

Department of Industrial Engineering and Management

Pay Reform Justifications and Criticisms

Institutional Logics in the Legitimation and Delegitimation of a New
Managerial Practice

Sini Jämsén



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Sini Jämsén

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Abstract

This study concentrates on the legitimation and delegitimation of a new pay system in an organisation, and how institutional logics are present in this process. During the 1990s and 2000s, pay systems based on job evaluations and performance appraisals spread widely in both the public and private sectors of Finland. The Evangelical Lutheran Church was one of the last major public organisations in Finland to introduce the evaluation-based pay system in 2007. This thesis reports a case study of the pay reform, and the reception of the new system. The empirical data consists of 77 trade union member journal articles from the years 2005-2010, and semi-structured interviews of 66 people (32 individual and 9 group interviews).

The analysis focus on how the legitimacy and illegitimacy of the new pay system are constructed by the justifications and criticism produced by various actors. Legitimacy is a central concept in organisational institutionalism, and a prerequisite of the institutionalisation of specific practices. Many researchers have argued that actors shape the legitimacy of practices by making persuasive arguments that justify and rationalise practices. In the thesis, the justifications and criticisms are studied through qualitative analysis of articles published in relevant specialist journals and interview data of key change agents and other members of local organisations. The results illustrate how the justifications of the new pay system were quite general, and very loosely connected to specific features of the Church. In comparison, the criticisms of the pay reform focused more on the specific features of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland, drawing on contextualised arguments.

The findings also reveal the role of various institutional logics in constructing the pay reform and its legitimation and delegitimation. The thesis examined institutional logics in the data, understood as bodies of cultural beliefs, interests, values, and assumptions that influenced the actors' perceptions of legitimacy, among other things. Institutional logics were captured through the analysis of keywords constituting institutional vocabularies. The analysis highlights three central institutional logics prevalent in the construction of legitimacy and illegitimacy: the logics of the new pay system, the Church, and labour market organisations.

A central implication of the analysis is the systematically different ways in which various social groups viewed the pay reform: justifications and criticisms given of the reform differed across the various trade union journals and interviewee groups. Moreover, the analysis revealed an inconsequential number of remarks concerning the fit between the Church mission and the new pay system. In effect, the new pay system appeared to be decoupled from the core logic of the organisation. The strong position of trade unions in the pay reform is a probable reason for the decoupling in this case.

Keywords Pay reform, pay system, job evaluation, performance appraisal, institutional theory, institutional logic, legitimacy, Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland, trade union

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Tekijä

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Uuden palkkausjärjestelmän perustelut ja kritiikki - Institutionaaliset logiikat uudistuksen legitimoinnissa ja delegitimoinnissa

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Tutkimuksessa tarkastellaan uuden järjestelmän legitimoitua ja delegitimointia organisaatioon ja sitä, kuinka institutionaaliset logiikat näkyvät tässä prosessissa. Työn vaatavuuden ja työsuorituksen arviointeihin perustuvat palkkausjärjestelmät yleistyivät Suomessa 1990-luvulla ja 2000-luvun alussa. Evankelis-luterilainen kirkko oli eräs viimeisistä julkisen sektorin organisaatiosta, joka otti käyttöön arviointeihin perustuvan palkkausjärjestelmän vuodesta 2007 alkaen. Tämä tutkimus käsittelee kirkon palkkausjärjestelmä uudistusta ja siihen liittyviä perusteluja ja kritiikkiä. Aineisto sisältää 77 työmarkkinajärjestöjen jäsenlehtien artikkeleita vuosilta 2005-2010, sekä 32 yksilö- ja 9 ryhmähaastattelua, joihin osallistui yhteensä 66 henkilöä.

Aineiston analyysissä keskityttiin siihen, kuinka uutta palkkausjärjestelmää legitimoitiin ja delegitimointiin uudistuksen perustelujen ja kritiikin kautta. Legitimaatio on keskeinen käsite institutionaalisessa teoriassa ja edellytys sille, että jokin käytänne muodostuu instituutioksi. Monet tutkijat ovat todenneet, että organisaatioiden toimijat aktiivisesti tuottavat toimintatapojen legitimiyyttä argumentoimalla niiden puolesta. Tässä tutkimuksessa perusteluja ja kritiikkiä tutkitaan laadullisen analyysin avulla. Tulokset osoittavat, että uudistuksen perustelut ammattijärjestölehdissä ja paikallisorganisaatioissa tehdyssä haastatteluaineistossa eivät juurikaan liittyneet kirkon erityispiirteisiin organisaationa, vaan olivat varsin yleisluontoisia. Uudistukselle esitettyssä kritiikissä esiintyi enemmän kirkko-organisaation erityispiirteet.

Toinen keskeinen teoreettinen näkökulma tutkimuksessa oli institutionaaliset logiikat, jotka vaikuttavat muun muassa siihen, mitä seikkoja ihmiset pitävät legitimeinä organisaatioissa. Institutionaalisia logikoita analysoitiin perusteluissa ja kritiikissä esiintyvän sanaston analyysin avulla. Analyysin tuloksena löydettiin kolme institutionaalista logiikkaa: uuden palkkausjärjestelmän logiikka, kirkon logiikka ja työmarkkinajärjestöjen logiikka.

Keskeisiä havaintoja tutkimuksessa oli se, että eri ryhmät (eri lehtien kirjoittajat sekä eri henkilöstöryhmät haastatteluissa) jäsensivät uudistusta eri tavoilla ja tämä näkyi eroina perusteluissa ja kritiikissä. Analyysin perusteella voidaan myös todeta, ettei uuden palkkausjärjestelmän ja kirkko-organisaation yhteensopivuutta juurikaan pohdittu aineistossa. Tutkimuksen perusteella palkkausjärjestelmää ei yhdistetty kirkon perustehtävään tai keskeiseen organisaatiologiikkaan. Mahdollinen selitys tälle on työmarkkinajärjestöjen vahva vaikutus palkkausjärjestelmä uudistuksen suunnittelussa ja toteutuksessa.

Avainsanat Palkkausjärjestelmä uudistus, palkkausjärjestelmä, työn vaatavuuden arviointi, työsuorituksen arviointi, institutionaalinen teoria, institutionaalinen logiikka, legitimaatio, Evankelis-luterilainen kirkko, työmarkkinajärjestöt

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Helsinki, November 2017

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1. Introduction

In this doctoral thesis, I examine the introduction of the evaluation-based pay system to the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland (hereafter, the ELCF), and particularly concentrate on the justifications and criticism of the pay reform. I use the concept and theory of institutional logics to analyse how cultural structures and context influence organisational change.

During the 1990s and 2000s, pay systems based on job evaluations and performance appraisals spread widely in both the public and private sectors of Finland. In these pay systems, monthly pay typically consists of a pay component based on a job evaluation, and an individual pay component based on performance appraisal. In the old systems in the Finnish public sector, wages were predominantly based on wage grades defined by job title, and seniority increments. The ELCF was one of the last major public organisations in Finland to introduce the evaluation-based pay system. In the ELCF, discussions on evaluation-based pay systems began in the 1990s. In 2007, the new pay system was finally implemented.

Pay systems based on job evaluations and performance appraisals originate from the private sector in the United States (Baron, Dobbin, & Jennings, 1986; Baron, Jennings, & Dobbin, 1988; Ingraham, 1993). As the ELCF's traditions and heritages are distant from the origins of the evaluation-based pay systems, it is of interest to note, how these kinds of managerial practices fit in with the church sector.

In this introductory chapter, I first present the theoretical reasoning, rationale, and research behind the ideas of the evaluation-based pay systems. After that, I shortly introduce the institutional theory and concept of legitimacy, which are central to my study. Then, I present my research design and the structure of this thesis.

1.1 Reasoning Related to Compensation Practices

The research on compensation, reward and pay systems is diverse. The central theoretical approaches in compensation research are psychological, economic, and organisational perspectives (Gerhart & Rynes, 2003; Werner & Ward, 2004). These different research approaches try to explain why organisations use or should use certain types of pay systems. However, they differ in their focus

and level of analysis. Next, these different approaches are examined in more detail.

Psychological theories on compensation often concentrate on issues that motivate people. Motivation theories used in compensation research include: expectancy theory, goal-setting theory, social cognition theory, and reinforcement theory (Heneman, 1992; Gerhart & Rynes, 2003). By linking pay to individual motivation and performance these theories create rationales to use pay systems based on performance appraisals. Some of these theories suggest that by linking pay to performance, an organisation should increase its performance (Heneman, 1992; Shaw & Gupta, 2015). Furthermore, some researchers have found positive relations between financial incentives and performance quantity (Jenkins, Mitra, Gupta, & Shaw, 1998). However, there are also critical views. For example, Maslow (1943) claims that money is not the primary motivator for humans, and Deci, Koestner, and Ryan (1999) argue, based on their meta-analysis of 128 studies, that tangible rewards tend to have a negative effect on intrinsic motivation. Because of these mixed views related to motivation and compensation, the practical issues on the implementation of compensation systems are perceived as especially important (Maaniemi, 2013; Hulkko-Nyman, 2016).

The themes of justice and equality are central in the psychological research field of compensation, reward, and pay systems (Adams, 1963; Acker, 1989; Scarpello & Jones, 1996; Maaniemi, 2013). These themes are often present in designing new pay systems for organisations. Organisational justice can be defined as 'people's perceptions of fairness in organizations' (Greenberg & Colquitt, 2005, p. xi).

The concept of organisational justice has commonly been divided into three subcategories: distributive, procedural, and interactional justice (Colquitt, Greenberg, & Zapata-Phelan, 2005; Maaniemi, 2013). Considerations of distributive justice in an organisational context often relate to situations where employees are concerned about 'the fairness of resource distributions, such as pay, rewards, promotions, and the outcome of dispute resolutions' (Colquitt et al., 2005, p. 5). Adams' (1963) equity theory is the central theory of distributive justice. A form of justice related to the fairness of the decision-making procedures that lead to certain outcomes is called procedural justice (Colquitt et al., 2005, p. 5). The concept of interactional justice means 'the nature of the interpersonal treatment received from others, especially key organizational authorities' (Colquitt et al., 2005, p. 5).

In contrast to the psychological individual level approach, economic theories focus on issues intended to improve the productivity of organisations. In addition, economic theories tend to concentrate exclusively on money as the main motivator (Gerhart & Rynes, 2003). In compensation literature, the agency theory has been the most popular economic theory used to explain the design of compensation policies (Gerhart & Rynes, 2003; Fernandez-Alles,

Cuevas-Rodriguez, & Valle-Cabrera, 2006). The agency theory analyses the relationship between two individuals, a principal and an agent. The principal delegates the performance of a job to the agent. The agency theory characterises compensation as a mechanism that aligns the behaviour of the agent with the interests of the principal (Eisenhardt, 1988; Fernandez-Alles et al., 2006). However, the agency theory's ability to explain the preferences of certain compensation systems has been criticised by the notion that there is no consensus of empirical evidence on the relationship between organisational performance and an agent's compensation (Barkema & Gomez-Mejia, 1998; Fernandez-Alles et al., 2006; Miller, Wiseman, & Gomez-Mejia, 2002).¹

The third main theoretical approach to compensation focuses on organisational fit and practices. Identification of a dichotomy of approaches differentiates between 'best fit' or 'best practices' in human resource management (Becker & Gerhart, 1996; Delery & Doty, 1996). The idea of 'best fit' emphasises that the HR policies should be consistent with other aspects of organisation, for example with the strategy or culture of an organisation (Becker & Gerhart, 1996; Delery & Doty, 1996; Boxall & Purcell, 2000). Also, a theoretical approach in compensation research, called the contingency theory, emphasises the match between compensation strategies, organisation and environment (Balkin & Gomez-Mejia, 1987; Boyd & Salamin, 2001). Alternatively, the idea of 'best practices' imply that some HR practices are always better than others, and are more suitable for all organisations (Becker & Gerhart, 1996; Delery & Doty, 1996; Purcell, 1999; Boxall & Purcell, 2000; Marchington & Grugulis, 2000).

Heneman, Greenberg, and Fox (2002) have identified 'a strategic pay perspective' emerging in the 1990s. They argue that this perspective identifies the change in focus from 'the individual as the unit of analysis and towards the organization' (Heneman, Greenberg, & Fox, 2002, p. 65). In the design of pay systems, the strategic pay perspective means paying more attention to the specific needs of a business, to the goals of individual organisations, to fitting the pay system with changing business environments, and with the goals of other human resource subsystems in the organisations (Lawler, 1995; Heneman et al., 2002; Muczyk, 1988). Delery and Doty (1996) observe a similar shift in the broader field of human resource management in 1990s, which involved extending the focus to strategic human resource management.

Although numerous theoretical perspectives offer endogenous reasons for the introduction of compensation and pay systems to organisations, many adopt certain kinds of pay systems simply because other organisations use them. This institutional perspective on the diffusion of organisational practices is notable in, for example, the increasing use of pay systems based on job evaluation and performance appraisals in the public sector in Finland in the 1990s and 2000s.

¹ Compensation studies using the agency theory often concentrate on the CEO compensation.

The rising interest in performance-related pay can be seen as a by-product of the New Public Management in the public sectors of many developed countries (Patomäki, 2005; Perry, Engbergs, & Jun, 2009). Criticisms of these kinds of pay systems in the public sector are many, along with their ability to motivate public sector employees (e.g., Ingraham, 1993; Marsden & Richardson, 1994; Marsden, 2004; Perry et al., 2006; Perry et al., 2009; Marsden, 2009). Perry, Engbergs, and Jun (2009, 43) claim that ‘performance-related pay in the public sector consistently fails to deliver on its promise’. Likewise, Perry, Mesch, and Paarlberg (2006) claim that in traditional public sector settings, individual financial incentives are ineffective. In his studies of performance-related pay in the United Kingdom, Marsden (2009, 2) argues that the anticipated consequences of performance-related pay, such as to improve the motivation of public servants, have turned out to be elusive (Marsden, 2004; 2009).

In the light of these previous research findings, questions arise regarding, why the public sector and the ELCF, in particular, adopt the private sector’s compensation techniques in the first place? One answer can be developed based on institutional theory, organisations adopt practices not only because of rational goals, but also because of institutional influences. At the same time, cultural or institutional factors may delegitimize practices and thus inhibit their adoption. I study these institutional influences by focusing on the justifications and criticisms presented by different actors related to the introduction of the new pay system in the ELCF. Quantitative analysis is the most common method of conducting research on compensation systems (Werner & Ward, 2004). This study expands the field of qualitative studies on compensation.

1.2 Institutional Theory and Legitimacy

Evaluation-based pay systems can be seen as a rational model for determining pay. In Finland, pay systems based on job evaluations and performance appraisals have spread from organisation to organisation in both private and public sectors. For decades, in the ELCF, the pay reform conversation was concentrated on this kind of pay systems; although this is not the only possible model (e.g., Nylander, Haukola, Vartiainen, & Jämsén, 2008). As Greenwood, Oliver, Sahlin, and Suddaby (2008, p. 3) define, the main idea in organisational institutionalism is that ‘organizations are influenced by their institutional context, i.e. by widespread social understandings (rationalised myths) that define what it means to be rational’. Therefore, practices that have gained status as an institution proliferate in the field of organisations, as the organisations follow each other’s example.

Legitimacy is a central concept in the organisational institutionalism (Deephouse & Suchman, 2008). One main idea of the new institutional theory is that organisations often adopt new practices to increase their organisational legitimacy (Suchman, 1995). This is also one background idea of this study. However, I do not concentrate only on organisational legitimacy of the ELCF, but I also study how the evaluation-based pay system as an institution is

legitimated in church organisations. Many researchers have argued that actors shape the legitimacy of practices by making persuasive arguments that justify and rationalise practices (Green, 2004; Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005; Green, Li, & Nohria, 2009). Therefore, the new institutional theory suits my research design particularly well, because it emphasises the role of language or discourse in the diffusion of organisational practices (Green, 2004). In my analysis, I concentrate on the justifications and criticisms, and also institutional vocabularies used by the different actors in my data.

Legitimacy is a prerequisite for the institutionalisation of specific changes, ideas, forms, or practices (Vaara, Tienari, & Laurila, 2006, 791). Meyer and Rowan (1977, p. 341) define that 'Institutionalization involves the processes by which social processes, obligations, or actualities come to take on a rule like status in social thought and action'. Zucker (1983, p. 5) and Mohr and Duquette (1997, p. 336) argue that an organisational practice has been institutionalised when alternatives seem unthinkable. In the Finnish public sector, during the 1990s and at the beginning of 2000s, the new pay systems based on job evaluation and performance appraisals achieved this kind of status. Green (2004, p. 654) argues that 'To rationalize is to give discursive reasons for actions; to institutionalize is to accept and take these reasons for granted. This makes language central to understanding variations in the diffusion and institutionalization of managerial practices and suggests a more active conceptualization of discourse and social action'.

In addition to the process of legitimation, I study delegitimation and criticisms of the new pay system. Canato, Ravasi, and Phillips (2013) suggest that if the new organisational practice does not integrate with an organisation's cultural values it may lead to resistance of the implementation of the new practice. They remark that there is little empirical research of practice implementation in cases of low cultural fit (Canato et al., 2013). Canato et al. (2013) found mutual adaptation of organisational practices and culture in their study of the implementation of Six Sigma at 3M. When practices were adapted, elements were dropped, reinterpreted, or both, to enhance compatibility with an organisational culture. Culture itself was adapted, as members enriched, revised, and changed 'their beliefs as a consequence of prolonged exposure to the new practices' (Canato et al., 2013, 1745).

There are many studies that support the idea that not-for-profit organisations are especially sensitive to institutional influences (Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Baron & Bielby, 1986; Fennel & Alexander, 1987; Greenwood et al., 2008). This study agrees with this tradition of studying the religious organisation, the ELCF. One suggested reason for this phenomenon is that 'organizations whose technologies are not clearly linked to given outcomes and whose outputs are difficult to evaluate are particularly sensitive to the need to appear rational' (Greenwood et al., 2008, p. 4). Greenwood et al. (2008) also remark that many early institutional studies concentrated on organisations within the not-for-profit and governmental sectors.

I have chosen to use the concept and theory of institutional logics to analyse how cultural structures and context influence organisational change. Lounsbury (2007, p. 289) argues that the concept of logic usually refers to 'broader cultural beliefs and rules that structure cognition and guide decision making in a field'. McPherson and Sauder (2013, p. 167) similarly believe that institutional logics are generally understood as 'macro-level belief systems that shape cognitions and influence decision-making processes in organizational fields'. The idea of institutional logics correlates with my attempt to study the introduction of the pay system model, originating in the private sector and spreading to the ELCF, and especially the legitimation and delegitimation concerning the new pay system. I consider institutional logics as a body of cultural beliefs, interests, values, and assumptions that influences on what actors think that is legitimate and why (see Suchman, 1995; Townley, 1997; Binder, 2007). In using the words legitimation and delegitimation I follow Deephouse and Suchman's definition (2008, 57): '(de-)legitimation is the process by which the legitimacy of a subject changes over time.'

1.3 Research Design and My Own Contribution in This Thesis

Long traditions and a strong religious base developed stable logics based on religion inside the ELCF. However, the Church as an organisation and employer has similar characteristics to any other organisation. Approximately half of the total of the ELCF employees are not engaged in pastoral work, and their job contents are similar to jobs in other organisations (Kirkon tutkimuskeskus 2008). The introduction of the evaluation-based pay system to this medley, may lead to interesting results.

To study legitimation and delegitimation of the new pay system and mixture of institutional logics involved in the new pay system, I examine several kinds of data: interviews, journal data, and general letters by Commission for Church Employers. My journal data involves a six-year period, which allows me to pay attention to the changes in justifications and criticisms during this time. My methods include a qualitative analysis of justifications and criticism in the interview and journal data, and concentration on keywords in these justifications and criticisms.

My research questions are:

1a) How are the legitimacy and illegitimacy of the new pay system constructed by the justifications and criticisms produced by actors in trade unions?

1b) How do these justifications and criticisms change during the process of implementation of the new pay system?

1c) How do the justifications and criticisms presented in separate trade union journals differ?

2a) How are the legitimacy and illegitimacy of the new pay system constructed by the justifications and criticisms produced by interviewees in local organisations?

2b) How do the justifications and criticisms presented by separate interviewee groups differ?

3) What kind of institutional logics appear in conversations about the pay reform?

4) How are institutional logics present in legitimation and delegitimation?

By answering these research questions, I present how the new organisational practice is legitimated and delegitimated in both the sectorial level (labour market organisations, journal data) and on a micro level (local organisations, interview data). I also show, how institutional logics are manifested by studying institutional vocabularies and keywords in my data.

I have conducted the research in this thesis alone. I have collected all the written data used in this study by myself and done all the interviews used in this thesis. I have also done all analysis in this thesis. During the research process my supervising professor, thesis advisor, and some other research colleagues have commented this thesis or certain parts of it.

1.4 Structure of the Thesis

In Chapter 2, an initial description of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland is followed by outlining the old and new pay systems of the ELCF and the introduction process of the new pay system. In Chapter 3, I concentrate on my theoretical foundation: the new institutional theory, and I describe the most important theoretical concepts of this study: legitimacy and institutional logics. Then, I present my research questions in more detail. Thereafter, I introduce my research design and describe the process of my data collection and its analysis. I continue with the results of my analysis, which are divided into two chapters (Chapters 6 and 7). Finally, I present my discussion and conclusions, the evaluation of the study, and suggestions for future research in Chapter 8. I end this thesis with an epilogue about the current situation of the pay system in the ELCF.

2. Context of the Study

In this chapter, I present the context of my study. To understand the results of this thesis, a few background words are needed about the ELCF and the Finnish public sector in general. First, I introduce the ELCF and tell something about its work agreement system. Then, I concentrate on the diffusion of the evaluation-based pay system in the Finnish public sector and specifically its path to the ELCF. In the final section of this chapter, I will describe the process of the pay reform during the time this study covers.

2.1 The Evangelical Lutheran Church and Its Collective Agreement

In Finland, the ELCF is a part of the public sector along with the central and local governments and it holds a special status under public law. For instance, the ELCF has the right to levy taxes on its members and a statutory duty to take care of almost all cemeteries in Finland. It is also by far the biggest religious community, with membership of about 83% of the Finnish population in the end of the year 2005, and 72% on 1.1.2017 (Kirkkohallitus, 2006; The Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland, 2017). The employer units of the ELCF are called parishes and parish unions. There were 562 parishes in Finland at 2005, and 400 at the beginning of 2017 (Kirkkohallitus, 2006; The Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland, 2017). Each parish is an independent working unit and the head of the parish is a vicar. The Evangelical Lutheran Church had 21 227 employees in 2005 and 20 338 in 2015 (Kirkkohallitus, 2006; Sakasti, 2017).

Church organisations differ from other organisations because of their religious mission. In the strategy of the ELCF, the values of the ELCF has been defined as:

‘Faith – A connection with the merciful God is the enduring foundation of a Christian life.

Hope – Jesus’s promise for the future inspires hope.

Love – The Holy Spirit encourages us to love one another’. (Kirkkohallitus 2014.)

However, many attributes of church organisations are similar to those of any other organisation (Asp & Uhmavaara, 1990; Salmi, 2001). Because of the dual nature of church organisations as both a workplace and a religious community, they are interesting topics for research. Huhtinen (1991) notes that when studying the activities of the Church, one should remember that the Church and a parish are essentially theological concepts. Huhtinen (1991) argues that theological concepts define the mission and tasks of the ELCF only on a principled and holistic level. According to the Lutheran view, the practical forms of activity are not found directly from the Bible (Huhtinen, 1991).

The special nature of the church sector is central to parishes and other units where tasks involve mainly pastoral work. In addition, several units and jobs in the church sector involve tasks closely resembling those of many other public sector organisations. The ELCF's property management departments, for instance, may have similar goals of profit as any other property management department in the public sector.

The employees of the ELCF can be divided into two groups, based on whether they do pastoral or non-pastoral work. Pastoral work includes religious practices, ministry work, education, childrearing, mission work, and social work (Sakasti, 2016). Whereas pastoral work is unique to the Church, non-pastoral jobs are like jobs in any other sector, including, e.g., gardeners, administrators, janitors, and maintenance workers. Pastoral work generally requires religious conviction, whereas this is not expected in non-pastoral jobs. Numbers of employees are roughly equally divided between pastoral and non-pastoral jobs in the ELCF (Kirkon tutkimuskeskus, 2008).

The work agreement system in Finland is very centralised (Kekäle, 2008, The Finnish Trade Union Movement, 2016). Approximately 65 % in 2013, 67 % in 2009, and 69 % in 2004, of all employees in Finland were members of trade unions (Ahtiainen, 2011; Ahtiainen, 2015). In the parishes, corresponding percentages were: 84 % in 2013; 66 % in 2009, and 79 % in 2004 (Ahtiainen, 2011; Ahtiainen, 2015).

In 1975, the ELCF introduced the collective agreement (Sakasti 2016). The collective agreement was negotiated and generated by the employer and the employee labour market organisations. The pay system and other matters concerning compensation are defined in the collective agreement. Since 2006, the employer organisation has been the Commission for Church Employers (Kirkon työmarkkinalaitos)². During the time period of this research, a number of employee organisations took part in negotiations (Figure 1): Public Sector Negotiating Commission JUKO ry (Julkisalan koulutettujen neuvottelujärjestö JUKO ry), Kirkon alojen ammattijärjestö SVTL ry³ and Kirkon alan unioni ry.

² The employer organisation was called the Church of Finland Negotiating Commission (Kirkon sopimusvaltuuskunta) before 2006.

³ The trade union's name was first Seurakuntien Viran- ja Toimienhaltijain Liitto SVTL ry and it changed its name to Kirkon alojen ammattijärjestö SVTL ry in 2007 and to Kirkon alat ry in 2011. For simplicity, I will mostly use the term SVTL.

Kirkon alan unioni ry was formed from co-operation between The Federation of Public and Private Sector Employees, Jyty (Julkis- ja yksityisalojen toimihenkilöliitto Jyty ry) and The Trade Union for the Public and Welfare Sectors JHL (Julkisten- ja hyvinvointipalvelujen liitto JHL ry).⁴

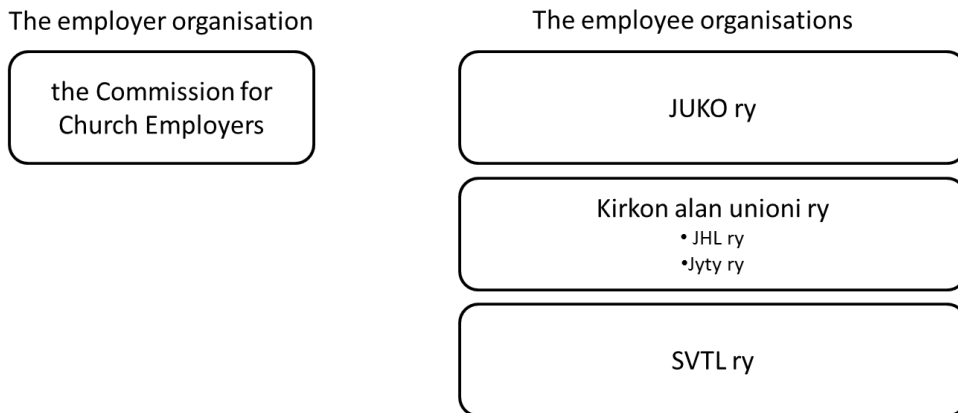


Figure 1. The Labour Market Organisations Included in the Pay Reform Negotiations

Akava, STTK, and SAK are the three trade union confederations in Finland. JUKO belongs to Akava ry, SVTL (current Kirkon alat ry) and Jyty belong to STTK and JHL belongs to SAK. Akava, the Confederation of Unions for Professional and Managerial Staff in Finland, is a trade union confederation for those with university, professional, or other high-level education. The Finnish Confederation of Professionals STTK is a union representing professional members. The Central Organisation of Finnish Trade Unions, SAK, is the largest lobbying organisation in Finland.

2.2 The Evaluation-based Pay System’s Journey to Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland

Evaluation-based pay systems evolved over time, spreading from the American industry sector to the ELCF. In the United States before the Second World War, several new systems were developed for organisations such as HR departments, job descriptions and job evaluation (Baron, Dobbin, & Jennings, 1986; Baron, Jennings, & Dobbin, 1988; Acker, 1989). These bureaucratic human resource management practices, including job evaluations and performance assessments, became more common during World War II in most industries, and even in small firms (Baron et al., 1986).

One of the significant reasons that job evaluation systems became more common was the belief that they could decrease gender pay inequality (e.g., Acker, 1989; Quaid, 1993). Also in Finland, gender pay equality has been one

⁴ The English versions of the labor organizations names are used when they are publicly established.

reason to rationalise job evaluation systems in different sectors (Työmarkkinajärjestöjen työarviointijärjestelmien seurantaryhmä TASE, 2003; Lahti, Tarumo, & Vartiainen, 2004; Huuhtanen, Jämsén, Maaniemi, Lahti, & Karpainen, 2005; Koskinen Sandberg, 2016).

In Finland, the first analytical job evaluation system was introduced at the Arabia factory in Helsinki in 1940 (Mattila, 1993). Initially, the industrial sector particularly used job evaluation schemes. The general classification system, developed by the Finnish Employers' group (Suomen Työnantajain Yleinen Ryhmä), was published in 1949 (Falck, 1983).

The ELCF was one of the last branches of the Finnish public sector to introduce evaluation-based pay systems. The central government sector adopted evaluation-based pay systems gradually throughout the 1990s and the beginning of the 2000s. The municipal sector had begun adoption in 1995. The Orthodox Church of Finland introduced evaluation-based pay system in the beginning of 2007.

Discussions on the new pay system in the ELCF began in the 1990s (e.g., Lahti et al., 2004, Nylander et. al., 2008). Pay reform began in the ELCF in autumn 2005, with the collection of information about all jobs.⁵ Delays in negotiations hindered the process, but eventually, the new pay system was gradually introduced between 2007 and 2009 (job evaluation in 1.10.2007, performance appraisals 2009), including both employees doing pastoral and non-pastoral work.

The new pay system of the ELCF was essentially similar to those already in place at the central and local governments in Finland. Usually, evaluation-based pay systems in the Finnish public sector have two principal components: a job-based pay component, determined by job evaluations; and a performance-related pay component, determined by performance appraisal⁶. These two main components are sometimes complemented by other increments, such as a pay component based on seniority or outputs of the individual or their team (Figure 2).

⁵ Almost all the ELCF's employees were included in the new pay system. Exclusion concerned vicars, some public servants representing the employer, students, employees with an apprenticeship contract, and young employees with short seasonal contracts, (Kirkon yleinen virka- ja työehtosopimus 2007-2009).

⁶ In compensation literature, the individual pay component in the form that it is used in the public sector in Finland is sometimes called a *merit pay*. (e.g., Maaniemi, 2013; Heneman, 1992). According to Heneman (1992, p. 6), a merit pay can be defined as 'individual pay increases based on the rated performance of individual employees in a previous time period'. However, I use the term performance-related pay in this research, because it is more often used in the European context (e.g., Marsden, 2004; 2009; Koskinen Sandberg, 2016). Here, performance-related pay is somehow different from bonus systems, because bonus systems often concentrate on short time spans and can vary significantly from year to year. Instead, performance-related pay in the Finnish public sector refers to a pay rise that is not easily taken away.

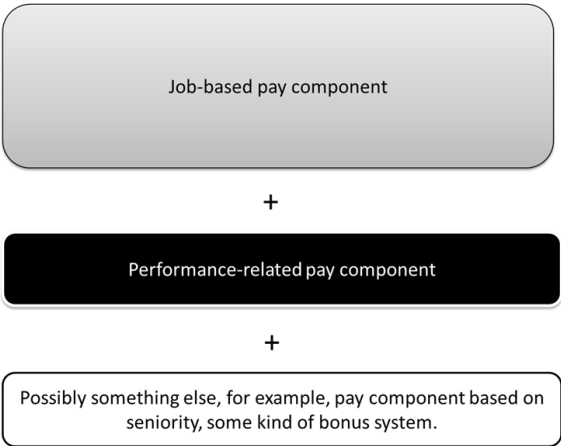


Figure 2. Pay Components in the Evaluation-based Pay Systems (NPS) in the Finnish Public Sector

In this thesis, I also use the term *individual discretionary pay component* meaning performance-related pay component mentioned above, because this term is used in some parts of my data. By the term *individual pay component*, I mean a pay component that includes both performance-related pay component and seniority increment together (see, Figure 3.).

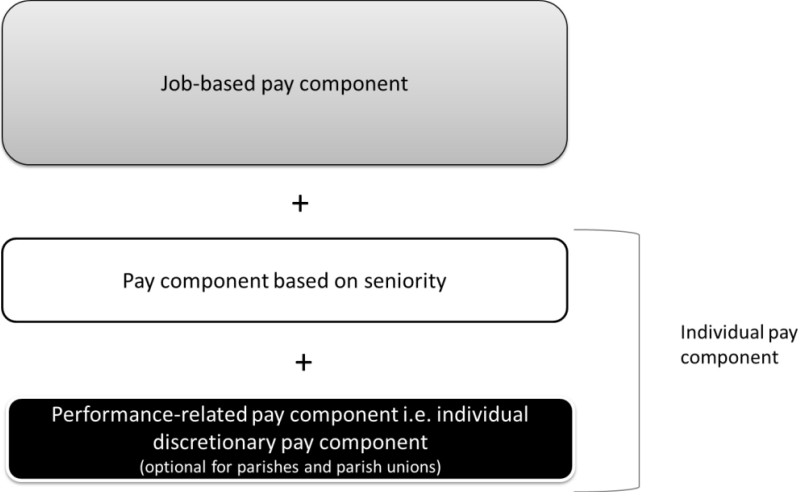


Figure 3. Pay Components in the New Pay System of the ELCF

In Finnish media and public conversation, the term ‘UPJ’ was in widespread use in the 1990s and 2000s (e.g., Patomäki, 2005; Salimäki & Nylander, 2006; Salimäki & Holmborg, 2007; Vartola, 2007; Elo, Ervasti, Teräsaho, Hemmilä, Lipponen, & Salimäki, 2009). The term is an abbreviation off ‘Uusi PalkkausJärjestelmä’ ‘the New Pay System’. Because the idea of ‘UPJ/NPS’

(including both job evaluation and performance appraisals) has such an established status in the Finnish public sector, I include the entire pay system reform into this study, and do not concentrate only on either job-based or performance-related pay components. From now on, I use the term ‘the (ELCF’s) new pay system’ to refer to all components of this pay system. In the data quotations that have been translated into English, I use the abbreviation NPS to mean the Finnish abbreviation UPJ.

The central idea of job evaluation-based pay systems is that employers should set wages according to job demands and characteristics, and not by job title or demographic characteristics of a typical employee (Ames, 1995). An individual pay component based on performance/competence evaluation is usually defined by the performance appraisal made by a manager using a point scale. This evaluation is the basis of how the individual pay component is defined. Performance appraisal systems are arguably based on the assumption that employees’ performance and motivation can be enhanced by establishing a clear link between efforts and rewards (Beer & Cannon, 2004; Azzone & Palermo, 2011).

In the ELCF’s new pay system, the individual pay component involves both a seniority increments, and a pay component based on a performance appraisal (a performance-related pay component) (see Figure 3). (Kirkon yleinen virka- ja työehtosopimus 2007-2009). Parishes were allowed to start using the pay component based on performance appraisals from 1st September 2009, but local organisations were not obliged to use it.

2.3 The Process of Pay Reform in the Evangelical Lutheran Church

In this section, I describe the process of the pay reform in the ELCF. My main source of information is general letters data from the Commission for Church Employers.⁷ I concentrate on the years between 2005 to 2010, which is also the period covered by my data. It is important to notice that this thesis deals only with the introductory phase of the pay reform. This is an interesting period, because the legitimisation process was underway. In the end of this thesis (in Chapter 9), I tell briefly about the current state of the pay system in the ELCF.

Ongoing discussions on the evaluation-based pay systems in the ELCF began in the 1990s (e.g., Lahti et al., 2004; Nylander et al., 2008). During negotiations of the collective agreement in the years 2005-2007, negotiating parties agreed that a working group of a pay reform should continue the investigation process

⁷ The Commission for Church Employers used general letters (Yleiskirje) as an information channel from to parishes and parish unions. The letters were regularly delivered to parishes until 31.1.2007, and at the time also published on the Commission for Church Employers’ Internet pages, from where I collected them. After 1.2.2007 letters were only published in the Internet pages of the Commission for Church Employers.

(General letter A2/2005). The working group was given a commission to prepare a proposition for the new pay system based on job evaluation. The goals of this process were described as:

General letter A2/2005

'A starting point for the work is that it should be possible to apply the new pay system in all units where the Church is an employer, regardless of their size, number of employees, the way they are organised and their resources, so that the service ability and the effectiveness of the operations and the co-operation between employer and personnel is improved. Another goal is that the new system should be so simple that its application after the starting period will be possible with ordinary personnel resources etc.'

Goals for the new pay system are outlined in the text above, including enhancing service ability and effectiveness of operations and increasing co-operation between employers and personnel. In addition, the simplicity of the new system is presented as a goal in the development of the new pay system. These were only clear justifications concerning the whole new pay system presented in the general letters. Later writings discussed the rise in wages as a result of the new pay system, and how to use pay as an incentive relating to performance-related pay.

In the beginning of the process, the negotiating sides planned to use an external consultant and a job evaluation system owned by a consulting company.⁸ However, they abandoned that idea quite fast and instead, decided to continue the pay reform process without a consultant.

The process began with a pilot project involving writing of model job descriptions for approximately 200 jobs in 6 parishes and 3 parish unions during spring 2005 (General letter A2/2005). In autumn 2005, following the pilot project, all jobs that had earlier been included in old R-, H- and L-compensation groups in all parishes and parish unions, were placed in ready-made model descriptions or described in writing by an employee or their supervisor.

Delays occurred in negotiations concerning the new pay system. The first deadline for the new pay system was due on 1st June 2006 (General letter A2/2005), but by agreement of the negotiating organisations, this was postponed until 1st May 2007 (General letter A2/2006). When the first version of the agreement was ready, Kirkon alan unioni ry refused to sign the agreement and the pay reform was postponed again. Finally, a pay component based on job evaluation was introduced on 1st October 2007, and a individual discretionary pay component based on performance appraisals was introduced from 2009 (Kirkon yleinen virka- ja työehtosopimus 2007-2009).

⁸ Job evaluation system Palkkavaaka.

In the ELCF's old pay system, there were different wage rating classifications⁹ called R, H and L, each of which had their own pay scales and included different kinds of employee groups (Kirkon virka- ja työehtosopimus 2005-2007). In the old pay system, wages were predominantly based on job title and seniority increment. The job title determined to wage rating classification, and the wage grade used. The pay tables were categorised by the cost of living in different areas.

For example, before the pay reform, diaconal workers pay would be determined by possible wage grades for job done with the title diaconal worker (H27-H32). There were two pay tables used for different areas in Finland, and the correct wage would be determined by in which area the diaconal worker would be working. In addition, there were seniority increments that increased after four, six, eight, ten, and thirteen years of experience. (Kirkon virka- ja työehtosopimus 2005-2007.)

In the new pay system, almost all employees, doing either pastoral or non-pastoral work, were included in the same system. In the new pay system, the basic pay is defined by job evaluation. In the agreement in 2007, wage components were defined as: job-specific pay component based on job evaluation, individual pay component based on seniority, individual discretionary pay component based on performance appraisals (possible from 1st September 2009), and possibly some extra pay component.

General letter A5/2007

The agreement contains the pay system (Pay specifications, Church's collective agreement, part II), in which the wage paid regularly for an office holder and for an employee with employment contract and monthly salary (an actual wage) is composed of

a job-based pay component (a basic pay)

a seniority increment

a discretionary individual pay component (a pay component based on deliberation) and

a possible another pay component

The discretionary individual pay component (the pay component based on deliberation) can be paid only from 1.9.2009.'

There were minimum wages for each job grade, and job grades for different jobs were defined by job evaluation. The job-based pay component was minimum wage for certain job grade or higher. The seniority increment was 3% of the job-based pay component after four years of experience, 7% after six years, 11% after eight years, 15% after ten years and 18% after thirteen years of experience. (Kirkon yleinen virka- ja työehtosopimus 2007-2009.)

⁹ Palkkahinnoittelut

The collective agreement concerning the new pay system came into effect on 1st October 2007, but specifications of wages became valid retroactively from 1st May 2007. Several matters needed completion before wages were paid according to the new system. First, local organisations decided how to place each job into job grades. Job evaluations required of written job descriptions of each job, and supervisors and employees needed to have conversations about this job description (General letter A5/2007). Local organisations (parish or parish union) made decisions on job evaluations according to job descriptions following negotiations with a representative of employees (General letter A5/2007). Negotiating at a local level was a totally new concept in the ELCF. In cases where the wage based on the new system was distinctly larger than the old wage, the raise for the wages did not happen at once, but gradually (General letter A5/2007). There were some instalments directed for this in 2008 and 2009.

The second stage of the execution of the new pay system in the ELCF involved the commissioning of the individual pay based on performance appraisals. This pay component is described as making the pay system more incentive (General letter A6/2009). The introduction of this performance-related pay component was described as the most challenging part of the pay reform, and its introduction was voluntary for local organisations within the ELCF from 1st September 2009.

General letter A6/2009

The discretionary, individual pay component is based on a performance appraisal of an office holder or an employee and it is a component of a monthly paid, actual wage. That brings an incentive to the pay system. For parishes and parish unions, the introduction of this pay component will be one of the most challenging phases of the pay reform. Therefore, it is justifiable to get acquainted with the instructions concerning the discretionary pay component, even though the Church's collective agreement does not obligate the use of this pay component from 1.9.2009, during this agreement period, ending in 31.1.2010.'

The maximum amount of the performance-related pay component was 10 % of the minimum wage for the job grade associated with a particular job (Kirkon yleinen virka- ja työehtosopimus 2007-2009).

Table 1. Chronology of Key Events

1990s, beginning of 2000s	Preliminary conversations and thoughts about introducing a new pay system to the ELCF
2005	Model job descriptions in the pilot organisations in spring 2005. In autumn, all jobs included in the new pay system were either placed in model descriptions or described in writing.
2006	1st deadline for the negotiations 1st June, postponed.
2007	2nd deadline for the negotiations 1st May. Kirkon alan unioni ry refused to sign that version of the agreement. Finally, the collective agreement concerning the new pay system came into effect in 1 st October 2007 concerning the pay component based on job evaluation.
2008	
2009	Parishes were allowed to start using the pay component based on performance appraisals from 1st September 2009.
2010	

The new pay system in the church sector was negotiated and specified between trade unions and the Commission for Church Employers, but the practical application of the system took place at the local organisation level. In Table 2, I summarise the pivotal differences between the old and new pay system.

Table 2. The Central Differences Between the Old and the New Pay System

The new pay system	The old pay system
Almost all jobs are included in the same pay system.	Different wage rating classifications and two pay tables based on the cost of living in different areas.
A basic pay based on job evaluation, not just job's title.	Wages were predominantly based on job title.
A individual discretionary pay component	
Negotiations in the local level	Centralised system of pay determination.

3. Institutional Theory in this Study

In my theoretical approach, I build on the institutional theory to explain the relationship between an organisation's environment and its practices. Firstly, I introduce a faction of the new institutionalism in organisation theory in general, and how an evaluation-based pay system can be conceptualised as an institution. Secondly, I present my central concepts: legitimacy and institutional logics. After that I discuss institutions as social constructions and the concept of agency in the institutional theory.

Research on legitimacy, closely related to the institutional theory, helps me elaborate how and why certain practices develop into being perceived as acceptable or unacceptable by actors within and outside the organisation. Work on institutional logics allows me to elaborate on the various broader belief systems that define the core constructing principles of organisations in specific societal domains. The concept of institutional logics also draws attention to potential problems that arise when practices are implemented across different societal sectors.

Loewenstein, Ocasio, & Jones (2012, p. 72) define institutional logics as 'cultural frameworks for reasoning, criteria for legitimacy, and guides for organizing time and space'. The conception of institutional logics as criteria of legitimacy provides the central basis of my empirical analysis. This approach claims that the commitment individuals have towards different institutional logics shapes which ideas and practices are legitimate.

3.1 New Institutionalism

New institutionalism is an orientation of the organisational theory first introduced in 1977 in articles by Meyer and Rowan (1977) and Zucker (1977). Greenwood et al. (2008, p. 3) accentuate that the important new idea in those papers was 'that organizations are influenced by their *institutional context*, i.e. by widespread social understandings (*rationalized myths*) that define what it means to be rational.' Meyer and Rowan (1977) call institutionalised products, services, techniques, policies, and programs as rationalised myths that organisations adopt ceremonially. They claim that the formal structures of many organisations firmly reflect the myths of their institutional environments instead of the actual demands of their work activities (Meyer & Rowan, 1977, p. 341). Greenwood et al. (2008, p. 4) argue that organisations conform to

rationalised myths in order ‘to signal their social fitness and gain *legitimacy* in the eyes of critical constituencies’.

According to DiMaggio and Powell (1983), bureaucratisation, rationalisation and other forms of organisational change make organisations more similar, but not necessarily more efficient. DiMaggio and Powell (1983) use the term isomorphism to describe the process of homogenisation. They differentiate between two types of isomorphism: competitive and institutional (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983).

DiMaggio and Powell (1983; 1991) also categorise three mechanisms through which institutional isomorphic change occurs: coercive, mimetic, and normative isomorphism. Coercive isomorphism results from formal and informal pressures from other organisations or society (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; 1991). These pressures may be felt as a force, as persuasions, or as invitations (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991, p. 67). DiMaggio and Powell (1983; 1991) assert that mimetic processes result from uncertainty, which encourages organisations to model themselves on other organisations and to imitate them. Normative processes originate initially from professionalization, by which DiMaggio and Powell (1983, p. 70) mean the collective struggle of members of a certain occupation to determine the conditions and methods of their work, and to establish legitimation and a cognitive base for their occupational autonomy. According to Fernandez-Alles et al. (2006, p. 965), when organisations select the policies and practices of employee compensation, these different kinds of isomorphisms can be derived from different sources: coercive isomorphism from the regulatory framework, mimetic isomorphism from imitation or ‘best practices’ and normative isomorphism as a response to the pressures of professionals and consultants.

Scott (2001, p. 48) defines institutions as ‘social structures that have attained a high degree of resilience’. He argues that institutions are constituted of regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive elements or pillars. Scott (2001, p. 51) notes that generally, almost all scholars accentuate the regulative aspects of institutions, meaning that ‘institutions constrain and regularize behavior’. Scott’s (2001, p. 54) normative pillar concentrates on ‘normative rules that introduce a prescriptive, evaluative, and obligatory dimension into social life’. Normative systems include both norms and values (Scott 2001, p. 54). The cultural-cognitive view of institutions stresses ‘the shared conceptions that constitute the nature of social reality and the frames through which meaning is made’ (Scott, 2001, p. 57). In my study, I mainly focus is in the cultural-cognitive view, and how institutions are constituted in the speech and writings of actors.

According to Powell and Colyvas (2008) and Reay et al. (2013), most institutional research has focused on sectorial, field, or global levels. However, an increasing amount of studies concentrates on micro foundations of institutions (Zilber, 2002; Binder, 2007; Powell & Colyvas, 2008; Dacin, Munir, & Tracey, 2010; Reay et al., 2013; McPherson & Sauder, 2013). Powell and

Colyvas (2008) argue that a greater focus on the micro level phenomena would also give more depth to accounts of macro-level relationships. They also hope for more studies that would develop multi-level explanations of institutional phenomena. I contribute to this area of micro- and multilevel research by studying the organisational level and the role of labour market organisations in pay reform.

3.2 The Evaluation-based Pay System as an Institution

The evaluation based pay systems have become very common in the Finnish society in recent decades. The new pay system of the ELCF contains two main elements: a job-based pay component based on job evaluation and the individual pay component that is partly based on performance appraisals and partly on seniority.

Quaid (1993) defines job evaluation as a rationalised institutional myth. According to Quaid (1993, p. 239), job evaluation is rationalised, 'because it takes the form of rules, specifying the procedures necessary to accomplish the end goal of determining an internally equitable and externally competitive pay structure'. Quaid (1993, p. 239) says that job evaluation is institutional, 'because actions are repeated and given similar meanings by the custodians of the system and those who fall under its administration'. She argues that the set of meanings which develops from job evaluation is indicated in a belief (ideology), an activity (norms and rituals), a language and other symbolic forms through which the members of organisation both sustain and create images and views about the value of one job over another (Quaid, 1993, p. 239).

Quaid (1993, p. 239) also explains that job evaluation is a myth 'because it is a process based on widely held beliefs that cannot be tested objectively. Despite a number of unexamined assumptions, the technique is accepted as "true" because it is believed'. Quaid (1993, p. 257) emphasises that it is not possible scientifically or objectively to determinate the worth or relative value of jobs. However, as Quaid (1993, pp. 257-258) also points out, job evaluation gains its power as a myth because of its rational basis. 'Systematic' job descriptions, such as job evaluation criteria and scoring devices increase the belief that possibly, the 'correct' value may be given to individual jobs (Quaid, 1993, p. 258).

Quaid (1993, 242) argues that job evaluation is interpreted simultaneously as a myth and as a ritual and rite: 'It is a myth because it provides a 'believable logic' which comes to terms with an otherwise indeterminable pay determination process. It is a ritual because it consists of a series of standardized and detailed set of behaviors (e.g., job description writing). These rituals serve to re-socialize and create myth. Finally, job evaluation is also a rite, specifically a rite of renewal. In the face of pay equity pressures, organizations are increasingly being induced to introduce 'new' formal job evaluation systems.'

Townley (1993; 1997) considers performance appraisals as an example of managerial activity. Townley (1993, p.236) states that ‘management, in both its role and structure, is not “given” but evolves out of structured practices, constructed through processes which, over time, modify and reinforce institutional arrangements’.

Performance appraisal is an example of a management activity that generates data designed to ensure that organisations’ resources are used efficiently to accomplish organisations goals (Townley, 1993, p. 226). Townley (1997, p. 266) considers performance appraisal as ‘a powerful institutional myth, part of the rationale of what organizations need to be legitimate’.

Consequently, both Quaid (1993) and Townley (1993; 1997) argue that job evaluation and performance appraisals can achieve a status in the organisational context due to a belief in their provision of rational information to matters under evaluation. I study both job evaluation and performance appraisals in this study, because in the Finnish public sector context ‘the New Pay System’ or ‘NPS’ has been debated on and introduced as one entity.

Meyer and Rowan (1977, p. 341) maintain that ‘institutionalization involves the processes by which social processes, obligations, or actualities come to take on a rule like status in social thought and action’. Green (2004, p. 654) argues that ‘to rationalize is to give discursive reasons for actions; to institutionalize is to accept and take these reasons for granted. This makes language central to understanding variations in the diffusion and institutionalization of managerial practices and suggests a more active conceptualization of discourse and social action’.

Zucker (1983, p. 5) as well as Mohr and Duquenne (1997, p. 336) argue that an organisational practice has been institutionalised when the alternatives seem unthinkable. In the Finnish public sector during the 1990s and the beginning of the 2000s, the new pay systems based on job evaluation and performance appraisals have achieved this kind of status. For a long time, in the ELCF, the pay reform conversation has concentrated on evaluation based pay systems; even though it is not the only possible model (e.g., Nylander et al., 2008).

My study examines how the ELCF implements a pay system model previously used in other sectors. Greenwood et al. (2008) claim some studies support the idea of not-for-profit organisations being especially sensitive to institutional influences and to the need to appear rational (Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Baron & Bielby, 1986; Fennel & Alexander, 1987). They also remark that many early institutional studies concentrated on organisations with the not-for-profit and governmental sectors (Greenwood et al., 2008). However, it should be noted that the ELCF is a special case in the group of non-profit organisations, due to the combination of their strong religious base and the challenges faced by any organisation as an employer.

Nordic institutionalists have documented the tendency of public sector organisations to adopt different models and practices from the private sector (e.g., Brunsson & Sahlin-Andersson, 2000; Sahlin & Wedlin, 2008). Sahlin and Wedlin (2008, p. 223) claim that organisations and individuals imitate those to whom they relate and with whom they identify. A motivation for imitation can be either to become similar to others, or to distinguish oneself from others. Sahlin and Wedlin (2008, p. 224) emphasise that imitation is an active process. In the transferral of management ideas from one to another, 'what is being transferred from one setting to another is not an idea or a practice as such, but rather accounts and materializations of certain idea or practice' (Sahlin & Wedlin 2008, p. 225). Therefore, the result of this process is a local version of ideas and models in different local contexts. Because of the ELCF's special composition on the one hand as a religious organisation and on the other hand, as a large employer with various jobs (not just pastoral ones), it is interesting to note how actors in the ELCF relate to and identify with other organisations, and to which specific organisations.

When studying a particular idea, innovation or practice that spreads in the organisational field, some writers (Tolbert & Zucker, 1983; Westphal & Zajac, 1997) have emphasised the differences between early or late adopters. Early adopters usually concentrate on the degree to which the particular change improves internal processes (Tolbert & Zucker, 1983, p. 26), while late adopters make changes in the formal structure because of their societal legitimacy and not so much because of their value of the internal functioning of an organisation. The ELCF is a late adopter of the evaluation-based pay system in the field of Finnish public sector organisations.

3.3 Legitimacy

Legitimacy is a central concept in organisational institutionalism (e.g., Deephouse & Suchman, 2008). One main idea of new institutional theory is that organisations often adopt new practices to increase their organisational legitimacy (Suchman, 1995). I use this as a background idea, and also concentrate on persuasive language and rhetoric used in organisations. Many researchers argue that actors shape the legitimacy of practices by justifying and rationalising them (Green, 2004; Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005; Green et al., 2009). My analysis includes study of justifications of the new pay system, through which the legitimacy of the new pay system is created.

Research literature includes many different definitions and uses for the concept of legitimacy. Suchman (1995) categorises organisational legitimacy studies as two distinct groups: strategic and institutional. According to Suchman (1995), strategic legitimacy studies describe legitimacy as an operational resource that organisations extract from their cultural environments and use in the pursuit of their goals. Alternatively, institutional researchers depict legitimacy as a set of constitutive beliefs (Suchman 1995, p. 576). In this view, external institutions construct and influence an organisation

in every respect, such as how an organisation is built, how it is run, and how it is understood and evaluated (Suchman, 1995, p. 576). This tradition understands legitimation and institutionalisation virtually as synonyms (Suchman, 1995, p. 576). Vaara et al. (2006, p. 791) argue that some kind of legitimacy is a prerequisite for the institutionalisation of specific changes, ideas, forms, or practices.

Suchman (1995, p. 574) defines legitimacy as ‘a generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions’. Suchman (1995, p. 574) accentuates that legitimacy is created subjectively and is socially constructed, but is dependent on a collective audience, yet still independent of particular observers. Suchman (1995, p. 574) argues that ‘when one says that a certain pattern of behavior possesses legitimacy, one asserts that some group of observers, as a whole, accepts or supports what those observers perceive to be the behavioral pattern, as a whole – despite reservations that any single observer might have about any single behavior, and despite reservations that any or all observers might have, were they to observe more’.

I share Suchman’s (1995) definition of legitimacy in my research perspective. I concentrate on discursive legitimation (justifications) and delegitimation (criticisms) of the new pay system, by studying different groups of observers, labour market organisations and different employee groups in the church organisations, and by illustrating how the social construction of legitimacy is shown in journal articles, other texts, and interview speech.

In this study, I concentrate on the legitimacy of organisational practices, namely, the practices of the evaluation-based pay system. However, the concept of legitimacy can be seen in the two views related to this study; defined as two ‘subjects of legitimation’ by Deephouse and Suchman (2008, p. 54). Subjects of legitimation are simply those social entities, structures, actions, and ideas whose acceptability is being assessed. In my study, these are the ELCF and the evaluation-based pay system. First, the pay reform can be considered as bringing the legitimated pay system (NPS), an institutional myth, to the ELCF from other sectors. By introducing the new pay system, the ELCF may be trying to gain organisational legitimacy, to want to be considered effective and similar to other organisations in the public sector (central government and municipality).

Attempts to establish legitimacy are even claimed to be ‘a key part of management’ (Vaara et al., 2006, p.791; Ashforth & Gibbs, 1990). Others argue that concern over legitimacy encourages firms to adopt managerial practices that are expected to have social value (Berrone & Gomez-Mejia, 2009; Deephouse, 1999). Evaluators of legitimacy are the internal and external audiences who observe organisations and make legitimacy assessments (Ruef & Scott, 1998; Deephouse & Suchman, 2008, p. 54). One reason why the new pay

system (the legitimated pay system) was introduced to the ELCF is the expected social value of the evaluation-based pay system, because of its status in other sectors.

Still, my research focuses on the legitimation of the new pay system at the organisational level. The evaluation-based pay systems may have a legitimate status in other public sectors and within trade unions and employer organisations. Nevertheless, a legitimation process of the evaluation-based pay system was just beginning in the local church organisations at the time I collected my data. The timespan I study is the introductory phase of the new pay system. Consequently, the legitimation in my thesis can be seen on two different levels: the societal level (the new pay system as an institution spreading from sector to sector and the ELCF's attempt to gain organisational legitimacy by implementing it) and the organisational level (legitimation of the new practice; the evaluation-based pay system among employees of the church organisation).¹⁰

Pfeffer and Salanick (1978) point out that legitimacy is more easily recognised by its absence than its presence: 'when activities of an organization are illegitimate, comments and attacks will occur' (Pfeffer & Salanick, 1978, p. 194). This suggests a need to study criticism that works against legitimation.

3.4 Institutional Logics

I use the concept and theory of institutional logics to analyse how cultural structures and context influence organisational change. Friedland and Alford (1991) argue that each of the central institutions of contemporary Western societies, as capitalist market, bureaucratic state, democracy, nuclear family and Christian religion, has a central logic. These logics are 'a set of material practices and symbolic constructions' that influence a broad range of social structures and practices (Friedland & Alford, 1991, p. 248). Institutional logics are potentially contradictory, and therefore organisations and individuals exert a certain degree of choice to selectively draw upon multiple logics available to them. Another early definition of institutional logics was made by Jackall (2010, p. 118), who designate institutional logic as 'the way a particular social world works'.

Thornton and Ocasio (1999, p. 804) define institutional logics as 'the socially constructed, historical pattern of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs, and rules by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organize time and space, and provide meaning to their social reality'. Thornton and Ocasio (1999; 2008; also, Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012) claim an essential assumption of institutional logics is the combination of both material and cultural characteristics involved, the interplay of which causes institutional change and development. They directly state that

¹⁰ Also, institutionalisation may take place at many levels (e.g., organizational level or society level (Green, 2004).

institutional logics provide a link between institutions and action and macro and micro approaches of institutions (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008, p. 100).

Lounsbury (2007, p. 289) argues that the concept of institutional logic usually refers to wider cultural beliefs and rules that guide decision making and structure cognition in a certain field. Similarly, McPherson, and Sauder (2013, p. 167) posit institutional logics as 'macro-level belief systems' that influence decision-making processes and shape cognitions in organisational fields. Thornton and Ocasio (2008, p. 103) point out that the core assumption of the institutional logics approach is that interests, identities, values, and assumptions of individuals and organisations 'are embedded within prevailing institutional logics'. Subsequently, outcomes and decisions result from the interplay between institutional structure and individual agency. This can be understood as 'embedded agency', which presupposes the partial autonomy of individuals, organisations and institutions (Seo & Creed, 2002; Battilana, 2006; Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006; Thornton & Ocasio, 2008, 104; Green & Li, 2011). Society can be divided into three levels: 'individuals competing and negotiating, organizations in conflict and coordination, and institutions in contradiction and interdependency' (Thornton and Ocasio, 2008, p. 104). Furthermore, these three levels are necessary to properly understand society and all three levels are nested (embedded) when organisations and institutions specify progressively higher levels of constraint and opportunity for individual action (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008, p. 104).

Many empirical studies examine how a new logic may replace an old one or how competition between alternative institutional logics takes place (Oakes, Townley, & Cooper, 1998; Thornton & Ocasio, 1999; Scott, Ruef, Mendel, & Caronna, 2000; Thornton, 2002; Thornton, 2004; Townley, 2002; Lounsbury, 2002; 2007; Rao, Monin, & Durand, 2003; Brown, Ainsworth, & Grant, 2012). Thornton and Ocasio (2008, pp. 117-118) note that competing logics are not, by themselves, an explanation for change in institutional logics, but a consequence or an antecedent. Competing logics can also facilitate resistance to institutional change (Marquis & Lounsbury, 2007). Marquis and Lounsbury (2007) also emphasise that organisational evolution is substantially shaped by broader institutional beliefs that can be rooted in geography.

Greenwood, Raynard, Kodeih, Micelotta, and Lounsbury (2011, 318) claim that organisations face institutional complexity 'whenever they confront incompatible prescriptions from multiple institutional logics'. Also, an increasing number of empirical studies have investigated how different logics interact and may exist at the same time (Mohr & Duquenne, 1997; Reay & Hinings, 2009; Dunn & Jones, 2011). Binder (2007) found that members of a transitional housing organisation used institutional logics and local meanings in multiple ways which emerged from their professional commitments, personal interests, and interactional, on-the-ground decision making.

McPherson and Sauder (2013, p. 168) argue that previous studies on institutional logics have not focused much on 'how logics become manifest, the effects of logics, and the complex interplay among competing logics at the individual level of analysis'. McPherson and Sauder (2013) concentrate on how actors translate logics at the local level. Even though they do not use the term institutional vocabularies, their approach is quite close to mine. Likewise, McPherson and Sauder (2013) identify institutional logics by the use of keywords and phrases.

In her study on the introduction of the performance appraisal system in universities in the United Kingdom, Townley (1997) found that universities had their own institutional logic, based on universities historical development, organisational position and the nature of academic work. Although, universities in Townley's (1997) research data introduced performance appraisal schemes without rejection of the idea of appraisal in principle. However, there was strong questioning of appraisals applicability and relevance arguing an inconsistency with the nature of the university and its work requirements (Townley, 1997). Townley (1997) also found resistance to the judgmental model of appraisals. According to Townley, universities relied upon their own alternative institutional logic to form the basis of resistance to change (Townley 1997, p. 275).

My own research design is quite close to Townley's (1997) approach, although, I believe there still is a research gap after Townley's research. Townley (1997) concentrates on the resistance of the performance appraisals in universities. I study criticisms of the evaluation-based pay system, but also the justifications of the new pay system presented by the ELCF's inner actors. The evaluation-based pay system has not been imported to the ELCF by totally external actors¹¹. Instead, several actors in the church sector (employee and employer organisations) have decided together to introduce this kind of pay system. Of interest are the reasons how the introduction of this organisational practice, that is the evaluation-based pay system with its own logics, is justified and rationalised, and also criticised, by both actors in labour market organisations and organisation members. I also study, how the fit (or non-fit) of the pay system's logic and the church organisations logic appears in my data. What is more, the special religious base of the church organisations adds its own interesting twist to my study. The church organisations are a special case among organisations.

In their study on drug courts, McPherson and Sauder (2013) found that some actors used many logics in their arguments. Similarly, I do not presume that

¹¹ In Townley's (1997) research, pressure for the introduction of performance appraisals came from the government. In my research case, the stimulus for the pay reform was primarily from the different actors concerning the ELCF (mainly labour unions and the employer organisation). Even the actors in the ELCF may have felt pressure from society outside, e.g., from government recommendations to use job evaluations (E.g., for promoting gender equality) and mimetic pressures, as other public sectors previously adapted job and performance evaluations.

different logics are unambiguously attached to the justifications and criticisms of the new pay system, or that one actor would only represent one logic.

As presented above, there are multiple ways of defining institutional logics. Therefore, my use of the term requires specification. I consider institutional logics as a body of cultural beliefs, interests, values, and assumptions¹² that influences what actors think is legitimate and why (see e.g., Binder, 2007; Townley, 1997; Suchman, 1995). I understand institutional logics as not exclusive, but I think that one actor may simultaneously represent several institutional logics (and that these can be heard or seen in their speech or writings) (Binder, 2007; Green & Li, 2011). However, I do not perceive organisational members and actors in labour market organisations just as ‘carriers of institutions’. Instead, I consider institutional logics as constructed in discourses in the texts and interview speech studied (Hallet & Ventresca, 2006; Binder, 2007). Akin to Binder (2007, p. 568), I do not comprehend institutional logics to be purely ‘top-down’, but that all members of organisations ‘play with them, question them, combine them with institutional logics from other domains, take what they can use from them, and make them fit their needs’. Institutional logics modify rational behaviour and to some extent, organisations and individuals can modify institutional logics (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008, p. 100).

In this thesis, I outline the way that the legitimacy of a pay system is influenced by the established institutional logic specific to the adopting organisation and by the embedded logic of the pay system. Furthermore, using the data set from the journals of trade unions, I can present interesting findings on how different interest groups accentuate various aspects of the new pay system to make the pay reform appealing to their own union members. The distinct interest groups can be interpreted to different logics.

Ultimately, organisation members do not identify institutional logics in their own speech or texts by themselves; the institutional logics presented in this study are my interpretation of what I found in the data. Friedland and Alford (1991)¹³, Thornton (2004)¹⁴ and Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury (2012)¹⁵ propose certain central institutions or institutional orders that have their own logics. However, I analyse my data and identify logics inductively. This is the most common approach used in other recent qualitative studies of institutional logics (Brown et al., 2012; McPherson & Sauder, 2013).

3.5 Agency in Institutional Theory

In the institutional theory, the concepts of institutional work and institutional entrepreneurship have been used in discussing purposive actions to create new

¹² Close to Schein’s (1992) definition of organizational culture.

¹³ Capitalist market, bureaucratic state, democracy, nuclear family, and Christian religion.

¹⁴ Markets, corporations, professions, states, families, Christian religion.

¹⁵ Family, religion, state, market, profession, corporation, and community.

institutions, or to maintain or change existing ones (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006; Battilana, 2006; Hardy & Maguire, 2008; Lawrence, Suddaby, & Leca, 2009; Maguire, Hardy, & Lawrence, 2004; Micelotta & Washington, 2013; Zilber, 2015). The emphasis on institutional work draws attention to the role of actors in institutional processes (Zilber, 2015, p. 89) and especially to the purposive actions of these actors. In this view, actors in the institutional field do not just carry institutional meanings, rather they are active interpreters of practices, and meanings are negotiated in the ongoing processes (Hardy & Maguire, 2008, p. 205).

As the institutional approaches to study organisations traditionally concentrate on how institutions govern action, the study of institutional work tries to understand how action affects institutions (Lawrence et al., 2009, p.7) (see Figure 4).

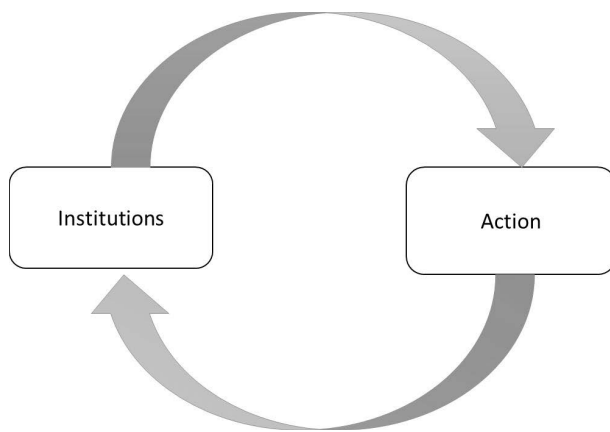


Figure 4. The Recursive Relationship Between Institutions and Actions (Lawrence et al. 2009).

Intentionality is an essential aspect of the study of institutional work. Lawrence et al. (2009, p. 13) present two potential ways to understand the role what ‘actors’ intentions play in institutional work’. The first approach defines institutional work as action that is ‘motivated significantly by its potentially institutional effects’ (Lawrence et al., 2009, p. 13). The second approach would include ‘all human action that has institutional effects’ in institutional work (Lawrence et al., 2009, p. 13). If the first approach is applied in understanding institutional work, the actors who produced texts or speech in my data would not be considered as doing institutional work, because, in my estimation, they are not intentionally trying to change institutions. Instead, the actions of actors in trade unions and local organisations of ELCF’s probably have institutional effects by the wider viewpoint of the second approach.

3.6 Institutions as Social Constructions

This thesis concentrates on how actors justify and criticise the new pay system. My research data includes journal texts and other written material, and research

interviews. One of the most important ideas underlying my thesis is that institutions are socially constructed, and institutionalisation occurs as actors interact and begin to accept shared definitions of reality (Phillips, Lawrence, & Hardy, 2004; Berger & Luckmann, 1967).

Accordingly, language is fundamental to institutionalisation and definitions of reality are constituted through linguistic processes (Phillips et al., 2004; Green, 2004). My main interest is in the texts and speech in which actors describe and communicate their actions related to the pay reform. As Phillips et al. (2004, p. 635) note, it is ‘primarily through texts that information about actions is widely distributed and comes to influence the actions of others’. In this view, institutions can be understood as ‘products of the discursive activity that influences actions’ (Phillips et al., 2004, p. 635).

Following Potter (1996, p. 98), I use the idea of social construction on pragmatic grounds. I do not delve deeper into philosophical discussions about ontology; discussions about the types of existing entities, and what their status is. Instead, I focus on how the new pay system as an institution is constructed and which kind sets of vocabularies are used in this construction.

Building on Zilber’s (2002) notion that institutional study has not paid enough attention to social actors who maintain institutions, I study how trade union agents and employees of church organisations construct or resist the introduction of the new pay system in their speech or writings by justifying or criticising the implementation of new pay system.

The discursive perspective on institutions often focuses on the process of institutionalisation (Phillips et al., 2004; Phillips & Malhotra, 2008). This is one of the main interests of my study, as I focus on the legitimation and delegitimation of the ELCF’s new pay system. I understand legitimation and institutionalisation to be closely related processes. Vaara et al. (2006, p. 793) define legitimacy as ‘a discursively created sense of acceptance in specific discourses or orders of discourse’.

3.7 Rhetorical Institutionalism

My thesis can be seen as part of the tradition of a rhetorical institutionalism, by which Green and Li (2011) explain as being the perspective that seriously understands the role of language in the functioning and operation of institutions. Further, they define rhetorical institutionalism as ‘the deployment of linguistic approaches in general and rhetorical insights in particular to explain how the strategic use of symbolic practices enable and constrain agency’ (Green & Li, 2011, p. 1666). They also claim that actors manage and optimize their limited cognitive resources to construct and manipulate meaning through the deployment of symbols or persuasion (Green & Li, 2011, p. 1670).

Green (2004, p. 655) emphasises that when organisational actors adopt a new practice, the practice does not have to be effective, but actors only have to believe it to be effective. These beliefs do not emerge within a social vacuum, rather they are rhetorically shaped and promoted by certain organisational actors (Green, 2004, p. 655). The main concern in a rhetorical theory of diffusion of managerial practice, Green (2004) argues, is how variation in discursive reasons persuades actors to adopt new practices and also, how the persuasiveness of these justifications shapes the way practices become taken for granted (Green, 2004, p. 655). I consider this element of taking things for granted to be the same as institutionalisation. As Zucker (1983, p. 5) and Mohr and Duquenne (1997, p. 336) maintain, organisational practice has been institutionalised when the alternatives seem unthinkable. Green (2004, p. 657) contends that 'institutionalization is a special type of taken-for-grantedness, where the value of a practice is presumed'.

Green (2004) separates the rhetorical view from the neoinstitutional view concerning legitimacy. In this way, rhetorical theory emphasises how justifications shape legitimacy and conceptualises legitimacy as an active product of managerial discourse (Green, 2004, p.658). At the same time, many neoinstitutional accounts conceive legitimacy as a product of prior adoption of managerial practice (Green, 2004, p. 658). In my study, both these approaches apply. I concentrate on the justifications and rhetorical resources from my research data; at the same time, however, I have an institutional pre-assumption of evaluation-based pay systems as institutions because they are widely implemented in the different employment sectors in Finland.

Brown, Ainsworth, and Grant (2012) present two issues about rhetoric and institutional logics. First, they accentuate that institutional logics are constituted through language, which can be incorporated into written texts using rhetorical strategies (Brown et al., 2012, p. 300). Their second point is that rhetoric is one tool by which shifts in a dominant institutional logic can be achieved by texts (Brown et al., 2012, p. 300; Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005, p. 41). These accounts fit the research setting and research questions I present in Chapter 4.

3.8 Summary of Central Concepts and Theoretical Contribution of this Study

My central theoretical concepts in this thesis are legitimacy and institutional logics. Suchman (1995, p. 574) emphasises that legitimacy is created subjectively and is socially constructed, yet being dependent on a collective audience and independent of particular observers. I introduce institutional logics as a body of cultural beliefs, interests, values, and assumptions that influences what actors think is legitimate and why (see e.g., Binder, 2007; Townley, 1997; Suchman, 1995). Therefore, I agree with Suddaby and Greenwood (2005, p. 36) that 'the criterion for legitimacy is encoded within institutional logics'. Also, Townley (1997, p. 264) argues that the concept of

institutional logics is a good foundation for the examination of legitimacy, because the concept of institutional logics recognises the differentiated societal spheres, with divergent belief systems sustaining different types of social relations.

The legitimation of a new pay system is a multi-level process. Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury (2012, p. 13) claim ‘the institutional logics perspective assumes that institutions operate at multiple levels of analysis and that actors are nested in higher order levels – individual, organizational, field, and societal’. They maintain ‘researchers that combine multiple levels of analysis in their research are more likely to observe a more accurate picture because, by observing across levels, they can see the workings of mechanisms and – according to the institutional logics perspective – the contradictory nature of institutional logics’ (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012, p. 14). I study both the individual and organisational levels, but also trade union organisations. The role of these organisations in the pay reform processes in the Finnish public sector add come remarkable supplements to my analysis.

Institutional theory allows an understanding of how practices are adapted as they diffuse. For example, Özen and Berkman (2007) focus on discourses on and justifications of the legitimation of the TQM (total quality management) at the national level in Turkey. They concentrate on the issues of cross-national reconstruction of managerial practice. Özen and Berkman (2007, p. 826) suggest that ‘a transferred management practice is reconstructed through a process in which competing or collaborating agents attempt to translate the practice (source discourse) by producing texts (recipient rhetoric) on which the legitimacy and authority structure of actors, the rhetoric inherent in the source discourse, and the macro-cultural discourses within the recipient context are influential. The recipient rhetoric, then, embeds in the recipient discourse that constitutes the reconstructed practice as either a fashion or an institution in the recipient context. The reconstructed practice might become a source discourse as it is transferred to a recipient country.’ My approach involves similar ideas, but I construct my arguments around the concept of institutional logics. Theorizations about institutional logics help us clarify the different influences arising from discourse and writings of organisational actors regarding the new practice (here the new pay system).

Scholars note that few studies systematically examine keywords or vocabularies in organisations (Jones & Livne-Tarandach, 2008; Loewenstein, Ocasio, & Jones, 2012). Jones and Livne-Tarandach (2008, p. 1076) state that few scholars have empirically identified ‘what keywords social actors use from which societal institutions when justifying and legitimating themselves’ concentrating instead on the keywords identified *à priori* and tracing their usage. Loewenstein et al. (2012, p. 43) report that scholars using discourse analysis or examining rhetorical strategies rarely examine an actor’s vocabularies or the relations between words. Loewenstein et al. (2012, p. 45) define vocabularies as ‘systems of words, and the meaning of these words, used

by *collectives* at different levels of analysis – groups, organizations, communities of practice, and institutional fields – in communication, thought, and action’.

I summarise unknown issues about the legitimation of new practices to organisations is as follows:

1. My study focuses justifications and criticisms of the new pay system both at the sectorial level (labour market organisations, journal data) and micro level (local organisations, interview data). Powell and Colyvas (2008) have called more studies using institutional theory, concentrating on the micro level or multi-level of institutional phenomena.
2. Many institutional studies are performed on public sector organisations and not-for-profit organisations. However, my study of the ELCF has some special features because of the religious base of the church organisations.
3. I expand Townley’s (1997) approach of studying the resistance of performance appraisals by concentrating on both how the new pay system is legitimated (justified) and delegitimated (criticised) in my two data sets by different actors and different levels of organisation. Building on Zilber’s (2002) notion that institutional study has paid too little attention to social actors who maintain institutions, I particularly focus on how agents in trade unions and employees of the church organisations construct or resist the introduction of the new pay system in their speech or writings by justifying or criticising the implementation of new pay system. Although, I study social actors’ speech and writings, I do not use the terms institutional work or institutional entrepreneurship because I do not think the actions of create, maintain, or change institutions are necessarily deliberate and intentional.
4. I continue McPherson’s and Sauder’s (2013) interest in the way logics are manifested by studying vocabularies and keywords in my data and by concentrating on the diverse logics within organisations.

4. Research Questions

The Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland has long traditions and a strong religious foundation on which to base its actions. Nevertheless, church organisations have similar characteristics to any other organisation. About half of the ELCF's employees are not involved in pastoral work, and their jobs are very similar to equivalent jobs in other organisations. The introduction of evaluation-based pay system to this kind of organisation inevitably leads to interesting interactions. Therefore, the main goal of my thesis is to examine this mixture of logics.

In Chapter 6, I answer my first two sets of research questions. I examine the process of legitimating the evaluation-based pay system both in the different media of the church sector (journal data), and in the interview data from diverse members of the organisation. These two data sets represent different types of discussion: journal data is more public; when the interviewees work at the local organisation level and tell their opinions to me as the interviewer. The journal data dates from the period 2005 to 2010, thus I can also study how the justifications and criticisms change over time.

My first set of research questions concentrates on the writings by the trade union actors in trade union journals. I answer these questions in Section 6.1. Member journals are included in my data, whose target groups are members of specific trade unions. Therefore, the potential readers of each journal are different.

1a) How are the legitimacy and illegitimacy of the new pay system constructed by the justifications and criticisms produced by actors in trade unions?

1b) How do these justifications and criticisms change during the process of implementation of the new pay system?

1c) How do the justifications and criticisms presented in separate trade union journals differ?

My second set of research questions examines how the pay system reform is received and understood by actors who work in the ELCF. I answer these questions in Section 6.2.

2 a) How are the legitimacy and illegitimacy of the new pay system constructed by the justifications and criticisms produced by interviewees in local organisations?

2 b) How do the justifications and criticisms presented by separate interviewee groups differ?

The final two research questions concentrate on the institutional logics in my data. I use the concept of institutional vocabularies to answer these questions in Chapter 7. In my fourth research question, I will combine my two analyses: analysis of justifications and criticisms and analysis of institutional vocabularies.

3. What kind of institutional logics appear in conversations about the pay reform?

4. How are institutional logics present in legitimation and delegitimation?

Of practical interest is how the compensation model that originating in very different organisations in the private sector, can be adjusted to the ELCF, which has very special characteristics as an organisation. I produce information for managers, consultants and other actors in organisations about how different organisational practices can be introduced to organisations having organisational logics that do not seem to fit the new practices.

5. Research Design and Methods

In this chapter, I present the basis of my analysis, data, and methods. First, I discuss some key concepts related to my analysis: justifications and criticisms and the concept of institutional vocabularies. Then, I introduce my data sets: journal data from trade union journals, interview data collected from the local organisations, and complementary data from the Commission for Church Employers. Finally, in Section 5.3, I explain in detail, how I performed my analysis.

5.1 Research Design: Study of Justifications and Criticisms and Institutional Vocabularies.

To answer my research questions, I focus on justifications and criticisms, and institutional vocabularies within the data. In this section, I first introduce some basic ideas of a rhetorical analysis of institutions and then explicate how the terms justifications, criticisms, and institutional vocabularies are connected to rhetorical institutionalism.

The idea of institutions as social constructions is an important background presumption in this thesis as presented in Section 3.6. In my analysis, I understand actors not only to describe institutions in their writings and speech, but to construct them in social interaction (Phillips et al., 2004; Berger & Luckmann, 1967). The pay system not only involves inherent papers and rules, but includes justifications, understandings, and interpretations that organisation members create. This notion increases the importance of research on language. However, I do not concentrate solely on language, but consider language as one central part of social reality.

5.1.1 Classical and New Rhetoric

Although my analysis is not traditional rhetorical analysis, I use rhetorical-based elements. Suddaby and Greenwood (2005) argue that rhetoric is a subset for a discourse analysis. Rhetorical analysis and discourse analysis share an

interest in the role of language in structuring social action, but rhetorical analysis specifically focuses on persuasion and influence, and concentrates on political or interest-laden discourse (Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005). Cheney, Christensen, Conrad, and Lair (2004, p. 84) point out that a rhetorical approach is concerned mainly with the strategic dimensions of discourse, in contrast to other forms of discourse analysis. Green and Li (2011, p. 1681) state that discourse analysis and rhetorical institutionalism share the assumptions that discourse produces institutions, and institutions constrain and enable action.

Cheney et al. (2004, p. 79) define rhetoric as ‘the humanistic tradition for the study of persuasion’. The tradition of rhetoric has a long history, and some of the most famous writings about rhetoric are by Aristotle (2005). Some writers (e.g., Perelman, 1979; Green, Li, & Nohria, 2009; Erkama & Vaara, 2010; Green & Li, 2011; Hoefler & Green, 2016) distinguish between classical and new rhetoric. Green and colleagues (2009; 2011) consider the main difference between these two is that classical rhetoric focuses on ‘how we use words’ and how the rhetoric communicates. New rhetoric, however, is more interested in ‘how words use us’ and in the audience and the social aspects of communication (Green & Li, 2011, p. 1671; Green, Li & Nohria, 2009, p. 13, see also Perelman, 1979). In other words, whereas ‘classical rhetoric focuses on persuasion as influence, new rhetoric is concerned with persuasion as communication’ (Green & Li 2011, p. 1671). New rhetoric revises the excessive voluntarism of classical rhetoric’s conception of agency, by recognising the ways in which words use us. New rhetoric also helps institutional scholars theorise how language simultaneously constrains and enables actors’ thoughts and choices (Green & Li, 2011, p. 1672).

Green and Li (2011, p. 1672) also offer the choice of combining classical and new rhetoric. In this view, ‘the words use us as much as we use them because persuasive communication subconsciously reflects and deliberately manipulates values, ideology, and beliefs’. Green and Li (2011, pp. 1672-1673) believe that by combining these two rhetorical approaches we can combine pragmatic and semantic orientations of language and meaning, which is critical to an understanding of rhetoric in institutional processes. Green and Li (2011) argue that ‘a classical rhetoric approach seeks to understand how meanings are produced by actors, with purposes and attitudes, and through linguistic practices. Yet, new rhetoric reminds us that meanings are also taken for granted and thus may often appear as literal definitions of the world’ (Green & Li 2011, p. 1673). Therefore, combining classical and new rhetoric allows us to investigate how language ‘both constructs and reflects actors and their motives in the formation of social structures and relations’ (Green & Li 2011, p. 1673).

In an organisational context, rhetoric refers to the persuasive discourse used by organisation members in their interactions, both with each other and outsiders (Sillince & Brown, 2009). Cheney et al. (2004, p. 82) consider organisational rhetoric as ‘embedded in or implied in interaction that deals with contingencies, uncertainties and ambiguities’.

5.1.2 Justifications and Criticisms as Legitimation and Delegitimation of the Pay System

I analyse the justifications and criticism of the new pay system to understand, how are the legitimacy and illegitimacy of the new pay system constructed. In addition to discussions within the local organisations of the ELCF, I also examine the rhetoric of trade unions in the implementation of the new pay system. Labour market organisations play the most central role in pay system negotiations, and more generally in the pay system implementation process in the Finnish public sector.

Perelman (1979) and Billig (1996) identify the centrality of justifications and criticisms in rhetoric. Perelman (1979, p. 33) reasons that these two are rhetorically related to each other: ‘a question of justification ordinarily arises only in a situation that has given rise to criticism: no one is called upon to justify behaviour that is beyond reproach’.

Perelman (1979, p. 33) also writes that ‘criticism and justification are two forms of argument that call for the giving of reasons that ultimately enable us to call the action or decision reasonable or unreasonable’. This idea is also connected to the concept of legitimacy. Suchman (1995) accentuates that legitimacy is created subjectively, is socially constructed, and can be defined as a generalised perception of an entity’s desirability or appropriateness in any socially constructed system. Therefore, justifications are arguably a way to create legitimacy.

Pfeffer and Salanick (1978) point out that legitimacy is usually more easily identified by its absence than by its presence. They state that ‘when activities of an organization are illegitimate, comments and attacks will occur’ (Pfeffer & Salanick 1978, p. 194). This explains why I concentrate on criticism of the new pay system: it should bring interesting perspectives also to the process of constructing legitimacy of the new pay system.

Actions or decisions are criticised in relation to accepted values or rules (Billig 1996, p. 117; Perelman 1979, p. 33). Therefore, Perelman (1979, p. 33) notes that criticism ‘always occurs within a social context; it is always “situated”’. Billig (1996, 117) adds that by implication, the same is true of justification.

I define justification as a mean piece of text (or in interviews, piece of speech), in which the author supports the ELCF’s new pay system. Authors in my data expressed reasons for the introduction of the new pay system or arguments why the new pay system is a good system, or better than the old pay system. Green (2004, p. 655) states that a managerial practice must first make sense, before it can become taken for granted; that sense making involves justifying a practice within an argumentative or linguistic context. Justifications legitimate a practice and establish appropriateness and rationality (Green 2004, p. 655). The persuasiveness of justification influences how effectively and easily people

make sense of it and in that way, also, how quickly a new management practice becomes accepted or taken for granted (Green 2004, p. 656).

The term criticism in my analysis refers to critique of or resistance towards the new pay system, presented in journal articles and interview data. The writer or speaker in my data might present either a reason why the new pay system should not be introduced; or more typically, what is not quite right in the new pay system or in the process of the implementation of the new pay system, even if the writer or speaker sees other advantages in the new pay system. Examples of coding justifications and criticisms are presented in Section 5.3.1.

5.1.3 Institutional vocabularies

In addition to justifications and criticisms, my analysis concentrates on keywords or institutional vocabularies. Institutional vocabularies help to identify institutional logics in data (Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005; McPherson & Sauder, 2013).

Williams (1983) and Jones and Livne-Tarandach (2008, p. 1076) discuss words that act 'as a binding force' within a culture. Jones and Livne-Tarandach (2008, p. 1076) argue that keywords 'define a field and act as a radiating force around which associated terms or words cohere'. Both Burke (1989) and Jones and Livne-Tarandach (2008) comprehend the importance of studying vocabularies as part of the study of rhetoric.

Burke (1989) emphasises that a focus on terms or keywords in language reveals actors' motives and strategies (also Jones & Livne-Tarandach, 2008, p. 1076). Keywords either 'put things together or take things apart' (Burke, 1989, p. 120). As Jones and Livne-Tarandach (2008, p. 1076) point out, clusters of words form vocabularies. According to them, vocabularies are interrelated set of words that actors use to justify, legitimate and explain their actions as socially acceptable (Jones & Livne-Tarandach, 2008, p. 1076). Therefore, the fundamental legitimating explanations are built into the vocabulary (Berger & Luckmann, 1967, P. 94).

Suddaby and Greenwood define institutional vocabularies (2005, p. 43) as 'structures of words, expressions and meanings used to articulate a particular logic or means of interpreting reality'. As Suddaby and Greenwood (2005, pp. 50-51) argue, institutional vocabularies are one element of rhetoric. Loewenstein et al. (2012, p. 47) maintain that rhetorical perspectives on vocabularies 'are motivated by the observation that part of using language to persuade is selecting words to use in communications'. During my analysis process, I realised the idea of the new pay system or evaluation-based pay system concentrated on particular words that recurred frequently in my data. Therefore, I decided a fitting approach for my analysis, following Suddaby and Greenwood (2005), is the idea of institutional vocabularies. In my study, I understand vocabularies as allowing articulation of institutions in text or

speech. The concept of institutional vocabularies allows me to highlight the institutional logics I found in my data (Suddaby & Greenwood 2005).

The approach of institutional vocabularies is well suited to my study, as a set of words commonly re-occur throughout my data on the pay system. These words link my journal and interview data, as several expressions occur in both data sets.

Suddaby and Greenwood (2005) separated the opponents and proponents of the new organisational form, and the institutional vocabularies used by both sides. I do not divide my data into two groups of opponents and proponents of the pay reform. Instead, I have noticed that different journals and different interviewees have both justifications and criticisms towards the new pay system. However, when studying the institutional vocabularies in Chapter 7, I try to find differences in institutional vocabularies among different journals and interviewee groups.

5.2 Data Collection

My data collection started in 2006 as a part of the research project 'Palkkausjärjestelmäudistus kirkon alalla (Paju)'.¹⁶ During that project, I collected all my interview data and some of the written data. I complemented my data set later by collecting more written data from trade union journals and Internet.

My data is collected from the introductory phase of the pay reform. I find this period particularly intriguing, because I believe that the argumentation on the justifications and legitimation were especially strong in this period. I use interview data and journal data (trade union journals) to answer my research questions and I also have some background data (general letters) from the Commission for Church Employers that I use to describe the situation in the church sector during the research period (2005-2010).

I worked as a researcher in the research project Paju (between 2006 and 2007) that had other goals and outputs than my thesis, and so, I also gathered data that I do not use in this thesis. I also attended various meetings and workshops in participating organisations. Therefore, I have considerable background information that I do not analyse in this study, but which helps me form a picture of the pay reform in the ELCF.

5.2.1 Journal Data

My journal data set is a collection of articles from trade union journals during the years 2005 to 2010. I included 'member journals' in my data, whose target groups are members of specific trade unions. I chose journals that capture the

¹⁶ The project was funded by The Finnish Work Environment Fund, the Helsinki University of Technology (now part of Aalto University) and the Church organizations that took part in the project.

official viewpoints of all organisations involved in negotiating the new pay system. These journals are (publisher organisation in brackets): Crux (Aki, Akavan kirkolliset ammattiliitot – Kyrkliga fackförbund inom Akava r.y. and Diakoniatyöntekijöiden liitto ry¹⁷), Motiivi (The Trade Union for the Public and Welfare Sectors JHL), Jyty (The Federation of Public and Private Sector Employees, Jyty), SVTL-utiset and Kirkon töissä (SVTL)¹⁸. The Crux journals main reader groups are members of JUKO, trade union taking part in the negotiations. Crux readers covered the main employee groups of JUKO members in the ELCF: priest, cantors and diaconal workers¹⁹. Table 3 illustrates the journals included in the analysis, the publishing organisations, the negotiator organisations each journal is linked to, and frequencies of the articles used from each journal. All the articles included in the analysis are listed in Appendix 1.

Table 3. The Number of Articles Before and After the Agreement in Each Journal

Journals	The publisher organisation	The negotiator organisation the journal is linked to	Number of articles before the agreement in October 2007.	Number of articles after the agreement until the end of the 2010.	Total
Crux	Aki, Akavan kirkolliset ammattiliitot - Kyrkliga fackförbund inom Akava r.y. and Diakoniatyöntekijöiden liitto ry	Juko ry	17	13	30
Jyty	The Federation of Public and Private Sector Employees, Jyty ry	Kirkon alan unioni ry	8	2	10
Motiivi	The Trade Union for the Public and Welfare Sectors JHL	Kirkon alan unioni ry	3	3	6
SVTL-utiset (until issue 3/2007), Kirkon töissä (from 4/2007)	Kirkon alojen ammattijärjestö SVTL ry	Kirkon alojen ammattijärjestö SVTL ry	11	20	31
Total			39	38	77

Table 3 presents significant differences in the counts of articles in different journals. Jyty and Motiivi are journals of the trade unions (Jyty and JHL), whose members are mostly employees in other sectors than the Church (e.g., municipal sector) (Jyty 2015; JHL²⁰). Therefore, fewer articles of the situation

¹⁷ Diakoniatyöntekijöiden liitto ry established their own journal in 2010. That journal is not analysed in this thesis.

¹⁸ This journal was called *SVTL-utiset* until issue 3/2007 and *Kirkon töissä* from 4/2007.

¹⁹ Diaconal work can be defined as social work done by the Church.

²⁰ Deputy of JHL informed in August 2016 that the amount of church employees in the members of JHL is about 1 %. According to annual report of Jyty in 2015, about 2,6 % of Jyty members worked in the church (Jyty, 2015).

in the church sector existed in these journals compared to *Crux* and *SVTL- uutiset/Kirkon töissä*. Members of publishing organisations of the journals *Crux* and *SVTL- uutiset/Kirkon töissä* are mainly employees in the church sector.

Having chosen the journals to include in my analysis, I collected all articles and other texts from them that dealt with the new pay system between 2005 and 2010. After reading the articles, I decided to exclude those texts that did not contain any justifications or criticisms towards the new pay system. These texts were, for example, some declarations of education or information sessions concerning the new pay system. I also excluded two articles about survey results concerning the new pay systems. These two articles were very different in nature from all the other data. Additionally, I excluded one 'letter to the editor' concerning the new pay system, because of the different context of writing, compared with the regular journal articles. I also excluded some articles that were reports of interviews with representatives of the Commission for Church Employers.

My journal data from trade unions member journals is a special media case, because the journals I studied are directed at members of trade unions. Therefore, target audiences of these journals are restricted. The journal data analysis is especially interesting because of its political dimension. The articles under study are from trade unions' journals, and are influenced in the interests of certain employee groups. Vaara et al. (2006, p. 794) note that discursive processes involve a political dimension and various socio-political struggles for legitimation, delegitimation, and relegitimation exist in most social settings. This is the case in my research setting. The media texts I use are not just regular media texts, but especially political ones, because of their context in trade union journals. Vaara et al. (2006, p. 794) emphasise that 'legitimation not only deals with the specific phenomenon, action, or practice in question, but is also linked to the power position of the actors'. This is an important observation concerning also my study. Thornton et al. (2012, p. 65) note the current limited amount of empirical work on institutional logics and power.

5.2.2 Interview Data

I gathered interview data from church organisations in the year 2006. In total, I interviewed 66 people in 41 interviews (32 individual interviews and 9 group interviews). The interviewees were from six local organisations belonging to three parish unions located in Southern Finland (Helsinki, Espoo and Kirkkonummi) with a mix of different occupations and educational backgrounds. The interviews involved six local organisations. More information about the local organisations is in Appendix 2.

I divided my informants into three groups in the interview phase: change agents, supervisors and employees. 'Change agents' are individuals with a formal role in facilitating the implementation of the pay system in local organisations. As the final form of the pay reform was negotiated between trade

unions and the Commission for Church Employers, the role of change agents was to guide the reform in the organisation they worked in. The ‘supervisors’ category describes individuals at varying levels of the organisation who had at least one direct subordinate. Most of the change agents were also some kind of supervisors with subordinates, but they are not included in the supervisor group in my coding. I use the label ‘employee’ for the members of the organisation with no responsibilities as supervisors or change agents.

I later also analysed data by dividing the data into interviewees doing pastoral work and those doing non-pastoral work. Appendix 3 lists all the interviewees and their job titles. I have also listed if the person was doing pastoral or non-pastoral work at the time of the interview. I have divided interviewees to groups of doing pastoral work and non-pastoral work by using the official division used, e.g., in the collective agreements (e.g., Kirkon yleinen virka- ja työehtosopimus 2014-2016). An overlap of duties between pastoral and non-pastoral categories blurs the division slightly. Janitors in churches and in cemeteries, for instance, help prepare for religious occasions and meet many members of the parishes. Also, the content of pastoral work is not always just ‘religious tasks’, but can include, e.g., common administrative tasks.

Table 4 summarises the interview data.

Table 4. Interviewees by Interviewee Group and Type of Work

	Pastoral work	Non-pastoral work	Total
Change agents	3	12	15
Supervisors	9	12	21
Employees	13	17	30
Total	25	41	66

I started data collection by doing 11 interviews in spring 2006. At this point, I interviewed 15 people who were in charge of implementing the pay reform (change agents in local organisation level) in their own organisations, and 21 other supervisors. Nine of these interviews were group interviews and two were individual interviews. During autumn 2006, I interviewed 30 employees. Interviewees included people working in the parishes, but also administrators and other employees of support organisations. The list of interviewees by organisation is shown in Table 5 and a more detailed list and additional information of interviews are located in Appendices 3 and 4.

Table 5. Interviewees by Local Organisation

	Change agents	Supervisors	Employees	Total
Local organisation 1	1	5	5	11
Local organisation 2	2	5	5	12
Local organisation 3	4	0	5	9
Local organisation 4	6	4	5	15
Local organisation 5	1	3	5	9
Local organisation 6	1	4	5	9
Total	15	21	30	66

All interviews were semi-structured, with broad themes and topics defined but adjusted throughout the interviews as necessary. The list of interview questions is shown in Appendix 5. All interviews were carried out in Finnish. The length of the interviews varied between 30 and two hours. All interviews were transcribed. The transcriptions were done by another person, but I later checked important parts myself from the audio tapes.

For this thesis text, I have translated the quotations into English using standard language, even though some of the interviewees used colloquial language in the interviews.

The following symbols are used in quotations from the interviews:

[] A remark by an author in the middle of the quotation

[...] Some text has been removed from the middle of the quotation.

In the quotations used in this thesis, the interviewees have been anonymised with codes such as supervisor 1, change agent 1, thus showing their approximate role.

The interviews of supervisors and change agents were a little different in nature from the employee interviews which all were individual interviews. Because the supervisor and change agent interviews were conducted at the beginning of the research project, I also needed to collect some general information, such as the structures of organisations etc. In the employee interviews, I could concentrate even more on interviewees' own opinions and experiences, even though these were also themes in the supervisor and change agent interviews. However, the composition of the individual interviews allowed the disclosure of a person's own opinions and even confidential information was revealed, because in the group interviews there were other listeners than just the interviewer. On the other hand, conversations in group interviews were sometimes very lively and stimulated interviewees to introduce different opinions (about group interviewees see e.g., Fontana & Frey, 1994).

At the time, I conducted the interviews, the new pay system was in the preparation phase. All the interviewees had been somehow involved in the preparation, at least in the job evaluation process where their own job was

formally described. The negotiations, the planning and the preparation of the new system was not completed at the time, so the informants had only tentative knowledge about the eventual form of the new pay system. However, all the involved actors knew that the decisions would be made centrally and then implemented throughout the organisation with limited local control. Although the timing of the interviews was reflected in somewhat speculative answers from my informants, the fact that the system was not yet finalised increased the attention and interest of the interviewees towards its legitimacy and characteristics.

Information about the pay reform was communicated in many ways, for example, from trade unions straight to their members, from the Commission for Church Employers to change agents, and from change agent to supervisors and employees. These information flows influenced the amount and type of information that each actor in the organisations had and therefore also their answers in the interviews.

5.2.3 Data from the Commission for Church Employers

I used general letters of the Commission for Church Employers as an information source in Section 2.3, where I describe the process of the pay reform. Because the nature of the general letters was so different from my other data, I decided they were not suitable for a similar type of analysis as the journal and interview data. The Commission for Church Employers used general letters (yleiskirje) as an information channel from to parishes and parish unions. The letters were regularly delivered to parishes until 31.1.2007, and at the time also published on the Commission for Church Employers' Internet pages, from where I collected them. After 1.2.2007 letters were only published in the Internet pages of the Commission for Church Employers (Retrieved from <http://sakasti.evl.fi/sakasti.nsf/sp?Open&cid=Content5D9D1>, 18.11.2017).

I collected all general letters from the years 2005 to 2010. After reading them, I chose those containing texts about the pay reform.

In Table 6, there is a summary of all data analysed for this thesis.

Table 6. Summary of Data Analysed

Resource	Data type	Count	Time span	Use of data
Labor unions	Member journal articles	77	2005-2010	Answer the research questions 1,3, and 4.
Local organizations	Interviews	41 (Total of 66 people took part to the interviews)	2006	Answer the research questions 2,3, and 4.
The Commission for Church Employers	General letters	16	2005-2010	Background data

5.3 Data Analysis

In this section, I explain my analysis process in detail. This study can be seen as a classical qualitative case study in the sense that it combines various kinds of empirical materials, such as interview data and written data from journals and other sources (Hartley, 1994; Erkama & Vaara, 2010; Silverman, 2010). The analysis approach is ‘abductive’, meaning that the theoretical ideas were continuously refined as I progressed through the data analysis (Seale, 1999; Vaara et al., 2006; Erkama & Vaara, 2010; Mantere & Ketokivi, 2013). This study proceeded by continuous referral theorising and data analysis.

I use two main data sets in this study: interview data and journal data. There are some differences between the natures of my data sets. The written data is ‘naturally occurring data’, meaning the data emerged without any interference from myself as a researcher. On the contrary, as the interviewer, I influenced the interviews and interviewees, although I did not mean to steer their talk consciously (see e.g., Griffin, 2007). However, I have analysed both of my data sets quite similarly, and so present the analysis phases concurrently in both data sets.

I define my study as a case study, as opposed to multiple case study in which I would analyse each local organisation case separately. There are several reasons why I chose the single-case study approach. Firstly, I have two data sets: interview data and journal data. I have chosen to concentrate on analysing differences between employee groups in interviews and different journals in media data, because I consider these sets of analyses as parallel. Different journals are published by trade unions representing certain employee groups. Also, by concentrating on the groups of interviewees doing pastoral work and non-pastoral work, I reveal the most interesting features of the interview data. Secondly, I did the interviews in the early phases of the introduction process of the new pay system, when local organisations performed similar actions. At that time, most parish and parish union activities concerning the new pay system had specific instructions from the Commission for Church Employers, with little variation in the processes of different local organisations. Thirdly, my research questions concentrate on finding institutional logics that penetrate through the ELCF, not on details of particular local organisation

The analysis of the interview data for this thesis was my third round of analysing this same data.²¹ However, when starting to write this thesis, I first collected and analysed the journal data and then returned to analyse the interview data. Therefore, I next present the chronological progress of analysis for this thesis: first the analysis of the journal data and then the analysis of the interview data.

²¹ I first used the interview data during the research project Paju (Jämsén 2007). My subsequent licentiate thesis (Jämsén 2009) used the same material, and served to prepare for this doctoral thesis.

My analysis progressed in three phases, each containing several readings of the data. In the first analysis phase, I concentrated on justifications and criticisms concerning the new pay system. In the second analysis phase, I looked closely at the words used in justifying and criticising the new pay system. In the third phase of the analysis, I integrated the previous analyses: analysis of justifications and criticisms, and the analysis of the institutional vocabularies.

5.3.1 Analysis Phase I

In the first phase of analysis, I answered the first two sets of research questions about the construction of legitimacy and illegitimacy of the new pay system, the change of justifications and criticisms during its implementation, and their differences between separate journals and interviewee groups in my data.

When I first planned this study, my main interest was to find out how the model of an evaluation-based pay system, initially created for different circumstances (private companies in the United States), would suit church organisations having a very strong religious base. Later, I focused on the reasons why the evaluation-based pay system was introduced to the church sector, and how different actors justified the new pay system. My interests centred on the argumentation in the pay reform process, and I also included criticisms in my research questions. Reading the texts of both data sets several times helped me to clearly define my research questions, and to subsequently define the unit of analysis to be expressed as justifications and criticisms concerning the pay reform.

Analysis phase I progressed in several rounds. I began by analysing the journal data. Before the first round of coding, I read the journal data a few times, first in the data collection phase and when selecting relevant articles for the analysis. I chose the unit of the analysis and defined it as expressed justifications and criticisms concerning the pay reform. Then, I started to code the journal data. I used Atlas.ti software in my data analysis and coded all the data using that program. In the first round of the coding, I searched for the text clips that included justifications or criticisms towards the new pay system.

Although, this is not a quantitative study, and I do not concentrate on the counts of the codes, frequencies are presented in tables of the justifications and criticisms in both journal and interview data sets. Thus, it is important to clarify the types of text clips I have for coding. In the journal data, one code has been indicated for one paragraph of text. That means that if some topic that is related to a certain code is conversed on two subsequent paragraphs, I have used the code two times.

Example of the justifications in the journal data:

Brotherus, Jyty 6-7/2005. Before the agreement.²²

'The goal of the development process is e.g., to make the pay system as just and fair and open as possible, and that the job-specific pay component is determined by the demands of the task.'

During the second round of coding, I created more detailed codes for different types of justifications and criticism. Throughout this phase of the analysis, I performed several verification rounds, as my ideas of coding and how to organise data became clearer. The coding was a continuous process during the analysis: the codes evolved, and I continually revised the coding work until the last version.

After creating detailed codes for justifications and criticism, I grouped various codes into higher order categories (see Appendix 7). Because my research question 1b concentrates on how the justifications and criticisms change in the journal data during the process of implementation of the new pay system, I also separated codes found before and after the pay reform, and analysed differences between these two timespans.

After the coding of the journal data, I coded the interview data. In the interview data one statement represents one unit of coding. For example, if three people talk about same thing in consecutive statements, I used the same code three times.

Example of the criticism in the interview data:

Employee 27. Doing pastoral work.

'Maybe because the schedule was so tight, they should have told more carefully at the beginning, what this process is and what we are doing. This basic pay, what we were doing now, or the pay component based on the job's demands and the individual pay component were mixed up. That would be wise, and there would have been less upset, if that would have been clear to everyone. Then, there was clearly too little information. But that was related to the problems with the schedule too; it was so sudden.'

I created additional detailed codes for the interview data. However, when possible, I used the same codes as in the journal data to compare the two data sets. I formed code categories also from the interview data codes. As I had done this phase of the analysis with the journal data first, I grouped the justifications of the interview data into the same categories as in journal data. Some justifications did not appear at all in the journal data, but I managed to place

²² In the quotations of the journal data, I have recorded the surname of the author, the name of the journal, the issue number of the journal, and the year of the article published. The complete list of articles is in Appendix 1.

them into existing categories smoothly, without creating new justification categories.

In Chapter 6, when I present my analysis of justifications and criticisms, I introduce all the codes and explain in more detail the content of each code category. Below is an example of the coding and grouping of the codes.

Example of the coding:

The section below was first coded with the code 'Justifications'. In the second round of coding this section was coded with the codes 'Competitiveness of wages', 'Justice and fairness', 'Employees possibilities to influence their own wages,' 'Motivation' and 'Transparency'.

Rasila: SVTL-uitiset 2/2005. Before the agreement.

'Our goal was and is: a payment that is competitive and considered fair; a possibility for the employee to influence their own wages, the ability to motivate; and transparency of wage structures.'

In Appendix 7, I present data structure in justifications and criticisms in both the journal and interview data concerning the creation of the justifications and criticism categories (Gioia, Corley, & Hamilton, 2012). In Appendix 8, I present empirical examples of my main categories.

In the next stage of analysis, I concentrated on the differences between justifications and criticisms in separate parts of the data, such as different journals and interview groups. I present the differences between data sets in Appendices 9 and 10.

I analysed my data in Finnish, later translating the quotations and vocabularies into English. I have used especially the 'Labour Market Glossary' by Valtiovarainministeriö, Valtioneuvoston kanslia (2005). It was useful in finding appropriate expressions for different terms concerning the pay systems and collective agreements.

Table 7 illustrates the different stages of analysis in Phase I.

Table 7. Stages of Analysis in Phase I

Stages of analysis	Description of the categorisation stage
PREPARATORY WORK: Determining the unit of analysis.	Reading texts of both data sets several times. Defining the unit of analysis to expressed justifications and criticisms concerning the pay reform.
STAGE 1: Finding the expressions of justifications and criticisms from the texts.	Identifying and coding the justifications and criticisms from the journal and interview data with the Atlas.ti-program.
STAGE 2: Creating more detailed codes for the justifications and the criticisms found in Stage 1.	Reading the justifications and criticisms earlier identified, and creating codes based on the content of the justifications and criticisms.
STAGE 3: Categorisation of the codes	Grouping the codes in to thematic categories and writing Chapter 6.
STAGE 4: Concentration on the differences between justifications and criticisms in the data sets.	Analysing differences between interviewee groups and different journals.

5.3.2 Analysis Phase II

My third research question is: What kind of institutional logics appear in conversations about the pay reform? To answer this question, I analysed the set of keywords that I call institutional vocabularies.

In studies of institutional vocabularies, researchers have either (a) identified institutional vocabularies by first reading and coding data and concentrating on the content of the data, subsequently pinpointing institutional vocabularies (Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005), or (b) initially counted words used in the data corpus and then sorted keywords from the data based on their occurrence and frequency (Jones & Livne-Taradach, 2008). I started my analysis concerning institutional vocabularies by counting the frequencies of the words in my data, but an identification of keywords was very much based on the qualitative content of the data and my previous analysis.

I used the Word Cruncher –tool in Atlas.ti –program to count the frequencies in the data set. To use the Word Cruncher in the interview data, I created new data that only included the interviewees' comments. I removed my own speech from the data (as the interviewer), so the words I used in the interviews would not be counted.

I followed my preliminary analysis of data sets containing the whole text corpus (excluding my own speech in the interviews) with a re-count of words used in the data sets, but only using the data component containing justifications and criticisms found in the data. I did this because my other research questions concentrate on the justifications and criticisms of the new pay system, so I decided the study of the vocabularies and institutional logics should also concentrate on this part of the data.

I started the analysis of lists of words that appeared in the justifications and criticisms by removing words from the lists that were very general, such as 'and', 'it', 'be', 'she/he'. These kinds of words are often referred as 'stop words' in linguistic analysis (e.g., Azary & Woo, 2007; Jensen et al., 2012).

I then eliminated other words from the list; words that were not interesting to the content, and words that appeared very seldom in the data. However, the frequencies of words were never the only reason to eliminate words, because there were many synonyms in the data. At this phase, the analysis was done completely in Finnish, and so I grouped Finnish synonyms into a set of words.

I grouped all inflected forms of the same Finnish word to the same group. The Finnish language uses a lot of inflected forms of words, instead of using prepositions. Consequently, the grouping of words was a very important part of the analysis. Additionally, many compound words in Finnish are written together (contrary to English) and therefore, different words are recognised as

one by the Word Cruncher in English and Finnish. Also, some words may have several different forms in Finnish: job evaluation in Finnish can be written as *'vaativuuden arviointi'* or *'vaativuusarviointi'*, where the word *'vaativuus'* means (jobs) demands. Therefore, in my listing of vocabularies words job evaluation and demands are grouped together.

I included compound words in a category of certain keywords if the addition to the word was something that did not change the word's meaning in a significant way, and the compound words themselves were not included in my listing of words. For example, the word *'oppilaitospappi'* was included in the group for the word *'pappi/priest'*, as it means 'a priest, who works in schools or in other learning institutions'. On the other hand, the word *'työehtosopimus/collective agreement'* was not included in group *'sopimus/agreement'*, because there was a separate group *'työehtosopimus/collective agreement'*.

I also combined words into their common stems, such as 'youth worker' and 'youth work'. This was partly due to the composition of the Finnish language and its differences to English. Additionally, I think the most interesting thing to study is whether a certain theme appears in the data, not how often a particular form of a word appears, so the grouping of words was essential.

At this phase of the analysis, I began translating the keywords into English. I also considered the context of words when translating them into English. Therefore, addition of a certain word to a particular set of keywords was not only based on the frequencies of certain words in my data, but also on the frequency of the use of words with similar meaning and in similar contexts. For example, many words meaning trade unions are used in Finnish in my data, such as: *'ammattiliitto'*, *'liitto'*, *'ammattijärjestö'*, *'järjestö'*. When translating these words, they all went under the same group and word in English.

I grouped keywords separately for the journal data and the interview data, but using the same principles. Some of the word groups were similar in both data sets, but I also found some words that did not appear in one of the data sets.

For my final sets of keywords, I chose the words that are clear indicators of each logic. As described in this chapter, the process of selecting words for each set of keywords was based on the frequencies of certain words, but primarily on the content of the words.

I formed three institutional vocabularies based on the themes I found: the new pay system, the Church and labour market organisations. I refined the groups of words until I ended up with 31 keywords concerning the new pay system, 11 keywords concerning the church and 14 keywords concerning labour market organisations. Each of these sets of keywords represented one institutional logic from my data. My experience of studying and consulting the evaluation-based pay systems in Finland supported my decision to create a set of vocabularies

including these words. A more detailed description of the institutional vocabularies I found is in Section 7.1.

5.3.3 Analysis Phase III

In the final phase of the analysis, I concentrated on my fourth research question: how are institutional logics present in legitimation and delegitimation? This phase of the analysis connects the previous analyses: analysis of justifications and criticisms, and the analysis of the institutional vocabularies.

I also wanted to study possible differences in the institutional vocabularies of different data groups. Therefore, I counted the keywords found in the justifications and criticisms of each data group (in different journals and in interviews of interviewees doing pastoral and non-pastoral work). I present the institutional vocabularies in different data groups in tables in Appendix 11.

In my analysis, I concentrated on how different vocabularies were present in different parts of the data based on their frequencies, and I also read the justifications and criticisms again to find examples of the actual use of certain logics in text and interview speech. I present some of these examples in Section 7.2 to summarise my observations. The mere appearances of certain words do not necessarily indicate a certain logic; but the use of certain words in certain context.

5.3.4 Analysis of the General Letters of the Commission for Church Employers

When I initially planned this research, I decided to collect data from all three parties involved in the Church's pay reform: the employer (the Commission for Church Employers), trade unions and local organisations. I planned to use some data from the Commission for Church Employers in the same way as my journal data (from trade unions) and interview data (from local organisations). However, when I handled the material available from the Commission for Church Employers, I soon noticed that in the communication of this employer organisation, 'general letters', were written in a very different style to that of the trade union journal articles, for example. As the representative of the employer in the ELCF, the Commission for Church Employers seemed cautious regarding their communications. Therefore, the texts they published concerning the pay reform were quite brief, concentrating carefully on facts previously decided in negotiations. Also, as expected, there was very little criticisms in the texts published by the Commission for Church Employers. Therefore, I decided that analysis of this material in a similar way to my two other data sets concerning justifications and criticisms of the pay reform (Chapter 6) was not possible. However, in Chapter 2.3, I use data from the Commission for Church Employers as background data and one source for the description, when I present the procession of the pay reform. In this way, the voice of the Commission for Church Employers is also included in this thesis.

In Figure 5, I summarise all the phases of my analysis, the data I used and which research question I answered in certain parts of the analysis.

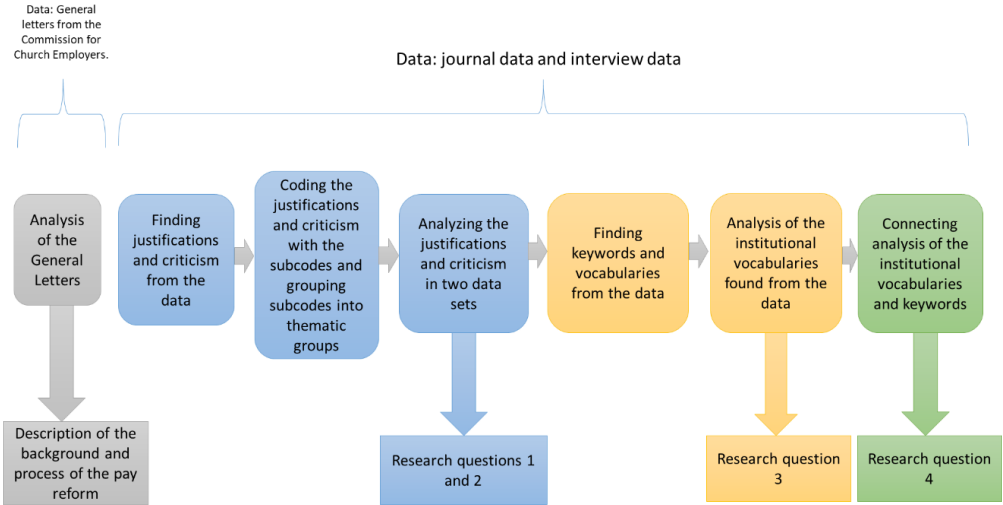


Figure 5. Phases of the Analysis

5.4 Remarks about Data, Analysis and Validity

In Section 8.6, I evaluate this study and its limitations in more detail. However, I now present some points concerning the data validity prior to my results.

In the interview data, it must be recognised that I, as the interviewer, may have affected the issues arising from the interviews. The question frames of the interviews are presented in Appendix 5. Furthermore, group interviews are similar to an ordinary conversation. For example, if many people agree on an opinion, they often do not repeat it, but express their approval in other ways. For these reasons, excess attention should not be paid to counts of the appearing codes. These numbers do not clearly tell us how many people agreed on an opinion, rather, how many times a certain argument was presented in the data. The more important thing in a qualitative study is what interviewees say, not how many interviewees said something (similarly in journal texts). Nevertheless, the frequencies of the codes in the data indicate rough guidelines about the popularity of themes in my data and in certain parts of my data, so I decided to include them in my results.

6. Constructing Legitimacy and Illegitimacy of the New Pay System

In this chapter, I answer my first two sets of research questions:

1a) How are the legitimacy and illegitimacy of the new pay system constructed by the justifications and criticisms produced by actors in trade unions?

1b) How do these justifications and criticisms change during the process of implementation of the new pay system?

1c) How do the justifications and criticisms presented in separate trade union journals differ?

2 a) How are the legitimacy and illegitimacy of the new pay system constructed by the justifications and criticisms produced by interviewees in local organisations?

2 b) How do the justifications and criticisms presented by separate interviewee groups differ?

I present my analysis of journal data and interview data in separate sections. I answer the research questions 1a, 1b, and 1c in Section 6.1 and the research questions 2a and 2b in Section 6.2. Then, I discuss and compare results of these two data sets in Section 6.3. I present the analysis of journal data first, because it includes data from a longer period (2005-2010), while all interviews were made in 2006. Also, for this thesis, I conducted the analysis of the journal data first.

6.1 Justifications and Criticisms and Their Change During the Implementation of the New Pay System in the Journal Data

In this section, I concentrate on the findings from the journal data from the beginning of 2005 until the end of 2010. I divided my journal data into two periods: the time before the agreement concerning the new pay system in October 2007, and after the agreement. This allows me to compare the

construction of legitimacy before and after practice introduction. First, I present the justifications for the new pay system I found before and after the agreement in October 2007, and then the criticisms from both time periods.

After concentrating on the justifications and the criticisms before and after the pay reform, I present my central findings about the differences of the justifications and the criticisms in separate journals.

6.1.1 Justifications and Construction of Legitimacy in the Journal Data

Next, I present the justifications I found in the journal data. By a justification, I mean a passage of text (or in interviews, speech) where the author supports the ELCF's new pay system. In justifications, actors in my data expressed reasons for the introduction of the new pay system, or arguments why the new pay system is a good system or better than the old pay system. By these justifications actors in trade unions legitimated the new pay system and the process of the pay reform for their readers: mainly line members of trade unions. Vaara et al. (2006, p. 793) define legitimacy as 'a discursively created sense of acceptance in specific discourses or orders of discourse'. Justifications are a part of the pay reform discourse in the church sector and have an essential role in the forming of legitimacy of the new pay system and thus also in institutionalisation of the evaluation-based pay system in the church sector.

I coded the justifications based on themes I found in the data (more about the coding process in Section 5.3.1). I divided codes of justifications into six categories. Categories are presented in the order of frequency of codes included in certain categories. The categories are: *Justice, fairness, equality, and transparency*; *Pay as an incentive*; *Autonomy and flexibility of local organisations*; *Rising level of wages and recruitment*; *General improvements of the pay system*; and *Following other sectors*. Table 8 presents justifications found in trade union journal articles from the beginning of 2005 to end of September 2007, and after the agreement from 1st October to the end of 2010.

Table 8. Categories of Justifications and Number of Code Appearances Included to Each Category Before and After the Agreement in the Journal Data.

	Before the agreement	After the agreement	Total
CATEGORY: JUSTICE, FAIRNESS, EQUALITY, AND TRANSPARENCY			
Justice and fairness	12	6	18
Paying for responsibilities and skills	3	6	9
Transparency	5	3	8
Equality	4	2	6
Determining wages based on job's content and demands, not just on job title	3	1	4
TOTAL IN CATEGORY	27	18	45
CATEGORY: PAY AS AN INCENTIVE			
Pay as an incentive	2	7	9
Rewarding for reaching goals	0	8	8
Motivation	1	6	7
Employees possibilities to influence their own wages	2	4	6
Rewarding based on quality of work	0	5	5
Consideration of own work	2	2	4
Self-development	0	2	2
TOTAL IN CATEGORY	7	34	41
CATEGORY: AUTONOMY AND FLEXIBILITY OF LOCAL ORGANISATIONS			
Growing role of the local organisations	12	10	22
Flexibility	2	5	7
Tools for HRM, managers and supervisors	2	2	4
Growing role of supervisors	3	1	4
TOTAL IN CATEGORY	19	18	37
CATEGORY: RISING LEVEL OF WAGES AND RECRUITMENT			
Bigger wages	4	12	16
Recruitment	4	4	8
Competitiveness of wages	2	3	5
TOTAL IN CATEGORY	10	19	29
CATEGORY: GENERAL IMPROVEMENTS OF THE PAY SYSTEM			
The new pay system as a possibility, better system than the old one	3	3	6
A good quality pay system	1	3	4
The new pay system as a tool for big structural changes in the Church	0	1	1
TOTAL IN CATEGORY	4	7	11
CATEGORY: FOLLOWING OTHER SECTORS			
Following other sectors	7	0	7
TOTAL IN CATEGORY	7	0	7
TOTAL, ALL CODES	74	96	170

JUSTICE, FAIRNESS, EQUALITY, AND TRANSPARENCY

The first category of justifications is called *Justice, equality, and transparency*. As mentioned in the introduction of this study, the themes of justice and equality are very popular and crucial in research on compensation, reward and

pay systems (Acker, 1989; Scarpello & Jones, 1996; Maaniemi, 2013). These themes appeared in the data both before and after the agreement.

The first code in this category is *Justice and fairness*. The concept of organisational justice has often been divided into three subcategories: distributive, procedural, and interactional justice (Colquitt, Greenberg & Zapata-Phelan, 2005; Maaniemi, 2013; see also Section 1.1). In some text clips, the justice of the new pay system was introduced merely as a goal for the new pay system, and was not explicated further. However, in some articles, some segments had features regarding concepts of distributive, procedural, and interactional justice. For example, the quotation below deals with the 'distribution of wages based on jobs' demands'.

Brotherus, Jyty 6-7/2005. Before the agreement.

'The goal of the development process is, e.g., to be as just and fair and transparent pay system as possible, and that the job-specific pay component is determined by the demands of the job.'

In articles published after the agreement in October 2007, writers were already able to refer experiences concerning the new pay system, because the commissioning of the new system had already started.

Inkinen, Kirkon töissä 2/2008. After the agreement.

'Last winter, the Church transferred to new the pay system. With a common will of the labour market organisations, the desire was to create a fair and competitive system as a tool for the payment.'

In Finland, as in many other countries, one salient reason for the promotion of the job evaluation systems has been the belief that it can decrease gender pay inequality (Acker, 1989; Quaid, 1993; Työmarkkinajärjestöjen työarviointijärjestelmien seurantaryhmä TASE, 2003; Lahti et al., 2004, Huuhtanen et al., 2005; Koskinen Sandberg, 2016). This reason was also visible in my journal data.

Jossas, Crux 3-4/2005. Before the agreement.

'The goal has been for a great justice and equality project. The current system does not justify the wages of individuals and the pay differences between jobs, in a manner acceptable or fair enough to everyone. In many fields, the current system based on offices, titles, and pay grades was not considered good enough to advance the pay equality between genders.'

Journal texts included citations from, for example, the International Labour Organization ILO's Equal Remuneration Convention and European, Finnish legislation and EU directives.

SVTL-uutiset²³ 2/2005. Before the agreement.

‘The change will be notable, and it is important that everyone working in the church orientates oneself to this issue. The background of the job evaluation:

ILO Equality Convention 100 (1951, Finland ratified in 1963)

‘Equal remuneration for equal work and work of equal value, equal remuneration for equal proficiency and performance’

The guidelines that complements the convention (1986): ‘Demands of the job: skills, responsibility, effort, work conditions’

EU countries are bound by the Treaty of Rome (1957) article 119, the principles of equal pay and the gender equality directives.

Finland’s own Act on Equality between Women and Men (1999/731). ‘The equal remuneration for equal jobs and jobs of equal worth.’ (Forbids direct or indirect discrimination.)’

The journal articles also mentioned the pursuit of transparency.

Brotherus, Jyty 6-7/2005. Before the agreement.

‘The new, more transparent and fair pay system is prepared in the church sector.’

The transparency of preparation and implementation processes of the agreement, was praised in some articles.

Rasila, Kirkon töissä 3/2008. After the agreement.

‘It can be said with good reason that the pay system has been made by all the people in the Church together. Thank you everybody for this. The transparency of preparations and implementation has been exceptional. Even churchy, it could be said.’

I included the codes *Determining wages based on job’s contents and demands*, not just on job title and *Paying on responsibilities and skills* in this category because these features of the new pay system were often connected to the idea of more fair and transparent pay system.

Jyty, 8-9/2007. Before the agreement.

‘For the Kirkon alan unioni (Jyty and JHL), in addition to pay rises, it is important to develop a pay system based on job demands that takes all the employees equally in to consideration.’

²³ When the author was not announced, I only present the name of the journal before a quotation.

PAY AS AN INCENTIVE

The second category of justifications is called *Pay as an incentive*. Using pay as an incentive, and the motivational role of compensation were topics rarely discussed in the time period before the agreement.

Rasila, SVTL-uutiset 3/2005. Before the agreement.

‘Our goal was and is: remuneration, which is competitive and experienced as fair; the possibility for an employee to influence his/her own wage; a motivation effect; and transparency of the wage basis.’

Nevertheless, related themes were much more common after the agreement. Codes included this category appeared either more often after or only after the agreement. Concentration on the individual pay component and the performance appraisal after the agreement were likely causes, when job evaluation was the main focus before the agreement. All jobs had been evaluated at this point, so the process of job evaluation did not need more explanation. Rather, attention was shifting to performance appraisals. The theme of pay as an incentive was often (but not always) affiliated with the performance-related pay component.

Helenelund, Crux 2/2010. After the agreement.

‘Negotiating parties agree that an individual discretionary pay component is an essential part of a pay system of the Church. Used correctly, it advances quality, goal-directivity and effectiveness.’

The agreement concerning the new pay system includes three criteria for performance appraisals: a mastery of profession; an effectiveness and quality of work; and a mastery of operational environment (Kirkon yleinen virka- ja työehtosopimus 2007-2009). Therefore, the ideas of rewarding quality of work and effectiveness of work were often present in the same pieces of text. However, the code *Rewarding for reaching goals* often appeared without referring to quality. Therefore, I found it justifiable to have two different codes for these matters (rewarding based on quality of work and rewarding for reaching goals).

Rasila, Kirkon töissä 3/2010. After the agreement.

‘A few years ago, I was in a workplace visit in Central Ostrobothnia. Before the actual matters, coffee was served, and we talked about the discretionary pay component and quality. Straight away, the cleaners and the matrons of the parish were able to tell, what quality means to them. According to these women, quality is something that looks like their parish – that means clean, economical, ecological, considering own traditions, fresh, tasty, and that people can sense a friendly atmosphere. This is something that is worth paying for, isn’t it?’

Kirkon töissä 2/2009. After the agreement.

'By discretionary [pay component] an employee is encouraged to try to achieve the settled goals and is rewarded for working towards the goals.'

Also, the themes of motivation and pay as an incentive were present more often in articles after rather than before the agreement.

Ryytty, Kirkon töissä 4/2009. After the agreement.

'It is good that we have a modern pay system also in the Church. Its purpose is to motivate and stimulate an employee and reward for good work performances.'

In some articles, also the job evaluation was seen as a significant part of the new pay system concerning motivation.

Rauma, Crux 6/2007. After the agreement.

'Successful placings of jobs to job grades will pay itself back by better motivated employees, by developers of the work and by members of wide collaboration networks.'

In the period after the agreement, I found a justification type for the new pay system called *Self-development*. These justifications were only present in the texts of one author.

Helenelund, Crux 6/2007. After the agreement.

'It is one of the central strategic choices in the new promotion of interest vision by Akava that pay systems should support responsibilities, skills and self-development.'

AUTONOMY AND FLEXIBILITY OF LOCAL ORGANISATIONS

The next category of justifications is called *Autonomy and flexibility of local organisations*. This category involves justifications concerning the growing role and flexibility of local organisations in pay determination. Justifications based on flexibility were sometimes presented by comparing the new (more flexible) system to the old one which was seen as more rigid. This code appeared after the agreement more often than before the agreement.

Jossas, Crux 3/2008. After the agreement.

'The meaning of the new pay system is not to decrease anybody's basic wage rate: on the contrary, the new more flexible and more unrestricted pay is meant to ease the recruitments and the movement of employees.'

In the old pay system, pay determination was seen as a centralised operation, because the wage classes were determined in negotiations by labour market organisations and the individual pay component was mainly based on seniority.

In the new system, local organisations autonomy in the pay determination was increasing.

Lindegard, Crux 6/2005. Before the agreement.

‘The significant part of the pay reform is to increase the local authority in the preparation phase and in the application starting later.’

The new pay system created bigger roles for local actors in wage determination. Some articles told that the new pay system was seen as bringing tools for human resource management, managers, and supervisors.

Saarikka, Kirkon töissä 4/2009. After the agreement.

‘The new pay system, and the discretionary pay component as part of it, was intended as one tool for management. We must take this new possibility bravely. Enough time should be booked for the preparation of the application. If we succeed well in the introduction, we will have a fine new tool for personnel management.’

RISING LEVEL OF WAGES AND RECRUITMENT

The next category of justifications includes set of justifications that are associated with wage levels. These justifications involved expected raises on wages, competitiveness of wages and the pay reforms influence on recruiting new employees to the ELCF. One quite expected justification of the new pay system was the hope of increased wages. However, the tone of writing of the wage rises was quite cautious before the agreement, as in the text example below ‘all possible changes mean that pay levels will rise’.

Kauppinen, Crux 3-4/2005. Before the agreement.

‘Doubters, and those who are already sceptic, should remember that there is so-called guaranteed pay system in the pay reform. This means that the pay reform will not decrease anybody’s wage. All possible changes mean that pay levels will rise.’

Also, the competitiveness of wages and facilitation of recruitment were mentioned as a reason for the new pay system. According to DiMaggio and Powell (1983, 153), institutional isomorphism with other organisations can help organisations ‘to attract career-minded staff’. In line with this idea, not only the rising wage level, but also the growing similarity in the pay system compared to other sectors can be an asset in recruiting new employees from other sectors. Also, the wage levels in the ELCF were considered lower than in other public sectors.

Kirkon töissä 4/2008. After the agreement.

‘The Lutheran Church has been able to raise its wage level towards the level of similar jobs in other public sectors.’

According to articles in my data, the pay reform did raise wages in its first year. Therefore, the theme of rising wages appeared more often in journal articles in the time after the agreement than it did before the agreement.

Rasila, Kirkon töissä 4/2008. After the agreement.

'The pay reform corrected pay levels in the Church.

According to preliminary statistics, the pay level of the Lutheran Church employees rose an average of 10.8 percent during one year. Wages developed more than ever before in similar time span during the whole history of labour markets in the Church.'

Themes of competitiveness of wages and recruitment were present also after the agreement.

Hellén & Rasila, Kirkon töissä 1/2008. After the agreement.

'It was stated in the local union representatives' assembly that the good pay policy increases the work motivation of employees, and at the same time, is a marketing advantage when recruiting new employees to parishes.'

GENERAL IMPROVEMENTS OF THE PAY SYSTEM

By the category *General improvements of the pay system* I mean pay system justifications that did not emphasise any particular characteristics or view on the new pay system, but were based on the general belief that the new pay system would be better than the old one.

Huttunen, Crux 1/2007. Before the agreement.

'The pay reform creates a better system than the existing one. Of course, everything will not happen instantly, but possibilities are now created.'

After the agreement, there were some text segments about the general improvements of the pay system and about pay reform as a tool for big structural changes in the ELCF. In the next reference writers even mention possible cultural changes in the Church.

Helenelund, Jossas, Löppönen & Rasila, Kirkon töissä 1/2008. After the agreement.

'It must be remembered that the pay system was made to fix the basis of the pay and pay levels, as a tool for good management and personnel politics, to create a payment tool which is able to adapt to different workplaces and jobs, and by which the local negotiating can be strengthened. The purpose was also to give one tool for big structural changes in the Church: administrative, operational environment, and cultural.'

FOLLOWING OTHER SECTORS

The last category of justifications for the new pay system is *Following other sectors*. The authors referred to the situation in Finnish society, where the evaluation-based pay systems achieved a central position in the public sector. In one of these text sections ‘the new pay system (NPS)’ was highlighted as a key term.

Jossas, Crux 3-4/2005. Before the agreement.

‘When the world changes, even the pay systems do not stay still. From last decade, in every labour market, the key term has been ‘NPS’, the new pay system.’

This theme of following other sectors did not appear in the journal data after the agreement.

6.1.2 Criticisms and Delegitimation in the Journal Data

Next, I present the criticisms found in the journal articles. Again, I have separately coded for time periods before and after the agreement on 1st October 2007. Appearances of criticisms increased during the pay reform. There were not many criticisms in journal articles at the beginning of the pay reform there was not much criticisms in journal articles, because the planning process of the new pay system was just beginning. However, voices of criticism quickly appeared also in the trade union journal articles.

I grouped criticisms codes thematically into seven categories (see Table 9). I present each category and discuss codes included in each category before and after the agreement. The categories are: *Injustice and inequality; Biases in the job evaluation process in local organisations; Criticisms related to the role and actions of local actors; Deficits in practical operations of the preparation and introduction process; Generic criticisms; Problematic structures of the new pay system; and Negative influences on the work atmosphere and employees’ motivation.*

Table 9. Categories of Criticisms and Number of Code Appearances Included to Each Category Before and After the Agreement in the Journal Data.

	Before the agreement	After the agreement	Total
CATEGORY: INJUSTICE AND INEQUALITY			
The new pay system favours pastoral work	24	2	26
Job evaluation does not recognise the real demands of jobs	8	7	15
Job evaluation does not take into consideration the financial responsibilities and number of subordinates	5	0	5
Fair performance appraisal is considered difficult	0	3	3
Job evaluation emphasises academic education too much	3	0	3
Decreasing significance of education and skills	0	3	3
Doubts about justice and fairness in the job evaluation and performance appraisals	2	0	2
Critique of management as the most important factor of compensation	0	1	1
TOTAL IN CATEGORY	42	16	58
CATEGORY: BIASES IN THE JOB EVALUATION PROCESS IN LOCAL ORGANISATIONS			
Controversy regarding job evaluations; quarrels dealt with a central level	0	30	30
Old wages affected job evaluation	0	5	5
There is no flexibility inside certain job grade	0	5	5
All evaluation factors were not taken into consideration in the job evaluation	0	2	2
Job description does not lead the job evaluation process	0	1	1
The job evaluation has not been done using the same criteria	0	1	1
The process of job evaluation indicates to employees that their work is not appreciated	0	1	1
Job grades are seen as new pay classes	0	1	1
TOTAL IN CATEGORY	0	46	46
CATEGORY: CRITICISMS RELATED TO THE ROLE AND ACTIONS OF LOCAL ACTORS			
Doubt concerning abilities of the local level related to pay reform and its challenges	2	16	18
Not enough co-operative action	0	6	6
TOTAL IN CATEGORY	2	22	24
CATEGORY: DEFICITS IN PRACTICAL OPERATIONS OF THE PREPARATION AND INTRODUCTION PROCESS			
Too tight schedule for roll-out	5	4	9
Criticism related to job description models	8	0	8
Poor communications	1	1	2
Employees were not listened to in the preparation of the new pay system	1	1	2
TOTAL IN CATEGORY	15	6	21
CATEGORY: GENERIC CRITICISMS			
A lot of difficulties	8	5	13
Doubt that the employer have not reserved enough money to fix wage holes etc.	3	0	3
Critique of pay reforms in other sectors	2	0	2
TOTAL IN CATEGORY	13	5	18
CATEGORY: PROBLEMATIC STRUCTURES OF THE NEW PAY SYSTEM			
Too many people are on the guaranteed pay	3	1	4
Critique related to the agreement concerning local union representatives	1	0	1
The new pay system freezes the development of wages	1	0	1
Critique of illegibility of the agreement	0	1	1
The new pay system is not a solution to problems of working hours	1	0	1
TOTAL IN CATEGORY	6	2	8
CATEGORY: NEGATIVE INFLUENCES ON THE WORK ATMOSPHERE AND EMPLOYEES' MOTIVATION			
The new pay system deteriorates the work atmosphere	2	0	2
The pay reform might have a negative influence on employees' work motivation	0	1	1
TOTAL IN CATEGORY	2	1	3
TOTAL, ALL CODES	80	98	178

INJUSTICE AND INEQUALITY

The themes of justice and fairness appeared most frequently in the journal data, regarding both justifications and criticisms. The first category of criticisms is called *Injustice and Inequality*, which concerns injustice or inequality that writers have discovered regarding the determination of wages in the new pay system. Some codes relate to more general doubts about justice and equality of the new pay system, and some codes concentrate on perceived injustice in

certain factors of job evaluation. There are big differences in the frequencies of the codes between time periods. Some codes appeared in only one of the periods, either before or after the agreement.

Before the agreement, doubts concerning the justice and fairness of the job evaluation and performance appraisals appeared.

Kauppinen, Crux 3-4/2005. Before the agreement.

'The second important preparation concerns the learning of a communication and an objectivity of evaluation. When the NPS requires an evaluation of pay levels both between and within job titles for each employee, demands of equity and fairness stand out clearly. Many of the questions and restrictions concerning the NPS are related to the hesitation concerning the evaluation.'

I also coded some text with the code *Fair performance appraisal is considered difficult*. These codes appeared only after the agreement, probably, because the performance appraisal was then a central theme in the planning of the pay reform.

In several articles, the writers presented doubts that the new pay system would either over or under emphasise certain features of jobs. One of the codes that got most hits in the whole journal data was *The new pay system favours pastoral work*. This is a good example of the differences between journals: this code was present in the journals *Jyty* and *Motiivi*, whose publishing organisations represent mainly non-pastoral employees in the Church (*Jyty* and *JHL*) and therefore defend the interests of these employee groups. More information about the differences between the journals is in Section 6.1.3.

Big differences in incidences of this code occurred before and after the agreement. *The new pay system favours pastoral work* appeared very often before the agreement, but seldom after the agreement.

Ala-Nikula, Motiivi 1/2007. Before the agreement.

'According to Kirkon alan unioni, the new system would have changed the focus of the church's pay politics towards favouring pastoral work, for many years to come.'

Some writers argued that also other factors of the job evaluation were given too much or too little attention. Before the agreement, these were: *Job evaluation emphasises academic education too much* and *Job evaluation does not take into consideration the financial responsibilities and number of subordinates*. From the journal data published after the agreement I found new kind of criticism that I coded with new codes: *Decreasing significance of education and skills* and *Critique of management as the most important factor of compensation*. I have included these partly opposite opinions to same

category of *Injustice and inequality*, because they all present an idea that there is something unfair in the way that the jobs are evaluated, although these views are very different.

In this category of criticisms, I included the code *Job evaluation does not recognise the real demands of jobs*. Compared to previous codes that concentrated on one specific aspect of the job evaluation, this code is more general, although simultaneously related to the concept of justice.

BIASES IN THE JOB EVALUATION PROCESS IN LOCAL ORGANISATIONS

The second common criticisms category in the journal data, *Biases in the job evaluation process in local organisations*, did not appear at all in the time period before the agreement. This is because the job evaluation process had not yet occurred. The criticisms presented in this category is quite practical and concern several matters of the job evaluation process, for example that *Old wages affected job evaluation*.

Rauma, Crux 6/2007. After the agreement.

'When the documents have been delivered to the pay commissioner or financial director, our job demands may get a brand-new content. Crosses in boxes have been compared to our current wages and job demands have been examined from that view. The worst feared scenario has happened. The employer is not ready to pay for job demands, but wants to change former pay grades to euros.'

Also, there was some criticisms claiming that *All evaluation factors were not taken into consideration in the job evaluation*.

Helene Lund, Crux 6/2007. After the agreement.

'There are still parishes, where the placing of jobs to job grades has been done by using the criterion of skills, and other criteria have not been taken into consideration, even when defining the wages inside a certain job grade. This conduct does not support the responsibilities, and it does not follow the spirit or the character of the pay system. The system itself cannot be blamed for this – except that it, in its all flexibility, allows also bad implementations.'

Some criticism was against that there was no flexibility on wages inside certain job grade.

Huttunen, Crux 3/2009. After the agreement.

'For example, using the minimum wage of the pay grade as a basic wage has been mentioned as details that have produced some problems.'

When job evaluation was done first time in parishes and parish unions, dissatisfaction of specific job evaluations was common. Employees, who were not satisfied with their own job evaluation, could ask the central level negotiators to negotiate that job evaluation and possibly change it. This was mentioned in the data several times.

Vatanen, Jyty 12-13/2008. After the agreement.

'The quarrels which have begun, can be categorised roughly into four groups. The first involves mistakes in the process, when the job evaluation was done incorrectly, or the decision making was incorrectly organised. Then, there were mistakes, when the job grade was defined wrongly, even though the job evaluation was done correctly. Then, there were cases, when the pay based on the system was defined wrongly and the fourth group were the cases, when employees were not treated unbiased. Most cases that led to quarrelling happened because the application instructions were not correctly interpreted, and also because, the instructions were too ambiguous.'

CRITICISMS RELATED TO THE ROLE AND ACTIONS OF LOCAL ACTORS

The content of the next category of criticisms, *Criticisms related to the role and actions of local actors* is close to the previous category *Biases in the job evaluation process in the local organisations*. In this category, the criticisms are more general, however, not only concerning the job evaluation process.

The type of criticism entitled *Doubt concerning the abilities of the local level related to the pay reform and its challenges* relates to the increased the authority of the local organisations concerning the pay determination of the new pay system. In the journal data, some authors criticised the ability of local actors to face the challenges brought by the new authorities. Criticisms related to the role and actions of local actors were more common after the agreement than before it, probably because after the agreement local authors really started to use their authority and participate in practice in the implementation of the new pay system.

Jossas, Crux 6/2007. After the agreement.

'The determination of wages at the local level is of course totally new. Therefore, it is no wonder that there has been some confusion. Also, it is not unexpected that a first-timer makes some obvious mistakes.'

Some writers accentuated that problems during the first job evaluation process did not relate to because the structure of the new pay system, but to the lack of ability of the local employer.

Vilpponen, Crux 2/2008. After the agreement.

'The difficulties in the application of the collective agreement are not happening because of the pay system, but rather because the weaknesses of the local management system. The quarrels are also mainly due to ignorance and unconsciousness. Because of this, the locality is cross-purposed thing.'

Also, there was a type of criticism that there was *Not enough co-operative action* in local organisations.

Jossas, Crux 2/2008. After the agreement.

'Co-operative actions and negotiations are not customary everywhere. Therefore, the course of the process has not always gone according to procedures of the agreement and the system.'

DEFICITS IN PRACTICAL OPERATIONS OF THE PREPARATION AND INTRODUCTION PROCESS

The category *Deficits in practical operations of the preparation and introduction process* includes criticisms of what was related to practical aspects of the preparation and introduction of the new pay system. These types of criticisms concern the actions of the Commission for Church Employers and other negotiating actors. The first code concerns a schedule for the roll-out, which was often seen as too tight. As earlier mentioned, delays were common in negotiations of the new pay system, and the deadline for the agreement and introduction of the new pay system was postponed twice.

Aunola, Jyty 1/2007. Before the agreement.

'The schedule for preparation of job descriptions in the parishes was tremendously tight and everything was stigmatized by an extraordinary rush, considering how complicated the issue is.'

There were fewer quotes about things related to the preparation and introduction process in the time after the agreement than before the agreement. In this period, the critique regarding the schedule of the introduction of the new pay system concentrated on the process of job evaluation.²⁴ This process was considered too hasty.

Vatanen, Jyty 12-13/2008. After the agreement.

'There are two reasons for the large number of reclamations. First, a transition from a hierarchical pay grade system happened with very little guidance and with too fast schedule. There was not enough time after the

²⁴ The criticism concerning the schedule of job evaluation process are not included in the next group of codes (Criticism towards practical operations in job evaluation process in the local organisations), because the schedules for the roll-out were mainly decided at the level of negotiators, not in the local organisations.

inception of the agreement to get acquainted with the new system. Also, the preparation for the training of the new system should have been better.'

Criticisms related to job description models concerned models used at the beginning of the pay reform, when all jobs in the church sector were either described or inserted into these ready job descriptions. Some concrete criticisms concerned specific details of certain job descriptions, while others involved a more general critique. These criticisms appeared only before the agreement, because this was the time job description models were used.

SVTL-uitiset, 4/2005. Before the agreement.

'A work community of about 90 persons in Tuusula, has identified some shortages in the job description models: e.g., the children's workers model does not recognise a version, without a supervisor role in the job; the diaconal workers' job description which is concentrated on conducting volunteer work is missing; also, the model descriptions of IT-jobs and some administration jobs are missing.'

I also included a couple of types of criticisms in this category that were only present on one occasion before and after the agreement. These codes were *Poor communications* and *Employees were not listened to in the preparation of the new pay system*.

GENERIC CRITICISMS

The next critical category is *Generic criticisms*. This category includes different types of criticisms. The first one is the critique of pay reforms in other sectors.

Rasila, SVTL-uitiset 4/2005. Before the agreement.

'We have been able to read about cautionary examples of practicing with the real life of people from the letters to the editors in the newspapers during this year. The employees of universities and public officers of certain government's central offices have unequivocally criticised job evaluation systems that have been introduced in their organisations, and the wages based on them.'

The code *A lot of difficulties* in this category refers to general comments about difficulties of the introduction of the new pay system in the ELCF.

Jossas, Crux 1/2007 B. Before the agreement.

'The pay reform in the Church seems to have a lot of bad luck. The process, which started in the 1990s, has been disregarded many times and got lost along the way. Sometimes, the local preparedness has been questioned. Again, last time, local organisations worked bravely, but the negotiators in the central level used too much time and cigarettes.'

This was the only code in this category that appeared also after the agreement. This is also one example of criticism of the work of negotiators by negotiating side.

Doubt that the employer had not reserved enough money for the pay reform appeared in some text clips.

Aunola, Jyty 8-9/2007. Before the agreement.

'Naturally, Mäkinen sees that the cause of biggest disagreement is money, or more likely the insufficient amount of it.'

PROBLEMATIC STRUCTURES OF THE NEW PAY SYSTEM

The next category of criticisms is *Problematic structures of the new pay system*. This is quite a small category, but these codes did not fit into other categories. This category includes three codes appearing only before the agreement: *Critique related to the agreement concerning local union representatives*; *The new pay system is not a solution to problems of working hours*; and *The new pay system freezes the development of wages*.

Both time periods involved criticisms claiming *Too many people are on guaranteed pay* after the pay reform. The term 'guaranteed pay' refers to the promise made before the pay reform that nobody's wage level would decrease. Subsequently, those employees whose wages in the new pay system were defined lower than previously, would receive their old wages.

Ala-Nikula, Motiivi 1/2007. Before the agreement.

'According to an estimation by the employer, even 70 percent of employees would remain on the guaranteed pay level. When the government pay system was renewed, it was seen as a problem that 25 percent of employees received the guaranteed pay, the negotiators of Church's union describe.'

After the agreement, there was one criticism of the illegibility of the agreement.

Rasila, Kirkon töissä 3/2008. After the agreement.

'The main negotiators have been attacked. Especially, the illegibility of the agreement has been criticised.'

NEGATIVE INFLUENCES ON THE WORK ATMOSPHERE AND EMPLOYEE MOTIVATION

The last criticism category Negative influences on the work atmosphere and employee motivation is quite small. There were two codes in this group: *The new pay system deteriorates the work atmosphere* and *The pay reform might have a negative influence on employees' work motivation*. Both codes relate to employees' experiences of the new pay system and the pay reform process.

Puustinen, Motiivi 6/2008. After the agreement.

'How has the new pay system influenced on personnel?

- The reform treats the blue-collar workers badly, and it has negatively influenced many workers' work-motivation.'

Brotherus, Jyty 1/2007. Before the agreement.

'The harshness of employer politics does not promise good for the coming years. Unequal politics will weaken the work atmosphere in parishes.'

6.1.3 Justifications and Criticisms in Different Journals

Journal articles of my data are not just examples of media texts about the pay reform in the ELCF. They are examples of political texts that are written with some specific goals in mind. Trade unions are a pivotal part of working life in Finland, and they have lot of bargaining power concerning the issues of employees in the organisations. Writers in the journals of labour market organisations are often employees or board members of certain trade unions. Especially in smaller journals there are typically no separate journalists for the trade union journal, but for instance, the executive manager of the trade union office acts as an editor-in-chief. Also, the target audience of each journal is different, because most of the readers of each journal are members of a certain labour union.

Arguments presented by writers concentrating on the differences between articles in each journal had notably different origins. Firstly, writers of journal articles could present their own opinions concerning the new pay system or practices of the pay reform. Secondly, writers could present 'the official opinion' of the labour market union in question. That is, authors do not present their personal opinions, but the appointed arguments constituting the official position of the union. Thirdly, some articles presented the opinions of other people than the writer, such as interviews of employees in the church organisations, reveal the opinions of the interviewees towards the system. For the reader, defining whose opinions writers were presenting on each time can be difficult.

Green (2004, p. 656) remarks, that 'only individuals make justifications; however, we can conceptualize justifications as representing the dominant concerns of individuals in firms, classes, or industries'. Even justifications and criticisms presented in certain journals are initially writings of a specific individual, the trade unions and their journals choose their writers and control what is published to the extent that it is reasonable to study them together.

Notably, the authors of journal texts are not always known. Although most articles state the name of the writer, some texts were anonymous. Anonymous articles imply an 'official opinion' of the trade union that published the journal.

As presented in Section 5.2.1, different journals have significant differences in counts of articles ²⁵. *Jyty* and *Motiivi* are the journals of trade unions (*Jyty* and *JHL*) whose members are mostly employees in other sectors than the ELCF, for example, the municipal sector. Members of publishing organisations of journals *Crux* and *SVTL-utiset/Kirkon töissä* are mainly employees in the church sector. Therefore, there were fewer articles of the situation in the church sector in journals *Jyty* and *Motiivi*, compared to *Crux* and *SVTL-utiset/Kirkon töissä*.

Table 10 outlines the categories of justifications and criticisms that appeared in each of the journals. Articles in the journals *Crux* and *SVTL-utiset/Kirkon töissä* contained all categories of justifications I found in the interview data, and articles in the journal *Jyty* contained all criticisms categories. Articles in the journal *Motiivi* had least justification and criticism categories, partly due to the small number of articles analysed. I provide more detailed information on justifications and criticisms codes in different journals before and after the pay reform in Appendix 9.

Table 10. Appearances of Justifications and Criticisms Categories in Different Journals

		Crux	SVTL- utiset/Kirkon töissä	Jyty	Motiivi
Categories of justifications	Justice, fairness, equality, and transparency	x	x	x	x
	Pay as an incentive	x	x	x	
	Autonomy and flexibility for local organisations	x	x	x	
	Rising level of wages and recruitment	x	x	x	x
	General improvements of the pay system	x	x		
	Following other sectors	x	x		
Categories of criticism	Injustice and inequality	x	x	x	x
	Biases in the job evaluation process in local organisations	x	x	x	x
	Criticisms related to the role and actions of local actors	x	x	x	
	Deficits in practical operations of the preparation and introduction process	x	x	x	
	Generic criticisms	x	x	x	
	Problematic structures of the new pay system	x	x	x	x
	Negative influences on the work atmosphere and employees' motivation			x	x

Next, I concentrate on the special features of the justifications and criticisms presented in different journals.

²⁵ Counts of the articles in each journal are presented in Table 3 in Section 5.2.1.

CRUX

The journal Crux was published by unions representing certain employees doing pastoral work in the ELCF: priest, cantors, and diaconal workers. (For more details, see Section 5.2.1.) Therefore, most of the Crux's potential readers work in the church sector.

Of the 30 articles, I analysed, a significant portion (13) were written by the executive manager of the trade union Aki, Akavan kirkolliset ammattiliitot – Kyrkliga fackförbund inom Akava r.y. The remaining articles were written by nine other named authors and one anonymous writer. These authors can be split into two groups: those who worked in the trade union and those who worked in the parishes. Authors working for the trade union mainly concentrated on the progress of the negotiations and the planning of the new pay system. Those working in the parishes concentrated more on experiences concerning the pay reform in the level of local organisations. Below, are examples of texts from both of the writer types.

Jossas, Crux 1/2005. Before the agreement.

'The negotiations about the new pay system have already been going on a long time. The intent was that in this shift of agreements, there would have been a negotiation result that would have touched the system quite little, but would have opened a possibility to a greater flexibility and also to an evaluation of the jobs and a reflection of job demands to the wages.' (The writer works as an executive manager of Aki.)

Häkkinen, Crux 6/2005.

'In these days, the new pay system is the word in the hallways of parishes. Employees got the job description forms to their post boxes and some instructions how to fill them in.' (The writer works as a priest.)

Writers and potential readers of the journal Crux represent the most educated employee groups in the ELCF, so the significance of education was quite often mentioned in the arguments.²⁶

Helenehond, Crux 6/2007. After the agreement.

'The responsibilities and skills are the most central criteria in the job evaluation. When before the pay was determined almost solely based on job title and the education required, whereas in the new pay system, in addition to education, also interaction, guidance, problem solving/data collection and responsibilities are considered. Has the new job evaluation criterion diminished the meaning of skills and education concerning the formation of wages?'

²⁶ Typical degree requirements. Priest: Master of Theology, Cantor: Master of Music or polytechnic degree, Diaconal workers: polytechnic degree.

The justifications I found in the Crux journal were versatile, only missing two of my justifications codes (see Appendix 9). Three justifications codes in the journal data only appeared in the Crux (see Appendix 9). Notable was the striking concentration on the theme of *Growing role of the local organisations* in the Crux journal. Other journals had only 5 quotes of this theme compared to 17 quotations in the Crux journal. This is possibly because potential readers of Crux included highly educated employees in the church sector, who were quite often supervisors in the parishes. Therefore, the growing role of the local organisations might especially influence these employees' work in the future.

The criticisms in separate journals was more heterogeneous than the justifications. Reflecting the role of Crux as the representative of the highest educated workers, the codes *Decreasing significance of education and skills* and *Critique of management as the most important factor of compensation* appeared only in the Crux. Similarly, perspectives that supported less educated employees were absent from Crux, as they were against the interests of members of its publishers, Aki and Diakoniatyöntekijöiden liitto ry. Thus, the codes *The new pay system favours pastoral work* or *job evaluation emphasises academic education too much* did not appear at all in the Crux.

Vilpponen, Crux 2/2008. After the agreement.

'The management as a most important basis of compensation was paid a critical attention, and at the same time the meaning of artistic skills was pondered. Should the special skills of cantors be risen to the same level as management?'

Two writers argued in the journal 'Crux' about the lack of 'co-operative' action. This type of criticism did not appear in other journals, and was targeted at local employers, claiming that local union representatives were not given big enough role.

Jossas, Crux 6/2007. After the agreement.

'The locality of the pay system does not mean that the employer (a vicar, a financial manager, a vestry) is in a dictator position. Unfortunately, the voice from the field proves that parishes have not even tried to begin to study co-operation that is a part of a normal work life.'

Because the potential readers of the Crux journal were pastoral workers, it was surprising that there were only four text sections that dealt with both Christian values and pay reform.²⁷ More specifically, in the justifications and criticisms of the pay reform, Christian values did not appear at all. Therefore, the focus of articles about the pay reform was on things directly related to the pay and wages.

²⁷ In general, when considering journals as an entirety (and not just the articles related to the pay reform), Christian values were noticeably present in the journal Crux.

Compatibility of the new pay system with the Church's values was scantily deliberated: only few statements claimed these two fit together.

Jossas, Crux 3-4/2005. Before the agreement.

'The new pay system would be per se compatible with the Church's values. Also, during the centuries the Church's pay philosophy has quite precisely followed the other society's customs and reforms, what else could it do.'

Rather than drawing on the church values to appraise the pay system and related organisational changes, the authors separated or even actively distanced the ongoing changes from the church values, as illustrated in the quote below.

Jossas, Crux 6/2006. Before the agreement.

'Nowadays, it is common to think that everybody should have a reasonable pay and working hours, good management and work community, and collegial atmosphere, as fundamental rights. The improvement has been positive and the specialties concerning the pastor's office has been taken into consideration. However, it has not been forgotten that the priest is working in the world of redemption and is taking care of the priest's office. Labour market negotiations do not concern these things.'

To summarise, my perceptions from the journal Crux were that the interests of the highly educated pastoral employees appeared in the articles of the journal Crux. However, even though potential Crux readers are church employees doing pastoral work, the Church's values and religion were not linked to the pay reform or discussed in the articles that deal with the pay reform. Much focus was put on questions that affect the members of Aki in the local organisation level, as the growing role, autonomy, and flexibility of local organisations.

SVTL-UUTISET/KIRKON TÖISSÄ

SVTL-utiset (until the issue 3/2007), Kirkon töissä (from 4/2007) was published by Seurakuntien Viran- ja Toimihaltijain Liitto SVTL ry/Kirkon alojen ammattijärjestö SVTL ry²⁸. Trade union members include nearly all employee groups in the ELCF. Dominant membership groups included, children's workers, youth workers, workers in estates and catering, and workers in the church offices.²⁹ SVTL included workers also from other Christian organisations than the ELCF, including the Orthodox Church and various Christian associations. The journals Crux, SVTL-utiset and Kirkon töissä serve mainly employees of the church sector.

The majority (n=16) of the 31 articles in SVTL-utiset/Kirkon töissä I analysed, were written by the executive manager of the union. In addition, 2 articles were co-written by multiple authors, including the executive manager.

²⁸ The trade union's name was Seurakuntien Viran- ja Toimihaltijain Liitto SVTL ry until 2006.

²⁹ Reference: interview I made at 25.4.2007. Interviewees were the executive manager of the SVTL and other person working in the SVTL office.

The articles I analysed were by 7 different authors, although 1 article was authored in collaboration between representatives of SVTL and Aki. In addition, there were 6 anonymous texts. The dominant role of the executive manager in the journal created significant cohesion in the opinions expressed in this journal.

One category of justifications that I found in the data *General Improvements of the pay system* appeared only in the journals SVTL-uutiset/Kirkon töissä and Crux and two codes of this category (*The good quality pay system* and *the new pay system as a tool for big structural changes in the Church*) only in the SVTL-uutiset/Kirkon töissä.³⁰

Rasila, SVTL-uutiset 4/2005. Before the agreement.

‘The most important thing is to create a high-class and reliable pay system, which has the readiness to be developed further.’

In the journal SVTL-uutiset/Kirkon töissä, the criticisms of the new pay system concentrated on the practical execution of the pay reform and not so much on the structural features of the new pay system.

Hellén & Rasila, Kirkon töissä 1/2008. After the agreement.

‘The job gradings have not been made concordant even inside the same parish, the same jobs have been evaluated with different criteria. Also, supervisors were seen as lacking information about how this ‘new’ pay system should be executed.’

Like in the journal Crux, the religious values of the Church were present in the journal SVTL-uutiset/Kirkon töissä (as in Crux) in general, but again they were largely absent from the articles concerning the pay reform and therefore included to the data of this thesis. Also, as in the journal Crux, the justifications and criticisms concerning the pay reform were disconnected from the religious values.

THE JOURNALS OF KIRKON ALAN UNIONI: JYTY AND MOTIIVI

Finally, one of the negotiating parties was Kirkon alan unioni ry, which represents members of The Federation of Public and Private Sector Employees, Jyty (Julkis- ja yksityisalojen toimihenkilöliitto Jyty ry) and The Trade Union for the Public and Welfare Sectors JHL (Julkisten- ja hyvinvointipalvelujen liitto JHL ry). Both Jyty and JHL are large unions representing employees mainly in the municipal sector, with minorities in both labour unions from the church sector.

The journal JYTY had only 10 articles related to the pay reform during 2005-2010, written by 7 different authors, in addition to 1 anonymous article. The journal Motiivi published only 6 articles related to the pay reform, 3 of which

³⁰ These codes did not appear in the interview data.

were anonymous. The small number of articles in the journals *Jyty* and *Motiivi* reflects the fact that only a small minority of the members of these trade unions worked in the church sector.

Christian values of the Church were not mentioned in the articles included in my data of the journal *Motiivi*. In the journal *Jyty*, only one passage of text concerned this theme (but nothing in the justifications and criticisms).

As the total number of articles in the journal *Jyty* was small, the amount of the justifications compared to the journals *SVTL-uutiset/Kirkon töissä* or *Crux* was also very small. Most of the justifications found in the journal *Jyty* concerned the themes of *Justice, fairness, equality and transparency* and *Rising level of wages and recruitment* (see Appendix 9). Also, most of the justifications found in the journal *Jyty* appeared in the articles before the agreement.

Motiivi was the journal with the least number of articles about the ELCF's pay reform and least the appearances of justifications and criticisms codes. There were only two justifications of the new pay system in *Motiivi*: one concerning the justice and fairness and one concerning recruitment. The small amount of justifications raises the question of whether the new pay system was considered self-evident. This may be true if the actors in *JHL* did not find it necessary to justify, legitimate, or promote the new pay system for the members of their trade union in their journal. Self-evidence of the system could indicate the institutional status of the pay systems based on job evaluation and performance appraisals, but also the small role and amount of church sector employees among the members of *JHL*. In the municipal sector, where most of the members of *Jyty* and *JHL* work, pay systems based on job and performance evaluations were already quite commonly used during the time I study.

The criticisms codes found in the journal *Jyty* concerned all the thematical categories of criticisms I found in the data. Criticisms in the journal *Jyty* were notably more versatile than justifications.

One type of the criticism receiving most attention in the journals *Jyty* and *Motiivi*, was the idea that *The new pay system favours pastoral work*. This argument did not appear in other journals, but it appeared 20 times in the journal *Jyty* and 4 times in *Motiivi*. All the appearances of this argument were from 2007 and 2008, and this discussion was partly the reason why the *Kirkon alan unioni ry* refused to sign the first version of the agreement (see Chapter 2.3). Connected to this was the idea that *Job evaluation emphasises academic education too much*, which was also found only from the journals *Jyty* and *Motiivi*. The reason for these types of criticisms in the journals *Jyty* and *Motiivi* was clearly the fact that most of their target audiences had no academic education and were doing non-pastoral work.

Ala-Nikula, Motiivi 1/2007. Before the agreement.

'According to the negotiators of the Union, the actions of the Commission for Church Employers have become harder during last couple of years. The

reason for the stricter attitude of employer might be the increasing shortage of pastors. Now, the problem is hastily solved by discriminating other groups.'

Also, the category *Negative influences on the work atmosphere and employees' motivation* was found only from the journals Motiivi ja Jyty.

The codes *Job evaluation does not take into consideration the financial responsibilities and number of subordinates* and *Job evaluation emphasises academic education too much* appeared only in the journals Motiivi and Jyty. The reasons for this are probably that in the ELCF, priests and cantors are the biggest groups with academic education, and these employee groups are not represented by Jyty and JHL. Financial responsibilities are often considerable in some non-pastoral works, such as in property departments.

Brotherus, Jyty 1/2007. Before the agreement.

'It is also strange that the system does not take into account the size of the financial responsibility or number of subordinates. The job demands do not grow even if the financial responsibility would be hundreds of million euros, or there would be more than one hundred subordinates.'

6.1.4 Summary of the Justifications and Criticisms in the Journal Data

In this section, I summarise how the justifications and criticisms I found in my journal data changed over time and how they differ across journals. I grouped justification codes into the six categories present during both time periods studied. However, there were some codes that only appeared either before or after the agreement. Specifically, focus of the justifications was more on justifications related to the job-based pay component before the agreement in October 2007, and on a performance-related pay component after the agreement. This is consistent with the order of the implementation of different components of the pay system: the pay component based on job evaluation was implemented first, and the introduction of performance appraisals was scheduled for 2009. In this way, texts that focused on the quality of work or reaching goals (effectiveness), or both, that is, factors that should be measured in the performance appraisals, were more present in the period after the agreement.

Akin to justifications, criticisms in the journal data varied before and after the agreement. For example, the whole criticisms category, *Practical criticisms towards the job evaluation* appeared only after the agreement, as before the agreement this process had not yet happened. Before the agreement, there was more criticisms of the preparation process of the new pay system which was mainly done by negotiating parties, but after the agreement there was much criticisms concerning the role and actions of the local organisations and the job evaluation process done in the local organisations.

In the journal data, there was ‘a curve of criticisms’: first the pay reform was mainly seen as a positive thing, resulting in much justifications and little criticism; later, however, there was considerably more criticisms. In the journals *Jyty* and *Motiivi*, accusations that the new pay system favours pastoral work were raised. Also after the agreement, quarrelling over job evaluations in many parishes and parish unions was common. When the biggest disagreements were solved, positive thoughts about the pay system prevailed.

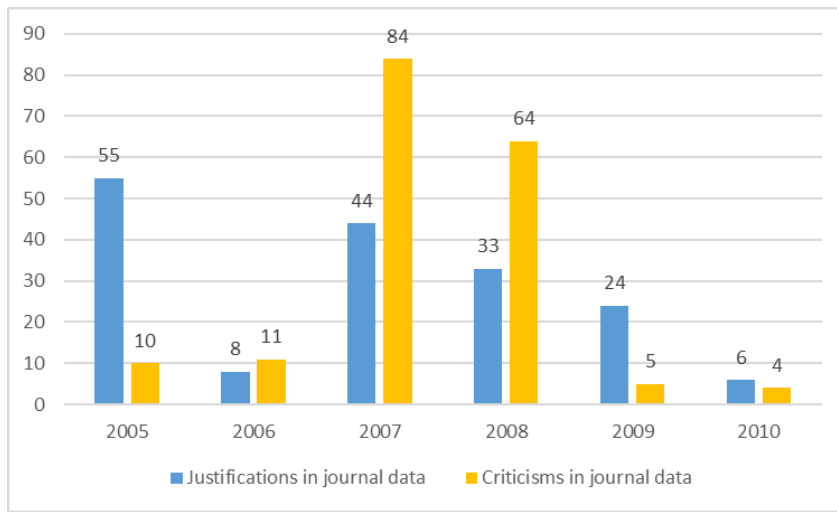


Figure 6. Counts of Justifications and Criticisms by Years

Criticisms based on structural details of the pay system were quite rare in the journal data. This may be because many of the analysed articles were written by the negotiators, who were planning the structure of the new pay system. Furthermore, some codes in the category *Injustice and inequality* relate to the structural factors of the new pay system, because these codes contain the idea that some structural features of the job evaluation are unfair.

Despite detailed discussion about either job-based pay component or individual pay components in many articles, justifications and criticisms in the journal data supported the idea of the new pay system as one entity. In many cases writers used the phrase ‘the new pay system’ or abbreviation ‘NPS’ to indicate the total pay system.

Themes not appearing in the data included the uniqueness of the ELCF as an organisation and the special nature of the Church jobs. The discussion of how the new pay system favoured pastoral work, was the main topic regarding the difference between the ELCF and other sectors. Even in the journals solely concentrating on the church sector (*Crux* and *SVTL- uutiset/Kirkon töissä*), the writers did not present this view. Obviously, the trade unions had an interest in legitimating the new pay system, because they had supported the decision to

create the new pay system. Therefore, the criticisms in the journals often concentrated on certain aspects of the new pay system, not questioning the bigger issue of bringing the new, evaluation-based pay system to the ELCF.

Table 11 summarises central observations about the justifications before and after the agreement in October 2007.

Table 11. Summary: Justifications and Criticisms in the Journal Data Before and After the Agreement

	Before the agreement	After the agreement
Justifications	The focus of justifications related to pay component based on job evaluation e.g., the category <i>Justice, fairness, equality, and transparency</i> . Justifications concerning <i>Following other sectors</i> appeared only before the agreement.	The focus of justifications related to pay component based on performance appraisals e.g., the category <i>Pay as an incentive</i> .
Criticisms	The type of criticisms <i>Injustice and inequality</i> appeared more often before the agreement than after the agreement.	Practical criticisms of the job evaluation appeared only after the pay reform. Also, criticisms of the role and actions of local actors was more common after the pay reform.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN JOURNALS

A clear division of arguments regarding job evaluation and its emphasis is notable in the journals. Writers complained about too much emphasis on the interests of the pastoral workers in the pay reform in the journals *Motiivi* and *Jyty*; in the journal *Crux*, writers defended the interests of the pastoral workers. As a union, SVTL was in the middle of these arguments, probably because it had members doing both pastoral and non-pastoral work. Several types of criticisms claimed some features of the new pay system, and especially job evaluation, concentrated on the wrong things in the criticisms category of *Injustice and Inequality*. These claims were partly opposite to each other, and were present in different journals (see Figure 7).

Crux		Motiivi	Jyty
Decreasing significance of education and skills.	↔	Job evaluation emphasizes academic education too much.	Job evaluation emphasizes academic education too much.
Critique of management as the most important factor of compensation.		Job evaluation does not take into consideration the financial responsibilities and number of subordinates.	Job evaluation does not take into consideration the financial responsibilities and number of subordinates.
		The new pay system favours pastoral work.	The new pay system favours pastoral work.

Figure 7. Critical Arguments Concerning the Emphasis of the Job Evaluation in Different Journals

One reason for these kinds of opposite criticisms is the influence of the new pay system and job evaluation on the hierarchy within the ELCF. The old pay grades were contested by the job evaluation, and job evaluation performed during the introductory phase of the new pay system had a far-reaching impact

on wages. Therefore, the trade unions considered job evaluation a crucial thing and tried to actively defend the interests of their own members.

In Table 12, I present my main findings of the differences between justifications and criticisms in journals. Generally, different journals were more heterogenous regarding criticisms than justifications of the new pay system.

Table 12. Specialties of the Justifications and Criticisms in Each Journal

	Crux	SVTL-uutiset/Kirkon töissä	Jyty	Motiivi
Pivotal to this journal	<p>Versatile justifications</p> <p>Concentration on growing role of the local organisations</p> <p>Criticisms concerning the job evaluation process and other actions of the local organisations</p> <p>Emphasises education</p>	<p>Versatile justifications</p> <p>Criticisms concentrating on practical usage of the new pay system, not the structural features</p>	<p>Number of articles concerning the new pay system was quite low in these two journals</p> <p>Focus on criticisms: Pay system favours pastoral workers</p>	

6.2 Justifications and Criticisms in the Interview Data

In this section, I present the justifications and criticisms I found in the interview data. I have two perspectives in studying the actors of change: their role in the implementation process and their identity as pastoral and non-pastoral actors. First, I present justifications and the construction of legitimacy among *change agents, supervisors* and *employees* (for definition and additional information, see Section 5.2.1) I also group the interviewees as *doing pastoral* and *non-pastoral work* and follow with criticisms, using the same groups.

I find the differences between employees doing pastoral work and non-pastoral work interesting, because pastoral work can be seen as a foundation task of the Church appearing only in religious organisations. Instead, many other jobs in the ELCF are quite similar to corresponding jobs in other sectors.

Change agent 13. Non-pastoral.

‘We have a big group of these people, I am one of this group, who are these people doing the support jobs, and I think that the evaluation of our jobs is alike as it would be in the municipalities or in any other office work, or property management jobs.’

Dutton, Dukerich, and Harquail (1994) found differences among work organisation members’ identification with an organisation. They claim when work organisation members strongly identify with an organisation ‘the attributes they use to define the organization also define them’ (Dutton et al., 1994, p. 239). They also note that a person is strongly identified with an organisation when ‘(1) his or her identity as an organisation member is more

salient than alternative identities, and (2) his or her self-concept has many of the same characteristics he or she believes define the organisation as a social group' (Dutton et al., 1994, p. 239).

It can be assumed that the employees doing pastoral work are more tightly connected to church organisations, because their jobs do not appear in other kind of organisations. Also, in my data, interviewees doing pastoral work, more often than the interviewees doing non-pastoral work, stated that they 'have a calling'. Cambridge Dictionary defines calling as 'a strong wish to do a job, usually one that is socially valuable'. Weber (2012, p. 37) defines calling as 'a life-task, a definite field in which to work' in his famous work 'The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism'.

Change agent 11. Pastoral.

'Of course, the pay is one part of the big picture. Of course, you should have a desire, a vision, and a calling, in this kind of job. It is not same if you work in the parish or, or for example in the construction site.' (The interviewee works as a vicar.)

6.2.1 Justifications and Construction of Legitimacy in the Interview Data

In my analysis of the interview data, I use a similar definition of justifications as in the analysis of the journal data. However, often it is quite difficult to specify 'whose opinions' the interviewee is presenting: his or hers own, or what he or she thinks is a trade union's opinion or the 'general opinion' of the organisation.

Table 13 presents the justifications found in the interview data. The categories are presented in the order of number of appearances of codes. Different columns represent justifications found in the interviews of change agents, supervisors and employees and also interviewees doing pastoral and non-pastoral work. The codes not found in the journal data are marked in red. The division of analysed data into pastoral and non-pastoral work type allowed me to examine the difference work type makes at different levels of employee. See Appendix 9 for the corresponding table.

Table 13. Categories of Justifications and Number of Code Appearances Included in Each Category in the Different Interviewee Groups.

	Change agents (n=15)	Supervisors (n=21)	Employees (n=30)	Total	Pastoral work (n=25)	Non-pastoral work (n=41)	Total
CATEGORY: RISING LEVEL OF WAGES AND RECRUITMENT							
Recruitment	7	6	5	18	6	12	18
Bigger wages	4	1	11	16	4	12	16
Competitiveness of wages	3	1	6	10	4	6	10
TOTAL IN CATEGORY	14	8	22	44	14	30	44
CATEGORY: AUTONOMY AND FLEXIBILITY OF LOCAL ORGANISATIONS							
Growing role of supervisors	2	5	4	11	2	9	11
Flexibility	5	1	2	8	0	8	8
Revising all jobs and job descriptions	3	1	3	7	3	4	7
Being in the front row in developing compensation	7	0	0	7	0	7	7
Growing role of the local organisations	5	0	0	5	0	5	5
Tools for HRM, managers and supervisors	1	0	0	1	0	1	1
TOTAL IN CATEGORY	23	7	9	39	5	34	39
CATEGORY: JUSTICE, FAIRNESS, EQUALITY AND TRANSPARENCY							
Justice and fairness	3	5	6	14	6	8	14
Determining wages based on job's contents and demands, not just job title	5	1	6	12	5	7	12
Paying for responsibilities and know-how	0	1	1	2	2	0	2
Transparency	1	0	0	1	0	1	1
TOTAL IN CATEGORY	9	7	13	29	13	16	29
CATEGORY: PAY AS AN INCENTIVE							
Motivation	2	4	3	9	4	5	9
Consideration of own work	2	1	1	4	1	3	4
Employees own possibilities to influence their own wages	2	2	0	4	1	3	4
Rewarding for reaching goals	1	1	1	3	0	3	3
Pay as an incentive	0	2	0	2	2	0	2
TOTAL IN CATEGORY	7	10	5	22	8	14	22
CATEGORY: FOLLOWING OTHER SECTORS							
Following other sectors	6	5	7	18	7	11	18
TOTAL IN CATEGORY	6	5	7	18	7	11	18
CATEGORY: GENERAL IMPROVEMENTS OF THE PAY SYSTEM							
One pay system for the church	1	3	0	4	2	2	4
Employer wants to make savings	0	0	1	1	0	1	1
TOTAL IN CATEGORY	1	3	1	5	2	3	5
TOTAL	60	40	57	157	49	108	157
AVERAGE: NUMBER OF CODED QUOTES PER INTERVIEWEE	4,0	1,9	1,9	2,4	2,0	2,6	2,4

RISING LEVEL OF WAGES AND RECRUITMENT

The justification category containing most quotes in the interview data is *Rising level of wages and recruitment*. These aspects were clearly expected from the new pay system in the local organisations. Some interviewees connected rising wages to an expected decrease in the amount of jobs; the decrease in employees funding higher wages in the future.

Change agent 11. Pastoral.

‘Overall, I have thought that with the diminishing resources, in the future, all in all, we will be driven to the situation that we must do more of this church work with smaller group, maybe with a little bit better wages.’

One aspect related to the bigger wages was the competitiveness of wages. When compared to other sectors, wages in the ELCF were considered low. Some interviewees hoped that the new pay system would increase the competitiveness of wages compared to other sectors. Also, recruitment was a theme related to competitiveness of wages.

Change agent 14. Non-pastoral.

'This is a starting point, and it probably will not be seen immediately in the coming years, but it will at some point. It will be seen more in the comparability of wages compared to the rest of society, more with shortage of employees in the Church. And they are trying to foresee and answer to this that we would still have employees even after 15 years, that this pay system would be like that and this is the basis.'

The justifications grouped in this category appeared more often in the speech of interviewees doing non-pastoral work than pastoral work.

AUTONOMY AND FLEXIBILITY OF LOCAL ORGANISATIONS

The next category, *Autonomy and flexibility of local organisations*, includes two new codes that did not appear in the journal data. These themes were more common in the change agents' interviews than in other interviewee groups. *The growing role of the local organisations* emerged only in the interviews of the change agents.

Change agent 4. Non-pastoral.

'Anyway, I have understood that one of the pay reform's central elements, in addition to job evaluation and individual skills, is that there would be more decision-making at the local level.'

The most explicit difference between justifications by interviewees doing pastoral and non-pastoral work concerned the category of *Autonomy and flexibility of the local organisations*. There were only a few comments concerning this theme in the interviews of pastoral workers, but clearly more in the interviews of interviewees doing non-pastoral work. Interestingly, this category did not appear at all in the interviews of change agents doing pastoral work and only once in the interviews of supervisors doing pastoral work (see Appendix 10), although the new pay system would increase the autonomy of this group.

A couple of interviewees considered the new pay system (specifically performance appraisals) as a tool for management.

Change agent 14. Non-pastoral.

'But basically, this portion of the individual pay component is good, because then, someone who only does the minimum would get the minimum. Would get that wage, but someone who commits to it and develops herself, develops her job and with passion does, would get that, would get the performance-related pay component. And this is, this is a tool for management, supervisors must evaluate, they are forced to evaluate and that's management.'

Also, the bigger role for the supervisors was also recognised to be part of the new pay system.

Employee 15. Non-pastoral.

'I think it is good that it is renewed, because this is really stiff, this Church's pay system. I think that a supervisor should have the right to influence on subordinates' wages based on performance, and then it is working, entrepreneurship and hard work and initiative is rewarded.'

The two types of justification that appeared only in the interview data and not at all in the journal data were *Revising all jobs and job descriptions* and *A desire to be in the front row in developing compensation*. The idea of revising all job descriptions was seen as an extra benefit resulting from the pay reform. Some interviewees considered it a good idea that all job descriptions were clarified as a part of the process, and that it would have other benefits than just the definition of the new wages. Such benefits included clarification of own job description by an employee and also by his or her supervisor, and also a better understanding of other employees' jobs.

Change agent 2. Non-pastoral.

'On the one hand, when you think positively, I have also justified it to people that now we have all job descriptions updated properly, once again. The tasks of the teams have been considered carefully, we saw what our own role was in the team, so on the other hand it helps them in the future in development discussions and in the development of the whole organisation.'

When I did the interviews, change agents in two local organisations especially emphasised their local organisations' own desire to develop pay systems and to be in the front row in developing compensation. These organisations had previously tried to improve their pay systems independently and would have possibly continued that if there had not been a broad pay reform for the whole ELCF.

Change agent 13. Non-pastoral.

'Because this development of the payment has been one of the central issues here in our parish union for years, it was an excellent choice, and we were happy to be part of it.'

JUSTICE, FAIRNESS, EQUALITY AND TRANSPARENCY

The next justification category is *Justice, fairness, equality and transparency*. Some interviewees mentioned justice as a goal for the new pay system. Also, the idea of transparency of the new pay system appeared in one interview.

Change agent 13. Non-pastoral.

'The goal of this whole system is to pursue transparency, and fairness, and objectivity.'

During interviews, the interviewees mostly talked about justice generally, but some interviewees concentrated on distributive justice and determining wages by the contents and demands of a job, and also paying for responsibilities.

Employee 2. Non-pastoral.

'And that the focus would be, what is the job description and the amount of work done, and responsibilities, compared to wage. That there would be justice in it.'

PAY AS AN INCENTIVE

The justification category *Pay as an incentive* includes codes that are related to the expected effects of the new pay system as an increased motivation, and the attempt to influence people by rewarding them for reaching goals. In some interviews, the motivation effect was particularly linked to the performance-related pay component, but in some cases, it was only generally related to the new pay system.

Change agent 14. Non-pastoral.

'The meaning of this is, when the individual pay component comes, it motivates and who gets it, therefore everybody at least knows that even though it is secret or transparent, what is the general level in this job title, what is the level. He knows, do I get that or do I get some extra, and it motivates them to perform better, because you can see it in the pay packet.'

The goals of the new pay system were defined as receiving rewards for reaching goals and using pay as an incentive.

Change agent 14. Non-pastoral.

'In this new system, the goal is also that the effectiveness would increase. [...] Maybe it is said aloud, but it is clearly here also that our effectiveness also would increase. By payment, they try to encourage that whoever gets better outcomes would get a better pay, and whoever works only minimum, would get less wages.'

Also, the theme of consideration of one's own work appeared in the interview data. This was seen as a positive side of the process; the placing of all jobs into model description would force everybody to do this.

Employee 12. Pastoral.

Interviewer: 'Well, is it that they have even started this kind of reform process, has it had any practical influences? Or is it only being visible because you had to do the job descriptions?'

Interviewee: 'Well, if I think myself, maybe it also clarified a content of own job. Like when you saw it for real, was wondering, hey, what I am doing, and to some extent, I was a little bit shocked about all that I do. But to make an own job definition clearer, so that also colleagues can see what others do.'

FOLLOWING OTHER SECTORS

The example of other sectors as a justification of the new pay system was more common in the interview data than in the journal data. This theme appeared in discussions of all interviewee groups: change agents, supervisors, and employees, and in the interviews of interviewees doing pastoral and non-pastoral work.

Change agent 13. Non-pastoral.

'But why the Church started this, it is more about that like, why Finland does something when Sweden has done something. In society, there has been these reforms, in the government and everywhere, in the municipalities. It is a logical consequence that when other sectors do reforms, then the Church also must follow this trend. I think that the ultimate reason is that and these are same systems, anyway.'

GENERAL IMPROVEMENTS OF THE PAY SYSTEM

I included the category *General improvements of the pay system* in this analysis of the interview data, although they were not the same codes used in the journal data. Some interviewees discussed how almost all employees of the ELCF would be included in the same pay system under the new system, whereas before, there were different compensation groups called R, H, and L, each having their own pay scales, and including different kinds of employee groups.

Supervisor 3. Non-pastoral.

'Where would I get that kind of idea that the goal is that all those alphabets from the pay grades would disappear. I have wondered 20 years about those, so I think that is a very good reason that it is done.'

One interviewee stated that one reason for the new pay system is that the employer wants to make savings.

Employee 25. Non-pastoral.

Interviewer: 'So how did you get the information or what kind of impression do you have, why did the Church start the pay reform? Has there been any discussion about that?'

Interviewee: 'No, there has not been any discussion. But, personally I think that the employer does not start anything unless they are trying to save some money.'

6.2.2 Criticisms and Delegitimation in the Interview Data

Table 14 illustrates the criticisms in the interview data. There were much more criticisms than justifications in the interviews. I categorised criticisms in same groups as in the journal data analysis. However, because some codes were unique to either the journal data or the interview data, two criticism categories existing in the journal data were not present in the interview data (*Criticisms related to the role and actions of local employer* and *Biases in the job evaluation process in local organisations*). Additionally, I found the category *Criticisms related to the new pay system's suitability to church organisations* only in the interview data. The codes not found in the journal data are marked in red.

Table 14. Categories of Criticisms and Number of Code Appearances Included to Each Category in the Different Interviewee Groups.

	Change agents/pastoral (n=3)	Change agents/non-pastoral (n=12)	Supervisors /pastoral (n=9)	Supervisors /non-pastoral (n=12)	Employees /pastoral (n=13)	Employees /non-pastoral (n=17)	Total
CATEGORY: DEFICITS IN PRACTICAL OPERATIONS OF THE PREPARATION AND INTRODUCTION PROCESS							
Poor communication	5	27	4	15	21	19	91
The tight schedule for roll-out	14	21	11	12	15	14	87
Criticism related to job description models	1	6	8	12	24	22	73
Employees were not listened to in the preparation of the new pay system	1	1	0	1	5	3	11
The management of the pay reform project is not good.	1	5	0	0	0	0	6
Local employer representatives were not listened in the preparation of the new pay system.	1	2	0	0	0	0	3
The whole pay reform should have been piloted in some organisations.	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
Critique of Swedish language materials.	0	1	1	0	0	0	2
There were many reform projects in the church organisations at the same time.	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
Large number of working hours used for the pay reform.	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
The Commission for the Church Employer has scrimped money for the pay reform instead of using them to raise wages immediately.	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
TOTAL IN CATEGORY	23	67	24	40	67	58	279
CATEGORY: GENERIC CRITICISM							
Doubt that the pay reform does not has a real impact on anything.	0	1	4	6	27	30	68
Critique of pay reforms in other sectors.	0	2	1	0	3	0	6
The doubt that employer have not reserved enough money for the fix of the wage holes etc.	0	1	2	2	0	0	5
Fear that wages will decline	0	0	1	0	2	1	4
A lot of difficulties	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
TOTAL IN CATEGORY	0	4	9	8	32	31	84
CATEGORY: INJUSTICE AND INEQUALITY							
Fair performance appraisal is considered to be difficult	2	1	4	6	6	0	19
Job evaluation does not recognize the real demands of jobs	0	3	0	0	1	6	10
Doubts about justice and fairness in the job evaluation and performance appraisals	2	2	1	0	0	3	8
The fear that personal relationship between supervisors and subordinates influence performance appraisals	1	0	0	0	6	0	7
The measurement of performance in some jobs is especially difficult	0	0	0	1	6	0	7
The new pay system favours jobs in high positions	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Job evaluation does not take into consideration the financial responsibilities and number of subordinates	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
TOTAL IN CATEGORY	5	7	5	7	19	11	54
CATEGORY: CRITICISM RELATED TO THE NEW PAY SYSTEM'S SUITABILITY TO CHURCH ORGANISATIONS							
The new pay system does not suit church organisations	1	1	1	2	22	0	27
TOTAL IN CATEGORY	1	1	1	2	22	0	27
CATEGORY: NEGATIVE INFLUENCES ON THE WORK ATMOSPHERE AND EMPLOYEES' MOTIVATION							
The new pay system deteriorates the work atmosphere	0	0	0	5	1	1	7
The pay reform might have negative influence on employees work motivation.	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
Work experience is not appreciated	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
TOTAL IN CATEGORY	0	0	0	6	3	1	10
CATEGORY: PROBLEMATIC STRUCTURES OF THE NEW PAY SYSTEM							
The new pay system is not a solution for the problems of working hours	0	0	0	0	4	0	4
The same pay system does not necessarily work in big and small parishes and parish unions	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
TOTAL IN CATEGORY	0	0	0	0	4	2	6
TOTAL	29	79	39	63	147	103	460
AVERAGE: NUMBER OF CODED QUOTES PER INTERVIEWEE	9,7	6,6	4,3	5,3	11,3	6,1	7,0

DEFICITS IN PRACTICAL OPERATIONS OF THE PREPARATION AND INTRODUCTION PROCESS

The criticism of operations in the preparation and introduction process of the new pay system was more diverse and versatile in the interview data than the journal data. This was also clearly the largest category of criticism in the interview data. Four codes were the same in both the interview and journal data: *Poor communications*, *Too tight schedule for roll-out*, *Criticism related to job description models*, and *Employees were not listened to in the preparation of the new pay system*. In addition, there was seven other criticism codes included in this group in the interview data.

The schedule of the pay reform was widely criticised in the interview data. This was a form of criticism that appeared in all interviewee groups.

Supervisor 16. Non-pastoral.

'A commoner like me asks, why there was such a rush. What was the reason that there was so little time? This kind of thing, it certainly wasn't suddenly on the table, that pay reform. This must be considered for a long time and so on, so why on earth do they do this, why was there such a tight schedule, which started a chain reaction that nothing went as planned and so. At any stage, nobody knew the answer to this.'

In the interview data, much criticism was directed at the job description models, as interviewees' comments perceived a misfit between the real jobs and their descriptions. Composing the job descriptions was also considered very time consuming.

Supervisor 14. Non-pastoral.

'When we think that here in the property department, we have a little over 70 people, so it is a minority, who had this so called ready-made form. So, everybody had to redo their job descriptions.'

In the interview quote below, the interviewee notes that even the Commission for Church's Employers may have accepted approximate job descriptions, but their importance to employees meant they wanted them crafted carefully.

Change agent 13. Doing non-pastoral work.

'They had somehow expected that people would only do it approximately, but people don't, when their own jobs are in question.'

Communication methods of the new pay system were also widely criticised. Criticism concerned the lack of information, providing unclear information, the perceived lack of transparency, the lack of provision of necessary information to the organisations, and late provision of information. Some criticised the lack of a clear roadmap at the time I did the interviews. The job descriptions were sent to the Commission for Church Employers, but knowledge of the process was not available at the time.

Supervisor 13. Non-pastoral.

'Everybody kind of got a feeling that this is not an open and clear system, it isn't a so-called transparent system, but there is something that they are not telling us. And that of course, in the future, to the whole system, raises some prejudices.'

In the journal data, there were criticisms that *Employees were not listened to in the preparation of the new pay system*. This same criticism occurred also in the interview data, but in the interviews, along with quite similar form of criticism called *Local employer representatives were not listened to in the preparation process of the new pay system*. This kind of criticism was only presented by change agents, who were probably talking about themselves as local employer representatives.

Employee 19. Pastoral.

'I just wish that the information would be good, that at first, the employees would be heard. This comes from top to down, and we are like little sheep.'

Change agent 13. Doing non-pastoral work.

'The other fault is, I am coming to it, is this, that I think that the listening of employer side has been. [...] The Commission for Church Employers, it kind of represents the employer, but they are like in the ivory tower, as if listening to the local employer has been too small. In my opinion, the employees have widely got their message heard through their unions, but I think that our employer representation in the parishes has got very little attention and information, and we have been like offside in many ways.'

There were also several forms of criticisms of the preparation process of the new pay system in the interview data that did not appear at all in the journal data and only a few times in the interview data. The more infrequent types of criticisms were: *The management of the pay reform project is not good*, *The whole pay reform should have been piloted in some organisations*, *Critique of Swedish language materials*, *There were many reform projects in the church organisations at the same time*, *Large number of working hours used for the pay reform*, and *The Commission for Church Employers has scrimped money for the pay reform instead of using them to raise wages immediately*. The last

one referred the Commission for Church Employers saving money to be used for the pay reform, instead using it to raise wages immediately.

Change agent 8. Non-pastoral.

'Of course, one thing that has not been talked or understood much now, is the brilliance in this system meaning that the Commission for Church Employers has been able to scrimp this money that in otherwise should have been used in to wages already.'

GENERIC CRITICISMS

The next category, *Generic criticisms*, contains the same codes as the journal data and also two new codes. Some interviewees said that they had heard or read experiences on the new pay systems from the other sectors and they were not all positive.

Supervisor 12. Pastoral.

'No, I haven't, I have not heard anything positive about this from anywhere, from those places that have started to use this. So, as long it is not getting any messier.'

There was also doubt that the Church would have enough money to cover the possible pay raises due to the pay reform.

Supervisor 12. Pastoral.

'Where does that money come? All the time, however, we know that there won't be any big overcrowding of new tax payers to the Church, well, at the same time the cake is getting smaller. So, you can't really think that wages will rise to a competitive level. I don't know, is there some X in this equation that I don't understand, but it feels quite utopian.'

In this group of criticisms, I included two codes that did not exist in the journal data. The first one was that *Fear that wages will decline*.

Employee 7. Non-pastoral.

'I feel that older people are even a little bit afraid that, is this a way how wages are decreased. That mainly it feels that it has been the afraid of the people that wages will be decreased.'

Finally, a very common criticism towards the new pay system in the interview data was the *Doubt that the pay reform has a real impact on anything*. I found this type of criticism in all the interviewee groups: change agents, supervisors and employees. Especially common this type of criticism was in the group of employees. The main concern was that wages would probably not change a lot because of the pay reform.

Supervisor 3. Non-pastoral.

'In the end, it does not lead to anything, because there is no money to share, so how the jobs are evaluated, there is no money to share to people base on job demands. So, the advantages are lost, it does not mean anything.'

Employee 2. Non-pastoral.

'I think that employees attitude towards it is quite negative. There are no expectations.'

INJUSTICE AND INEQUALITY

Doubts about the justice and fairness of the new system also appeared in the interview data. In the quote below, the change agent presents concerns she had heard from employees.

Change agent 13. Doing non-pastoral work.

'There are very strict arguments that it is totally impossible to do any kind of personal appraisals and there is a huge fear that the system will be unfair.'

The themes of injustice and inequality appeared in the interview data also regarding to opinions that certain factors in job evaluation were getting too little or too much weight (*Job evaluation does not take into consideration the financial responsibilities and number of subordinates and Work experience is not appreciated*). Also, there was a fear that *The new pay system favours jobs in high positions*.

Employee 25. Non-pastoral.

'If some money comes from there, well, that will go to the pockets of these bigger gentlemen. Well, those will go to the pastor men and to the vicars and to some managers, so much will not come here.'

Interviewees presented also some concerns that job evaluations do not recognise the real demands of jobs.

Employee 1. Non-pastoral.

'There is one little doubt that how they can evaluate the relation between an amount of work and pay. And a little doubt that how, well, at least we think that our own work is quite demanding, and we must follow all kinds of laws and instructions when we do this.'

A quite common critique of the new pay system in the interview data was *Fair performance appraisal is considered difficult*. Many interviewees stated that the performance-related pay component was going to be the most difficult part of the pay reform. No real action concerning the performance-related pay component had happened during the time I did the interviews, so talk was quite

speculative. Also, some in some particular pastoral jobs the measurement of performance was considered to be especially difficult.

Change agent 11. Pastoral.

'This is the easiest part this placing the jobs, when we go to the individual level, then it really starts, it is quite different.'

Some employees raised the possibility that social relations might bias evaluations (the code: *The fear that personal relationships between supervisors and subordinates influence performance appraisals.*)

Employee 29. Pastoral.

'It is also really difficult, for example just people's chemistries, how they match each other. It has an impact on who is evaluating. If someone is evaluating me thinks that I am an ok character for this, so then, of course it will influence. Or if someone thinks that something in me is irritating. That immediately decreases my points.'

CRITICISMS RELATED TO THE NEW PAY SYSTEM'S SUITABILITY TO CHURCH ORGANISATIONS

I created one category of criticisms in the interview data that did not appear in the journal data. This group concerns the new pay system's suitability to the ELCF. I considered the single code in the group so special and frequently used, that I created a separate group for it. The doubts expressed are mostly concerned with the performance appraisals, but also the whole pay system.

One clear difference between pastoral and non-pastoral interviewees is that the code *The new pay system does not suit church organisations* was found 23 times in the interviews of the interviewees doing pastoral work but only 4 times in the non-pastoral interviewees data (and not at all in the interviews of employees doing non-pastoral work). One possible explanatory reason is that the pastoral workers are more connected to the ELCF's values and see the Church more as a special organisation.

Employee 12. Pastoral.

'They talk like we are a service provider, or like that it has been discussed here that how far we take this idea of being a service provider. Yes, we offer people lot of different things, but we are not like a company which produces something. [...] I think that we are more like a companion in the journey. Of course, when we try to measure this somehow, it indicates more that we are a service provide or a company.' (The interviewee works as a youth worker.)

The interviewees doing pastoral work also talked more about the ELCF's values and its speciality as an organisation also in the other parts of the

interviews than just those counted as justifications and criticisms of the new pay system.

In Townley's (1997, 274) research on universities in the United Kingdom, she found resistance to 'the judgmental model appraisal, and a questioning of its relevance arguing an inconsistency both with the nature of a university and its work requirements'. In Townley's (1997) data, there were strong references to a distinct and highly valued organisational identity. Universities particularly resisted comparisons to private-sector organisations, and also rejected the formal, rational business model of organisations associated with judgmental appraisals and a corporate bureaucracy (Townley 1997, 274). These themes are found in my interview data as well. Townley (1997) specifically studied performance appraisals; and also in my data, the suitability of the new pay system to the ELCF was more often related to the process of performance appraisals than to the process of job evaluation.

Employee 17. Non-pastoral.

Interviewer: 'How do you see these job evaluations and performance appraisals fit here to a church organisation?'

Interviewee: 'Basically not. I think, there are factories where you must do things by a pattern every day. Regardless, for example, of what is happening in your personal life, you must do some certain work performance. Instead, I see the Church as a community that understands humanity. For example, today I have a good day. I will mop area A very well. Then tomorrow, I have a worse day. I don't mop that area as well, because my cat died and my children vomited on the floor in the morning. You understand, what I mean. I know that it wouldn't go to performance appraisals in every day, but this way it is impossible. I think that churches and all parishes, they have at least a little understanding of the idea of humanity. It is about how forgiving you are. Someone can be very good today. Tomorrow he is not, because the thoughts are of a dying cat, or something. These kinds of things we should understand here. This is no factory, where you are a part of a machine, you must be every day, no matter what happens, part of that machine.'

In the interview above, I asked about the theme of the new pay system's suitability to church organisations. While, in some interviews (example below) this theme appeared without the initiative of interviewer.

Employee 27. Pastoral.

'Probably that pay is standardised, government, municipal, Church, same type. But I don't know where this has originated. If this originally came from a manufacturing industry, I can understand well that if you do 50 shoes and someone else does 60 shoes, so. I don't know what shoes, but let's

toss [laughing] like this. Then the one, who does 60 shoes each day is kind of a more hardworking employee than 50 shoes. And it can be measured. But the question is, when you do this kind of work that you can't measure, so how can the pay reform be conducted. And what is gained. [...] So, I think that the reason for this is that they wanted to unify the payment in the municipalities, government and the Church. But can you use these to all jobs? And to pastoral jobs? There is a big question mark.'

In the interview data, discussion of having a calling to certain types of work or vocation was common. In the text quote below, the interviewee (who is a pastor herself) emphasised that in pastoral work the values for the work should come from a calling to work for a parish.

Employee 16. Pastoral.

'But that work, what I do, can't be valued by me. I mean the calling should always come from the parish and the values should be self-evident, that these are not coming from my personal interests, I find that's wrong. Because then, everybody's own selfish me cries for more and more.'

Some interviewees saw the new pay system and the job evaluation and performance appraisals more suitable for the jobs of non-pastoral than pastoral work.

Employee 11. Pastoral.

'Work is measurable and everything like that, but this is a different workplace than something more explicit. Of course, here, are also offices, for example, the parish office and those. Their jobs are clear, because they do that office work. However, for employees doing pastoral work, it is little.'

There was also fear that the new pay system deteriorates the work atmosphere. This concern was especially related to the performance appraisals.

NEGATIVE INFLUENCES ON THE WORK ATMOSPHERE AND EMPLOYEE MOTIVATION

In the category, *Negative influences on the work atmosphere and employee motivation* I grouped codes: *The new pay system deteriorates the work atmosphere*, *The pay reform might have a negative influence on employees work motivation* and *Work experience is not appreciated*. This category did not appear at all in the interviews of the change agents.

Supervisor 2. Non-pastoral.

'I am sure that then the crying will begin, when we start to quiz our own individual contribution, compared to the job. So then, emotions will start to

heat up, or calm or whatever, it is, certainly it will be the most difficult part of this.'

PROBLEMATIC STRUCTURES OF THE NEW PAY SYSTEM

There was some critique of the structural details of the new pay system. The codes: *The new pay system seemed not to solve the problems of working hours* and *There was doubt that the same pay system would work in the big and small parishes or parish unions* were present only in the interviews of employees.

Employee 5. Non-pastoral.

'Of course, there are big parish unions and small parishes. How to get them all under the same model? In the little parishes, the IT administration is done by whoever can, or by someone's nephew, or in addition to their own job. The small purse is not enough. But big parish unions can afford to hire their own IT people. And to take that into account in these that there are different kinds of parishes, there are parishes in different financial situations, so how does that shown in the payment. It has been one of my concerns the whole time, if you can call it as a concern, definitely also a difficulty, and that is the reason it did not go as fast as we imagined.'

6.2.3 Summary of the Justifications and Criticisms in the Interview Data

In this section, I summarise the differences between justifications and criticisms in different interviewee groups. One finding concerning justifications in the interview data is that the group of change agents presented most justifications (60) even though they were the smallest group of interviewees (15 interviewees, compared to 21 supervisors and 30 employees). Change agents stated on average 4 justifications per interviewee, compared to 1,9 for both supervisors and employees (see Table 13). The category *Autonomy and flexibility of local organisations* particularly appeared often in the interviews of change agents doing non-pastoral work (see Appendix 10). Because of their status, the change agents probably had the most interest, information, and outlook concerning the pay reform.

Due to the consistency of justifications in both interview and journal data, the information from trade unions and the Commission for Church Employers had arguably reached local organisations quite comprehensively in 2006, when I conducted my interviews. The same justification categories were found in the interviews of supervisors and employees, as well as change agents, thus proving generalisation of information about the pay system.

Nevertheless, several employees in the interviews specifically stated they did not know why the process of pay reform had begun and what the goals were for

the new pay system. Some supervisors also mentioned not knowing the reasons for the new pay system. Discussions in the change agents' interviews regarding uncertainty of reasons for creating the new pay system were related to criticisms of the communication procedures involved.

Criticisms found in the interview data were versatile, with variation between different interviewee groups. This is due to the large number of criticism codes appearing in only one or two interviews, thus relating to only one interviewee group. However, I also found four types of criticisms that were coded over 50 times: *Poor communications*, *Too tight schedule for the roll-out*, *Criticisms related to job description models*, and *Doubt that the pay reform has a real impact on anything*.

Interviewees presented more criticisms than justifications (average number of justification quotes per interviewee 2.4; and average number of criticisms quotes per interviewee 7.0). On average, pastoral workers presented more criticisms (average 8.6 per interviewee) of the new pay system than the interviewees doing non-pastoral work (average 6.0 per interviewee) (see Table 14). The most critical group of interviewees seemed to be 'employees doing pastoral work' (average 11.3 quotes of criticisms per interviewee, see Appendix 10).

Therefore, there appeared to be two extremities in interviewee groups presenting justifications and criticisms of the pay system: the most critical group was the 'employees doing pastoral work' and the 'change agents doing non-pastoral work' presented most justifications.

The differences between interviewees doing pastoral and non-pastoral work were also distinct in some categories of justifications and criticisms. For example, the category *Criticisms related to the new pay system's suitability to church organisations* was more often apparent in the speech of interviewees doing pastoral than non-pastoral work. Generally, interviewees doing pastoral work discussed church values more often in their interviews.

Table 15 summarises the specialties of the justifications and criticisms in each interviewee group. More detailed information is presented in Appendix 10.

Table 15. Specialties in the Justifications and Criticisms in Different Interviewee Groups

	Pastoral	Non-pastoral
Change agents	Justifications: A small group of interviewees (n=3). Concentration on justice and fairness of the new pay system and determining wages based on job's contents and demands. In this group, no one mentioned the justifications concerning <i>Autonomy and flexibility of local organisations</i> .	Justifications: A lot of justifications (average 4,3 per interview.) Many comments concerning <i>Autonomy and flexibility of local organisations</i> and <i>Rising level of wages and recruitment</i> .
	Criticisms: Despite the small number of interviewees in this group, there were many criticisms of <i>Deficits in practical operations of the preparation and introduction process</i> .	Criticisms: Many criticisms concerning the <i>Deficits in practical operations of the preparation and introduction process</i> .
Supervisors	Justifications: The group of least justifications per person (average 1,4 per interview). Concentration on categories of <i>Justice, fairness, equality, and transparency</i> and <i>Pay as an incentive</i> .	Justifications: All the justification categories of interview data appeared in this interviewee group.
	Criticisms: The least criticisms on average per person (4,3).	Criticisms: Many criticisms concerning the <i>Deficits in practical operations of the preparation and introduction process</i> .
Employees	Justifications: All other justification categories except <i>General improvements of the new pay system</i> appeared in this interviewee group. Concentration on the category <i>Rising level of wages and recruitment</i> .	Justifications: All the justification categories appeared in this interviewee group. Concentration on categories <i>Rising level of wages and recruitment</i> and <i>Justice, Fairness, Equality, and Transparency</i> .
	Criticisms: There were most criticisms on average per person (11,3) in this group of interviewees. Especially plentiful were criticisms concerning the categories <i>Deficits in practical operations of the preparation and introduction process</i> , <i>Generic criticisms</i> , and <i>Injustice and Inequality</i> . Most of the <i>Criticisms related to the new pay system's suitability to church organisations</i> appeared in this interviewee group.	Criticisms: Particularly many criticisms were concerning the categories <i>Deficits in practical operations of the preparation and introduction process</i> and <i>Generic criticisms</i> .

6.3 Legitimation and Delegitimation of the New Pay System

Next, I summarize my answers to first two sets of research questions concerning the construction of the legitimation and delegitimation of the new pay system using the justifications and criticisms in the data. I also discuss the similarities and differences between my two data sets; journal data and interview data.

Based on my analysis of the justifications in the journal and interview data, the legitimation of the new pay system is quite general and similar to other sectors. The actors in my data concentrated more on the special features of the ELCF in the criticisms and delegitimation of the new pay system.

Justifications of the new pay system were disconnected from church values in both data sets. Therefore, the process of legitimation was not firmly connected to the special features of the ELCF. The categories of *Justice, Fairness, Equality, and Transparency* and *Pay as an Incentive* were types of justifications often used when introducing new pay systems. Also, the category *Rising level of wages and recruitment* is typically used in pay reform.

The goal of the new pay systems in the governments sector is written on the Internet pages of the Ministry of Finance of Finland (2016) as follows:

‘create a base for a compensation which works as an incentive, and is competitive and fair’.

Local government employers’ webpages (2017) have a similar definition:

‘The goal of the municipal pay system is to

Motivate personnel to good work performances

Improve the effectiveness of the working

Keep the wages in the municipal sector competitive.

This is pursued as a fair wage, which is based on a job’s demands, individual performance and the effectiveness of a work unit’.

Similar justifications appear regularly in the compensation literature. Lawler (1995) mentions motivating performance and attracting and retaining employees as important reward system objectives, and also the themes of justice and equality are central to compensation research (Adams, 1963; Acker, 1989; Scarpello & Jones, 1996; Maaniemi, 2013). Therefore, most justifications in my data arguably originated in wider discourses in society and the field of organisations.

In their popular book, ‘*Compensation*’, Milkovich and Newman (2005) exhibit three basic objectives of a pay system: efficiency, fairness, and compliance. All three are in some way present in my data. According to Milkovich and Newman (2005, 15), efficiency means improving performance, increasing quality, delighting customers and stockholders, and controlling labour costs. The justifications *Rewarding for reaching goals, Pay as an incentive, Rewarding based on quality of work*, and *Employer wants to make savings* in my data were clearly connected to efficiency or effectiveness. Fairness was also a popular justification of the new pay system in my data.

Milkovich and Newman (2005, p. 16) define compliance as ‘conforming to federal and state compensation laws and regulations’. In the Finnish context, constraints of the industrial relations model are also very important to compliance. In some interviews, issues such as, Finnish legislation and EU directives were mentioned concerning the equality of the new pay system. However, compliance was not distinctly mentioned as a justification of the new pay system, because it was probably taken for granted.

Following other sectors and Autonomy and flexibility of local organisations were justification categories most related to the ELCF’s specific situation as one

of the last sectors in Finland to introduce a pay system based on job evaluation and performance appraisals. The authority of the Commission for Church Employers on the pay determination was also significant before the pay reform.

The criticisms found in my data were much more versatile and more connected to special features of the ELCF than the justifications. Although some types of justifications were present only in one of these data sets, I grouped justification codes in both data sets into same categories. However, many differences existed between journal and interview data in the criticisms of the pay reform. Table 16 summarises the criticisms categories found in both the journal and the interview data.

Table 16. Categories of Criticisms in the Journal Data and the Interview Data

Categories of criticisms	Journal data	Interview data
Injustice and inequality	x	x
Negative influences on the work atmosphere and employees' motivation	x	x
Deficits in practical operations of the preparation and introduction process	x	x
Problematic structures of the new pay system	x	x
Generic criticisms	x	x
Criticisms related to the role and actions of local actors	x	
Biases in the job evaluation process in local organisations	x	
Criticisms related to the new pay system's suitability to church organisations		x

Labour market organisations directed some criticism at local organisations and vice versa, for example, concerning introductory process activities of the new pay system. The voice of local organisations was represented by the interview data, and the voice of labour organisations by the journal data. These two sides of the ELCF saw some problems in each other's actions concerning the pay reform. However, some criticisms in the interview data were also directed at an own local organisation, or in journal data at the negotiators.

One possible reason for differences between criticisms in the journal and interview data is that all interviews were conducted in 2006, whereas the journal data was from a longer period (2005-2010). Therefore, some of the problems in the process of the pay reform that were criticised in the journal data, were not relevant during the time of interviewing in 2006.

Some criticisms found in the data were clearly opposite to certain justifications: the categories *Justice, fairness, equality, and transparency* vs. *Injustice and inequality*, and *Pay as an incentive* vs. *Negative influences on the work atmosphere and employees' motivation*. In these cases, the criticisms and justifications focused on the same issues of the new pay system, and therefore criticisms cast doubt on those justifications.

One type of criticism in the interview data not appearing in the journal data, was the poor fit of the new pay system to the ELCF. This is quite a fundamental criticism, and it is interesting that this theme did not turn up in trade union

journals. This may be due to the appearance of such discussions on other platforms than in the trade union journals, and on previous occasions to the implementation of the new pay system. In the time span I studied, the trade unions had already made the fundamental decision to introduce the new pay system and, therefore, discussions of the principles of the pay system might have happened earlier.

My research question 1b is: how do justifications and criticisms change in the journal data during the process of implementation of the new pay system? The preparation and introduction process proceeded phase by phase, and the first step was the introduction of job evaluation. Therefore, the justifications focused more on the job-based pay component before the agreement and on discretionary performance-related pay component and idea of pay as an incentive after the agreement.

Journal data revealed a variation in criticisms before and after the agreement. This related to its progress and the different phases of the preparation and introduction processes of the pay reform, and the criticisms concentrated the features of the pay system, whose development was current at certain time. I also found diversification in the amount of criticisms in different years (see Figure 6). Initially in 2005-2006, pay reform was mainly seen as a positive thing, with publication of many justifications and few criticisms. The peak of criticisms occurred in 2007, when the agreement was made. After the agreement, many practical criticisms were directed at the job evaluation process.

I analysed differences between the justifications and criticisms presented in separate trade union journals and by separate interviewee groups (research questions 1c and 2b). Notable differences emerged regarding justifications and criticisms during interviews with employees doing pastoral and non-pastoral work, and also in the journals representing employee groups doing pastoral and non-pastoral work (more details in sections 6.1.3 and 6.2). One key difference between separate groups was the connection of the pay system to the Church's values. The journal data did not deliberate this connection, and the category *Criticisms related to the new pay system's suitability to church organisations* did not appear at all in the journal data. In the interview data, this category was clearly more common among interviewees doing pastoral work than those doing non-pastoral work.

The interests of employee groups represented by certain trade unions were clearly present in journal data articles. The group of change agents in the interview data presented the most justifications, probably because they were the actors in the local organisations having the most information about the new pay system. However, the employee group represented most criticisms of the new pay system.

7. Institutional Vocabularies and Institutional Logics in the Pay Reform

In this chapter, I answer my final two research questions: What kind of institutional logics appeared in conversations about the pay reform? How are the institutional logics present in legitimation and delegitimation?

Scholars have utilized vocabularies to elaborate institutional logics (Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005; Jones & Livne-Tarandach, 2008; McPherson & Sauder, 2013). When certain words are used in conversations about the organisational reform, it makes the reform concrete in the organisations. The use of specific words shapes a reform into a particular reform, but also connects the reform to other reforms in other organisations or sectors. Therefore, words have an important significance in creating institutions.

Next, I introduce the institutional logics I found in my data and the related institutional vocabularies. I also show, how justifications and criticisms related to the new pay system differ under separate logics.

I found the vocabularies used in the justifications and the criticisms interesting, because vocabularies travel from the macro to the micro level. My data consists of two main data sets: the journal data and the interview data. The interview data represents the micro level in my study, while the journal data is more on a macro level. Finnish society as a whole would be an even higher level regarding pay reforms, but in this study, I concentrate only on the church sector and the data produced within it. It is interesting to see how various words are repeated in the data produced by the negotiators and in the interview data collected from local organisations.

7.1 Institutional Logics and Keywords in the Data

Three institutional logics, through which the informants and journal articles conceived and interpreted the new pay system (research question 3), are: the logics of the new pay system, the Church, and labour market organisations. According to Suddaby and Greenwood (2005, 43), institutional vocabularies 'are the primary means by which institutional logics are articulated and manipulated'. I similarly understand the relationship between institutional

vocabularies and institutional logics: institutional vocabularies are the way certain institutional logics are manifested in texts or speech. At the same time, institutional vocabularies are one way by which institutional logics can be discerned and specified from speech or texts. Therefore, when I found three sets of institutional vocabularies in my data, I also found three institutional logics. Like Jones and Livne-Tarandach (2008, 1077), I think institutional logics can be revealed through the choice of keywords and vocabularies that actors use.

In their analysis of institutional vocabularies, Suddaby and Greenwood (2005) distributed actors in their data to proponents and opponents of the new organisational form and analysed the vocabularies used by proponents and opponents. In my study, I did not separate the groups in this way, because most of the individuals in my data (either interviewees or writers of the journal articles) presented both justifications and criticisms of the new pay system. Instead, I created my interpretation of the three institutional logics by the overall contents of speech and texts. Similarly, in their study of drug courts, McPherson and Sauder (2013) found that some actors used many logics in their speech. In my data, certain actors did not present only one institutional logic in their speech or writings; however, different logics may have influenced some actors' understanding of the pay reform.

I first introduce each institutional logic, followed by its associated institutional vocabulary. Vocabularies are presented in Table 17. The analysis process to find these vocabularies was explained in Section 5.3.2.

Table 17. Institutional Vocabularies Found in the Data

<p>The new pay system</p> <p>basic pay change, to change to compare to compete, competitive discretionary to encourage, to be an incentive, incentive equality to evaluate, to grade, evaluation flexibility goal, goal-oriented job based job description job demands criterion job evaluation, demands job classification, job grade justice, fairness, fair know-how, skills local, local level to measure, measurement model job description motivation, work motivation, to motivate NPS pay component pay reform, reform, to reform pay rise pay system performance, to perform personal, individual to place, to rank score, credit, point, to mark transparency, open</p>
<p>The Church</p> <p>calling cantor childrens's worker, childrearing work Church diaconal worker, diaconal work God, Lord parish, parish unions pastor, priest spiritual/pastoral youth worker, youth work values</p>
<p>Labour market organisations</p> <p>agreement, contract, to make an agreement centralised, central level collective agreement co-operation the Commission for Church Employers labour markets local union representative, chief local union representative member to negotiate, negotiations negotiating sides, main negotiating trade unions party, side (on negotiations or contract) occupation, profession representative trade union, union, association</p>

THE NEW PAY SYSTEM

Logic

The logic of the new pay system is linked to the phenomenon of the new public management and managerialism (Patomäki, 2005; Perry, Engbers, & Jun, 2009). Osborne and McLaughlin (2002) summarise the classic formulation of the new public management into eight doctrines.³¹ Five of these are easy to identify in the justifications of the new pay system in my data. 'Explicit standards and measures of performance' are clearly present in the talk about pay component based on performance (Osborne & McLaughlin, 2002, p. 9). Also, 'an emphasis on output controls' can be related to this pay component (Osborne & McLaughlin, 2002, p. 9). One of the doctrines is 'a stress on private sector styles of management and their superiority' (Osborne & McLaughlin, 2002, p. 9). This view can be related to the pay reform of the ELCF, regarding the origins of the evaluation-based pay systems (Osborne & McLaughlin, 2002, p. 9). The idea of 'a focus on hands-on and entrepreneurial management, as opposed to the traditional bureaucratic focus of the public administration' is relevant to my research context as local organisations and local management and supervisors are given more authority to influence wages (Osborne & McLaughlin, 2002, p. 9). The idea of the 'separation of political decision-making from the direct management of public services' is also pertinent to this research context, due to attempts to diminish the authority of the central negotiations and labour organisations and to increase the authority on payment and wages at the local level (Osborne & McLaughlin, 2002, p. 10).

I present words belonging to institutional vocabularies and justifications that I found related to the new public management doctrines by Osborne and McLaughlin (2002) in Table 18.

³¹ Three out of eight doctrines that are not strongly relevant in this context are 'the importance of the disaggregation and decentralization of public services', 'a shift to the promotion of competition in the provision of public services', and 'the promotion of discipline and parsimony in resource allocation' (Osborne & McLaughlin 2002, p.9).

Table 18. Institutional Vocabularies and Justifications for the New Pay System Related to the New Management Doctrines by Osborne and McLaughlin (2002).

Doctrines of the new public management (Osborne & McLaughlin (2002))	Words in the institutional vocabularies related to doctrines	Justifications of the new pay system related to doctrines
Explicit standards and measures of performance.	to compare; to compete, competitive; to evaluate, to grade, evaluation; goal, goal-oriented; to measure, measurement; performance, to perform; personal, individual; score, credit, point, to mark	Paying for responsibilities and skills; Pay as an incentive; Rewarding for reaching goals; Rewarding based on quality of work
The emphasis on output controls.	to compare, to compete; to evaluate, to grade, evaluation; job evaluation, demands; goal, goal-oriented; to measure, measurement; performance, to perform; to place, to rank; score, credit, point, to mark	Pay as an incentive; Rewarding for reaching goals; Rewarding based on quality of work
A stress on private sector styles of management and their superiority.	change, to change; to encourage, to be an incentive, incentive; flexibility; motivation, work motivation, to motivate; pay reform, reform, to reform; performance, to perform	Following other sectors
A focus on hands-on and entrepreneurial management, as opposed to the traditional bureaucratic focus of the public administration.	change, to change; discretionary; to encourage, to be an incentive, incentive; motivation, work motivation, to motivate; to evaluate, to grade, evaluation; flexibility; local, local level; motivation, work motivation, to motivate; performance, to perform; personal, individual	Growing role for the local organisations; Flexibility; Tools for HRM, managers and supervisors; Growing role of supervisors
Separation of political decision-making from the direct management of public services.	flexibility; local, local level	Growing role for the local organisations; Flexibility

The logic of the new pay system is also tightly connected to psychological and economic compensation theories. The idea of the pay system’s ability to motivate employees and to demand for a just and fair pay system were themes particularly present in the new pay system’s logic, with origins in psychological theories of compensation. Elements of agency theory, that is, a compensating mechanism aligning the behaviour of an agent with the interest of the principal (e.g., Eisenhardt, 1988; Fernandez-Alles et al., 2006) can be found in the justifications of the new pay system, for example, the justifications *Rewarding for reaching goals* and *Pay as an incentive*.

Thornton et al. (2012) present ‘a root metaphor’ for all institutional logics included in their inter-institutional system ideal types. In the case of the new pay system, this core of logic could be the idea of measurement of different elements of work. Both job evaluations and performance appraisals are expected to reveal something new about work, and the compensation would be based on that. This idea is legitimised by previous experiences of using these kinds of systems in many organisations. Also, the opinions that measurement of job demands and performance in local organisations are just, fair, and transparent way to determine wages and idea that the evaluation based pay systems can motivate people and increase performance supports the legitimation.

Vocabulary

In the vocabulary concerning the new pay system, certain words directly relate to the structures of the pay system, such as the words a pay component, a job

evaluation, and a pay system. Other words used in the descriptions of the new pay system included, e.g., motivation, flexibility, and justice/fairness. These words appear regularly in conversations about the evaluation-based pay systems in other sectors as well (see e.g., Huuhtanen et al., 2005; Salimäki & Holmborg, 2007; Kekäle, 2008; Maaniemi, 2013; Ministry of Finance of Finland, 2016; Local government employers, 2017).

Jossas, Crux 3-4/2005. Before the agreement.

*'The starting point has been a big **justice** and **equality** project. The current system does not justify the wages of persons and the differences of wages in different jobs either **fairly** enough or in a way that everybody accepts.'*

I did not include such words as 'pay', 'wage', 'salary' in this category or in any other category, because they were used very often in my data, in several different contexts. It could not be argued that these words would belong only to the category of the new pay system (or solely to any other category).

Most of the words in this vocabulary occurred both in the journal and the interview data. However, the abbreviation 'NPS', appeared only in the journal data. As mentioned before, in Finnish media and public conversation the term NPS was in widespread use in the 1990s and 2000s (e.g., Patomäki, 2005; Salimäki & Nylander, 2006; Salimäki & Holmborg, 2007; Vartola, 2007; Elo et al., 2009). Therefore, it was expected to appear also in the justifications and criticisms concerning the new pay system.

Kauppinen, Crux 3-4/2005. Before the agreement.

*'The new **pay system (NPS)** has around the Millennium spread quickly to different sectors in society. In the church sector, the pay system based on **job evaluation** has been examined and contemplated for almost a decade.'*

THE CHURCH

Logic

The logic of the Church is based on the religious mission of the ELCF and on reasons for the existence of the ELCF as an organisation. The following text appears on the English website of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland, under the heading 'Mission'³² :

'All authority in heaven and on earth has been given to me. Go therefore and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.' (Matthew 28.18-20)

Mission is proclamation and service. Christians are to witness to the saving work of Christ. In response to his commission, new churches have been

³² Retrieved from <http://evl.fi/EVLen.nsf/Documents/8954725C07DEAAFBC2257C7F004171F9?OpenDocument&lang=EN> (26.5.2017).

established, schools and hospitals built, health care programmes and development cooperation undertaken, relief brought to those in need. As the parable of the Good Samaritan teaches, everyone is our neighbour’.

In the Church’s Central administration’s website Sakasti (2016)³³, parish work is listed as: diaconal work, church services and music, education, worldwide church, multiculturalism, family, accessibility, pastoral care, volunteering, society, the Church’s EU-activity, and environment. Therefore, these forms of work can be understood as central to church organisations and their functions.

Additionally, some professions have a special status in the ELCF. There are certain positions as vicar (who leads a parish) and bishop (who leads a bishopric) that are only possible for priests. Also, according to church legislation, there must be at least one cantor and one diaconal worker in every parish (Kirkkolaki, 1993). Hence, these professions are also part of the logic of the Church as an organisation as their existence is demanded.

Therefore, the logic of the Church is not just based on the religion represented by the ELCF, but also on the meaning of the Church as an organisation also having many other tasks than just church services. In my data, however, the logic of the Church did not appear as often as the other two logics, because the concentration on the Church’s mission and function was limited in discussions of the pay system.

Vocabulary

I included words representing the organisation (a Church, a parish) and words related to the Church’s mission repeatedly appearing in the justifications and the criticisms in this category of vocabulary concerning the Church.

Rasila, SVTL-uitiset 3/2007. Before the agreement.

*‘During the next few years, the development of the pay and other matters concerning the personnel in the **Church** should interest also others than just labour market organisations. In this contract period (if it lasts over two years), for example, about 600 persons will retire from the Lutheran **Church**. A wage level, a quality of HR politics and working life and a reputation of the **Churches** as an employer will judge, in what kind of group the work in the **Church** will be done in the future. Will the **Church** be the last choice for students graduating and people changing jobs, or an exciting and an inspiring possibility?’*

In this category, some titles of jobs in the church sector were repeated in the data several times related specifically to the pay system.

³³ Retrieved from <http://sakasti.evl.fi/sakasti.nsf/sp2?open&cid=ContentC51B4> (26.5.2017).

Vilpponen, Crux 2/2008. After the agreement.

*‘The management as a most important ground of compensation was critically noticed, and at the same time, the meaning of the quality of being artistic was pondered. Should the special abilities of **cantors** to be raised to the same level as management?’*

Amount of the words in this category is clearly smaller than in other categories.

LABOUR MARKET ORGANISATIONS*Logic*

Before I started my analysis, I expected to find two institutional logics from my data (related to the Church and the new pay system). However, this expectation proved wrong. I recognised a third logic concerning labour market organisations (corporatism) played a central role in understanding the new pay system. Therefore, during the process of my data analysis, I concluded that the discussion of the new pay system is best described by three logics.

The logics of labour market organisations is an identifiable central logic in Finnish working life and society. The work agreement system in Finland is very centralised and trade unions play a significant role in, for example, negotiating collective agreements. Local organisations have only a limited authority in deciding their compensation systems and policies, especially the determination of basic pay has prerequisites in collective agreements (both in the public and private sector).

The pay system was negotiated by labour market organisations. Therefore, particularly in the preparation phase of the new pay system, on which this thesis concentrates, the role of these organisations was very significant. The ideas and practices of trade unions also shaped how interviewees understood the new pay system and its introduction. As the source of my journal data is trade union journals, the logic of labour market organisations appeared obviously. However, I also found this logic in the interview data (more details about vocabularies in the different parts of the data in next Section 7.2)

The labour market unions’ logic does not directly fit to the inter-institutional system ideal types presented by Thornton et al. (2012). However, Thornton (2004, p. 42) notifies that ‘the pure ideal types approximate to greater or lesser extent hybrid types that are observable in the real world’. Trade unions have a clear connection to the institutional order of profession, because some trade unions represent certain professions or occupations. However, the most important thing or ‘a root metaphor’ of the labour unions’ logic is the effort to promote the interests of certain employee group.

Vocabulary

The words in the vocabulary of labour market organisations relate to the negotiating process of the new pay system and labour market organisations more generally, and include discussions about both employee organisations (trade unions) and employer organisations (the Commission for Church Employers).

As earlier noted, the agreement concerning the new pay system was negotiated between trade unions and the Commission for Church Employers, and not at the local organisation level. Trade unions and their representatives were seen as actors actively bringing the new pay system to the church organisations. Therefore, I included words describing different labour market organisations in this category, but also words concerning the negotiation process.

Crux 6/2006. Before the agreement.

*The new pay system requires regular **negotiations** between supervisors and employees or **the local union representatives** who represent employees.*

Table 19 summarises the institutional logics I found in the data and their backgrounds.

Table 19. Three Institutional Logics and Their Background

Institutional logic	Background
The new pay system	Managerialism, the new public management
The Church	Christian faith, church organisations' traditional models
Labour market organisations	Finnish model of industrial relations and labour markets

7.2 The Role of Institutional Logics in Pay System Legitimacy

In this section, I answer my fourth and final research question: how are institutional logics present in legitimation and delegitimation? This involves interconnecting my two analyses: the analysis of the justifications and criticisms and the analysis of vocabularies. I also report some differences between varying parts of the data (different journals and certain interviewee groups) (see Table 20 and Appendices 9, 10 and 11).

As mentioned earlier, I consider institutional logics as a body of cultural beliefs, interests, values, and assumptions that influences what actors think is legitimate and why (see e.g., Binder, 2007; Townley, 1997; Suchman, 1995). Therefore, different logics are connected to different ways to legitimation and delegitimation of the new pay system.

Table 20 shows the keywords I found in the justifications and criticisms of the journal and interview data that form the institutional vocabularies. Although all vocabularies appear in the justifications and criticisms in both the journal and interview data, all logics did not appear in the justifications of both data sets. The logic of the Church was not explicitly used in the justifications of the new pay system in the journal and interview data, and in the interview data justifications the logic of labour market organisations was not considerably apparent. Appendix 11 contains more detailed information about the institutional vocabularies in each journal and in interviews of interviewees doing pastoral and non-pastoral work.

The numbers of appearances are notably influenced by the amount of journal articles and interviews in certain categories and, in some journal articles or interviews, a certain word can be mentioned several times. Therefore, interpretations and conclusions about frequencies should be made cautiously. However, the fact that certain words were, or were not, present in certain data is interesting. Therefore, in Table 20, if a term appeared three times or more, I marked it in grey; and in white, when the word has appeared only once, twice or not at all.

Table 20. Keywords in the Journal and Interview Data Justifications and Criticisms

The new pay system	Journal data justifications	Journal data criticisms	Interview data justifications	Interview data criticisms
basic pay	2	5	1	3
change, to change	18	14	6	35
to compare	3	4	7	12
to compete, competitive	6	2	10	7
discretionary	15	4	0	0
to encourage, to be an incentive, an incentive	11	3	3	1
equality	6	0	0	0
to evaluate, to grade, evaluation	29	33	15	49
flexibility	4	2	5	3
goal, goal-oriented	30	5	6	5
job based	1	1	1	4
job description	4	22	7	18
job demands criterion	5	12	0	0
job evaluation, demands	27	40	31	15
job classification, job grade	11	60	1	2
justice, fairness	29	10	25	11
know-how, skills	15	14	8	4
local, local level	41	27	2	5
to measure, measurement	3	1	15	25
model job description	2	5	3	29
motivation, work motivation, to motivate	7	4	17	11
NPS	10	3	0	0
pay component	20	11	0	0
pay reform, reform, to reform	34	40	23	23
pay rise	4	7	5	6
pay system	65	42	12	8
performance, to perform	11	4	11	13
personal, individual	9	4	17	33
to place, to rank	11	26	5	15
score, scoring, credit, point, to mark	0	0	1	8
transparency, open	14	1	7	4
Total	447	406	244	349
The Church				
calling	0	1	2	5
cantor	0	6	5	13
childrens's worker, childrearing work	1	4	6	9
church	107	118	53	78
diaconal worker, diaconal work	2	5	4	1
God, Lord	0	0	0	4
parish, parish unions	40	45	30	69
pastor, priest	3	5	14	10
spiritual/pastoral	0	32	5	22
youth worker, youth work	0	1	6	5
values	8	0	3	11
Total	161	217	128	227
Labour market organisations				
agreement, contract, to make an agreement	35	49	2	10
centralised, central level	7	14	4	1
collective agreement	7	4	1	0
co-operation	10	9	0	2
the Commission for Church Employers	4	10	2	14
labour markets	2	4	2	1
local union representative, chief local union representative	10	17	2	9
representative	3	4	1	4
member	5	13	1	3
to negotiate, negotiations	15	43	2	10
negotiating sides, main negotiating trade unions	8	11	0	1
party, side (on negotiations or contract)	10	14	0	2
occupation, profession	6	5	2	1
trade union, union, association	20	11	3	13
Total	142	208	22	71

THE NEW PAY SYSTEM LOGIC

I found the logic of the new pay system both in the justifications and criticisms, and in both the journal and interview data. Despite this, there were differences in how this logic appeared in the different journals and in the talk of the interviewees doing pastoral and non-pastoral work (see Appendix 11). In the interview data, more words related to the new pay system logic in the interviews of interviewees doing non-pastoral than pastoral work.

The themes of justice and fairness and motivation were present in both data sets and in both justifications and criticisms related to the new pay system. As mentioned before, these themes appeared both in the compensation research and conversations about pay systems in other public sectors in Finland.

One common form of justifications of the new pay system was a writer or interviewee presenting certain structures or procedures of the new pay system, and how these details would be useful in the organisations.

Change agent 14. Non-pastoral.

*I think that this **individual pay component** is therefore good, that the one who does the minimum, would get that minimum wage, but the one who commits to it and develops himself, develops his work and does it with passion, would get that **personal** increase. And this is a tool for management that supervisors must **evaluate**, they are put to **evaluate** and it is management. It is one way to lead that **evaluates** the employee’.*

In the journal data, institutional vocabularies concerning the new pay system were often used in the journals Crux and SVTL-uutiset/Kirkon töissä. In the journals Jyty and Motiivi, a greater variety of words used of words involving institutional vocabulary were used in the criticisms than justifications of the new pay system. This phenomenon recurred in the talk of interviewees doing pastoral work. This was expected, as the number of criticisms in these groups was significantly larger than the number of justifications.

In some criticisms related to the logics of the new pay system authors presented some goals of the new pay system and were critical that these goals had not been met.

Aunola, Jyty 1/2007. Before the agreement.

*Lehto thinks that the main shortcoming is the incoherence of the grounds of the system. The goal was **job evaluation**, but the result is something else.*
*- The system that has been offered is mainly hierarchical. It does not **measure** and reward for example financial responsibilities or being a supervisor.*

Talk about scores and scoring were connected either to job evaluation on performance appraisals. These words did not appear in the justifications and criticisms in the journal data.

Supervisor 13. Non-pastoral.

*'The thing that caused discussion in our organisation was that there is clearly some kind of **scoring** system behind this system. But nobody told us, what that **scoring** system is and how it works. Then there was some detective here, who dug that up. Then, of course the **job descriptions** were rewritten completely, in the way that there would be a **score** as high as possible'.*

THE LOGIC OF THE CHURCH

The institutional vocabularies of the Church appeared more often in the criticisms than justifications of the new pay system. There were no justifications directly connected to church organisations or their goals or values among the justifications of the new pay system (see Sections 6.1.1 and 6.2.1). Thus, the logic of the Church did not seem to be present in the legitimation of the new pay system. This observation supports the view that the new pay system is an institution transportable from one sector to another, not rationalised on the basis of the original organisation.

Therefore, the logic of the Church was more apparent in the criticisms of the new pay system. One category of criticisms in the interview data, *Criticisms related to the new pay system's suitability to church organisations*, specifically concerned church organisations. In the example below, the interviewee criticises the suitability of the performance evaluation to priests' work.

Employee 30. Pastoral work.

*How many people terminate their **Church** membership after **a priest** has preached, or, I don't quickly see any reasonable and adequate way to evaluate, how well someone does his job.*

I found all the institutional vocabularies in both data sets, but the Church logic appeared most concisely in the journal data. Eleven words belonged to this category in total, but the words church and parish especially appeared in the justifications in the journal data. The inclusion of other words in this category is rarer.

Christian values were more on display in two of the journals (Crux and SVTL-uutiset/Kirkon töissä) other articles and parts of the texts than the just those concerning pay reform justifications and criticisms (and therefore my primary data). In the justifications of the journal Motiivi, only one word (that appeared once) was included in the institutional vocabularies of Church.

THE LOGIC OF LABOUR MARKET ORGANISATIONS

The logic of labour market organisations was well presented in the journal data collected from the trade union journals. In the interview data, however, this logic was rare regarding justifications of the new pay system, as only a few words concerned the labour market organisations' logic.

In the justifications of the journal data the logic of the labour market organisations was often seen as a background for the pay reform. The change towards the more authority for local organisations was a common theme in these justifications.

Jossas, Crux 6/2005. Before the agreement.

*'The pay reform increases local authority. Earlier, the Church's pay very **centralised** in composition. All agreements and even adjustments concerning individual employees were made in Helsinki by national **negotiating sides**. The pay system was stiff and slow and it did not react to changes in the world'.*

Even the journal data contained instances of that logic; in the justifications of the journal Motiivi, only one word appeared from the list of these keywords. This was striking, despite the very low number of articles in the Motiivi journal in total.

In the interview data (and the journals Motiivi, Jyty, and SVTL-uutiset/Kirkon töissä) the keywords from the category of labour market organisations appeared more in the criticisms of the new pay system than in the justifications. Criticisms related to this logic were often connected to the actions of the negotiators or the preparation process of the pay reform.

Change agent 8. Non-pastoral.

'The Commission for Church Employers, well there were clearly problems in the management of this project, concerning the schedule. They came here to speak sometimes at the beginning of October, and state that the whole system should be ready in November. The schedule from the beginning and informing to the point that there should be something ready was so short'.

Increasing authority for local organisations did not seem to mean the end of the importance of the labour market organisations and their logic in the Church. In the quotation below, the meaning of local union representatives is emphasised.

Huttunen, Crux 5/2007. After the agreement.

*'In both sides, training for **negotiations** that aim at agreements is needed. The position of the **local union representatives** is going to strengthen and more goal-oriented and competent actions are expected from them. **Trade unions** should give them all their support'.*

SUMMARY

Table 21 illustrates the frequencies of institutional vocabularies in the justifications, and criticisms in different journals and in the interviews of interviewees doing pastoral and non-pastoral work. Frequencies alone, however, are not a sufficient base from which to make statements about the connection between an institutional logic and part of the data.

Vocabularies of the new pay system appeared clearly in all parts of the data, except justifications in the journal *Motiivi*, in which the other two vocabularies were also very rare. The logic of the labour market organisations was naturally clearly present in the trade union journal data. In the interview data, the labour market organisation’s logic was more common in the criticisms than in the justifications.

The justifications or criticisms of the new pay system in journal data were not directly connected to the special features of the ELCF as organisation. The large number of words included in this category found in the data is explained by the words ‘church’ and ‘parish’ used in other connections than the ELCF’s religious mission or values. Also in the interview data, these were the most common words from this vocabulary. One category of criticism only in the interview data was solely connected to the ELCF’s main mission.

Table 21. Appearances of Institutional Vocabularies in the Justifications and the Criticisms in Different Parts of the Data

Part of the data						
Justifications	Crux	SVTL- uutiset/Kirkon töissä	Jyty	Motiivi	Interviews: pastoral	Interviews: non- pastoral
The new pay system	246	152	45	4	67	177
The Church	44	90	25	2	49	79
Labour market organisations	64	59	18	1	5	17
Criticism	Crux	SVTL- uutiset/Kirkon töissä	Jyty	Motiivi	Interviews: pastoral	Interviews: non- pastoral
The new pay system	186	108	87	25	214	135
The Church	38	70	78	31	144	83
Labour market organisations	56	68	62	22	30	41

8. Discussion and Conclusions

In this chapter, I expand the theoretical and practical implications of my analysis. In Section 8.1, I review the three institutional logics I found in the data: logics of the Church, the new pay system, and labour market organisations, and elaborations of how the pay system appears in different ways to different actors in the Church. I consequently suggest that instead of a single homogenous pay reform in the ELCF, several versions were produced by interpretations along distinct institutional logics.

In Section 8.2, I discuss the distinction between the ELCF as an employer and the Church as a religious organisation. Surprisingly in my data, only little conversation dealt with the fit between the church mission and the new pay system. I suggest the reason lies in the decoupling of the new practice from the core logic of the organisation.

In Section 8.3, I discuss the perspective of the cultural fit of the pay system in an organisation. Section 8.4 deals with the specialties of labour market unions and corporatism in introducing a new organisational practice. In Section 8.5, I present some practical implications of this study. I especially consider the institutional view of adopting a pay system by following other sectors, compared to the popular idea in previous compensation literature that organisations should create their own compensation systems based on fitting well with an organisation's strategy.

In Section 8.6 'Evaluation of the study', I write about the strengths and weaknesses of this study and discuss my own role as a researcher. Section 8.7 provides suggestions for future research.

8.1 Many Views on the Pay Reform

This study highlights the divergence between the justifications and criticisms in the separate journals and interviewee groups (interviewees doing pastoral work and non-pastoral work and change agents, supervisors, and employees, see Chapter 6). The differences I found reveal that actors with various backgrounds consider organisational change from different perspectives and its legitimacy (and illegitimacy) is also seen in varied ways. I found three institutional logics from my data, and the justifications and criticisms related to each logic were also different (see Section 7.2).

I found that the interviewees doing pastoral work criticised the suitability of the new pay system for the church organisations far more than interviewees doing non-pastoral work. The interviewees doing pastoral work seemed to be more connected to the ELCF's values, and thus were more likely to consider the ELCF as a unique organisation. The closer connection of the interviewees doing pastoral work to the ELCF's values can be argued for several reasons. First, the interviewees doing pastoral work talked more about the ELCF's values and the Church's speciality as an organisation, also including parts of the interviews that did not consider justifications and criticisms of the new pay system. Second, conversations about calling as a reason to work in the Church, appeared more often in the talk of interviewees doing pastoral work (see Section 6.2). Third, as mentioned before, non-pastoral jobs are like jobs in other sectors, whereas the pastoral work is unique to the Church.

Ford, Ford, and McNamara (2002, p. 106) argue that much research literature concerning the resistance to change in organisations assumes that 'everyone shares the same objective and homogeneous reality' and therefore, only 'individual differences influence responses to and experiences of the "same" change'. However, when taking the social constructivist perspective and not assuming there is only one homogenous and objective reality, differences between resistances are not just results of individual differences, but related to the differences in constructed realities in which individuals operate (Ford et al., 2002, p. 106). Ford et al. (2002, 106) propose that 'resistance is a function of the socially constructed reality in which someone lives, and that depending on the nature of that constructed reality, the form of resistance to change will vary'.

The ideas of Ford et al. (2002) suit my research position, as I interpret the new pay system being ultimately construed in the talk, writings and interaction of the different actors in the ELCF. Because diverse actors see the pay reform in different ways, also their criticisms of certain components of the pay reform is heterogeneous and sometimes even based on conflicting arguments. Also, the differences between the justifications and criticisms originate from the different interests of each trade union and separate groups in local organisations. In my journal data, actors argued that the new pay system and especially job evaluation favoured certain kinds of jobs, with contradictory interpretations from different trade union journals. Trade unions representing less educated workers argued that job evaluation emphasised academic education too much and favoured pastoral work, while in the journal of unions representing priests, cantors, and diaconal workers argued the opposite, claiming decreasing significance of education (see Sections 6.1.3 and 6.1.4).

Based on my analysis, I outline three institutional logics from my data: the logics of the new pay system; the Church; and labour market organisations (Section 7.1). Each of these institutional logics have origins outside the organisational setting. The new pay system can be seen to originate in the managerialism and the new public management. Church organisations and Christian faith more generally have been considered institutions since the

beginning of the new institutional theory (Friedland & Alford, 1991). Labour market organisations' logic is based on the Finnish model of industrial relations and labour markets. Each of these logics create a background for understanding the change and the new pay system. Actors did not base their justifications or criticisms just on one logic, but the existence of logics helps us understand the different ways how to relate to the new pay system (or other new organisational practice).

In my data, the pay reform was justified and criticised in different ways 'under' the separate institutional logics (see Section 7.2). For example, the logic of the Church was more central in delegitimation. However, actors were not simply proponents and opponents of the new pay system, but each held diverse perceptions about the pay system and they also used more than one institutional logic in their speech or writing.

In this thesis, the concept of institutional logics helps to explain diverse constructions of organisational change and the practice being adopted. As Townley (1997) argues, institutional logics provide lenses or repertoire, through which various actors comprehend pay reform. Institutional logics guide the understanding and interpretation of organisational reform, and therefore different kinds of pay reforms can arguably be perceived. In my data, institutional logics are not exclusive, but it is possible for one actor to draw on several institutional logics (and for these to be heard or seen in his or her speech or writings) (Binder, 2007; Green & Li, 2011). I contribute to research literature by concentrating on how institutional logics appear in the justifications and criticisms of the new pay system.

Scholars often assume logics either concur or conflict with a new practice. I also contribute to the literature by showing how various actors draw on diverse logics to form an understanding of the new practice, including legitimising in justifications and delegitimising in criticisms. The articles of Özen and Berkman (2007) and Townley (1997), who otherwise shared a similar approach to mine in studying new practices in an organisation, did not focus on different views of the same reform.

8.2 Two Sides of the Church: A Religious Community and an Employer

When organisations adopt a new practice, the reasons for adoption can arise from the organisations own special needs, or from the surrounding society and other organisations. This study shows that the justifications of the new pay system in the ELCF were generic and did not include any connection to the ELCF's mission or other special features of the ELCF. Similar justifications could have been found in any public sector organisation. Nevertheless, some criticisms in the interview data concerned the new pay system's suitability to church organisations, appearing mostly in the group of employees doing pastoral work.

The field of human resource management has developed two main approaches: best fit and best practices. The idea of best fit concentrates on the fit of HR practices and organisations' other elements, such as strategy (Becker & Gerhart, 1996; Delery & Doty, 1996; Boxall & Purcell, 2000). On the other hand, the idea of best practices is based on the idea that there are certain practices that are universally applicable (Becker & Gerhart, 1996; Delery & Doty, 1996; Purcell, 1999; Boxall & Purcell, 2000; Marchington & Grugulis, 2000).

In my data, the new pay system in the ELCF was closer to the idea of the best practices than the idea of best fit. According to my data, the idea for the pay reform came from outside the organisation from the labour market organisations and other sectors, and the new pay system was not primarily designed by considering the special features of the ELCF. The justifications concerning the following of the other sectors appeared both in the journal and interview data. Purcell (1999, p. 27) criticises the idea of best practices: 'there is no discussion on company strategy at all'. That is in line with my findings: in the pay reform justifications in my data, there was no discussion about how the new pay system would match with the ELCF's strategy, values, and mission. The talk about the pay system was more tightly connected to the general society level conversations than to the organisation values and other organisations' internal conversations. It seemed actors did not see reasons why the new pay system should be especially designed to the church sector. In other words, the ELCF's mission is segregated from the issues concerning the human resources management.

The adoption of a practice, for reasons external to an organisation, may involve particular contemplation and adaptation to the organisation. In previous institutional research, two sometimes overlapping terms concern the connection between new organisational practices and organisations core values and actions: loose coupling and decoupling (e.g. Weick, 1979, Westphal & Zajac, 1994, Townley, 1997, Oakes et al., 1998, Lozeau, Langley, & Denis, 2002, Fiss & Zajac, 2006, Boxenbaum & Jonsson, 2008). Westphal and Zajac (1994, 370) argue that organisations can adopt institutionalised policies and programs 'but decouple these policies from the actual functioning of the organizations'. Weick (1979, 111-112) and Oakes et al. (1998, 270) use the term 'loose coupling' to describe a situation where different subsystems of organisations are just loosely connected, so the administrative innovation do not necessarily have a major impact on all activities and subsystems of organisation. Townley (1997, 269) argues that 'to engage in loose coupling – the opportunity to satisfy external constituents that requisite steps to effective management were being undertaken even though this might not be the case in practice'. Lozeau et al. (2002, 539) define loose coupling as a situation where managerial technique is adopted superficially, retaining only a ritual function.

Furthermore, many researchers have found that if conforming institutional rules conflict with the requirements of technical efficiency, the conformity may only be ceremonial (Meyer & Rowan, 1977, p. 357; Zucker, 1987, p. 445;

Greenwood et al., 2008, p. 4). Boxenbaum and Jonsson's (2008) definition of decoupling is quite close to Townley's (1997) definition of loose coupling. When adaptations to institutional pressures contradict internal efficiency needs, Boxenbaum and Jonsson (2008, p. 78) state that organisations 'sometimes claim to adapt when they in reality do not'. Then they decouple action from structure to preserve organisational efficiency (Boxenbaum & Jonsson 2008, p. 78). Concerning the pay reform decoupling could mean, for example, that the new pay system is adopted only in a 'nominal' manner; the job evaluation would thus be only a virtual process, which largely sustains the old wage structure. Fiss and Zajac (2006, p. 1175) define decoupling as situations 'where compliance with external expectation may be merely symbolic rather than substantive'.

In this study, I found that the new pay system had its own institutional logic. Also, my analysis revealed that the new pay system was not justified by arguments based on the special features of the church organisations (see Section 6.3). Therefore, decoupling involved non-connection between the new pay system and the organisations' core mission and values. In their study of Evangelical Lutheran parishes in Turku, Finland, Asp and Uhmavaara (1990, p. 130) found that parishes were organised in a way preventing Christian values from reaching the management practices and organisational climate. This finding is in line with this study: in my data, compensation does not seem to be an issue associated with Christian values.

Based on my data, I cannot claim the adoption of the new pay system was only 'nominal', because my data only covers the implementation phase of the pay reform. To study whether the adoption of the new pay system was nominal, superficial, or symbolic, would need more data from the local church organisations from the time the pay system was fully in use. However, there were some indications that the implementation of the new pay system was in some degree only superficial. For example, the performance-related pay component was discussed a lot, but its introduction was delayed. Doubt regarding the real influence of the new pay system were present in criticisms in the interview data, and journal data contained doubt of whether old wages affect the job evaluation. This is in line with the writings of Tolbert and Zucker (1983) who argue that early adopters of organisational practice usually concentrate on the degree to which change improves internal processes. They claim late adopters make changes in formal structures because of their societal legitimacy, and not so much because of their value for internal functioning of the organisation (Tolbert & Zucker, 1983). In the field of Finnish public sector organisations, the ELCF is a late adopter of the evaluation-based pay system.

Zajac and Westphal (1995) and Fernandez-Alles et al. (2006) use term 'symbolic compensation' to define the type of compensation resulting from institutional pressures, not only pursuing maximisation of organisational efficiency. An organisation's adoption of the symbolic compensation system used by majority of the organisations in its sector or interest group signals that the company belongs to a certain social context (Fernandez-Alles et al., 2006;

Tenhiälä & Vuori, 2012). As Mayer and Rowan (1977) note, organisations can incorporate societally legitimated rationalised elements to maximise their legitimacy.

In addition to institutional pressures, there existed many forms of justifications in my data that were connected to efficiency. These were, for example, pay as an incentive and rewarding for reaching goals. Increasing efficiency is connected to the new pay system's logic.

In Finnish society, organisations cannot freely choose what practices they use, because the employer and the employee labour market organisations negotiate a collective agreement which defines such issues as the pay system used in the organisations. Thus, organisations do not choose pay systems only for their own needs or even their sector's needs; in fact, almost all organisations in the public sector have similar systems nowadays.

In the case of ELCF and its pay reform, I propose the reason for decoupling is the strong position of trade unions in Finland. The strong homogeneity of handling human resources management issues in Finnish organisations, and especially in the public sector, pressurised the adoption of the evaluation-based pay system. The ELCF followed other sectors concerning the structures of the pay system, and the ELCF's mission and values are kept separate to the pay system. The ELCF can try to legitimate itself as 'a normal organisation and employer' by using similar pay systems to other organisations. As mentioned in Chapter 3, legitimation in my thesis can be seen on two different levels: the society level (i.e., the new pay system as an institution spreading from sector to sector and the ELCF's attempt to gain organisational legitimacy by implementing it) and the organisation level (i.e., legitimation of the new practice – the evaluation-based pay system among employees of the church organisation). When studying the justifications and criticisms of the new pay system, I concentrated on the legitimacy of the new pay system, but in these deliberations about loose coupling or decoupling, my interest lies in organisational legitimacy.

Based on this research, I suggest that when the incentive to introduce a new organisational practice, such as a pay system, comes from the outside an organisation, it is more likely that the new practice remains decoupled from the organisation's core values. Overall, there was only very little discussion about compatibility of the new pay system and church values in my data. The reason for this can be that the new pay system came from the outside of the local organisations and thus the ELCF's organisational culture and values had limited influence on the planning of the new pay system. Even some of the representatives of the labour organisations in the church sector are concentrated only on labour market issues in the Church, they are not actors in the local level and every day work. When concentrating on the best practices from the outside, the change in the organisation does not seem to be as big as when trying to find best fit for certain organisation. This idea is in line with the

findings of Tenhiälä and Vuori (2012), who argue that when organisations have low internal and high external motives for developing compensation systems, they probably decouple deep structure and surface-level features in their compensation system development. In the biggest parish unions in the church sector, the role of HR might be clear, but in smaller organisations, such as individual parishes, no separate HR function can be found.

One of the central changes is that there will be more authority in the local organisation level, compared the previous situation, when most of the decisions related to the wages were made in the central level. Therefore, in the future, it is possible that the new pay system tightens the relations between the everyday work done in the churches and gives more authority to supervisors, especially through the performance appraisals. However, this is not self-evident, because the local organisations can decide if they want to use performance appraisals and performance-related pay component.

8.3 The Cultural Fit of the Pay System

I constructively contribute to the compensation literature, by outlining the way legitimacy of the pay system is influenced by the established institutional logic specific to the adopting organisation and by the logic of the labour market organisations. In compensation research, some studies refer to cultural influences in compensation design (Bento & White, 1998; Beer & Cannon, 2004; Cox, 2005; Kerr & Slocum, 2005; Kuhn, 2009; Azzone & Palermo, 2011). Many studies concentrate on the relation of a national culture's values to different elements of compensation (Schuler & Rogovsky, 1998; Tosi & Greckhamer, 2004; Greckhamer, 2011). However, most of these studies concentrate on incentives or bonuses, not systems that define basic pay levels in the organisations.

Beyond compensation research, prominent research involves organisational cultural elements. Ansari, Fiss, and Zajac (2010) identify three forms of fit that affect adaptation processes of new practices to organisations. These forms of fit are: technical fit, cultural fit, and political fit. They define technical fit as 'the degree to which the characteristics of a practice are compatible with technologies already in use by potential adopters' (Ansari et al., 2010, p. 75). Cultural fit refers to 'the degree to which the characteristics of a diffusing practice are compatible with the cultural values, beliefs, and practices of potential adopters' (Ansari et al., 2010, p. 78). Political fit concerns to 'the degree to which the implicit or explicit normative characteristics of a diffusing practice are compatible with the interests and agendas of potential adopters' (Ansari et al., 2010, p. 80).

The results of this study mainly relate to cultural fit and political fit. Actors' perceptions of cultural fit varied. Organisational culture can be defined as 'a system of interconnected, taken-for-granted beliefs manifested in idiosyncratic patterns of thought, speech, and behavior' (Canato et al. 2013, p. 1726). One

single organisational culture may not exist in the ELCF, rather several organisational subcultures may prevail in different local parishes and parish unions. Indeed, organisational culture may differ according to whether a local organisation concentrates on pastoral or non-pastoral work. This idea is supported by the fact that there were differences between the interviews of interviewee doing pastoral work or non-pastoral work.

Decoupling concerning the new pay system and an organisation's main mission can be related to cultural fit. Decoupling as a method of surviving potential cultural misfit allows bypassing a potential cultural misfit, by separating a new practice and an organisation's core values.

In my study, the political fit of the ELCF's new pay system was mainly connected to different employer groups represented by different trade unions. Trade unions clearly have their agendas of trying to advance the status of their own interest groups and its was distinctly apparent in my data and analysis (see Sections 6.1.3 and 6.1.4).

8.4 Labour Market Unions and Corporatism

The themes of corporatism, industrial relations and trade unions have received limited attention in the new institutional theory (Martin, 2008; Vasudeva, Zaheer, & Hernandez, 2013; Vasudeva, Spencer, & Teegen, 2013). My research contributes to this niche, by showing how the influence of trade unions was central to the pay reform studied, and by highlighting the trade union logic as central to pay reform discussions in the ELCF. Additionally, my study contributes to the research field of institutional logics and power, of which there are currently few studies, as Thornton et al. (2012, 65) highlight. When labour market unions defend the interests of certain employee groups, they constantly compete for power in the ELCF.

My findings can be contrasted with cases of low cultural fit, in which implementation of new practices happen through leaders' sensegiving and organisation members' sensemaking as modelled by Canato et al. (2013). However, that model does not seem to contain all the relevant actors involved in this study: trade organisations are missing. In my opinion, the role of trade unions may not simply be compared to the situation where leaders get orders from upper management. Rather, trade unions have their own logic of action, related to the agenda of each union and the goals of the pay reform. In this, and other practice implementations studies where trade organisations are involved, the process of sensegiving includes trade unions, and employer organisations have their own role in the sensegiving concerning the new practice (Figure 8). Also, at the local organisation level, local union representatives may have a role in the sensemaking. They articulate the trade unions' message, but may have their own personal agenda as well.

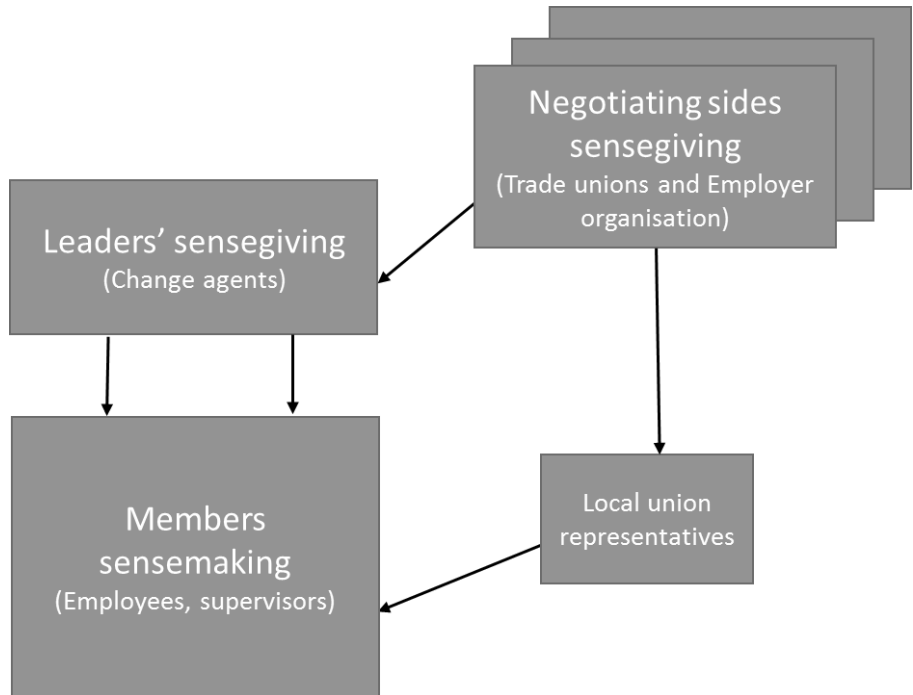


Figure 8. The Sensegiving Process in the Adoption of the Pay System

In Finnish society, both employees and employers are highly organised. Hence, the collective bargaining between organisation interest groups is a fundamental feature of Finnish society (The Finnish Trade Union Movement, 2016). In many European countries, including Finland, trade unions and corporatism is an important institutional order. Andersen, Holmström, Honkapohja, Korkman, Söderström, and Vartiainen (2007, p. 14) argue that one important feature of the Nordic model (including Finland, Denmark, and Sweden) is ‘a set of labour market institutions that include strong labour unions and employer associations, significant elements of wage coordination, relatively generous unemployment benefits and a prominent role for active labour market policies’. Therefore, the economic system in the Nordic countries is influenced by the forces of labour market organisations (Andersen et al., 2007).

The core feature of trade unions is to represent the interests of certain employee groups. Each trade union does not represent employee groups of individual professions, but a group represented by a trade union can also involve non-professional workers doing only somewhat similar jobs. Therefore, sources of identity may be associated with certain professions, but also with *not* being part of a certain group, such as, ‘employees doing non-pastoral work’ or ‘non-professional’ workers. Members of trade unions give their authority to trade union representatives to promote their interests and represent them when they join a trade union.

Kettunen (2010, p. 37) claims speaking only about employee and employer sides in the negotiations is problematic. This kind of discourse creates an image

of symmetry, in which both employees' and employers' labour organisations involving different actors are structured in different ways (Kettunen 2010, p. 37). As every trade union has their own group of members, whose interests they try to promote, it was clear in my data that each trade union justified and criticised the pay system from their own viewpoint (see Sections 6.1.3 and 6.1.4).

8.5 Practical Implications

HR practitioners in organisations can benefit from understanding the institutional logic of the new practice. Analysis of institutional logics of a pay system or other new practices implemented in organisations can be helpful when an organisation tries to accommodate a practice, because it helps understanding of different viewpoints stakeholders are likely to have on the reform.

The idea of choosing pay systems based on either best fit or best practices is on display in this thesis, and these considerations also have practical relevance. In my study, I found more external reasons to introduce the new pay system to the ELCF than reasons related to the special features of the church organisations. I claim the determination of basic pay is more vulnerable to external pressures (best practices) than the determination of bonus models. Also, collective agreements usually define more the planning of the basic pay systems than bonus systems and therefore, the role of trade unions is bigger when considering basic pay systems.

In my data, no comments existed regarding the fit between an organisation's strategy and the new pay system. Also, in the justifications of the new pay system, the actors in my data did not discuss the fit between the ELCF's values and the pay system, even in the literature concerning compensation, several empirical studies concentrate on the match between an organisation's strategy and its compensation system (Salter, 1973; Balkin & Gomez-Mejia, 1987; Balkin & Gomez-Mejia, 1990; Lawler, 1995; Boyd & Salamin, 2001; Hulkko-Nyman, 2016).

The reason for this empirical finding that in my data, there was no concentration to the reasons for pay reform originating from organisation's strategy, may lie in the differences between basic pay and incentive and bonus models. In this thesis, I concentrate on the basic pay system, meaning the monthly pay received by employees. I identify differences between incentives and basic pay: basic pay is guaranteed to each employee every month, whereas, receiving incentives is related to the performance of an organisation, a team, or an individual. Also, incentives are not usually always paid every month, instead typically once or twice a year.

Many studies on the relationship between organisation strategy and compensation systems concentrate on different kinds of bonus and incentive

systems, not on the basic/base pay³⁴ (e.g., Salter, 1973; Banker et al., 1996; Hulkko-Nyman, 2016). When a study involves basic pay, the focus is often more on the amount of fixed pay as part of the total compensation, than the structural features of how the basic pay is defined (e.g., Balkin & Gomez-Mejia, 1987; Boyd & Salamin, 2001). However, in my data, the portion of each pay component in employees' total pay was not discussed much.

Boyd and Salamin (2001, 790) studied both components of a compensation, base salary and bonuses, and found that base salary, 'even if still strategic, tends to be more static and more difficult to use as a strategic leverage'. Boyd and Salamin (2001) found that bonuses were more tightly related to strategy, and they even state that: 'bonus should be considered as the favourite strategic compensation weapon'. This is in line with my findings.

The themes of justice and fairness are important and central to basic pay, and this was also apparent in my data. Mostly, the issue is considered within a certain organisation, but may also be achieved by comparing fairness practices in other organisations. Therefore, following other sectors can be a rational justification when planning a basic pay system. The use of similar kinds of systems (especially job evaluation) as other organisations also allows organisations to compare their salaries to similar jobs in other organisations more easily. In my data, actors usually referred to justice and fairness within organisations; however, justifications also concerned following other sectors. Other issues involved citations regarding competitiveness of wages, which is also directly connected to the situation in other sectors.

In addition, the idea of decoupling practically influences organisations. I argue that if decoupling happens, optimally, it should be a conscious decision by the organisation. It is not always clear, whether the pay system (or some other practice in organisation) should be connected to an organisation's values and mission, but consideration of different choices is probably in the best interest of an organisation. In Section 8.2., I proposed one reason why the church mission is not connected to the new pay system may be that the prime factor for pay reform came from outside the organisation. The effect of this can be compared to organisations that internally begin pay reform. When organisational reform comes from outside an organisation, extra concentration should arguably be paid to the adoption of the pay system by the organisation.

My next practical implication concerns the justifications of the new pay system at the organisational level. Solid justifications are extremely important for the implementation of the pay systems for many reasons. For example, it is quite difficult for supervisors to justify the pay system to their subordinates, if they do not have relevant justifications, nor themselves know why the new pay

³⁴ The term basic pay/basic salary is usually used in the United Kingdom and base pay/salary in the United States. The definition of 'basic pay' in Cambridge Dictionary: 'the amount of money that someone earns in their job, not including any extra payments they may receive, for example for working extra hours'. Retrieved from: <http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/basic-pay> (15.1.2017).

system is being introduced to the organisation. Even if a pay system or some other organisational practice is adopted due to consideration as its being the best practice, or due to an increasing isomorphism between organisations, justifications for the pay system should be clear to organisation members and specially to change agents, who are responsible for pay reform within organisations.

Regarding rhetorical institutionalism, Green (2004, p. 655) emphasises that when organisational actors adopt a new practice, the practice does not have to be effective, but actors only must believe it to be effective. This perception accentuates the importance of justifications of the pay system. Green (2004, p. 654) notifies that researchers using a rhetorical perspective highlight the active role of managers in the diffusion process. This is probably true also in the ELCF. Concerning the new pay system in the ELCF, actors in the labour market organisations play an important role in shaping and promoting issues such as the effectiveness of the new evaluation-based pay system. Employer and employee labour market organisations in Finland negotiate and try to generate a collective agreement. The pay system and other matters concerning compensation are defined in the collective agreement. Therefore, the diffusion of the new pay system (or other organisational practice) in the Finnish context differs from that in many other countries, and this should be considered when implementing pay systems in Finland. Employees in Finland get information about pay reforms not only from their local employer, but also from trade unions.

In this thesis, I found that that the pay system is seen in diverse ways by different actors in the organisation. This accentuates the role of reviewing the justifications of the pay system. If views of the new pay system significantly differ among separate employee groups, experiences of fairness might be affected, as the motivation effect of the pay system, and also how the pay system generally is accepted by employees in an organisation. This should be considered in practical work with the pay systems. A single, trouble-free one-dimensional pay system does not exist, rather, several interpretations of the system prevail.

8.6 Evaluation of the Study

In this section, I evaluate my study and its limitations. The traditional way to evaluate a research is to use the terms validity and reliability. In qualitative research, these terms cannot be used in the same way as in a quantitative study. Instead, I use criteria defined by Lincoln and Guba (1985), who encourage concentrating on the 'trustworthiness' of the study using four aspects: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability.

By *credibility*, Lincoln and Guba (1985) refer to 'truth value' or internal validity in quantitative studies, that is 'the extent to which causal propositions are supported in a study of particular setting' (Seale, 1999, p. 38). In a

qualitative study not concentrating on causal relations, these kinds of questions are not the most relevant. Therefore, Lincoln and Guba (1985) encourage researchers doing qualitative studies to concentrate on techniques by which credibility of research findings and interpretations can be improved. These include a researcher demonstrating a prolonged period of engagement, to provide evidence of persistent observations, and to triangulate (Lincoln & Guba 1985).

I began this research in 2006, when I first visited all participating organisations in inception meetings during which we discussed practical issues, such as schedules; and planned who from the organisation should take part in the interviews. Then, I conducted interviews between March and November 2006. I collected the journal data between 2007 and 2011. My long research process and multiple analysis rounds of the data helped me identify characteristics and elements relevant to the situation that are arguably outcomes of persistent observations.

In this thesis, I used different kinds of data sets (journal data, interview data, and data from the Commission for Church Employers), and different methods (analysis of justifications and criticisms and institutional vocabularies) to give me a richer picture of the pay reform in the Church.

Transferability can be compared to external validity in quantitative inquiries (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Seale, 1999). As my thesis is a qualitative case study, I do not claim my results can be directly extended to other organisations, although they may interest other public sector organisations. For example, the selection process of local organisations was based on the willingness of the organisations to take part in the research project and not on random sampling. All participating organisations belonged to quite big parish unions in southern Finland, so the voice of little parishes in northern areas of Finland was not heard in this study. The differences between employees doing pastoral and non-pastoral work are interesting, because they reveal the possibility that separate personnel groups might conceptualise and justify an organisational reform in different ways. However, while I do not claim that my results can be generalised to all employees doing pastoral or non-pastoral work, my reasoning can be transposed to different settings with distinct employee groups.

Lincoln and Guba (1985) and Seale (1999) emphasise the importance of a detailed, rich, and thick description of the setting studied, so readers are given enough information to allow them to judge the applicability of findings to other settings. By describing my research setting throughout my thesis and especially in Chapters 2 and 6, I allow a reader to familiarise themselves with the research setting as best possible.

Lincoln and Guba (1985) propose equating the concept of *dependability* to the idea of reliability. Reliability in quantitative research usually signifies 'repeatability', meaning that different observers would make the same interpretations of particular objects. Mason (1996, p. 24) states reliability

‘involves the accuracy of your research methods and techniques’. Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest a procedure of ‘auditing’ to examine the process of the inquiry and examine the product – the data, findings, and interpretations. Seale (1999) maintains, when writing a thesis, auditing resembles the work of a supervisor.

I did my analysis alone, but discussed my findings with colleagues and supervisor during the entire research process. All the interviews were recorded and then transcribed, allowing continuously assessment during the research and writing process.

One challenge of my research involved language: although this thesis is written in English, all my data was in Finnish. In earlier versions of analysis and writing, I used original Finnish quotations in my text, so my supervising professor and thesis advisor could see the original versions of the speech. I later translated the quotations.

In a qualitative study, a researcher’s subjective interpretations are always present, and therefore transparency is crucial. I described the research process earlier in this thesis, but I will now describe some personal biographical facts that might influence my interpretations. Seale (1999, pp. 25-26) remarks that if a researcher makes her or his personal perspective as explicit as possible to readers, they can make their own judgements about the extent to which it has influenced the research text. As Seale (1999, p. 26) writes, ‘knowledge is always mediated by pre-existing ideas and values, whether this is acknowledged by researchers or not’. My history and experience of working with pay systems, means I have a lot of information about the justifications and criticisms of pay systems in other sectors. This knowledge has helped me link this case study to other situations of organisational change.

I have worked with pay and compensation systems since 2004, when I started as a project researcher in the Helsinki University of Technology (later Aalto University). In 2010 I began working as a compensation and benefits consultant, working part-time on this thesis. In consultancy, my viewpoint of the world of pay systems is very different than simply researching it. However, I do not consider this distinct knowledge a barrier or obstacle to my research work, although it has undoubtedly affected interpretations of my analysis.

I have never done any consulting work in the church sector. In the church pay reform, a consultant³⁵ contributed to the process at the beginning of the process, but most of the work was done without a consultant. Therefore, I do not have to study the role of compensation consultants in this study, which could be difficult considering my own work history.

³⁵ I started work to same consulting company in 2010 than the consultant that had been used in the beginning of the pay reform process of the church in 2005. However, this consultant did not work in the company at the same time with me.

Confirmability is Lincoln' and Guba's (1985) alternative to the terms neutrality or objectivity. I believe that a detailed and transparent description of my method and analysis best supports confirmability. As I have told above, I have experience and linkages to the compensation field in Finland, and this probably has influenced this study. However, by describing these issues as being as transparent and open as possible, I hope the reader can evaluate the confirmability of my study.

8.7 Suggestions for Future Research

I have several ideas for future research, concerning the influence of pay reforms on organisations, professionalism and hierarchy. One idea is to collect more recent data about the pay system in the ELCF, to study if the new pay system has changed church logics over a longer period. This would increase the understanding of how institutional logics associated with a new practice can shape organisations. As Canato et al. (2013) note, it is possible that practice implementation can change an organisation's culture over time.

To better understand legitimisation in organisational change, I also suggest studying how internal and external reasons for organisational changes affect their introduction and results. In Section 8.2, I suggested that when the incentive to introduce a new organisational practice, such as a pay system, comes from outside an organisation, the reform more likely affects only some parts of the organisation. Similarly, when the incentive for the introduction of the new practice comes from inside an organisation, the change for the organisation is more comprehensive. As I focused on only one case study, I cannot verify this idea based on my current data. Therefore, one interesting path for future research is the study of internal and external reasons for changes in organisations, and how organisational reforms differ according to the motives for reform. This idea could be advanced using more case studies about practice implementation.

The literature on pay systems would benefit from more research on professions, and changes in the hierarchies of jobs as a consequence of different kinds of pay systems. The concept of professionalism includes the idea of formal educational and entrance requirements (Hall, 1968, p. 92). Professionalism exists when certain tasks performed by professionals are believed so extraordinary that self-control is essential (e.g. Freidson, 2001, p. 17). Contrasting with this are hierarchical, bureaucratic and managerial controls of industrial and commercial organisations (Evetts, 2014, 29; Simpson, 1985). Professionalism can also be associated with the notion of a calling of the person to a certain field (Hall, 1968, p. 92). According to Thornton (2004), the formal control mechanism associated with professions is the internal and external peer review system; this, however, opposes the system of performance appraisals made by supervisors in evaluation-based pay systems.

A pay system based on job evaluations always influences hierarchies and evaluations of occupations and professions in a particular organisation. An analytical job evaluation can either strengthen existing hierarchies or it can change them, because the job evaluations propose different rankings for the jobs than those based on job requirements in the previous hierarchy. The idea of professionalism contradicts the logic of the new pay system. As professionalism is based on the idea that only other members of the same profession can evaluate professional work, the new pay system is based on completely different logics than earlier. The new logic involves evaluation of jobs and performances using similar criteria for all occupations, and is done by both representatives and non-representatives of certain professions.

The context of this study, the ELCF, includes many different, traditionally hierarchical, professions. Conventionally, many of these professions involve pastoral work, such as pastors, cantors, and diaconal workers. The ELCF as an organisation has a lot in common with other institutionalised employers including universities, hospitals and military (see e.g. Scott, 2000; Townley, 1997). An interesting path for future research is to study these hierarchies and how the pay system influences them. Pastoral and non-pastoral employees in the church sector belong to the same pay system. The implementation of the new pay system in Finnish universities in 2006, however, had a different logic: different systems were used for employees in the research and teaching positions, and other employees (e.g., Elo et al., 2009). Therefore, changes in the hierarchies of occupations and professions is crucial in the ELCF, because all job were evaluated using the same system.

9. Epilogue: Current Situation of the Church's Pay System

In this chapter, I briefly present the contemporary (2017) situation of the pay system in the ELCF, and what has happened between the time of my data and the current moment. As mentioned earlier, approximately 83% of the Finnish population belonged to the ELCF in 2005 and 72% on 1.1.2017 (Kirkkohallitus 2006; The Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland 2017). The significant decrease of members has caused financial pressures for church organisations, because Church members pay taxes (tithe) to the ELCF.

At this moment (2017), the structure of the pay system is similar it was during my research period (Kirkon yleinen virka- ja työehtosopimus 2007-2009; Kirkon yleinen virka- ja työehtosopimus 2017). The pay structure in the Church still includes job-based pay component, pay component based on seniority and performance-related pay component.

However, the performance-related pay component (discretionary individual pay component) is not used in all parishes and parish unions. As mentioned before, the parishes were allowed to use discretionary individual pay component based on performance appraisals from 1st September 2009, but it was not mandatory. The representative of the Commission for Church Employers informed me in November 2016 that 63 organisations in the ELCF were paying performance-related pay at that moment (58 parishes or parish unions and 5 other Church employers). Additional organisations may have introduced the concept of the performance-related pay component, for example, by starting to do performance appraisals, but have not yet paid related compensation to employees. As the number of parishes was 408 in 2016 (Suomen evankelisluterilainen kirkko 2016), the performance-related pay component and performance appraisals are clearly not yet very widespread in use.

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Appendix 1. List of Analysed Articles from Trade Union Journals

Journal: Crux, Publisher unions: Aki, Akavan kirkolliset ammattiliitot – Kyrkliga fackförbund inom Akava r.y. and Diakoniatyöntekijöiden liitto ry

BEFORE THE AGREEMENT:

- Jossas, E. (2005): Pitkä sopimuskausi tuo mahdollisuuksia. Crux 1/2005. 23.
- Jokinen, A. (2005): Julkkiksen ja taviksen elämää. Crux 3-4/2005. 2.
- Kauppinen, J. (2005): Uusi palkkausjärjestelmä tulee – oletko valmiina? Crux 3-4/2005. 9.
- Jossas, E. (2005): UPJ1. Kirkkoonkin uusi palkkausjärjestelmä. Crux 3-4/2005. 13.
- Jossas, E. (2005): Miten Palkkavaaka punnitsee? Crux 5/2005.22.
- Lindgård, S. (2005): Hyvä lukija! Crux 6/2005. 2.
- Häkkinen, K. (2005): Uusi palkkausjärjestelmä ja sairaala-sielunhoitaja. Crux 6/2005.
- Jossas, E. (2005): UPJ3. Palkkausjärjestelmän uudistaminen lisää paikallista toimivaltaa. Crux 6/2005.
- Jossas, E. (2006): UPJ4. Mallityönkuvauksista paljon palautetta. Crux 1/2006. 27.
- Jossas, E. (2006): UPJ5. Palkkaus uudistuksen aikataulua muutettu – kesäkuun korotukset taulukoihin. Crux 2/2006. 17.
- Kauppinen, J. (2006): Ammattijärjestön arvot. Crux 3/2006. 2.
- Jossas, E. (2006): Henkilökohtaisen palkanosan perusteista neuvotellaan. Crux 4/2006. 12.
- Crux (2006): Papit ja kanttorit, tervetuloa AKIn järjestämään UPJ-koulutukseen! Crux 6/2006. 6.
- Jossas, E. (2006): Pappi palkallaan ja – työajallaan. Crux 6/2006. 24-25.
- Huttunen, J. (2007): Asennetta tarvitaan. Crux 1/2007. 2
- Jossas, E. (2007)A: Palkkausjärjestelmän uudistamisesta sopimus – toteutus seuraavan sopimuskauden alkuun. Crux 1/2007. 54-55.

Jossas, E. (2007)B: Menneisyyden haamu? . Crux 1/2007. 55.

AFTER THE AGREEMENT:

Huttunen, J. (2007): Sopimus solmittiin –edessäpäin paljon työtä. Crux 5/2007. 2.

Helenelund, M. (2007): Kirkon palkkausjärjestelmän tuettava vastuuta, osaamista ja itsensä kehittämistä. Crux 6/2007.2.

Jossas, E. (2007): Palkkausuudistus alkanut paikallisesti – paikattavaa piisaa. Crux 6/2007. 12-13.

Rauma, K. (2007): Minäkö vaadin itseltäni liikaa? Crux 6/2007. 31.

Vilpponen, S. (2008): Valtakunnalliset kanttoripäivät. Crux 2/2008. 14.

Rauma, K. (2008): Pilkkahintaan. Crux 2/2008. 29.

Jossas, E. (2008): Se pyörii sittenkin. Palkkausuudistus meneillän. Crux 2/2008. 30.

Jossas, E. (2008): Tehtäväkohtaisen palkan asettaminen. Crux 3/2008. 8.

Huttunen, J. (2009): Palkkausuudistus loppusuoralla. Crux 2/2009. 5.

Huttunen, J. (2009): Pääkirjoitus. Ainakin naapuri, ellei peräti kumppani. Crux 3/2009. 2.

Helenelund, M. (2009): Puheenjohtaja. Kanttorin ammatinhallinnan arvioinnista. Crux 5/2009. 5.

Helenelund, M. (2010): Kirkko sai työelämän laatua ja hyvinvointia edistävän sopimuksen. Crux 2/2010.2.

Kirkinen, S. (2010): Harkinnanvaraista kirjoittelua. Crux 6/2010. 24-25.

Journal: Jyty (Publisher union: Julkis- ja yksityisalojen toimihenkilöliitto Jyty ry)

BEFORE THE AGREEMENT:

Brotherus, K. (2005): Työn vaativuus palkkaperusteeksi. Jyty 6-7/2005. 6-7.

Norta, A. (2005): Ulkoista vai sisäistä vuorovaikutusta? 6-7/2005. 7.

Niemi, H. (2006): Kirkon erityisammattimale on ihan tavallinen työmale. 6-7/2006. 23.

Brotherus, K. (2007): Kirkon alan palkkausuudistus jäihin. Vain hengellisellä työlläkö on arvoa? Jyty. 1/2007. 6-7.

Aunola, M. (2007): Kirkon alan jäsenet uudistuksesta: Pohjia myöten uusiksi! 1/2007. 8.

Tarkkinen, S. (2007): Kirkon alan unioni tiedottaa ja kuuntelee jäseniä info-illoissa. Tulkinnanvaraisuus arveluttaa kirkon palkkausuudistuksessa. Jyty. 3/2007. 6-7.

Aunola, M. (2007): Kirkon neuvottelutilanne osin koominen. Uuden sopimusjärjestelmän ongelmat järjestöjen edunvalvonnan yhteisiä. Jyty. 8-9/2007. 7.

Jyty: Kirkon alan unioni (2007): Palkkausjärjestelmän kehittäminen keskeistä. Jyty 8-9/2007. 7.

AFTER THE AGREEMENT:

Vatanen, E. (2008): Paikalliseen sopimiseen ei oltu valmiita. Kirkon palkkausjärjestelmäristiriitojen selvitys loppusuoralla. Jyty 12/2008. 12-13.

Mäkinen, V-M. (2010): Kirkon alan kokonaisansiot nousivat uuden palkkausjärjestelmän ansiosta. Jyty 5/2010. 11.

Journal: Motiivi (Publisher union: Julkisten ja hyvinvointialojen liitto JHL ry)

BEFORE THE AGREEMENT:

Motiivi (2005): Kirkon palkat puntariin syksyllä. Motiivi 2/2005. 37.

Ala-Nikula, K. (2007): Kirkon palkkausuudistus saa kovaa kritiikkiä. Motiivi 1/2007.16.

Puustinen, U. & Karvinen, T. (2007): Emme pyydä me vaadimme. Motiivi 9/2007.

AFTER THE AGREEMENT:

Puustinen, U. (2008): Matka hurskaudesta härskiyteen on lyhyt. Motiivi 6/2008.

Motiivi (2008): Kirkon palkoista erimielisyys. Motiivi 8/2008.

Motiivi (2010): Kirkolle 1,1 prosenttia. Motiivi 3/2010. 16-17.

SVTL-uutiset/Kirkon töissä (Publisher union: Seurakuntien Viran- ja Toimenhaltijain Liitto SVTL ry/Kirkon alojen ammattijärjestö SVTL ry)

BEFORE THE AGREEMENT:

Rasila, R. (2005): Palkkausjärjestelmän rakentaminen alkaa. SVTL-uutiset. 2/2005. 3.

SVTL-uutiset (2005): Palkkausjärjestelmän uudistamistyö alkaa. SVTL-uutiset. 2/2005. 12.

SVTL-uutiset (2005): Koulutusta palkkausjärjestelmästä tarjolla jokaisen seurakunnan edustajille. SVTL-uutiset. 3/2005. 6.

Rasila, R. (2005): Tervettä kriittisyyttä palkkauskeskustelussa. SVTL-uutiset. 4/2005. 4.

SVTL-uutiset (2005): Tuusulan ohjausryhmä selvitti sijoittelut mallikkaasti. ”Työnkuvausten täyttö helpotti sijoittelua, yhteismitallisuutta oli välillä haettava.” SVTL-uutiset. 4/2005. 8-9.

Rasila, R. (2006): Ei dramatiikkaa, mutta kuitenkin. SVTL-uutiset. 1/2006. 3.

Rasila, R. (2006): Järjestelmät vertailussa. SVTL-uutiset. 2/2006. 3.

Rasila, R. (2007): Uudistus omaksutaan vähitellen. SVTL-uutiset. 1/2007. 3.

SVTL-uutiset (2007): Laadunvarmistus vaativa haaste luottamusmiehille. 1/2007. 10.

Rasila, R. (2007): Esillä monta vaihtoehtoa. SVTL-uutiset. 2/2007. 3.

Rasila, R. (2007): Palkkauksen kehittämiseksi paljon perusteita. 3/2007.3.

AFTER THE AGREEMENT:

Rasila, R. (2007): Sopimuskausi testaa osapuolten rehtyyttä. Kirkon töissä. 4/2007. 3.

Löppönen, M. (2007): Uudistuva SVTL. Kirkon töissä. 4/2007. 5.

Löppönen, M. (2008): Elämää palkkausuudistuksen käyttöönoton jälkeen. Kirkon töissä. 1/2008. 5.

Vänskä, R. (2008): Valmistautumista, neuvotteluja, tiukkaa perehtymistä... Helsingissä ei selvitty ilman riitautuksia. Kirkon töissä. 1/2008. 6-7.

Hellén, A., & Rasila, R. (2008): Valtaosa työpaikoista on selviytynyt asiallisesti, menettelytapavirheet ja alihinnoittelut kasaantuvat. Kirkon töissä. 1/2008. 8-9.

- Helenelund, M., Jossas, E., Löppönen, M., & Rasila, R. (2008): Kirkon työelämään tarvitaan tulevaisuuden näkökulma. Kirkon töissä. 1/2008. 16.
- Rasila, R. (2008): Korpivaelluksen tässä kohdassa. Kirkon töissä. 2/2008. 3.
- Löppönen, M. (2008): Paikallisesti neuvotellen. Kirkon töissä. 2/2008. 5.
- Inkinen, M. (2008): Työ, sisältö ja työstä maksettava palkka. Kirkon töissä 2/2008. 9.
- Rasila, R. (2008): Kohta kaikki on sanottu. Kirkon töissä. 3/2008. 3.
- Rasila, R. (2008): Palkkausjärjestelmän uudistus korjasi kirkon palkkatasoa. Kirkon töissä. 4/2008. 3.
- Kirkon töissä (2008): Luterilaisen kirkon kaikkien aikojen paras palkkakehitys. Sopimuskauden ensimmäinen vuosi kasvatti luterilaisen kirkon palkkoja 10,8%. Kirkon töissä. 4/2008. 9.
- Rasila, R. (2009): Harkinnanvaraisen palkanosan koulutukset ovat uuden asian yhdessä oppimista. Kirkon töissä. 1/2009. 9.
- Kirkon töissä (2009): Harkinnanvarainen palkanosa sisäänajovaiheessa. Kirkon töissä. 2/2009. 20.
- Ryytty, T. (2009): Harkinnanvarainen työn alla Lahdessa. Kirkon töissä. 4/2009. 16
- Sarikka, H. (2009): Uusi palkanosa tulee vaikuttamaan työkuulttuuriin. Kirkon töissä. 4/2009. 16.
- Rasila, R. (2010)A: Niukasti euroja, tärkeitä periaatteita. Kirkon töissä. 1/2010. 3.
- Rasila, R. (2010)B: Luterilaisen kirkon sopimus syntyi ahkeralla työnteolla. Kirkon töissä. 1/2010. 8-10.
- Rasila, R. (2010)C: Helsingissä kehitettiin isojen työpaikkojen sijoittelumalli. Kirkon töissä. 1/2010. 34.
- Rasila, R. (2010): Mitä se meillä tarkoittaa? Kirkon töissä. 3/2010. 4

Appendix 2. Information About the Local Organisations

I conducted interviews in six local organisations belonging to three parish unions.

Local organisations were:

The Parish Union of Espoo: Office. (one change agent interview, one supervisor group interview, five employee interviews)

The Parish Union of Kirkkonummi. (one change agent group interview, one supervisor/change agent group interview, five employee interviews)

The Parish Union of Helsinki: Central register. (one change agent group interview, five employee interviews)

The Parish Union of Helsinki: Property department. (one change agent group interview, one change agent/supervisor group interview, one supervisor interview, five employee interviews)

The Parish Union of Helsinki: The Kannelmäki Parish. (one change agent interview, one supervisor group interview, five employee interviews)

The Parish Union of Helsinki: The Mellunkylä Parish. (one change agent/supervisor group interview, five employee interviews)

Appendix 3. Information About the Interviewees

Change agents

Time of the interviews: March to April 2006

Interviewee's occupation, gender and if she/he is doing pastoral or non-pastoral work

Administrative director, female, non-pastoral work

Administrative manager, female, non-pastoral work

Manager of the cemetery operations, male, non-pastoral work

Director, male, non-pastoral work

Director, male, non-pastoral work

Vicar, male, pastoral work

Vicar, male, pastoral work

Vicar, male, pastoral work

Service foreman, female, non-pastoral work

Head property manager, male, non-pastoral work

Building manager, male, non-pastoral work

Register manager, male, non-pastoral work

Data administration manager, male, non-pastoral work

Office administrator, female, non-pastoral work

Office secretary, female, non-pastoral work

Female: 5, male: 10

Doing pastoral work 3, non-pastoral work 12

Change agents are persons in key position regarding the pay reform in local organisations. Almost all change agents had subordinates. Some of the change agents also attended supervisor group interviews in addition to their private interviews and one vicar only attended a group interview. However, all change agents' comments have been registered as comments by change agents.

Supervisors

Time of the interviews: March to May 2006

Occupation, gender and pastoral/non-pastoral work

Diaconal worker, supervisor, female, pastoral work

Team leader, diaconal worker, female, pastoral work

Supervisor of administration services team, male, non-pastoral work

Leading diaconal worker, female, pastoral work

Chaplain, male, pastoral work

Chaplain, a team leader for general parish work, female, pastoral work

Team leader for chapel work, male, non-pastoral work

Property engineer, male, non-pastoral work

Property secretary, female, non-pastoral work

Vicar, male, pastoral work

Children's worker, supervisor, female, pastoral work

Accounting manager, female, non-pastoral work

Matron of a summer camp, female, non-pastoral work

Team leader of youth work team, youth worker, male, pastoral work

Gardener, male, non-pastoral work

Property manager of the parish union, male, non-pastoral work

Team leader of janitors, male, non-pastoral work

Communication manager, male, non-pastoral work

Common diaconal secretary, female, pastoral work

Head gardener, male, non-pastoral work

Head janitor, female, non-pastoral work

Female 10, male 11

Doing pastoral work 9, non-pastoral work 12

During the interviews in one organisation, no other supervisors were present other than those who attended the change agents interview. For this reason, there were no separate supervisor interviews in that organisation.

Employees

Time of the interviews: October to November 2006

Occupation, gender and pastoral/non-pastoral work

Diaconal worker, male, pastoral work
 Diaconal worker, female, pastoral work
 Diaconal worker, female, pastoral work
 System designer, male, non-pastoral work
 Maintenance engineer, male, non-pastoral work
 Children's worker, female, pastoral work
 Children's worker, female, pastoral work
 Children's worker, female, pastoral work
 Cantor, female, pastoral work
 Kitchen assistant, female, non-pastoral work
 Cook, female, non-pastoral work
 Youth worker, male, pastoral work
 Youth worker, female, pastoral work
 Payroll clerk, female, non-pastoral work
 Priest, female, pastoral work
 Gardener, male, non-pastoral work
 School priest, female, pastoral work
 Parish master, male, non-pastoral work
 Priest, female, pastoral work
 Priest, female, pastoral work
 Application advisor, female, non-pastoral work
 System designer, female, non-pastoral work
 Office officer, female, non-pastoral work
 Office secretary, female, non-pastoral work
 Office secretary, female, non-pastoral work
 Office secretary, female, non-pastoral work
 Janitor, female, non-pastoral work
 Janitor, female, non-pastoral work
 Janitor-cleaner, male, non-pastoral work
 Janitor, male, non-pastoral work

Female 22, male 8

Doing pastoral work 13, non-pastoral work 17

Appendix 4. Numbers of Interviewees in Group Interviews

	Change agents	Supervisors
Interview 1	1	
Interview 2		5
Interview 3	1	3
Interview 4	1	
Interview 5	4	
Interview 6	6	
Interview 7	1	1
Interview 8		3
Interview 9	2	5
Interview 10	2	
Interview 11	1	4

15 change agents and 21 supervisors participated in the interviews. Four of the change agents participated in two interviews.

Appendix 5. List of Interview Questions

Interviews were semi-structured. Questions were presented in a slightly different order in each of the interviews. Also, the formation of questions differed a little in separate interviews.

Interviews of change agents and supervisors

Name and a job title?

Do you discuss things related to pay in your organisation?

When did you hear about the pay reform for the first time?

What kind of thoughts did that cause?

How have you been involved with the pay reform so far?

How did the process of pay reform begin?

Who were the central actors concerning the pay reform in your local organisation or more general?

What do you think were the goals of the pay reform?

Have there been any problems during the pay reform?

Have the opinions of the different groups been taken into consideration enough?

How have supervisors been informed about the pay reform? Have there been any training or information sessions?

How have employees been informed about the pay reform? Have there been any training or information sessions?

Has there been enough information concerning the pay system?

Have those supervisors who have written job description or placed jobs into model job descriptions had enough knowledge about the real content of the jobs?

What kind of practical influences have the pay system had?

What kind of things do employees ask concerning the pay system?

Are there any things or procedures related to the new pay system that the employees contest?

What kind of expectations do you have for the new pay system at the moment?

Do you think the negotiators are able to create a good pay system suitable to your organisation?

What do you think about the fact the new pay system is being negotiated outside your local organisation?

Have you been following the discussion about the new pay systems in other sectors?

Do you see pay as a motivation factor?

Do you think different groups in your organisation are satisfied with their wages at the moment?

Organisation structure was also discussed in the interviews with the change agents.

Interviews of employees

Name and job title?

Describe your closest work community.

Who is your supervisor?

Do you discuss things related to wages in your work community?

What do you think about wage levels in the ELCF at the moment?

Do you think there are some personnel groups whose wages are not at the right level at the moment?

How is a person's wage determined when she/he starts to work in your local organisation? How are possible changes on wages decided at the moment?

How well do you know how wages are determined at the moment?

Does pay affect your motivation?

When did you hear about the pay reform for the first time?

What kind of thoughts did that cause? What were your first expectations?

How did the process of the pay reform start?

Who were the central actors concerning the pay reform in your local organisation or more general?

What do you think were the goals for the pay reform? Why is the pay reform happening?

Have the opinions of employees been heard?

How has the pay reform proceeded so far? What has happened in your local organisation?

How did you find the process of writing job descriptions or placing jobs into model job descriptions?

Has there been any job descriptions in your local organisation before?

How have employees been informed about the pay reform? Have there been any training or information sessions?

Has there been enough information about the pay reform?

What kind of information would you need at the moment?

Are you happy with the actions of supervisors related to the pay reform?

Have there been clear defects during the pay reform? If so, have there been any actions to fix them?

How did you react to the delay in the planned schedule?

Do you know, what happens next?

What kind of practical effects has the pay reform had?

What kind of expectations do you have for the new pay system at the moment?

How do you think job evaluation suits church organisations? What do you think should be considered in job evaluation?

How do you think performance appraisals suit church organisations? What do you think should be considered in performance appraisals?

Who do you think would be best person to do job evaluations or performance appraisals?

What kind of pay system you think would be good and fair?

What do you think about the fact that the pay system is negotiated outside the organisation?

Do you have a tradition of development discussions in your organisation?

Have you been following the discussion about the new pay systems in other sectors?

Is there some specific reason, why are you working at the ELCF?

Appendix 6. List of General Letters of Church Employers

I analysed the general letters which contained some text concerning the new pay system. Some general letters were excluded based on that they only were notifications of e.g., place and times of information occasions related to the pay reform.

Church of Finland Negotiating Commission (Kirkon sopimusvaltuuskunta),
General letter A2/2005

Church of Finland Negotiating Commission, General letter A8/2005

The Commission for Church Employers (Kirkon työmarkkinalaitos), General
letter A2/2006

The Commission for Church Employers, General letter A3/2006

The Commission for Church Employers, General letter A4/2006

The Commission for Church Employers, General letter A3/2007

The Commission for Church Employers, General letter A4/2007

The Commission for Church Employers, General letter A5/2007

The Commission for Church Employers, General letter A7/2007

The Commission for Church Employers, General letter A3/2008

The Commission for Church Employers, General letter A10/2008

The Commission for Church Employers, General letter A12/2008

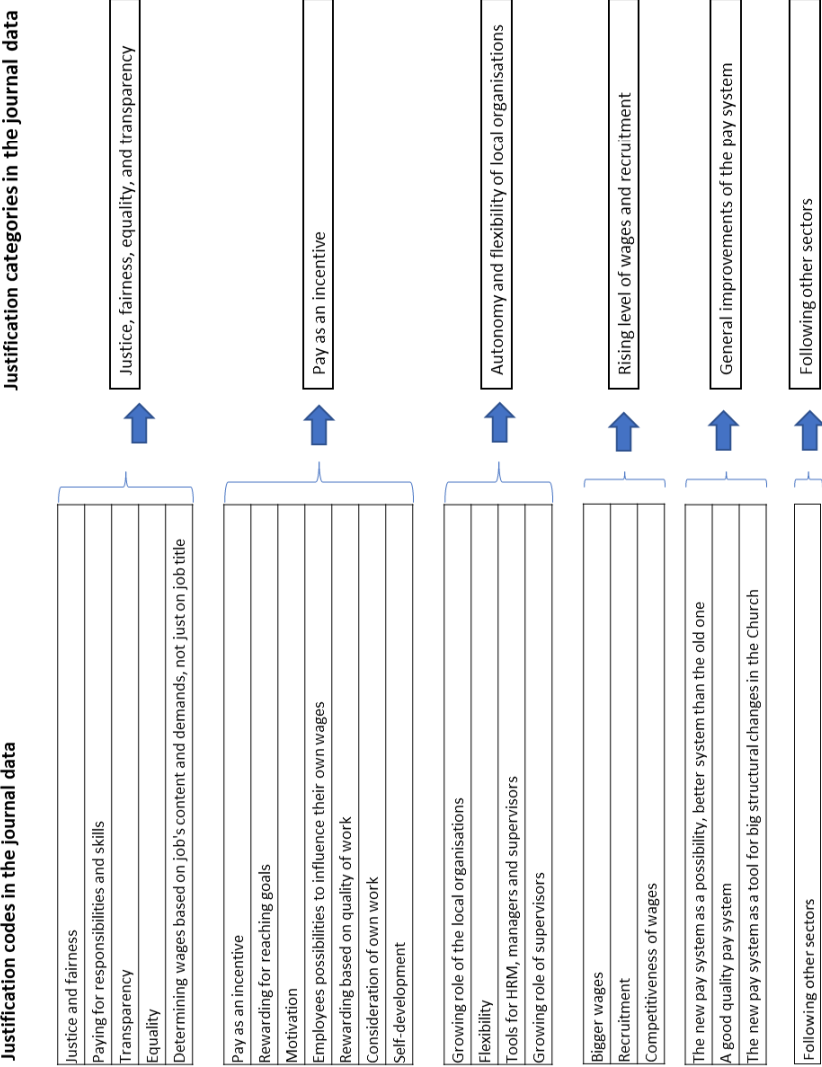
The Commission for Church Employers, General letter A2/2009

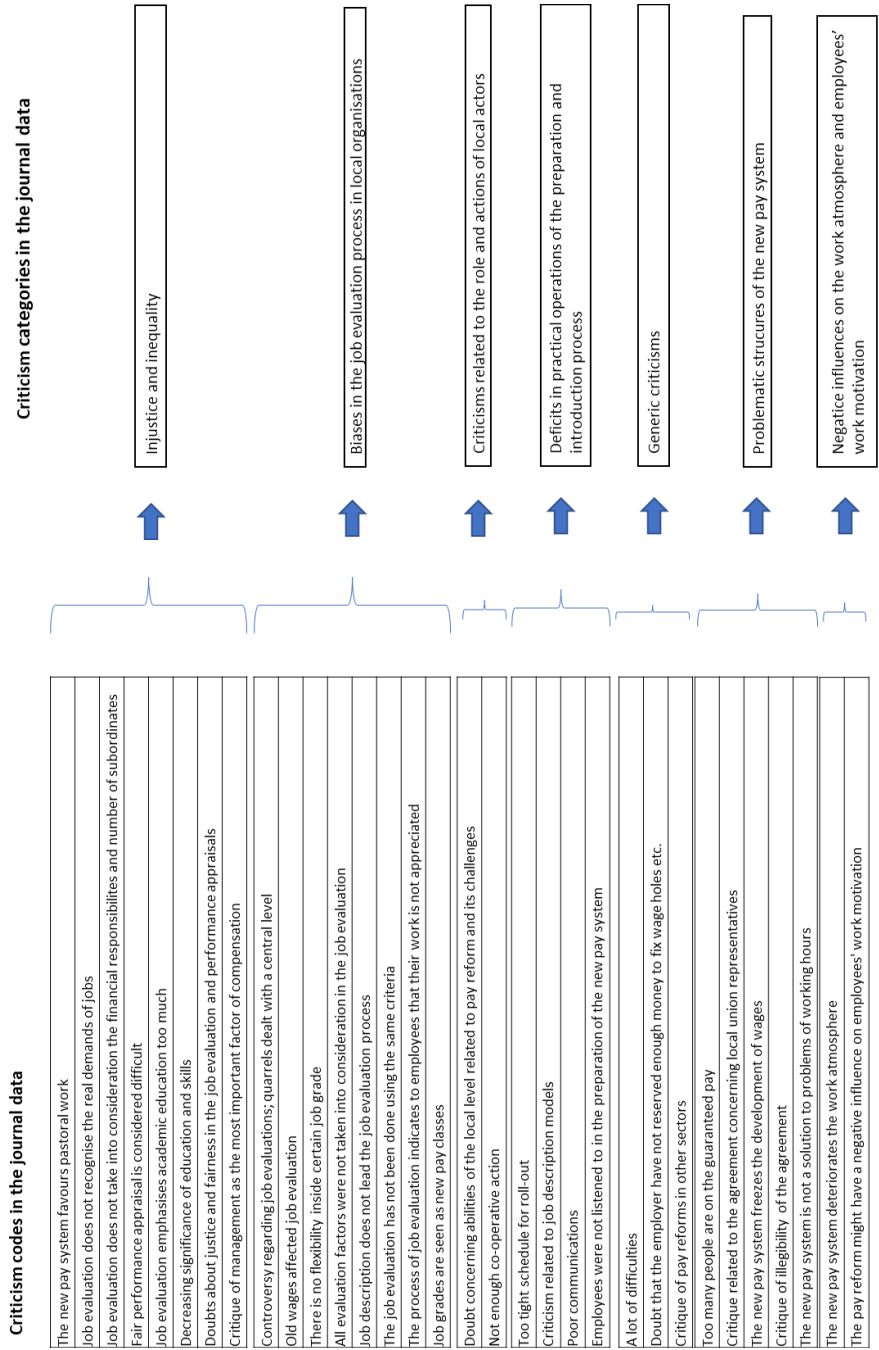
The Commission for Church Employers, General letter A6/2009

The Commission for Church Employers, General letter A2/2010

The Commission for Church Employers, General letter A5/2010

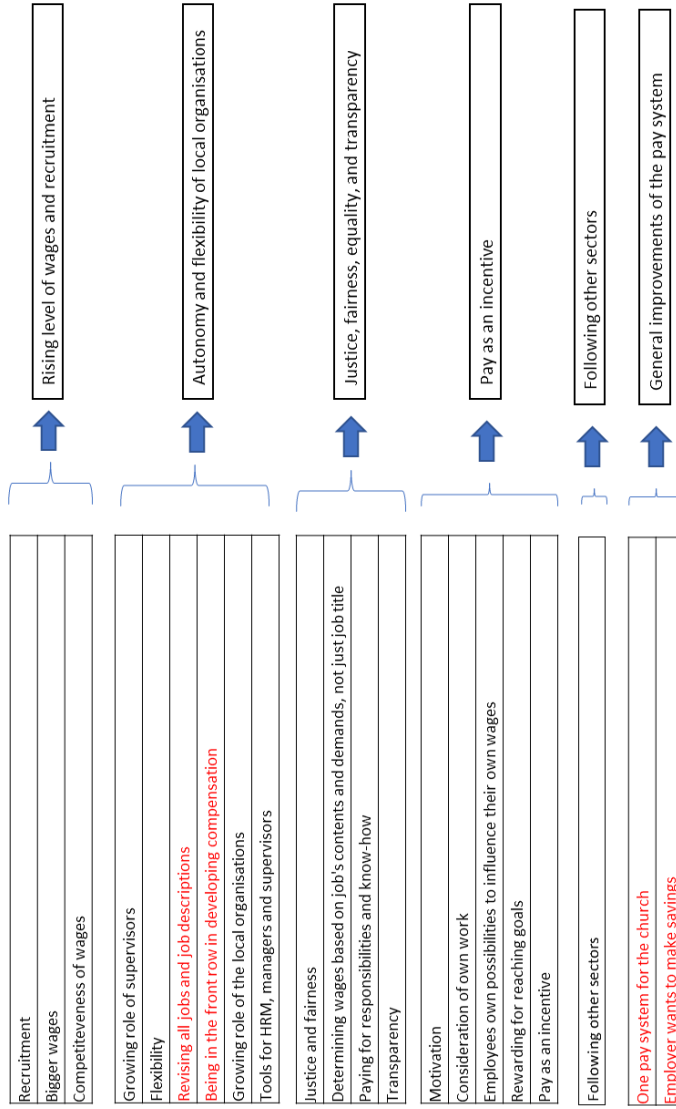
Appendix 7. Data Structures of Justifications and Criticisms in the Journal and Interview Data

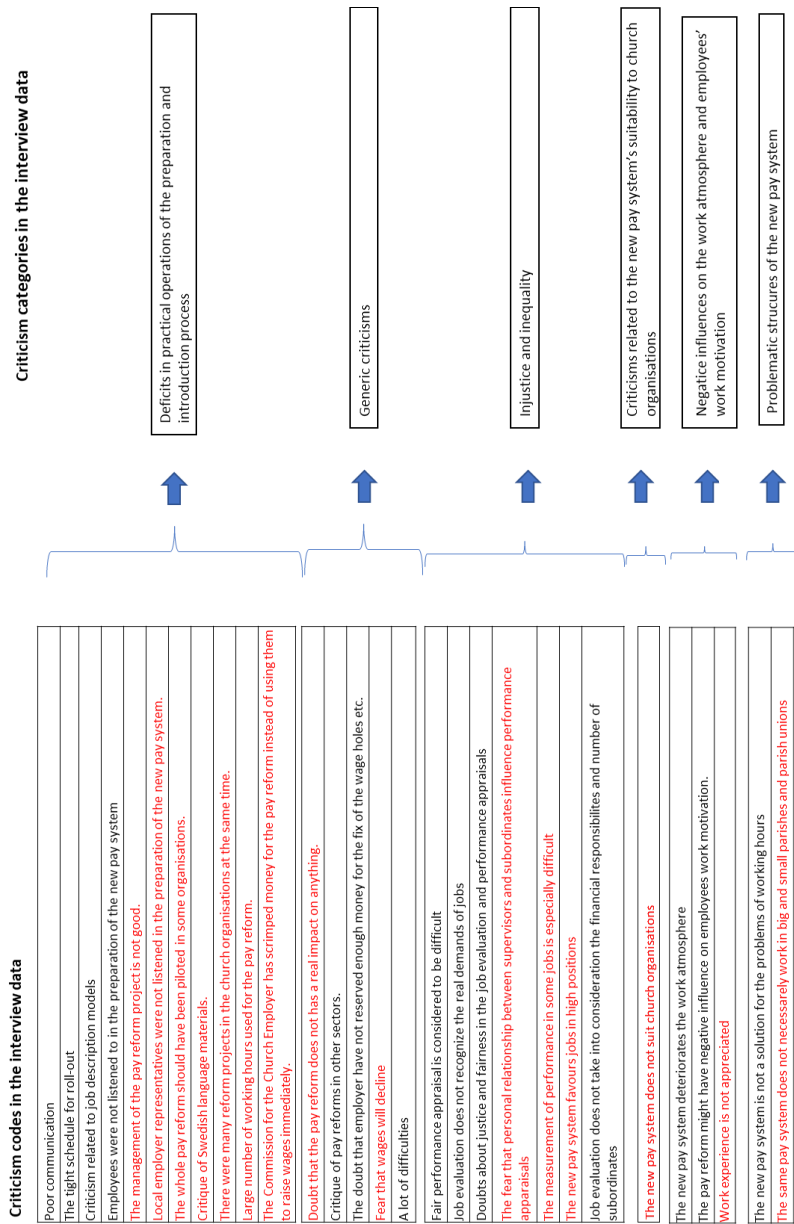




Justification codes in the interview data

Justification categories in the interview data





Appendix 8. Empirical Examples of Main Categories

Justification categories in the journal data	Examples
Justice, fairness, equality, and transparency	<p>Jossas, Crux 3-4/2005. 'The starting point has been a big justice and equality project. The current system does not justify wages of persons and the differences of wages in different jobs either fairly enough or in a way that everybody accepts'.</p> <p>Inkinen, Kirkon töissä 2/2008. 'Last winter, the Church transferred to the new the pay system. With a common will of the labour market organisations, the desire was to create a fair and competitive system as a tool for the payment.'</p>
Pay as an incentive	<p>Huttunen, Crux 5/2007. 'The result of that kind of action [negotiations], will be better paid and better motivated employees.'</p> <p>Helenelund, Crux 2/2010. 'Negotiating parties agree that an individual, discretionary pay component is an essential part of a pay system of the Church. Used correctly, it advances quality, goal-directivity and effectiveness.'</p>
Autonomy and flexibility of local organisations	<p>Lindegard, Crux 6/2005. 'The significant part of the pay reform is to increase the local authority in the preparation phase and in the application starting later.'</p> <p>Huttunen, Crux 5/2007. 'The reform means significant change of focus from centralised negotiations to local level negotiations. In the future, wages are largely determined in parishes and parish unions.'</p>
Rising level of wages and recruitment	<p>Jossas, Crux 3/2008. 'The meaning of the new pay system is not to decrease anybody's basic wage rate: on the contrary, the new more flexible and more unrestricted pay is meant to ease the recruitments and the movement of employees.'</p> <p>Kirkon töissä 4/2008. 'The Lutheran Church has been able to raise its wage level towards the level of similar jobs in other public sectors.'</p>
General improvements of the pay system	<p>Rasila, SVTL-uutiset 4/2005. 'The most important thing is to create a good-quality and reliable pay system, which can be developed further.'</p> <p>Huttunen, Crux 1/2007. 'The pay reform creates a better system than the existing one. Of course, everything will not happen instantly, but possibilities are now created.'</p>
Following other sectors	<p>Kauppinen, Crux 3-4/2005. 'The development of the NPS in the church sector is mainly based on experiences in the municipal and central government sectors.'</p> <p>Jossas, Crux 3-4/2005. 'When the world changes, even the pay systems do not stay still. From last decade, in every labour market, the key term has been 'NPS', the new pay system.'</p>

Criticism categories in the journal data	Example
Injustice and inequality	<p>Kauppinen, Crux 3-4/2005. Before the agreement. 'The second important preparation concerns the learning of a communication and an objectivity of evaluation. When the NPS requires an evaluation of pay levels both between and within job titles for each employee, demands of equity and fairness stand out clearly. Many of the questions and restrictions concerning the NPS are related to the hesitation concerning the evaluation.'</p> <p>Ala-Nikula, Motiivi 1/2007. Before the agreement. 'According to Kirkon alan unioni, the new system would have changed the focus of the church's pay politics towards favouring pastoral work, for many years to come.'</p>
Biases in the job evaluation process in local organisations	<p>Jossas, Crux 6/2007. 'In many parishes, contents of jobs have been examined in proper way, but job grades have been declared based on current wages.'</p> <p>HeleneLund, Crux 6/2007. 'There are still parishes, where the placing of jobs to job grades has been done by using the criterion of skills, and other criteria have not been taken into consideration, even when defining the wages inside a certain job grade. This conduct does not support the responsibilities, and it does not follow the spirit or the character of the pay system. The system itself cannot be blamed for this – except that it, in its all flexibility, allows also bad implementations.'</p>
Criticisms related to the role and actions of local actors	<p>Jossas, Crux 6/2007. 'The locality of the pay system does not mean that the employer (a vicar, a financial manager, a vestry) is in a dictator position. Unfortunately, the voice from the field proves that parishes have not even tried to begin to study co-operation that is a part of a normal work life.'</p> <p>Vilpponen, Crux 2/2008. 'The difficulties in the application of the collective agreement are not happening because of the pay system, but rather because the weaknesses of the local management system. The quarrels are also mainly due to ignorance and unconsciousness. Because of this, the locality is cross-purposed thing.'</p>
Deficits in practical operations of the preparation and introduction process	<p>Hellen, Rasila 1/2008. 'The pay negotiations have been operated in a hurry, without a real atmosphere of negotiations, by dication from employee. Even though the better conclusion would have been achieved by negotiating in a calm manner.'</p> <p>Aunola, Jyty 1/2007. 'The schedule for preparation of job descriptions in the parishes was tremendously tight and everything was stigmatized by an extraordinary rush, considering how complicated the issue is.'</p>
Generic criticisms	<p>Rasila, 4/2005. 'We have been able to read about cautionary examples of practicing with the real life of people from the letters to the editors in the newspapers during this year. The employees of universities and public officers of certain government's central offices have unequivocally criticised job evaluation systems that have been introduced in their organisations, and the wages based on them.'</p> <p>Jossas, Crux 1/2007 B. 'The pay reform in the Church seems to have a lot of bad luck. The process, which started in the 1990s, has been disregarded many times and got lost along the way. Sometimes, the local preparedness has been questioned. Again, last time, local organisations worked bravely, but the negotiators in the central level used too much time and cigarettes.'</p>
Problematic structures of the new pay system	<p>Ala-Nikula, Motiivi 1/2007. 'According to an estimation by the employer, even 70 percent of employees would remain on the guaranteed pay level. When the government pay system was renewed, it was seen as a problem that 25 percent of employees received the guaranteed pay, the negotiators of Church's union describe.'</p> <p>Häkkinen, Crux, 6/2005. 'When there are only one or few priests in hospital, on call duty is permanent at least every other week. Conscientious employee will get exhausted soon. Distributing on call duties is not easy or simple. The new pay system does not necessarily solve this problem.'</p>
Negative influences on the work atmosphere and employees' motivation	<p>Puustinen, Motiivi 6/2008. 'How has the new pay system influenced on personnel? - The reform treats the blue-collar workers badly, and it has negatively influenced many workers' work-motivation.'</p> <p>Brotherus, Jyty 1/2007. 'The harshness of employer politics does not promise good for the coming years. Unequal politics will weaken the work atmosphere in parishes.'</p>

Justification categories in the interview data

Rising level of wages and recruitment	<p>Supervisor 14. Non-pastoral. 'Something must be done, because, for example, in the property department, where there is a lot of these special skills. Last interview round we had was a selection of a special craftsman. It was very difficult to get anybody, because they can go to the private sector and there the wages are something completely different than ours. Of course, we have something else, longer holidays and so, but the wage is primary, when a person chooses his job.'</p> <p>Change agent 11. Pastoral. 'Overall, I have thought that with the diminishing resources, in the future, all in all, we will be driven to the situation that we must do more of this church work with smaller group, maybe with a little bit better wages.'</p>
Autonomy and flexibility of local organisations	<p>Change agent 14. Non-pastoral. 'And this is [the new pay system], this is a tool for management, supervisors must evaluate, they are forced to evaluate and that's management.'</p> <p>Change agent 4. Non-pastoral. 'Anyway, I have understood that one of the pay reform's central elements, in addition to job evaluation and individual skills, is that there would be more decision-making at the local level.'</p>
Justice, fairness, equality, and transparency	<p>Employee 2. Non-pastoral. 'I think its fair, [now] there are people who have the same title and same wage. But it might be that other one has much more demanding tasks, and more tasks. [...] Now the title and work done are not in line. And many have said that.'</p> <p>Change agent 13. Non-pastoral. 'The goal of this whole system is to pursue transparency, and fairness, and objectivity.'</p>
Pay as an incentive	<p>Change agent 3. Non-pastoral. 'When these things were done in the autumn, employees were very motivated because everybody wants to have an influence on their own wages.'</p> <p>Change agent 14. Non-pastoral. 'The meaning of this is, when the individual pay component comes, it motivates and who gets it, therefore everybody at least knows that even though it is secret or transparent, what is the general level in this job title, what is the level. He knows, do I get that or do I get some extra, and it motivates them to perform better, because you can see it in the pay packet.'</p>
Following other sectors	<p>Employee 28. Non-pastoral. 'Usually what comes to municipal sector, it comes here afterwards. And this has been done in the municipal sector.'</p> <p>Change agent 13. Non-pastoral. 'But why the Church started this, it is more about that like, why Finland does something when Sweden has done something. In society, there has been these reforms, in the government and everywhere, in the municipalities. It is a logical consequence that when other sectors do reforms, then the Church also must follow this trend. I think that the ultimate reason is that and these are same systems, anyway.'</p>
General improvements of the pay system	<p>Supervisor 19. Pastoral. 'Abandoning those three different wage systems, and comparability, that wage grades are not coming from here and there.'</p> <p>Supervisor 3. Non-pastoral. 'Where would I get that kind of idea that the goal is that all those alphabets from the pay grades would disappear. I have wondered 20 years about those, so I think that is a very good reason that it is done.'</p>

Criticism categories in the interview data

Deficits in practical operations of the preparation and introduction process	Supervisor 12. Pastoral. 'I remember that it was like two or three weeks, something like that, there was a rumour that the train is coming. And then it already was here at the station. And it caused a lot of confusion and questions that why it has to be ready so soon after the local instructions.'
	Employee 19. Pastoral. 'I just wish that the information would be good, that at first, the employees would be heard. This comes from top to down, and we are like little sheep.'
Generic criticism	Employee 2. Non-pastoral. 'I think that employees attitude towards it is quite negative. There are no expectations.'
	Supervisor 12. Pastoral. 'No, I haven't, I have not heard anything positive about this from anywhere, from those places that already have started to use this. So, as long it is not getting any messier.'
Injustice and inequality	Employee 13. Pastoral. 'There is kind of fear that now the concentration is on person. And what kind of pay she will get. That you can negotiate in parishes, as in regular companies. That the person who is a good negotiator will get a good deal and a good wage. Maybe there was also some fear about where we are going now.[...] For example, if you have problems with your supervisor, it might be difficult to get a good deal, no matter how hard you work.'
	Change agent 13. Doing non-pastoral work. 'There are very strict arguments that it is totally impossible to do any kind of personal appraisals and there is a huge fear that the system will be unfair.'
Criticism related to the new pay system's suitability to church organisations	Employee 12. Pastoral. 'They talk like we are a service provider, or like that it has been discussed here that how far we take this idea of being a service provider. Yes, we offer people lot of different things, but we are not like a company which produces something. [...] I think that we are more like a companion in the journey. Of course, when we try to measure this somehow, it indicates more that we are a service provide or a company.'
	Employee 17. Non-pastoral. Interviewer: 'How do you see these job evaluations and performance appraisals fit here to a church organisation?' Interviewee: 'Basically not. I think, there are factories where you must do things by a pattern every day. Regardless, for example, of what is happening in your personal life, you must do some certain work performance. Instead, I see the Church as a community that understands humanity.'
Negative influences on the work atmosphere and employees' motivation	Employee 30. Pastoral. 'I fear that because everybody needs to feel that they do important work. [...] And what happens to work motivation, when someone comes and says that your job does not have the same value than someone else's job'.
	Supervisor 2. Non-pastoral. 'I am sure that then the crying will begin, when we start to quiz our own individual contribution, compared to the job. So then, emotions will start to heat up, or calm or whatever, it is, certainly it will be the most difficult part of this.'
Problematic structure of the new pay system	Employee 16. 'There are no employees in the government sector, who does not have specified working hours. [...] There are no professions in the government or municipal sector who are on call duty 24 hours. And when you think nights, weekends, there is no compensation.'
	Employee 5. Non-pastoral. 'Of course, there are big parish unions and small parishes. How to get them all under the same model?'

Appendix 9. Justifications and Criticisms in Different Journals

The justifications categories and number of code appearances included to each category in the different journals.

	Crux			SVTL			Jyty			Motivi						Total, whole journal data
	Before	After	Total	Before	After	Total	Before	After	Total	Before	After	Total				
CATEGORY: JUSTICE, FAIRNESS, EQUALITY, AND TRANSPARENCY																
Justice and fairness	4	2	6	3	4	7	4	0	4	1	0	1				18
Paying for responsibilities and skills	1	5	6	0	1	1	2	0	2	0	0	0				9
Transparency	1	1	2	2	2	4	2	0	2	0	0	0				8
Equality	1	0	1	3	2	5	0	0	0	0	0	0				6
Determining wages based on job's content and demands, not just on job title	1	1	2	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	0				4
TOTAL IN CATEGORY	8	9	17	8	9	17	10	0	10	1	0	1				45
CATEGORY: PAY AS AN INCENTIVE																
Pay as an incentive	0	3	3	2	4	6	0	0	0	0	0	0				9
Rewarding for reaching goals	0	1	1	0	7	7	0	0	0	0	0	0				8
Motivation	0	3	3	1	3	4	0	0	0	0	0	0				7
Employees possibilities to influence their own wages	0	1	1	2	3	5	0	0	0	0	0	0				6
Rewarding based on quality of work	0	1	1	0	4	4	0	0	0	0	0	0				5
Consideration of own work	1	0	1	0	2	2	1	0	1	0	0	0				4
Self-development	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0				2
TOTAL IN CATEGORY	1	11	12	5	23	28	1	0	1	0	0	0				41
CATEGORY: AUTONOMY AND FLEXIBILITY OF LOCAL ORGANISATIONS																
Growing role of the local organisations	12	5	17	0	3	3	0	2	2	0	0	0				22
Flexibility	2	5	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0				7
Tools for HRM, managers and supervisors	2	0	2	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0				4
Growing role of supervisors	3	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0				4
TOTAL IN CATEGORY	19	11	30	0	5	5	0	2	2	0	0	0				37
CATEGORY: RISING LEVEL OF WAGES AND RECRUITMENT																
Bigger wages	2	2	4	0	9	9	2	1	3	0	0	0				16
Recruitment	0	3	3	1	1	2	2	0	2	1	0	1				8
Competitiveness of wages	0	1	1	2	2	4	0	0	0	0	0	0				5
TOTAL IN CATEGORY	2	6	8	3	12	15	4	1	5	1	0	1				29
CATEGORY: GENERAL IMPROVEMENTS OF THE PAY SYSTEM																
The new pay system as a possibility, better system than the old one	3	0	3	0	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0				6
A good quality pay system	0	0	0	1	3	4	0	0	0	0	0	0				4
The new pay system as a tool for big structural changes in the Church	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0				1
TOTAL IN CATEGORY	3	0	3	1	7	8	0	0	0	0	0	0				11
CATEGORY: FOLLOWING OTHER SECTORS																
Following other sectors	5	0	5	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0				7
TOTAL IN CATEGORY	5	0	5	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0				7
TOTAL, ALL CODES	38	37	75	19	56	75	15	3	18	2	0	2				170

The criticisms categories and number of code appearances included to each category in the different journals.

	CRUX			SVTL			Jyty			Motivi			Total, whole journal data
	Before	After	Total	Before	After	Total	Before	After	Total	Before	After	Total	
CATEGORY: INJUSTICE AND INEQUALITY													
The new pay system favours pastoral work	0	0	0	0	0	0	20	0	20	4	2	6	26
Job evaluation does not recognise the real demands of jobs	0	5	5	0	2	2	6	0	6	2	0	2	15
Job evaluation does not take into consideration the financial responsibilities and number of subordinates	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	4	1	0	1	5
Fair performance appraisal is considered difficult	0	1	1	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Job evaluation emphasises academic education too much	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	1	0	1	3
Decreasing significance of education and skills	0	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Doubts about justice and fairness in the job evaluation and performance appraisals	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Critique of management as the most important factor of compensation	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TOTAL IN CATEGORY	1	10	11	1	4	5	32	0	32	8	2	10	58
CATEGORY: BIASES IN THE JOB EVALUATION PROCESS IN LOCAL ORGANISATIONS													
Controversy regarding job evaluations; quarrels dealt with a central level	0	2	2	0	17	17	0	8	8	0	3	3	30
Old wages affected job evaluation	0	4	4	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
There is no flexibility inside certain job grade	0	4	4	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
All evaluation factors were not taken into consideration in the job evaluation	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Job description does not lead the job evaluation process	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
The job evaluation has not been done using the same criteria	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
The process of job evaluation indicates to employees that their work is not appreciated	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Job grades are seen as new pay classes	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TOTAL IN CATEGORY	0	13	13	0	22	22	0	8	8	0	3	3	46
CATEGORY: CRITICISMS RELATED TO THE ROLE AND ACTIONS OF LOCAL ACTORS													
Doubt concerning abilities of the local level related to pay reform and its challenges	1	7	8	1	6	7	0	3	3	0	0	0	18
Not enough co-operative action	0	6	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
TOTAL IN CATEGORY	1	13	14	1	6	7	0	3	3	0	0	0	24
CATEGORY: DEFICITS IN PRACTICAL OPERATIONS OF THE PREPARATION AND INTRODUCTION PROCESS													
Too tight schedule for roll-out	1	0	1	1	3	4	3	1	4	0	0	0	9
Criticism related to job description models	3	0	3	2	0	2	3	0	3	0	0	0	8
Poor communications	0	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Employees were not listened to in the preparation of the new pay system	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	2
TOTAL IN CATEGORY	4	0	4	4	5	9	7	1	8	0	0	0	21
CATEGORY: GENERIC CRITICISMS													
A lot of difficulties	2	1	3	3	3	6	3	1	4	0	0	0	13
Doubt that the employer have not reserved enough money to fix wage holes etc.	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	3	0	0	0	3
Critique of pay reforms in other sectors	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
TOTAL IN CATEGORY	3	1	4	4	3	7	6	1	7	0	0	0	18
CATEGORY: PROBLEMATIC STRUCTURES OF THE NEW PAY SYSTEM													
Too many people are on the guaranteed pay	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	1	1	2	4
Critique related to the agreement concerning local union representatives	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
The new pay system freezes the development of wages	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
Critique of illegibility of the agreement	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
The new pay system is not a solution to problems of working hours	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TOTAL IN CATEGORY	1	0	1	0	1	1	4	0	4	1	1	2	8
CATEGORY: NEGATIVE INFLUENCES ON THE WORK ATMOSPHERE AND EMPLOYEES' MOTIVATION													
The new pay system deteriorates the work atmosphere	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	2
The pay reform might have a negative influence on employees' work motivation	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
TOTAL IN CATEGORY	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	1	1	3
TOTAL, ALL CODES	10	37	47	10	41	51	51	13	64	9	7	16	178

Appendix 10. Justifications and Criticisms Based on Status Concerning the Pay Reform and Wheter Interviewee was Doing Pastoral or Non-Pastoral Work.

The justifications categories and number of code appearances included in each category in the different interviewee groups.

	Change agents/pastoral (n=3)	Change agents/non-pastoral (n=12)	Supervisors/pastoral (n=9)	Supervisors/non-pastoral (n=12)	Employees/pastoral (n=13)	Employees/non-pastoral (n=17)	Total
CATEGORY: RISING LEVEL OF WAGES AND RECRUITMENT							
Recruitment	0	7	1	5	5	0	18
Bigger wages	1	3	0	1	3	8	16
Competitiveness of wages	0	3	0	1	4	2	10
TOTAL IN CATEGORY	1	13	1	7	12	10	44
CATEGORY: AUTONOMY AND FLEXIBILITY OF LOCAL ORGANISATIONS							
Growing role of supervisors	0	2	1	4	1	3	11
Flexibility	0	5	0	1	0	2	8
Revising all jobs and job descriptions	0	3	0	1	3	0	7
Being in the front row in developing compensation	0	7	0	0	0	0	7
Growing role of the local organisations	0	5	0	0	0	0	5
Tools for HRM, managers and supervisors	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
TOTAL IN CATEGORY	0	23	1	6	4	5	39
CATEGORY: JUSTICE, FAIRNESS, EQUALITY AND TRANSPARENCY							
Justice and fairness	2	1	3	2	1	5	14
Determining wages based on job's contents and demands, not just job title	3	2	0	1	2	4	12
Paying for responsibilities and know-how	0	0	1	0	1	0	2
Transparency	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
TOTAL IN CATEGORY	5	4	4	3	4	9	29
CATEGORY: PAY AS AN INCENTIVE							
Motivation	1	1	2	2	1	2	9
Consideration of own work	0	2	0	1	1	0	4
Employees own possibilities to influence their own wages	0	2	1	1	0	0	4
Rewarding for reaching goals	0	1	0	1	0	1	3
Pay as an incentive	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
TOTAL IN CATEGORY	1	6	5	5	2	3	22
CATEGORY: FOLLOWING OTHER SECTORS							
Following other sectors	2	4	0	5	5	2	18
TOTAL IN CATEGORY	2	4	0	5	5	2	18
CATEGORY: GENERAL IMPROVEMENTS OF THE PAY SYSTEM							
One pay system for the church	0	1	2	1	0	0	4
Employer wants to make savings	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
TOTAL IN CATEGORY	0	1	2	1	0	1	5
TOTAL	9	51	13	27	27	30	157
AVERAGE: NUMBER OF CODED QUOTES PER INTERVIEWEE	3,0	4,3	1,4	2,3	2,1	1,8	2,4

Appendix 10. Justifications and Criticisms Based on Status Concerning the Pay Reform and Whether Interviewee was Doing Pastoral or Non-Pastoral Work.

The criticisms categories and number of code appearances included to each category in the different interviewee groups.

	Change agents/pastoral (n=3)	Change agents/non-pastoral (n=12)	Supervisors /pastoral (n=9)	Supervisors /non-pastoral (n=12)	Employees /pastoral (n=13)	Employees/non-pastoral (n=17)	Total
CATEGORY: DEFICITS IN PRACTICAL OPERATIONS OF THE PREPARATION AND INTRODUCTION PROCESS							
Poor communication	5	27	4	15	21	19	91
The tight schedule for roll-out	14	21	11	12	15	14	87
Criticism related to job description models	1	6	8	12	24	22	73
Employees were not listened to in the preparation of the new pay system	1	1	0	1	5	3	11
The management of the pay reform project is not good.	1	5	0	0	0	0	6
Local employer representatives were not listened in the preparation of the new pay system.	1	2	0	0	0	0	3
The whole pay reform should have been piloted in some organisations.	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
Critique of Swedish language materials.	0	1	1	0	0	0	2
There were many reform projects in the church organisations at the same time.	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
Large number of working hours used for the pay reform.	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
The Commission for the Church Employer has scrimped money for the pay reform instead of using them to raise wages immediately.	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
TOTAL IN CATEGORY	23	67	24	40	67	58	279
CATEGORY: GENERIC CRITICISM							
Doubt that the pay reform does not have a real impact on anything.	0	1	4	6	27	30	68
Critique of pay reforms in other sectors.	0	2	1	0	3	0	6
The doubt that employer have not reserved enough money for the fix of the wage holes etc.	0	1	2	2	0	0	5
Fear that wages will decline	0	0	1	0	2	1	4
A lot of difficulties	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
TOTAL IN CATEGORY	0	4	9	8	32	31	84
CATEGORY: INJUSTICE AND INEQUALITY							
Fair performance appraisal is considered to be difficult	2	1	4	6	6	0	19
Job evaluation does not recognize the real demands of jobs	0	3	0	0	1	6	10
Doubts about justice and fairness in the job evaluation and performance appraisals	2	2	1	0	0	3	8
The fear that personal relationship between supervisors and subordinates influence performance appraisals	1	0	0	0	6	0	7
The measurement of performance in some jobs is especially difficult	0	0	0	1	6	0	7
The new pay system favours jobs in high positions	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Job evaluation does not take into consideration the financial responsibilities and number of subordinates	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
TOTAL IN CATEGORY	5	7	5	7	19	11	54
CATEGORY: CRITICISM RELATED TO THE NEW PAY SYSTEM'S SUITABILITY TO CHURCH ORGANISATIONS							
The new pay system does not suit church organizations	1	1	1	2	22	0	27
TOTAL IN CATEGORY	1	1	1	2	22	0	27
CATEGORY: NEGATIVE INFLUENCES ON THE WORK ATMOSPHERE AND EMPLOYEES' MOTIVATION							
The new pay system deteriorates the work atmosphere	0	0	0	5	1	1	7
The pay reform might have negative influence on employees work motivation.	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
Work experience is not appreciated	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
TOTAL IN CATEGORY	0	0	0	6	3	1	10
CATEGORY: PROBLEMATIC STRUCTURES OF THE NEW PAY SYSTEM							
The new pay system is not a solution for the problems of working hours	0	0	0	0	4	0	4
The same pay system does not necessarily work in big and small parishes and parish unions	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
TOTAL IN CATEGORY	0	0	0	0	4	2	6
TOTAL	29	79	39	63	147	103	460
AVERAGE: NUMBER OF CODED QUOTES PER INTERVIEWEE	9,7	6,6	4,3	5,3	11,3	6,1	7,0

Appendix 11. Institutional Vocabularies in Different Parts of the Data

Journal data

The new pay system	Journal data justifications	Journal data criticisms	CRUX justifications	CRUX criticisms	SVTL justifications	SVTL criticisms	JYTY justifications	JYTY criticisms	MOTIVI justifications	MOTIVI criticisms
basic pay	2	5	2	5	0	0	0	0	0	0
change, to change	18	14	13	10	1	2	3	1	1	1
to compare	3	4	2	2	1	1	0	1	0	0
to compete, competitive	6	2	2	0	2	0	2	2	0	0
discretionary	15	4	6	1	9	2	0	1	0	0
to encourage, to be an incentive, an incentive	11	3	5	3	6	0	0	0	0	0
equality	6	0	2	0	4	0	0	0	0	0
to evaluate, to grade, evaluation	29	33	17	18	10	7	2	7	0	1
flexibility	4	2	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
goal, goal-oriented	30	5	5	0	21	4	3	1	1	0
job based	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
job description	4	22	2	5	1	14	1	3	0	0
job demands criterion	5	12	5	10	0	0	0	2	0	0
job evaluation, demands	27	40	16	19	6	9	5	12	0	0
job classification, job grade	11	60	9	32	1	11	1	14	0	3
justice, fairness	29	10	14	4	10	2	4	4	1	0
know-how, skills	15	14	12	10	2	2	1	1	0	1
local, local level	41	27	33	12	6	4	2	7	0	4
to measure, measurement	3	1	0	0	2	1	1	0	0	0
model job description	2	5	1	1	0	4	1	0	0	0
motivation, work motivation, to motivate	7	4	3	2	4	1	0	0	0	1
NPS	10	3	10	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
pay component	20	11	6	5	14	5	0	1	0	0
pay reform, reform, to reform	34	40	20	8	8	7	6	17	0	8
pay rise	4	7	1	2	1	1	2	3	0	1
pay system	65	42	34	13	23	15	7	9	1	5
performance, to perform	11	4	3	4	8	0	0	0	0	0
personal, individual	9	4	3	0	5	3	1	1	0	0
to place, to rank	11	26	6	13	3	13	0	0	0	0
score, scoring, credit, point, to mark	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
transparency, open	14	1	6	1	4	0	2	0	0	0
Total	447	406	246	166	152	108	45	87	4	25
The Church										
calling	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
cantor	0	6	0	4	0	1	0	1	0	0
childrens's worker, childrearing work	1	4	0	0	0	2	1	2	0	0
church	107	118	17	13	75	54	14	30	1	21
diaconal worker, diaconal work	2	5	1	3	1	2	0	0	0	0
God, Lord	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
parish, parish unions	40	45	22	16	10	11	8	15	0	3
pastor, priest	3	5	0	0	0	0	2	4	1	1
spiritual/pastoral	0	32	0	2	0	0	0	24	0	6
youth worker, youth work	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
values	8	0	4	0	4	0	0	0	0	0
Total	161	217	44	38	90	70	25	78	2	31
Labour market organisations										
agreement, contract, to make an agreement	35	49	12	17	21	13	2	16	0	3
centralised, central level	7	14	5	6	1	3	1	5	0	0
collective agreement	7	4	0	0	3	0	4	3	0	1
co-operation	10	9	9	8	1	1	0	0	0	0
the Commission for Church Employers	4	10	0	0	2	4	2	4	0	2
labour markets	2	4	1	2	1	1	0	1	0	0
local union representative, chief local union representative	10	17	5	1	3	13	2	3	0	0
representative	3	4	2	3	1	1	0	0	0	0
member	5	13	3	2	1	2	1	5	0	4
to negotiate, negotiations	15	43	7	9	6	14	2	12	0	8
negotiating sides, main negotiating trade unions	8	11	5	1	1	4	1	5	1	1
party, side (on negotiations or contract)	10	14	7	5	1	4	2	4	0	1
occupation, profession	6	5	1	1	5	3	0	1	0	0
trade union, union, association	20	11	7	1	12	5	1	3	0	2
Total	142	208	64	56	59	68	18	62	1	22

Interview data

The new pay system	Interview data justifications	Interview data criticisms	Pastoral justifications	Pastoral criticisms	Non-pastoral justifications	Non-pastoral criticisms
basic pay	1	3	1	3	0	0
change, to change	6	35	2	26	4	9
to compare	7	12	1	2	6	10
to compete, competitive	10	7	0	7	10	0
discretionary	0	0	0	0	0	0
to encourage, to be an incentive, an incentive	3	1	1	1	2	0
equality	0	0	0	0	0	0
to evaluate, to grade, evaluation	15	49	5	36	10	13
flexibility	5	3	0	2	5	1
goal, goal-oriented	6	5	2	3	4	2
job based	1	4	1	2	0	2
job description	7	18	1	3	6	15
job demands criterion	0	0	0	0	0	0
job evaluation, demands	31	15	9	3	22	12
job classification, job grade	1	2	1	1	0	1
justice, fairness	25	11	8	7	17	4
know-how, skills	8	4	1	1	7	3
local, local level	2	5	0	4	2	1
to measure, measurement	15	25	10	23	5	2
model job description	3	29	0	13	3	16
motivation, work motivation, to motivate	17	11	7	6	10	5
NPS	0	0	0	0	0	0
pay component	0	0	0	0	0	0
pay reform, reform, to reform	23	23	7	23	16	0
pay rise	5	6	1	4	4	2
pay system	12	8	1	5	11	3
performance, to perform	11	13	1	7	10	6
personal, individual	17	33	4	19	13	14
to place, to rank	5	15	1	8	4	7
score, scoring, credit, point, to mark	1	8	0	5	1	3
transparency, open	7	4	2	0	5	4
Total	244	349	67	214	177	135
The Church						
calling	2	5	0	4	2	1
cantor	5	13	5	8	0	5
children's worker, childrearing work	6	9	1	9	5	0
church	53	78	22	51	31	27
diaconal worker, diaconal work	4	1	4	0	0	1
God, Lord	0	4	0	3	0	1
parish, parish unions	30	69	8	35	22	34
pastor, priest	14	10	6	6	8	4
spiritual/pastoral	5	22	0	20	5	2
youth worker, youth work	6	5	3	4	3	1
values	3	11	0	4	3	7
Total	128	227	49	144	79	83
Labour market organisations						
agreement, contract, to make an agreement	2	10	0	7	2	3
centralised, central level	4	1	0	0	4	1
collective agreement	1	0	0	0	1	0
co-operation	0	2	0	2	0	0
the Commission for Church Employers	2	14	0	0	2	14
labour markets	2	1	0	0	2	1
local union representative, chief local union representative	2	9	1	3	1	6
representative	1	4	1	2	0	2
member	1	3	0	2	1	1
to negotiate, negotiations	2	10	0	6	2	4
negotiating sides, main negotiating trade unions	0	1	0	1	0	0
party, side (on negotiations or contract)	0	2	0	1	0	1
occupation, profession	2	1	1	0	1	1
trade union, union, association	3	13	2	6	1	7
Total	22	71	5	30	17	41

This study concentrates on the legitimation and delegitimation of a new pay system in an organisation, and how institutional logics are present in this process. The Evangelical Lutheran Church was one of the last major public organisations in Finland to introduce the evaluation-based pay system in 2007. This thesis reports a case study of the pay reform, and the reception of the new system.

A central implication of the analysis is the systematically different ways in which various social groups viewed the pay reform: justifications and criticisms given of the reform differed across the various trade union journals and interviewee groups. Moreover, the analysis revealed an inconsequential number of remarks concerning the fit between the Church mission and the new pay system. In effect, the new pay system appeared to be decoupled from the core logic of the organisation.



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