to form particular visions of subjectivities that members of institutions may draw on in the processes of giving meaning to and making sense out of themselves and others in those social contexts. These processes, as Butler writes, depend in part on the 'willed' moments of identification, conscious performances, or alternatively, rejection of discursive positions opened up by organizational discourses. Identification, as a complex act of meaning making, is thus, at the same time self-configuring and world formulating (Weatherall, 2008), legitimizing the institutional

discourses that produced such subjectivities in the first place. What this means, analytically speaking, is that we can examine institutional discourses for presence of specific, socially produced, desirable ways of thinking, feeling, acting and relating to oneself in a given context – i.e., for presence of institutionally defined 'values' that individuals in the course of their work activities are encouraged to identify with. On the other hand, utilizing the same tool of value analysis, we can examine the participants' narratives (HR professionals), thereby gaining access to the kinds of (dis)identifications with organizational discourses that structure their narratively enacted subjectivities in specific ways.

Thus, in addition to the values analysis of institutional HR discourses, the present study also provides a closer look at the ways in which HR professionals themselves engage with such values in the course of the interview, as a form of social interaction in its own right. As they construct their narratives of work and private lives as part of the research context, the participants at the same time validate or challenge the institutional discourses, and simultaneously, situate themselves in an interactive space where personal subjectivities can be expressed and enacted (Daiute, 2004). These developmental processes of 'subjectivity-in-action', or as Bamberg refers to them as 'selves-in-the-making' (Bamberg, 2004) can be productively studied through the analysis of speakers' positioning strategies. As Korobov and Bamberg (2004) write, individuals position themselves (and others) across social interactions, and in doing so, "different identities get tried out, resisted, and consolidated – in short…identities develop" (p. 4). The varieties of such positions, or self-representational moves in relation to the context values (Daiute, 2004), can be identified empirically. The present analysis draws on Daiute's work on children's and teachers' positioning strategies in the context of violence prevention curricula in the educational

system, in which she identifies performing, contesting and centering selves (Daiute, 2004, p. 124), as children and teachers dialogically engage with the curriculum/context values across two different elicited genres of self-expression, autobiographical and fictional. She finds that particular manifestations of subjectivity through discourse are contingent on the immediate social context in which they are articulated and received, or to put it in Bakhtin's words, on dialogical considerations between speakers and various explicit or implicit audiences (Bakhtin, 1986). Following Daiute's theoretical insights, such speaker-audience relations can be stated, or varied (explicitly and implicitly), providing us with a possibility to see the varieties of individual discursive positionings 'in action.' The design of the present study elicits such dislocations, by offering its participants an opportunity to step out of the official discourses of HR professionals (and enter more 'private' positions), testing the hypothesis that such variations in positioning would produce varied patterns of (dis)identifications with organizationally defined subjectivities, and the emergence of more critical engagements.

Focus on institutional practices of subjectivity regulation

The governmentality perspective

The processes of management of employees towards specific ways of being and conducting oneself can be productively studied as instances of governmentality, a field of inquiry that explicitly connects exercise of power and mentalité (ways of thinking of subjects). In governmentality studies, the definition of government is not restricted only to

political institutions, or one set of practices, but rather any form of activity that has as its aim to 'conduct the conduct' of citizens, in other words, to "shape, guide, or affect the conduct of some person or persons" (Gordon, 1991, p. 2). In this sense, governmentality can be thought of as an investigation of the anatomy of power, making visible the procedures or techniques through which various entities (institutions, corporations, or any other organization), usually under the authority of experts (legal, economic, medical, spiritual), aim to administer the lives of others "in the light of conceptions of what is good, healthy, normal, virtuous, efficient or profitable" (Miller & Rose, 1992, p. 175).

In the context of the present study and the emphasis on the processes of subjectivity constitution in the context of workplaces, I define institutional regulation (of subjectivity) as the attempts by organizational management to channel, direct, or otherwise act upon the processes of subjectivity development of its employees towards certain managerially-devised objectives (e.g., Alvesson & Willmott, 2002). Such attempts, as Rose (1989) has argued, usually take a technological form, meaning that, in the context of organizations, action upon the subjectivity processes of employees are enabled by a 'tactical arrangement' of discourses, various techniques (such as surveillance or examination/assessment of employees), devices (electronic monitoring or other), instruments (assessment inventories, etc.), calculations and inscriptions (Rose, 1989, p. 8; see also Latour, 1986) which not only encode desirable values in and of themselves, but help render individual subjectivities governable (meaning knowable, calculable, correctable) towards such ideals.

I refer to these methods as intended 'technologies of governance', guided by the initial Foucauldian (1977; see also Rose, 1989) conceptualization of institutional power as composed of 'technologies of power,' such as surveillance (i.e., observation of individuals

for the purpose of documenting individual differences), normalizing sanctions (i.e., a system of rewards and punishments associated with the norms"), examinations (i.e., ways to assess norm from deviance), and technologies of self (i.e., practices which engage self-reflection, self-articulation and self-correction towards the norms). While theoretically they can be separated as two different modes of engagement of the subject – the former which transforms employee subjectivities into an object of knowledge to be known and calculated, and the latter by encouraging the employee to reflect and articulate themselves according to the criteria provided by the organizational discourses, in the reality of organizational Human Resource activities, as the present analyses confirm, technologies of power and technologies of self are often intertwined.

For example, individual performance assessments employed by the service-industry companies in the sample, quantify employee conduct by measuring it against a pre-formed grid of desirable 'personal competencies' such as initiative, effort, optimism, stress-tolerance, adaptability, creativity, ability to multitask, to work collaboratively, etc. The assessment procedure, taking the form of 360-degree feedback (collecting ratings from peers, subordinates, supervisors and clients) render employees' subjectivities visible and calculable, allowing classification of employees and distribution of promotions, pay raises, and/or additional trainings. At the same time, the process of appraisal engages individuals to actively participate in assessment and adjustment of self according to such norms. For example, the obligatory self-assessment includes reflecting on and judging oneself within the matrix of corporate categories, often in a confessional manner ("in rating yourself, be as open and accurate about yourself as possible"), as well as justification of such ratings in the 'retrospective meetings' with one's supervisors ("the senior managements sit down with

the employee and talk, and ask why did you give yourself a particular grade, what are your arguments?"). Such practices (i.e., technologies of governance) when taken for granted, become part of the way in which individuals obtain self-knowledge - as one participant argues, such assessments help individuals understand "why I see myself significantly better than others see me, if it's just the hidden potential that I couldn't express, or if I have a delusion about myself, or if I have a problem with self-esteem." (IG transcript).

The emphasis on technologies of power allows us to read HR management practices in a non-conventional way. Conventionally, human resource management is seen as a primary way in which companies can increase their "competitive advantage", or in other words, make greater profits. This view reflects a move away from the importance of financial and technology resources to that of the 'human capital' in increasing company's competitiveness in the increasingly fast-paced global economy (Schuler & Jackson, 1987). Due to their "causal ambiguity", employees are seen as "inimitable resources" which provide an 'added value' to the company (Barney, 1991). When considered from the point of view of governmentality, it is possible to reframe the conventional, technical and apolitical views of HRM and to highlight its role as a set of regulatory practices that render human beings governable towards specific, historically and culturally shifting, ideas of what it means to be a productive worker and a good citizen of the free market economy.

In the next section, I describe the emergence and current privileged status of the 'enterprising self' as the ideal form of subjectivity shared and reproduced in many Western organizational contexts. Drawing on this literature (e.g., Du Gay, 1996; Miller & Rose, 1992), I have used the values inherent in this ideal as the starting, provisional analytical framework for analyzing official organizational discourses in this study, paying attention to

the ways in which this global ideal gets re-contextualized in the local organizational contexts.

'Enterprising self'

> *"Our employees act as winners – fast, proactive and enterprising in decision making and realization. They take initiative and achieve excellent results and their skills are challenged in a modern and competitive environment. If YOU are ambitious, hardworking and ready for professional and personal development in the best [product] company in the world, send us your application" (Company C8, employment site)*

Job advertisements like this one, while perhaps familiar to Western readers, represent a novelty for Serbian job seekers. The person 'invited to apply,' or in Althusser's (1972) terms, a person 'hailed' in this discourse is different from those visions encoded in socialist Yugoslavia's workplaces. While structurally the system of self-management did encourage entrepreneurial decision-making (Woodward, 1995), in practice, workers enjoyed rather limited autonomy and power over making decisions (Prychitko, 1991), resulting in a lack of real interest and initiative to participate in management of enterprises as if those indeed were their own.

Based on the assumption that the Western management knowledge forms an important node in the neoliberal restructuring of society, the present study examined this shift of ideal values in the light of the emergence of 'enterprising self' as a contemporary form of subjectivity found to be dominant in different life-worlds in the West – in the world

of work (e.g., Pongratz & Voss, 2003), in education (e.g., Cremin, 2003; Down, 2009), in public sector (e.g., du Gay and Salaman, 1992), in everyday life (Greco, 1993; Hancock & Tyler, 2004), culture industries (Oullette & Hay, 2008), and many other spheres. In this section, I consider the main contours of selves as 'enterprising,' noting the emergence of the concept, its usefulness as an analytical category as well as some critical perspectives on its widespread acceptance in the world of work.

The idea of self as an 'enterprising self' (e.g, du Gay, 1996; Rose, 1989) has been traced to the modernity's impulse towards individualization in the era of social disembedding (Kraus, 2002), but reinvigorated more recently by the neoliberal policies of Thatcher's and Reagan's governments. The process of individualization is characterized by the fact that the construction of meaning is no longer guaranteed by the adherence to large social groups (e.g., church, trade union, class, etc.), but the task of creating meaning is laid on the individual him-herself, propelling him to engage in the frantic process of self-constitution (making and remaking of identity) as fashion and life possibilities change and expand in a constantly changing world (see also Klinger, 2004; Rose, 1989; 1999).

The neoliberal restructuring on the level of society involves 'naturalization' as well as promotion of the notion of enterprise (as the organizational form of industrial and business organizations) as the paradigmatic mode of activity to be applied to all spheres of human functioning, such as schools, universities, hospitals, families, etc (Rose, 1989). These institutions are restructured in such a way to achieve the highly valued goals of economy, efficiency, excellence and competitiveness (as opposed, for example, to the goals such as equality, participation, solidarity) through introduction of various regulatory practices (e.g., supervisory systems, audits, timetabling, payment schemes, etc.), and the

presupposition of a type of normative subjectivity which functions well within such defined systems (Rose, 1989). Thus, the neoliberal restructuring of society cannot be seen as merely a restructuring of the economic realm of production – it aims, through various technologies of power, to *fundamentally alter the way people think, what they value, and how they understand themselves and their place and purpose in the world*.

In this sense, the enterprise culture represents "a normative situation wherein the person incorporates into a reflexive self-evaluation the values associated with enterprise generally - or neoliberal capitalism - as representative of personal success" (Cremin, 2005, p. 318) and, by extension, the ways in which one should relate to oneself in order to accomplish such defined goals, as a **reflexive, self-responsible, rational and autonomous chooser** (e.g., du Gay, 1996). The enterprise culture, as a culture of capitalism, places high value on wealth creation as the ultimate measure of success. In this highly individualistic form of capitalism, values such as **autonomy, initiative, competitiveness, ambition, and bold goal setting** are highly prized characteristics that individuals should possess. The individual should always be on the **lookout for new opportunities, prepared to take calculated risks, and be individually responsible and culpable for their own well-being**, now and in the future (Packer, 2004).

In rejecting the notion that unemployment is a social problem, addressed through social programs and legislation to protect worker's rights, the neoliberal capitalism emphasizes the individual responsibility of workers to **flexibly** adjust themselves to labor-market realities through continuous **training and education** (Dunk, 2002a). Variety of social problems, such as unemployment, criminality, poverty, etc., are considered to have their source in personal deficiencies (lack of self-esteem, or lack of marketable skills, lack of

flexibility, etc.), solved by one's continuous **investment in self-improvement and self-transformation** in an increasingly accelerating pace of "keeping up" (Brockling, 2005). But as Brockling argues, "Because there can never be an "enough" - of competence, motivation, self-esteem, and so forth - the striving of the individual, no matter how much he or she genuinely works toward that goal, remains insufficient. In every incentive to do "more" the verdict of "not enough" is hiding." (p. 9). In the same way in which consumption encourages a self-perpetuating desire never to be satisfied, the 'project of self constitution' under neoliberalism is never complete.

In this way, an enterprising self is encouraged to view itself as a **potential commodity** (e.g., brand named "Me") to be **marketed, sold, and improved in the competitive marketplace of other individual "MEs"**. In the world of work, emphasis on personal qualities works to commodify the self to employment norms. As Cremin (2003) writes, "as we become consciously aware of employers' demands on our personalities, we activate and transform this part of our selves – for securing work, promotion and, by logical extension, money – into commercially and calculatively determined packages of use-values to be exchanged for profit" (p. 122).

In this form of capitalism, just like in other systems of governance, one needs to work hard, but under neoliberalism, the work sphere is reconfigured in such a way as to promote **work not as a mere source of livelihood or a social good, but as an expression of one's self, of one's inner potential** - as much about obtaining **financial rewards as it is about finding meaning and personal fulfillment** (Rose, 1989). In this way, an individual can at the same time pursue "personal development," albeit according to very specific criteria provided to them, and fulfill organizational objectives of higher

efficiency, productivity, etc. From the perspective of neoliberal governance, there is no conflict of interest (or there shouldn't be) between the pursuits of productivity, efficiency, competitiveness and self-development at work (Rose, 1989).

Such shifts in thinking and associated governmental policies, as well as corporate programs and initiatives represent more or less intentional efforts to refashion the subjectivities of millions of working people around the world (Dunk, 2002a). In such re-configured sphere of work, as I have discussed in the previous section, organizations attempt to unprecedented degrees, to capture and manage workers' commitments, aspirations, emotional engagements and their very formation of selves (Forrester, 1999) as subsumable under one's work activity and work capacity. These attempts are characterized by increased levels of intrusion and surveillance of an ever-extending range of employee characteristics, but wrapped in HR discourses that emphasize education, training, guidance and counseling.

Why are these constructions of 'enterprising self' problematic?

While there is a lot to be gained on part of the organizations to produce such employee subjectivities, the organizational efforts to produce such self-regulating, self-responsible, self-centered productive individuals, always come at the expense of repressing, or stigmatizing or obscuring other, alternative visions of subjectivity. Rose writes, "whatever might be gained by stressing the autonomy and rights to self-actualization of each and every one of us, something is lost: the ways of relating to ourselves and others that were encompassed in such terms as dependency, mutuality,

fraternity, self-sacrifice, commitment to others' (Rose, 1999, p. xxiv). In Serbian, as well as in other post-socialist contexts, such alternative visions, having deep discursive connections with the socialist past, are even harder to invoke. Socialism's collapse discredits one of the few available counter-narratives to capitalism, aligning those alternative visions with backwardness, captivity and primitivism (Weiner, 2007; Zivkovic, 2007).

In addition, the 'enterprising self' as it is instantiated in many local organizational contexts, requires additional commitments of time and energy, repressing domestic life, leisure time or life beyond work due to incessant and increasing work demands (McCabe, 2008). In this way, 'enterprising self' systematically excludes those who cannot keep up with the demands (intensification of work, learning of new skills, flexibility, etc.), usually older workers or women. For example, older workers bear the brunt of reforms because they are often the first ones targeted for redundancy, or excluded from the selection process, as the results of the present study clearly confirm.

Furthermore, the need on part of organizations to respond rapidly to global markets and other fluctuations (to be 'flexible') promotes, on an individual level, characteristics such as **initiative, creativity, flexibility, tolerance to stress and changing conditions and work in cross-functional teams**; but that very emphasis on flexibility, on a corporate level, means that workers are hired, fired, re-assigned and re-classified at will, in essence reducing both security of employment and the benefits associated with it (e.g., Dunk, 2002a).

The prevalence of 'enterprising self' as the privileged form of employee subjectivity characteristic of established neoliberal economies makes it an important starting point for

the present investigation. However, as different companies will necessarily draw on different re-contextualizations, or rejections, of such visions (such for example, emphasizing loyalty over flexibility, or obedience over initiative, etc.), 'enterprising self' represents only a provisional analytical category.

While representing a growing field of study, studies focusing specifically on the employee subjectivity regulation have rarely been conducted in post-socialist contexts (notable exception by Dunn, 2004), and to my knowledge, have never been conducted in Serbia. Since the economic reforms began in 2000, the HRM systems of management of employees have been introduced to Serbia by the foreign multinational corporations (MNCs), which represent one of the primary relays through which new management technologies and patterns of employee relations have been disseminated locally. Given that the size of the MNC sector in Serbia is on the steady rise (reaching over $1.2 billion in foreign direct investment in 2011 alone, the current economic crisis notwithstanding), the investigations into what kinds of values and employee regulation procedures are being 'infused' together with the inflow of global capital into Serbia have become a pressing area of research.

Research questions

Driven by prior research and these considerations, I formulate my research questions as follows:

1. What kinds of (new) normative visions of employee subjectivities are embedded in the institutional discourses and procedures in the select company contexts? How do these ideals differ for different categories of workers – white-collar and blue-collar – and for different kinds of industries – service and manufacturing? Assuming the foreign origin of HRM knowledges and practices, in what ways do these ideal visions resemble the dominant neoliberal ideal of the "enterprising self" characteristic of corporate cultures in the Western Europe and the US (e.g., Du Gay, 1996)? What other, alternative configurations of values might be promoted as ideal?
2. Through what HR practices (e.g., employee recruitment and selection, performance appraisal, employee development programs, etc.) and tools (e.g., testing materials, competency lists, IT-tracking software, etc.) is the process of employee regulation towards such visions attempted in the select organizational contexts? In other words, how do different HR departments make use of 'technologies of governance' to act upon the employees' subjectivities?
3. How do local HR professionals employed in the company contexts discursively position themselves in relation to the normative visions of subjectivities and regulatory practices identified?
4. Given the questions posed above, what can we conclude about the dynamics of HR management practices as potential mediators of employee's self-constitution

processes, or more broadly, of the processes of adult development in post-socialist contexts?

The general methodological approach used to address these questions is designed in such a way as to illuminate the interconnected developments of individuals and institutions within changing contexts. In the Methods chapter that follows, I describe in more detail the company contexts sampled and the ways in which I integrated several levels of analyses to allow for an in-depth and context-sensitive portrayal of the local strategies of negotiation – acceptance, rejection and transformation – of the institutional discourses that address and attempt to construe local employees as particular kinds of beings.

Why is this investigation important?

I believe that this inquiry will provide rich accounts of the interconnectedness of wider socio-political contexts and the adult developmental trajectories, paying special emphasis on the mediating role of the HR management as a set of regulatory discourses and practices that render human beings governable towards specific, historically and culturally shifting, ideas of what it means to be a (good) person.

The research design of the present study to include these different dimensions – the discursive constructions of ideal subjectivities and the managers' patterns of enactments and critique, as well as the investigation of HR procedures through a Foucauldian lens of discipline and self-regulation – allows me to paint a comprehensive picture of how these layers intersect, complement and inform each other. In addition, they are used to highlight the complex position of the HR professionals in organizations – as being both subjects and

objects of discourses that seek to shape organizational members in particular ways, as they try to secure their own sense of meaning, purpose, as well as material and symbolic benefits, through participating in such discursive practices. Such an investigation represents an addition to the small, but growing field of developmental studies that explicitly deal with the analytics of power and its significance for the processes of human development in contexts of radical political change (e.g., Daiute, 2010; Dunn, 2004).

The remainder of the dissertation is organized in the following way. In Chapter 2, I detail the methodology used to address these research questions, including information about the study context and design, as well as a closer look at the three types of analyses conducted in the study: values analysis, regulation practices analysis and positioning analysis. The combined results of these three analyses led to the identification of three distinct 'scripts', which are presented in the section 'Overview of the results'. Chapter 3 presents the results of the values analysis of the (global) institutional discourses which provides the normative discursive context in which to locate the processes of subjectivity development of local HR practitioners. Chapter 4 presents the results of the regulation practices analysis, pointing to the differential implementation of various 'technologies of governance' on part of local HR departments. Chapter 5 describes the varieties of positioning strategies taken up by the local HR professionals in the context of the research interview. The Discussion chapter 6 brings the data together, discussing the broader implications, as well as theoretical and methodological impact of the present study on the ongoing theory and research in this field.

CHAPTER 2: METHODS

Study overview

The aim of this dissertation is to explore the role of privatized workplaces in the construction and regulation of developments of employee subjectivities in the context of Serbia's recent economic and social transformations. In this study, I utilize a qualitative case study design to provide an in-depth analysis of the discursive practices of each company's Human Resource department. This includes the analyses of each company's publicly available employment documents, as well as internal materials/tools/documents used by HR professionals in their work for the presence of normative constructions of selves at work. To explore how local HR practitioners engage with power relations embedded in the (global) institutional HR knowledge and practices, I have also conducted semi-structured interviews with local HR professionals. Importantly, the interviews have been designed in such a way as to elicit different social-relational stances, illustrating the dialogical nature of 'selves-in-the-making' as well as the dynamic and often precarious nature of participants' enactments of institutional values.

Study context: Serbia

The present study was conducted in Serbia, a country with a population of 7.2 million and an unemployment rate of 25.5%. Serbia has gone through a wave of political, economic and social changes since the October 2000 revolution. While technically multi-party elections were instituted back in the 1990, Milosevic was able to manipulate the

democratic process in his favor, and hence, it was not until the 2000 that the real democratization process began in Serbia. Equally significant is the country's transformation of what was a uniquely Yugoslavian market-socialist model of economic activity (the so-called Yugoslavian self-management system[3]) to a market-based economy. This was accomplished through yet another wave of the still on-going privatization process and establishment of appropriate legal frameworks, including reforms of foreign investment and other laws. However, Serbia's economic difficulties have persisted and the government strategies have oriented towards accelerated privatization, foreign direct investment and borrowing from international financial institutions, in efforts to fill the growing deficits in the state's budget (Upchurch, 2006).

During the privatization process, Serbia's social enterprises are being sold using the 'sale' privatization model, involving tenders for the sale of large enterprises (meant to attract foreign investment) and auctions (for smaller and medium size enterprises) (Vujacic & Vucjacic, 2011, p. 94). This privatization process and the reform of foreign investment laws, featuring among other things, Europe's second lowest corporate profit tax rate and possibilities for 10-year tax holidays for large investors, opened Serbia to quite significant amounts of foreign capital. The amount of total 'foreign direct investment' (FDI) has reached more than $ 23 billion since the 2000 (SIEPA, 2011), and a large number of socialist enterprises have become owned by foreign, mostly European and American,

[3] Self-management system was a unique hybrid of market and state-managed economy. For the present discussion, relevant feature was the right to utilize enterprise funds by the managers and workers' councils, within restrictions of the law, providing the employees with the belief that they 'owned' the firms they were employed in (Vujacic & Vujacic, 2011).

corporations. The following table represents the distribution of FDI in Serbia by industry sectors:

Table 1: *Distribution of FDI in Serbia by industry sectors, 2004-2011*

Inward FDI by Industries (2004-2011)	
Industry	**Investment Value (USD million)**
Financial Intermediation	6,339
Manufacturing	4,521
Wholesale, Retail, Repairs	3,673
Real estate activities	3,189
Transport, storage and communication	2,949
Mining and quarrying	666
Construction	540
Other utility, social and personal services	185
Agriculture, forestry and fishing	176
Accommodation and food service activities	121
Public administration and social insurance	101
Electricity, gas and water	58
Professional, scientific and technical activities	41
Administrative and support service activities	26
Education	4

Source: National Bank of Serbia

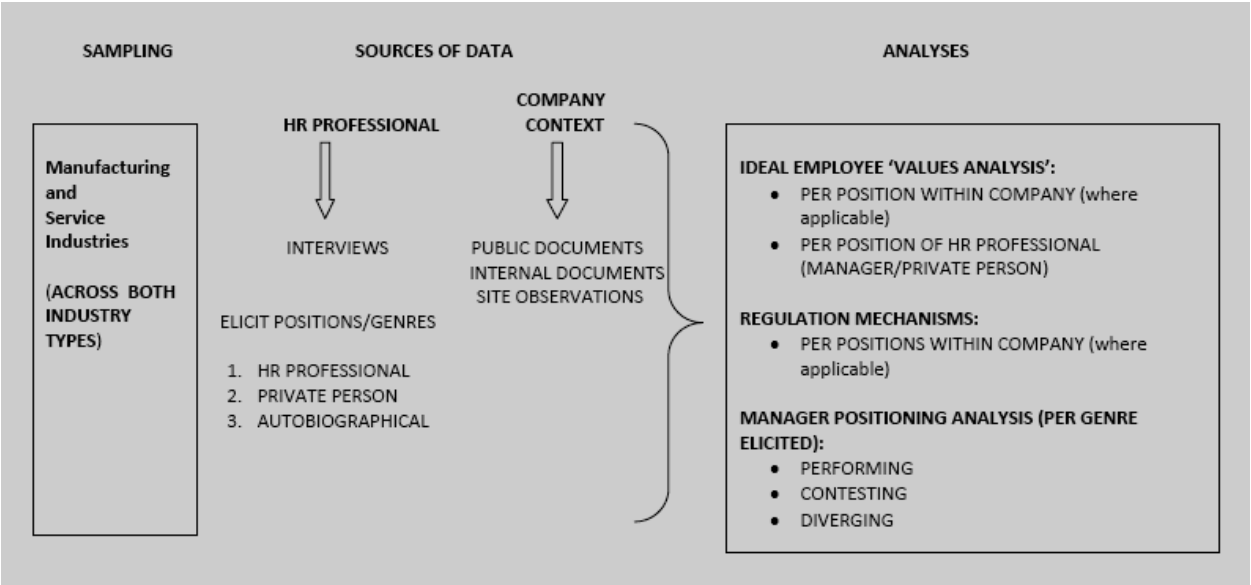
The metal processing (steel) sector, as well as cement, and industries such as breweries and food and drink manufacturing represented initial attractive investments – they were "profitable, cheap by Western standards, and could be easily restructured" (Vujacic & Vujacic, 2011, p. 96). The other sectors with largest amounts of foreign investments, brownfield and greenfield, include: financial intermediaries (banks) and insurance, manufacturing, telecommunications, wholesale and retail industries, bringing a wide range of international companies and brands: LaFarge, US Steel (now closed), Carslberg, Heineken, BancaIntesa, FIAT, Michelin, Eurobank EFG, Telenor, Gazprom, Yura, being among the largest.

These companies, in addition to foreign capital, introduced to Serbia a new system of HR management of employees, which as I hypothesized entailed a quite different set of employee expectations and managerial 'know-how' than those that existed in socialist enterprises prior to the privatization processes. The new HR departments, set up in both foreign-owned and, increasingly, in domestic-owned companies represented an ideal site for research into the dynamics of emergence of some new forms of employee subjectivities in Serbian society.

Research design

The following schematic represents the research design used in the present study, including sampling strategy, sources of data, and data analyses procedures, detailed further below:

Table 2: *Research Design schematic providing the overview of sampling, sources of data, and data analyses*



Sampling strategy and recruitment

Based on the reviews of the previous literature which deals with the post-socialist enterprise restructuring and their effects on different types of workers in the new market economies of post-socialism (e.g., Dunn, 2004; Weiner, 2003), the hypothesis was developed that the kinds of values desired and expected from employees, as well as the procedures of regulation, would differ based on the employees' positions inside the company and furthermore, according to the different types of industries. To explore these potential differences, the purposive snowball sampling strategy was used to sample cases from two broad industry types, manufacturing (e.g., food and drink manufacturing) and service industries (e.g., finance, information technology, commercial sales) (shown to the left of the research design schematic). Additionally, all the data was collected for the different types of positions within the companies (blue-collar and white-collar), where applicable.

The sampling strategy included both foreign and domestic companies across different industries (manufacturing and service industries). The participants in the study were recruited initially through a personal network of acquaintances and colleagues who held, or knew people who held jobs as Human Resource professionals in companies belonging to different industry branches. The initial group of participants provided contacts for other potential participants who would fit the criteria for selection in the study. These criteria were as follows:

- that the person held a human resource management position (manager or director)

- that the company is privately-owned, regardless of size or ownership structure (foreign or domestic)
- that HR functions in the company include more than just administrative record-keeping

Study participants/cases

The selection of the participants from companies in manufacturing and service industries enrolled their company's HR departments as 'case studies' and resulted in further collection of the data. In the course of the research I have collected data on 9 companies' HR contexts in different industries: 4 companies in tertiary, or service, industries (finance, investment, commercial sales and IT); 4 companies in the manufacturing industries (food and drinks), and 1 company which has operations in both sectors (finance and manufacturing). Eight out of nine companies in the study belong to the multinational sector, meaning that they are owned by foreign multinational corporations.

There were a total of 11 HR professionals who participated in the study interviews, eight of which were current employees of the companies. For two companies in the sample, I have interviewed both the former and current HR professionals (where former represented the initial contacts leading me to the current employees), and in one company, the participant gave notice in the period between scheduling an interview and our meeting, and so she was also included in the study. Of the participants, ten were female and one was male. Most have been on the job on average between 2-4 years, with 2 participants who spent over 15 years in the same company. I did not collect information on participants'

ages, but it is my impression that the younger ones were in their mid-30s, and older in their late 40s. In addition to the eleven participants, I have recruited three HR consultants who served an advisory role in the study, helping with the data analysis and interpretation, as well as 'triangulation' of results.

The table below gives an overview of the 11 study participants, their positions in the companies, years on the job, the companies' primary industry, type of ownership and number of people employed by each company on the territory of Serbia.

Table 3: *Study participants/cases*

Interviewee/ participant	Position in the HR department (years on job)	Company/Industry	Ownership	No. of employees (in Serbia only)
J.G.	HR director (4 years)	Food manufacture	Foreign (multinational)	1000
U.E.	HR director (15 years)	Food manufacture	Foreign (multinational)	700
E.N.	HR director (15 years)	Food manufacture	Foreign (multinational)	320
K.D.	HR manager (2 years)	Drink manufacture	Foreign (multinational)	500
F.N.(former) H.N.(current)	HR director (4 years) HR director (2 mos)	Investment/Holding Agricultural production/ manufacture	Domestic (multinational)	30 1000
T.U.	HR manager (3 years)	IT services	Foreign (multinational)	30
E.F. (former) I.G. (current)	HR director (4 years) HR manager (3 years)	Financial services	Foreign (multinational)	1000 (total)
K.C.	HR director (4+1 years)	Commercial services (product A)	Foreign (multinational)	100
O.N (former)	HR manager (2 years)	Commercial services (product B)	Foreign (multinational)	100
Total Participants: **11**	**Total Companies:** **9**	**Total manufacturing: 4/9** **Total service: 4/9** **Total both: 1/9**	**Foreign owned** **8/9**	**Total employees (approx) 4700**

Due to the confidentiality concerns, I agreed not to reveal the exact names, locations, or specific details about the products sold or manufactured in the companies sampled, so these have been noted only in general terms. The final sample included companies in both urban and non-urban settings.

Data sources

As the research design schematic shows, data for the present study included the following:

a.) a series of semi-structured interviews with HR professionals in select sample of companies in different kinds of industries (manufacturing and services), designed to elicit different kinds of subject positions (HR professionals, private persons, autobiographical)

b.) archival documentation, consisting of relevant archival documents relating to the company's employment discourses, including documents that are publicly available (company's employment information, advertisements, employee profiles), and those that are internally circulated and used by HR professionals in their work (performance appraisal checklists, systems of competencies, interview protocols, etc.)

c.) field notes, consisting of observations of the participants' workplaces, focusing most specifically on the physical design of the workplace environment, as well as other potential material manifestations of organizational culture, where possible.

Interviews and interview design

Eight out of 11 interviews with the HR professionals were conducted in the participants' company offices, where I also collected field notes and observations, while the remaining interviews (with former employees) were conducted at the participants' homes and/or restaurants. The participants were assured of the confidentiality of their responses and the informed consent was obtained. The interviews lasted 90-120 minutes and were designed to engage the participant in three different types of conversational genres: professional inquiry genre, private person genre and autobiographical genre, intended to elicit different kinds of social positions the participants could take up in the course of the interview. The list of questions guiding the interviews is provided in Appendix A.

The methodological choice of including participant interviews in the study design was guided by the understanding of the research encounter as a social context in its own right, where individuals are prompted to engage in the interview not just in the sense of 'inquiry genre' (allowing us to receive information about the subject matter), but also as an opportunity for participants to offer us their stances, interpretations or evaluations of the information they present. In this, their accounts represent a way to study subjectivity processes 'in-the-making', to look for patterns of identification and disidentification with the official company discourses as the participants discursively position and re-position themselves in different ways across different genres of talk elicited during the interviews (e.g., Daiute, 2004; Bamberg, 1997; 2004).

By explicitly varying the interactional dynamics and the social positions from which the participants spoke about their work and/or work of their HR departments, this strategy

allowed me to analyze, in a more dynamic way, the nature of subjectivity processes as they unfolded in the course of the research interview. Significantly, the design of the interview to include 'inquiry genre' (Daiute, 2010), as well as 'private person' genre of conversation (described below) allowed for different positioning of the participants, and as Daiute (2010) illustrates in her work, the possibility of emergence of more critical reflections and engagements with the institutional discourses they are tasked with promoting.

The ways in which I elicited the three types of genres are presented below:

Professional inquiry genre

This part of the interview focused on eliciting responses about the nature of activities of the company's HR department, including the selection of employees, performance management and the employee development programs, including the techniques and tools used as part of those activities (to the extent that the participants were comfortable, or allowed to share them). It also included questions about the desired values, behaviors and conduct of candidates and employees, i.e., what characteristics the HR managers and directors portrayed as 'ideal' (or not-ideal) for their companies. Some examples of these questions include, 'What employee characteristics are considered to be ideal in your company? (qualifications as well as personal characteristics?), How are these different for different positions in the company? What are the organizational culture values promoted in your company? What kinds of tools or practices does your department use for the purposes of human resource management? etc. As the results of the study show, these questions, in all but one case, resulted in the participants re-creating, elaborating, or

otherwise performing the company's officially sanctioned discourses and values embedded in them.

Private person genre

This part of the interview was designed to allow the participants to engage in more critical stances towards HR practices and the idealized notions of employees (Daiute, 2010). Here, the participants were presented with a composite profile of an idealized employee, encapsulating the ideal vision of an employee as the 'enterprising self' (see Appendix A). The profile was compiled on the basis of previous research on the subject, driven by my hypothesis that these are the kinds of changes one could expect to see in the new privatized workplaces across Serbia. After being presented with the profile ("These are some characteristics of employees I compiled from different sources"), the participants were asked to comment on its suitability in the sphere of friendship, not just as an HR professional looking to employ or manage him/her (e.g., In your opinion, do you think that this person would also make a good friend? Would such a person be someone you would choose as a friend yourself?). This interview strategy resulted, in approximately half the cases, with the participants' more critical engagements with the enterprising profiles that they/their companies articulated as ideal, highlighting, as I describe in the Results Chapter below, these profiles' more problematic or questionable aspects.

Autobiographical genre

During the interviews, I also asked participants questions relating to their own entry into the company/position and experiences working there. This genre of talk was

'woven in' throughout the interviews, as participants offered both solicited and unsolicited autobiographical narratives in which they referenced their own experiences in relation to the company's official employment policies. In the 'autobiographical' portions of the interviews, the participants described how they got their present jobs, their impressions of the organizational culture, or the ways in which they themselves might (might not) exemplify the ideal employee visions promoted by their companies.

Archival data collection

The archival data collection proceeded in several steps. Upon scheduling the interviews, if the circumstances permitted (some interviews were scheduled and conducted on the same day), I would go on the company's websites and make some general notes about the company (what they produced, when they were privatized, who owned them, how they were restructured, etc.). During the interviews, I asked participants to share with me whatever documents used in their HR departments they felt were relevant (if they were comfortable or allowed to share them) such as competency lists, organizational culture value descriptions, appraisal assessments, personality tests, interview protocols, etc. In the initial group of participants, who were either acquaintances or recommended by acquaintances, the participants were more likely to share such documents; in other companies, there was a general reluctance to give me documents to 'take home', and in these cases, the participants would take out different documents to show me, or read them out loud for me, but I was not allowed to bring them with me.

Upon completion of the interviews, I then collected the remaining archival data, including minimally, company's website employment information, job ads published on online internet portals over a period of 6 or more months, job ads from printed sources, instructions for applicants, application forms, company employment profiles on the job portals, and some other documents that were publicly available (e.g., annual reports) that contained information on the company's organizational culture and/or employment policies.

The table below presents the summary of the kinds of documentary data collected for each of the company contexts.

Table 4: *List of documents collected for each company context (continued on next page)*

Comp.	Documents collected	Comp.	Documents collected
C1	Website employment information Company profile on online job portals Job Advertisements Competency framework (list/definitions) In-house presentation materials on HR strategies Organizational Culture Assessment	C6	Website employment information Company profile on online job portals Job Advertisements Job application form Competency Framework Interview protocol Trainee Assessment tool Employee Development plan Personality Assessment tool
C2	Website employment information Current employee profiles Company profile on online job portals Job Advertisements Corporate Values document Employment principles Career Development presentation Trainee Application questionnaire	C7	Website employment information Company profile on online job portals Job Advertisements Job Application form Company Activity Report
C3	Website employment information Company profile on online job portals Current employee profiles Job Advertisements Performance Assessment checklist Leadership Assessment checklist Organizational Culture Assessment	C8	Website employment information Company profile on online job portals Job Advertisements Job Application form Lean production documents
C4	Website employment information Company profile on online job portals Job Advertisements Competency framework Organizational Culture Assessment	C9	Website employment information Company profile on online job portals Job Advertisements Job Application form Personality Assessment tool Competency Assessment – situational and cognitive Employee handbook Organizational Culture Assessment

C5	Website employment information Company profile on online job portals Job Advertisements Job application form Personality Assessment tool Performance Assessment tool Social Review Summary		

Field observations

Field observations were carried out in eight companies during the visits to the company's offices (factories were not visited or observed). During the visits, I had the opportunity to observe company's management buildings and offices, including building architecture and structure of space, seating of employees, employees' and HR professionals workstations and offices, and cafeterias and/or lunch areas. Driven by the research questions related to regulation of employees, I observed the features of the office spaces which may facilitate and/or obstruct physical surveillance of employees and their work. I observed use of electronic surveillance, such as whether companies use cameras, or electronic ID readers. Furthermore, I noted the general look and feel of the space, including the interior decorations, art, wall decorations and other signs through which the culture of the organization may be manifested. I made notes both at the site (while waiting for the interviews), as well as after the interviews and office tours were completed.

To sum up, this strategy of collection of the data on different scales – including global and local institutional contexts as well as individual interviews – allowed for an exploration of dialogical relations between individuals and wider socio-political systems and institutions in which they are nested. By combining the analyses of the globally

disseminated discourses and local practices of the Human Resource management with the interview design which engages participants in different social-relational stances, the present study foregrounds the complex, dynamic and context-sensitive nature of individuals' negotiation of institutional, canonical versions of ideal selves (Daiute, 2011). In the next section, I describe the specific analytical approaches employed in the present study, namely the analyses of institutional values, attempted regulations and individual strategies of positioning within and against such-identified power relations.

DATA ANALYSIS

To answer the research questions posed above, I have conducted three kinds of analyses of the data collected. Values analysis (Daiute et al, 2003) enabled me to locate and describe in detail the desired employee values which compose some new forms of subjectivities for Serbian employees, as these have been embedded in the official HR discourses. Analysis of the HRM activities (e.g., recruitment and selection practices, performance appraisals, etc.) as discursive 'technologies of power' provided insights into different kinds of ways through which companies attempt to mobilize employee subjectivities towards such visions, acting thus as regulatory mechanisms of subjectivity development in the workplace contexts. Finally, the positioning analysis enabled me to highlight the ways in which participants, in the context of the three elicited genres of talk, negotiated the official company discourses and the visions of subjectivities embedded in them, by performing, contesting or diverging from them – providing a view to the dynamic

processes of subjectivity development as these unfolded in the social-relational context of the research interview.

Analysis 1: Values analysis - The ideal employee visions

This analysis is predicated on the assumption that official organizational HR discourses encode desirable forms of subjectivities that are constructed as normal or desirable for employees to enact and engage with, in their efforts to make sense out of themselves as members of these organizations, as well as to obtain both material and symbolic benefits that are associated with being a 'good' employee in a given company context. To conduct this analysis, I adapted Daiute, Stern and Lelutiu-Weinberger's (2003) data analysis procedure – i.e., 'values analysis'- which examined how social values were encoded, both explicitly and implicitly, in schools' violence prevention programs and the ways in which children expressed them across different interactional contexts. Working within the socio-cultural approach to human development, Daiute et al (2003) define values as "culturally-specific ways of knowing, feeling and acting in response to environmental, economic and social circumstances" (p. 85). Following this definition, and adapting it to the specific purposes of this dissertation, values are defined here as '*socially and culturally specific ways of being an ideal employee, including desired ways of thinking, feeling, acting and relating to oneself and others in the context of the workplace*.'

As discussed in the Introduction chapter, based on previous research and own impressions of the cultural changes in Serbia during this time, and especially considering the make-up of the sample as consisting mainly of the local subsidiaries of larger

multinational companies, I hypothesized that the ideal values expected of employees would be made, at least to a certain degree, in reference to the Western ideal of the "enterprising self" (du Gay, 1996). Therefore, I took the descriptions of these values (e.g., initiative, personal responsibility, ambition, risk-taking, autonomy, flexibility and investment of self in continuous training and development programs, etc.) as the provisional analytical categories guiding the initial stages of the values analysis in the present study.

The values analysis was conducted separately for the company's official HR documents (the documents listed above) and participants' interview transcripts. The former was later separated into 'public' (publicly available documents produced, in case of the multinational companies, on a global level), and 'internal' (the ways in which global discourses were implemented locally in the work of HR departments, such as selection materials, employee competencies, and similar) as some important differences were identified between the two for some companies in the sample.

The values analysis was conducted in several steps, repeated for each of the data sets (public/internal documents and participant transcripts):

1. Each available document/transcript was read and segments of documents that related to desired employee values – ways of thinking, feeling, acting and relating to oneself and others – were identified. The analysis of HR documents included both textual data and visual images, and included identification of both explicit and implicit values. For example, preference for younger applicants in the study could have been expressed explicitly on the company's website, as in "The HR policy of [Company C9] is oriented towards recruitment of young, educated workforce with

future potential", or implicitly by showing images of young professionals in company's job advertisements, further supported by companies' practice of requiring applicants to disclose their age and photograph on the application forms.

To identify separate instances of values in text, the texts were analyzed in terms of 'meaning units', which, depending on the meaning, could be a single word, part of a sentence, or even several sentences. An example from a participant transcript is illustrative:

"The person should demonstrate that he has the factor X, that he is an 'otter' [*Serbian metaphor for a lively, active, smart person], very resourceful, someone who will give their all to find the best solution to a problem, in a creative way, in an unpredictable situation, and won't expect the problem to be solved by someone else."

2. List of terms describing ideal employee values were compiled for each transcript and each document, which then formed the basis for the identification of 'value codes' (larger clusters of similar terms). For example, value code "initiative" included descriptions such as "someone who won't expect the problem to be solved by someone else" (KC, interview transcript), people who don't "wait passively to be given a task, but to be able to recognize and to walk proactively towards that activity" (UE, interview transcript), "our employees are active, responsible and full of initiative" (Company C1) and similar. This process resulted in 38 larger value codes in 4 domains (Qualifications, Personal attributes, Attitudes towards work and

company, and Relationships with others) (Appendix B provides the list of all the value codes with illustrative examples). These value codes were further integrated into larger-level 'value clusters' (Appendix C) through comparison of concepts within and across the codes.

3. Participant transcripts and documents were then coded using the value codes devised in this way.

The transcripts were coded in the following way: the code was assigned once if the participant mentioned the code and elaborated on it immediately after. Some excerpts, like the excerpt below, could have multiple codes (Flexibility of skills (open to continuous learning)/Initiative):

> To be ready for continuous development, to learn, to continuously 'perfect' himself [**Flexibility of skills**], to ask from his supervisors 'hey, send me to a course, I want to learn something, to learn how to work with galvanized or not galvanized materials, these are all the kinds of details that he can educate himself on [**Initiative**].

For documentary data, a different strategy was used. The issue was that some documents would raise the overall frequency of value disproportionately high in relation to other values due to the nature of the document - for example, an interview protocol may encode value code of 'self-reflection' more than ten times, by asking the prospective employee to reflect on and articulate on more than ten aspects of self/personality to the HR professional in the course of the interview. Thus, to avoid inflation of such values across all the data, each document was treated as if it was a 'conversational turn' (Daiute, 2011).

Thus, each value code could appear in one or more documents ('turns'); if the value code appeared in 1-2 documents, the value would receive a score of 1 (labeled X on the data chart to distinguish between the institutional and participant scores, see below) if the value appeared in 3 or more documents, the value would receive a score of 2 (XX); if the values appeared in more than 3 documents AND was strongly emphasized within each document, the value would receive a score of 3(XXX).

Frequencies for each of the 38 value code, across all company contexts, in institutional texts and participant transcripts, for blue collar (bc) and white collar (wc) workers, were put in a chart – for example, frequencies for the value code 'can-do attitudes/persistency' across all company contexts looked as follows:

Table 5: *Example of the value frequency chart for one value across all company contexts*

	C1	C2	C3	C4	C5w	C5 b	C6 w	C6 b	C7 w	C7 b	C8 w	C8 b	C9 w	C9 b
Persistence/ "can-do" att.	XXX 6	XX 6	XXX 7	XX 10	X 4	-- 0	X 1	X 1	-- 0	-- 0	XX 5	XX 1	XXX 8	-- 1

Thus, based on this chart, we can see that 'persistence/can-do attitudes' was frequently used in both institutional documents (upper row of Xs), and participant transcripts (lower row of numbers), but only for the white-collar employees, and

emphasized more strongly in the service industry companies (C 1, 2, 3, 4, 9). This value was rarely mentioned for blue-collar employees (C5b, C6b, C7b, C9b), except in one case, C8b.

Coding reliability

The coding reliability check was conducted on a subset of the data, where one of the outside HR consultants coded excerpts from 3 transcripts and 3 sets of official documents, representing around 25% of the total data. Inter-rater coding reliability was calculated using the 'percent agreement' method, calculated by dividing the number of agreements between the two coders (A), by the total number of agreements and disagreements (n) (PA=A/n). The overall inter-rater agreement was 71%, which may seem somewhat low, but still considered acceptable in this type of qualitative research (Krippendorf, 1980).

The agreement percentage was lower than ideal mainly due to some difficulties in translating from Serbian to English – namely, the interviews were transcribed in Serbian, while the value codes were devised in English, which was not the other coders' native tongue. Some translation/interpretation issues were addressed prior to coding, such as metaphorical terms (e.g., vidra, meaning 'person of action'), colloquial expressions (e.g., gaziti preko mrtvih), equivalence of terms (e.g., odgovornost, as individual responsibility as well as reliability, etc.), but it is possible that different interpretations of terms affected the assignment of codes. Additional difficulties were encountered regarding the levels of specificity for individual codes, because exact code assignment depended on the meanings which were often revealed in other parts of the transcripts. These issues were resolved by the decision to allow same excerpts to be coded with multiple codes. For example, having a

'host-like' attitude to the company ('domacinski odnos') is not only difficult to translate in English, but it also involved different layers of interpretations and therefore different code assignments. On one level, this term reflects the management desire for employees to think in terms of 'optimization of costs', meaning not to waste resources, as you wouldn't in your own house, or more broadly to be responsible for reducing company's corporate costs by thinking of company's bottom line. But it also means that one should not see one's job in a narrow way, as only one's own, but rather be open to doing other people's jobs (as one would in a family), if that furthers company's common interest ('there's nothing just mine, or just yours, or just his, all this is in the spirit of achieving common goals, the goals of the company"). In this instance, for example, the coder and myself decided to simultaneously code both interpretations, as well as the value code of "Commitment to company's success", since that would encompass all the possible meanings of this term.

The results obtained from the values analysis conducted in this way were used to locate and describe the patterns of values and consequently, official, institutionally sanctioned "ideal employee" profiles for both white and blue collar employees, reported in Chapter 3, which also provided the overall context for the analysis of regulatory mechanisms in Chapter 4. The differences in values between the official company documents and participant transcripts further provided the basis for the positioning analysis, described in more detail below, and reported in Chapter 5.

Analysis 2: Institutional regulation practices analysis

The analysis of the ideal employee values and the companies' official discourses is complemented in this study by analyzing the ways in which the official HRM procedures act as mechanisms for regulation of employee subjectivities.

I refer to these methods as intended 'technologies of governance', guided by the initial Foucauldian (1977; see also Rose, 1989) conceptualization of institutional power as composed of 'technologies of power,' such as surveillance (i.e., observation of individuals for the purpose of documenting individual differences), normalizing sanctions (i.e., a system of rewards and punishments associated with the norms"), examinations (i.e., ways to assess norm from deviance), and technologies of self (i.e., practices which engage self-reflection, self-articulation and self-correction towards the norms). While theoretically they can be separated as two different modes of engagement of the subject – the former which transforms employee subjectivities into an object of knowledge to be known and calculated, and the latter by encouraging the employee to reflect and articulate themselves according to the criteria provided by the organizational discourses , in reality of organizational Human Resource activities, as the results below confirm, technologies of power and technologies of self are often intertwined.

This analysis was conducted in two steps:

1. Based on the information provided in the archival documents and interview transcripts collected for each one of the company contexts, I have compiled a list of all the human resource management activities carried out by each company's HR

department. For example, a chart outlining all the different HR techniques reported by the participant, and/or verified through documentary data for one company (Company C6), looked like this:

Table 6: *Example of a chart for HR techniques used in one company context (continued on next page)*

HR techniques	White-collar employees managerial/professional
Recruitment techniques	Internal recruitment (managerial positions) External recruitment (trainees and other managerial/professional): • Online advertising • Job fairs • Newspaper ads
Selection techniques	• Application forms (online) • CV screenings • IQ testing • Personality testing • Personal Interviews (two or more rounds)
'Induction'/ socialization techniques	• Mentoring system • Informal socialization
Performance Assessment techniques, systems of rewards and punishments	• Basic supervisor report (trainees only) • Feedback sessions (trainees) • Hiring/Termination • No PA for other employees
Employee development and training	• Some competency training (managers)

2. After completing such charts for each of the companies, I read the transcripts and available documents and noted how each companies' practices of regulation of employee subjectivities relied on the different 'technologies of governance' (as defined above). The various technologies of governance – such as surveillance, imposition of normalizing sanctions, examinations, as well as practices of self-reflection and self-articulation were used as analytical tools as well as heuristic device that helped me identify other, more context-sensitive (company-specific) technologies of power used for the purposes of regulation of employee subjectivities in the different company contexts, including those that may be specific for company's HR staff.

Analysis 3: Participants' positioning analysis

As mentioned above, including participant interviews in the study design was guided not only by the desire to obtain information about the particular subject matter (i.e., the desired employee profiles and HR techniques), but also as an opportunity for participants, as members of these companies and larger 'transition' culture, to offer their stances, interpretation and evaluations of the information they present. As such, their narratives represent a chance to take a closer look at the dynamic nature of subjectivity development in relation to social and relational context (Daiute, 2004), or as Bamberg relates, narratives allow for the analysis of 'selves-in-the-making' (Bamberg, 2008).

Such processes, as Daiute (2004), Bamberg (2008), Korobov and Bamberg (2004), among others, have successfully shown, can be productively studied through the analysis of

speakers' positioning strategies. As Korobov and Bamberg state succinctly, individuals position themselves (and others) across social interactions, and in doing so, "different identities get tried out, resisted, and consolidated – in short…identities develop" (2004, p. 525). The varieties of such positions, or self-representational moves in relation to the context values (Daiute, 2004), can be identified empirically. The present analysis draws on Daiute's work on children's positioning strategies in the context of violence prevention curricula in the educational system, in which she identifies performing, contesting and centering selves (Daiute, 2004, p. 124).

In the present study, as detailed in the beginning of this section, three distinct 'genres' were identified in the participants' narrative/interview data. The 'professional' and 'private person' genres were originally designed for and elicited with the interview questions, while the third, 'autobiographical' genre was often spontaneously engaged in by the participants in the course of the interviews. Following Daiute's positioning analysis (2004), combined with the insights from (critical) discourse analysis (e.g., van Dijk, 1993b; Strauss, 2004), the following positions were identified for each one of the conversational genres, in relation to the official organizational HR discourses identified previously through the values analysis: performing, contesting, and diverging.

1. **Performing** positions, coded when participants, in any of the three genres of talk, express or align themselves with the official institutional values, i.e., the company's official employment discourses.

- In the professional/inquiry genre, performing positions entail participants' official reports and elaborations of the ideal employee values and HR activities.
- In the autobiographical genre of talk, performing positions are coded when participants draw on such values to describe their own activities and self-understandings ('how I exemplify the ideal values required by the corporation'), while in the
- 'private person' genre, performing self-representational moves are those that extend official organizational values to account for desirable values in the spheres of friendship.

2. **Contesting** positions, coded when the participants express values and/or views that in some way critique, challenge, or contest the company's official HRM discourses.

    - In the professional/inquiry genre of talk, critiquing the official values can be explicitly stated, or expressed through subtle conversational elements such as suppressed laughter or sarcasm.
    - In the autobiographical genre, the contesting position would be to draw on non-sanctioned, or less-than-ideal ways of being and understanding to account for one's actions ('how I exemplify being less-than-ideal employee').
    - In the private person genre, contesting moves are those that serve to provide a critique of official values as part of the participants' commentaries on their suitability in the sphere of friendship.

3. **Diverging** positions, coded when the participants express values and/or views that are different from the official discourses, but not necessarily contesting, challenging or critiquing them.

    - In the professional inquiry genre, participants may describe as ideal those values that are somehow divergent from the official values, but which do not necessarily contest them. Majority of these values appear to represent the 'unofficial' company values, such as informal, although not un-sanctioned criteria for selection of new employees.
    - In the autobiographical genre, the diverging positions would be to narrate events in which one draws on values that are different, although not necessarily opposing the official discourses when describing own activities and self-understandings.
    - In the 'private person' genre, the participants may bring up issues of concern that do not necessarily challenge the 'goodness' of enterprise for friendship and/or business, such as issues of 'professional ethics.'

Multiple examples of these positions and analysis of their significance are offered in Chapter 5. After coding all the responses, the table was created summarizing the different patterns of such self-representational moves across the three different genres of talk for each participant. If the participant used one type of self-representational move in the majority of the talk for that genre, this type would have been labeled 'predominantly'; if

such moves were used some of the time, this type would have been labeled 'Some', and if there are no instances of such moves, it would have been labeled '---' (Daiute, 2004). An example of this coding for one participant is presented in the table below:

Table 7: *Example of positioning coding for one interview transcript across three genres*

Participant	**HR professional**	**Autobiographical**	**Private person**
	perf. cont. div.	perf/cont/div	perf./cont/div
P1	predom ---- ----	predom. ---- ----	predom ---- ----

For example, as this table shows, in the professional inquiry genre, participant IG predominantly performed her company's official values, never deviating from the official 'party line'. IG also predominantly enacted context values in the autobiographical genre, as well as extended them to account for what friends should be like. Results of the positioning analysis across all participants and the interpretations of significance and implications are presented in Chapter 5 of this dissertation.

The research design of the present study to include these different dimensions – the discursive constructions of ideal subjectivities and the managers' patterns of enactments and critique, as well as the investigation of HR procedures through a Foucauldian lens of discipline and self-regulation – allows me to paint a comprehensive picture of how these layers intersect, complement and inform each other. In addition, they are used to highlight

the complex position of the HR professionals in organizations – as being both subjects and objects of discourses that seek to shape organizational members in particular ways, as they try to secure their own sense of meaning, purpose, as well as material and symbolic benefits, through participating in such discursive practices.

Bringing the analyses together:

Identification of the three implementation scripts

In this section, I describe how the three analyses were brought together, leading to the identification of the different 'implementation' scripts. In the course of conducting the values and regulation analyses of the data for the nine company cases, similarities among companies emerged in relation to their implementation of the institutional HR discourses on the local level, including the nature of the values encoded in the institutional HR discourses, the strength of implementation of the local HR activities (i.e., regulation practices), as well as participants' patterns of positioning strategies (performing, contesting, diverging).

These patterns constituted what I refer here to as local (implementation) 'scripts' – referring to specific shared dynamics of transfer and local reception of the global institutional discourses among different companies[4]. Three distinct implementation 'scripts' were identified on the basis of all the analyses conducted in the study, i.e., 'embedded enterprise', 'in-transition', and 'low enterprise'. Due to the similarities of

[4] One local multinational company represents a special case - although their implementation of the Western managerial knowledge and practices was not globally-imposed, it was mandated by the board of directors which included Western management experts, and which were then disseminated further to other Eastern European countries.

companies within each group, the results in the following chapters are presented for each group of companies accordingly.

Overview of results

The following table presents the overview of the results, constituting the three emergent implementation scripts (i.e., 'embedded enterprise,' 'in transition,' 'low enterprise'):

Table 8: *Overview of results and three implementation scripts*

Implementation scripts Analyses conducted	'embedded enterprise'	'in-transition'	'low enterprise'
Global institutional HR discourse (values analysis: Chapter 3)	'flexible enterprise' value clusters (white collar only)	'flexible enterprise' value clusters (white collar only)	'flexible, socially responsible, enterprise' value clusters (white collar only)
Implementation of the HR initiatives (i.e., local regulation practices) (regulation practices analysis: Chapter 4)	Culture-normative: HR practices devised and mandated globally. Subjectivity regulation via building and maintaining strong organizational cultures. Enterprising values woven throughout HR practices.	Culture-formative: HR practices somewhat mandated on global level, relative local autonomy. Local organizational resistance to implementation. Subjectivity regulation via building enterprising organizational culture, but little follow up.	Culture-ambivalent: HR practices somewhat mandated on global level, large degree of local autonomy. HR activities implemented selectively (senior management).
Local HR practitioners positioning strategies (positioning analysis: Chapter 5)	Predominantly performing institutional values across the three interview genres elicited. (excluding former employees)	Predominantly performing institutional values across professional inquiry, autobiographical, but not private person genre.	Predominantly diverging from and contesting the institutional values across all three genres elicited.

CHAPTER 3: INSTITUTIONAL VALUES OF IDEAL EMPLOYEES

The results presented in this chapter are based on the analysis of the institutional documents collected for the nine company contexts in the study. The primary aim of this analysis is to establish the contours of the desired forms of employee subjectivities discursively constructed and sanctioned by each company's top management and/or foreign (global) headquarters[5], addressing the following research question:

1. What kinds of (new) normative visions of employee subjectivities are embedded in the institutional discourses and procedures in the select company contexts? How do these ideals differ for different categories of workers – white-collar and blue-collar – and for different kinds of industries – service and manufacturing? Assuming the foreign origin of HRM knowledges and practices, in what ways do these ideal visions resemble the dominant neoliberal ideal of the "enterprising self" characteristic of corporate cultures in the Western Europe and the US (e.g., Du Gay, 1996)? What other, alternative configurations of values might be promoted as ideal?

This analysis is predicated on the notion that the official organizational HR discourses encode specific forms of (normative, approved) subjectivities that are constructed as normal or desirable for employees to enact and engage with in the course of one's employment in the company, performing a role of *regulatory* discursive ideals

[5] In eight foreign multinational companies, these discourses originate from and are sanctioned by top management in foreign headquarters; in one case of domestic multinational, the discourses are sanctioned by top management locally, although, as reported by participant, are also based on the appropriation of Western management knowledge.

towards which employees' subjectivity development at work can be channeled or directed (i.e., regulated) by organizational management (e.g., Alvesson & Willmott, 2002; Barley & Kunda, 1992).

The desired subjectivities, and later, their negotiation by organizational members can be productively laid out and examined through an analysis of values, where values are defined as "culturally-specific ways of knowing, feeling, and acting in response to environmental, economic and social circumstances" (Daiute et al, 2003, p. 85). In this chapter, I have used this analysis to make explicit the kinds of stated and unstated expectations related to the desired ways of being and conducting oneself at work, promoted by the companies' organizational management. Thus, following Daiute , Stern and Lelutiu-Weinberger's (2003) definition, and adapting it to the specific purposes of this dissertation, values are defined here as '*socially and culturally specific ways of being an ideal employee, including desired patterns of thinking, feeling, acting and relating to oneself and others in the context of the workplace*.' The value configurations, comprising such discursive constructions of ideal subjectivities in the workplace, were identified for both white collar and blue collar workers, respectively.

I collected data for all the 9 company contexts (as indicated in the research design plan on page 34), 4 of which belong to the secondary industry sector (manufacturing), 4 of which belong to the tertiary industry sector ('service industry,' including IT, financial institutions, and commercial sales), and 1 investment company which operates in both sectors.

The results presented for white collar employees are based on the values analysis of the companies' archival documentary data, as composed of companies' **publicly available**

documents (archival documentation publically available on company's HR website, company-issued employment profiles on various job sites, website and/or newspaper published job advertisements, text or video profiles of existing employees and similar employment-related information) and companies' **internal HR documents** obtained through contacts with the participants (such as company-issued interview protocols, employee competency lists, appraisal and assessment procedures and materials, application scoring criteria, employee training programs, etc.). The full list of all documents collected for each company context is provided in the Methods Chapter. The analysis of the values present in the institutional documents provided the basis for further analysis of how participants (HR managers) position themselves – enact, contest or diverge from – in relation to such institutional discourses on desired subjectivities, presented in Chapter 5.

The results presented for blue-collar employees, in the second part of the chapter, are primarily based on the data from the participants' transcripts, as very little archival documentation was available for this group of workers, and the involvement of HR departments in their management was minimal. Despite the low involvement in many of the processes, the participants in the study still had quite clear sets of expectations regarding the blue collar workforce (especially as these relate to selection of employees, one area of strong HR involvement), and have thus provided me with a data set that I could analyze and present in this chapter, although lack of archival documents may raise questions as to the reliability or the 'official-ness' of these reports.

In the company contexts studied, how were white- and blue-collar employees defined?

The classification of workers is still based on the old Yugoslav system: white collar positions refer to higher-level, mainly office-based position for which one formally needs some form of higher education ("Visa StrucnaSprema," or VSS positions, literally means "High Expertise (Training)", or University degree), such as positions in Marketing, Finance, Logistics, Commerce, Human Resources, IT, etc., as well as all the management positions; white-collar positions also include office positions that formally require "SSS" (literally "Medium Expertise (Training)", or completed high school), such as Bank Tellers, Sales Associates, Personal assistants, etc. Some job titles for white-collar positions in the study, taken from companies' institutional documents (e.g., an organizational chart), include: 'Marketing Assistant,' 'Key accounts Supervisor,' 'Branch Director', 'Operational planning Assistant', 'Translator for English language,' 'Quality Control Manager', 'Trade Marketing Administrator,' 'Tax Supervisor', 'Project Leader for the Sales Force Optimization', 'IT programmer', 'Finance Associate', 'HR manager', 'Sales Legal Support Associate', 'Business Information analyst', etc.

Blue collar positions in this study refer to the positions in the manufacturing industry, for which one formally needs vocational or technical education (i.e., vocational high school), or elementary education, and a certain set of skills. These include "Qualified" or 'Semi—qualified' workers ("Kvalifikovani ili Polukvalifikovani radnik"), with positions such as 'General Factory worker', i.e., production line work, 'Machine operator', 'Warehouse worker', 'Welder', 'Locksmith', or higher positions, such as 'Machine Foreman'; or unqualified workers ('Nekvalifikovani radnik'), such as workers on the agricultural farms, seasonal workers, or unskilled workers in the factories, such as cleaners. The unqualified population of workers is hired without any formal set of requirements or selection

procedures (e.g., recruited from a neighboring village, based on personal recommendations, or on a 'first-come' basis), so the present discussion is centered on the workers in the Semi- or Qualified Worker categories.

Identification of values, value codes and value clusters

As described in the Methods chapter, the desired candidate and/or employee subjectivity profiles were identified using a 'values analysis' procedure, consisting of several steps. These steps included initial identification of instances of desirable employee values, expressed either explicitly or implicitly in each company's employment documents and procedures. For example, value such as 'candidate's age' may be explicitly stated as part of an employment ad, as in "[Company C1] is looking for young… candidates to join our team." The same value might also be implied, as in widespread HR practice to collect only online applications for its white-collar positions, a method that would reportedly result in more applications from candidates in younger age brackets. Such a value may also appear in the companies' use of imagery that features images of young people on its employment related websites or in other recruitment documents.

Based on the values identified in this way, I have generated a set of value codes (groups of similar terms), which were revised several times as additional data was analyzed. This process resulted in 38 larger value codes (Appendix B) which accounted for all the data analyzed. These value codes were further integrated into larger-level 'value clusters' (Appendix C) through comparison of concepts within and across the codes. The frequencies with which value codes/clusters were mentioned across all the institutional

documents were calculated (as described in the Methods chapter) and provided the basis for the ranking tables below. Because of a great deal of similarity found within the company groups identified in the process of analysis, the ranking of value clusters is presented in a combined format for each group of companies: 'embedded enterprise', 'in transition', and 'low enterprise', and are presented for white-collar and blue-collar employees, respectively.

DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS OF IDEAL WHITE COLLAR EMPLOYEES

As the ranking table below shows, the value analysis of institutional documents for all three groups of companies shows consistency in the kinds of desired ways of thinking, feeling, acting and relating to oneself and others that are expected from their white collar employees and candidates, as expressed in the companies' institutional HR documents sampled.

Table 9: *Ranking of desirable white-collar employee values, encoded in institutional HR discourses, across all three implementation scripts*

	DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS OF WHITE-COLLAR EMPLOYEES (implementation scripts)		
RANK	'EMBEDDED ENTERPRISE'	'IN TRANSITION'	'LOW ENTERPRISE'
1	DRIVE FOR EXCELLENCE	WORKING IN TEAMS	FLEXIBILITY OF SELF AND SKILLS
2	FLEXIBILITY OF SELF AND SKILLS	YOUNG AND DYNAMIC	PERSONAL AND SOCIAL ETHICS
3	YOUNG AND DYNAMIC	FLEXIBILITY OF SELF AND SKILLS	QUALIFICATIONS
4	WORKING IN TEAMS	QUALIFICATIONS	WORKING IN TEAMS
5	SELF-MANAGEMENT AND FEEDBACK CULTURE	INNOVATION	INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY
6	INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY	PERFORM JOB DUTIES	DRIVE FOR EXCELLENCE
7	QUALIFICATIONS	INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY	INNOVATION
8	EFFICIENCY UNDER PRESSURE	DRIVE FOR EXCELLENCE	YOUNG AND DYNAMIC
9	INNOVATION	COMMITMENT AND PASSION	COMMITMENT AND PASSION
10	COMMITMENT AND PASSION	SELF-MANAGEMENT AND FEEDBACK CULTURE	SELF-MANAGEMENT AND FEEDBACK CULTURE
11	PERSONAL AND SOCIAL ETHICS	EFFICIENCY UNDER PRESSURE	UNIQUE
12	UNIQUE	PERSONAL AND SOCIAL ETHICS	
13		UNIQUE	

As the table above shows, all three groups of companies in the sample share similar discursive frameworks of desired values for their white-collar employees, although they may differ in the relative emphasis accorded to them. In the following section, I describe

ideal profiles embedded in the value clusters, providing specific examples, and noting differences (if any) that were observed among the three groups of companies in their discursive constructions of what it means to be an ideal candidate and consequently, an ideal employee of their company.

Young, intelligent, university educated with 'dynamic' personalities

As encoded across different institutional documents, such as companies' employment information websites and employment ads, the ideal white-collar employee should possess the right educational qualifications (for majority of positions, a University degree), score above average on the IQ tests administered during the selection processes, and should have up to 5 years of work experience prior to the current job. Indeed, majority of companies I sampled prefer younger applicants, and have geared their recruitment processes towards attracting new employees from the younger age brackets[6]. In institutional discourses, preference for younger applicants is conveyed explicitly through trainees-only hiring policies ("The HR policy of [Company 9] is oriented towards recruitment of young, educated workforce with future potential.")[7] Less explicitly, but

[6] There are two exceptions to this general preference: a.) positions that require a specific expertise, such as specific programming skills, or chem. engineers, where candidates are required to have very specific prior knowledge and experience, and b.) 'top management' positions where relevant experience may extend to 5+years, but, as the HR consultants agree, it is rare that these positions are filled with external candidates (i.e., these are filled internally by those 'groomed for' top management).

[7] While 'what is young' differs across company contexts, general consensus is that applicants older than 40 are unlikely to be called back or hired for majority of white collar positions in the companies sampled in this study. In the IT industry, this 'age limit' is lower, usually under 30 (participant interview transcripts).

equally powerful, is their extensive use of imagery of young professionals on company's job ads and employment-related sites, as well as through the usage of terms that are designed to appeal to applicants from younger age brackets (e.g., "preference for fast-moving, dynamic environments"; "fun and exciting workplaces"; expectations of 'full mobility', etc.). The companies' application procedures are designed with the younger applicants in mind. Majority of companies only receive online applications (Company C1, 2, 3, 9, 5, 6, 8), while in some companies, the entire pre-selection process takes place in an online environment. For example, the initial cognitive tests are sent and administered to candidates online, or initial interviews with the HR professionals are conducted through Skype.

Closely associated with the age requirement is the frequent expectation of being 'dynamic', which in the course of analysis was defined as a person 'of action,' someone who is fast-thinking and fast-acting, usually connected to a youthful disposition. In institutional discourses, primarily in employment ads, the preference for 'dynamic' applicants is explicitly articulated, as in "if you are dynamic…, like challenges, ready for fast learning, send us your application" (Company C5), or "new employees should have proactive attitudes and dynamism" (Company C1). Additionally, this value can be implied in the descriptions of corporate values, such as "one step faster and more efficient from all the others," (Company C3), or in descriptions or visual depictions of dynamic employees, activities and work environments. Increasingly, companies use the technique of presenting 'current employee profiles' on their websites, which include interviews or quotes that exhibit the desired values (e.g., current (young) employees stating that what inspires them is "energy and the sound of crowd", "travel and mobility", "sports", etc.).

Flexibility of self and skills

Based on the data gathered from institutional HR documents, to be an ideal white collar employee has become synonymous with 'flexibility.' Flexibility is a complex, and rather fuzzy concept, and refers minimally to two things: a.) being open to molding one's values, attitudes and behaviors in order to fit the specific patterns of expectations encoded in the company's organizational culture, now and in the future, and b.) changing one's job-specific skills and knowledge in response to the continuously changing work demands as well as customer or client needs (i.e., continuous learning and professional development).

Flexibility, now and in the future, to fit organizational culture

The 'flexible self' value, as expressed in the HR documentation such as inventories of desired personal competencies, means that employees, old and new alike, need to 'learn', 'understand' and 'spread with their own behavior' the desired company values. Flexibility in this sense refers quite explicitly to being open to changes in one's personal characteristics (i.e., personal competencies) to fit the values of specific companies' organizational cultures. HR practices such as candidate interviews and personality assessments are designed to 'weed out' those candidates who do not represent a good match between personal and organizational values, as part of the initial selection procedures. Once at work, especially in the 'embedded enterprise' companies, the obligatory and quite frequent employee assessments are designed to identify 'gaps' between the current state of personal competencies and those valued by the company's

organizational culture. Based on the results of these assessments, which comprise 20-25% of the total employee performance score, employees are considered for future promotions and permanent salary increases. The results of competency assessments are additionally translated into 'individual development plans,' requiring the employee to participate in quite numerous opportunities for self-transformation as part of employee development programs and trainings. These 'personal development' programs are both corrective, enabling the employees to 'close the gap' between current and ideal states, as well as a reward system in and of itself ('in return, Company C1 offers excellent opportunities for professional and personal development, through a system of internal and external training programs').

In essence, the message that these companies send is that to embody the corporate culture values, now and in the future, is beneficial not only for the company, but also for the individual employee, reflecting a contemporary managerial philosophy which suggests that "becoming a better worker is…the same thing as becoming a more virtuous person, a better self" (Du Gay, 1996b, p. 64). Forging the discursive link between the professional and personal spheres, the work and non-work life, is a recurring theme in the institutional HR discourses (e.g., "personal competencies of company E represent the foundation for employees' personal success and success of the company" or "some people believe in existence of private and work life, we believe that it's all the same – your life…"), suggesting to employees that adopting corporate values leads one on a path to a 'richer, more meaningful existence across all spheres of one's life.

Based on the institutional HR discourses, it is fair to say that 'flexibility of self', in terms in which it is articulated across these company contexts, represents a meta-value of

open-ended conformity, a precondition for the socialization of all other values that may be expected from employees in these restructured companies. As the next chapter will go into more detail, the discursive framework of 'fitting into the organizational culture' provides a powerful rationale for continuous regulation of employee subjectivities, and while the institutional discourses of all three groups of companies present this value as highly desirable, they differ in the extent to which such flexibility of self is woven into human resource management practices on the local levels.

Flexibility of skills, continuous learning and professional development

In the other sense of this term, employees need to also be flexible in the sense of changing one's job-specific skills and knowledge in response to the continuously changing work demands, which is often referred to in institutional discourses as "openness to continuous learning and professional development." Employment ads feature similar articulations of this value: future employees should be "flexible, ready for fast learning", "adaptable to changing working conditions", who "adapt to changes in business environments easily", who "like to learn," who "have fast reactions in new business environments", who "keep up with trends and new technologies," in the interest, again, of "creating new values" not only for clients, but also for the "personal development of the employees" (Companies 1, 2, 3, 4, 9, 8, 5, 6).

The analysis of institutional documents reveals, however, that what counts as 'professional development' for white collar employees, especially for those in managerial positions, is only in part related to the traditional notion of professional 'training', meaning

acquisition of technical knowledge and skills (such as attending professional conferences or education courses). Rather, as the companies' training programs illustrate, professional development is synonymous with the development of "soft skills," which are constructed as 'core' competencies that would enable any employee to achieve excellence and become a 'leader' or a 'winner' in his own area of work. These development programs thus focus on areas such as leadership abilities, change management, confidence-building, team-building, self-management, assertive communication, etc. – in other words, they attempt to build, as many commentators have noted for such parallel developments in the contemporary organizations in the West, nothing less than an entirely new worker identity (Gee, Hull & Lankshear, 1996), encoding some new values and forms of subjectivities expected from the employees in these post-socialist contexts. In the sections that follow, I describe further the specific values from which such new identities are being constructed in the institutional discourses of the companies in the study.

Drive for excellence

Drive for excellence is a cluster of related values that speak to employee's personal ambition, initiative and persistence to achieve extraordinary results. Institutional HR discourses encode this value often in public documents, stating that employees need to "achieve set goals", but that these goals should be 'ambitious' and oriented towards 'achieving excellence' (Companies 1, 2). In the official HR discourses, such as general employment information, specific job ads or performance appraisal procedures, this requirement appears as "persistence", "can-do attitude", "proactive attitudes", "driving for

results", or "high performance-orientation", or in company hiring mottos such as "we thirst for GREAT!" New employees should "set ambitious goals and see them as attractive challenges" (Company C1), are urged to "search with all [their] hearts for opportunities for success (Company C2), to "be problem solvers who deliver nothing but the best" (Company C3), to be "motivated by constant challenges to work in the best [product] company in the world," (Company C8), to be "ambitious associates who are eager to prove themselves and eager for success." (Company 9). While this value is ranked higher (indeed, the highest) in the 'embedded enterprise' group of companies, the elements of such discourse of excellence are present in all the companies' institutional HR discourses, although its implementation locally is variable.

Creativity and Innovation

The discursive constructions of ideal employees, across all institutional HR documents, feature the value of innovation and creativity. For example, company E encourages candidates who "can introduce innovative processes", and promote "diversity and enterprising spirit so to create creative new ideas and business opportunities." Company C2's employment ads feature expectations that the future employees will "drive innovation and change"; Company C3 informs future candidates that "our people are creative problem solvers…and people here will never reinvent the wheel." Many selection tasks, such as in companies D and F, are aimed at evaluating the candidate's innovation potential, as in designing novel products in related industries or providing an innovative solution to a fictitious business problem.

Efficiency under pressure

Closely related to the drive for excellence is the discursive construction of ideal employees as those who can maintain efficiency under pressure. While all institutional discourses evoke the images of hardworking, committed employees, in the 'embedded enterprise' and 'in transition' companies, the employment ads are rife with references to time constraints and tight deadlines. In these texts, this desired employee value is usually expressed as "ability to work under stressful conditions" (Company C1), "ability to solve problems and offer solutions under tight deadlines," and "ability to multitask under tight deadlines" (Company C8), where "speed, efficiency and flexibility are paramount" (Company C9). Company C3's employee profile informs the candidates that the fast pace of work in that company "doesn't stifle creativity, and stimulates learning and productivity." Additionally, 'stress vulnerability' is a dimension assessed on psychological assessments administered to candidates as part of their selection process, and 'managing stress' represents one of the major competencies, and consequently, areas for training and development programs offered by the companies, especially in the 'embedded enterprise' group.

Why is efficiency and high productivity construed as implicitly stressful and what is being accomplished with such a discursive framing? The process of restructuring of companies during privatization has involved massive layoffs as part of the new companies' efforts to reduce labor costs, and in some companies in the present sample, this meant firing anywhere from 30-75% of the existing workforce. Such efforts, despite later hiring of

new employees, have resulted in a simultaneous reduction of workforce and expansion of business, leading to the increasingly high workloads for employees. This intensification of work has contributed to the highly stressful conditions that characterize many of the workplaces in the study, as participants would often relate in individual interviews.

However, the emphasis on stress-resilience as an individual category in these institutional discourses forms part of the emerging post-socialist discourse of enterprise, which works to re-frame (in the neoliberal fashion) various social problems and/or risks as matters of individual responsibility and problems of self-care (Rose, 1999; Lemke, 2001), i.e., as a matter of employees' personal ability (or failure) to manage stress at work. The discourse of 'responsibilization' of citizens, which is the backbone of (neoliberal) free-market rationality (Rose, 1999), circulates in many other contexts in contemporary Serbia, e.g., health care, and represents a strong pull to tie citizens to new visions of individualized, self-sufficient, self-responsible and autonomous subjects.

Individual responsibility

The discourse of responsibilization is also visible in institutional HR documents which emphasize the need for employees to be 'personally' or 'individually responsible' - for the performance of their work results, personal development, and hence, for their career progressions in the companies. This value appears in general employment information in all the companies sampled, as "readiness to take responsibility," (Company C8), to "take charge of your own development and success…to be in the driver's seat of your career' (Company C2) to "actively participate in the growth of [Company C1] by

creating and guiding own everyday activities," (Company C1). Often articulated as a core corporate value, 'individual responsibility and autonomy' refer to company's belief that "decision-making should be taken throughout the organization…and that decision makers should accept responsibility for their decisions," thereby achieving a state of 'responsible freedom' (Company C2). Thus, to be 'individually responsible' means to assume responsibility for one's successes, as well as one' failures, to "recognize mistakes," and to "work on fixing them." (Company C7). As one 'employee profile' relates on the company's website, "a good [employee] won't blame the failure on their manager" (Company C3).

In embedded enterprise companies, this value is further encoded in the performance appraisal practices, which are nearly always individual-based, and reinforce the idea of individual accountability and responsibility for achieving work results and desired levels of personal competencies, as well as for the failure to do so. The individual responsibility is also implied in the individual-based (as opposed to team-based) reward and bonus schemes (Companies 1, 2, 9, 3, 8, 4), as well as in the integrated systems of business information technology which are designed to locate individuals as 'weak links' in the achievement of business results (Companies 1, 2, 9, 3, 8).

Self-management and culture of feedback

Self-management refers to the employees' abilities to engage in a continuous process of self-reflection, with the explicit purpose of building 'self-awareness' and 'self-understanding,' but, as the institutional documents reveal, such 'self-knowledge' is always

to be accomplished against the matrix of values or norms promoted as desirable by the organizational management. This value appears only occasionally in the 'in transition' and 'low enterprise' companies, as its main expression is found in the formal performance appraisal procedures conducted primarily in the 'embedded enterprise' companies.

In these companies, for example, employees may be assessed on their 'ability to reflect on one's own behaviors and skills in the workplace' (Company C1), capacity to 'assess one's success in learning and working activities' and 'knowledge of one's strength and weaknesses' (Company C3). Self-assessment practices which are the integral part of appraisal procedures implicitly encode this value. Self-assessment involves employees to reflect on and articulate themselves in terms of their fulfillment of competencies derived from the company's corporate values, such as for example, rating themselves on how well they manage their time, stress, or how well they think they exhibit initiative or responsibility at work (Company C3). In order to rate oneself 'objectively' (meaning closer to the supervisors' ratings), the employee is urged to continuously 'seek and accept feedback from others,' which is seen as the precondition for 'one's better understanding of oneself' as well as for one's 'personal and professional development' (Company C1, 2, 3, 9).

As I will go into more detail in the next chapter, one of the distinguishing features of the 'embedded enterprise' group of companies is precisely in their use of rather stringent mechanism of assessment of employees – or, as it is referred to, promoting of the 'culture of feedback.' These assessment practices establish the normalcy of 'continuous evaluation' as a main feature of one's work life, and reveal a strong intention at regulating (directing, channeling) employees' subjectivities towards desired values. Due to their constructed legitimacy as scientific and objective measurements of one's 'true'

abilities/competencies/dispositions, these assessment procedures work to tie individuals' process of self-understanding to the descriptions of selves derived from the conceptual matrix of organizational discourse (e.g., as more or less self-aware, proactive, stress-resilient, persistent, etc.).

Working in teams

Working in teams value cluster includes values such as being a good team player, respecting diversity of people and ideas, having good communication skills, and managing others (if applicable). "Ability to work in a team", "possess strong team spirit", "team oriented personality", "sharing of knowledge", "treating others with respect", "working with people coming from different backgrounds". etc. is how this value is often articulated in the institutional HR documents, including employment ads, competency descriptions and performance appraisal procedures. The discursive construction of an ideal white-collar employee as a great team player is however, in direct tension with the discourses that emphasize individual achievement, self-reliance and personally ambitious and/or competitive attitudes, although such tensions are never directly addressed in institutional discourses, but as the Chapter 5 will show, are readily evident in participants' narratives.

Within this cluster, institutional discourses emphasize 'good communication skills' as part of the white collar employee expectations, present in nearly all employment ads or official documentation (Companies 1, 2, 8, 9, 3, 4). "I always say what I feel," relates the employee profile on one of the company's websites (Company C3), emphasizing the "open and honest communication" as key to maintaining good relationships with others, as well

as solving problems that may appear in the course of doing one's job. Some of the companies emphasize "assertive" communication style and "negotiation skills" over being 'open and honest' (e.g., Company C2, 4). In the sales industry, where being communicative is a key value employees should demonstrate, scripts are provided to employees that are supposed to structure and guide all their communication with potential clients (Company C4). Another frequently described aspect of communication skills include "active listening," a popular technique which requires listeners to "attend to what they hear, and then repeat, in listener's words, what they think the speaker said" (Company C2, training materials).

Commitment and passion

The ideal white-collar employees, as constructed by the institutional HR discourses, are also those who are committed to their companies and are passionate about the jobs they do. Institutionally, this value is articulated in the general employment information produced by the companies, which "value employees who are dedicated to the company and company's goals" (Company C9), and who "are proud for doing a job they love" (Company C3), and who "show commitment to their job area and responsibilities" (Company C1). This value cluster also includes a sense of 'enthusiasm', 'passion', 'excitement' and 'inspiration' for one's area of work and company in general ("doing the job you love, loving the job you do"; "our company is a truly exciting and fulfilling workplace"). Some companies in the sample offer numerous inspirational anecdotes, relating to prospective candidates how their current employees exemplify this discursive ideal.

Personal and social ethics

This value cluster is composed of values such as personal integrity and honesty, as well as a broader ethics of social and environmental responsibility. Most companies issue a public statement regarding the latter, indicating their commitment to "act responsibly to the society and the environment", to make a "positive contribution to the society in which we do business", to "participate in the economic and social development of host countries," to "develop and maintain a good social climate and social relationships", and similar. The companies offer reports and/or pictures of employees planting trees in nearby areas, collecting garbage, giving away New Years' packages, donating to local schools and similar initiatives (Companies 8, 6, 5), helping to construct a vision of an enterprising, yet socially and environmentally aware and responsible employee.

As the value ranking chart above shows, the 'low enterprise' company places more emphasis on this set of values (relative to other companies), emphasizing commitment to 'continuing social dialogue', and social protection measures for its workers. For example, the company boasts a unique HR policy that stipulates no downsizing of workforce in newly privatized companies (which local news reports have confirmed). Additionally in case of redundancies, due to company's restructuring or closing, all laid off employees must be found 're-employment' in other local companies, or, if that is not possible, must be offered generous severance packages (above and beyond what is required of them by law). This company is also the only company in which value of 'honesty' ranks high, and represents one of the companies' core corporate values which is supposed to guide the

companies' relationship with its subsidiary partners, as well as interpersonal relationships of employees within the company.

Unique values

The similarity of discursive constructions of ideal white-collar employees across all companies' institutional HR documents is evident by the fact that majority of data could be accounted for by the 12 value clusters described above, although companies may place more or less emphasis on certain values over others. However, some unique values, not accounted for by these clusters did appear in the data, although they were not frequent enough to warrant the creation of new clusters. Some examples include: employees' demographic information, such as place of residence and/or marital status, used as an indicator of the sales employees' 'natural market' for a specific product; other personal characteristics, such as punctuality, being analytical, systematic or detail-oriented, that did not seem to fit into the above clusters; expectations of dress codes, coming in on time, and appropriate telephone manners; uncategorized appeals to candidates' motivations such as reputation of working in a particular company or specific industry, provision of certain benefits such as medical check-ups and 'quit-smoking' programs, and rarely, job security; and army-service requirements for male employees.

Summary of institutional values for white-collar employees

The values analysis of the institutional HR discourses indicate that there is a great similarity in the kinds of values globally construed as desirable. The ideal profiles of white-collar employees invariably feature employee youthfulness, education and intelligence, dynamic personality, and flexibility to adapt him/herself to the culture of organization and changing work demands. Further, ideal employees should be highly innovative and proactive, demonstrating passion and commitment, as well as possessing drive for achieving excellence. Ideally, these employees should have excellent communication skills, be capable of both independent and team-work, and be prepared to be personally responsible and accountable for their work results, personal development and hence the progression of their careers.

Different companies present some variations on this common vision – for example, on the whole, 'embedded enterprise' companies foreground the employees' acceptance of continuous evaluation (culture of feedback) as central to employees' professional and personal growth, which is not featured extensively in other companies. This trend will be described in more detail in the next chapter on regulation practices which implicitly encode such values. On the other hand, while all companies construe ideal employees as possessing personal integrity and social responsibility, the institutional discourses of the 'low enterprise' company emphasize it more centrally than others. This company context is also the only one where 'stress-resilience' (working under pressure) is absent from institutional discourses, and where individual responsibility value cluster is accompanied by the emphasis on greater autonomy of decision-making on the local levels. The implications of these variations for local implementation of global HR discourses is discussed in the next chapter, while Chapter 5 reveals some important symmetries

between the three types of companies and the processes of individual uptake of institutional discourses.

In the next section, I present the results from the values analysis for blue collar employees employed in five manufacturing companies in the sample.

DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS OF IDEAL BLUE COLLAR EMPLOYEES

The values ranking table for the blue collar employees (below) presents the results from all three groups of companies, based on the analysis of the data across different discursive practices. An important thing to note here is that majority of the data presented here comes from participant discourses, because in most companies, HR initiatives (and hence institutional HR documentation) are mostly developed and aimed at the selection, evaluation and development of white collar workers. For example, blue collar workers and their performance is rarely evaluated formally, or through use of HR departments' tools and mechanisms, meaning that there is usually no official HR system of competencies that would form a consistent basis of selection, hiring, performance appraisal or development processes. Additionally, there are fewer, and in some cases no job advertisements located for the blue collar workers – this may be due to the prevalence of 'personal recommendation' recruitment practices, or a generally lower demand for blue collar workers. While recruitment and selection of blue collar employees nominally falls under HR department function, HR is only minimally involved in it and other areas. It is also important to note here that the lack of HR involvement in the management of blue collar workers should not be taken to mean that blue collar workers remain 'unmanaged' or their

conduct at work 'unregulated', but that such regulatory procedures are transferred to their direct supervisors in the factories and manufacturing plants, and I discuss these methods and discourses only to the extent that these have been related to me by the HR participants in the study.

Having said that, the participants in the study still have relatively clear guidelines as they relate to the kinds of values they expect from the blue collar employees or candidates for blue collar positions in their companies. What the design of the ranking table cannot show, but what will be discussed in the qualitative presentation of results, majority of these values have been presented by participants as highly 'open' and 'negotiable', meaning that, while ideally they should be demonstrated by the employees, the companies would routinely hire candidates, or retain employees, who fall outside of these desired profiles.

The tables in this section are presented side-by-side for easier overview, where the common values will be described first, followed by a presentation of differences in values according to the type of company ("embedded enterprise", "in-transition", "low enterprise"). The values in this table have not been integrated into larger value clusters, because doing so would have obscured important differences within and across the company contexts.

Table 10: *Ranking of desirable blue-collar employee values, encoded in institutional and participant discourses, across all three implementation scripts*

	DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS OF BLUE COLLAR EMPLOYEES		
RANK	**"EMBEDDED ENTERPRISE"**	**"IN-TRANSITION"**	**"LOW ENTERPRISE"**
1	INITIATIVE	FLEXIBLE SKILLS	HONESTY
2	FLEXIBLE SKILLS	INITIATIVE	QUALIFICATIONS/GRADES IN SCHOOL
3	ACHIEVE EXCELLENCE	TEAM PLAYER	FLEXIBLE SKILLS
4	CULTURE OF ASSESSMENT	QUALIFICATIONS	FINANCIAL NEED
5	"CAN- DO" ATTITUDES	ENTHUSIASM	TRUST
6	QUALIFICATIONS	RELIABLE	PERFORM JOB DUTIES/CONDUCT WORK ATTENTIVELY
7	TEAM PLAYER	PERFORM JOB DUTIES/CONDUCT WORK ATTENTIVELY	JOB SECURITY
8	PERSONAL ENERGY	PERSONAL ENERGY	COMMUNICATION
9	PERFORM JOB DUTIES/CONDUCT WORK ATTENTIVELY	EFFICIENCY	IQ
10	COMPETITIVE SPIRIT	AGE	INITIATIVE
11	FLEXIBLE SELF	PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY	RELIABLE
12	PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY	COMMUNICATION SKILLS	INTEREST IN WORK
13	ENTHUSIASM/LOVE JOB	HONESTY	TEAM PLAYER
14	WORK UNDER PRESSURE	FLEXIBLE SELF	

As the table above indicates, all three groups of companies share the following ideal blue collar employee values: youth, qualifications, flexibility of skills, perform job

duties/conduct work attentively, enthusiasm/interest in work, team work, and initiative. These are discussed first, followed by a discussion on additional values expressed in specific company contexts.

Qualified, preferably young males, with prior work experience and vocational school

As indicated by the participants across these three groups, the ideal blue collar workers are preferably males, because of the "physical requirements of the job," (JG) and preferably younger ("ideally, between 25 and 35"), although both of these characteristics are negotiable ("we will go with a much wider range"). For blue collar workers, in public HR discourses, such as job ads, some prior experience in the same or related industry is often required, as is educational background, i.e., vocational school related to the industry in question[8]. However, as participants related, the educational requirement is also not so strictly enforced, because for many of these jobs which entail work on new machines or with new technologies, no vocational education may exist – as EN explains, "we don't look at the vocational background so much, because we would never find someone who knows to do this, they didn't have where to learn…it's a different kind of technology, he can't know this, but it's important that he can learn." Ability to learn is gauged either through basic, non-verbal IQ tests, where they have to demonstrate "average intelligence", or when the tests are not used (for lowest positions), through HR professionals impressions of 'natural intelligence'.

[8] The exception from both education and experience are the agricultural workers hired to work seasonally in the fields

As I mentioned above, recruitment for manufacturing position takes place through more varied channels than for white collar workers - while there are some online ads, local job newspapers are a better source for finding such jobs, and the practice of hiring through personal recommendations seems to still be widely practiced.

Flexibility in skills ('agility to learn')

Flexibility of skills is a value that is shared across all three groups of companies. As mentioned above, what is considered more important than prior experience is "one's agility and readiness to learn quickly" (KD), whether this is learning to follow new EU standards in manufacturing, safety procedures, new ways of work, or learning to work on whatever new machines or technologies are currently in use. This value is mentioned by all the companies in the sample, and is often associated with a proactive attitude towards learning – "to ask from his supervisors, hey, send me to a course, I want to learn something, to work with things that are or aren't galvanized, these are all kinds of details he can further educate himself on" (UE).

Additionally, ideal employees should consider their own job descriptions in flexible terms – the employee may be hired for one position, but as a result of changing business strategies, numerous restructuring processes, or as in following example, LEAN analysis, one's job may significantly change over time (task-rotation). KD describes:

> "when we talk with them [blue collar candidates] in the interview, [we say] are you ready that next year you may not do this job, you'll be called the same, but other-, [they ask] what do you mean, what job, will I be fired – no,

> you won't be fired, nothing will happen, but we'll change machines, we'll put you in the warehouse, LEAN process will show that, I don't know, you can be of better use over there, are you ready for that? Some are and some are not…My job, now and a year ago, is completely changed, I got completely new processes of work." (KD).

Conduct work attentively and perform job duties

For blue collar workers across all company contexts, one of the top values characterizing ideal employee is 'conducting one's work with attention.' Given that much of blue collar work in these manufacturing companies involves dealing with mechanized, and often very expensive, equipment, ideal employees need to be 'present' (i.e., mindful) and attentive to possible issues that may come up. For example,

> "there's a machine that makes a mix of 5 different components, but he didn't notice that one of the add-ons was stuck and only 4 components are coming in…in that sense, he needs to be present, to see if there's a danger of something happening…" (JG transcript)

There are a number of unique values that are associated with one's ability to be 'attentive' at work – if the candidate is 'too impatient, interrupting me in the interview", this is a sign of "scattered attention," and similarly, if the candidate is too slowed down, he wouldn't be able to follow the pace of the equipment. Another problem may be if the candidate lives too far, because he may not be "fresh, rested, concentrated enough to follow the work of the machine."

In general, however, for blue collar employees, it is important that one "does one's job well", to "put in the effort", and to "make few mistakes." Institutional practices of punishing workers by reducing their salaries (20%) for making omissions or mistakes, or rewarding them for 'going above the production norms' also reinforce the importance this value, as do employment ads that emphasize 'detailed and precise orientation to work'.

Enthusiasm and interest, personal energy

Ideally, blue collar workers also need to demonstrate dedication to their work, or at least to show 'high level of interest', as expressed by the participants. In interviews, they need to demonstrate a clear interest and motivation for working, and ideally, enthusiasm for their specific vocations. UE talks about a recent case of a locksmith candidate:

> "we looked for a locksmith, and one older gentleman showed up. His minus was that he was too old, because we are trying to youth-en up out company…but you could see <u>with what love he talks about his work</u>, and that wasn't just him trying to sell himself…"

Candidates in general need to show "clear interest and motivation for working" (EN) – when candidates "talk about how they would like to work in some specific area, that's a good sign" (EN). Often times, the personal verve ("bright, lively, quick and energetic") and "enthusiasm that shines through" compensate for lack of specific educational background, and nonchalant (FN), or 'rude' attitudes which show "lack of respect for work" (UE) act as grounds for elimination.

Team work

Team work is another value located in the official discourses of all the company contexts. Usually, this value is found in the blue collar employment ads, which often feature "readiness to work in a team" as part of the general characteristics expected. Institutional discourses in manufacturing companies often emphasize 'team spirit' as part of the corporate values, but these are taken to generally apply to both white and blue collar workers. Team work is evaluated formally in one manufacturing company which sets both individual and team goals for its workers. Examples of team-goals are, for example, "achieving a cleanliness score, reducing number of collective absences, putting out x number of cans…" (KD).

When articulated by the participants, since no formal testing of candidates takes place during the selection process, HR professionals in the interviews try to gauge whether "he is naturally capable of adapting to group work" (EN), or whether they could 'fit into the existing teams' (UE), as well as whether they might be "prone to conflicts with colleagues or their supervisors" (UE). At the job, same as for white collar, the blue collar workers are expected to "share information and knowledge," and again, HR professionals from the manufacturing companies identify this as the main area of improvement.

As expressed by some participants, the threat of future restructuring processes may create a feeling in employees (especially older ones) that they are disposable, which has consequences for their willingness to share information and knowledge with others on their teams ("they think that if they share what they know with the colleague, they will endanger their own position, because we are all easily replaceable, and so if I tell him what

I know, he will do it instead of me and then what's my function", UE). Additional threats for blue collar workers come from increased mechanization of the work processes, where robots can now do their jobs "incomparably faster that the workers used to" (Company C8), encouraging stronger internal competition pressures among the workers, which may be amplified by the institutional discourses, such as in Company C8, that encourage employees to always behave in a 'winning way.' All of these conditions place value of behaving like a 'team player' in tension with the discourses that emphasize competition and success based on individual achievement.

Initiative and proactive attitudes

As expressed by the participants in all three groups, ideal blue collar workers are those who show initiative in their own sphere of work, which is defined as "not waiting passively to be given a task' (UE, JG). FN talks about initiative as something required "from the management trainee, to the driver, and we want to see that on the farm, too." Initiative can be demonstrated in the course of one's job, as FN elaborates:

> "This [initiative] is something we were asking from people we employed to be gardeners on our farms, because ok, it's great that he's a gardener, but if he sees that the rain gutter is leaking, then come on, move the gutter, if the board is placed at a bad angle, put it back in its place…these are the kinds of people who say 'ok, let me, I will prune the plant, hey look, now I'll fix this, now I'll straighten this picture – now all these are minor things, but on larger levels of business, it means if you notice that something isn't working, if you

have some idea that something can be done better, great, roll up your sleeves and fix it." (FN, interview transcript).

Initiative can also be demonstrated in blue collar workers by "making suggestions" to the management about "obtaining better, or cheaper materials" (UE), which admittedly, "workers do it more or less often, but in principle, this is required of them." Some institutional practices, such as having "initiative boxes" where workers are encouraged to leave their anonymous suggestions to the management, or LEAN meetings where workers can suggest how to improve procedures of work on the shop floor, attempt to reinforce this value/behavior in blue collar employees.

The above described values represent a set of shared values guiding the desired conduct of blue collar employees in all the company contexts. Based on the data available, the shared values for blue collar workers comprise the following profile: 'ideally younger, average intelligence, bright and energetic, but not a must. Minimally should express clear interest in working, and show some initiative in their work area. Most importantly, they should be attentive at work, perform their job duties without mistakes, and be capable of quickly learning and adapting their skills to new processes of work.' These results show that in blue collar workers, expectations regarding their conduct at work are less focused on the right personal attributes and more on the proper conduct of work activities, although there are some important differences for each of the three types of HR discourses identified previously ("embedded enterprise", "in-transition enterprise", "low enterprise").

Variations in value configurations according to the company HR contexts

"Embedded enterprise" (blue collar)

In the 'embedded enterprise' group of companies, HR involvement in blue collar employee management has mainly been conducted through their support role for the implementation of LEAN manufacturing processes. LEAN manufacturing systems (taken over from the Japanese manufacturing industry) involve a complex set of workplace analyses aimed at reducing different kinds of work process inefficiencies (i.e., waste), and hence reducing both production time and costs. For example, restructuring of production based on LEAN analysis, as KD has explained, may result in different organization of work space (e.g., smaller storage/warehouse), work organization (e.g., higher emphasis on small team work as part of 'just-in-time' production), and task-rotation (e.g., moving employees to different tasks/work positions as needed). Thus, in terms of desired blue collar employee values, LEAN production methods, to the extent that they are implemented as planned, further emphasize values of **team work**, and consequently team-based discipline; rapid adjustment of skills to different tasks and job descriptions (**flexible skills**); more stringent monitoring and self-monitoring of work processes and efficiency and tighter, more aggressive production deadlines (i.e., **working under pressure, high-performance or 'excellence' orientation; 'can-do' attitudes; competitive spirit**), as well as more formal monitoring and detailed assessment of blue collar employees (i.e., **culture of assessment**).

In these companies, organizational culture values, as embodied in a system of both personal and work-related competencies, are communicated and assessed at all level of

employees through a series of performance evaluation mechanisms. Individual, as well as team, performance scores are used for distribution of a wide variety of rewards and corrective measures. In Company C8, for satisfactory performance, it is not enough to just meet the production targets, but also how this is done. KD explains:

> "The 'what' and 'how' in our company is connected, it's not just the point how much you've delivered, but also what kind of attitude you have towards your work, and what you are like towards your colleagues. If for example, you are not helpful to others, and so forth, the fact that you've accomplished good results is ok, but absolutely not sufficient and this will have an effect on your final performance evaluation, at the beginning and mid-year." (KD interview transcript)

This philosophy, which encodes the value of personal **"flexibility"** to fit organizational culture values, applies to all employees, although it appears somewhat relaxed for blue collar employees, where "at the lowest positions, you have the choice to do your job narrowly…to not have ambition or interest in contributing more or to enrich your job or yourself," but the company tries, at great length, to reward those employees who "go the extra step." Usually people who do their job in such a "disinterested way" are "small number of older employees who stayed after the privatization process," and whose lack of 'proper attitudes' as well as their inability to quickly reach production targets is 'tolerated by the management' because of "their age".

The proper attitudes, i.e., acceptance of the organizational culture, is however a precondition for advancement within the company. KD relates the example of an operator in the production plant, who 4 months in a row went more than 20% over the production

norms, and on the basis of this, requested a promotion. His promotion request was denied because, despite excellent work results, this employee did not receive a good score on the 'personal competencies,' more specifically, his "communication skills, active listening, understanding others, collegiality…informally, he didn't understand that you have to be personally open, that job and personal are not separate here."

In the 'embedded enterprise' companies, the disciplinary measures against unruly employees ("who can't or don't want to be friendly with others", "who get mad and destroy company property", "who for some reason do not want to behave like the company wants them to", etc.) are corrective, rather than punitive. Employees, according to one company's policies, need to spend at least one year attending additional trainings to address problems in work or attitude before the company may decide to terminate their employment.

What is common for the next two groups of companies in the sample is that HR involvement in the management of blue collar employees is more limited than in the 'embedded enterprise'– while certain guidelines for employee conduct are established by the HR departments for the entire workforce (e.g., desired competencies, where such exist), participants report both lack of interest and/or lack of 'jurisdiction' over many facets of blue collar employee management, such as compensation, factory discipline, work performance tracking, etc.

"In-transition" (blue collar)

In the "in-transition" companies, power struggles between the 'old' (HR-resistant) and 'new' (HR-oriented) management prevent HR professionals from establishing strict regulatory procedures through which the current employees could be brought closer to the ideals expressed in the institutional and their own discourses. The company owners in this group are slow to replace the 'old' management, due to their large and still relevant networks of social and political ties, and thus leave it up to the HR professionals to negotiate the extent to which they can implement the organizational culture values across the organization. As a result, in these companies and for the time being, the blue collar workforce, composed mainly of the 'old' workers who stayed after the restructuring, is largely exempt from the organizational culture socialization efforts usually conducted by the HR departments. As JG describes, in terms of current employee productivity and (lack of) enthusiasm,

> "we have workers here who are unproductive, and don't feel obliged to change anything about that… they [the HR resistant factory directors] see that and no one wants to write that down…Their response is, 'she's been here for 30 years, what will she do if we fire her,' while in the meantime she sits and doesn't move a finger, and has no fear that something will happen. No one shows a desire, a willingness to change this situation. And I don't have the tools I should have to take care of that, to remove them or give rewards…"

Thus, many of the values shown in the table above are communicated, and screened for, during the application screening, and initial interviews (which are

always conducted by the HR departments). For example, as mentioned before, **younger** and more **dynamic,** 'bright', and 'lively' candidates are preferred over others, as are those who demonstrate greater **enthusiasm** ("you can feel in the conversation if someone really loves their job") and give off impression of being **reliable** ("candidates who appear responsible, because he needs to behave responsibly with the machine"), **honest**, or as possessing **initiative** ("someone who could act proactively"). However, many of these are 'negotiable', as long as the candidates' technical skills represent a good match and thus ensure that the blue collar employee can "begin participating in the work process as soon as possible." (JG).

However, these selection criteria are not consistently enforced – for example, during high-demand periods, large numbers of seasonal workers would be hired without any formal/stringent selection, and some of these workers may stay on to work in the factories full-time.

"Low enterprise" (blue collar)

In this company, some different values are considered in selection - blue collar workers, first and foremost, need to give off the impression of being **honest** and that they have come to work because of a real **financial need**.

> "For lower positions at the production plant, we essentially look for an <u>honest</u> worker, we don't look for any knowledge or experience, personality is more important than what he knows…We need to get an impression that he

is honest in a sense that he came here because he has a problem in life because he doesn't have a job, he has no money, that he really needs a job..." (EN).

Honesty, financial need, average intelligence and "good grades" in school are preferred criteria for selection of blue collar employees in this company. As the emphasis on **job security** in this company is relatively high (no performance-based terminations, and pending, of course, on the market conditions and profitability of the factory), those who are motivated by long-term employment are given preference ("we don't want some 18 year old who came here only to get some quick cash").

As mentioned above, the relative autonomy granted to the local subsidiary on the part of the parent company, and the HR directors' ambivalence towards the implementation of some form of 'organizational culture' values on employees, results in a smaller range of values that any one employee in the blue collar position may need to enact in the course of their jobs. These again come down to **performing one's job duties** as assigned (i.e., putting in the effort towards task-completion, omissions or mistakes in work processes) and having good (i.e., agreeable, non-conflicting) **communication skills** with other workers and supervisors, all of which are evaluated as part of general impressions of the production sectors managers, and hence not under the direct purview of the HR department.

Chapter summary and discussion

The values analysis of the institutional discourses for the white-collar employees reveal a great deal of similarity in the discursive constructions of desired, or ideal, white-collar employees across all the company contexts, regardless of the industry or size of the company. Naturally, different kinds of specific educational and/or expert qualifications distinguish such profiles across industries, but the overall expectations of desired ways of thinking, feeling, acting and relating in the context of the workplace that the institutional discourses portray remain remarkably similar. These documents reveal ideal constructions of workplace subjectivities as being invariably young, educated, dynamic, socially responsible and creative team members; possessing initiative and drive for achieving excellence; openness/flexibility to continuously transform themselves and their skills to fit the changing demands of work and corporate culture; ability to self-reflect on and self-monitor own achievement of aligned personal and professional development goals; to feel committed and passionate about their work; individually responsible for accomplishing work results, for managing their careers and pressures of intensification of work.

These value configurations betray an amalgam of several interrelated discursive influences. On one hand, these discursive constructions of ideal employees draw heavily on the 'enterprise discourse' characteristic of the neoliberal political rationalities (e.g., du Gay, 1996), which advocate an idea of individualistic and self-responsible citizens who must exercise personal autonomy, initiative, and self-care as they manage, in an enterprising fashion, various aspects of their lives, regardless of the disadvantageous conditions they might face (e.g., Rose, 1999; O'Malley, 1996). In the context of work and employment

relations, this discourse, back in the 1980's found expression in the increasingly popular 'humanistic' approaches to management, i.e., Human Resource Management, which in distinction to prior approaches to management, stressed the importance of organizational members as "reservoirs of untapped resources [which] include not only physical skill and energy, but also creative ability and the capacity for responsible, self-directed, self-controlled behavior" (Miles, 1965, p. 150, cited in Weiskopf & Munro, 2011). In this re-framing of worker interiorities as having economic functions, HRM in itself becomes a part of the discursive formation which reconstitutes both individuals and organizations in terms of the notion of 'enterprise,' (Rose, 1989) where one's employability and effectiveness at work is contingent on the continuous and proactive investment in oneself and wide range of one's skills and capacities, i.e., one's 'human capital.'

Within the emerging discourse of neoliberalism, and its re-contextualization in the 'human capital' philosophy of HRM - which sought to build its legitimacy and credibility by drawing on the modern psychological principles and techniques, such as Maslow's psychology – the idea of work was also transformed. Work is to be understood, as was so clearly demonstrated in the institutional documents in my sample, as a way of not only obtaining financial rewards, or fulfilling one's duty to society, but also as a way to self-realization and a path of self-development. As Rose (1989) writes, "enterprise teaches the arts of self-realization that will enhance employees as individuals, as well as managers and workers" (p. 16). From the perspective of neoliberal governance, he argues, there is no conflict of interest (or there shouldn't be) between the pursuits of productivity, efficiency, competitiveness and 'humanization' of work (Rose, 1989). Indeed, the path to business success is

> in aligning the wishes, needs, and aspirations if each individual who works for the organization with the successful pursuit of its objectives. Through striving to fulfill their own needs and wishes at work, each employee will thus work for the advance of the enterprise; the more the individual fulfills him or herself, the greater the benefit to the company (Rose, 1989, p. 56).

These discourses position paid employment as a locale in which boundaries of work and non-work are increasingly blurry ("some people believe in existence of private and work life, we believe that it's all the same – your life…"), or as Sabel (1991) argues more to the point, between what is "properly inside and what is properly outside the orbit of the organization" (Sabel, 1991, cited in Du Gay, Salaman & Rees, 1996).

Another strand that is detectable in these companies' discursive constructions of ideal employees comes from the more global developments: the increased competition from foreign industries and rapidly changing product markets, as well as the deregulation and appearance of new technologies have forced corporations to look for other ways to maintain their market share and competitiveness on the global market (du Gay and Salaman, 1992). Complementing the increased focus on 'human' resources (as the only inimitable resource, a source of competitive advantage, a 'value added'), these corporations in the last two decades focused on new ways of work that encouraged innovation, customer-orientation, and above all else, flexibility – to match the flexibility of the organization, the workers also needed to embody flexibility in all its forms: to be responsive, adaptable, transferable, open to flexible organizational structures and contract work, etc. (Fenwick, 2001).

How does the ideal of 'enterprising self' fare in relation to the blue collar employees?

The results from the values analysis for blue collar employees show a different pattern of enterprise discourse diffusion. In the 'embedded enterprise' companies, certain enterprising values are woven into the very organization of work (LEAN methods of production) and 'competency appraisals' implemented for all workers, although even here, 'old' ways of conducting oneself at work (framed as 'disinterested', 'not so productive', etc.) are still 'tolerated'. In other companies, the ideal values articulated for blue collar workers (youth, initiative, flexible skills, interest in work, team work and technical skills) show at best partial transfer of the discourse of enterprise - especially considering their 'negotiable' status - even when enterprising values frame desired subjectivities for white collar workers in the same company. As the results show, main subjectivity adjustments that the blue collar workers were expected to make in the new market economy are related to their openness to embrace mastering new skills and flexible job descriptions, more stringent time schedules than they were used to in socialist enterprises, and demonstrations of initiative, a value which is considered most acutely lacking in the older and 'apathetic' working class of the late socialist period in Serbia.

However, despite a considerable latitude of conduct for blue collar workers in the manufacturing industries sampled, a telling finding is that in order for blue collar workers to move up the organizational chain (to managerial positions), the expression of enterprising self becomes non-negotiable (especially in terms of individual responsibility, flexibility to adapt to organizational culture, drive for excellence, and enthusiasm and motivation), suggesting that the enterprising ideal, while not required to obtain and retain

a blue collar position, represents a 'ticket' to upward mobility, higher salaries and greater status. In these HR discursive contexts, where personal and professional development are tightly intertwined to produce subjects with 'added value' (Skeggs, 2004) – for self, company and society, the blue collar workers are marked as subjects which are unwilling and/or unable to access such forms of personhood, and as such, are only of marginal interest to HR professionals.

In the next chapter, I focus more explicitly on the companies attempts to regulate (direct and channel) the subjectivity development of individuals at work towards the values of 'flexible enterprise' that these multinational corporations encode as desirable. Whereas the present analysis concerned itself with the values encoded in the HR discourses, the analysis in the next chapter focuses on the specific mechanisms through which individuals are encouraged to engage with these values in the context of their participation in the companies' HR practices.

CHAPTER 4: INSTITUTIONAL REGULATION PRACTICES ANALYSIS

Practices of regulation of employees' subjectivities

Overview

The previous chapter presents the results of the values analysis of the institutional HR discourses. This analysis points to the existence of the shared discursive framework which defines the kinds of desirable ways of thinking, feeling, acting and relating expected from the present and future employees of these companies. The discursive construction of 'flexible enterprising selves' is encoded and constituted, with slight variations, in the institutional documents across all the company contexts in the study, primarily for white-collar, and to a limited extent and on a far more negotiable basis, for blue collar employees as well. The finding that expected employee values include a wide range of desired personal, as opposed to just technical sets of characteristics confirms the findings from previous studies which suggest that the historical trend towards greater 'subjectification of work,' meaning an intensified consideration and involvement of the subjectivity of workers in the work process (Pongratz & Voss, 2003) is present also in the management philosophies transferred to the local subsidiaries of these multinational corporations. The shift in the normative model of labor towards a 'flexible enterprising' workforce implies a new model of organizational control of its employees, which is hypothesized in prior literature to have shifted from "command-and-control" (or bureaucratic) to the culture-based (or normative) approaches to the management of employees which reflect the increasing managerial interest in managing the employees' cognitive and affective domains (e.g., Willmott, 1993).

The analysis conducted in the present chapter is designed to draw attention to the variety of formal means through which individuals are encouraged to attach to the ideals of 'flexible enterprising selves' identified as normative in the previous chapter. Such formal means represent the different HR-devised methods of regulation of employees in the company contexts sampled. The process of regulation of subjectivities is defined here as the attempts by organizational management to channel, direct, or otherwise act upon the processes of subjectivity development of its employees (including the local HR managers) towards certain managerially-devised objectives and identities/subjectivities (e.g., Alvesson & Willmott, 2002).

In conducting this analysis, which was designed to identify some specific methods through which subjectivity regulation in these corporations take place - as these are exercised on a global-to-local and local-to-local levels - I have been influenced by the theoretical import of the governmentality scholarship, which argued, following Foucault, that power is not something 'possessed' by individuals, but rather 'exercised,' embodied in various institutional practices, relationships and procedures (e.g., Rose, 1989). This understanding of power means that such attempts at institutional regulation of subjectivity usually take a technological form, meaning that, in the context of organizations, action upon the subjectivity processes of employees are enabled by a 'tactical arrangement' of discourses, various techniques (such as surveillance, or examination), devices (electronic or other), instruments (assessment inventories, etc.), calculations and inscriptions (Rose, 1989, p. 8; see also Latour, 1986) which not only encode desirable values in and of themselves, but help render individual subjectivities governable (meaning knowable, calculable, correctable) towards such ideals. I refer to these methods as intended

'technologies of governance', guided by the initial Foucauldian (1977; see also Rose, 1989) conceptualization of institutional power as composed of 'technologies of power,' such as surveillance (i.e., observation of individuals for the purpose of documenting individual differences), normalizing sanctions (i.e., a system of rewards and punishments associated with the norms"), examinations (i.e., ways to assess norm from deviance), and technologies of self (i.e., practices which engage self-reflection, self-articulation and self-correction towards the norms).

While theoretically they can be separated as two different modes of engagement of the subject – the former which transforms employee subjectivities into an object of knowledge to be known and calculated, and the latter by encouraging the employee to reflect and articulate themselves according to the criteria provided by the organizational discourses, in reality of organizational Human Resource activities, as the results below confirm, technologies of power and technologies of self are often intertwined. It is important to emphasize here, however, that this analysis provides a description of the *intended* technologies of governance (i.e., regulation) of employees' subjectivities – employees may and do react in different ways to such discursive and regulatory contexts. As it will be presented in the next chapter, even the HR managers in charge of disseminating and implementing the new management knowledges (to which positioning analysis is confined) engage in different patterns of contestation and divergence from the global discourses of enterprise and associated regulatory practices.

In order to obtain a comprehensive picture of how global and local HR activities make use of different 'technologies of governance,' I have based this analysis on the documentary data as well as participants' transcripts and field notes. Additionally, I have

considered only those practices which relate to the white collar employees (including the HR managers themselves), due to the lack of HR involvement in the management of blue collar employees (and hence absence of documentary and interview data which may shed light on such practices). Based on the identification of common patterns, the results of the analysis are presented for each group of companies separately: "embedded enterprise", "in transition", and "low enterprise," summarized in the table below.

Table 11: Overview of e*mployee subjectivity regulation patterns*

Companies	Summary of regulation contexts
'Embedded enterprise'	Culture-normative: Low level of autonomy granted to local HR departments. Main emphasis on building and maintaining 'strong organizational cultures'. Corporate values-based recruitment and selection. Maintaining commitment to org. culture values, through frequent performance appraisals and organizational culture assessments, for all employees. Extensive corporate values-based training and development. No pre-privatization management structures. 'Expert' HR departments.
'In transition'	Culture-formative Greater level of autonomy granted to local HR departments, with plans for more stringent and streamlined regulation. Resistance to HR initiatives by 'old' (pre-privatization) management structures. Main emphasis on forming new organizational cultures. Corporate values-based recruitment and selection. Follow up of value commitments only for first-year trainees. Some values-based training and development. 'Expert' HR departments.
'Low enterprise'	Culture-ambivalent Significant level of autonomy granted to local HR department. 'Non-expert' HR department. Emphasis on building and maintaining organizational culture under-emphasized and targeted only on senior management. Qualifications-based recruitment and selection. Performance appraisal and values-based training and development for senior management only.

Embedded enterprise companies: culture normative regulation

Companies in the 'embedded enterprise' group (C1, 2, 3, 4, 8, 9) are characterized by highly procedural and very stringent processes of employee selection, frequent employee assessment procedures, and high emphasis and investment in employee trainings and development for their white collar workforce. All the multinational corporations in the 'embedded enterprise' groups (with the exception of one domestic multinational) grant low autonomy to the local HR departments – these companies have well-developed HR procedures for management of employees, which are devised globally and which the participants in these companies are expected to 'deliver' to local markets. For example, KC reports on the difference between global and local HR strategies and policies:

> "There's no difference between local and global, we have global documents, global guidelines, our practices how we like things to be done and that's how they have to be done on all the markets. We are all like little cells which have to have the same DNA as the rest of the company…we design locally very little, we have global best practices and tools which we adapt or use literally in the form in which they have been given to us."

The primary discursive framework which organizes and rationalizes HR activities aimed at regulation of individuals' subjectivities is built around the notion of 'strong organizational cultures,' a managerial philosophy which underscores the importance of employees' commitment to the shared organizational values as a precondition for achieving both professional and personal success, and towards which majority of the HR activities carried out in these contexts (described below) are oriented.

Recruitment and selection processes in embedded enterprise contexts feature numerous steps: creation of recruitment materials, CV screenings, intelligence testing, personality tests, assessment centers, situational tests, and more than one round of personal interviews with HR professionals and company management. Outside of screening out unqualified candidates, the analysis of these practices in the 'embedded enterprise' group shows that their primary role is to identify candidates who are not only professionally, but also 'ideologically' suitable – i.e., those who are capable of displaying the right kinds of personal values and qualities to match the corporate cultures of organizations. The importance of personal values, as expressed in the interviews and documents, is a factor that is as important as the kinds of knowledge or qualifications one may possess in order to successfully conduct work in these 'knowledge-intensive' organizations. "Knowledge is important, but not very important," explains FN, "do you know why? Because I can teach a man to do his job, but I can't teach him to be a man" (FN, interview transcript).

As the values analysis of recruitment and selection practices shows, 'to be a man' means to possess the kinds of 'enterprising' values described in the previous chapter, and such values are operationalized in the recruitment and selection process as 'personal competencies' which are articulated across different recruitment genres, such as job advertisements, websites, recruitment images, as well as assessed in the employee selection tasks and interviews. For example, echoing the general philosophy of these companies to 'weave' and integrate desired personal competencies into all HR activities, KC explains:

> "We have our preferred patterns of behavior, we call them [Company C2] capabilities. They are pretty well-operationalized, it's very clear exactly what kind of behaviors we are looking for. And in the interview we are going to look for examples of the person fitting into what we're looking for. And then we'll organize an assessment center after the interview where we'll see in reality whether that person shows what they talked about in the interview." (KC)

Intended regulatory functions of recruitment and selection practices

Using the definition of technologies of governance as those practices which, more or less intentionally, act upon or mobilize individual subjectivities towards some specific ideals, I draw attention here to the ways in which these, globally-devised HR activities work to encourage self-identification and self-articulation of candidates in and through the categories devised and provided by (global) institutional HR discourses.

First, recruitment materials such as employment ads and other information made available to candidates are used to quite clearly communicate the expected values – through these genres, the candidates are invited to engage with, reflect on and identify with the enterprising subjectivities construed within such materials ('Are YOU able to demonstrate a proactive, positive and results-driven approach', Company C1). This form of channeling subjectivity processes is akin to institutional 'hailing', "a heralding to join in on the proposition at hand and inviting one into a subject position" (Chowdhury, 2009). The recruitment texts and images (career information, visual interviews with existing

employees, etc.) work to immerse the candidate in a corporate web of signifiers, demanding attention, interpretation, and moments of (dis)identification (e.g., Barratt, 2003; see also Bourdieu, 1984). Those individuals who can identify with such values are encouraged to apply, while others who do not possess these values are encouraged to 'self-select' out of the recruitment process early on (Cook, Faulconbridge, & Muzio, 2010). In this way, as Cook et al have argued similarly, recruitment materials, promote not only identification, but also self-exclusion from the recruitment process, which thus act as "deliberate precursors to the identity regulation enacted once new recruits join the firm, making the regulation process easier and more effective" (Cook, Faulconbridge, & Muzio, 2010, p. 6).

The effects of these practices on the process of self-constitution of individuals within the matrix of values provided by corporations are continued if the person decides to pursue the job. The discursive practices in the 'embedded enterprise' companies of filling out application questionnaires, composing appropriate CVs and cover letters, responding to personality assessments, and going through assessment centers, as well as several rounds of interviews (all of which are designed to assess qualifications as well as enterprising values), engage the person in further processes of reflecting on, judging and expressing oneself in and through the terminology of the enterprising ideal encoded within such practices.

For example, one 'application questionnaire' for a white-collar position (trainee) in Company C2 includes a 5-page form with the large "personal characteristics and motivations" section, which instructs the applicants that the section is "very important" and that in order to make their answers "successful", the company "strongly recommends"

that the applicants "visit some pages of their website" (links provided) that will "help" the applicant answer the questions (Why do you want to work for Company C2, What sets you apart from other candidates?, Personal skills and abilities?). The answers should be "no less" than 100 words in length, and the applicants are suggested to include "relevant and recent examples" of such skills and abilities.

Reading and responding to company ads and other recruitment materials – and consequently judging and articulating oneself in the terms provided, which in this case are shaped by the interest and demands of the multinational corporations and emerging market economy – may seem of little consequence when considered as an isolated instance. But this practice is but one in a series of practices – both within and outside of the different organizational contexts – which require mobilization of our subjectivities in similar (or dissimilar) ways (e.g., schools, unemployment offices, etc.).

Performance appraisal, employee development programs and intended regulatory functions

In the embedded enterprise companies, an additional set of formal HR practices, namely performance appraisals and employee development programs, are carried out by the HR departments which aim to intervene in the processes of subjectivity constitution of employees. Given that we are dealing here with multinational corporations and what is in essence, an attempt at transfer of management knowledge and practices from the global headquarters to local levels, these activities place HR managers in a dual role – that of interpreters and implementators of the designated discourses, as well as employees who

are simultaneously subject to their regulatory effects. What are some of the 'technologies of governance' that performance appraisals make use of in this group of companies?

The performance appraisals in these companies are conducted at regular intervals, and are explicitly designed to track employees' achievement of work results, as well as achievement of individual employees' competency goals. The processes of appraisal, consistent with the images of ideal employees as personally responsible and autonomous professionals, are not construed as means of 'regulation', but rather as a means to help individuals in achieving success and maximizing their potential in both professional and personal spheres of life. For example, Company C2 informs its employees:

> "Company C2 tracks each employee's success in the company by means of regular performance appraisal. Performance appraisal process ensures that employees are aware of the criteria they should aim for, as well as enables us to tailor employee development to meet their development needs. Company gives its employees regular and constructive feedback, provided to employees through formal appraisals (every 6 months) and informally (every 6 weeks)." (Company's B performance appraisal information for employees).

Personal competencies in performance appraisals constitute usually 25% of the employees' final performance 'score,' while the remaining 75% relate to the employees' "business results" (target sales, contracts signed, relationships developed, clients brought, quality of service, etc., depending on the particulars of each position). The performance appraisals of personal competencies tend to be quite detailed (as in the example below) – breaking down employees' personality into a series of observable, measurable, calculable,

and ultimately correctable dimensions. The following example of an employee competency assessment tool comes from one of the companies in the service industry, where all employees are assessed, once a year, on 52 items, organized in several domains:

Table 12: *An excerpt of performance appraisal questionnaire used in an 'embedded enterprise' service industry company (continued on next page)*

NME: Does Not Meet Expectations/ **MSE**: Meets Some Expectations/ **ME**: Meets Expectations/ **EE**: Exceeds Expectations/ **E**: Exceptional					
SELF-MANAGEMENT	**NME**	**MSE**	**ME**	**EE**	**E**
1. Work habit:					
***Time Management*-**Making use of time by organizing, prioritizing and scheduling task …					
***Goal Orientation*-**Setting and attaining specific and challenging goals for oneself					
2. Work Attitudes: ***Initiative:*** Initiating tasks and taking on new challenges. ..					
Energy: Maintaining progress and enthusiasm throughout the completion of a task. …					
TASK MANAGEMENT					
1. Executing Task:					
Task-Relevant Knowledge: Knowledge of standard practices and procedures necessary to accomplish tasks…					
Providing Feedback: Providing both positive feedback and critiques, in a timely and constructive manner, to allow others to know how they are doing and improve on weaknesses.					
Multi-Tasking: Working on a variety of tasks simultaneously and shifting one's resources between multiple systems when needed**.**					

The appraisals are filled out following a 360-, or 280-degree procedure, the latest 'fashion' in the long history of methods for evaluating performance of employees (in the West). Such methods make use of surveillance technologies – both hierarchical (as

employees are rated by their immediate supervisors, or sometimes, the directors one level up), horizontal (employees are rated also by their peers, subordinates, if they have any, and their external clients, if applicable), and including, as I will explain later, self-assessments. Surveillance in these companies is enabled by the architectural design of offices as well as a variety of electronic and technological devices. For example, as my observations noted, one prominent feature of 'embedded enterprise' companies is the 'open' design of offices where visibility of employees is ensured at all times by architectural features such as glass walls, or no walls at all (field notes). Electronic devices (ID card readers), as well as computer-based monitoring of employees are used to monitor employees' physical and online movements, registering the time employees spend at work (used to calculate salaries, and, in some companies, overtime bonuses). Additionally, computerized tracking of individual employees work- and personal competency results enables what is called a clear 'line-of-sight,' where senior management has immediate access to (visibility of) any given individuals' current state of performance.

While different companies used different 'scoring' mechanisms, individuals' performances are always formally noted in individual files and an employee is given an 'overall' rating, based on all the ratings collected (e.g., 1-4 on fulfillment of competency goals). These ratings facilitate ordering, arranging and classifying of employees in relation to the normative expectations encoded in these instruments. Furthermore, such ratings are tied to the distribution of rewards and punishments, i.e., distribution of what Foucault has referred to as 'normalizing sanctions' (1977). While the "business results" assessments are related to distribution of bonuses, the "competency results", importantly, are tied to the employee's ability to move up in the company:

> "If you don't have good competencies, you won't have some, generally you won't have opportunity to advance further" (IG interview transcript).

> "For succession planning, we look beyond the 'what' [business results] to include 'how' [with what attitudes are business results achieved]" (KD interview transcript)

> "In order to advance ranks, person can't do it if he has a problem with the organizational culture, if the personal values do not match the organizational culture" (TU, interview transcript).

In companies which place such high emphasis on 'career development' as part of the company's reward schemes ("career progression"), to be 'held back' from advancing due to inability or worse, unwillingness to "spread organizational culture values", represents a big disincentive. For those perform well – in business and personal goals – the doors to 'upper management,' and the material and other benefits associated (bigger salary, better offices, more expensive company cars, international travel, more sophisticated opportunities for 'development', etc.) are wide open. As KD explains, "everyone who is ready for an additional step has an opportunity to advance in any context."

From a disciplinary perspective of 'normalization,' and consistent with companies' imperative of 'constant change', the emphasis for those who fail to meet the standards of personal competencies is on correction, not punishment. As such, the specific results

obtained in performance and competency appraisals serve to "specify the adjustments and corrections that are necessary for those who fall away from the norm" (Covalesky et al, 1998, p. 296). For those individuals for whom the performance appraisal of competencies reveals 'gaps' in achieving the optimum or standard levels, the companies' HR departments provide each individual with the 'development plan' designed to address the 'weaknesses' identified in the appraisal process, and thereby 'correct oneself' on whatever aspect of self may be found lacking. As IG explains, the performance appraisal may reveal that the person "has none of the personal competencies" (which is highly unlikely given the recruitment and selection criteria), "but that doesn't mean that we won't try to wake up at least some of that in that person, which is why there is this entire system of training and development designed."

The effectiveness of such disciplinary mechanisms is further complemented by what Covalesky et al (1998) identify as the 'dynamic norms,' i.e., the fact that the bar of what counts as 'excellent performance' is with each step, or each "development cycle" set higher and higher. Thus, while the 'less than ideal' performers are offered trainings as a corrective measure towards the norm ("what you need to improve"), the excellent performers are given further "more and more sophisticated" trainings whether they move up the company ladder or not ("it's great that you have it, and we want you to perfect it even further", KC). As we will see in the next chapter, the 'dynamic norm,' or the feeling that one constantly needs to 'give more and more and more and more' (KC), forms the very ground of employee resistance and the contestation of the company's discourses by the local HR managers.

In addition to being assessed by their superiors, colleagues and/or clients, white collar employees in these companies also engage in self-assessments, either as part of the individual appraisals, or as part of separately administered "organizational culture assessments". Individual self-assessment on the performance appraisal items, much like the application materials discussed above, is geared towards clearly communicating the expectations that are required of employees, but also towards providing employees additional practice in reflecting on and judging themselves within such specified matrix of competencies. Every assessment thus, begins with "employees rating of themselves", followed by, upon completion of all assessments, some form of an individual 'retrospective meeting', where employees are encouraged to 'give their own opinions' on their performance:

> "Upon completion of the assessment, the employees are brought in for a 'retrospective meeting' where team leaders as well as directors sit down with the employee and talk, and ask why did you give yourself a particular grade, what are your arguments'" (TU, interview transcript).

> "…employee can give their own opinion, meaning the session is structured so that the employee presents his own opinion first, to evaluate his own work…" (KC, interview transcript)

This practice of performance appraisal is also significant for the discussion of regulation practices because it attempts to tie the individual to the results of such assessments by construing them as accurate, objective and hence true portrayals of one's personality. In this process, the person is made aware of how his/her (true) conduct

deviates from the expected (and self-reported), encouraging a process of voluntary self-regulation towards the organizational norms. In the 'organizational culture assessments,' conducted in 3 company contexts by external providers, additional legitimacy is given to the resulting profiles by the providers' reliance on psychological expertise (their assessments are described as "rigorous", "proven", "scientifically grounded in 30 years of research", "using scientific principles of analysis, testing, application and measurement of change", "ensuring reliability and validity", etc.). Their claims to objective knowledge and scientific techniques are used to validate their conceptual models and the assessment tools, conferring 'truthfulness', 'technical authority' as well as 'ethical legitimacy' upon the resulting 'self-knowledge' obtained by the users in the process (Rose, 1989). Thus, these and other assessments conducted in this group of companies, by aiming to 'discover the well-hidden truths' about the employees' personalities have, in essence, the effect of constituting one's subjectivity by providing an interpretative grid through which one can know, think of and better oneself (e.g., Townley, 1993; Grint, 1993; Rose, 1999).

In the 'embedded enterprise' companies, there is high emphasis (in terms of both finances and time), on employee development and education that go beyond the job-specific, or technical training, to include systematic efforts at training and development of desired personal competencies. Good performance on these dimensions is rewarded by promotions, which entail then further cycles of development and training. Another participant describes the company's emphasis on training:

> "That's why there is an entire, big mechanism of opportunities and trainings that are available to employees - if you want to move from level zero to level 1, to fulfill expectations you need to do this, this and this. Here we're not

> talking about expert knowledge, but about *personality development* and those characteristics of people that we want to see throughout the whole company…" (IG, interview transcript).

What is specific for the HR managers in these companies is that they are in a unique position to engage in more depth with the organizational culture initiatives – once the local HR managers have been familiarized with how HRM is being done in their companies, they are expected to 'share' that knowledge across the organization, to communicate to others about "how's and why's" of the HR initiatives. In that process of 'sharing', HR managers get to themselves reflect on the companies' HR discourses:

> "What is unique for HR, because we spearhead such initiatives, is that you engage much more in questioning and reasoning and challenging what's going on and you have a much deeper insight into why certain things are introduced, and any person who is reasonable and has that information, if it's really reasonable and good, it's normal to apply it to yourself. And that's maybe different from other positions where you don't get the background information, rationale of why this competence and not some other, why this model over than one, and maybe some people don't accept it on a personal level because they simply don't have enough information as to why these [the initiatives] are so good."

One of the primary 'business goals' for HR consists precisely in this function: to both deliver the required procedures, as well as to "present all of these systems to the employees", to ensure their "buy-in." As such, these goals are also monitored as part of their own performance appraisals, in addition to the same appraisals of competencies

which they adapt or deliver for other employees, leading to a situation where 'agents of the norm' also become 'normalized.' (Covalesky et al, 1998).

In transition companies: culture formative regulation

Two companies in the present sample are characterized by the pattern of regulation I refer to as "culture-formative." In comparison with the 'embedded enterprise' companies, even though the institutional HR discourses encode a similar set of 'flexible enterprise' employee values, the "in transition" contexts are characterized by relatively less stringent selection procedures, selective or non-existent performance appraisal processes and less emphasis on employee training and development. What makes these companies 'in transition' however, is that in both cases, the global headquarters are planning, with full cooperation of the local HR managers, to introduce more frequent and stringent regulatory procedures in the coming period (many of which are already in development, according to the participant reports). For now, however, majority of their activities are confined to building new organizational cultures through stringent selection procedures, while the maintenance of organizational culture after that has been largely under-emphasized.

For both of these companies, the 'barriers' to full introduction of integrated HR systems were partly financial, because the introduction of HR regulatory practices such as organizational culture assessments, development of competencies, integrated performance appraisals, and employee development can be quite costly for the company, involving a "huge amount of energy and time" (JG, interview transcript). However, more importantly, the lack of strong and integrated HR involvement in the management of employees is due

to the resistance of 'old school' management cadres which in both of these manufacturing companies were retained from the pre-privatization period. In both companies, the privatization process did not involve, as in 'embedded enterprise' companies, a complete overhaul of the existing workforce, meaning that many of the 'old time' managers still hold some key managerial positions in the company. The power struggles between the 'old' (HR-resistant) and 'new' (HR-oriented) management prevent HR professionals from establishing strict regulatory procedures through which the current employees could be brought closer to the 'flexible enterprising' ideals constituted in these companies' institutional discourses (e.g., employment information provided on their websites, institutionally sanctioned systems of competencies, interview protocols and the like). The global, senior management is slow to replace the 'old' management structures, presumably due to their large, and still relevant networks of social and political ties, which in the manufacturing sector may provide some key advantages (relationships with local producers, or supply and distribution chains, etc.).

These power dynamics between the old and new management structures have left the HR professionals, for the time being, somewhat unsupported in their struggle to implement the global institutional discourses across the organization, leaving the processes of recruitment and selection (which can be carried out relatively independently from other departments) as one of the primary areas of their involvement. As described in the previous chapter, the recruitment and hiring policies in both of these companies are to hire exclusively young graduates, a practice which ensures that old management structures would slowly become replaced by new employees who were "from the beginning infected

with" and "shaped according to that which makes the organizational culture of this company" (T.D.).

In these companies thus, the selection mechanisms represent the main means of securing the right kinds of (enterprising) employee values and these practices follow more or less the similar pattern as those in the 'embedded enterprise' companies. In doing so, the candidates, and subsequent employees, are exposed to a similar set of operations through which they get exposed to the desired enterprising values ('hailed' as particular types of subjects through various recruitment materials, application forms, etc.), and the ways in which they get to reflect on, judge and articulate themselves within the interpretative framework of the enterprise discourse encoded in these companies' institutional discourses.

In this sense, I have referred to this regulation pattern as 'culture-formative', meaning that the notion of organizational culture here also provides a rationale for values-based (as opposed to strictly qualification-based) selection criteria, but that such values remain un-integrated into other activities. For example, in the 'embedded enterprise' companies, there was a clear 'weaving in' of employee values across all forms of HR discourse. For example, a set of personal competencies would guide criteria for selection, which in turn would present the basis for the competency appraisal during performance evaluations, which would then be embedded in the individual development plans and further employee training and development programs. In other words, in these companies, there was a strong regulatory effect on employee subjectivity in all aspects of HR activities, where employees enactments of the prescribed ways of being in the corporation was strongly monitored (through frequent assessments, i.e., surveillance and examination

mechanisms), and rewarded (through consistent compensation, bonus and promotion schemes), where deviations were discouraged or eliminated (through a series of negative sanctions, and, in the last instance, employee terminations), or subject to intensive programs of reform (through continuous programs of employee development and training).

In the two companies in this group, such 'integrated' HR functioning was, as I mentioned, certainly a future goal, but not something that exists at the present moment. For example, while HR departments are strongly involved in selection procedures, where candidates can be selected on the basis of the demonstrated values (such as youth, dynamic personality, qualifications, IQ, innovation potential, enthusiasm and communication skills, for instance), other HR initiatives are either conducted with less cooperation from other sectors, or not conducted at all. Thus, in the Company C5, due to the resistance of 'old school' management cadres that were retained from the pre-privatization times, many HR initiatives, such as organizational culture assessments, talent pool management, creation of core competencies for employees, etc. have "come to life briefly and then died as fast as they came about" (JG). Without clear 'directives from above' (i.e., the global headquarters), and 'lack of cooperation from the management structures' in the company, as JG sums it up, "HR cannot make any significant advances in the sense of employee management."

Due to these factors, after the selection of new hires, direct HR involvement in employee management remains limited, despite the HR managers' enthusiasm for 'implementing changes'. For example, in both companies, there are no formal performance appraisals for existing employees, especially as they relate to the employees personal attributes – while informally, directors "know, if you wake them in the middle of the night,

who are their best workers", this process is not formalized, "no one wants to write it down."(JG). The managerial resistance to 'writing things down' is significant, because it points to the importance of 'inscription' for regulation and normalizing interventions upon individuals' subjectivities - as Rose (1989) has argued, such methods are instrumental in rendering individuals governable, enabling the calculability and comparability of individuals' capacities in relation to norms and consequently, administration of punitive and corrective measures. Indeed, one of the primary objections of the employees to the attempted (and failed) initiatives to measure personal competencies is on 'boxing individuals into a score' ("if person A and B are in the same score 'box,' but they are not really the same, then I have a total drama on my hands").

The appraisal process for trainees, while somewhat more formal, is still only loosely related to the employees' personal attributes. In Company C6, for example, this comes down to answering the open-ended question "What is good/a plus in the work of the trainee?" where the open space in which the mentor provides the answer is limited to a few lines of text. The analysis of one such 'mentor report' shows that many trainee values described in the report as positive (analytical, reliable, polite, applying knowledge obtained) are different from those that are 'officially' required in the institutional HR discourses, with only limited overlap (dynamic, dedicated, readiness for continuous education). In Company C5, trainee performance reports are in the form of 'job rating' that are filled out by both employee and supervisor, and do not explicitly provide the score/rating/description of the employee.

The differences between 'embedded' and 'in transition' companies' regulatory contexts is reflected in their different organization of work spaces. The former are

characterized by open-space offices, clear lines of visibility of employees and their work stations, integrated cafeteria or lunch break areas and provision of a variety of services (shops, make-up, sanitary pads, etc.) which do not require employees to leave the buildings to perform non-work tasks ("some people believe that there is such a thing as work life and private life"), and where employees are reminded of their commitments to organizational culture through numerous posters that illustrate and communicate specific corporate values. In contrast, the 'in transition' companies (which, regardless of being 100km apart, share almost identical work environments) have taken over the existing factories and office buildings which were not modified from the socialist times, and are characterized by a maze of long hallways lined with individual offices with closed doors which prevent the all-around physical visibility of white-collar employees. The cafeterias are located in separate buildings, and the movement of employees in and out of the office buildings are not monitored. The high-status appeal of urban professional workplaces in service industries is replaced in these non-urban factories with the emphasis on the companies being excellent learning centers, and in general, more emphasis in both companies is placed on the acquisition of work-related knowledge than for the continuing development of personal competencies (e.g., trainees at the end of their training period submit a 'research thesis' on some technical aspect of their work as the final exam of their traineeship) – a pattern that is opposite from the companies in the 'embedded enterprise' group.

The importance of this culture-formative pattern of regulation identified in these companies may have, however, different implications for the Human Resource managers as opposed to other employees. As I mentioned above, the multinational nature of these corporations place HR managers in a dual role – as the designated disseminators of the

discourses of the new cultures of work, as well as employees who are simultaneously subject to their regulatory effects. The culture-formative regulation means that as employees, the HR professionals' personal competencies are not under the intense evaluative gaze and open to corrective measures by the global headquarters as the employees in the 'embedded enterprise' companies. However, as HR professionals in charge of forming the new (HR-oriented) culture of enterprise, they are also constantly encouraged by the global headquarters to participate in a wide range of 'HR professional development' programs ('training the trainer' type of programs), which encode the same discourses of enterprise and commitment from which the global discursive constructions of 'flexible enterprising' selves were fashioned from in the first place. In addition, the local HR managers learn from other, more-experienced HR managers from the sister-companies which operate in the same region, as UE explains: "I had the opportunity to learn many things from my colleague from [sister-company], which has been at this job longer than I have, and she was the one who said, in [Company C6], this is how we do things, because not all companies do things in the same way, so she was there to say 'we do it like this and this here, and we expect from you to mirror this, and to bring in something on your own."

The HR managers "bring their own" by relying on prior knowledge, or if that proves insufficient, on various textbooks and online sources ("I've read some books on the subject and then sit down and think what can be done here, what can't"), or, more frequently, by relying on the professional networks (usually online groups) where they share knowledge, ask questions, discuss problems and learn from other professionals what they do in their companies.

Thus, as I will argue in the next chapter which looks more closely at the varieties of positionings of local HR managers towards such global discourses, these participants are tied to the enterprise discourse not just, or even primarily, by the global headquarters' attempts to implement new organizational cultures, but also by their professional 'expertise,' gained either prior (as in Company C5) or during their employment (as in company D) in the companies.

"Low enterprise" implementation script: culture-ambivalent regulation

One company in the present sample is characterized by a divergent pattern of employee regulation. While similar to the two previous groups in that the institutional (global) HR discourses offer a modified version of the enterprise discourse (which, in addition to emphasizing initiative, innovation, flexibility, etc., encode less common values of social responsibility to local communities, local autonomy, and trust), the analysis of this company's local HR practices reveals a divergent pattern of local implementation.

For one, many of the activities conducted by the HR departments in the other two groups of companies are either not being implemented, or are selectively applied in this company context. For example, recruitment and selection processes do not make use of formal assessments, psychological tests, assessment centers, or questionnaires, but are based on candidates' educational background and "several questions we pose to the candidates in the interview to assess his character" (EN interview transcript). Second, as I will go into more detail in the next chapter, the character dimensions looked at in this context diverge from the enterprising values described in the previous two contexts – e.g.,

more emphasis is placed on candidates' honesty ("in a sense that he really needs a job"), financial need ("that he came to work here because he really needs the money"), and good recommendations from the university professors. In general, the main recruitment channels used by this company are based on the relationships made with nearby universities, but as opposed to the other companies, the emphasis is not on the candidates' 'youthfulness' and hence 'malleability' to fit the organizational culture, but rather on the specific educational qualifications gained during schooling.

The analysis of the locally devised employment ads confirms the qualifications-based, rather than values-based hiring policies. For example, an analysis of locally created job advertisements reveal prominence of technical knowledge and skills as selection criteria, with no explicit mention of organizational culture values or requirement for specific personal attributes from the candidates (except for the completion of military service for men). The employment ads from the 'embedded enterprise' and 'in-transition' companies (regardless of the position they advertise), in contrast, are always prefaced with a very clear statement on the specific organizational culture values and expected ways in which individuals' might enact them (e.g. "we turn challenges into opportunities," "hire the very best people who contribute ideas and make a difference", "if you are…an independent and motivated thinker who loves taking on challenges and opportunities, proactive, adaptable, reliable, responsible, client-oriented, etc."). This is not to say that the 'low enterprise' job ads do not function as 'hailing' mechanisms – they are as rife with cultural meaning as the ads from the other companies, but in this case precisely by the absence of the (enterprising) employee values. For an avid job seeker immersed daily in the Serbian labor market discourses, the absence of organizational culture information and

requirements for numerous personal qualities in the ad equips the candidate with a quite different set of expectations, or what Anderson-Gough, Grey and Robson (1998a) refer to as quite different patterns of 'anticipatory socialization.'

While the emphasis on organizational culture values is detectable in the company's institutional discourses, this is tempered by the global headquarters' commitment to granting extended autonomy to local subsidiaries, meaning that as long as the local subsidiary remains profitable, the local management can manage employees in a more or less independent manner (which is framed in the institutional discourse as a relationship of 'trust' between the global and local levels). What this means for the organizational regulation of subjectivity is that while a set of 'personal competencies' are fixed on the global level, they are implemented locally as part of the performance appraisal process for only the 6 most senior managers. This suggests that majority of white collar employees in this company, the primary focus of organizational regulation remains on the achievement of business results, rather than on internalization of organizational culture values.

For the six most senior managers, including the HR professional whom I interviewed, the development of right personal competencies is encouraged through a mixture of different 'technologies of governance'. On one hand, performance appraisals and systems of competencies assessed render subjectivities of managers calculable against a grid of globally-devised standards. These results are associated with the employment development programs which represent a set of 'corrective' measures aimed to reduce the gaps between the ideal and desired states. On the other hand, such trainings are conducted in the company's central offices in a prestigious urban location in Western Europe, and, as the participant reports, the lavish retreats ("best hotels, taxis, dinners, like in a dream") and

"days packed with seminars run by famous trainers", did have a "seductive" effect on "some, but not all" managers: "people like that, they are treated with great care, because everyone is so nice, and aim to leave you satisfied, and that you have a nice time, it's something that needs to be felt on one's own skin."

This pattern of subjectivity regulation is thus characterized by a more targeted focus of acting upon the subjectivity of the top senior management through the 'seductive' appeal of training retreats abroad (as opposed to more stringent, disciplinary 'normalization' in 'embedded enterprise' companies) and therefore has a limited spread to other white-collar employees in this company. This is attributable to the extended local autonomy granted by the headquarters, but also, perhaps even more importantly, to the fact that this is the only company in the sample which has not established a newly staffed HR department after the privatization 7 years ago. Instead, global headquarters assigned the HR Director position to the Director of Legal department who was with the company for over 20 years, making this participant the only HR manager in the sample without formal HR 'expertise'. As I suggested above, the HR expertise – obtained either prior or during one's employment in the company – ties the HR managers to the discourse of enterprise encoded in HRM philosophy, and it is precisely the lack of such subjectification that is manifested in this participants' resistance to the ideals of 'flexible enterprise' and regulation of subjectivities via organizational culture, and hence, his ambivalence to implement such initiatives on the local level, which will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter on participant positioning.

Chapter summary and discussion

The analysis of HR practices of employee management in these company contexts reveal that in addition to monitoring the employees' work accomplishments, their intended function is also to regulate (i.e., channel and direct) employees' subjectivity development towards a specific set of organizationally-devised norms, i.e., corporate culture values.

The regulation practices represent ensembles of procedures, instruments and techniques, such as recruitment procedures, appraisals and development programs, which in their intent to intervene in, act upon and/or to mobilize individual processes of identification with the corporate values, these practices can be re-defined as examples of 'technologies of governance.' These technologies, in all the companies sampled, are nested within the larger rationale of 'organizational cultures', the shared frameworks of normative (enterprising) values which, ideally, provide clear guidelines on the direction of individual professional and personal development (e.g., towards becoming more flexible, dynamic, enthusiastic, committed, driven to excellence, etc.).

However, despite global managerial attachment to the discourse of enterprise and subjectivity regulation via the notion of organizational culture, the implementation of regulatory practices on local levels differs in different company contexts. Several factors seem to account for the variation in the regulation patterns among these companies: one, the relationship between the global management and local subsidiary (characterized by more or less autonomy granted to local HR departments); two, the extent or type of restructuring of the companies after privatization (i.e., whether the company retained, voluntarily or due to contractual restrictions, some or none of the pre-privatization

managerial workforce); and three, the expertise of local HR professionals (e.g., whether the HR managers in the restructured companies were hired as 'experts' or re-trained from other positions to perform HR functions).

In the embedded enterprise companies, the combination of these factors (low autonomy, no old managerial structures and high HR expertise) results in a workplace environment in which employee subjectivities represent most strongly the intended target of regulation towards a homogenous set of values (i.e., establishment of an 'enterprising' mono-culture). In the 'in-transition' enterprise, while there is more autonomy on the local level, in addition to strong resistance by the old managerial structures, the HR experts succeed in partially embedding employee regulation practices, at least as it pertains to the formation of new organizational cultures desired by the global management. In the 'low enterprise' company, even though regulation of employee values towards a normative set of values represents a desired outcome, the simultaneous lack of HR expertise, resistance on part of the HR professional and high local autonomy, ensures that practices of subjectivity regulation are minimally and selectively embedded in the activities of the local HR department.

The focus on the 'technologies of governance' in this chapter is significant for several reasons – one, from a theoretical perspective, it establishes the differences in regulatory contexts within which the processes of managerial subjectivity development at work is also embedded, enabling me to fully contextualize the HR managers' narratives and positioning strategies discussed in the next chapter as both the disseminators and targets of global institutional HR discourses and regulation practices. Two, from a theoretical perspective on the nature and practices of institutional power, it provides an illustration of

Foucault's emphasis on the complex nature of the attempted exercise of power in institutional contexts, away from the traditional conceptualization of power such as ""A" getting "B" to do something they would or should not otherwise do" (Townley, 1994, p. 7) to a conceptualization of power as 'productive,'

> "We must cease once and for all to describe the effects of power in negative terms: it "excludes", it "represses", it "censors", it "abstracts", it "masks", it "conceals". In fact, power produces; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth" (Foucault, 1977, p. 194).

Instead, we see how the exercise of power involves a production of corporate forms of subjectivities and attach them to wider regimes of 'truth' (enterprising values as personal competencies which would build strong organizational commitment, and enable success at work and in private life). This analysis also highlights the important role of HR practices which, with added legitimacy of scientific HR expertise, break down, monitor, inscribe and ultimately seek to correct the minutiae of employees' subjectivities towards such normative forms. The degree to which organizational discourses and regulation practices discussed in the last two chapters are successful in mobilizing HR managers' processes of self-identification with corporate values is the topic of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5: EMPLOYEE NEGOTIATION OF INSTITUTIONAL VALUES AND PRACTICES

Overview

The Chapter 3 examined the kinds of values embedded in the official organizational HR discourses, which, as I suggest in this study, provide a socio-culturally situated set of discursive resources that organizational participants are encouraged to draw on as (good, productive) members of these organizations. The regulation practices analysis in Chapter 4 presented some possible mechanisms through which their continued identification with the companies' values might be secured. As the results of the values analysis in Chapter 3 has shown, the officially prescribed employee values, given the multinational/global nature of the majority of these companies, exist in a close relationship to the Western mainstream HRM philosophies which emphasize values of flexibility, innovation, can-do attitudes, drive for excellence and high-commitment, especially as these relate to the workers in the knowledge-intensive occupations (finances, marketing, commercial services, etc.), across all the industries sampled.

As the analyses in both Chapter 3 and 4 shows, these global HRM 'enterprise' discourses (du Gay, 1996) are implemented locally with varying degrees of consistency – in the 'embedded enterprise' companies, these values are 'woven through' different forms of employee management activities, from selection to performance appraisal to employee development and training, in an attempt to secure strongly homogenous organizational cultures. In the 'partial' and 'low' enterprise HR contexts, due to the patterns of resistance by the older, pre-privatization management structures to such new management philosophies, the embededness of such officially prescribed values is concentrated more in

the recruitment and selection processes. These findings begin to show that the implementation of Western management knowledge and regulation practices in local contexts is much less linear, straightforward and unproblematic than some management theories assume (e.g., Crone and Roper, 2001), and, as this chapter will show, that the attempted regulation of subjectivities towards ideal visions is negotiated 'on-the-ground' by HR professionals themselves in different ways. In this chapter, I focus more closely on the different patterns of their positioning strategies in relation to the global institutional HR discourses, noting the emergence of performing, but also contesting and divergent positions taken up by the study participants.

Background to analysis

The Chapter 3 showed that institutional HR discourses of multinational companies reveal great similarity of values, resembling in some key respects the discourses of flexibility and enterprise characteristic of the Western company contexts. However, as the socio-historical theory reminds us, these discourses are not simply reflections of the cultural realities that exist somehow independently of them – discourses are "thus of the world, not about it" (Daiute, 2004, p. xi), and as such are open to continuous additions, deletions, revisions and re-contextualizatons that are part of everyday social interactions on the local levels. As Chiapello and Fairclough (2002) point out, "An order of discourse is not a closed or rigid system, but rather an open system, which is put at risk by what happens in actual interactions" (p. 194). Thus, while employees might be mobilized, through a set of technologies that compel one to reflect on, judge oneself and articulate

oneself as well as both symbolic and material rewards and sanctions, to identify with the normative ways of being encoded in the organizational HR discourses, their effect is still not one of simple imposition 'from above', but rather, such discourses are always continuously built, challenged and otherwise negotiated 'from below', in the local socio-cultural and interactional contexts. While the 'values analysis' in Chapter 3 focused more specifically on the kinds of employee values – or taken together, kinds of subjectivities – that are sanctioned as 'desirable' by each institutional context, this chapter provides a closer look at the ways in which HR professionals themselves engage with such values in the course of the interview, as a form of social interaction in its own right. As they construct their narratives of work and self as part of the research context, the participants at the same time validate or challenge the institutional discourses, but simultaneously, situate themselves in an interactive space where personal subjectivities can be expressed and enacted (Daiute, 2004).

These developmental processes of 'subjectivity-in-action', or as Bamberg refers to them as 'selves-in-the-making' (Bamberg, 2004) can be productively studied through the analysis of speakers' positioning strategies. As Korobov & Bamberg (2004) write, individuals position themselves (and others) across social interactions, and in doing so, "different identities get tried out, resisted, and consolidated – in short…identities develop" (p. 4). The varieties of such positions, or self-representational moves in relation to the context values (Daiute, 2004), can be identified empirically. The present analysis draws on Daiute's work on children's positioning strategies in the context of violence prevention curricula in the educational system, in which she identifies performing, contesting and centering selves (Daiute, 2004, p. 124), as children dialogically engage with the

curriculum/context values across two different elicited genres of self-expression, autobiographical and fictional.

In the present study, as detailed in the Methods section, three distinct 'genres' were identified in the participants' narrative/interview data. The 'professional' and 'private person' genres were originally designed for and elicited with the interview questions, while the third, 'autobiographical' genre was often spontaneously engaged in by the participants in the course of the interviews. Following Daiute's positioning analysis (2004), combined with the insights from (critical) discourse analysis (e.g., van Dijk, 1993b; Strauss, 2004), performing, contesting and diverging positions were identified for each one of the conversational genres, in relation to the institutional organizational HR discourses.

The following table presents the patterning of the three kinds of positions across the three different genres of talk engaged in the course of the participants' interviews.

Table 13: *Positioning strategies by participants across three genres of talk*

P	HR professional	Autobiographical	Private person
	perform./ contest./diverg.	perform./ contest./diverg.	perform./ contest./diverg.
P1	predom ---- ----	predom ---- ----	predom ---- ----
P3	predom some ----	predom ---- ----	predom some ----
P4	predom some* some	predom ---- ----	some predom ----
P9	predom some* some	predom ---- some	predom ---- ----
P11	predom ---- some	predom ---- some	predom ---- ----
P2	predom ---- ----	predom ---- ----	predom some ----
P10	predom some* ----	predom some ----	some predom some
P5	predom some* some	some predom some	---- predom some
P6	predom some* some	predom ---- ----	some predom ----
P7	predom some some	predom ---- some	*missing data*
P8	some some predom	some some some	---- predom some

P1, P3, P4, P9, P11 (embedded enterprise companies, current employees)
P2, P10, P5 (embedded enterprise companies, former employees)
P6, P7 (in-transition, current employees)
P8 (low enterprise, current employees)
*contesting based on professional 'expertise'

The chart shown above presents the information on the positioning strategies taken up by all the participants across the three interview genres. The chart can also be read individually – for example, the interview conducted with local HR professional P1 reveals that this participant predominantly performs the context values across all three social-relational stances elicited (i.e., professional inquiry, autobiographical and private person). What this means is that the ideal employee values expressed and enacted as desirable by this participant in all three spheres (company employees, autobiographical, and participants' friends) were consistent with the values encoded in her company's institutional discourses, and that no other, alternative and/or divergent values were presented.

Negotiating the institutional discourses in the professional genre

Professional inquiry performing

As the table above shows, both the participants in the 'embedded-enterprise' and 'in-transition' groups of companies responded to the official inquiry genre by performing the organizational HR context values, meaning expressing the desirability of employee values that were consistent with those found in the global institutional HR discourses. The values elaborated by these participants emphasize the importance of employees' flexibility of self, flexibility of skills, initiative, youth, dynamic personalities, can-do attitudes, drive for excellence, personal responsibility, communications skills, innovation, etc.

In the following example, I illustrate how one participant elaborates, in her own words (excerpt 2), on the employee values encoded in the global institutional discourses

(excerpt 1), demonstrating the persuasiveness of these institutional discourses for individual managers (Bakhtin, 1986) and their role in mediating their activities as HR professionals and (good) members of their organizations.

Institutional HR discourse Company C1 (excerpt drawn from the company's employment information published on career portion of their website. Minor details changed due to confidentiality concerns):

[Company C1] meets increasingly bigger business challenges and we need qualified associates, as well as associates without experience. [Company C1] values ambitious, reliable and hardworking associates who are motivated to achieve set goals and who are great team players. For such employees, [Company C1] offers work in a dynamic environment and provides possibilities for promotion and continuous professional education and training...Our employees should possess [Company C1] organizational values, set ambitious goals and consider achievement of such goals an attractive challenge. They need to be exceptional team players, possess proactive attitudes, and to be dynamic in their work. Company C1 offers training and continuous education, which is not only a package of benefits, but also the most important precondition for professional and personal development of employees, and consequently company as a whole…[text is next to the image of a young woman professional, smiling and looking up].

Participant narrative (assembled across different points in the narrative to illustrate consistency of values):

"What characterizes [Company C1] is a young team of very ambitious and very hardworking people…We look for people who, regardless of what level they enter, are 'ready-to-go', regardless of whether you learned the job, you have this motivation to roll up your sleeves and begin work. These are people who accept dynamic situations and changes very quickly… In our interviews, we have a part in which we see whether the person fits into our desired schema of personal competencies and behavioral competencies and this figures into final assessment of the candidate…Competencies are the basis of all behavior in the bank, of course we look at the qualifications part, but this part of behavior, characteristics which the person carries with him, are assessed through competencies…For every competency, then there is additional trainings, educational materials, activities that the person must go through in order to be promoted…"

As the above example shows, participant in this company articulates very clearly, and without any hesitation, many of the official company values encoded in the company's official documentation. In this limited excerpt, for example, the participant expresses desirability of qualified candidates ('qualifications part'), with drive for excellence ('hard work', 'ambition'), can-do attitudes and dynamism ('ready-to-go' regardless of level and knowledge; 'accept dynamic situations and changes'), flexibility of self to fit organizational

culture, both at present ('fits into organizational schema of competencies'), and in the future ('additional trainings…person must go through). In other interviews also, participants presented official discourses in an eloquent manner, with little or no hesitation and hedging, presenting a competent, well-rehearsed, company-oriented professional subject position as the 'spokes(wo)men' of the company.

The importance of organizational culture and the employees' understanding and acceptance of corporate values has been underscored in nearly all the interviews. However, the participants in the 'embedded enterprise' companies, where the emphasis on regulation through the framework of organizational culture is the greatest, spoke most directly to the success of such efforts. The excerpt from HN's interview is illustrative of the kind of homogenous cultures built in these corporations:

> "[In the recruitment and selection process] What's important to us is that he has that Factor X [enterprising spirit], in a sense that he is flexible, that he wants to acquire new knowledges, that he is ready to apply himself with persistence, ready to learn, but he doesn't necessarily have to be like me or majority of my colleagues, I mean, we go 100km/hour [meaning fast-thinking, fast-acting], we all waive our hands when we talk [laughs]. But, I'm not joking, we all – I just told Ina [the former HR director]- **it's like you took each one of us from the same mold, we are all the same here**" (emphasis added)

The efforts to build homogenous cultures populated with individuals who display similar (enterprising) values take place not only within the local subsidiaries, but also on a

global level, where such strategic decisions are made. In another interview, KC, the HR Director from an 'embedded enterprise' company, also speaks to these efforts:

> "It's always those same behaviors that we globally in Company C2 look for [Company C2 capacities]. And that's again, when we mention company culture, I went to many Company C2 offices, although all of them were in Europe, and that's always the same. I mean these are the same people who work there, and the offices look the same, and that's an exactly recognizable mold according to which we… [laughs]. In that sense, there's an organizational culture which is very strong, and what we do locally, it's completely unimportant that we are in Serbia, we would look for the same things if we were anywhere else" (KC interview transcript).

It is in these descriptions that we perhaps see most clearly the homogenizing pull of the economic globalization processes, where global enterprising values, via the 'organizational culture' framework become disseminated, adopted, but also contested on the local levels. Participants' membership (good standing) in these companies is established through such local performances of global context values, and are often marked by the consistent usage of pronoun 'we' to refer to the non-individualized selves as the participants provided information about the company's official HR policies (to be compared to the participant in the 'low enterprise' company, to whom the company consistently remains a distant 'they'). For example,

> "We are looking for…"; "We've realized…"'; "The beauty of our company…"; We have our preferred patterns of behavior…"; "We are like little cells with the same DNA…" etc.

Additionally, these positions were characterized by high use of professional HR jargon ("change management", "critical incidents", "360 evals", "development cycle"), and importantly, prevalent usage of professional terms in [original] English language ("commitment", "feedback", "leadership", "delivery", and many others). While the use of English terms may have been amplified for my benefit, and by extension, my Western audiences, this trend appears to be a more widespread practice of direct co-optation of English terms into the Serbian language, especially for some hard-to-translate (e.g., 'commitment'), or awkward-to-translate terms (e.g., 'consumer-oriented'). Additionally, this practice may reflect the multinational companies' policies to use global, English language documents to cover a wide range of international markets, a practice which in itself carries important ideological implications (e.g., Sliwa, 2008). For example, in one of the companies, many HR tools are neither translated nor adapted to the local market, but used "literally in the form in which they have been given to us" (KC).

In contrast, the HR professional from the 'low enterprise' company engages in a different pattern of negotiation of global institutional HR discourses – while the global institutional discourse of his company presents a similar version of enterprise discourse shared by all the companies in the sample, this participant diverges from the official discourse and presents a profile of ideal employee which emphasizes values such as candidates' genuine need (financial) for a job ("that he came here because he has a problem in life because he doesn't have a job, he has no money, that he really needs a job"), importance of university recommendations and good grades ("we follow them as students…we ask the professors for recommendations"), provision of job security ("we don't have the biggest salaries, but we don't lay people off"), and other diverging values

such as tolerance for mistakes ("there is a right to make mistakes, that's only human, people can't work without making mistakes"). Some values such as 'honesty' and 'trust' which this participant emphasizes are consistent with the company's corporate values of personal and social ethics ("it's important not to damage the trust…by lying about it [mistakes], to manipulate"), although what is consistently absent from this participants' accounts are the usual 'enterprising' values of flexibility, drive for excellence, self-regulation, commitment to building and maintaining the company's organizational culture., etc.

Indeed, EN shows quite a bit of ambivalence to embrace the new values of organizational culture. For example, when asked about the ways in which employees are encouraged to adapt to the new organizational culture and its values, EN explains: "there were these lectures of the culture of the group, I went, pff, ok, preaching a lot of fancy stories (words), but nothing in the end, that's how it usually goes. So I'm quiet, cause I need to implement all that…" Acknowledging the power of 'seductive' organizational practices to influence the adoption of corporate culture values, EN explains that their implementation only worked for a small number of top managers, who attended lavish company retreats abroad ("best hotels, taxis, dinners, like in a dream"). Expressing his concern for employee welfare, EN describes why spreading such values to 'ordinary' employees is not so easy:

> "The salaries we give, it may be at the highest level in the town, but it's not enough to survive normally…and then it's so hard when you have a worker who is first and foremost very scared for his job because he desperately needs it, and on the other hand, he is very angry that with the money he gets

he can't do anything, and to transfer some philosophy onto him, to tell him about flights to Jupiter, it's…[trails off]"

Given that all the other participants engage in predominant performances of the organizational values in other multinational companies, how do we account for such divergent set of values presented by the HR participant in this company context? As I have mentioned in the previous chapter, this HR director is the only participant in the study who is not an HR 'expert' – his educational background is in Law and his primary function is that of a director of Legal department, who has for the past 7 years (since privatization), held dual position as the Head of HR and Legal departments. "All I know", he says, "is what I learned from experience working with people…but, the company transfers all that knowledge on us who are self-taught, and they request us to conduct the procedures and to pay attention to all that stuff they pay attention to over there [company headquarters]". His age and long employment history with the company before the privatization ground his 'experience' in the socialist past, which, it can be suggested, guide his concerns with employees' material needs ("in need of a job because he has no money ") and concerns with employee welfare ("the salary we give is not enough to survive normally"), as well as his expression of more 'traditional values,' such as consideration of one's merit, knowledge, 'good grades in school', honesty and trust. The lack of 'HR expertise,' and identification with the HR profession ("I am not an HR manager by profession, my profession is in the legal sector") does not, as with other participants, represent a form of prior socialization into the discourse of enterprise, which as I suggest, is encoded in the philosophies of 'soft' Human Resource management practiced in these local subsidiaries.

In fact, in EN's narrative, we find instances of rejection of much of the 'enterprise discourse' of wealth creation, high productivity and efficiency ("like the Japanese, they go to work at 5, come back at midnight, when do I get to live, are you mad, there is no money that could make me accept that"), as well as an explicit anti-European orientation ("do I want EU to come here? Of course not, they don't come here so that we'll be better off"), in addition to the ambivalence about the importance of HR activities which aim at implementation of organizational culture, and internalization of 'new' values (the company throughout remains a distant "they", "over there", as opposed to "we" used by the other participants). His experience of socialism, as well as his anti-enterprise stances, are critical for his re-working of the company's institutional discourses into a set of divergent criteria according to which 'good employees' are selected and judged.

Professional inquiry contesting

Contesting positions in the inquiry genre have been coded when participants articulate perspectives that appear to be in tension with the official context values. There are several ways in which contesting positions could appear in the present data set: a.) when participants express values that appear to directly contradict or challenge the official HR values, as expressed in documents sanctioned by the company's global and/or top management, b.) when participants expressly voice disagreements with particular official company values/procedures, including disagreements based on professional 'expertise' (marked *), and c.) when they, often very subtly, offer a personal stance/commentary that in some way undermine the global institutional employment discourses. All three cases,

however, present self-representational moves that are 'less than ideal' (Daiute, 2004), in terms of their standing as members of their companies.

Contestations of institutional discourses through express disagreements with the particular company values/regulation practices have been identified in several instances. The most direct disagreements tend to come from the company's former employees (who all come from the embedded enterprise companies). For example, ON, a former employee of the international commercial sales of product B, talks about her company's HR employee development role: "The whole procedure of employee development was beautifully designed, as a form, from the outside, but inside it was bendable, shifty, done wrong and upside down." The main problem with the employee trainings, as ON critiques the official company approaches, was that its methods were poorly adapted to local conditions. ON expresses her criticism of some sales trainings officially imposed by the international management:

> "For example, approaching clients – the phone method was wrong, wrong for Serbia, wrong I believe for many countries in the region. [imitates phone call] 'Hello, Anna, Jelena gave me your number, I heard some great things about you, I would like to have coffee if you have the time.' [dramatic pause] [imitates response] 'And who the hell are you? And what do we need to drink coffee for?' Or imagine if I was a man and you're a woman. In any combination, this approach was wrong. And then there's that whole story about the out-of-work promotion, for example, when you wait in line for the movies, you are supposed to chat people up. But we are not in the US where people wait in line for the movies, you go and buy a ticket and walk in. I

haven't seen a line for the movies in ages, it just doesn't exist, man, you can't tell that story to people who live here…Really, lack of cultural sensitivity in all this was a pretty big frustration for majority of people."

In her detailed account of the problematic aspects of work organization in her company, including the above mentioned requirement to 'blindly' follow the sales scripts, the failure on part of the company's management to provide resources that would facilitate employees' achievement of work goals (e.g., cell phone credits, business cards), contradictory instructions by different supervisors, and other 'dysfunctional' management practices, ON challenges the both the intended practices of subjectivity regulation encoded in company's practices (to be more like the employees the company is used to dealing with), and, more specifically to this excerpt, the notion of employees' personal responsibility for success and failure, which represents one of the company's central officially required/desired employee values.

Some contestations of official values are also expressed by current employees. For example, UE, HR director of a manufacturing company problematizes the value of loyalty and devotion to the company which is part of the official company competencies desired from all the employees:

"[Town X] was very strong, but now people don't have the opportunity to get other jobs. They are not the most satisfied, they want bigger salaries, they say, we want bigger salaries, we want you to value our work more, but who was ever satisfied with their salary anyway, no matter how big it is you want it to be bigger, and so many employees here, they are loyal, not because we

as a company give them all they want, but because realistically, they have nowhere else to go."

In this excerpt, by voicing the workers' perspective twice – once by using the embedded reported speech of workers ('we want bigger salaries, we want you to value our work more'), she implicitly challenges the company's expectation of employee loyalty which she here construed as undeserved by the companies, as it fails to provide either material or symbolic incentives (money or appreciation for their work), and where employees only appear to be loyal because of high unemployment rates in the area. This challenge, as other challenges of official discourses in these narratives of current employees, is a risky move – to put oneself too empathically on the side of the workers means to endanger one's membership in the company's managerial strata, and more broadly, one's membership in the 'transition-oriented' culture. Hence, this contesting position is 'repaired' by the cliché generalization ('who was ever satisfied with their salary anyway') that is supposed to weaken the legitimacy of workers' complaints. Such repair strategies are common for participants who otherwise predominantly take the performing positions in their narratives.

Contestations of official values are rarely articulated so explicitly in the narratives of current employees . Usually, the critiques of company values and/or procedures take the form of brief negative comments, with some specific prosodic features (smiles, laughter, speech rate change), and, as above, are followed by 'repair' strategies through which participants return to positions that align them with the official discourse. Consider the following example from UE's interview:

MN: You mention organizational culture values, how would you characterize those?

UE: With the arrival of Company C6 [which bought the already existing company], Mr. N was put as the head of the company. They say that when you want to change the culture of the company, change the first man. He was a man of instructions ['covek zadatka' – person placed in a position to fulfill a certain task, denotes someone loyal to authority], he conducted it in his own manner [slows down speech, smiling voice], he was here for 5 years and the change was achieved. There are consequences, [smiling voice] in some way, perhaps this was a little too aggressive, maybe sometimes too ambitious, and so on. [switches to serious, professional tone, faster speech], but the essence is in far greater mobility and dynamism of all employees and their readiness to bring decisions faster, to put a stop to things faster, and to reach higher quality of results in a more efficient way.

Within the professional genre, this contestation of the official discourse (questioning the Director's methods and company's decision to put him there) is expressed with a certain dose of unease – the prosodic features such as smiling and a slowed down rate of speech, as well as the indirect (unspecified) hints at disagreeable methods ('his own way', 'there are consequences') indicate UE's hesitation to directly challenge the official discourse. Additionally, this controversial, or 'off-the-record' position is 'softened' through several hedges (perhaps a little too aggressive, maybe sometimes too ambitious), whose function in softening controversial statements has been widely reported in socio-linguistic research (e.g., Strauss, 2004; Labov and Fanshel, 1977, van Dijk, 1993b).

This careful contesting position, however, is quickly 'repaired' by the participant through switching into the 'professional' mode that is characterized prosodically by faster (presumably more well-rehearsed?) rate of speech and a serious tone. The 'perhaps too aggressive' methods are justified by reference to the end-results which reinforce the company values (greater employee mobility, dynamism, efficiency, orientation towards results), and simultaneous, implied critical differentiation from the old socialist ways which are constructed, through use of comparatives, as 'less' mobile, less dynamic, less decisive, less efficient and of 'lower' quality.

Overall, as the table 13 shows, majority of the participants take at least some, however subtle, brief or quickly-repaired contesting positions. Much of contesting, as in some of the examples presented here, is generally not aimed at the overall direction of changes (which represent for participants in the 'embedded' and 'in-transition' companies a welcome break from the socialist past), but rather the methods through which changes in these companies are conducted by the global/foreign leadership (too aggressive or ambitious, too frequent or too fickle).

Sometimes, however, contesting official company discourses goes in another direction, where participants, invoking their HR professionalism, critique the global leadership as not being 'stringent' enough, or being too 'lax' or too 'un-knowledgeable' in the professional 'expertise' on the human resource management of employees. This direction of contesting certain global policies appears in several interviews, for example, in the narrative of the HR professional in the 'in-transition' company, who criticizes the company global leadership of not providing her with the authority to deal with older, pre-privatization workers, who 'sit, don't lift a finger, and don't feel obliged to change anything'

about being unproductive. Similarly, KD expresses dissatisfaction with the company's policy of using only corrective 'punitive' measures (to train and educate, not to fire employees), as being too 'lax.' On one hand, this could be interpreted as a form of local resistance by invoking the discourse of professionalism (as fully knowledgeable experts, yet constrained in the full application of their expertise). On the other, such resistance legitimates the overall direction of changes (employees must be 'forced' harder to be more efficient, productive, enterprising, at whatever cost), indicating that the participants' appropriations of the enterprising discourse should also be understood as part of their prior socialization as 'experts' in their fields. This, as I argue later, limits the kinds of conclusions we can make regarding the 'powerfulness' of the organizational regulation practices, since these processes of regulation engage individuals (HR managers) who have already, through their professional training, identified with the core assumptions on which such corporate discourses are based . (it would be interesting to see the extent to which other forms of professional 'expertise' encode the discourse of enterprise, i.e., notions of personal responsibility, accountability, flexibility, self-regulation and the like).

Local re-contextualizations of institutional discourses

In addition to echoing the official discourses of the companies, articulating them in their own words, the participants additionally 'populate' such discourses 'with their own intentions' (Bakhtin, 1986) by contextualizing them in the wider socio-historical context of Serbia's socialist past. By accounting for the emergence of enterprising values as only "normal, completely expected and realistic" alternative to the ways of the socialist past (JG

interview transcript), or as the emergence of the "right kind of mentality" that is still to be built (FN interview transcript), the participants use such historical positioning to not only mark themselves as the 'good' employees, or 'good' HR professionals, but also, more broadly, to index their appropriation of the larger official discourse of the "transition culture"[9] (Kennedy, 2001), in which good citizens of the market economy have successfully "left their socialist past behind" (2001, p. 426).

Several participants, in both enterprise and in-transition groups, engage quite explicitly in such historical contextualization of the 'goodness' of the enterprise discourse, by highlighting the inadequacies of the old systems of work, such as diffused responsibility, lack of rationality and collaboration among different sectors, ineffective reward and compensation schemes, and others. One HR participant from the 'in-transition' manufacturing company frames the changes in the following way:

> "it used to be enough to fit as a 'cog', one was more narrow then, as a worker and as a person…now you need to look at the system in terms of personal success or failure, and that's good for all of us, if [Company C5] did not succeed, no one gets a reward."

Many HR participants, especially in the 'embedded enterprise' group complain about the difficulties in finding the 'right kind of mentality' in candidates for the white-collar positions, where what is needed is "bolt size F-12, how difficult is to find that, and yet in Serbia, it turns out everyone is F-12.2 and cannot fit into

[9] 'transition culture' is defined by Kennedy as "transnational community of discourse organized around the question of how to make market economies out of centrally-planned economies. It depends on the elaboration of a globalized business expertise which selectively adds local cultures into it, and defines itself against a socialist culture" (Kennedy, 2001, p. 423).

the size". The problem is not in "qualifications or some specific knowledge, all of it can be overcome", but rather the lack of "Factor X, the enterprising spirit."

Additionally, the good 'enterprising employee' is constructed in opposition to 'problematic' socialist employees, who are portrayed as old, inflexible, slow, unenthusiastic, and obstacles to progress. One HR participant from the 'in-transition' group, in discussing the relatively high percentage of older workforce in her company, explains:

> "it would be ideal if the company was younger, because it has been shown that more educated, younger people are more flexible, more ready to change. Older people have resistance to change, they are rigid and want to be left in peace where they are, without much turbulence…"

Another participant describes 'older' employees as being in favor of the "same-old ways of work", and who took advantage of the severance packages because the alternative was to "work in an environment which was changing 180 degrees". Similarly, another HR director in relating problems they had with the older employees who were retained after privatization due to contractual obligations, describes:

> "the old workforce is much slower, it's all too much stress for them, they are used, in the old system, to leave work at a certain time, now, because of all these changes, they have to stay much longer. You can feel their dissatisfaction, especially their slowness in work…"

What the results from this analysis indicate is that performing positions need to be interpreted not only in the light of the global institutional discourses and the practices of regulation which make their adoption easier or more attractive to individuals, but also in the light of individuals' prior commitments to the (enterprising) values embedded in their

training as HR experts, but also as members of the wider transition processes. As Rose writes, individuals "live their lives in a constant movement across different practices and contexts that subjectify them in different ways" (Rose, 1996, cited in Barratt, 2003, p. 1074). As this positioning analysis has revealed, the participants express their commitments (or claims to identity) not just as organizational members or as HR experts, but also as members-citizens of the wider culture of transition. For some, such as the HR professionals in the embedded and in-transition companies, these discourses (and possibly many others) complement each other, coalescing around the 'enterprising values' as the new legitimate frameworks through which to understand, judge and express themselves at work, but as I describe later, in other spheres of life too; while for others, such re-framings of selves at work and in private life may not have been quite so persuasive.

Professional inquiry diverging

Throughout the interviews, participants certainly present other 'unique' values - those that diverge in some way from the global discourses of enterprise common for the companies in the sample (for example, emphasis on job security) - but these cannot be taken to be necessarily contesting of the official HR discourse, as some of them constitute such official discourses as they are re-contextualized in post-socialist contexts (for example, job security is contractually guaranteed by the privatization agreements with the state for a certain period of time, usually 2 years).

Thus, diverging positions in the inquiry genre have been coded when participants articulate perspectives that appear to diverge from the official context values, but cannot

necessarily be seen as contesting of the official discourses. Majority of such 'unique' values are expressed as part of participants' discussions of selection processes, representing, from what I could conclude, the company's unofficial (in a sense of 'informal' or unwritten) selection criteria. For example, HN, in her account of what she looks for in candidates, apart from other official values such as "X factor…business-oriented, very flexible, very creative and innovative, open to change," describes a rather unique set of candidate values, which I refer to as "family background":

> "he/she has to be from a very good family, meaning that there's no 'private' problems of that type. We pay a lot of attention to this, especially for people in the headquarters. Given that we are so close to the President [of the company], there's only few of us here, and when we choose someone, from the trainee to the board member, it's very important that from that side -, we have more women I have to say – that a woman, if she's on a higher position or has a certain number of years, that she has a family, children, that she is happy in that regard…For younger candidates, we ask what do his mother and father do, especially in the headquarters, here 90% of information is confidential, so it's very important."

It is unclear from these conversations to what extent are these values sanctioned by the foreign owners – many of the selection criteria considered by the participants in the study, such as age, sex, family/marital status, etc. – would be, if not outright illegal, considered unethical in Western contexts, such as US and the UK. Given their prevalence in the contexts I studied, it may be a case of 'don't ask, don't tell,' and this may well be an

example of the local and global discourses merging into some form of hybrid practices. In any case, other 'unofficial' selection criteria described in the study include preference for males (in blue collar positions), reluctance to hire and/or retain candidates and employees who are perceived to belong to the 'rural' social backgrounds (different accents, lack of 'refinement' in communication and behavior), candidate's appearance (e.g., wearing sunglasses), marital and family status, and use of intuitive, 'hard-to-pin-down' impressions of candidates (e.g., the message someone sends in the interview; the way they 'draw' you in).

Negotiating the institutional discourses in the autobiographical genre

Autobiographical performing

Part of the interview structure involved several questions related to the participants' own entrance to the company and impressions of the organizational culture. However, many participants engaged in such an 'autobiographical' genre of talk spontaneously, expressing a wider range of autobiographical topics (e.g., how they obtained the job, how they reacted to the organizational culture, whether the experience of working in these companies changed them, etc.). As the analysis table above shows, majority of this autobiographical talk entailed personal enactments of the official employee values – i.e., 'how I myself exemplify the ideal values required by my company context.'

Many of these represented direct, spontaneous enactments of the ideal values and practices of regulation – an example from KC, who draws attention to how ideal employees

should react to the 'culture of assessment' that characterizes her company context by giving an example of how she herself experiences continuous assessments as a tool for professional and personal development:

> KC: - and that's important to say - in our company, employees are constantly evaluated. Good match is the person who likes to be constantly evaluated, and who doesn't have a problem with that, who sees a challenge in that. But we had cases where people don't feel that way, that it's too stressful, that they simply can't fit into that system, they don't like it, they don't like to prove themselves constantly, but then they really shouldn't work in multinational companies, I think this is not specific to [Company C2], it's like that everywhere …Everyone here knows that they are watched non-stop and that they will be required, non-stop, to give even more and more and more and more. So, simply, someone is like that and someone is not.
>
> …
>
> MN: You said that continuous evaluation could be stressful for the employees?
>
> KC: But to some people, this is stressful. And to some, it's helpful. I personally experience evaluation as something that helps me. I will be better at my job if I hear other people's opinions about how to do something in a different way. I don't experience it as the end of the world, I don't experience it as saying something bad about me, even if I were to get a bad evaluation. This all happens so that we work better…

In this and other examples, it is important to note, it is the regulation practice (continuous all-around feedback) that is being appropriated as a legitimate ('helpful') means to obtain knowledge about self – considering that such evaluations, as discussed in the previous chapter, are not merely about improvement of technical skills, but also development of competencies, KC's account indicates a successful and voluntary application of appraisal process as technology of governance through which self is constituted according to the matrix of norms and categories devised by the corporation.

As this example also illustrates, the HR professionals in the study often engaged in autobiographical performing in relation to the not-so-desirable 'Other' ('some people' who find evaluation stressful, rather than helpful; in other interviews, 'those workers' who are not ready to stay in the company that is changing 180 degrees, who don't like change, who like structure and order, etc.). As Weiner (2007) writes in her study of Czech managers, this polarization reveals a "larger interpretative schema about who succeeds and who fails" (p. 77) in the new market economy. In this instance, what is implied is that those who possess the 'right' set of attitudes (who can fit into the system, who like to prove themselves, who see challenge in evaluation, etc.) are entitled to the material, as well as symbolic benefits that are associated with being the market economy 'winners' (e.g.,, those obtaining and keeping jobs in the multinational companies).

Different official company values were enacted in the autobiographical genre taken up in the course of the interviews, such as initiative, drive for excellence, individual responsibility and achievement, resourcefulness and creativity, flexibility and enthusiasm. Demonstrating enthusiasm for work in general, positive attitudes towards the company and the organizational culture, and eagerness to engage in both professional and personal

development at work (flexibility) were quite common among the participants, especially for 'embedded enterprise' and 'in-transition' companies. For instance, in recounting her own performance at work, TU demonstrates initiative and 'drive for excellence' by describing how she always goes 'above and beyond' what is required of her by the company. When she saw that the company did not have a formal procedure for socialization of new employees, TU "solved this informally" and "made the whole training procedure for mentoring…even though this is not asked from me". She also, on her own initiative, made coaching program, introduced employee breakfasts, and other informal techniques for development of employees' social skills.

In distinction to the performing professional values where participants often used the non-individualized 'we', these mini autobiographical narratives are characterized by a first person narrative stances ("I saw, I observed, I created, I noticed, I made, I designed, I have ideas how to solve it, etc."). Often, these performing autobiographical narratives resemble the "hero-like self-narratives centering around a strong self" (Kraus, 2000), characterized by many obstacles (the unskilled directors; the 'introverted' employees, the uncooperative CEO, the new technology, the company Board, etc.), which, in the end, the participant manage to overcome by possessing creativity, resourcefulness, 'can-do' attitudes, and expert knowledge.

Similarly, despite 'infinite workloads' and '24 hour activity' that characterized work in her company, FN describes how she would routinely provide her services to other smaller subsidiaries for things that were certainly not in her job description ('because this was never hard for me…to jump in the car, drive to [Town C] to interview, I don't know, coffee girls'). The attitude of 'company comes first' was demonstrated by always

representing the interests of the company, either through mediating employee conflicts ("…I am on neither side, because I am on both sides, essentially on the side of the company, and the best thing for the company is for them to resolve their conflict and everything to be ok"), or through demonstrating initiative and proactive attitudes that ensure achievement of company goals ("I'd go to the director of Legal, and even though this is not exactly my job, and say 'hey, I heard about the new law [on gender equality], let's see what we can do, I won't wait to see whether he'll remember or not, because we have common interest, the interest of the company.").

Again, as was the case with the performing positions in the professional genre, participants situate their autobiographical performances of official values in the wider socio-historical context of post-socialism. In the post-socialist contextualization of the enterprise discourses, it is important to highlight that the main means of individual's success and achievement comes from possessing the right kinds of personal values (as personal embodiment of cultural capital, e.g., Bourdieu, 1984), as opposed to obtaining positions through one's connections, personal ties, or ties to the socialist (or some other) political party. This historical distinctioning of selves from the ways of the socialist past finds an expression in participants' autobiographical narratives of how they obtained their jobs. For example, pre-emptively disputing that she obtained a job through some kind of 'personal connection', while (in other parts of the interview) ascertaining her possession of the values of enterprise (enthusiasm for work, dedication to the company, etc.), JG accounts for her process of getting a job in Company C5.

> JG: I was on the job fair, gave my CV, they were looking for a psychologist, I went to one interview, second interview, was hired, was a trainee for a year,

my boss went to another company and I took his place. I didn't know anyone here, or anyone who knows anyone here.

In fact, such brief and unproblematic accounts of getting their present jobs are characteristic of several other HR professionals. Consider the following accounts:

> TU: "I was hunted by a consulting house and asked if I was interested, I went to the interview and that was it."

> KC: "I was recruited as a management trainee, and by default, these are considered successors for top team positions. In that sense, I was followed with more attention than if I wasn't the management trainee, and my steps were planned at least a year in advance, and so that was how I got here."

The fact that these narratives do not require much elaboration can signify the recognition on part of the participants that they understand and personally embody values required for success in the new market economy, and that because of that, their employability could not/should not be construed as problematic in any way.

Additionally, to construe oneself as already possessing such values should not be in conflict with one of the main employee requirements (indeed a meta-value encoded in official discourses) of being 'flexible enough' to continuously, or further, transform oneself to fit the dynamic norms of organizational culture values (or, to put it in the language of governmentality, to embrace the continuous efforts at 'normalization' towards the company's values). This openness to both requirements is revealed in participants'

autobiographical narratives in which they carefully oscillate between those two sets of demands. For example, IG describes clearly how organizational discourses and the system of rewards embedded in it have functioned to mobilize her own ability and agency to 'reflect on' and 'apply to herself' the values of the organizational culture:

> IG: What is fantastic is that there is a company that wants to nurture its organizational culture…to say to its employees in a very transparent way "we want you to be like this and like that, and if you are like this and like that, you will have such and such opportunities".
>
> MN: Do you think you have changed during your time here?
>
> IG: Of course. What is unique for HR, because we spearhead such initiatives, is that you engage much more in questioning and reasoning and challenging what's going on and you have a much deeper insight into why certain things are introduced, and any person who is reasonable and has that information, if it's really reasonable and good, it's normal to apply it to yourself…I am not saying that I come home and think about competencies, but that simply becomes a way in which you think, it becomes unconscious.
>
> MN: mm-hm.
>
> IG: So I think that anyone who really commits to the job they do, who really invests oneself in it, he simply has to change…if you are exposed to the culture for 8 hours which encourages you to be innovative, proactive, to think outside the box, this inevitably will have an effect personally – I might

come home and say, don't put pepper in the meal, put basil instead. These are small things, but it works on larger levels too.

Yet, these changes are not portrayed (by IG or other participants) as changing her into something "she is not", but rather as 'waking up' of characteristics that were always latently there. Thus, at another point in the interview, IG states that she has always possessed the enterprising qualities, that she was always "a very pragmatic person, there's no 'can't do', but 'how can I do it, and when I figure out how it can be done, I will now explain to you how it can be done, even though you thought differently."

What is important to highlight here also is the way in which IG incorporates in her narrative the company's discursive coupling of personal and professional development – the message that to embody 'enterprising' qualities is advantageous not only for the firm, but also for the individual (Cuzzocrea, 2011), and that "becoming a better worker is…the same thing as becoming a more virtuous person, a better self" (Du Gay, 1996, p. 64). Thus, as IG articulates in her narrative above, if one changes oneself to fit into the organizational culture ("the company tells you 'we want you to be like this and this'"), everyone wins: the company gets a committed employee who is oriented towards the business success of the company, the employee gains professional benefits ('the opportunities') as well as a path to personal development that any 'reasonable' person would take ("it's normal to apply it [the corporate values] to yourself").

Autobiographical contesting and diverging

The autobiographical genre was rarely used to accomplish contesting and/or diverging self-representational moves. Overall, only a small amount of talk was autobiographical and it appears that the primary function of these autobiographical narratives was to present oneself and one's company in the best light – to present one's 'best' (Daiute, 2004) or 'exemplary' self (Herman, 1995).Hence, it was rare for the participants to narrate events through which they enact values that contest or diverge from official company values. The exception to this are some autobiographical narratives by former employees (ON, FN), where contesting stances where used to legitimize their reasons for leaving the company.

However, such contesting positions by current employees are rarely taken up in autobiographical genre. One exception is provided by EN, the Legal Director in charge of the HR department in Company C9. EN, directly distinguishing oneself from the ideal managerial cadre who is supposed to, if not fully embrace, at least be open to the organizational values, he openly discusses his ambivalence towards the company's culture training programs as unrealistic ('flights to Jupiter), or company values, even when such values are strongly 'socially responsible' (where can I find new jobs for workers who are laid off, that's just stupid, if I could find employment for 100 people I would be the national unemployment office). These and other contesting and/or diverging positions indicate that for him, stakes of presenting himself as either a good member of the company (which, throughout the interview, remains a distant 'they'), or as good HR professional (which he, by his educational background or professional training, is not), or as a 'good' member of

'transition culture' (which he strongly contests "of course I don't' want EU here") are quite low.

In the next section, I describe further contestations of the institutional HR discourses, located in the final portion of the interview which elicited 'private person' positions by dislocating participants' from the formal and professional discourse into the more 'private' discourse of friendship.

Negotiating the institutional discourses in the private person genre

In the final part of the interview, the participants were asked to 'dislocate' from the position of the HR professional, and to comment on the profile of the ideal enterprising employees in terms of his/her suitability as one's friend. This interview strategy resulted, in approximately half the cases, with the participants' more critical engagements with the enterprising profiles that institutional discourses of all the companies in the sample articulated as ideal, highlighting, as I will describe below, these profiles' more problematic or questionable aspects (Contesting positions). In other half of the cases, the participants refrained from such critical engagements, offering commentaries on such profiles as good and/or ideal in both personal and business spheres (Performing positions).

'Private person' performing

In responding to the 'enterprising' ideal, all participants in this part of the interview conceded that the 'enterprising' values are ideal for business, whether for their own

companies ('yes, majority of these are what we look for in our company', JG) or business in general ('this is the perfection of business personality, although not here', EN). However, only for six participants 'enterprising' values are described as positive for both business sphere and personal sphere of friendship, all of which come from the embedded enterprise companies, indicating that the discourse of enterprise for these participants had become an interpretative framework which extends to other, non-work spheres of life.

Different participants made different arguments as to why they consider both to be positive. Some participants made the broad 'naturalizing' arguments –for example, that organizational culture values that exist in EF's company are based on 'basic human' values, and as such they are equally applicable - 'who you are is who you are' -in both areas of life. This argument appears to be an extension of the discursive conflation of work and non-work lives, a construal characteristic of the institutional HR discourses, as well as broader enterprise discourse (Rose, 1989) expressed more generally. Consider EF's response to the question of why are enterprising values good both personally and professionally:

> "Values is what makes us human, and based on these values we make decisions, including what is related to friendship, but also what is related to business. We carry our personality wherever we go, you know. So to me it's the same, I mean I was lucky enough, not to say aware enough not to make the differentiation between my work and who I am, and by extension, friends…It's somehow, either you're good or you're not, either you are or you're not. There's nothing in between. So wherever you are, in friendships or at work. Who you are is who you are…what is important as values is important as values."

Some participants draw attention to the fact that they themselves possess enterprising values and hence would naturally tend to choose or prefer other people with similar values. For example, KC explains: "I experience myself as possessing these characteristics, so in that sense that someone is similar to me, of course that someone who's like that could be my friend." Organizational values promoted by her company (enterprising values) act as 'glue' that bonds similar people together: "It's like this spirit that the company builds in its employees and which is obviously something we all like – we nurture that spirit and later we also look for that in others." Similarly, IG expresses that the ideal values apply to both personal and business relationships, and that she wishes to have more such people in her surroundings, as does HN who is always trying to "have as many people of that profile around me as possible."

Participants describe the enterprising ideals as good for friendships because such people "are more capable", "are multifaceted", "are faster to solve problems", "know very many people in different positions who can also take care of things quickly", "understand when you stay at work until 9 that this is normal", "are quality people who can say 'oh, you broke this, let me take care of it", "have positive spirit". Other participants more specifically highlight the similarities between ideal employees and ideal friends (or family members) – IG explains that in the same way friends and family "should give you strength for new pursuits, push you to achieve better things and make a better person out of you", if you have ambitious colleagues who "want to achieve more," they will leave you no choice but to "start going in the same direction", and they "won't let you stay in some corner and do same-old things."

'Private person' contesting

Other participants in the sample, mainly 'in-transition' and 'low enterprise' companies, as well as some former employees, take the interactive space opened up by this question to engage in the more critical and/or divergent positioning towards the ideal vision of the enterprising employee. The contesting positions are most often articulated by bringing up the **'work-life balance'**, or more specifically, lack of work-life balance as an important challenge to the goodness of the enterprising life at work, as well as a more indirect contestation of the attempt by the institutional discourses to blur such boundaries. This critique is expressed even by those participants who construed such values as ideal in both friends and employees. Consider FN's response:

> "Such a person would make a really good friend, I mean these are quality people, but these are people who do not have enough time for friends. I mean the time they could dedicate to their friends, they would probably be the best friends possible…but these are people who do not have enough time for friends or private life in general."

Drawing on personal experiences of working for this 'embedded enterprise' company (where she is now a former employee), FN elaborates that her work-balance was disrupted not only because she did not have the time for private life, but also no energy for it. "I come home and I am useless, completely, I mean I come home and I can't go out with friends because I am not capable of conversation, I have no topic other than work, and have no strength to listen to anything else." In addition to disrupting one's social life, FN

describes how high-commitment work practices infringed on her leisure and family time, including her identity as a mother:

> "…Every year I get a vacation, but it's not pleasant. I used to run out of the pool, throw my two-year old into my husband's arms, sprint to my bag to answer the phone because work is calling. I mean, I don't think that I am a bad mother, but if you ask me, if you upload it on Youtube and ask what do you think about this mother, I would really have a lot to say. I mean from my expert point of view (laughs)."

Because her workplace "sucked your energy and everything else", she never recommended any of her friends to come work for the company, despite financial benefits and the experience that the jobs in this company may offer - "I learned a great deal there, but it was a bloody school, and I would not wish it for any of my friends".

A somewhat different take on the issue of work-life balance is expressed by TU, a current employee of an 'embedded enterprise' company. Despite repeatedly taking positions which perform the official values of enterprise in both professional and autobiographical genres, in answering this question she characterizes such people as inherently 'unbalanced.' Again, as in previous example, this 'disbalance' is a matter of lacking enough time for private life ("your job needs to be 90% of your life, and 10% eating and sleeping). Additionally, TU offers her theory of the 'cause' of such 'personalities' – a lack of 'personal strength' to build and develop other areas of one's life, resulting in an individual who is 'stunted' and 'damaged'. Therefore, in this participant's account, enterprising employees make lousy friends, not only because "they are constantly at work", but even when they would have the time, would not be "fun and entertaining, they would

not know how to have fun." Therefore, she articulates, that for her, these enterprising profiles would be great for business, but as friends, "probably not."

Her position here is complex – on the one hand, she offers a definite challenge to the idealness of enterprise by bringing up its less-than-ideal consequences on one's private life. Yet, such failures to balance one's life and one's work are somehow again construed as a matter of one's personal responsibility, as individual inability ('personal strength') to develop these 'other' areas of one's life.

Another contestation of enterprising values is also offered by EN, who, while admitting that "enterprising employee is some kind of perfection of business personality", he challenges their value in other spheres of life:

> "these people, in private relationships, I mean really they don't even have private lives, to them it's only business, only money, only promotions, only ambition, and they are practically useless for society in any other way. So he is very good for the company, but for society, he is un-needed [of no purpose]. They are those modern yuppies, with a tie and education, they practically become some kind of robots, machines…I don't find that normal."

In addition to his expression of personal dislike for the enterprising values and again, the implied consequences for such enterprising on one's private relationships, EN also considers the value of such a person for the society in general. His articulation (useless for society; of no purpose for society) is a play on a common Serbian expression during socialism (useful for society, "koristan za drustvo"), which indicates a more socially and/or communally embedded significance of one's actions, or ways of being. In this emphasis, EN

(again) signals his position as an oppositional member of the transition culture, where such communal orientations are fast eroding in favor of the more individualistic ones.

In another example of contesting the official discourse, by one former employee, we see perhaps most clearly the resistance to the actual mechanisms of regulation (by the company's management) to shape the person into something they are not comfortable being. As recounted by ON, the company wanted to replicate the organizational culture values (of enterprising salesmen who fully "believe in" product B and who take every opportunity to contribute to the company's and their own success) in each and every employee, regardless of their position in the company (the foreign director often bragged how he himself continues to sell product B everywhere he goes). Additionally, she was expected to perform 'surveillance' on other employees, and in this, to become somewhat of a 'fear factor' for employees. For ON, both of these sets of expectations clashed with her professional identity as an 'HR trainer', which she defines, contra other HR professionals in the study, as someone who is supposed to 'help', rather than 'control' people in developing sales skills, and certainly not someone whose job is to "raise anyone's awareness about the importance of product B in their lives."

To be sure, ON showed her resistance to such mechanisms by exiting the company, and her narrative in the private person genre indicates the difficulty she experienced in being regulated towards something "different from what you are":

> "Well, I think that the person who takes over the company values, he starts to lose his surroundings…If he can succeed in having a circle of friends, and not talk about work every time they meet, that's great…But it's really hard to become something completely different from what you are, and to have your

surroundings accept you as someone new…I would come home crying all the time, and my husband said 'go tomorrow and quit'…I would wake up in the morning and just sit there, and it's as if I am going to the concentration camp."

She characterizes this whole phenomenon of working in 'new' corporations as 'splitting,' referring to the conditions where in order to succeed in such systems, one needs to adopt ways of behaving , 'a façade' (Kostera & Wicha, 1995) that is not related, or might clash, with one's existing values – for example, in addition to feeling such pressures herself, she voices them as felt by other people who work in such corporations ("many people twist their lives upside down so that they can function in such [corporate] systems of work"), including the example of one of the 'star' employees in her (former) company:

"that wasn't him before he came to the company, that wasn't him, and he knows that, he says that about himself, 'this wasn't me, I became awful to myself, but I have to do it', but he accepted it, when he will break, I don't know, there are people who can robotically do the expected self part of themselves at work, and when they come home, they try to compensate with a creative hobby of this or that kind…"

Such dramaturgical aspects of self at work are also highlighted by JG, but with an altogether different function – her criticism cuts deep into what she considers the 'dark side' of the enterprising personality:

"At this moment, I have a colleague who is an excellent worker – he is very efficient in his work, he is 'of-action', always thinks a step ahead, always well prepared for the task, he always comes equipped with the information which

> he expects you might need, he looks at the bigger picture, active listener…he's a great guy, really. And his director is satisfied with him, he is still in training, and for already less than a year the director is super satisfied and is moving him to a position from which he can advance faster and that's all great. But, when we come to this guy, I have a dilemma, because his behavior to his director is one thing, and towards his colleagues, who are his equals, is another…[there] you see a completely different person, a different face, someone who is overly calculating, very inquisitive in a kind of mean way, in a way that's a little bad-intentioned, a little provocative. You see a person whose main goal is that if there are 10 of us, let me be first and you figure out who's going to be ninth, eighth, third, and so on, as long as I am first."

These accounts are important because they suggest some alternative effects of the global attempts to build commitment to global organizational cultures. Instead of 'deep identification' (Willmott, 1993) with the corporate values, or their contestations, these accounts may portray a third option of what Willmott refers to as 'calculative compliance,' "in which case employee behavior is minimally congruent with 'realizing' the values of the corporation, but only insofar as it is calculated that material and/or symbolic advantage can be gained from managing the appearance of consent" (1993, p. 537). On one hand, this strategy, however, does not appear to be a sustainable option – as ON articulates, in such 'splitting' of selves, the great experiential discomfort and stress in the workplace eventually leads one to exit the company; on the other, the structural conditions of high unemployment is

bound to prolong such decisions for many people, amplifying the self-constituting effects of such dramaturgical 'role-playing,' which manifest, as Willmott suggests, often in ways that escape individuals' conscious monitoring (p. 537).

Private person genre – Diverging

While the majority of the responses to the private person question were performing and/or contesting, two participants in the study, both former employees, took the opportunity to voice a slightly different type of concern they struggled with during their time in the company (another participant mentions these issues also, although not as part of the private person genre). The struggles they related could be called "ethical concerns", and I've coded them as diverging because they seem to address issues of professional integrity (as psychologists-turned-HR professionals) in a way that is not always or necessarily resisting the global corporate discourses.

For example, FN questions the ethics of her role as an HR professional in supporting the intensification of work, and the resulting imbalance of work and life she talked about previously:

> "It [my job] begs ethical questions, because HR jobs are not as nice as they may appear in books, it's a dirty job, let me make myself very clear. Lots of dirty jobs are done by HR professionals in companies under the veil of some kind of 'humaneness' and all other 'human'-titled things. Not everything is really as humane…"

Getting to the core of some of the debates in the field of human resource management – especially between the conventional and critical perspectives on HRM, where former tend to gloss over the inherent conflict of interest between the (top)management and employees (e.g., Storey, 1989; Guest, 1997), FN makes it clear that her work as a business and strategic partner in the company is not to work for the "welfare of the employees", because "why would any employer pay someone to work against his interests?". It's only after doing a lot of 'dirty jobs' that the HR professional may gain credibility to stand on the side of the employee:

> It's only when the company truly recognizes the HR as the business partner, then he has room to do certain things, to make work-life balance better. But to be recognized, he has to do lots of these dirty jobs to prove that he understands how the company functions…I only managed in the last, my fourth year, after lots of things happening, I managed to gain credibility and to directly manage to save one person from 'burn out' and at the same time to prevent the company from losing this person, I mean to solve it so that it's in everyone's best interest. But before that I had to really prove myself, and to remain silent regarding many situations, in order to gain credibility.

As many of the participants in the study, and HR professionals in general, come to their professional positions from the psychology educational background, some are bothered by the expectations to 'control' rather than 'help' the employees. For example, expressing similar concerns with the humaneness of HRM as FN, ON's describes her struggle with ethical issues:

> It was expected of me to induce fear in these people, but that's not my job, I was brought here to do employee trainings and not to control them…I am not a corporate HR person, I don't want to make myself obedient to it, not because I don't want to, but because I think it's not good enough, that it could be more humane and function much better.

The company- and 'bottom-line' orientation on part of HR professionals may represent common knowledge in Western companies, but not so with the 'new' HR professionals in the post-socialist context such as Serbia. Here, during socialism, Personnel departments represented the informal 'social workers' in the companies (e.g., Purg, 1992), where, in addition to purely administrative duties, they had the function of helping employees alleviate social problems such as housing concerns, lack of consumer goods, or recreation opportunities (Svetlik et al, 2010), or provide a listening ear for employees' private, often domestic problems. While the younger participants would not have had the opportunity to work in socialist enterprises, the older participants are acutely aware of the shift required of them. While not expressed as part of the "friendship" question, UE's experience in struggling with the ethics of self-change to be business-, rather than worker-oriented is relevant here:

> "I wasn't always like this, all jobs change you, but this one especially. Because we [HR] have to balance in some way between the demands of the management and owners - because I am also management now, the long hand of the owner of the company – and the employees. And this is not always that easy…Not because I don't think workers are not right, or something like that, but because I put myself in the situation of being the

company owner, how would I think then, what would be my interest then, and I see that not all wishes can be fulfilled. It can't be like it was during socialism and workers' councils, definitely not…"

These ethical struggles are significant, because the enterprise discourse of productivity and high-commitment encourages these psychologists-turned-HR professionals (especially in the non-negotiable contexts of 'embedded enterprise' companies) in addition to suppressing non-work commitments (to families, friends, non-work selves), to also suppress their sense of moral agency – as Wilcox defines it in the critical management scholarship, as "a capacity to act in the interest of those who have limited power…to seek just outcomes and to minimize harm' (2007, p. 2).

Chapter summary and discussion

The positioning analysis conducted in this chapter reveals that the positioning strategies – or self-representational moves (Daiute, 2004) - used by the participants are dynamic and varied, indicating that, while participants' subjectivities are inevitably expressed within and in relation to the changing discursive practices of their workplaces, as well as larger culture of transition, these participant subjectivities are also open to continuous negotiation and revision in the ongoing processes of social interactions. The research design of the study to elicit responses across different discursive genres was helpful in discerning the different layers of participants' engagements with the (global) institutional discourses which privilege 'flexible enterprising' selves over other forms of employees' subjectivities. As the results have shown, participants have variably drawn on these

frameworks to make themselves and their actions intelligible in the context of the research interview, providing some important methodological insights into the particular affordances of different genres. For example, autobiographical genres, in a somewhat counter-intuitive fashion, were used primarily as a means to express context-aligned values, supporting Daiute's, (2004) findings that the public quality of autobiographical narrating "ensnares the narrator in psycho-social obligations" (p. 130), exposing him/her more directly to the audience, and hence resulting in positions which are strongly oriented to their perceived expectations. In contrast, the 'private person' genre (the hypothetical friendship question) offered a different possible constellation of dialogic elements, as well as potentially allowing for a change in the participants' perception of 'myself' and 'my' research agenda. This shift in the social-relational stance in that genre afforded a safer space for possible expression of critical engagements with the institutional values.

These patterns, taken collectively, offer a set of nuanced theoretical considerations regarding the 'power' of discourse and institutional regulatory practices to channel, direct (i.e., regulate) employees' developmental processes in certain directions. While on one hand, it appears that for embedded enterprise participants, the enterprising values have become more inherently persuasive, a careful analysis of positioning reveals that the institutional regulation practices act in conjunction with other, simultaneous or temporally prior processes of socialization (such as for example, the very mastery of HR expertise, and/or wider processes of appropriation of the 'transition-culture' values). In the context of these prior commitments, carefully screened through stringent selection mechanisms, the multinational corporations and their management apparatuses act as a form of 'soft' regulation, as continuous reminders and reinforcements of the 'promises' (and desires)

already made upon the individuals' entrance into the corporations. What this means is that the power relations as described here are not uni-directional, but rather relational, involving consent and voluntary complicity on the part of the local executives, implying as Peltonen (2006) writes, that the "colonized are also playing a part in crafting, internalizing and living the conditions that make power and asymmetry possible in an evolving organizational connection" (p. 539).

The emergence of critical values as expressed and systematically implied by some of the participants point to the precariousness or inherent instability of such processes, and also shed some light on the associated, but often obscured 'costs' of the individuals' adoption of the enterprising values, including the suppression of individuals' non-work interests and identities, high demands on individuals' time and energy, as well as, perhaps more specific to the managers in the human resource management field, struggles over one's exercise of moral agency – placing great doubt on the 'emancipatory' rhetoric of these new workplaces, and more broadly, on the emancipatory potential of economic globalization processes for the local citizens (see also Sassen, 2007; Hardt & Negri, 2000; McLaren & Farahmandpur, 2005).

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION

In this dissertation, I have explored the role of (global) institutional Human Resource Management discourses in the emergence of some new forms of employee subjectivities at a particular socio-historical juncture, namely the context of Serbia's process of economic, political and social transformations. Given that the present study examined these processes in the context of mainly multinational corporations operating in Serbia, the results of the study can be situated in the larger context of increasing economic globalization and the dynamics through which new ideas of personhood emerge and are negotiated on local levels. Through analyzing a wide range of employment-related institutional HR discourses, as well as interview narratives elicited from HR professionals in nine organizational contexts, this study examined (a) the discursive construction of the new visions of ideal employees, as they differed across different industries and employee positions within the companies, (b) the role of HRM practices as regulatory mechanisms through which companies attempt to secure employees' adoption and/or identification with such visions, and (c) the dynamic manner in which HR professionals negotiate such visions as they express themselves as employees of those companies and participants of the wider socio-cultural context of economic and social transformation.

Summary of findings and discussion of theoretical and methodological implications

As the findings of the present study show, the entrance of the multinational corporations to Serbia, in addition to bringing new machines, new technologies of work and international capital, also introduced some new ideas on the kinds of values that would

make up ideal employees of their companies. The values analysis of the global **institutional HR** discourses (Chapter 3) reveals that these, in all the companies in the sample - across both manufacturing and service industries - encode similar desirable values for its white-collar workforce, although the strength and consistency of their implementation in local contexts may vary. Such globally-devised values include the more obvious attainments, in some form of educational and other qualifications required to conduct one's job, but additionally, include a quite broad range of other personal attributes – ways of thinking, feeling, acting and relating to oneself and others in their professional as well as personal spheres of life. These discursive constructions of ideal employable candidates and successful employees, in white collar occupations, include a combination of flexibility to adapt to the company's organizational cultures, both at present and in the future, a display of personal energy and 'dynamic personality,' demonstrations of 'can-do attitudes', potential for innovation, ability to work under pressure as part of changing teams, while taking initiative and showing commitment to the goals and success of their companies, as well as being ready for continuous investments in professional education and self-development.

These constructions resemble, in most respects, the discursive construction of flexible, 'enterprising selves' - an ideal commonly shared by an increasing number of Western corporate contexts (du Gay, 1996), which was forged out of the merging influences of neoliberal ideologies of the Thatcher-Reagan era, the late capitalist "flexible accumulation" regimes (Harvey, 2000) evolving with globalization and rapid expansion of markets and increased pressures of global competition, and new managerial philosophies which promised to satisfy the demands by companies to operate in 'leaner, meaner, and

more agile and flexible' ways in order to maintain or sustain their profits. The enterprising self thus represents a historically specific form of subjectivity where the person is urged to incorporate into the reflexive self-evaluation the values of neoliberal capitalism (dynamic, flexible, ambitious, proactive, self-responsible) as representative of both professional and personal success (e.g., Rose, 1989), and to continually invest in their own 'human capital' in order to maximize their value to the company as well as to self (always open to continuous learning and self-development, albeit within the matrix of the values and criteria devised by the corporations).

Utilizing a fine-grained analysis of specific values that comprise such global institutional discourses, the present study shows, in line with other studies on post-socialist transformations (e.g., Domanski, 2005; Dunn, 2004), that for Serbia also, entrance of multinational corporations represent an increasingly important relay through which such neoliberal ideological frameworks become disseminated to the local populations. The present study additionally contributes to this literature by extending the analysis of institutional discourses to the blue collar workers in manufacturing industries, concluding that the 'flexible enterprising' discourse only partially frames the desired blue collar subjectivities, emphasizing flexibility of skills (i.e., fast learning) and their heightened efficiency (i.e., attentive work conduct). The lack of institutional attention, and only marginal interest of HR professionals for the management of blue collar employees, signifies, I believe, their increasing invisibility in the social landscape of Serbia's economic transition; from the socialist 'heroes' to the easily disposable, they are addressed as either unwilling or unable to access the new 'enterprising' forms of personhood.

The analyses conducted in the present study further reveal that the (global) institutional HR discourses and associated managerial technologies have become **variably embedded in the local organizational HR contexts**. The 'success' of local implementation was related to several key determinants, i.e., the extent of restructuring after privatization, degree of local autonomy, as well as levels of enthusiasm and expertise of the HR professionals in charge of implementing the 'culture' changes. These dimensions resulted in the categorization of companies in three distinct 'scripts' which delineate differences in the local implementation of global institutional discourses, i.e., embedded enterprise, in-transition, and low enterprise groups of companies.

In addition to establishing the discursive and regulatory contexts within which local subsidiaries operate, the present study takes a developmental focus by examining the implications of such intended transfer of Western management knowledge (and the enterprising values embedded therein) on the processes of subjectivity development of local practitioners (HR managers) who are in charge of interpreting and implementing such culture-change initiatives, and as I suggest, simultaneously the targets of such discourses' regulatory effects. The analysis of values (Daiute et al, 2003) formed the basis for the identification of performing, contesting and diverging positions taken up by the participants. Additionally. the research design of the study to elicit participant responses across different interview genres (professional inquiry, autobiographical, private person) was helpful in discerning the different layers of participants' engagements with the (global) institutional discourses.

A careful analysis of participants' positioning, in the context of the three distinct patterns of implementation and associated managerial 'technologies of governance',

revealed that participants' take up different positions in a fluid and dynamic manner, sometimes within the same stretch of narrative texts, interactively signaling their (lack of) commitments to the organization, HR expertise, and wider political orientations. Despite the complexities, overall patterns indicate that there is a relative symmetry in the types of organizational contexts and the 'depth' of the participants' performances of context values. Namely, the participants in the embedded enterprise companies, which is characterized by the strongest implementation of the institutional HR discourses and 'strong organizational cultures', consistently (and enthusiastically) performed context values, constituting their work activities, self-presentations as well as private relationships within the categories provided by the discourse of enterprise. Similarly, the participant in the 'low enterprise' company, characterized by inconsistent and selective application of HR regulation practices on the local level, engages in a more ambivalent positioning towards the institutional discourse of enterprise, across all three genres. The hypothesis which emerged in the course of the analysis to account for the mixed patterns from the 'in transition' companies, that the degree of HR expertise represented an important dimension in the consideration of the degree of 'subjectification' to the discourse of enterprise, proved to be a fruitful direction, leading to the conclusion that institutional regulation practices act in conjunction with other, simultaneous or temporally prior processes of socialization (such as for example, the very mastery of HR expertise, and/or wider processes of appropriation of the 'transition-culture' values).

These patterns of results offer a set of **theoretical and methodological implications**, as well as open new avenues for future research. First, the present study suggests that HR professionals' commitments (or lack thereof) to the discourse of

enterprise were performed at the intersection of their wider commitments as HR experts, and more broadly, as already committed members of the transition culture, which would have taken place prior (or at least simultaneous) to their work in these organizations. In the 'embedded enterprise' and 'in transition' companies, based on the analysis of recruitment and selection practices, these prior commitments would have been a condition for their employability in these multinational corporations in the first place. Here, the recruitment and selection processes are designed in such a way as to appeal to those candidates who, if not already displaying the right kinds of self-understandings, have a strong motivation to re-interpret and therefore constitute themselves as such particular kinds of selves. Thus, concluding specifically for HR professionals, I suggest that in these corporations, they are "doubly bound" to the discourse of enterprise – one, through their mastery of the HRM discourses as an already largely accomplished form of subjectification (Butler), which makes them eligible to act as experts and HR professionals, and two, through their position as employees of the companies in which the continuing display of right enterprising qualities is necessary for both initial entrance to the companies as well as for later achievement of professional (and as the discourse has it) personal success.

Second, contrary to some of my initial hypothesizing, the regulatory practices in which individuals participate upon one's entrance to the company (if and when they are implemented) did not therefore seek to **reform** individual subjectivities (as it pertains to post-socialist contexts, to change employees who are somehow non-enterprising into being enterprising) but rather served as **continuous reminders** of those commitments which would have been obtained either prior or during the course of obtaining their jobs in these companies. Similar findings have also been reported by Bergstrom and Knights (2006), and

they offer a more nuanced understanding of the power of organizational discourses to shape subjectivity processes of individuals, while at the same time underscoring the importance of individuals' voluntary consent as one of the integral elements of neoliberal governmentality (e.g., Lemke, 2000).

Third, the emphasis on building and maintaining employee commitment to the strong organizational culture guides much of the HR departments' activities, and produces a form of regulation of employees towards such shared set of values that is 'normative' in character. Such 'normative' forms of regulation of employee conduct have been reported in prior literature on the subject (e.g., Barley and Kunda, 1992; Willmot, 1993), where the primary aim of organizational management is to induce voluntary compliance on part of the employees to internalize, or at least successfully display, the organizational culture values. Additionally, however, as evident in this embedded enterprise pattern, these companies also rely on more traditional forms of discipline, where compliance to the organizational norms is secured by use of surveillance, assessments and distributions of punitive, as well as corrective measures for those employees who 'fall away' from the norms or standards of behavior encoded in the organizational culture discourses.

The findings of the study contribute to the ongoing discussion about the power of discourse as an active process – enabling and constraining - individual development in specific social contexts and thus life activity. On one hand, as I show in the present analysis, the official organizational discourses and the values embedded therein, provide a very strong referential framework within and through which HR professionals in given companies are enjoined to give meaning to their workplace activities, but also, more broadly, to activities that belong to spheres outside of work. Such a socio-cultural view of

discourse and development is in this study complemented by the analysis of regulation practices which organizations, or more specifically global management, have at their disposal which, as I have shown, aim to further and more firmly attach employees to certain (enterprising) ways of self-describing and self-understanding.

One of the main contributions of the present study to the field of developmental studies is to draw attention to the interconnectedness of the wider socio-political contexts and the processes of adult subjectivity development, and are thus consistent with the socio-historical approaches to individual development (e.g., Daiute, 2004; 2010). These processes, as I show here, are both constrained and enabled by the (global) institutional and 'expert' HR discourses, which can be productively laid out and analyzed through a 'values analysis,' an analytical tool which enables identification of affinities as well as tensions across the different scales of individual and socio-economic contexts.

As the positioning analysis has illustrated, participants have variably drawn on these frameworks to make themselves and their actions intelligible in the context of the research interview, providing some important methodological insights into the particular affordances of different genres – for example, that autobiographical genres, in a somewhat counter-intuitive fashion, was used primarily as a means to express context-aligned values, supporting Daiute's (2004) theorizing that the public quality of autobiographical narrating "ensnares the narrator in psycho-social obligations" (p. 130), exposing him/her more directly to the audience, and hence resulting in positions which are strongly oriented to their perceived expectations. In contrast, the 'private person' genre (the hypothetical friendship question) offered a different constellation of dialogic elements, as well as

potentially inducing a change in the participants' perception of myself and my research agenda, affording thus a safer space for expression of critical values.

Additionally, the analysis of positioning strategies at the micro-level of situated talk, revealed a dynamic, and highly fluid nature of subjectivity 'in-the-making', leading me to argue that the notion of 'coherent' identity as a target, or outcome of regulation processes (refs) should be replaced by a more context-sensitive, and performative understanding of subjectivity and subjectivity development processes in the context of institutional regulation. As Daiute (2004) writes, "failing to recognize that narrators perform often means equating narrative texts with the persons who wrote them" (p. 129). Following this view, I suggest that both in the context of the research situations, as well as in the larger context of subjectivity regulation at work, it may be more sensible to talk about varieties of positionings, or **displays of enterprise**, which may be on one hand, purely strategic-enacted for the purpose of obtaining the desired benefits, as in the case of participant ON. On the other hand, such displays may be motivated by genuine belief in their 'truth' (as in EF) and over time may become more firmly consolidated, or to borrow Bakhtin's term, more 'internally persuasive,' as for participants in the embedded enterprise companies.

As it is through these very social interactions that subjectivities form and develop, then the more contexts and technologies there are to demand such self-expressions, and the more they are associated with a matrix of attractive rewards, the more consolidated, or self-defining such displays are likely to become. Alternatively, as the analysis of critical values revealed, to engage in such displays of the right kinds of selves may become a burden, suggesting a kind of 'dramaturgical' development of subjectivity at work (e.g.,

Kostera & Wicha, 1995), especially when such demands clash with the other self-understandings (as good mothers, wives, ethical or caring beings).

Study limitations and avenues for future research

The analysis of the reception and negotiation of the institutional values and practices has been, in the present study, limited to the local HR managers, who in all but one company case, have been selected as the local disseminators and implementers precisely on the basis of their prior commitments and/or successful enactments of the desired values of enterprise. Thus, in the context of such recruitment and selection practices, it is not surprising that their enactments of the discourse of enterprise have been so consistent and enthusiastic in the research interview as well. Ideally, in some future studies, the sampling strategy would include employees who hold other positions in the companies – these employees, due to the different kind of stakes that may be involved, as well as lack of HR expertise - may interpret and re-construct the institutional HR discourses in different, possibly more resistant ways (as the findings from one HR non-expert clearly demonstrate).

Also, while the present study locates resistance to the institutional discourses as a function of discursive positioning in the context of the research interview, other approaches may have been more fruitful in identifying how resistance may be enacted in different modalities in the workplace. For example, future studies could look at how individuals engage in 'counter-conduct', a form of resistance that entails engaging in the rejection of the ways in which one is told that one should govern oneself. Some promising

directions in this vein have been suggested by Binkley (2009b), who suggests that different forms of procrastination ('let it wait' attitude) can be read as specific ambivalence to the exhortations of the enterprise discourse, read as moments defined by "inaction, irresponsibility and the refusal to seek out opportunity" (p . 77).

Additionally, my analysis of the regulation practices has been largely confined to the examination of formal HR practices, such as performance appraisals and organizational culture assessments. While I believe that they form an important regulatory framework, not the least because they are tied to formal systems of sanctions and rewards, such an emphasis could in future studies be complemented by the perhaps more ethnographic accounts of the informal workplace cultures and the informal regulatory mechanisms embedded therein. Such investigations would be particularly important in trying to understand the processes of employee regulation where formal HR practices are sporadically or selectively implemented.

On an important analytical note, in my own position as a researcher and a member of the Serbian society, I have inevitably succumbed to a set of my own biases, informed by my own critical and skeptical attitudes about the goodness of the neoliberal structuring of Serbia in general, and the entrance of multinational corporations to Serbia, in particular. In trying to counter what I perceive as the general and uncritical acceptance of Human Resource Management in Serbian society, I may have failed to see its more positive or pragmatic aspects, such as the ways in which these discourses may have opened up new possibilities for both the employees and the managers, allowing them to provide for themselves a better standard of living, or, more specific to women in the study, to break the 'glass ceiling' and pursue managerial ranks that under socialism they maybe would not

have access to. Future research, I believe, should take into account, in a perhaps more balanced way, not only the costs and vulnerabilities associated with the new managerial systems of control, but also the possible gains.

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Broader implications: The emergence of 'transnational' institutions as new form of (neo)colonialism

The results of the present study fit into the emerging field of research conducted in different 'developing' locations around the world, including, although not limited to the post-socialist contexts (e.g., Kostera & Wicha, 1995; Chio, 2008). The global spread of (neoliberal) management knowledge and associated managerial technologies of governance to local contexts has been understood as a process of neo-colonization, "a continuation of direct western colonization without the traditional mechanism of expanding frontiers and territorial control, but with elements of political, economic and cultural control" (Banerjee & Prasad, 2008, p. 91). Such forms of control – or governmentality on an international level - are manifested in what Gill (1995) has termed 'disciplinary neoliberalism' to indicate that the countries in Central and Eastern Europe essentially experienced accelerated neoliberalization as a process of 'implementation', rather than 'emergence.' What this means is that the culture of (neoliberal) capitalism, instead of having roots in the countries national histories, had to be established without the previous existence of the capitalist class (Eyal et al, 1998, p. 36). Arguably, as Woodward (1995) shows in her historical and political analysis of the Yugoslav economy from 1945-1990, the structural conditions created by the self-management system in Yugoslavia

encouraged capitalist-enterpreneurial attitudes in the workplace as far back as the 1970's and 1980's. The new wave of the neoliberal reforms may thus represent a further development of the seed of neoliberal capitalism that was already germinating in the characteristically Yugoslavian form of 'market-socialism' (for a similar line of argument, see Kirn, 2010).

The role of foreign direct investment and the multinational corporations in the spread of neoliberalism (as contemporary 'empire' Hardt & Negri, 2000) lies, I believe, in the creation or, 'grooming', or governing of the local-transnational elites as a homogenous group ("we are all the same here"). The emergence of such transnational elites has been central to the processes of local re-construction and reproduction of this form of capitalism in Serbia, as well as region as a whole (e.g., Sampson, 2002). This dissertation I believe contributes to the understanding of the micro-processes through which such global processes of neo-colonization take place, by focusing on the dynamic role of local HR departments and their practitioners as the new and powerful agents of (neoliberal) governance in the Serbian society.

To the variable extent to which the now nearly-global discourse of enterprise is adopted and critically enacted in different spheres of life, the local practitioners and human resource management expertise, perhaps unwittingly, become important 'relays of power' that mediate between the interests of institutions and development of individuals. But as Foucault writes, "power passes through the individuals it has constituted" (2003, p.29), meaning, as the present investigation reveals, that the local HR practitioners are also themselves governed by the very 'enfolding' of the HR expertise as constitutive of their own

self-understanding as employees, HR professionals, and more broadly, as persons and citizens of the Serbian post-socialist culture.

APPENDIX A: Interview questions

I. "Autobiographical" genre

1. Please tell me a little bit about your position in this company. How long have you been working in this company, and in what capacity?
2. Can you tell me some more about your own experience entering the company – how did you apply, what selection process did you go through, what were your impressions of the organizational culture?

II. "Professional Inquiry" genre

1. Please describe the employee selection process in your company.
2. Except for qualifications, what other personal values are important in a candidate?
3. What candidate characteristics are considered to be ideal?
4. What employee characteristics are considered to be ideal? (qualifications as well as personal characteristics?)
5. How are these different for different positions in the company (e.g., entry-level vs. management, blue collar-white collar, if applicable).
6. How would you describe organizational culture in your company?
7. What procedures exist in your company for employee development?
8. What are the goals of employee development?
9. What kind of performance management system is in place in your company?
10. Are there particular sets of competencies devised for each position?

11. What kinds of other tools or practices does your company use for the purposes of human resource management?

    The participants will be asked, to the extent that they are comfortable with that, to share whatever tools/training materials/competency lists, etc. that they use in their work.

III. "Private person" genre (Friendship question)

In this part of the interview, I would like to show you a composite profile of an ideal employee that I have devised based on some prior work in this field. Please look at these characteristics and reflect on how desirable would this person be not as an employee, but as your friend. Tell me, in your opinion, whether you think that this person would make a good friend. Why or why not?

The composite profile of an ideal employee as 'enterprising self'

Ambition, personal responsibility, bold goal setting, flexibility, investment in furthering one's knowledge, investment in personal development, initiative, challenge-seeking, self-regulation and self-reflection, constant need for change, risk-taking, self-reliance, commitment, dedication, persistence, perseverance, optimism, energy, motivated by financial success, motivated by personal feelings of success, communicative, team player, positive attitude towards challenges at work, connecting work goals with personal goals, autonomy, independence.

APPENDIX B: Value coding categories and examples

The following 38 value codes have been identified and accounted for all the data in the present study. The table below lists the value codes and provides some relevant examples.

VALUE CODES	Examples from institutional documents and participant transcripts
Qualifications:	
Educational qualifications (1)	'possesses a university degree' 'we hire candidates who are well educated'
Prior work experience (2)	'3+ years in a related field' 'prior work experience is important'
Other work-related skills (3)	'advanced knowledge of English language required' 'knowledge of English is a must'
Personal attributes:	
Age (4)	'[images of young people on websites]' 'what characterizes our company is a young team'
Intelligence (5)	'IQ tests required' 'what distinguishes them is high intelligence'
Dynamic personality (6)	'if you are dynamic, like challenges, ready for fast learning' 'immediately obvious energy', 'lively, dynamic, quick, of action'
Resourcefulness (7)	'describe how you overcame a difficult situation' 'the candidate needs to land on their feet in different kinds of situations'
Persistence (8)	'candidates who are persistent…'

	'people who have a 'can-do' attitude'
Innovativeness/Creativity (9)	'strives for innovation' 'to think outside the box and create something no one else has'
Reliability (10)	'reliable worker' 'person who you can depend on to deliver results'
Stress-resilience (11)	'capable of working under tight deadlines' 'people who can overcome personal burn out'
Honesty (12)	'to respect the truth without trying to hide it' 'problem is not a mistake, but lying about it'
Self-awareness and self-reflection (13)	'builds self-awareness; determines one's own strengths and weaknesses' 'people who look at and examine themselves'
Flexibility of self (14)	'overcome personal resistance to company goals; 'internalize organizational culture values' 'when personal values match that of the organizational culture'
Risk-taking (15)	'capable of taking risks'
Competitiveness (16)	'exceptional competitive spirit'
Personal/individual responsibility (17)	'take charge of one's own development; accept responsibility for achieving goals' 'they need to be responsible for decisions they make'
Motivation (achievement, informal work environment, job security) (18)	'feeling of satisfaction that comes from a job well-done'

	'achievement at work gives you a sense of self-worth'
Attitudes towards work and company:	
Dedicated to company's success (19),	'overcome self-interest in the interest of the company'; 'show desire to be part of this company'
Loyalty to the company (20)	'adhere to the company faithfully' 'we want them to be loyal to the company'
Company as home/family (21)	'to experience the company as something own', 'domacinski odnos'
Initiative (22)	'possesses initiative' 'take work on one's own, without having to be told'
Conducting work attentively (23)	'to conduct work with 100% attention' 'to notice when something is wrong, to be present'
Efficiency (24)	'we expect speed in accomplishing tasks' 'good at multitasking'
Flexibility of skills (25)	'to adapt work skills based on the needs of the market' 'to engage in continuous education and development'
Enthusiasm for job (26)	'to see work as something enjoyable' 'to demonstrate enthusiasm' 'to have positive attitude towards work, to like to work'
Performance of job duties (27)	'to set goals and achieve them' 'to fulfill work tasks'
Achieving excellence (28)	'high-performance orientation' 'exceptional need to do tasks in the best

	possible way'; 'to shine on even the most banal task'
Self-reliance (29)	'to work independently'; 'to engage in responsible independent work' 'demonstrates independence in problem-solving'
Profit-orientation (30)	'think about company profits' 'is concerned with finances'
Promote culture of assessment (31)	'to give and seek feedback' 'people who like to be evaluated constantly'
Relationships with others:	
Managing others (32)	'to drive others to results'; 'manage through coaching' 'to mobilize others to achieve goals'
Openness to diversity (33)	'to actively use diversity of people and viewpoints' 'to demonstrate respect and understanding for different people'
Team player (34)	'is a team person'; 'team-oriented personality' 'to understand that cooperation leads to results'
Communication skills (35)	'possesses good communication skills' 'open and honest communication'; 'socially capable to 'charm' the court officials'
Customer-oriented (36)	'consumer-orientation' 'to recognize that we can't afford to lose even one customer'
Social and Environmental responsibility (37)	'expected to give a positive contribution to society'; 'develop good social climate and

	social relationships in host countries' 'participate in company-sponsored tree planting projects'
Unique values (38)	'being well-rounded' 'having a natural market for product A' 'to come from a 'good family' 'not showing rural background' 'male employees preferred' 'financial need' 'self-promotion' 'tolerance for mistakes'

APPENDIX C: Value clusters

In the second step of analysis, based on joint occurrence and conceptual similarity, the 38 value codes were further classified into 12 value clusters.

QUALIFICATIONS	Educational qualifications, Prior work experience, other work-related skills
FLEXIBILITY OF SELF AND SKILLS	Flexibility of self, Flexibility of skills (continuous learning), Customer-orientation
YOUNG AND DYNAMIC	Age, Intelligence, Dynamic personality
WORKING IN TEAMS	Team player, Managing others, Communication skills, Openness to diversity
SELF-MANAGEMENT AND FEEDBACK CULTURE	Self-awareness and Self-reflection, Promote culture of assessment
INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY	Personal/individual responsibility, Self-reliance
DRIVE FOR EXCELLENCE	Persistence, Achieving excellence, Initiative, Risk-taking, Motivation, Resourcefulness, Competitive

EFFICIENCY UNDER PRESSURE	Stress-resilience, Efficiency, Conduct work attentively
INNOVATION	Innovativeness/Creativity
COMMITMENT AND PASSION	Dedicated to company's success, Loyalty, Company as home/family, Enthusiasm for job
PERSONAL AND SOCIAL ETHICS	Honesty, Social and Environmental responsibility
UNIQUE	Unique values

Glossary of terms used:

Forms of subjectivity - possible ways of being an individual, inherently social ways of understanding, feeling, and acting towards themselves and others (Weedon, 1987), discursively constructed. When dominant/hegemonic, I use the term 'normative', as in 'normative ideal'.

Subjectivity – ways of understanding and reflecting on oneself as a particular kind of person. Individual subjectivity development as a continuous and dynamic process of negotiation of different discourses which encode certain forms of subjectivities as normal and/or desirable.

Social values – ways to study (conceptualize and operationalize) discursive constructions of subjectivities, as configurations of "socially and culturally ways of knowing, feeling, acting and relating to oneself and others in response to social circumstances" (Daiute et al, 2003).

Institutional regulation of subjectivity - the attempts by organizational management to channel, direct, or otherwise act upon the processes of subjectivity development of its employees towards certain (normative) forms of subjectivities (e.g., Alvesson and Willmott, 2002).

Governmentality - a field of inquiry that explicitly connects exercise of power and mentalité (ways of thinking of subjects), focusing on the relations between state, society and individuals. In governmentality studies, the definition of government is not restricted only to political institutions, or one set of practices, but rather any form activity that has as its aim to 'conduct the conduct' of citizens, in other words, to "shape, guide, or affect the conduct of some person or persons" (Gordon, 1991, p. 2). In this sense, governmentality can be thought of as an investigation of the anatomy of power, making visible the procedures or techniques through which various entities (institutions, corporations, or any other organization), usually under the authority of experts (legal, economic, medical, spiritual), aim to administer the lives of others "in the light of conceptions of what is good, healthy, normal, virtuous, efficient or profitable" (Miller and Rose, 1992, p. 175).

"Technologies of governance" – set of methods through which subjectivity regulation is attempted in institutional context, a 'tactical arrangement' of discourses, various techniques (such as surveillance, or examination), devices (electronic or other), instruments (assessment inventories, etc.), calculations and inscriptions (Rose, 1989, p. 8; see also Latour, 1986).

Institutional HR discourses – discourses produced on level of top- or senior- management (global) analyzed from archival data only. Collection of HRM knowledges and associated practices and tools (e.g., recruitment and selection, appraisal documents, etc.), which encode certain forms of subjectivities as normative.

Genre – a particular configurations of discursive and socio-relational elements, “event involving people with actual and potential audiences in terms of shared values and expectations.” (Daiute, 2010). In the context of the present study, shifting interview genres allows for the emergence of different relational stances and expressions of different social values.

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