

Discursive Resources: top managers' identities and the long-term survival of their organizations

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Abstract

This paper represents an attempt to understand the dynamics of the identity work in the context of the challenges top managers have to address. Managers' discursive resources influence what they notice and also the interpretation of what is noticed. Their ability to understand and challenge their discursive resources is crucial because the persistence of categories and metaphors that depicts a globalized world where they do not have capacity to react may explain the decline of their organizations. The stories they tell ground their emotions and their identities and then they see the world and themselves through them. Hence, their discursive resources and their emotions impact on the long-term survival of their organizations through the strategic exchange between top managers and organizations. The paper raises queries about the discursive resources that top managers use to define their identities, and how these identities may affect the long-term survival of organizations.

The findings from this study add to the theoretical knowledge of the sense-making literature. They have practical consequences for the textile sector in Portugal and how strategic issues are addressed. This is in allowing an understanding of the influence that discursive resources have in managers' identity construction and the effects of their identities on the long-term survival of their organizations. Thus, this paper is expected to benefit managers within the sector since they will have a better understanding of the processes they use to build their identities, how their identities impact in the future of their organizations. These are all important considering the relevance of the sector in the Portuguese economy. Ultimately, the paper may be of benefit to managers from other sectors and academia, given that the findings have broader implications.

Keywords: Discursive, Resources, Top, Managers, Identity.

1. Introduction

One of the fundamental assumptions about personality is that personality is stable. In fact, we think of our personality as more or less unified and stable. Although we possess a number of traits, we feel that these are brought together in a coherent way to form a whole, and that our personality is stable. We also tend not to question the notion that each person has a unified, coherent personality, a self which is made up of elements that are consistent with each other. Burr (2003) suggests that our feeling of consistency and continuity in time are provided by our memory. Our memory allows us to look back on our behaviors and experiences, to select those that seem to hang together in some narrative framework, literally the story of our lives, and to look for patterns and repetitions that provide us with the impression of continuity and coherence. Thus, none of us has a fixed inner self-existing separately from the way we relate to and talk with other people because we are always becoming (Watson and Harris 1999).

Work is increasingly about engaging with colleagues who make claims about each others' conducts, identities and work practices. This happens because we must continuously adjust our identity, through an ongoing process, to the context where we are. Furthermore, with people's actions being less mapped in advance and more localized in negotiations with others about what is appropriate to do, say and be, our identity also becomes contingent upon the vicissitudes of interaction at work (Iedema et al. 2005).

Strategic decision-making involves strategists in making sense of the world and acting

according to the sense they make; achieving the survival of their organization is central to the logic of their work. This process involves a strategic exchange between how top managers shape their lives and how their organizations are shaped. Watson (2006, p. 113) states: “there is a strategic exchange that occurs between how people involved with work organizations, shape and make sense of their lives and the way organizations themselves are strategically shaped”.

Therefore, the research questions will focus on what discursive resources are available to managers. They will stress the impact of the resources in the way managers enact their identities. The questioning will focus on the effects of the discursive resources in how managers enact the long-term survival of their organizations. Thus, this research paper raises the following questions:

1. What are the discursive resources managers in the Portuguese textile industry employ to make sense of “who they are” and of “what is out there”?
2. How do these discursive resources inform how they enact their identities?
3. What are the effects of managers’ identities on how they enact the long-term survival of their organizations?

2. Overview of the Portuguese Textile Industry

In fact, textiles and clothing companies still represent Portugal’s largest industrial sector, although in decline. In 2007, the turnover of the industry was 6,200 million Euros, representing 3% of the national product, accounted for 12% of total exports of the country and employed 180,000 people, providing 25% of the total manufacturing employment in the country (Bessa and Vaz 2007). The industry is mainly made up of small factories, 80% of which have less than 100 workers. The export markets are strongly concentrated in the European Union (EU), where Germany, France, United Kingdom and Spain represent 70% of the markets in turnover. In the past, the Portuguese textile and clothing industry was able to compete based on low wage levels. In the last few years, a significant number of Portuguese textile firms went

bankrupt while others relocated their operations in other countries in an attempt to reduce costs, resulting in a large number of redundancies.

3. Defining key terms

3.1 Discourses: definition and explanation

Discourses can be understood as systems of shared meanings, which we use in making sense, and encompass metaphors, representations, images, stories, statements, that in some way together produce a particular version of events (Burr 2003). Discourses define the ways in which we think, talk and act in an around contexts (Tietze et al. 2003). Different discourses construct the phenomena of the world in different ways and have different implications for what we should do. Hence, discourses make it possible for us to see the world in a certain way, and in that sense, they produce our knowledge of the world.

Discourse researchers typically work with texts, such as transcripts of recorded conversations, written documents and business memos (Wetherell et al. 2007). Without discourses, there is no social reality, and without understanding discourse, we cannot understand our reality, our experiences, or ourselves. Different discourses construct the phenomena of the world in different ways because each discourse raises different issues and has different implications for what we should do. Discourse is a way of thinking about and acting within the world; in this regard Blenkinsopp and Stalker (2004) suggest, individuals can be seen to reconstruct self-identity within a given context, drawing upon a range of discursive resources in doing so.

3.2 Sense-Making: definition and explanation

Sense making is grounded in the process of constructing identity. This process is seen as retrospective through reflexive examination of lived experiences. Individuals are intimately connected with their social environment, and through their interactions create their constraints and opportunities. Thus, sense making is a social process in which the concept of self is constructed in the context of others (Weick et al. 2005). Emotions are the way sensations are made sense of with reference to a context and past experiences are interpreted in order to understand and structure the present (Blenkinsopp 2009; Watson 2006).

3.3 Identity: definition and explanation

Identity construction is about whom we think we are; it shapes how we enact our environment. Weick et al. (2005) regard one's personal identity as being shifting and multiple. The identity of top managers is the result of a sense-making process, constructed out of discourses available to them. Managers' sense of self-identity emerges as they enact their current self-identity within their social environment.

Identity is produced through the narratives people used to explain and understand their lives (Lawler 2008). Thus, identity could be viewed as a narrative or a story that "refers to an individual's account of self relevant life events that lends coherence to those events" (Kopelman et al. 2009, p. 266). The identities of managers tend to be destabilized because of the increasing fragmentary nature of managers' roles, which are expressed through clashing discourses and multiple identity positions (Mischenko 2005). Thus, the self-concept consists of multiple, conflicting and ambiguous identities. Self-identities are constructed by and through discourses and contemporary

organizations are multi discursive settings open to a multiplicity of ideas, vocabularies and practices of the contemporary world (Doolin 2003; Hardy et al. 2000; Sharon 2004).

4. Literature Review

The identity work of adjustment to complex situations is felt as problematic because it is influenced by conflicting discourses. Mischenko (2005) observed that there was a combination of conflicting discourses of the need to be the best, to survive, to achieve all the objectives and at the same time to spend more time with her family. Hence, she had to make an “identity work”. She acknowledged that within her world, there were various social roles, ways of being projected via the media, films and soaps. In fact, people are exposed to multiple possibilities and this constant exposure to multiple points of view, challenges the modernist absolutes of truth, objectivity, authority and knowledge.

Leading is an emergent phenomenon in which top managers manage the organization to enable it to continue in its environment. Achieving the survival of their organization is central to the logic of the work of all people involved in strategic management (Watson 2006). Strategic issues are about how organizations relate to the larger environment in which they are part of. Thus, strategic management could be defined as “the element of managerial work that concerns itself with taking the organization as a whole forward into the long term” (Watson 2006, p. 353). This activity, as Watson and Harris (1999) point out, looks messy, confused and fragmented and it involves all sorts of conflicts and rivalries but the outcome is to keep the enterprise running. Strategy making involves strategists in making sense of

the world and acting in the light of the sense they make of it.

There is a two-way relationship between how key managers shape their lives and how the organization is shaped (Weick 1995). Watson (2006) suggests, these are only one element in the vast range of factors that play a part in how any organization strategically emerges, but it is a significant role. This process of strategic exchange involves paradoxical choices from managers. The strategic exchange implies that people seek roles that allow them to behave in ways that give expression to aspects of their notion of self. This idea emerged from a study developed by Mills and Pawson (2006) based on a case study, to explore the experiences and sensemaking of a woman entrepreneur in New Zealand, in order to understand how she constructed her identity, her sense of who she is, and how this relates to her approach to risk. Data was gathered through semi structured interviews and was coded and analyzed through a grounded approach. Mills and Pawson (2006) concluded that her perception of herself shaped the perception of risk and then structured the way in which these risks were addressed or avoided. The conclusions were consistent with the idea that identity and enterprise development were mutually informing of each other, through a strategic exchange. This process of strategic exchange involves paradoxical choices from managers and implies that people seek roles that allow them to behave in ways that give expression to aspects of their notion of self. Thus, managers must embrace paradox because paradoxical tensions are a normal part of organizational life.

Research shows that identity construction and plausibility are more central than other properties of the sensemaking process in the sense they are primary influences on responses to the challenges we face. The research stresses the temporary, multiple and shifting nature of identities due to the dynamic character of the social world.

Managers, considering the challenges that they face, construct different identities as a way of adjustment to different contexts and realities and their identities are constantly subject to re-affirmation, negotiation and change. Thus, the emphasis on identity work is *on becoming*. The processes of adjustment to different and complex situations are difficult because managers' mental maps influence both of their expectations and what they notice.

The identity of top managers is the result of a sensemaking process, constructed out of discourses available to them. This identity work is felt as problematic because it is influenced by conflicting discourses and life is felt by top managers as destabilized and fragmented. Organizations themselves are multi discursive settings open to a multiplicity of ideas, vocabularies and practices.

Individuals engage in identity work in attempting to answer questions as "who am I" and "who are we" through self-narratives, based on available discursive resources. Through this process, managers construct different identities and this is strategic because survival depends on it. Strategic management is the work managers develop with the aim of creating conditions so that organizations as a whole have capacity to survive.

Management literature have constructed organizations as being flexible, dynamic and competitive. The current organizational change involves a shift in the nature and definition of an individual and organization's work and identity. Today, we see organizations as compose of people who speak to each other and where narratives,

symbols and discourses hold them together (Phillips and Hardy 2002; Ledema et al. 2005).

Our view of ourselves is constantly subject to negotiation and change based on how we see ourselves dealing with situations and how others view us and respond to us (Watson and Harris 1999). In the context of our workplace, we work out our identity and our sense of what we are, which affects how we see and feel about ourselves, which impacts on our perspective of the world. This identity work allows us to redefine what we are, which means that our choice of metaphors and identities affect how we create our realities.

Narratives of self-identity are likely to be congruent with available discourses (Blenkinsopp and Stalker 2004). Concepts and metaphors are acquired by each person as they develop the use of language and the way a person thinks are provided by the language that they use. When narrating their lives, people usually follow a chronological structure and emphasize their intentions through story. Through constructing the autobiographical narratives, people make sense of themselves and also make their personal experiences socially understandable. Life stories are tools for self-management in the sense that the stories told shape the identity of the teller (Kohonen 2005).

Sharon (2004) claims that self-identities are constructed by and through discourses; contemporary organizations are multi discursive settings open to a multiplicity of ideas, vocabularies and practices. The identity of top managers is the result of a sensemaking process, constructed out of discourses available to them through self narratives. Language provides us with a way of structuring our experience of the

world; it is the language that brings the person into being in the first place (Burr 2003). Individuals can be seen to reconstruct self-identity within a given context, drawing upon a range of discursive resources in doing so. It is an emergent process that shapes both their sense of self and their influence in the organization (Blenkinsopp and Stalker 2004).

The environment in which an organization exists and in which its management works towards its long-term survival, is not simply given. The world “outside” the organization is enacted, just like the organization itself (Watson 2006). Those who are employed as managers have the formal responsibility for the general direction in order to contribute to long-term viability of their organization. It is therefore vital to look at the nature of the strategic exchanges that exists between top managers and their organizations (Watson 2006).

5. Methodological approach

The study of discourse is the study of human ‘meaning-making’ and at the heart of discourse studies are discussions on what it means to be a human, what counts as real and what ‘social’ means (Wetherell et al. 2007). Discourse analysis embraces a strong social constructivist epistemology and considers how views of the world, and identities, are constructed through the use of discourse (Paltridge 2006). It examines both spoken and written texts. According to Phillips and Hardy (2002), the most important contribution of discourse analysis is that it examines how language constructs phenomena, which means that the world cannot be known separately from discourse. Text such as the transcripts of interviews, are complex and psychological products, constructed in ways which make things happen and which bring social

worlds into being (Wetherell 2003). The study of discourse is the study of language in use, which is the site where meanings are created and changed.

The method we selected to conduct this research study is discourse analysis. The reason why discourse analysis was chosen is based on the belief that organizations are socially constructed and that they exist primarily in language, which implies the recognition of the constructive role of language. Therefore, we will be working with discourse analysis and adopting a sense making approach. In doing so, we will use case studies. Our objective is to clarify the life phenomenon in depth in the context where it happens. These life situations are too complex for survey or experimental strategies (Yin 2009).

The case study approach was chosen to gain an in depth contextualized understanding of how top managers make sense of “who they are” and their environment, how they enact their roles as managers and how they enact the long-term survival of their organizations. We used multiple case studies and the aim is to see processes across several cases in order to develop more sophisticated descriptions and understanding.

We used different data collection methods such as interviews, study of documents and direct observation, which contributed to data triangulation. We supplement these data sources with field notes and entries in a reflexive journal documenting dates, times and places where the interviews happened. The interview questions of this research were of a semi-structured nature. Interviews ranged from 27 minutes to 1 hour and 42 minutes in length; all conversations were taped recorded and transcribed. The interviews were face to face and one to one.

Three interlinked processes were adopted: data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing and verification. Data reduction is the process of selecting, focusing and abstracting key data from interviews, observations and field notes. It was guided by the research questions, and once data were collected was organized into categories and themes. Several reflections were made, and other remarks in the margins of the transcripts about the main concepts, themes, and issues identified. Through this process, we tried to understand and identify ways of seeing of the interviewees. At this stage, the aim was to identify and understand the main concepts, themes, issues and questions in each case. We also tried to identify patterns and common themes and differences between the different cases. Through this process, we selected the data that we considered more relevant to answer the research questions.

Then, the selected data was displayed in visual forms. Hence, concept maps were created in order to represent the concepts identified, the themes and the interrelationships between them. First, concept maps were created for each interview on one sheet of paper; subsequently these were compared with the other concept maps to generate common themes and identify relationships. Then, a meta-matrix in an A3 sheet of paper was produced to gain a general representation of the main categories, themes and findings, considering all the concept maps created, allowing a systematic comparison. Through this process, we tried to elaborate generalizations through a process of simplification, based on the patterns identified. This process is a form of analysis that sharpens, focuses and organizes data in such a way that hypotheses and plausible conclusions can be drawn.

6. The companies studied

The interviewees, for the sake of anonymity, are identified as T, J, M, F, C, S, and P. In each organization, we interviewed a top manager, who is usually the Chief Executive Officer (CEO) and a shareholder. The companies where they work cover significant diversity in the Portuguese textile sector with turnovers ranging from 10 to 100 million Euros. Likewise, the number of employees varies from 115 to 1500 people. They also have different business activities. For instance, T company is a producer of textiles for car manufactures; J, M and C are companies which produce home textiles; F company delivers finishing services for textile companies; S company produces jeans with its own brand that sells for a chain of stores of their own; and P company has representations of international brands and a chain of more than 100 stores. Table 1 gives a brief description of the people interviewed and of the organizations where they work.

Table 1: List of the interviews conducted

Name	Date	Interview Duration	Manager's Position	Number of Employees	Turnover M€
T	09-09-2009	1h42m	Manager and Shareholder	1300	100
J	08-08-2009	1h09m	CEO and Shareholder	350	40
M	13-07-2009	43m	CEO and Shareholder	400	22
F	10-11-2009	31m	CEO and Shareholder	115	10
C	12-11-2009	27m	CEO	600	45
S	17-09-2009	58m	Shareholder	170	80
P	22-03-2010	35m	CEO and Shareholder	1500	72

7. Analysis and discussion

One feature that emerges from the interviews is the use of metaphors by the

interviewees as a way of understanding and communicating their experiences. Our normal conceptual system is metaphorically structured, which means, most concepts are partially understood in terms of other concepts. Furthermore, the way we experience our lives “takes place within a vast background of cultural prepositions” (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 57). Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 5) state, “the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another”.

The interviewees expressed their understanding of themselves and the long-term survival of their organizations through concepts and metaphors that emerged from their religious experiences (“life mission”; “miracles”; “God’s grace”, “be with the universe and with God”), family life (“family business”; “children help”; “enfant terrible”; “generation”; “parents”), environmental experiences (“open sea”; storm”; “swimming against the tide”; “abyss”; “tunnel”), personal and body experiences (“smoker”; “blind”; “dead”; “life”; “survive”; “harm”), social environment (“crazy”; “criminal”; “player”), struggle (“imbalance of forces”; “conflict”) and wellbeing (“connected with yourself”, “be very well with yourself”, “self-esteem”, “your true self”, “understand the world you are”, “peace with yourself and with others”).

7.1 The experience of chaos

Since communication is based on the same conceptual system that we use in thinking and acting, the discursive resources mentioned by T, J, M, and C, such as “liberalization of global markets”, “concept of society”, etc, govern their thoughts and their everyday functioning. Thus, it is not a surprise that, regarding those that mentioned the impacts of globalization and in that context the concept of society that we have in Europe, as the main drive of their present problems, there are similar features as showed in Table 2 in relation to their identities as well as the long-term survival of their organizations.

Table 2: Comparison of the answers provided by T, J, M and C regarding key variables

stipulated in our the research questions

	Discursive Resources	Identities	Long term Survival
T	Imbalance of forces; liberalization of global markets	life mission	it is not worth it
J	The world of monsters has ended	Fool	hope the crises will allow us to continue
M	Abyss; situation in Europe; social distribution; subsidizing laziness	fool; criminal	Chinese of Europe
C	Open markets; euro factor; concept of society	Crazy	There is no hope for us

The world that managers experience is a world where they live permanently with a sense of doubt and uncertainty. For T, it is an imbalanced fight with an anticipated end, the end of his company. J, M and C, however, have similar positions. Nevertheless, J hopes that the crisis will allow his company to survive; M believes that the sector as a whole will survive based on low wages' rate, whereas C does not see any future for his company.

7.2 Retrospectively, looking back

When most of top managers who we interviewed looked back, they believe that they had anticipated the present crisis. However, they probably reached that conclusion only when things became critical. The failure of their companies took them by surprise. The outcome of this situation is a feeling that there are no perspectives for the sector and for their companies. M uses the metaphor of the “smoker” to recognize that he only became aware of the crisis when things were already very difficult. Therefore, when they looked back and rewrote their stories, they consider that they had anticipated the present crises and they also justified that they did not take the decision to close the companies only because they believe that in Portugal it is impossible for someone, by his own initiative to take that decision; even if that was the right decision. The reason why this happened was their success for a longer period and their efforts to extend that success.

A finding that emerged from the interviews is that the crises emerged from imperceptible shifts, which recalls the boiling frog story. This illustrates the inability to react to significant changes that occur so gradually that they are difficult to notice. Therefore, in contrast with the idea that the danger comes from turbulent changes suggested by the dominant view point, the crises emerged from small shifts that happened so gradually that they did not notice until it was too late to do anything.

7.3 Meaningful cues

Why the interviewees T, J, F, C, M, and P, who have seen the world changing and know their business very well, may not accept the downfall of their businesses? One reason why they were unable to notice changes is that they show a tendency to notice the cues that support their hopes while ignoring those that suggest different solutions and paths. We seek confirmation that our decisions were correct, and interpret the data in selective ways to provide that confirmation in a vicious circle. This vicious circle of selective confirmation can lead to the arrogance that precedes a downfall. Through arrogance, people tend not to be open to experience if they think they already know most of what is important to know. So any experience that questions their expertise tends to be discredited and this attitude “tends to freeze the size, meaning, and complexity of the current experience base”, and because of that, eventually, the downfall occurs (Klein and Weick 2000, p. 21).

Furthermore, as M suggests with the metaphor of the “casino player”, for a long period, top managers, i.e., our interviewees, convinced themselves that it was worth persisting with the same way of doing things because things were actually not so bad and everything would come right in the end. A number of them persist in this attitude. Like the “casino player”, they believed that in the end they would succeed, this is because they, in fact, wanted to believe so. As a “blind” man, they ignore the crisis and only when the danger became too great they began to question their path. In this context, Drummond (2001, p. 184) states: “as human beings, we have an astonishing capacity to believe that things are better than they really are or even to see things that are not there at all if it suits us”.

Our discursive resources play a central role in defining our everyday realities. Hence, managers in the face of ambiguous and complex situations may tend to reject cues that do not match the way they categorize things. These discursive resources influence what is noticed and also the interpretation of what is noticed, enabling individuals to make inferences and predictions (Aaltonen, 2007; Lakoff and Johnson 2003).

7.4 A plausible understanding of the problem

The metaphor of the “Chinese of Europe” used by M expressed the view shared by M, J, F, T, P and C, that the future of the Portuguese textile industry depends mainly on the capacity to sustain lower wages. Sustaining the competitive capacity of an industry on low wages, in Europe, seems impossible; and because of that, for them, the discussion about the capacity of their organizations to survive is in the end a discussion about our way of life. They blame Europe for the difficulties that the industry and their organizations are facing, by allowing the relocation of the industry to low cost countries. This view expressed by T and is dominant in almost all the interviews. For them, it is unbelievable that those who have the power and the responsibility to protect the system could by inertia allow its destruction. The problem with this perspective is that their choice of metaphors and concepts shapes the decision premises which in turn influence how they see the solution.

If top managers, or our interviewees, had the choice, some of them would prefer to close their factories; but they were unable to do so because of shame and culturally unacceptable action. Hence, they need to find reasons to justify their actions to themselves and to other people. Drummond (2001) suggests, the solution influences the problem. The impact of this perspective is important because the way top managers view the difficulties that they are facing, influences how they try to solve them. In putting all the responsibility to the Chinese and the European Union, they consider themselves out of the solution and hence out of the problem. The danger with such a view is not what a cause and effect analysis reveals, but what it conceals. What they are doing is to close other possible paths and solutions.

7.5 A clearer explanation for the problem

The prescriptive management theories led our interviewees to believe that it is possible to make choices that lead to organizational success if they follow the prescribed procedures. Therefore, when they followed the prescriptions and the unexpected occurs, they concluded that they have been incompetent, foolish and crazy. Then the response took the form of blame (Stacey 2007). They believed that they have an accurate view of reality and that they are objective observers. They consider themselves victims of the environment but in fact, they are victims of their sensemaking process. They were not able to choose the identities and the realities that they would like to live. Therefore, they see themselves as victims and this outcome influences how they make sense of themselves and because of that, do not have the imagination to create different solutions.

In figure 1, We depict the sensemaking process developed by most of top managers, who participated in our study. In an ongoing flow of events, top managers look back to understand what is going on. They consider that they have anticipated the present crisis. They develop explanations and they concluded that there is no hope for them. Thus, they see themselves in that context as crazy, foolish, victims and criminals. These plausible meanings will influence what they notice and enact, through a self-fulfilling prophecy.

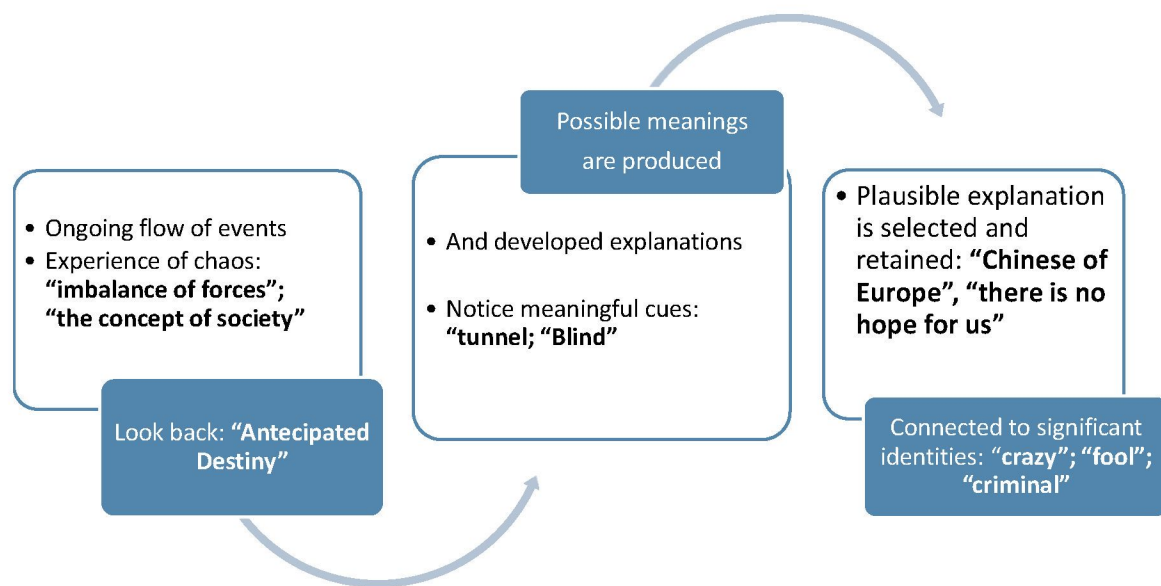


Figure 1: Conceptualisation of sensemaking process

8. Conclusion

The findings of this study are in line with some of the findings and suggestions of the research projects presented and analyzed in the literature review. This research supports the idea that identity construction is more central than other properties of the sensemaking process in the way people and organizations address the challenges they face because identity and enterprise development are mutually dependent through a strategic exchange. This research also supports the idea that when managers' identities are based upon routines and scripts, they may not be suitable for the present challenges. The literature review also showed that managers today express feelings of alienation, that their lives are destabilized and fragmented, based on conflicting discourses and that everything is felt as incoherent. The findings of this project support these ideas.

The future is created by each of us, when we hypothesize that certain events will take

place in the future; this is done through discourses. Through discourses, we try to forge a coherent relationship between past, present and future, or in other words, between memory, attention, and expectation. However, the future will always surprise us. Thus, managers need to become comfortable with tensions and anxieties instead of adopting a defensive attitude. Managers' discursive resources and emotions play a critical role in this process. In this context, there is a direct relationship between the management of one's personal life and the formal managerial work done in organizations. Thus, the relationship between identity and strategic process must be explored. As Watson (2003, p. 1307) suggests, "we need to research on the ways in which the life strategies of strategists relate to the organizational strategies in which they are implicated".

Considering the small sample size and the fact that all the organizations analyzed were from the same sector, we can only claim to offer some insights about the issues studied. Further research is needed and it should encompass several sectors of activity. This research may contribute to the management literature in opening the door to the relevance that discursive resources and emotions of top managers may have for the long-term survival of their organizations.

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