

SEEKING SOLIDARITY AMONG THE HETEROGENEOUS

Exploring Strike Outcomes in Pluralistic Organizations

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Introduction & Theoretical Background

Despite vibrant traditions of work on strike activity in the field of industrial relations, few studies have captured the full sequence of its mobilization, maintenance, and termination. Even fewer examined the long-term impacts of a strike on its participants and the organization (Thommes et al., 2014). Filling this gap in the literature, the present study attempts to build a theoretical framework for the question that has long remained unaddressed in research on strike and workplace conflict in general, whether and how does the incidence of strike resolve or amplify intra-organizational conflict?

Especially, reflecting substantial shifts in industrial structure, away from labor intensive manufacturing industries towards capital- or technology intensive ones, the present study aims at broadening our understanding of the social implications of strike activity in multi-profession organizations where a wide array of occupational groups with distinct work ideologies and practices collaborate with one another (Denis, Langley, & Rouleau, 2007; Thompson & Bunderson, 2003). Occupational pluralism provides both challenges and opportunities for mobilizing and coordinating collective action in workplaces. Occupational expertise and autonomy may serve as cultural and political toolkits for occupational group members to organize occupation-specific forms of collective resistance against management or organizational elites (Morrill et al., 2003). Especially, several scholars assert that occupational associations might be vehicles for promoting solidarity among workers in place of declining trade unions (Standing, 2009).

However, divergent occupational ideologies, cultures and practices may also impose considerable challenges on developing collective grievances and interests shared by workers across occupational boundaries. Internal activists or union leaders will face the growing sophistication and complexity of framing a common interest or

grievance resonating that of each and every occupational group. Moreover, occupational groups may take advantage of the disruption to the political status quo of the organization created by a strike and vie with one another for the dominance in an organization's internal polity which refers to the distribution of power and status among internal coalitions, the extent to which they have autonomy, and the mechanisms for resource allocation and conflict resolution (Weber et al., 2009). In this context, the present study is motivated by the following two specific questions linking strike activity and pluralistic organizational polities: First, how does collective experience of a strike affect social relations among workers with different occupational membership? Second, how would a strike influence or be affected by existing routines, processes and polities in pluralistic organizations?

To address these questions, I conducted a longitudinal, multiple case study of the strikes that took place in parallel at the two public broadcasting service corporations in South Korea, K and M (pseudonyms). A broadcasting corporation is a decentralized, collaborative community largely composed of journalistic occupational groups (e.g. producers, reporters and writers) and non-journalistic groups (e.g. broadcasting engineers, technicians and administrative staff). As the processes of program production require collaborations across occupational boundaries, a defining aspect of organizational polities in the broadcasters is the constant jurisdictional struggle over possession of resources and control of the work processes between occupational groups. Thus, in addition to unions and management, occupational associations appear to be the major collective actors in the organizational politics, who formulate their own political goals and develop strategies and rhetoric to support the goals. Both strikes at K and M were organized in protest against the alleged governmental and managerial intervention in journalistic production process and sustained over a sustained period of them (one at K for 95 days and the other at M for 170 days). Interestingly, while members of journalistic occupational groups were the majority of the strikers at K, the strike participants at M consisted of members from both journalistic and non-journalistic groups.

My comparative analysis of the strikes at K and M shows that they are marked by two distinct mechanisms, the enemy reaffirmation and construction process respectively, leading to the formation of a *movement identity* among strike participants, the collective sense of “who we are” as strike participants, in an interactionist manner vis-a-vis non-participants. Furthermore, I also found that the

movement identity has persisted long after the strikes were over and contributed to the transformation of the nature of workplace conflict and collective identification among former strikers. While the sentiment of growth at K led former strikers to renew their collective identities (occupational and organizational identity) in the workplace, the sentiment of nostalgia at M made them remain fixated on the movement identity or the past image of their organization.

I argue that these findings make several theoretical and empirical contributions to the strike and organizational social movement literatures. First, this study enriches the theorization of strike activity by drawing on the cultural theory of social movement. In particular, the notion of collective identity and framing provide cultural, process-based understandings of various forms of collective manifestation of workplace conflict which, I argue, complement the traditionally rational actor model and union-centric view on strike activity. This research makes a second related contribution to the studies on the outcome of collective action, a topic that has been relatively understudied in the social movement literature (Amenta, Caren, Chiarello, & Su, 2010; Giugni, 1998). In particular, my findings highlight emotional energy as a theoretical building block for understanding the consequences of collective action, especially, the linkage between short- and long-term consequences. Finally, the present study contributes to broadening our understanding of industrial action organized by professional workers in an attempt to defend their professional status or autonomy, rather than negotiating working conditions or remuneration. Especially, it offers a renewed focus on the role of professional associations in the process of strike given the declining union representation.

In the following pages, I present the details of the multiple-case methodology and the tools I used to answer the research questions including a description of the empirical context for the present study, a joint strike which took place in the two public broadcasting companies in South Korea. The remainder of the article focuses on the study's specific findings and provides an in-depth discussion of the implications of these findings for industrial relations researchers interested in strikes and social movement theory.

Methodology

This study explores the post-strike situation in pluralistic organizations with a

particular focus on collective identities and framing among heterogeneous participants. To this end, I combined longitudinal case analysis with grounded-theory building (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). A case study is the most appropriate approach for my research topic, as it has sensitivity to the richness, subtlety and nuance of the phenomena studied, allowing a researcher to capture its complex and dynamic mechanisms (Pettigrew, 1992). The research questions of this study meet the criterion for the case study approach, which is likely to be effective i) when 'how' or 'why' questions are being explored, ii) when the investigator has little control over events, and iii) when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context that is growing, yet understudied (Yin, 1994). Furthermore, an in-depth, qualitative approach is better suited to the study of dynamic processes especially in a conflictive setting, allowing for an intensive situational understanding of the lived experience of those implicated in conflict and evolving meaning systems behind the experience, than the one-shot administration of questionnaires or formal interviews (Kumar et al. 1993; Mouly and Sankaran 1997; Van Maanen, 1998). Finally, the contextual sensitivity inherent in the methodologies of non-participant observations and the analysis of archival data enable researchers to uncover the structural and cultural contexts of evolving workplace conflicts and the impacts of unanticipated turns of events (Kolb and Putnam, 1992; Barley, 1991).

The present study used a multiple case design in order to incorporate variations in organizational and institutional characteristics into the analysis of conflict dynamics. This is particularly important in the study on workplace conflict because the way conflict is handled among organizational members is embedded in organizational culture, and thus varies significantly across organizations (Van Maanen, 1992). The focus of this multiple case study is on informants' enactment of the institutional environment and organizational culture around their occupations and the implicit or explicit identity claims embedded in it, as well as their subjective experience of industrial action.

Research Context

A 20-month study, from March, 2012 to December, 2013 was conducted at K and M (pseudonyms), two Korean public broadcasters with around 2,000 and 6,000 employees respectively. As public service broadcasting companies, members of the two organizations share the mission of serving the public as their core value. Since a

conservative government came into power in 2008, it has started placing administration associates as public broadcasting executives. Before long, journalists in K and M realized that the negative effects of the alleged collusion between the administration and leadership of broadcasters were serious enough to threaten their duty to report fairly. It was publicly felt that these networks had lost their fairness, independence, and democratic nature since the ‘parachute presidents’ arrived on the back of administration influence¹. Under these circumstances, members of occupational groups such as news producers and reporters, who felt the greatest threat to their professional ethics, started to organize soft forms of collective action including noon-hour picketing and production boycotts. However, their voices were not taken seriously by management. In particular, in M, the programs that had been critical toward the administration were arbitrarily cancelled and their producers reassigned to non-journalistic departments. Many television and radio personalities known to be unfriendly to the administration lost their jobs.

Consequently, members of M voted to strike on January 30th of 2012, bringing about an immediate standstill to the production of popular dramas and entertainment shows as well as its news and current affairs programs. Then, one of the two unions in K formed a joint struggle committee with the M union and waged a solidarity strike on March 6th, aiming at the restoration of impartial broadcasting and the resignation of the company presidents. It was the first time that two major public broadcasters had gone on strike simultaneously. Negotiations with management proved to be difficult and lengthy and as a result the production boycott in K lasted for 95 days while at M the strike continued for 170 days, the longest strike recorded in international broadcasting history.

Data Collection & Analysis

Data collection and analysis followed the grounded theory procedures suggested by Glaser and Strauss (1967). The qualitative data collective methods used in this study include one-on-one interviews, focus group interviews, non-participatory observation and document analysis. Preliminary information was collected from interviews with key informants at an early stage of data collection in order to identify key players and activities in the process of a strike, as well as to elaborate the

¹ “No more parachute presidents at broadcasters” *the Hankyoreh*, (Feb 17, 2012)

interview guidelines for further face-to-face interviews that followed (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). After the preliminary data collection, the data-gathering process was extended to the semi-structured interviews with a broader set of informants, non-participatory observations of interpersonal or intergroup interactions in the workplace and of the protests during the strike and secondary data including organizational and union flyers, newsletters, postings on the online bulletin boards and other public documents such as newspaper articles on the strike.

While collecting data, I transcribed each interview verbatim and took notes about interesting quotes and patterns in a field journal. I then began analyzing interview transcripts by identifying codes that arose from the words of informants (Miles & Huberman 1994). All transcripts were coded using the Nvivo qualitative software package along with a variety of criteria that aimed to discern dominant or significant themes in relation to framing and collective identity. I coded and categorized each paragraph of the interview transcripts and other documentaries on the basis of both my a priori theoretical interest (e.g. theories of social identity, social movement, and sensemaking) and a grounded theory approach of comparing “data on structural conditions, consequences, deviances, norms, processes, patterns, and systems” (Glaser and Strauss 1967, p. 18).

The focus of data analysis was on the deconstruction of the homogeneous image of participants and collective actors involved in the strikes by exposing the plurality of social relations and meanings they generated and tension among them. In this light, in analyzing the qualitative data, I followed a comparative case study analysis suggested by Eisenhardt (1989). I first focused on analysis within each of four occupational groups which emerged distinct from one another with their own occupational logics and practices – i) reporters, ii) current affairs producers, iii) entertainment & drama producers and iv) engineer, technicians and administrators (ET&As). Relying on interview and archival data on the four occupational groups, I first conducted a within-occupation analysis with the goal of allowing the unique, collective attributes of each occupational group to emerge (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). In doing so, I put together occupational narratives for the four occupational groups based on my reading of interview transcripts and analytic memo written right after the interviews. Then, I turned to cross-occupation analysis in which the patterns identified in one occupational group were compared with those from the other groups in order to articulate similarities and differences (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007). Three themes

emerged from the two-step process: the socialization process, culture and work process of the four groups. In parallel, I also developed tables and graphs for the occupational groups to spell out their core features in a systematic fashion (Miles & Huberman, 1994), as show in Table 1 below.

[Table 1. Characteristics of Occupational Groups]

	Socialization	Culture	Work Process
Reporters	Getting used to occupational hierarchy & building relationship with sources	Hierarchical and Highly Organized	Relying on informal relations & Negotiating along journalistic hierarchy
Current Affairs producers	Raising social consciousness & Learning-by-doing	Autonomous & Collaborative (Horizontal relations)	Team work among 3~4 PDs for one program
Entertainment & Drama producers	Grooming for elevation to be a Main PD	Meritocratic & Individualistic (Vertical relations)	Main PDs leading the team
Engineers, Admin. Staff & Technicians	Getting disappointed & Accommodating by ascribing meaning to work	Top-down, Collectivist & Passive	Involved in Multiple Programs collaborating with PDs / Routine Maintenance work

In the third step, I engaged in the analysis of the strike at the occupational group level on the basis of the deeper understanding of occupational characteristics derived from the previous steps. I followed the same within- and cross-occupational analysis, paying a particular attention to the emergent variations in informants' account of cause, prospect, termination and consequence of the strikes within and across occupational boundaries. Then, in the fourth step turning to the organizational level analysis, I systematically compared labor-management relations, the composition of workforce, HR practices, and the histories of the two broadcasters. In particular, I shed light on the similarities and differences in the way in which interrelationship among multiple occupational groups were coordinated, focusing on the role of unions and occupational associations. As I traced these different features in these two pluralistic organizations, I was able to identify the factors which led the

post-strike situations in K and M to difference trajectories.

As a final step of my analysis, I had follow-up interviews with six key informants including leaders of union and occupational associations in K and M at the point of time (November, 2014) when I managed to draw my preliminary findings through the steps identified above. I described again the whole research process and asked them to provide their thoughts on the process and preliminary findings. All of them confirmed my analysis and offered me some updates on anecdotal examples with regard to my findings. I incorporated them into my final draft. Overall, this multi- and cross-level analysis of collective identity and framing provided me with a comprehensive longitudinal understanding of the complexities of the process of the strikes. At each step of analysis, I triangulated interview and secondary data in order to ensure the reliability of my analysis (Yin, 2003). Table 2 summarizes the various data sources I used for the multi-level, comparative data analysis.

[Table 2. Data Sources for Multi-level Analysis]

<i>Level of Analysis</i>	Data Sources	Work Process
Individual level	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interviews with employees • Field notes • Postings on personal blog, Facebook, and Tweeter • Memoir and Columns in newspapers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Open and Axial Coding on the meaning and interpretation of themes such as organizational, occupational membership, social relations and collective actions
Occupational group level	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interviews with employees and the executives of occupational associations • Minutes of general meetings • Weekly and monthly magazine & newsletter issued by occupational associations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Constructing occupational narrative on Strike • Comparative Analysis
Organizational level	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interviews with former presidents and union leaders • White paper and weekly publication issued by union and management 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Constructing organizational narrative on Strike • Comparative Analysis

Findings

In this finding section, I describe how collective identity of strike participants that had formed during a strike shape their social relations with non-participants after the end of the strike, transforming the nature of workplace conflict from formal,

labor-management confrontations into informal, interpersonal conflicts among professional employees. In so doing, I focus on the presentation of the post-strike situation at M, which reveals the interplay between collective identity and workplace conflict between participants and non-participants more vividly compared to the case of K.

Extension of Enemy Construction

Despite the fierce opposition of the majority of strike participants, the strike at M came to an end on July 11, 2012, as it passed its 170-day mark. Its conclusion involved a controversial process marked by tensions and conflicts between union leaders, management and strike participants. There was a widely shared understanding of the end of the strike among participants, which had long made them resist ending the strike, that returning empty handed to work would only reinforce the regime of the network president and they could not ever again wage another strike to subvert the regime given material and psychological damages caused by the prolonged strike to the union and its members.

The end of the 2012 strike left the strikers feeling particularly devastated given the historic context of the M union which had been long considered the most militant and active union among others in the media industry in South Korea. Its members also shared high levels of collective efficacy since, according to them, their union won almost all the strikes it had staged over the past couple of decades. Thus, it was even more frustrating for most participants to face the loss of the battle which they had wanted to win most desperately, when it actually happened. One of the participants said,

We hadn't actually thought that we would lose. Let's all fight together to return to the family like atmosphere. Let's rebuild M, was the general sentiment. Because the anticipation had been so great, when our strike had ended and it fell to pieces, there were friends who were in the depths of despair, and other friends who were suffering from depression. While we still don't talk about it, to my knowledge there were people who would take medicine or receive medical treatment because of depression. (M57P)

This shared feeling of defeat and despair evoked by the end of the strike made strikers feel more distant from non-strikers who they thought were gloating over the

financial and emotional sufferings of the strikers. Subsequently, the notion of remaining as ‘us, the strikers’ against ‘them, deviants’ became politicized and served as an ideology at the workplace in the sense that it was conceptualized as the embodiment of journalistic standards and a concrete testimony of one’s commitment to it. In its application, the notion was drawn on for individuals to make sense of the heterogeneity arising from the flow of new organizational members hired by management after the strike. One of the members of reporters group described how he and other strike participants made sense of a huge inflow of new, heterogeneous work force in the wake of the 2012 strike.

During the strike, and after it, I told you that 53 people were newly employed at the reporting department, and more specifically, they were selected in the order of 4, 21, 20, 4, 4. Among them, the first 25, the temporaries who entered during the strike are people that we can never accept. They are either people who entered despite having the knowledge of how the internal organizational members of M were fighting, or people who had no such knowledge, in which case they have no right to work as a reporter (M53R)

Interestingly, as shown in the above quote, M53R had been tracking down and recalled clearly how many and when a particular group of the heterogeneous started working in reporters group at the point in time a year after the termination of the strike. This knowledge about when and how they entered M, the only information former strikers had about the newly added others, appeared to help the former strikers ‘classifying’ them into different social categories. In case of replacement journalists hired during the 2012 strike, although they were granted the status of permanent, regular employment, they were still labelled ‘the temporaries’ which reflects the sensemaking of them by former strikers that they could never be part of ‘We’ since they still did not professionally qualify for working at reporters’ group in M. M53R went on to describe another group of the heterogeneous, ‘the experienced’.

The experienced workers who entered after the strike ended are a little different. There’s a slight difference. But, anyhow, the selection process itself was a little inappropriate. Normally 3 to 5 reporters are selected per year, and it just doesn’t make sense for one day to suddenly recruit 20 of them. These people were people to be extremely suspicious of, but, ok, we could carry on by accepting these people. But, only on condition that they are people with the clear knowledge of the values of public service or fair media. (M53R)

The segment of M53R's comment reveals that categorizing 'the experienced' was a more complicated matter. Unlike the temporaries, they were journalists who had considerable experiences of journalistic work at other major media outlets and applied for the openings at M after the end of the strike, not in the middle of the strike as the temporaries did. Therefore, it appeared that, many former strikers reserved their evaluation of them until they could have more understanding of who they were as journalists through social interactions at work.

In sum, the former strikers at M continued to engage in the social practices of 'classifying' and 'labelling' based on the frame of 'strikers' vs 'deviants' that spilled over from the strike in order to make sense of heterogenized workforces and reduce uncertainties around the newly hired temporaries and experienced journalists. In turn, this extension of enemy construction process into the social aftermath of the strike appeared to reinforce solidarity among strike participants against the deviants.

Outward Solidarity and Collapse of Communities

Fragmented social bonds between strike participants and non-participants were not recovered after the participants return to the office. On the contrary, an emotional wedge had been interminably drawn between the two groups, particularly in journalistic occupational groups where former strikers were severely hit by counter-mobilization. To strike participants, non-participants made up mostly by senior journalists, were still, in a deep sense, deemed enemies of free press or their previous image of organization. Such deeply-rooted perceptions of non-participants strengthened feelings of solidarity as a true journalist or an organizational patriot among former strikers against non-participants who they thought were sabotaging journalistic principles and a once great organizational culture. This outward solidarity based on an adversarial 'we vs them' mentality manifested itself in the form of non-recognition in the social fabric of occupational communities. The acts of non-recognition and disrespect became a trademark of the interpersonal relationship between participants and non-participants, prompting the disintegration of occupational communities, as seen in the following quote.

The atmosphere within was utterly devastated. Before the strike, whether it be a senior that understood you or not, or whether you were friendly with them or not,

everybody would say hello to each other, but now you just ignore them and go on your way, and they act as if they have seen somebody who isn't there, like an invisible person. Those who are subject to that must be pretty upset, and people who actually do it might feel unhappy just by seeing that person's face. That's the way it is (M26P)

The above quote also demonstrates how non-participant senior journalists started to become angered by non-recognition by junior participants. In Confucian culture, the prevalent notion is that junior journalists are thought to be recognition-providers, and when junior journalists did not reciprocate such expectations, their anger and resentment was in turn, expressed through severe disciplinary actions against them.

Before, if a junior really couldn't do something ordered by their head of department, then they would run out of the office after saying "I can't do it"...And then, after work, over a drink 'Hey, you rascal, despite however much you don't agree with it, what am I supposed to do if you act like that in such a situation?', then (the junior would respond) 'it was because you (head of department) ordered something that was really out of line...'. This was an organization where pent up emotions or tensions would be resolved in such a manner, and so our reporters group was always noisy with fights and such. But, now there isn't anything like that anymore. Now if you do that, you are subject to disciplinary action. (M17R)

M17R's comment attests to the collapse of the pre-established conflict resolution mechanism within occupational communities. As described in the quote, the informal mechanism of conflict resolution had long been grounded in intimate social relations between the seniors and juniors within occupational groups. It was also a crucial element constituting the culture of journalistic occupational groups which allowed junior reporters and producers to voice their opinions. As the social practice of non-recognition led to the dysfunction of informal grievance resolution channels within occupational communities, trivial misunderstandings or minor quarrels quickly escalated into major conflicts, reinvigorating confrontation between participants and non-participants. In consequence, social relations within occupational communities became completely formalized in a sense that interpersonal conflicts between organizational members easily turned into disciplinary actions or even law suits.

People were widely aware that the destiny of strike participants lay in ‘dismissal’, ‘exile’, or ‘leaving’. In particular, among other occupational groups, many participants from reporters and current affairs producers groups were suspended for several months since top executives believed that the strike evolved from local collective actions from these two groups. These disciplinary actions against strike participants dispersed them into local branches, re-education centers and their homes. As a result, active participants of the strike were physically isolated from one another. Those who could avoid disciplinary action and remain at work in M’s headquarter ended up being isolated and alienated by the non-participants who took the majority of work force in headquarter. Facing such a bleak situation, strike participants turned to online communities such as bulletin boards on the intranet, Twitter, Facebook and mobile group chat rooms where they mocked non-participants, expressed grievances and shared information on workplace issues with one another. In other words, such online communities served as an alternative space of meaning-making and sharing emotions which enabled former strikers to reproduce their outward solidarity against seemingly outmaneuvering deviants. However, concerned with the possibility of the development of collective grievances, management started to put under surveillance the exchanges of meanings and information within such online communities, which, eventually led to the disintegration of the communities.

As occupational, movement and online communities were dismantled one by one, there came to exist no voice channels for issuing, sharing and exchanging meanings among former strikers. As a result, organizational sensemaking process was individualized, failing to generate a collective, shared and renewed sense of ‘who we are as an organization or an occupation’; paving the way for environments in which individuals faced situations full of uncertainties, confusion and tension.

Ossification of Collective Identity

Without provision of any new meanings to incorporate the developing situation into the identity narrative or of emotional stimulation triggering radical changes to the core of the identity, a movement identity forged during the strike continued to operate as a monopolistic principle to make sense of individual and collective experiences after the end the strike. In the collapse of organizational communities, the movement identity helped strike participants to identify their allies and their adversaries as simply and clearly as it had been during the strike and to

maintain a moral ideology which emphasizes the commitment to journalistic standards as a key criteria for the adversaries to be embraced by 'We'. Specifically, it was widely observed that specific labels and ratings were still used widely among strike participants to differentiate one group of non-participants from another and identified some of the seemingly disqualified qualities of each group. Top executives were drawn upon as being at the far end of the identity spectrum.

It wasn't upper and lower segregation like executive – journalists, rather it was differentiation. Strike participants, collaborators, temporaries, traitors...a strike is something like a filter. It's a matter of whether you are filtered out or remain as a remnant. Actually, there are a lot of really deep scars because of this. If someone who was normally disliked became a collaborator, they would just get over it by saying 'I knew that person would be like that', but if a really friendly person suddenly changed and disappeared, then that would be a really bitter experience. One of the more severe cases is where someone participated in the strike, and made YouTube videos together, and then stuck to the other side. And while doing so, they would deny all of their previous actions. (M17R)

This renewed, updated enemy construction process attested to the continuation of movement identity until long after the strike. However, it also turned out that extended continuity did not necessarily mean that movement identity persisted with its boundaries fixed between participants and non-participants. As management intensified its counter-mobilization to lure strike participants to switch sides, the compulsive aspect of the movement identity also became more prominent. Specifically, strike participants started to closely watch other participants' attitudes and behaviors toward top executives and formal group leaders to prevent themselves from crossing self-defined 'lines'. Naturally, the tacit standards and principles which participants thought constituted movement identity were applied more rigidly than before. For instance, a former active participant of the strike and political correspondent, reported a piece which toed the line in being interpreted as backing the South Korean government's policy towards the North Korean government. Isolated former collective movement members used the news report to raise speculation that he might already be a 'traitor'. Later, when he actually switched sides, he declared that it was partly because he felt betrayed by such speculation. This process repeated itself particularly among those who returned to posts where non-participants were the majority. One reporter talked about his mixed feelings in such a situation,

The main departments within the reporting department, the politics team and the prosecutorial team are now filled to the brim with temporaries or collaborators. So, it is hard for a person who once participated in the strike to go to such a place to work. The reporting office most free from political ties, among the better reporting office, is the xxx department that I am in just now. But, for people who are still being rotated around on the outside and the peripheries, as part of the disciplinary appointment might look at me and think ‘did he suddenly change his tune’. Even from within the company, you hear things like ‘you, why did you have lunch with that guy who didn’t participate in the strike? What were you having so much fun discussing?’ ‘What is your perspective on the temporaries, what is your identity.’ Internally, we have entered a second round of tensions. I continue to see and feel such tensions. There are people who ended up brawling after having a drink, hearing ‘what are you?’ and feeling hurt and going on the other side.” (M19R)

This comment shows that movement identity started imposing or constraining participants’ sensemaking process. This compulsive aspect of movement identity was reinforced by strike participants’ dis-identification with the organization. In parallel, past occurrences were brought together to form a background for both the continuation of a movement identity and identification with the old organizational image, to maintain a sense of continuity and communality. However, at the same time, the resultant past-oriented collective identification emerged as a device that locked strike participants in the far-reaching consequences of the 2012 strike and reinforced the belief that they could no longer change the organization, but only adapt to it in a passive way. For instance, a radio show producer explained how his occupational identification came to face a paradoxical situation.

In the end, it was a situation of having clashed with ‘self-denial’ It might be because it was a career in production, but it was something I had started because I liked it, and I sincerely desired to make good programs, but I also felt whether I have to go to such an extent under the management. A sense of self-denial, in having to be really half-baked about a job that I love. Not being able to enjoy something that I really enjoy?... Anyway, after the strike, even though everyone was thoroughly washed out, and even if they felt resignation towards the fate of the organization, in the end, it’s my program, and it was my desire to do it, and that why I entered, and because traces of such feelings remained, it was a process of finding the overlapping territory of such elements. Nevertheless, there clearly isn’t the same sense of passion

that there was before. (M57P)

M57P's comment shows that his effort to reconcile his dis-identification with the present and occupational identification only led him to plunge into a deeper dilemma. Creating and circulating new meanings for the renewal of occupational or organizational identity to resolve these dilemma appeared to have been held back by collective identification with the past. A former reporter who had left M right after the strike commented on that dilemma as follows in an interview conducted on December, 2013, a year and a half after the conclusion of the strike,

Not long ago, I had dinner with one of my juniors and two of my seniors. We were eating together, and I suddenly thought that it was so sad. The topic of the conversation was the same, those people who had entered the company as temporaries or experienced...It really made me think that our lives are now filled with talking about things like this. At the end, I finally couldn't hold back and I came to the point of saying, 'What is important now, now that I am observing from the outside after leaving the company, is that the significance of broadcast news is continuing to be weakened.... Additionally, I think that the broadcast media overall is under threat. The majority of news that lasts the longest in people's memories is news that people see through portal websites while they are at work... So, shouldn't we be thinking about where our news is heading in the future?' For two hours, they had talked of the same old thing. It would be too sad if this were the legacy of the strike." (M33R)

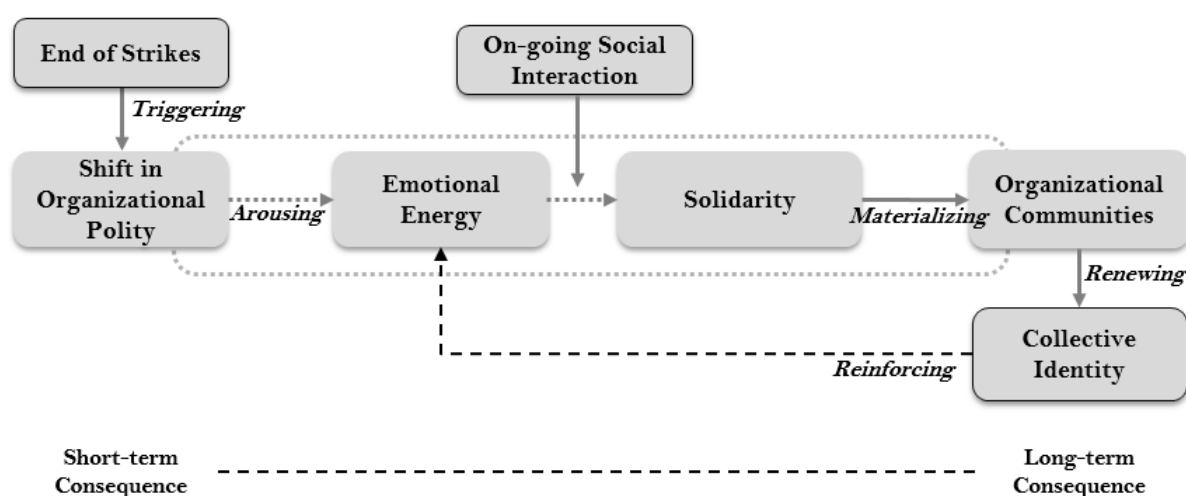
As shown in the above quote, in the absence of a space for meaning-making which could have provided new social meanings to trigger the development of a new collective identity, the continuation of movement identity bound the majority of organizational members to a bitterly reminisced but glorious past, labeled as the 2012 strike, which has continuously been reconstructed and embodied in the existence of collaborators, traitors and temporaries. In combination with the nostalgic identification with the organization before 2010, the collective identification oriented toward the past put in limbo the process of the development of a new, comprehensive collective identity in M.

Discussion

How does collective action affect the routine, structure and process of social movement organization and how does collective experience of a movement influence

the perception, value orientation and identity of its participants? Although these questions are drawing a growing scholarly attention, there is still lack of theoretically informed work on movement outcomes in social movement literature, especially compared to movement mobilization (Amenta et al., 2010; Giugni, 1998). The major constraint on the empirical studies of movement outcomes is the effect of various sociopolitical factors which makes it difficult to develop a causal link between a social movement and certain social changes (Diani, 1997). In this light, collective action in the organizational setting, especially, the comparative analysis of two industrial actions in similar types of organizations, enables a better assessment of the meaning of success or failure of collective action and its outcomes in terms of changes to organizational processes and practices. Figure 1 provides a simplified process model based on the comparative analysis of the post-strike situations at K and M.

[Figure 1. A Model for Short- and Long-term Outcomes of Collective Action]



The immediate outcome of the strikes at both organizations was the shift in organizational polities, more specifically, the distribution of power and status among key actors and the mechanisms for conflict resolution. The change to the organization polities aroused emotional energy among former strikers which refers to ‘a long-term level of enthusiasm, personal strength, a sense of social connectedness, and/or willingness to initiate interaction’ (Summers-Effler, 2002, p. 42; Collins, 1990). While the sentiment of nostalgia at M developed as former strikers realized a fast-diminishing power base of their union, the sentiment of growth at K was constructed

upon the increase in social recognition of the New union which led to the growing sense of confidence and agency among its members. Emotional energy, both the sentiment of growth and nostalgia, allowed former strikers to maintain a sense of individual and collective continuity. Then, the continuous confrontation with enemy others in daily social interactions precipitated the development of solidarity among those who shared emotional energy, which made them feel stronger as a group. This feeling of solidarity materialized into various types of organizational communities in which organizational members developed, exchanged and shared new meanings for the renewal of occupational and organization identities. Finally, it did appear that temporal orientation of collective identity contributed to reproducing emotional energy. For instance, former strikers at M maintained the feeling of pride through their collective identification with the past image of M whereas, at the same time, experiencing the feeling of shame directed at the on-going organizational situation and the poor quality of programs at present. The co-existence of these two seemingly contradicting emotions energized and perpetuated the sentiment of nostalgia, functioning as a “moral battery” which refers to a combination of “a positive and a negative emotion, and the tension or contrast between them motivates action or demands attention” (Jasper, 2011, p 291).

Taken together, the theoretical model in Figure 1 highlights the importance of collective emotion as a theoretical building block for understanding the consequences of collective action, especially, the linkage between short- and long-term consequences. In particular, my findings reveal the role of long-lasting and widely shared feeling states, which has received little attention from scholars relative to a transient, short-term emotions, in shaping outcomes of collective action. Further, the analysis of collective emotions in the post-strike periods redresses the current bias in the social movement literature on emotion which has tended to conceptualize collective emotions as a useful strategic resource which movement leaders can use in the mobilization phase to spur participation or as something to be controlled to keep the movement nonviolent (Goodwin et al., 2000).