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**An Interpretative Examination of Varieties of
Capitalism and Labor Conflict in Sweden**

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Abstract

In the Fall of 2023, Sweden's major autoworkers union (IF Metall) launched a strike against Tesla, a global manufacturer of electric vehicles (EVs). Contentions have emerged in the discourses and rhetoric of both parties about the cultural compatibility of work cultures between the Nordic Model and the U.S.-based EV multinational manufacturer. The decline of union involvement among the population of Sweden and the rest of Scandinavia through neoliberal reforms in recent years has given rise to contention over the modern Nordic model among firms and laborers. This literature seeks to examine the ideological battle raging between the two competing views of capitalist society by expanding the varieties of capitalism framework through a qualitative news media analysis and an integrative view of historically significant works in economic geography. An integrative theoretical review is employed examining past literature from Hall & Soskice, Doreen Massey, and John Harner to build towards building an expanded theory of varieties of capitalism more in line with Max Weber's Interpretivism which was employed by Hall & Soskice in the development of their ideal types of capitalism. The empirical analysis here uses gathered news media articles from online news searches in Google to build a discursal analysis of media narratives. Findings support that the strikes in Sweden indicate ideological conflict over the formulation of capitalist coordination in the State and that conflicts are the engines for disrupting established forms of capitalism and the genesis of new forms. In conjunction with the integrative review and in line with a critique of the VoC framework, holistic ideal types of capitalist coordination are constructed in relation to a real-world observable case (the Nordic model) to aid in furthering research construction into capitalist behavior, variety, and how reforms of the political economy are shaped through ideology and conflict.

Keywords: *Varieties of Capitalism, Spatial Divisions of Labor, Politics of Place, Labor, Conflict, Multinational, State, Coordination, Tesla, IF Metall, Scandinavia, Sweden, Qualitative News Media Analysis, Autoworkers, Strike, Unions, Institutions*

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Table of Contents

- 1. Introduction – Page 3**
- 2. Research Questions – Page 7**
 - a. Disclaimer – Page 7**
- 3. Integrative Theoretical Review – Page 8**
 - a. Varieties of Capitalism – Page 8**
 - b. Spatial Divisions of Labor – Page 13**
 - c. Politics of Place – Page 15**
 - d. Class Compromise & Labor Relations – Page 18**
 - e. Economic Geography of Multinational Enterprises (Firms) and Globalization – Page 20**
 - f. Sweden, The Nordic Model, and Dwindling Union Participation – Page 22**
- 4. Theoretical Framework – Page 26**
- 5. Expanding Varieties of Capitalism – Page 33**
- 6. Methodology – Page 36**
- 7. Qualitative News Media Analysis – Page 39**
 - a. Analyzing the First Ten Articles – Page 40**
 - b. Coding the Articles and Identifying Sentiment – Page 45**
 - c. The Worker – Page 48**
 - d. Relating Back to Ideal Types of Variety – Page 49**
- 8. Conclusions – Page 50**
 - a. Rationalization & Social Stratification – Page 50**
 - b. World View – Page 52**
 - c. Bureaucracy & Authority – Page 53**
 - d. What can holistic ideal types teach us about capitalisms? – Page 54**
 - e. In Closing – Page 62**
- 9. Acknowledgements – Page 64**
- 10. References - 65**
- 11. Appendix – Page 76**

1. Introduction

September 2023 marked the beginning of a large-scale labor strike between Tesla workers in Sweden and the U.S.-based manufacturer of electric vehicles (Eddy, 2023). The cultural clash of managerial style from Tesla which imposed 6-day work weeks, mandatory overtime, and an ambiguous promotion structure, and the labor-based identity of the “Swedish Model” dominated by union representation among workers has escalated since the start of the strike (Eddy, 2023). Tesla is not the first company to run headfirst into the brick wall that is the “Swedish” or “Nordic Model.” Financial payments company Klarna also faced union backlash for refusing to engage in collective bargaining with the Swedish unions (Billing, 2023) and Spotify has refused to engage in any collective agreements with workers (*Spotify Pulls out of Negotiations with Swedish Trade Unions*, 2023).

The Nordic Model that has come to define the industrial relations of Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Finland and has been defined by its density of trade unions and business groups that contribute to a system that blends “self-regulation” with “state-regulation” through its collective agreement system (Kjellberg, 2023, p. 3). The characteristics of the Nordic Model would place it as a form of capitalism under Hall & Soskice’s *Varieties of Capitalism* framework for examining the variations of capitalist political economies globally (Hall et al., 2001). Their work has led to an expansive understanding of how firms utilize the unique, historically influenced, political-economic characteristics of the State to build competencies through Weberian ideal types situated within a game theoretical scenario.

Hall & Sockice’s work has been expanded upon to include forms of capitalism outside of their initial research into the liberal market economy (LME) of the U.S. and the coordinated market economy of Germany (CME) (Hall et al., 2001). It has also been critiqued for being ontologically unsound in the face of pressures from globalization and international financial crises (Hay, 2020). As Hay writes, “even if it is accepted that capitalisms vary (that capitalisms come in different forms), it does not necessarily follow that capitalism comes in variety” (2020, p. 302). As I have interpreted this, there are universal characteristics across all varieties that subjects them to pressures and crises, despite variety in their institutional arrangements.

If we are to better understand the dynamics of labor conflicts under capitalisms we must look deeper into the conditions which lead to the construction of modern capitalist political economies

and their varieties. This requires an integrative approach to analysis considering the interconnectedness of phenomena as they relate to societal structures. What is missing in Hall & Soskice's work is the dynamics of cultural power and labor that influence the unique institutional arrangements of the State. Doreen Massey, in *Spatial Divisions of Labor* (1995), presented a critical examination of labor dynamics in capitalism. Her observations, much like Hall & Soskice, investigated relations between labor and capital from a single-actor perspective of the laborer and the contentions of class among different levels of labor within a firm. Both researchers observe social phenomena of capitalism from different perspectives and value systems. Integrating these perspectives can lead to a more expansive picture of capitalisms.

This requires bridging Hall & Soskice's observations on firms with those of Massey on labor, and Harner on cultural power in landscapes to shape and determine capitalist identity. My thesis will use Weber's holistic ideal types under the Weberian interpretivism framework, rather than individualistic ideal types to produce an integrative examination of the cultural conditions and behaviors of firms and labor in a capitalist system. Aiding in this task will be an integrative approach to past literature and modern discourse through news media to expand varieties of capitalisms. Adding dimensions of cultural compatibility and conflict to include adjacent theories contributes to further understanding of capitalist coordination across institutional arrangements. By expanding the literature of varieties of capitalism we can create a more complete understanding of varieties and how they are impacted by conflicts in society.

The political economy of the state is an ever-changing structure that adapts over space-time. The definition of an LME may have fit to define the US in 2001 when Hall & Soskice's work was first published, but over the course of 20+ years the industrial relations of the US can change power balances leading to reforms in the political economy structures towards a new alignment of market philosophy not so identifiable as an LME. We tend to see these changes occur incrementally and more slowly in the global north due to the stability of these economies (Roberts, 2019). The same can be said of Sweden. At the time of writing, Hall & Soskice identified Sweden as a CME like Germany (Hall et al., 2001, p. 20). However, the Nordic Model is predicated on a unique history of the Nordic States and industrial relations that are categorically different from Germany. And a slow process of incremental neoliberal reforms has led to a uniquely structured labor market. As literature has expanded to define different forms of

capitalism that have emerged in the Global South and East Asia (Feldmann, 2019), the definition of *variety* in capitalism needs to be expanded to include the factors of change to understand how variety emerges.

To begin we need to go back to the work of Doreen Massey. Massey observed then in her seminal work *Spatial Divisions of Labor* the unique historically influenced characteristics of labor organization and class struggle under capitalist frameworks (1995). Thus, emerging an understanding that capitalisms vary across space and time. However, her work on labor variations across capitalisms is not referenced in Hall & Soskice's work which views labor purely from the firm-centered approach. The two theories have the same agenda of providing explanations of varying capitalist dynamics in the labor force. Two sides of the same coin as one cannot exist without the other. Bridging both together produces a hybrid-theory that incorporates well into Harner's framework. Submission, or consent, is the required logic of both the firm and labor in the formulation of capitalist variety. Both firms and labor exist as opposed to the tactics of one another while co-dependent within a market-based system. For the system to work, both must be in balance with one another.

Exemplifying this balance is the *politics of place* framework developed in Harner's work. Analysis of labor identities in landscapes that utilizes a weighted axis visualization of how constructed capitalist identities and their reproduction in the cultural environment lead to the structuring of the economic identity of a region (Harner, 2001). For if firms and labor enter into conflict with each other over the control of capital, then it is submission by one or both identities to an agreed-upon truce that results in the formulation of a variety of capitalism. The unique State-based history of class relations and labor conflict creates the conditions for firms and labors conflict over capital. When both sides 'submit' to a form of coordination that works for both sides they have created the conditions for the emergence of variety. The framework utilizes "means and meaning" as a weighted axis for understanding the conflict between labor and capital. When the means and meaning diverge from either a capital-based identity or labor-based identity, breaking the equilibrium, then conflict emerges between labor and capital (Harner, 2001).

Integrating these significant works in economic geography and labor studies, we can bridge them to build a more complete understanding of variety in capitalism. As well as the behavioral

dynamics of actors (labor and firms) within the system. From nascency to emergence, forms of capitalism can be traced to their genesis as historical conflicts over means and meaning between capital and labor. The integration of these historical works of capitalist research can lead to greater advances in understanding of capitalist varieties globally especially as they relate to the role of labor in forming capitalist variety. This dimension of labor, firms, and class conflict will facilitate a greater understanding of capitalisms and what universal conditions are inherent across forms.

A qualitative news media analysis will be constructed by analyzing the media narratives surrounding the Tesla automotive strikes in Sweden. This research utilizes the methodology of news media analysis developed by Altheide & Schneider (2013b). Nvivo 14 is used as a computer-assisted aid to sort news articles and identify sentiment across the narratives surrounding the conflict. As Harner researched the cultural power dynamics of physical representations in landscapes, news media is another entry point into examining cultural power dynamics. Media discourses are sites of conflict and protest of the actions of both sides of the capitalist vs labor conflict. As this research departs from a Weberian interpretivist epistemology, the objective is not to provide a critical analysis of the dynamics on either side but rather general observations of the actions and behaviors observed under the epistemology as they relate to the structures of society and institutions in expanding the VoC framework.

Sweden will be the case study here as it serves as a prototypical example of the Nordic model across Scandinavian States. Class-based conflicts between labor and capital have emerged in recent years through the battles between Tesla, Klarna, and Spotify. The highly touted “Nordic model” that is frequently cited by socialists and free-market capitalists globally as an ideal type of capitalism that all States should strive for has seen significant neoliberal reforms in recent history challenging existing structures and labor identity. These reforms have challenged the core tenants of the Swedish labor identity.

2. Research Questions

How does conflict between labor and capital influence the formulation of capitalist variety?

What can we learn from the Tesla conflict in Sweden about the Nordic model?

Disclaimer

These are essential questions for understanding capitalist variety in a globalizing world. The scope of this research is to build an expanded framework for capitalist analysis. The empirical data sourced here through qualitative news media analysis is only indicative of one aspect of cultural power and its force in instituting reforms in the structures of society and institutions. There are potential limitations in this study due to the empirics chosen. Understanding the full range of forms cultural power takes shape and is exerted within society would require a larger study encompassing a broader methodology incorporating other representations of cultural power such as landscape studies which Harner used in creating the politics of place framework. To compensate for these challenges, some gaps will be filled in through tacit knowledge on the part of the researcher. I have developed tacit knowledge of the Nordic model through navigation of various institutions within Sweden as part of immigration and through the discourses of conversation with native Scandinavians over the past two years. As Weber believed, all knowledge of cultural reality is knowledge from a certain point of view. The pursuit of a “value-free social science” free of ideological bias is an audacious challenge for the researcher and a bit paradoxical given the ways humans construct knowledge. Best effort is made here to facilitate a strong empirical connection with the conclusions in order to facilitate an epistemological advancement in varieties of capitalism research.

3. Integrative Theoretical Review

This thesis departs from a traditional literature review and explores an integrative review of existing theories in economic geography and economics. An integrative review is especially helpful for research of this type which examines existing theories in the pursuit of establishing new insights within the area of study (Elsbach & van Knippenberg, 2020). Integrative reviews provide the avenue for critique and synthesis of existing literature that is highly regarded in a subject (Torraco, 2005). This thesis explores the potential of revising the varieties of capitalism framework to provide an integration of cultural dynamics in labor conflict for future studies of capitalist behaviors to provide more concrete solutions to real-world crises across capitalisms. Thus, establishing the basic core theory of VoC and tangential theories to develop the new framework makes an integrative review the best option.

Varieties of Capitalism

In the early 2000's, Peter Hall and David Soskice produced a seminal work in economic geography literature, "Varieties of Capitalism: The Institutional Foundations of Comparative Advantage," which took a firm-centered view of variations in globally distinct forms of capitalism (Hall et al., 2001). Here, they outline "institutional comparative advantage" as a concept where firms within a given political economy will seek to "develop and exploit core competencies or dynamic capabilities understood as capacities for developing, producing, and distributing goods and services profitably" (Hall et al., 2001, p. 37). Firms, as actors within their political economy, will operate distinctively varying from country to country based on the history of the political economy leading to the formulation of present-day institutions and policy making.

In examining these variations of the political economy and how firms interact within it, the models for the liberal market economy (LME) (USA, Great Britain), coordinated market economies (CME) (Germany), and the Mediterranean market economy (MME) (Italy) are defined as distinctly different forms of capitalism marked by unique histories that shaped them (Hall et al., 2001, pp. 8–21). The U.S. saw a heightened period of sustained financialization with growth in the banking sector leading to the formulation of the LME (Jessop et al., 2014, p. 168). Whereas West Germany saw a boon in export-driven economic growth during its recovery from World War II before reunification with East Germany (Busch, 2022, p. 267) making it a global

manufacturing powerhouse. During the post-WWII restructuring of Germany, trade unions became an ingrained part of the social fabric that focused on a social partnership with industry rather than conflict-oriented as a means to mitigate the mistakes of the Weimar Republic (Busch, 2022, p. 270).

These historical factors and the resulting political economy decisions of each country played a significant role in Hall & Soskice's formulation of varieties of capitalism as they focused primarily on the USA & Germany. Elsewhere in the world, capitalism has taken on many different distinct forms through unique arrangements of class coalitions and elites (Feldmann, 2019, p. 164). It still stands that even in the face of pressure from globalization, capitalism still comes in a variety of forms (Hay, 2020, p. 302).

Here, let us turn to defining the characteristics of the LME and CME as Hall & Soskice posited to aid in the conceptualization of varieties of capitalism:

Table 1: Characteristics of LMEs and CMEs

	Liberal Market Economies (LMEs)	Coordinated Market Economies (CMEs)
<i>Design of Labor Market</i>	Competitive markets where decision-making power, as well as wages, are consolidated in managerial positions. Markets encourage the development of interchangeable skills among workers to enable fluid movement between firms. A weak social welfare system constructed around means-testing giving	Trade & labor unions must coordinate with multiple levels of stakeholders. Power of the unions and trade groups emphasizes more specialized skillsets among labor that are not as transferrable under a more fluid labor market system like the LME. Emphasis is placed on specialized knowledge and long-term employment. Laborers can endure economic downturns and displacement from their jobs via a

	<p>minimal benefits to displaced workers facilitates low unemployment rates as workers are forced back into the workforce whether or not they can find work in their specialized fields. Market forces set wages with the rare exception of union involvement. Fluid labor dynamics mean that pay can be extremely low at the bottom level of the labor force with wages being concentrated on management. Lack of unionization means workers are individually free to negotiate pay with firms based on skill.</p>	<p>robust social welfare system that does not force them immediately back into the first available job. Unions negotiate pay on behalf of laborers meaning a more equal level of pay negotiated for all employees. Individuals have less power to negotiate their pay and benefits based on skill and performance. However, job security is high as it becomes difficult for firm managers to cut labor costs through employee termination.</p>
<i>Relations Between Firms</i>	<p>Market more 'hostile' means that shareholder value/stock performance is emphasized through liberalized market conditions. This opens the door for a 'hostile takeover' of one firm by another firm if market performance dips. This enables firms to acquire</p>	<p>Inter-firm networks are dense facilitating strategic interaction among various stakeholders. Firms are not easily able to adopt new business practices and technology due to the slower process of communicating with stakeholders. Long-term views of profitability utilize a 'reputation-based' firm</p>

	<p>another firm, its assets, and talent, and integrate within its structure through mergers and acquisitions. Fluid labor dynamics mean that the acquirer is not beholden to retain the acquired firm's workforce, shedding labor costs quickly. Due to the hostile conditions, communication between firms is highly protective of proprietary information as firms are at risk of competing firms gaining knowledge of firm operations and innovation.</p>	<p>assessment combined with networks of cross-shareholding and private network information exchange. Market limits the ability of firms to pull off hostile takeovers of firms which allows firms within the system to more freely share information of operations and innovation as their performance is less built around maximizing shareholder value and emphasizing the long-term health of the firm and economy.</p>
<p><i>Facilitation of Capital Extraction/Market Return Generation</i></p>	<p>Firm outlook is shorter-term, emphasizing the performance of firm measurables in producing shareholder value/profits. Management is driven by these motivations. Underperformance in the market can lead to cost-cutting endeavors of managers to boost performance. This can take</p>	<p>Emphasis is on the long-term health of the firm and its ability to generate long-term returns. Since radical innovation isn't as easily achievable for firms in this structure, high-quality production/manufacturing is emphasized. The labor market facilitates highly skilled workers able to produce higher-value products in the sacrifice of time in a mass-production system.</p>

	the form of moves by management to cut labor force and realign firm strategies to stimulate performance.	
<i>Market Incentivization/Political Economy</i>	<p>Radical Innovation is emphasized through the markets where technological innovation and patenting are facilitated through the political economy through a supportive patent law structure. Policymaking creates market incentives through stimulus measures such as tax breaks and subsidies to direct firms in the direction in which policymakers want the economy to go in.</p> <p>Regulatory frameworks protect technological innovation but emphasize a deregulated financial market which firms are adverse to.</p>	<p>Policymaking is based on ‘coordination’ of actors at multiple levels constructed around the notion of boosting the markets core competencies. A heavily regulated market that established firms within the State are able to accept, but that multinationals may be adverse to.</p> <p>Such coordination allows more targeted investment in industries to boost economic performance in a sector, or the selection of a national champion/monopoly.</p>

Source: (Hall et al., 2001)

Capitalisms are not static. As Roberts points out, the rise of populism globally can be pointed towards representational failures in society. The unique institutional arrangements across varieties of capitalism then shape the way in which populist leaders emerge to contend the poles

of which the form of capitalism swings between (Roberts, 2019, p. 642). Populism and radical political shifts can be seen as the byproduct of dysfunctional institutions. Of which Hay writes of the lack of conceptualization in varieties of capitalism for the forces of institutional dysfunction other than a neo-classical idea of market purism that views the market as self-regulating in its maintenance of existing structures (Hay, 2020, pp. 312–313). This is later pointed out that institutional dysfunctions can create “disequilibrium” and precursor to crisis (Hay, 2020, p. 316). Populism is a byproduct of this disequilibrium where politicians seeking to reinforce the cultural identity of the population, the “will of the people,” and reform institutions emerge to contest the existing structures leading to dissatisfaction (Roberts, 2019).

Spatial Divisions of Labor

Prior to the work of Hall & Soskice, Doreen Massey observed distinct variations in labor organization across forms of capitalism. In *Spatial Divisions of Labor* Massey states that “shifts in spatial structures are a response to changes in class relations, economic and political, national and international. Their development is a social and conflictual process; the geography of industry is an object of struggle” (Massey, 1995, p. 7). Massey’s view of firms coping mechanisms to deal with the pressures exerted on them in the economy depended upon the battle between the types of capital in which they used and the labor involved. Here it is contended that factors of how these pressures are defined and translated in the broader political and social context influence the response and that the expected outcome cannot purely be predicted from a macroeconomic analysis or the law of value (Massey, 1995, p. 15). The location of industry plays a significant factor in the broader conflict between labor and capital. In Massey’s view, the location of the industry cannot be simply boiled down to managerial decision-making/strategy. Rather, the issues of the conflict between labor and capital must be embedded in the larger context of what is occurring in society (Massey, 1995, p. 15).

Massey’s work in *Spatial Divisions of Labor* can be viewed as a precursor to Hall & Soskice’s observations in *Varieties of Capitalism: The Institutional Foundations of Comparative Advantage*. Massey’s states, very poignantly, that: “Intra-class, and non-class division and conflict is important. It influences the formation of government policy, it is reflected in the social and cultural between different parts of the country and it has effects on location decisions and geographical patterns” (Massey, 1995, p. 16).

Massey develops a basic framework for analysis of this structure of the political economy in her analysis of social structures and capitalist relations of production:

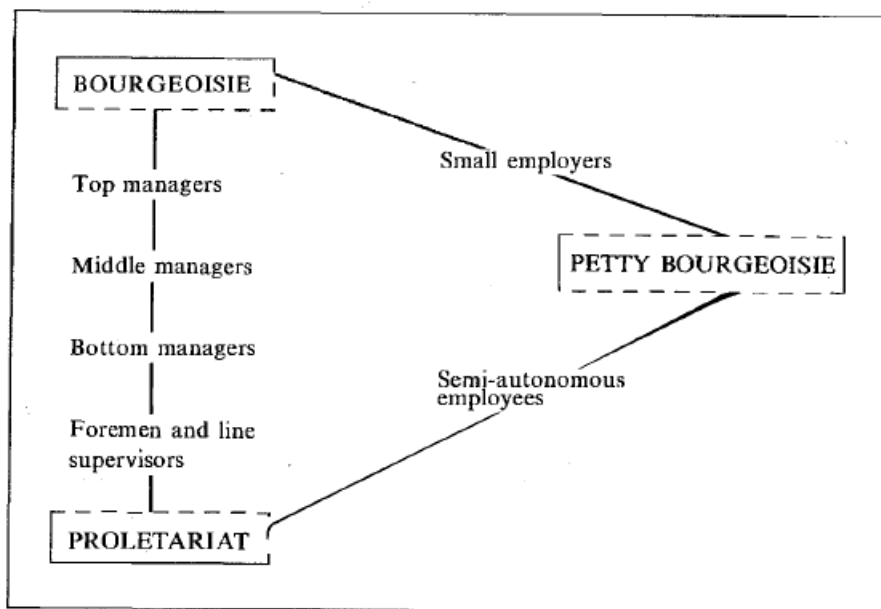


Figure 1: Massey's Basic Framework in Spatial Divisions of Labor (Massey, 1995, p. 30)

In examination of both Massey and Hall & Soskice's work, Massey here first observed what is coined by Hall & Soskice as the LME. Under the LME, the division of labor is split into differing power structures through managerial positions that create a ladder of illusory power and class mobility. This enables the alignment of means and meaning under the politics of place framework towards a capital-based identity. Each level of management inches closer to the control of capital without ever fully reaching it. Each consecutive level obscures who has hegemony in this arrangement. Oversight of firm operations through different managers means the concerns and needs of the proletariat, or laborers, are passed through multiple levels of internal communications in order to in-house conflicts and issues. This prevents the formation of a labor-based identity or "class solidarity" in Massey's view. However, such class divisions aren't just inherent in a more LME-oriented economy. The Nordic Model has a high degree of class-segregation among its labor unions, most noticeably in Sweden with division between blue-collar and white-collar workers (Kjellberg, 2000, pp. 530–531).

In Massey's own words, "it is anyway, not 'labour process' which determines location, but the search after profit and the fluctuating conflict between capital and labour" (Massey, 1995, p. 24). For Massey, studying the spatial divisions of labor and the flow of capital means connecting these processes and behaviors to the broader organization of the socio-economic and political organization of the State. For firms/industry in her view are "subordinated" to the pursuit of financial profits (Massey, 1995, pp. 26–33).

Politics of Place

Harner's works in labor landscapes draw heavy influences from the works of Don Mitchell, who defined landscape as something perceivable beyond the physical realm. It is a site of cultural process and morphology that occurs as part of a grander social process involving those who control the means to represent the landscape and extract value from it (Mon P, 2021, p. 22). Marxists such as Harvey, Mitchell and Massey would view landscapes and define them as the outcome of the process of capitalist accumulation and production (Harvey, 1982). This is a vital definition to understand Harner's politics of place. Meinig held a view that landscapes are not just what we see, but rather perceived in our heads (Meinig, 1979). Relationally, from an interpretivism viewpoint for this thesis, landscapes are sociological constructions of the human mind, and their meanings/perceptions are subjective to the belief systems of the person(s) studying them as they relate to the ideals and structures of society at the time of examination. A landscape is a loose concept that is adopted by the researcher and given meaning in the context of the study. This thesis will view the State, Sweden in this instance, as the landscape of study. The views and understandings of Sweden are a subjective cultural process whose significance is defined by the dominant socio-economic views of society.

Means and meaning define the ability of coherent forms of identity to emerge in landscape representation. The emergent identity that forms in landscape representation defines the control of capital when means and meaning are brought into equilibrium (Harner, 2001, p. 660). Landscape representations and reality, in Harner's view, display the materialized hegemony of ideological beliefs between the majority and those in power (Harner, 2001, p. 660). The majority of a region must consent, or 'submit,' to the representation or ideological belief of those in power in order for capital to be extracted. The balance of who extracts capital and benefits from where

the equilibrium aligns where the majority and those power submit to this representation of the landscape.

In a classist hierarchy, those that control capital, or the physical means of production, must also reproduce this power through symbolic means to reaffirm the dominant hegemonic structure/identity (Scott, 1985). “Hegemony is the active belief by subordinate groups in the values that explain their own subordination” (Harner, 2001, p. 661). As Gramsci explains through his critique of *The Popular Study* by Bukharin, the “world conceptions of the intellectuals and of high culture, are opposed to this development of an original philosophy of the popular masses” (Gramsci, 2021, pp. 83–84). But rather these forces bind the leading classes together under a dominant external hegemony that influences the masses negatively against what they think about life.

Subordination then is the key to hegemonic power. Within conflict, there must be subordination of both sides, or concessions, to reach an amicable agreement to proceed forward with their objective. For capital, or the ruling class, this means that consent must be received from the lower classes in order to gain hegemonic power through the creation of social norms or social power; because class power is not purely built upon control of material production (Harner, 2001, p. 662). Space, is the domain for the division of spatial identities and reproduction of social class power.

Counterhegemony then, is the emergence of hegemony by the subordinate to expose exploitation (Harner, 2001, p. 662). If hegemony is control over space and the organization of class power, counterhegemony is the organization of opposition to the established hegemonic situation. In terms of spatial thinking, this can be the formulation of labor unions and trade groups in opposition to unfavorable conditions of the existing arrangements of capitalist coordination at varying scales.

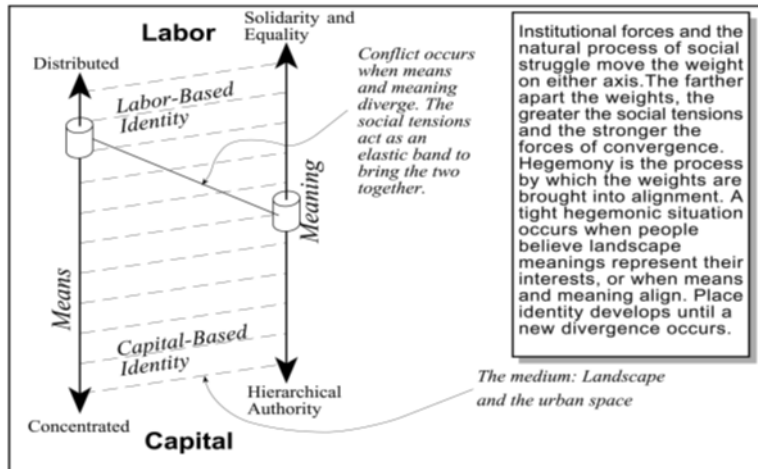


Figure 2: Harner's Politics of Place Weighted Identity Axis (Harner, 2001)

Geography is the contested site of identity. Individuals formulate their belief systems within the grander context of the cultural framework of place (Harner, 2001, p. 662). Class relations, economic beliefs, cultural norms of the individual constructed out of the zeitgeist of the dominant hegemony. Conflict between counterhegemony and hegemony are born from one another, shaped by the materialized discourses of social classes and symbolic representations within the landscape (Harner, 2001, p. 663).

Through Hall & Soskice we see the firm perspective on the conditions of the political economy conducive to the types of industry associated with their LME/CME distinction. Applying the conditions of the U.S. LME to Harner's weighted axis, we would see a capital-based identity with concentrated capital and hierarchical authority. The LME of Hall & Soskice's distinction features a consolidation of power in management positions with fluid labor dynamics allowing firm decision makers realign strategies and cut labor costs easier (Hall et al., 2001).

Comparatively, a labor-based identity built around Harner and Massey's views on labor identities would most ideally relate to the CME ideal type where there is a high degree of power and emphasis on unions and trade groups in the labor process. Class/labor solidarity would lead to a distributed accumulation of capital between firms and labor at the far end of the axis alignment where labor bears more of the fruits of its work.

Class Compromise & Labor Relations

Transitioning from feudalism to capitalism and when humans entered the era of capitalism as the dominant economic model globally is much debated amongst Weberian scholars and Marxist scholars. Weberians depart from Protestantism as being the primary influence for the formation of the capitalist mode of production, while Marxists contend that feudalist class conflicts led to the formulation of modern capitalism (Lachmann, 1990). What is of note for this research despite this contention over origins, is that class has been prevalent throughout history under different economic models such as feudalism.

Defining what class comprises and signifies requires an examination of what class is not. As Marx was very unfinished in his work in defining classes and his early work is more ideological than a scientific taxonomy of class. Rather, attempting to establish a notion of class as an empirical point of study is difficult if not impossible. Class is entirely a social construct built from the social relations and groupings of a particular society, not specifically able to identify and tied to any empirical type conditions such as race, gender, and other biological markers (Andrew, 1975, p. 456). As Weber states, “All knowledge of cultural reality is always knowledge from a particular point of view” (Ashcraft, 1979, p. 226). As Weber’s Interpretivism plays an essential role in the objectives of this research, conceptualization of class and compromise must come from an understanding that class is a purely social construction of which the observations are subjective to the methodology of the investigator. Hence, the observations and conclusions of this analysis are entirely dependent on the epistemological construction of the research. The observations of the dynamics of a labor conflict depend on whether the researcher departs from Weber or Marx in their research construction (Ashcraft, 1979, p. 227).

As Giddens postulates in *The Class Structure of the Advanced Societies*, the rationalization of life through bureaucratization of socio-economic life will not lead to a utopian form of socialism as Weber believes, but rather a “neo-capitalism” where the State acts as a regulatory body for labor conflict (Ashcraft, 1979, p. 244; 1973, pp. 278–294). Class conflict then is a representation of the generally observable phenomenon of the “institutionalization of conflict” (Ashcraft, 1979, pp. 226–227). Government redistribution programs under a capitalist framework rarely tend to facilitate wealth redistribution on a scale that can weaken class tensions. Rather, the facilitation of class mobility has a better chance of preventing class conflicts, as the proper functioning of

market mechanisms leads to greater degrees of upward and downward class mobility. But this comes with a tradeoff, where the hyper-competitiveness of social mobility fragments class interests and solidarity (Ashcraft, 1979, pp. 229–230). Class then becomes a taxonomy with little substance for analysis if the conditions for the existence of classes are eroded. However, all capitalist societies contain “buffer zones,” zones of economic mobility between classes such as working-class to middle-class mobility, which appear in the construction of the political economy to give the illusion of full mobility between all levels of class construction within a given society (Ashcraft, 1979, p. 231).

This demonstrates the self-interest of the individuals to prevent downward mobility within society. Those in the highest classes of capitalist society will seek to reinforce positions of control over capital preventing the ability to fall into a lower-class tier. The lower-class tiers will always see bottom-class tiers that they don’t wish to fall into, and the bottom will see mobility into a higher tier as feasible reinforcing a fragmentation of interests. Fear and hope of the individual become a multi-scalar, macro-societal issue regarding living standards and the achievability of life goals as self-interest leads to the construction of the political economy to enact structures for the facilitation of class security to maintain economic systems.

In *Toward a Theory of Social Conflict*, Dahrendorf posits that the Marxist theory of imperialism failed to properly explain and account for exogenous conflict in society (1958, p. 172). Conflicts, regardless of contextual significance (war, economic, political, etc.), have two originations according to Dahrendorf: exogenous and endogenous. Exogenous is an external introduction of conflict, and endogenous is internally bred conflict (Dahrendorf, 1958, p. 171). Dahrendorf focused on endogenous conflict taxonomy construction, excluding exogenous conflict due to the inability to analyze structural change ripple effects across multiple societal structures.

Dahrendorf does state on the matter of labor conflict, “Certainly it is important to describe the conflict between workers and employers as such, but it is more important to produce a proof that such conflict is based on certain social structural arrangements and hence is bound to arise whenever such structural arrangements are given” (1958, pp. 171–172).

Dahrendorf, at the time of his writings, was likely unable to foresee and account for the rise of global trade and the interconnectedness of the global economy (globalization). It would be hard to account for such impacts as the compatibility of firms across institutional forms and structures

before the rise of such topics of financialization, marketization, globalization, and neoliberalism (Clark et al., 2018, p. 7). As such, it is apparent that the exogenous conflict origination as a point of analysis is ever more apparent now due to the complexity and multi-scalar nature of institutions, societies, and firm operations across space and time.

Economic Geography of Multinational Enterprises (Firms) and Globalization

The 1990's saw the rise of globalist views on the homogenizing forces of globalization in resecting space and place from studies of politics, culture, and economics in the wake of a utopian one-world economy (Clark et al., 2018, p. 3). The globalist view was to make geography not matter, and instead ended up reinforcing that geography matters through the new challenges that arose from the homogenizing forces. International trade has been accelerating since the 1820's when global trade grew at about 3.5% per annum for 100 years (Jones, 2004, p. 20). Since the 1880's, global trade and the development of the global economy have accelerated rapidly through foreign direct investment (FDI) and the rise of multinational enterprises. For this research, "firms" rather than "enterprises" will be used for the modern context of the research.

The earliest prototype of the multinational firm was the Dutch state-sponsored East India Trading Company which traversed the globe establishing trading outposts in the pursuit of State interests of global influence and critical raw material procurement (Jones, 2004, pp. 19–22).

What was key to development of the modern multinational firm was a policy environment during a time of limited global conflict which saw the rise of inter-governmental trade policies facilitating international property rights and peaceful trade (Jones, 2004, p. 25). This helped accelerate firms abilities to establish operations across borders and expand into new markets and forms of diversification (Jones, 2004, pp. 25–26). In the modern context, the multinational firm has become the embodiment of a new modality of state cultural influences. Firms expanding into new territories will import the existing work culture and structures of their home country. Multinational firms become an extension of state influence on political power and culture, with the U.S. being a key example of multinational firms being utilized in place of foreign territory acquisition to influence foreign societies (Phelps, 2017, p. 184).

Scholar John H. Dunning produced one of the most influential theories and analysis of multinational firm behavior in the construction of the "Organisation-Location-Internationalisation (OLI)" model of analysis for multinational firms to capture value from

geographical conditions of globalization for firm operations (Dunning, 2001, pp. 174–175).

Dunning hypothesized in his PhD thesis that the positive and negative operational performance of a multinational firm could be distilled into the non-transferrable characteristics of the economy of a firm's home country (Dunning, 2001, p. 174). The OLI paradigm seeks to explain the patterns of foreign direct investment (FDI) and international production among multinational firms as being influenced by three distinctive characteristics:

1. Net competitive advantages bestowed by the economic configuration of the firm's home country.
2. Perceptions of the firms to benefit from the internalization of processes within a market based on the advantages of condition 1 (Added value).
3. The extent to which firms choose to expand operations outside of their home borders (Dunning, 2001, p. 176).

This paradigm has led to the analysis of firm operations supporting that firm activity expansion into new markets both domestically and internationally are strategies supporting growth (Swedenborg, 1979, p. 172). Swedenborg goes on to ideologically both support and contradict the “oligopoly theory” of Caves & Knickerbocker that firms will seek FDI opportunities in markets where oligopolistic behavior can be exerted over the market. While firms FDI is not dependent on oligopolistic behavior, it nonetheless correlates with oligopolistic behavior (Swedenborg, 1979, pp. 175–177).

What Dunning would later reflect on in his academic research is the role of institutional arrangements and compatibility in affecting multinational market expansions. The role of forces instituting institutional change affects not just the performance of the multinational in market expansion, but also undue effect on the indigenous firms operating within a State (Dunning, 2009, p. 25). The importance of institutional arrangements in impacting firm performance is developed in Hall & Soskice’s work on varieties of capitalism, emphasizing the issues of compatibility in institutional arrangements across political economy formations in capitalist economy configurations. What Dunning saw as the future for the multinational firm was a reduction in the physical costs and market expansion due to the rapid increase of technological innovations in communications and operations. However, cultural/institutional costs would increase in the wake of exposure to new business cultures, social norms, and belief systems that

would challenge the established way of operating for firms expanding into new markets (Dunning, 2009, pp. 25–27).

Most recently, economic geography research has focused on the impact that multinational firms have had environmentally and socially regarding where they operate. Media criticisms of the actions of multinational firms have led to a rise in corporate social responsibility and governance issues to combat negative public perceptions. Critical journalism and activism have drawn attention to the negative effects increasingly globalized firms have had on the environment and labor rights globally, with transnational media coordination being directed at analyzing these negative effects (Hughes, 2018). The rise of technological innovations in information technology (IT) and the internet has led to advances in how information is disseminated and communicated across space and time. The age of social media and instant access to news/information has led to new avenues of research for how these technological advances will affect both national and international economies (Greenstein et al., 2018). As seen in recent years, the prevalence of international knowledge and information flows has formed a significant reshaping of their importance in shaping the actions of economic actors (Zook, 2018, p. 580).

Sweden, The Nordic Model, and Dwindling Union Participation

Sweden, historically, was a unique outlier in Western European history where key decisions in the 1600s (such as the strengthening of the military in times of peace, the adoption of a Lutheran clergy that emphasized obedience to the State, and the development of a well-trained civil service) led to an increased rate of development and territorial control (Wittrock, 2004, p. 50). During this time, Sweden had made a significant differentiation from the rest of Europe by transitioning its administrative state from a traditional aristocratic, inheritance-based model to one based on job competencies. The result was the ability of the central government to be able to mobilize and coordinate resources on a large efficient scale as it was engaged in multiple regional military campaigns in the Baltics and Scandinavia (Wittrock, 2004, pp. 51–53). Following, the loss of Finland as part of Sweden's territory and the entrance into a new era of relative peace without significant military conflict with any of Sweden's neighboring States, Sweden entered a new era of modernization and rapid industrialization towards the end of the 1800's. Resulting expansion of the public sector in Sweden and the adoption of rationalistic planning processes imported from the United States led to a shift in labor policy toward the

modern Swedish labor system of collective bargaining between unions and trade groups (Wittrock, 2004, p. 53).

In examination of the labor characteristics of Sweden, it is important to begin by looking at the history of labor and class relations in Sweden in the development of the modern Swedish political economy. The first major part of this formulation is the 1938 Saltsjöbaden Agreement. The Saltsjöbaden Agreement was enacted as a means for the State to facilitate class collaboration between labor and capital following the 1920's when Sweden had one of the highest industrial action rates in Europe for the time (Mirsafian, 2023, pp. 435–436). This agreement in Sweden was largely influenced by the predominance of Taylorism globally propagating the American ideology of social harmony and increased labor productivity (Mirsafian, 2023, pp. 430–431). Taylorism was predicated upon increased worker productivity through incentivization schemes to build worker competition. It was developed in the United States and imported to Sweden by Erik August Forsberg in the early-1900's through implementation in the work processes at his company *Separator*. That resulting implementation led to opposition by the workers at Separator and its subsidiaries in Sweden, resulting in lockouts and strikes in the 1910's (Mirsafian, 2023, pp. 432–433). It was during these strikes that Separator threatened to move operations out of Sweden stating that the opposition of labor to higher productivity incentive schemes was “tyranny” enacted by “socialist workers” (Kjellberg, 2017a, p. 364).

As firms began to recognize that the high rate of lockouts and strikes would invariably lead to State intervention, firms saw it in their best interest to engage in self-regulation through negotiations with the unions. It is of historical significance to note, however, that the proponents of state intervention in labor rights in Sweden have largely been supported by firms rather than workers (Kjellberg, 2017a). The 1936 Law on Rights of Association and Negotiation in Sweden was instituted as a substantive policy measure to facilitate the voluntary entrance into collective agreements between firms and unions, while containing only language directed at forced arbitration in labor court regarding negotiations. The key here being that firms submitting to these negotiations and agreements was voluntary, and firms did not necessarily have to enter the agreements with unions under the law (Kjellberg, 2017a, p. 366).

Throughout years of changing political parties and policy initiatives, Sweden has maintained a lower rate of industrial conflict than the rest of the Nordic States comparatively (Kjellberg, 2021,

p. 223, 2023, p. 16). While Sweden did introduce some State-level legislation regarding labor conditions in the 70's, 90's, and 2000's, it has largely retained its self-regulatory labor market (Kjellberg, 2023). Kjellberg considers Sweden's model of industrial relations to be the Nordic ideal type among all the Scandinavian States due to the relatively low involvement of the government in relations compared to that of Finland, Denmark, and Norway (2023, p. 7).

The Nordic model that has iconically emerged in Scandinavia has been touted globally by varying political parties seeking to hold up the Nordic model an ideal type of capitalism. Bernie Sanders and Alexandria Occasio-Cortez, two left-leaning populist politicians in the U.S., made headlines by painting Scandinavia as a socialist paradise of sorts (Koivunen et al., 2021, pp. 1–2). But the Nordic model has only very abstract definitions of what it means and each Scandinavian State has formulated its own uniquely differential pathway of social and economic development through voluntary cooperation and learning from each other. It is a system that cannot be pigeonholed into the ideological battles of socialism vs capitalism vs communism (Koivunen et al., 2021). What is clear about the Nordic model is that it is a balance of free-market capitalism and a robust social welfare system. The high standard of living, social policies aimed at facilitating individualism (and paradoxically solidarity), as well as safety nets that provide a sense of economic security all act in conjunction to spur innovation and growth within the market through investments in cultural capital (Marklund, 2017).

However, the Nordic model has periodically been the subject of crises and faced very significant neoliberal reforms in recent years (Koivunen et al., 2021). Union membership has declined significantly in Sweden, with blue-collar worker membership dropping from 77% to 60% between 2006 – 2019 with white-collar membership dropping from 77% to 72% during the same period (Kjellberg, 2021, p. 224). Since 1945 – 2021, the presence of national unions has declined from 165 to 52 (a 68% decline) (Kjellberg, 2017b, pp. 1032–1033). There are many factors for this decline but there are two major notes here for the purpose of this study.

First, the impact of globalization has led to a decline in the number of deskilled, production-focused (manufacturing) careers in Sweden as companies threatened to outsource production from Sweden to other parts of the world where labor is cheaper. Sweden's largest autoworkers union, IF Metall, had to accept concessions by agreeing to the implementation of lean production processes in manufacturing and acceptance of the 2020 basic agreement conceding more power

to employers in the auto industry (Kjellberg, 2021, pp. 226–229). The effects of globalization has not just led to a manufacturing decline in Sweden, but a boom in the IT/tech sector in Sweden has led to a rise in large multinational companies, such as Spotify, who have refused to engage in discussions or sign collective agreements with unions (Kjellberg, 2021, pp. 228–229).

Second, the rise of right-wing populism and anti-immigration political parties has weakened the hold that Social Democrats in Sweden held on government. Sweden, once welcoming of immigrants as a means of spurring economic growth, became embroiled in a wave of Islamophobia and xenophobia as terrorist attacks and immigrant-related crime began to spike in Sweden. To stave off the potential for a right-wing government led by the Swedish Democrats gaining further power in 2018, the Social Democrats had to form a coalition with the other liberal parties to prevent a conservative government. The result was concessions by the Social Democrats to institute neoliberal reforms to the government weakening trade unions, slashing taxes on the wealthy, and raising rents in Sweden (Östberg, 2021). Political dysfunction and the rise of populist candidates campaigning on issues not directly attributable to the economic model ended up facilitating a further neoliberal transition away from the Social Democrat policies of the past which had largely contributed to the structure of the Nordic Model. Voting habits of the working class have changed in Sweden, where Social Democrats once garnered 70% of the working class vote, to now only 40% in 2018 (Östberg, 2021, p. 134).

Dwindling union participation rates can largely be connected to an issue of globalization. In 2019, 29% of Sweden's blue-collar workforce was foreign-born and employed by firms that did not engage in collective agreements with their employers (Kjellberg, 2021, pp. 225–226). During this period of transition and mass migration to Sweden, Nonstandard Employment (NSE) has also risen to prominence. NSE involves the use of temporary work, fixed-term contracts, and self-employment that bypass unionization and collective agreements creating a new division of labor and class termed "precarious" (Rasmussen et al., 2019, p. 9). Further fragmenting labor solidarity in Sweden.

4. Theoretical Framework

Examining the dynamics at play in labor conflicts through Tesla vs Sweden requires an interpretative examination of the constructed social world dynamics at play in Sweden. In keeping with Hall & Soskice's methodology, it is essential to establish varieties of capitalism and integrate spatial divisions of labor, and politics of place within Weberian Interpretivism. For the purposes here of analyzing the larger structural dimensions of culture, economics, and politics. Interpretivism was the root methodological approach of Hall & Soskice. It therefore should not be deviated from in this study of capitalism if an integration and expansion of knowledge is to be produced.

Massey approaches the dynamics of labor divisions from a critical realist epistemology. In the Marxist tradition of challenging power structures and providing critical analysis of the conflict between labor and capital. Hall & Soskice's analysis of capital variations come from an individualistic ideal-type analysis of the political economy departing from Weber. Weber constructed the two ideal-types as two heuristic devices from which differing examinations of social phenomena could be performed. Individualistic being an examination of individual social phenomena or those of specific entities. Hollistic being the examination of entire social systems and phenomena.

Massey operates from a point of critique of capitalist labor dynamics. The divisions of labor are products of unique class history and struggle against the oppression of the bourgeoisie, or those who control the means of production. Hall & Soskice, a more classical economic viewpoint, formulate their ideal-types of the LME/CME as heuristic devices to aid in a game theory analysis of institutional arrangements to produce conditions from a firm-centered perspective of the political economy to judge the conditions favorable to different modes of production (LME being more conducive to the financial industry and CME being more favorable to production-oriented industry).

Looking at Harner's Politics of Place, we can see a rough fit of varieties of capitalism into the "capital-based identity" and Politics of Place into the "labor-based identity." Harner's research also approached his analysis from a critical realist epistemology rooted in Marxism. His analysis focused primarily on the emergence of labor-based counterhegemony in the dynamic process of

labor conflict. Labor identity in the landscape is a struggle against those seeking to control the means of production, or resources, of a place.

To properly integrate these works on capitalist variety we need to dispel the notion that the LME/CME are the poles where the stated varieties are the proto-typical models for which capitalist varieties swing towards. Hall & Soskice define both the U.S and U.K as models of the LME based on their characteristics (Hall et al., 2001). However, upon examination of the U.S and U.K they have very different institutional arrangements. Would it be appropriate to say that all marketplaces for both of these States follow a more traditionally liberalized economic model then?

Institutional arrangements are inherently unique and dependent upon the unique historical and social context for their formulation. Positing an ideal-type like the LME or CME as a pole creates a condition of elevating one State above all else as an ideological example of ideal capitalism. This can be problematic not just from an analytical standpoint, but also from the perspective of creating a euro-centric view of ideal forms of capitalism. It serves as a heuristic device capable of providing some valuable insight into the function of institutions in relation to firms but does not capture the full picture of capitalist social phenomena.

Rather, a different conceptualization of poles is required to examine capitalisms on a case-by-case basis. As Hay writes on Hall & Soskice's application of Weberian ideal-types in *Varieties of Capitalism*, "A more consistent application of Weber's method would, then, posit not ideal/idealized varieties of capitalism (to which real-world cases might 'belong') but *ideal/idealized modes of capitalist coordination present in combination* in actually existing capitalisms" (2020). Specifically, Hall & Soskice claim the LME/CME as holistic 'ideal types' (Hall et al., 2001, p. 8) derived from an individualistic ideal-type analysis, which as Hay notes, is something Weber viewed as not being a valid form of analysis as individualistic and holistic ideal types are mutually exclusive (Hay, 2020, pp. 306–307). The holistic ideal types that Hay is referring to here should accurately reflect Pareto-optimal modes of coordination between firms, institutions, and labor in relation to existing forms of capitalisms.

Since Holism is the focus of this research, I will define the dimensions here of a holistic analysis and ideal-type construction:

Table 2: Dimensions of Weber's Holistic Ideal Types

<i>Dimension</i>	<i>Explanation</i>
Rationalization	<p>In Weber's holistic ideal-type, rationalization would appear as a society dominated by logic, efficiency, and calculation as the main spheres of influence over everyday life. For an ideal-type of capitalism this would manifest in the pursuit of value/profit on both sides of the transaction between capital and labor. Firms would seek to maximize efficiency in production of goods and services in order to extract profits to fuel growth. Labor would pursue efficiency in making work tasks easier (shorter working hours for example) while logically pursuing increases in household income to pursue cultural and individual important concepts of the social world.</p>
Bureaucracy	<p>Weber's holistic ideal type would be indicative of a society where bureaucracy features a highly organized arrangement of institutions. Complete with strong structural hierarchies, division of labor, and compliance with laws and procedures. In capitalisms, firms/private industry would seek institutional arrangements and laws beneficial to the expansion and growth of industry. Labor would seek institutional arrangements enabling upward class mobility and social safety nets securing quality of life.</p>

Disenchantment of the World	A holistic ideal-type would seek to condition an environment where religion and mysticism are replaced by a rational, logical world-view based on scientific theory and empirical evidence. For capitalisms here, we must create a secular world-view from which the explanations of actors motivations make evidence-based, logical sense.
The Iron Cage of Rationality	Weber saw actors could end up feeling constrained by an overly bureaucratic society. This would lead to feelings of constraint within the rules of society, loss of autonomy, and alienation. For capitalism, we have to consider that both firms and individuals (capital and labor) can feel constrained by the organization of the political economy. Tensions will emerge if one or both feel that the current rules of the system they operate in stifle their own growth.
Value-Free Social Science	Weber maintained that social science research should devoid of personal bias. For a holistic-ideal type to be valid, it must be free of attempts to criticize or highlight one ideal-type over another. I, as the researcher, must maintain neutrality in observation of the research subject (Tesla labor strikes) and observations should be rooted in the observable and empirical, rather than critical analysis of the subject.
Capitalism/Protestant Work Ethic	Weber saw that the transition from feudalism to capitalism was largely facilitated by

	<p>Protestantism. The rise in Protestantism globally and the emphasis on work ethics such as hard work, thriftiness, and delayed gratification influenced the current form of capitalism which prioritizes growth (profits and the accumulation of wealth). An ideal-type therefore must highlight these ethical factors rooted in the capitalist mind-set/economy.</p>
Social Stratification	<p>Weber would emphasize the complex interactions of economic, social, and political factors in determining positions within society. The ideal-type must highlight the dynamics of class, status, and power.</p>
Rational Legal Authority	<p>Weber, through his typology of authority, emphasizes the role of rational-legal authority where power is reinforced through adherence to laws and procedures rather than charisma or tradition. In our holistic ideal type, actors within a capitalist system would act rationally in accordance with laws and regulations, rather than on their belief systems.</p>
Individualism	<p>Weber would emphasize the role of individual action in shaping society through the holistic ideal type. Changes in the social world would be indicative of the exercising of free will and the pursuit of self-interests on the part of individuals.</p>

Sources: (Amzat & Kolo, 2021; Weber, 1927, 1947, 2008, 2019)

Hall & Soskice's VoC is an individualistic ideal type which utilizes a stylized simplification in the ideal form that is then substituted for a real-world actor in an attempt to analyze reasoning (Hay, 2020, p. 306). This approach leads to an analysis of firm reasoning based on just two optimal outcomes of market formulation the LME and CME (Hall et al., 2001, p. 45; Hay, 2020, p. 308). When there may be a plethora of optimal solutions for coordination.

This, in agreement with Hay, is extremely limiting in the analysis of capitalisms as it precludes that all forms of capitalisms are simply gravitating towards these poles. It does not factor in challenges of globalization and institutional dysfunction. It's purely centered around firm behavior as if the firm is a person interacting with its environment in this game-theoretical scenario. There is fluidity to the dynamics of capitalism and variety that is not captured fully from an individualistic ideal type which is purely centered on the phenomena of the entity (firm). And the critical realist approach of the Marxist narrows the view of capitalist social phenomena to the phenomena of the laborer, rather than the human beyond the workplace. While both sides draw valid points for analysis and serve a purpose to generate new insights, they are flawed in narrowing observations of capitalist social phenomena and the structures of society.

Achieving the goals of examining the social phenomena of the Tesla conflict in the Nordic Model fits best with the ideas of "capital-based identities" (firms) and "labor-based identities" (labor) of Harner. These serve a better role for basing a holistic analysis as they encapsulate larger societal phenomena of power and culture. There are optimal conditions for firms and labor to grow across capitalisms beyond the LME and CME.

Cultural beliefs and perceptions of capitalism invariably lead to the construction of an equilibrium between capital and labor. This roots capitalist behavior analysis as being rooted within the concept of *constructionist orientation* in interpretivism. Constructionist orientation in interpretivism assumes that human beings construct reality out of their interactions and beliefs (Neuman, 2014, p. 104). The essential processes of interpretivism ask essential questions about what it means to be human and make sense of the social world. The experiences of humans, while a social construct, are not immaterial or illusory, but rather very real as they are given meaning through cultural contexts or *meaningful social action* (social action in social settings in which people attach subjective rationales to actions) (Neuman, 2014, pp. 104–107). The political

economy and institutions within society are our rationalization of the social world defined by the constructed reality of our belief systems.

To exemplify this for the purposes of this thesis and to help with the process of understanding modern Swedish labor conflicts, I will direct a brief analysis of the Swedish saying “Villa, Volvo, Vovve” (House, Automobile (Volvo is a Swedish brand), and Dog). This is common humorous saying in Sweden which reflects the cultural values of Swedes when it comes to conceptualizing the ideal life (Löfgren & Edwards, 2021). It is a way of making sense of the social world in Sweden. Owning a home, a car (in this case specifically a Volvo which is manufactured in Sweden) and owning a pet (in this instance a dog). This is the definition of success which Swedish culture and social life has placed meaning in. The consent of individuals culturally to this belief set influences the ways in which meaningful social action will be formulated.

Harner’s Politics of Place framework is an idiographic approach to creating a typology for understanding symbolic representations in landscapes and how they reinforce labor identities. Physical symbology isn’t the only modality for the reinforcement of labor identity and the rationalization of life. This will be touched upon in the methodology section.

Holistic ideal types provide a greater degree of fit with the power dynamics of the equilibrium between capital and labor in Politics of Place. This is visualized using the weighted axis developed by Harner to aid in the qualitative news media analysis of the Tesla automotive strike. Thus, this paper does not seek to take a critical examination of the capitalist dynamic, but rather provides observations of the social behaviors of capital and labor through conflict and how these influence the construct of capitalist modes of coordination/the political economy. Critique would only go to further pick a side in this conflict, espousing a denial of agency by all parties to decide what is the best solution. From the observations we can identify how the actions of Tesla and the laborers influence policymaking and the construct of the political economy in Sweden, free of bias towards the actions of one over the other.

5. Expanding Varieties of Capitalism

Departing from the integrative theoretical review, to properly construct an expanded varieties of capitalism framework more in line with Weber's work on holistic ideal types, the framework will be constructed in the conclusion. Rather, I will utilize the epistemology of Weber's interpretivism to make observations from the qualitative news media analysis of the Tesla labor conflict to draw-out the conditions of the holistic ideal-type. This analysis will be combined with the features observed by Massey, Hall & Soskice, and Harner to form a conceptualization of holistic ideal types as a potential future heuristic device.

Biasing capitalism towards two poles of ideological construction only hampers analysis of what is occurring between the poles, and to some degree outside of them. The rise of New State Capitalism in Asia and around the world (coined 'Homeland Economics' in the US by The Economist) which features a high degree of state intervention in markets through capital injections and state-ownership in firms is a recent development that I would argue falls outside of the varieties of capitalism (Alami & Dixon, 2020; "Governments across the World Are Discovering 'Homeland Economics,'" n.d.). Rather, I would argue the increased role of the State in development planning evokes images of a return to feudalism. Such dramatic swings in policies and realignment of economic objectives across capitalisms signals a return towards more feudalistic societies.

Combined with Hay's notion that post-Covid-19 all capitalist countries struggled to rebound and get through both the 2008 financial crisis and the pandemic experiencing the same system-wide shocks therefore capitalism doesn't vary, is at least partially indicative of universal similarities across capitalisms even if the post-crisis impact varies based on the strategic approach of the State (2020). A statement such as "Although capitalisms vary, capitalism does not really come in varieties" (Hay, 2020, p. 303), seems like an oxymoron. But, observably, the recent crises within capitalism have very significantly impacted nearly every State in some manner. Even those such as North Korea, whom are highly isolated from global markets, were still impacted by the 2008 global financial crisis (Ramstad & Park, 2008). Obfuscating capitalist dynamics and research behind a sense of individualistic capitalist ideal types beholden to ideological worldviews creates muddied waters from which researchers must navigate to draw conclusions on the issues that

plague the global economy today. Massey herself stating, “while it is important to recognize variety, recognition is not enough” (Massey, 1995, p. 19).

Thus, understanding patterns of responses and shifts in the forms of capitalism is necessary to understand the future trajectories of which States may head in regarding forms of capitalism. The conclusion of the article will build out three tables: one for Capital Ideal Types of Coordination (CITC), one for Labor Ideal Types of Coordination (LITC), and one for the Nordic model representing the equilibrium between the two in keeping with Harner’s work and Hay’s ideal VoC formulation. The Tesla examination will provide insights on firms and labors behavior during conflict regarding their objectives under a capitalist system. The tables will be structured as follows:

Table 3: Capital Ideal-Type of Coordination (CITC) Categories

Characteristics	Capital Ideal Types of Coordination (CITC)
<i>Institutional Arrangement</i>	
<i>Bureaucracy/Political Economy</i>	
<i>World View</i>	
<i>Authority</i>	
<i>Social Stratification</i>	

Table 4: Labor Ideal-Type of Coordination (LITC) Categories

Characteristics	Labor Ideal Type of Coordination (LITC)
<i>Institutional Arrangement</i>	
<i>Bureaucracy/Political Economy</i>	
<i>World View</i>	
<i>Authority</i>	
<i>Social Stratification</i>	

Table 4: Nordic Model of Coordination

Characteristics	Nordic Model of Coordination
<i>Institutional Arrangement</i>	
<i>Bureaucracy/Political Economy</i>	
<i>World View</i>	
<i>Authority</i>	
<i>Social Stratification</i>	

These categories align closest to Weber's original epistemological work in interpretivism. Three tables represent the ideal model or varieties of capitalism research that Hay proposed. If we insert these into the politics of place model, then the Nordic Model would represent the equilibrium between the two ideal types of coordination. They provide for a broader categorization of capitalist behaviors across dimensions of society including authority, institutions, labor, and culture. These factors will align with addressing some but not all of Hay's critiques of varieties of capitalism. It still stands that positing an Individualistic ideal type can be a useful heuristic device. However, if in line with an integrative viewpoint on knowledge, progressing the framework in new directions based on new insights into existing theory should allow us to continue developing new modalities for studying and making sense of the economic world.

6. Methodology

To conduct the analysis portion of this thesis, I will employ a qualitative news media analysis as developed and guided by the works of Altheide & Schneider. The media content analysis is rooted in a six-part process where the researcher collects and gathers media content for analysis (Altheide & Schneider, 2013c). Media is an important analysis point in qualitative research to examine ‘symbolic meanings’ associated with current issues and problems (Altheide & Schneider, 2013a, pp. 6–9). As I am adapting Harner’s politics of place which examines capitalist cultural power through symbolic representations in landscapes for the analysis framework of the thesis, news media analysis presents an adaptable mechanism for study within the same paradigm.

The Nordic economic model, as with other forms of capitalism, is a culturally influenced social construction and conditions that formulated the modern political economy. This is the basis of the framework for understanding capitalist-cultural and labor-cultural control of societal identity. As Altheide & Schneider state, “culture is difficult to study because its most significant features are subtle, taken for granted, and enacted in everyday life routines. Our capacity to study many aspects of culture is closely related to theoretical ideas about what is important as well as the technological capacity to capture what we would prefer to examine (2013a, p. 6).” Altheide had written previously in 2005 about the role of media in creating cultures of fear. The information age and improvement of access to news media as primary documents in qualitative research have increased the ability to examine culture and power through news media analysis (Altheide & Schneider, 2013a, pp. 9–11).

As such, to make the most of this analysis, Altheide & Schneider lay out a guideline of steps for following in performing the analysis:

- Define the research question and ensure that the object of study, or data that is being gathered, is appropriate for the study.
- Construct a data collection sheet or protocol to better guide the study.
- Then in developing and understanding the analysis of the study, determine the best sampling strategy.
- Store the original data appropriately.

- Review the protocols against the gathered data to assure that proceeding further with the data is addressing the research question.
- Finally, code and organize the data into groups to summarize and group to formulate descriptive statements about the findings (2013a, p. 20).

These steps are best illustrated in the following diagram from (Altheide & Schneider, 2013c):

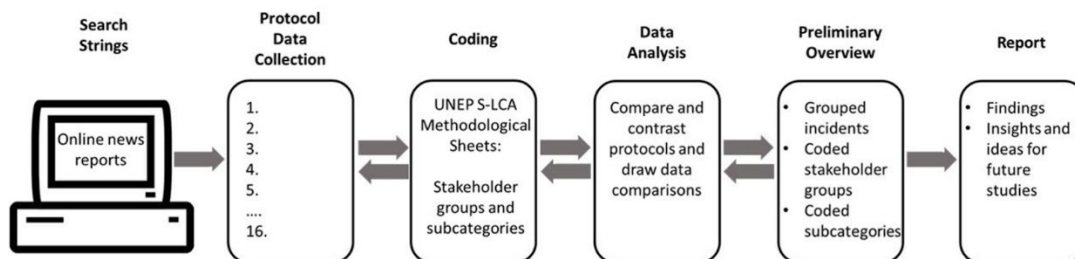


Figure 3: Example of the Qualitative News Media Process (Altheide & Schneider, 2013c)

For this thesis, I will be collecting news media gathered from Google news searches. Search strings are developed to limit results specifically to news articles related to “Tesla,” “Sweden,” and “Labor.”

Table 5: Search Terms

Search Terms:
Tesla
Labor
Conflict
IF Metall
Unions
Sweden
Scandinavia
Nordic Model

With the search strings and keywords developed for the acquisition of news articles for the study, I can begin acquiring the articles for the study. With this conflict between Tesla and Sweden being relatively new and fresh, the ideal optimum target number of news articles for the study

will be between 50 – 100 news articles for coding. The search is limited to articles written in English for this analysis. This is due to my limited proficiency in the Swedish language to be able to dissect the news articles and formulate proper coding. However, Sweden has a high percentage of literacy and speaking competency in English (Löwenadler, 2023) and many Swedish-based news sites also publish in English. Limitations to English-based articles should not unduly bias the findings of this study in my view.

These articles will be loaded into the software program NVIVO, which is a Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS) (Zamawe, 2015, p. 13). NVIVO as a data management tool helps facilitate the qualitative analysis of media by the researcher. It allows the researcher to easier code and analyze documents, expediting the speed at which the researcher can analyze the documents. It does not perform the data analysis itself, unlike statistical software packages, but rather enables the researcher to have more control and time to perform the study (Zamawe, 2015, p. 15).

With the articles gathered, I will select ten articles as a sample from which I will examine meticulously to analyze what trends are noticeable in the discourses upon first reading.

Afterwards, the auto-coding function of Nvivo will be used on the files to code and sort the articles for analysis and identification of sentiment in the articles. Nvivo's auto-coding function is able to scan the files for "positive" and "negative" sentiments in the language used. This enables the researcher to have a better understanding of the overall perceptions prevalent in the writings. Having organized my observations from the ten + articles, I can sort through the auto-coding to find the relevant terms to find descriptive statements in the media encapsulating the dynamics of the conflict. In doing so, I can proceed with an analysis of the cultural tensions between Tesla and Sweden's labor unions for their impact on influencing society under varieties of capitalism.

7. Qualitative News Media Analysis

In total, 53 English-written articles on the Tesla vs Sweden labor conflict were acquired using the developed google search strings in alignment with the methodology of Altheide & Schneider.

The articles covered wide range of interviews with leaders in management at Tesla, politicians, and labor leaders as well as general reporting on the tactics employed by all actors. Those include legal proceedings, demonstrations, strikes, and firm decisions to redress the issue. As per the methodology, ten articles have been selected to build the coding protocol for the analysis.

The below table features the articles selected for discussion pre-coding:

Table 6: News Articles Selected for Coding

“Union chief warns of Tesla threat to Sweden’s model” (Milne, 2023)
“The Tesla strike – a fight for the Swedish model — Nordic Labour Journal” (Wallin, 2023)
“Musk and Tesla are battling unions across Scandinavia. What next in the labor dispute?” (Chan, 2023)
“Elon Musk’s new enemy~ Nordic workers” (Folkman, 2023)
“Elon Musk claims the consequences of Tesla strike in Sweden are 'insane'” (Times & Belga, 2023)
“Background information on IF Metall’s conflict at Tesla” (Metall, n.d.)
“‘Culture clash’ behind strikes against Tesla” (AFP, 2023)
“Tesla’s Anti-Union Model Faces a Massive Challenge In Europe” (Englundh, 2023)
“Wanted: Nordic expert to help Elon Musk defuse Tesla union row” (Milne & Campbell, 2023)
“Tesla Sweden finds another loophole for record deliveries” (Merano, 2024)

These articles were selected based on their headlines in relation to the research objectives of the thesis. Tangentially linked articles within these ten were also looked at for added context.

Subjects of the articles exemplify an emphasis on contentions of the Nordic model with multinational firms. Concepts of cultural compatibility and ideologies of efficient production & accumulation strategies seep through the headlines providing excellent entry points for the development of the codes for the articles.

Analyzing the First Ten Articles

Emphasized in the articles chosen is the importance of the Nordic Model to labor unions and the identity of labor culture in Sweden. The head of IF Metall, Marie Nilsson, views the unwillingness of Tesla to engage in the collective agreement process as a direct challenge to the 1938 Saltsjöbaden Agreement that brought about the genesis of the modern Nordic labor system. “If Tesla shows it’s possible to operate in Sweden without a collective agreement, then other companies could be tempted to do the same. We have a successful model in Sweden. We have tried to explain it. It’s very seldom this type of conflict arises,” states Nilsson (Milne, 2023). Nilsson’s comments showcase that, at least in the case of IF Metall, conceding to Tesla’s business model of not engaging in union negotiations presents an existential crisis for Sweden that could bring about a major shift in the attitudes of other firms towards disengaging with the established labor process. Nilsson also implies that the effect of companies opting out of collective agreements could lead to declines in union membership, jeopardizing the derogation Sweden won with the EU to not have to opt-in to the EU’s minimum wage mandate (Milne, 2023). In another interview, Nilsson directly implicates this conflict as being one of Swedish culture vs American culture: “I think this is kind of a clash between the Swedish or the European culture and the American way of doing business” (AFP, 2023).

IF Metall, in their released statement regarding the strikes on their website, emphasized the importance of collective agreements in maintaining the peaceful industrial relations that have come to characterize Sweden. “As a result, the collective agreement ensures a Swedish labour market with very few industrial actions, conflicts or strikes. It is grounded on a long-standing Swedish tradition of over 100 years of negotiations between the labour market parties. The collective agreement creates a situation of clarity and order for both employees and employers, while avoiding conflicts (Metall, n.d.)” IF Metall’s stance here reiterates that their view is that collective agreements are beneficial to both the worker and the firm, and the historical significance of this model in producing labor harmony. The release also voices the complaints of workers that conditions at Tesla’s facilities are unsafe for workers (Metall, n.d.).

A historical note raised in the AP News article “Musk and Tesla are battling unions across Scandinavia. What next in the labor dispute,” is the similar situation that arose in the 90’s with the retail giant “Toys R Us.” The company, an American-born retailer, in 1995 started up

operations in Sweden and then refused to engage in collective agreement negotiations with the Swedish retail labor unions. This resulted in a 3-month strike that inevitably forced the company to enter into collective agreements in Sweden (Chan, 2023).

Sympathy strikes across other Nordic countries and Germany have significantly ramped up the pressure. Autoworkers unions in Finland, Norway, Denmark, and Germany have all joined in supporting IF Metall's strike against Tesla (Folkman, 2023). Solidarity among the other unions view what is happening in Sweden (and in their own countries with Tesla) as a direct challenge to the Nordic model as whole. "It's a collective battle, in our view. There is no doubt Tesla is a company hostile to workers. Tesla is systematically undermining efforts to unionize and is trying to implement U.S. conditions in Europe," said Jørn Eggum, a leader of Norway's largest union Fellesforbundet (Folkman, 2023). Issues raised about the conditions of workers at Tesla include a spike in sick leave requests due to work conditions, a 5-point evaluation system for workers that predicates upward corporate mobility within the company on overtime without compensation, and retaliatory actions against employees taking sick time including terminations of employment (Wallin, 2023). Many workers at Tesla's facilities are foreign-born and have expressed criticisms of the strikes. Tesla has incentivized workers not to unionize through stock options and internal promotion. And with many workers being foreign-born, they would face significant disruptions to their lives should they lose their jobs at Tesla (Wallin, 2023).

Actions taken by the unions have been broad in their approach to the conflict. Strikes have just been one form of the actions taken by the unions. Pension fund managers in Denmark have begun offloading shares of Tesla from their portfolios, selling off \$105m in Tesla shares and blacklisting Tesla from their portfolios (Chan, 2023; Folkman, 2023). Investors are following the developments of the Nordic strikes with fear of a weakening stock performance from Tesla, as a loss in the fight could signal a time for unionization among Tesla's other facilities globally that could impact earnings and performance (Englundh, 2023). PostNord, Scandinavia's major mail service provider, began halting deliveries of license plates to Tesla facilities preventing Tesla being able to put new cars on the road (AFP, 2023).

Tesla however has repeatedly sought remediation through the court system in Scandinavia. Tesla sued PostNord over the failure to deliver the license plates and secured a victory for maintaining its operations through a loophole in Swedish laws allowing for the use of replacement plates to

get vehicles on the road without the need for the permanent plates held up at PostNord facilities (Alvarez, 2024a; Merano, 2024). Tesla's Model Y continues to be the best-selling car in Sweden despite the ongoing strikes (Alvarez, 2024a), and the Nordics purchase more Tesla's than any other single European country despite only being Tesla's fifth-largest market (Milne & Campbell, 2023). One of Tesla's most notable actions against the strikes has been a job listing by Tesla in Scandinavia seeking a regulatory change expert in Sweden that has a proven track record of lobbying for regulatory and legal changes in Nordic countries (Milne & Campbell, 2023). The official job posting states, "to help ensure that the political, regulatory and fiscal frameworks in the 'Nordics' (Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, and Iceland) support Tesla's mission" (Milne & Campbell, 2023).

Tesla and its owner have continued to engage in rhetoric against unions. Elon Musk, the owner of Tesla as well as X (formerly Twitter), has engaged in periodic exchanges of discourse regarding his anti-union stance and the criticisms launched by the union leaders. Musk has criticized unions, saying the strikes are "insane" and that he does not believe in unions as they create a "lords and peasants" system (Chan, 2023). He has levied opinions that the bankruptcy of GM and Chrysler in the US was due in part to the UAW (United Autoworkers) Union. Adding that if Tesla workers unionize it is due to the company's own "failure" (Chan, 2023). Tesla's Norwegian division leader, Axel Tangen has expressed that Tesla has no formal global policy on labor expressing an anti-unionization view (Milne & Campbell, 2023).

Union leaders have launched numerous direct complaints against Elon Musk himself, not just Tesla as an entity. "We don't allow union-free zones! Not even on Mars, Elon Musk!" stated Christiane Benner of Germany's IG Metall (Chan, 2023). While there is a high degree of sympathy strike support across Europe and the Nordics, employer groups such as Almega have raised criticism of what they view as broadly disproportionate sympathy strikes concerning the number of workers actually striking against Tesla (Wallin, 2023). Narratives are charged with attacks levied at institutions, ownership, management, and labor itself.

There are some key takeaways here before auto-coding the articles:

- Both the unions and Tesla view the conflict as an existential threat to their existence. Unions perceive conceding any ground to Tesla in this conflict as weakening the strength of the Nordic model. Tesla in a way is a 'trojan horse' attempting to shift the balance of

power from labor further to firms. Fears that other firms could seize this opportunity to continue to opt-out of engaging in collective agreements with unions would lead to a total transition away from the Nordic model.

- Tesla views unions as an existential threat to their existence. Concession of powers to regulate workplace conditions to the unions and reduction of performance incentives could impact Tesla's market performance weakening its dominance in the industry. Musk's comments about UAW being the cause of GE and Chrysler's bankruptcy, show a fear that unions will stifle growth and firm performance impacting the long-term health of the firm.
- There are parallels evident between Elon Musk and Erik August Forsberg of Separator during the early-1900s. Forsberg also sought, through Taylorism, to introduce performance incentives and internal competition among laborers to boost production. Which the unions have charged Tesla/Musk with doing as well. Both individuals levied negatively charged sentiments at the workers and unions, expressing frustrations with the retaliation of workers against their policies.
- Union discourse and rhetoric casts stones at the perceived desire of Tesla to implement "American work culture" in the Nordics. Tesla operations originating from the American labor system model (the LME that Hall & Soskice characterized) are seen as negative conditions incompatible with Nordic labor culture. IF Metall has significantly referenced the historical precedent for harmonious labor relations for the past 100-odd years in Sweden. The 1938 Saltsjöbaden Agreement is a core pillar of Nordic culture that helped shape industrial relations into what they are today in Scandinavia. There is a cultural component in this fight that can be interpreted as a fight for the Swedish way of life in the wake of increasingly globalized labor relations.
- Tesla's tactics for fighting back against the unions are predicated upon fighting them in the courts. Analyzing this behavior from the Hall & Soskice model of the LME, it would appear rational on the part of Tesla to approach the issue trying to garner favorable court decisions against the unions given the LME characteristics of their country of origin (USA). LME's feature a legal institutional framework largely benefitting the employer in labor disputes, with the labor market consolidating decision-making power largely with the firm in matters of work-place conditions, labor reductions, and performance

incentives. However, Tesla has made little headway in terms of legal wins in the matter, as the legal framework of Sweden's institutions largely exists to facilitate the collective agreement process. The win that Tesla has managed is a small one in the larger context of the impact of the strikes (despite discourses from the pro-Tesla media as this win being indicative of the genius of Tesla/Musk (Merano, 2024)).

- Tesla's shift, in the face of legal hurdles, in its fight against the unions signals that Tesla both won't back down into collective agreement negotiations and will instead explore the potential of getting the government to institute laws favorable to firms. Acts to directly influence the organization of Sweden's political economy are a direct example of the firm attempting to change the Nordic Model, seeking favorable conditions for the firm. It also shows a weakness in cultural understanding in the business development process of Tesla. Cultural compatibility between Tesla's operations and the Nordic model does not appear to have been relevant in the minds of decision-makers within the firm when evaluating the potential for establishing operations in Scandinavia.
- The comments by the head of Almega regarding the disproportionality of the sympathy strikes offer insight into how much of an existential threat the unions view Tesla. As past literature has told us, the overall membership and presence in and of unions in Sweden has significantly declined since the implementation of neoliberal reforms throughout the country. The weakening of existing institutional structures through past reforms that have weakened union powers already has set the conditions for a response by the unions that could be perceived as disproportionate on the side of capital, while necessary on the part of labor to prevent further weakening of labor relations globally.
- The global monitoring of the Sweden vs Tesla conflict showcases the ripple effect of information flows across space and time. Union organizers in other countries may perceive this conflict as indicative of a much broader global labor fight against the further weakening of industrial relations/labor rights in capitalist society. Attempts to shift their political economies in a different direction potentially hinge upon the successes of the Nordic States in combating Tesla's view of industrial relations.

Coding the Articles and Identifying Sentiment

Utilizing these insights from the ten-plus articles examined, analysis in Nvivo began with generating a word query and word cloud visualization of the most commonly appearing words in the articles. This was done as a reference point for the major points of discussion in the articles.

The following parameters were used based on the following parameters:

- Search In – Files & Externals
- Display Words – 100 Most Frequent
- With minimum length – 5 (letters)
- Grouping – With “Synonyms”

Five letters were the selected word length to screen out commonly used grammar devices such as nouns, adjectives, verbs, etc. while not losing references to the countries referenced within (all Scandinavian countries are 6+ letters in length).



Figure 4: Word Cloud Visualization of Query

Examining the word cloud and table (located in the Appendix) the most commonly used terms are “Tesla, Sweden, Swedish, Union, Strike, Workers.” This is to be expected as the articles are primarily dealing with the union strikes in Sweden. The word “model” appears frequently and is likely used in reference, interchangeably, with the Nordic model/Swedish model in the articles.

To get a better grasp of the materials and the terms in their frequency the auto-coding of the

sentiment and themes in the files is performed. Due to their size, both tables can be found in the appendix (2a, 2b and 3) of this thesis.

The auto-coding software for sentiment was performed “per paragraph” rather than “per sentence.” It detected a largely neutral to negative trend in the language used in the coverage. Of the articles highlighted in the above diagram, the one featuring the largest use of negative language was “Sweden: Tesla strike – a taste of working-class power” which was posted on the site “In Defence of Marxism.” One passage in particular read as, “The white-collar workers at the Tesla sites are organised by Unionen. They have refused to call them out on strike because they believe they need to negotiate further with Tesla first and build a “stronger position”. It is hard to imagine a greater idiocy” (Svensson, 2023).

In another article, detected negatively in its sentiment directed at the unions, highlights the contestation between Tesla laborers, “As noted by Swedish newspaper Jönköpings-Posten (JP), some employees at Tesla’s facility in Hedentorp have placed a fairly large banner on a fence highlighting a simple but direct message — they are fine. IF Metall’s protests against Tesla Sweden were triggered by the electric vehicle maker’s lack of a collective agreement. The trade union has argued that it would be able to fight for Tesla employees if the company had an agreement. Tesla Sweden, for its part, has argued that its workers are already compensated better than if they were unionized” (Alvarez, 2024b).

These highlights showcase some of the negative ideological jabs being lodged back and forth by both sides of the conflict. One stated there is not much of an issue at Tesla’s facilities and many are happy to work there despite not adhering to the Nordic model. The other is a labor-orientated article firing off jabs at white-collar unions and Tesla both. Unions vs Tesla, Laborers vs Unions, Unions vs Unions, evoke the sense that ideas of political economy orientation or modes of coordination are not constrained entirely to a Marxist critique of Labor vs Capital. There is a varying degree of stakeholders that are invested in seeing the existing system maintained or changed. There are also the globalized perceptions of Tesla’s work culture being the product of the American economic model, “In a statement, the Swedish Trade Union Confederation said: “In Sweden, we should not have American conditions. If we allow a giant company to do as they wish, more will follow” (Smythe, 2023). Perceptions of those in support of the Nordic model and

the fight against Tesla can also see it as a fight against the American culture of the LME that Hall & Soskice observed.

The articles examined contained no single article that was cleared an overwhelmingly positive majority in its sentiment. The highest scoring article at 35.62% overwhelmingly positive was the article, “Cleaners join solidarity strike at Tesla in Sweden.” The language highlighted by the software, “They are going up against Elon Musk, the richest man in the world, as he tries to change the rules of the game in every industry and country he enters. But while he may refuse to negotiate a collective agreement, Swedish dockers have responded by refusing to handle Tesla’s import, and now cleaners by refusing to clean Tesla sites. This powerful act of solidarity with Tesla workers is about protecting the Swedish model, where collective bargaining ultimately sets working conditions” (“Cleaners Join Solidarity Strike at Tesla in Sweden,” 2023). The language here very positively framed the acts of solidarity across unions as tackling the richest man in the world to prevent him from changing “the rules of the game in every industry and country he enters.”

Of particular note is that 51/53 articles scanned contained 391 references of negative sentiment as recorded by Nvivo’s software. 46/53 articles contained positive sentiment language with only 216 total references recorded. The language used in the media’s portrayal of the issue leans largely negative signaling that the topic is very divisive across media reporting. Negative sentiment correlates strongly with the “Agenda-Setting Theory” in news media analysis. Overwhelming use of negative sentiment can set-up a narrative that an issue is a lot larger and/or more divisive than it may actually appear in reality (Larcinese et al., 2011; Luo et al., 2019). Negative coverage can lead public discourse into more combative and territorial type analysis of an issue creating bias and polarization. Media thus, becomes the site of ideological conflict rather than reporting of an issue, attempting to sway public support in one direction or another. This has implications then for how future changes may occur in terms of policy. This is highlighted by an opinion piece in The Guardian, “However, this system will become unsustainable if employers begin opting out. The alternatives would then be to extend collective agreements by law, as in some other European countries – or to simply use legislation, which relegates labour market issues to the realm of party politics and usually sets standards far below collectively bargained provisions” (Bender, 2024).

Relating to the central research question of the thesis, this is not purely a labor conflict or “strike.” It is an ideological battle between ideologically idealized modes of capitalist coordination between actors. The conflict itself represents the form of capitalism that will emerge from the process of ideological debate. It is not so much labor itself represented, but the institutionalized representation of labor. It is the means and meanings of all actors in space, their equilibrium and divergence, that influence the variety of capitalism.

The Worker

An under-represented point in the articles is the agency of the workers. On both sides there seems to be a denial of the agency of workers to decide for themselves what they wish to decide is in their own best interest. As previously stated, not all workers are currently protesting against Tesla and are opting to continue working despite calls from the unions to join the strikes. On the other side, the repeated anti-union rhetoric and behavior of Musk and Tesla is also denying workers the right to decide whether they should unionize. “If Musk sincerely feels kinship with his worker-peasants, he wouldn’t act like a lord who talks down to them about why they shouldn’t unionize. Instead, he would respect their intelligence and judgment and butt out and let them decide on their own whether they want a union to help improve their wages and working conditions” (Greenhouse, 2023).

The right of the worker to decide their fate is not well touched upon in these portrayals. Musk’s own actions and the actions of Tesla are discussed to undermine support of their outlook on labor. “While Musk enjoys the support of more conservative and free-market supporting Swedes, if he were to dig in, it could alienate the broader Nordic public, as labor unions enjoy wide support that draws on a strong history of cross-border organizing” (Ekblom et al., 2023). Comments made by Musk that unionizing workers should lose their stock options in Tesla (Greenhouse, 2023) is a direct threat against unionization that denies workers the agency to decide whether unionization is right for them.

What the analysis here shows of the articles collected is a competing ideological narrative between labor and capital regarding the overall economy. The strike is not purely about conditions in Tesla’s facilitates but extrapolated to a larger conflict over political economy shifts. Unions wish to maintain and/or strengthen the Nordic model which has largely benefitted labor and the unions themselves. And Tesla seeks to maintain control over its operations and labor

force to maintain market dominance to generate growth. Both are acting in their own best interests. As stated by German Bender, Musk demonstrates an ideological unwillingness to work with the unions (2024). I'd argue that the same can be said about the unions as well, who are viewing any concession to Tesla in negotiations as a weakening of the Nordic model and Swedish values. The two are ideologically incompatible with each other.

Relating Back to Ideal Types of Variety

What does this say about capitalist ideal types then? Much literature has focused on comparative advantages and strategies of institutional arbitrage in the wake of Hall & Soskice's original framework. But it stands to reason then there is no need for Musk to lobby Scandinavian governments for reforms to benefit Tesla if strategies could be employed by management to leverage global political economy arrangements to benefit Tesla's growth. Same with unions. If the worker is fine with their conditions within the economy and with their firm of employment, then there would be no need to fight for further strengthening of their position.

Logically then it stands to reason that capitalism does come in varieties, but not in the forms that Hall & Soskice or Massey viewed. Rather capitalism ranges between two idealized modes of coordination on the parts of capital and labor. Both are defined by ideology, perceptions, and their positions within society. As Harner has shown in his work, the contention between the two has to be brought into balance in order for growth to proceed on both sides. However, both will attempt to shift the balance of power towards one side. It is here that capitalist variety emerges as the equilibrium between the two idealized modes of coordination through ideological conflict. The LME and CME are Hall & Soskice's individualistic-ideal types that fall within the grander conceptualization of capitalist variety. They are not the poles from which capitalism swings, rather they are the forms swinging between the idealized poles of capitalism and labor within the cultural context of the State. As an economic system, capitalism at its root is predicated upon growth. Whether that be growth in the part of capital (firms and institutions) or growth in terms of the standards of living among workers. The pursuit of growth on each side inevitably leads to conflict and shifts in the form that capitalism takes shape. It is fluid and dependent upon the consent of all parties in the market for it to work.

8. Conclusions

Rationalization & Social Stratification

Analyzing the data and historical literature on capitalism from an interpretivist perspective provides greater insight into the behaviors of firms and labor. There are varying degrees of labor division in the Nordic Model, that are themselves contested with one another. White-collar unions are not participating in solidarity strikes with the blue-collar unions. A rationale I would posit to explain this phenomenon relates to the idea of “buffer-zones” within a society's class relations. Solidarity with the blue-collar workers could weaken their position in society, and thus not participating is a means to prevent downward pressure on the white-collar classes' mobility bringing them more in line with the blue-collar workers in terms of living standards (Ashcraft, 1979). The lack of uniformity across divisions of labor in solidarity fragments labor power within society to gain concessions from the firm. Thus, within the politics of place, labor's fragmentation of identity and solidarity produces space for capital to enact its changes.

From the purely firm-centered view of capitalism, there should be no need for shifts in the structure of the political economy. Theories of *institutional comparative advantage* where firms make use of unique institutional arrangements in the political economy to develop (Hall et al., 2001) and *institutional arbitrage* where multinational firms leverage different institutional advantages of different countries (Perkmann et al., 2022, p. 7) would appear then on the surface that there would be no need for the firm to influence the State in political economy matters. They will make use of arrangements as they exist and build competencies accordingly. However, firms do attempt to influence the political economy and create more favorable conditions for their growth. In the US, the Supreme Court is currently weighing a court case brought by herring fishermen that could lead to widespread neutering of federal powers to regulate industries (Johnson, 2024). This would have large-scale ramifications for environmental and labor protection in the U.S. If the U.S. institutional arrangement under its political economy is already unique and firms adapt to its structure, would change be sought after on the firm's part? Same for the Nordic model where neoliberal reforms are being instituted towards a capital-based identity when the system already operates within an optimal mode of coordination between labor and capital.

The reality is that institutional arrangements are just a symptom of capitalisms, they are not the unique identifier for the production of capitalist social phenomena. Ideology of how to best operate within capitalist society is the identifier. Capitalist identity has a more uniform objective for growth and expansion across industries. Its ideology is more consistent and stable. There are some challenges to this notion such as the rise of Environmental-Social Governance (ESG) in firm operations to ensure firms are not just providing growth but a net benefit to the progress of society beyond financial growth (Mohammad & Wasiuzzaman, 2021). Still, whether it be financial growth or providing a net benefit to society, these are objectively and subjectively both forms of growth. Both concepts further ideas of progress.

Labor, however, has more subjective identities and ideologies. The product of intense ideological debates over the human conditions and what it means to live a “good life.” “Villa, Volvo, Vovve” and “The American Dream” are two conceptualizations of this identity dilemma. As Weber believed, “The Spirit of Capitalism” and the early formation of modern capitalism was born of the Protestant work ethic and belief system in the delayed gratification of the fruits of one's labor. While Protestantism presents a Euro-centric view of cultural/religious influence on the construction of capitalism, it nonetheless points to an ideological condition which influences how the worker rationalizes life within society. The conceptualization of growth, how to achieve it, and what it looks like is subject to the societal zeitgeist. An example of this is the current debate over moving away from growth towards “degrowth.” This economic model is highly critical of the economic growth mindset that has pushed the Earth toward its ecological capacity (Kallis et al., 2018). Degrowth is an ideological transition towards a system where individuals can live well with less resource consumption (Kallis et al., 2018). A reconceptualization of what the “good life” means is necessary to facilitate such a transition where societies have been constructed around the pursuit of upward class mobility and increases in living standards/consumption. Consent of the worker to an idealized model of life is dependent upon the dominant discourses occurring in society regarding what that society deems as the standard for a good life. Making labor identities more easily fragmentable than capital.

Institutional arrangements are subject to changes over time, especially if institutions become dysfunctional. There is no institutional arrangement that can serve as an appropriate ideal type pole for capitalisms to fall between. Ideology and the cultural formulations of capital ultimately

shape institutions and structures. “The Spirit of Capitalism” is the underlying cultural, economic, and political conditions that shape everyday life. The means and meaning of what it means to be an actor within space in a given societal context. Capitalist structures are born of the rationalization of everyday life, world views, social stratification, and the ways in which authority and bureaucracy reinforce the socio-economic identity of place.

Thus, the divergence of means and meaning between identities is the focal point of change. Hegemony and counterhegemony are the ideological forces maintaining or opposing an existing mode of coordination. Harner viewed counterhegemony as being opposed to the control over the means of production by capital. In the case of Sweden vs Tesla, capital has emerged as the counterhegemony to the dominant labor identity of Sweden. Fragmentation of either identity creates disequilibrium and opens space for conflict to reconstruct the identity. Complex divisions of labor and class relations lead to competing views of consent within the system. Consent of all parties in the negotiations to end conflict are necessary to reach a new equilibrium. The equilibrium and consent of all parties become the variety of capitalism that emerges.

What is occurring in Sweden is the reopening of that conflict. The identity of the Swedish/Nordic markets has long held an established labor-based identity. The process of globalizing forces and the opening of the market to multinationals has introduced new ideologies, especially those of neoliberal persuasion, into the public debate. You have unions trying to maintain the existing model, Tesla pushing for a more capital-oriented model, and individuals in the middle trying to decide what is best for themselves.

World View

The change of voting patterns in Sweden away from the social democrats, the increase of foreign-born workers operating outside of the existing structure, and the decline of union membership have led to a fragmented identity of labor within Swedish society. In line with Roberts, the fragmentation of cultural identity under these pressures leads to the emergence of populist political candidates like the Swedish Democrats (2019). These candidates seize upon the dissatisfaction with institutional dysfunction and lead the masses in the direction of economic reforms either moving away from the established identity or in the reinforcement of it.

This places the established model in jeopardy as ideological conflict enters the public domain. The conflict between capitalist identities and labor identities. Musk has been very vocal in his disdain for unions. He is ideologically opposed to them much like Forsberg. There are parallels between the current crisis, the Toys R' Us strikes in 1995, and the Separator strikes in the 1910's which led to the Saltsjöbaden Agreement in 1938. The key difference here being that union and class solidarity were stronger during those previous strikes. Union membership was still relatively high during the 90's before more large-scale neoliberal reforms were instituted leading to the influx of foreign capital and workers. Identity and ideological beliefs were more unified.

The unions in Sweden participating in the strike are seeing this as a "last stand" and rallying cry against the forces of globalization challenging societal structures and identity. Musk, at time of writing, is the richest man in the world and a considerable force globally thanks to his access to large amounts of capital and influence. He is an opponent to the unions with considerably more strength than Forsberg was.

Bureaucracy & Authority

Musk has shown he is willing to back his ideological beliefs with capital. The hiring of lobbyists to reform the Nordic Model shows this isn't a matter of misunderstanding the Nordic Model, but a categorical opposition. Capital, or firms, are the party that generally seeks out greater State intervention in markets. Whereas labor seeks out deregulation to more freely negotiate conditions of class mobility which provides for a greater degree of equality (Ashcraft, 1979). The Nordic Model's high degree of deregulation in the labor market created a Pareto-optimal labor market where unions could freely negotiate labor conditions for the classes they represented, producing growth both for capital and labor. Bureaucracy and authority were formulated as institutional conditions facilitating the right of labor to organize and set their living standards in negotiation with capital to facilitate an ideal mode of coordination. Marie Nilsson's expression of concern over the EU minimum wage mandate coming into force in Sweden if union membership drops further demonstrates labor adversity to State intervention in the market (Milne, 2023). State interventions into the markets would only serve as a further disruption of this mode of coordination.

Musk and Tesla want globally universal conditions of uniformity across labor relations instituted by the State and will use capital as power to influence States to enact those reforms. Capital's

desire for more State intervention here in the market can be seen as a desire to institute universal conditions in the labor market. This would make the market more navigable for the firm and exert downward pressure on wages, lowering labor costs if the union's bargaining positions were jeopardized by the institution of State regulation. This would be an optimal solution for the extraction of value from labor, as lower wages would decrease operating costs for the firm. Firms are seeking the authority of the State to enact reforms that reign labor in. While labor seeks the authority of the State to facilitate their right to organize and negotiate with the firms.

Under Weber's interpretivism, the unions are acting on the tenant of rational-legal authority. They are adhering to the established laws and procedures of the State. Tesla is acting out of its belief system in an ideal mode of capitalist coordination antithetical to the Nordic model.

What can holistic ideal types teach us about capitalisms?

Building on Hay, the LME/CME poles are unlikely provide to an accurate understanding of capitalist behavior and the challenges of crisis in capitalisms. Individualistic ideal types are useful heuristic devices for certain modes of analysis, such as the examination of optimal institutional arrangements for the firm under Hall & Soskice. If the LME is an ideal type that exemplifies the conditions best suited for firms with finance-oriented business models, then there again should be no reason for capital to pursue further reforms to benefit their stature in the system. Same with firms of a production/manufacturing orientation under the CME. If existing institutional arrangements work and facilitate adequate production and growth there is no need for ideological reforms and changes in structures to further benefit actors in that ideal type. They have already achieved an optimal mode of capitalist coordination between capital and labor. The structures of society and institutions do not shape the culture of society, but rather vice-versa. Ideology, belief-systems, shape the ways in which institutions and markets are formed. Institutions are reflections of the values of a society. The Nordic's high degree of social welfare institutions to provide for the general well-being of individuals is a reflection of the values of Scandinavian society in preventing those in society from falling into intense hardship. A politics of care. The institutional arrangement of the U.S is a reflection of its values of hard work and productivity, forcing those displaced in the workforce right back into any form of labor to survive since there is a lack of social safety nets. These ideologies are reproduced in the media

narratives (agenda-setting) and physical environment (landscape representation) as weapons of socio-economic conflict.

Formulating holistic ideal types then is the best path to understanding these dynamic processes. Globally, capitalist variety is diverse, and impossible to create a taxonomy. As this thesis shows, varieties of capitalism are dynamically fluid concepts that are ever-changing. Only existing in equilibrium for short periods in the grand scheme of history. Creating a taxonomy would require a breadth of global history and the individual histories of all States currently operating under a capitalist system. It would quickly become outdated by the process of changes across space and time. It is better to create a more abstract sense of the poles from which capitalisms swing to better align analysis of crisis, conflict, and structures. Here, I will posit the three ideal types of capitalism mentioned in the epistemology for which to inspire future research in this domain utilizing the chart from the epistemology of Weber and Hay's critique, drawing influence from the media analysis and integrative review:

Table 7: Capitalist Ideal Type of Coordination (CITC)

Characteristics	Capitalist Ideal Type of Coordination (CITC)
<i>Institutional Arrangement</i>	Capital would seek logic, efficiency, and calculation in making business decisions. This would formulate firm behavior supporting the most consistent path toward exponential growth. The ideological constant across all firms is the pursuit of growth. Firms/Industry will seek ideal modes of coordination that facilitate the most exponential growth. Behavior is rationalized within the context of meeting this goal and can be brought into contention with alternative value systems/culture. Optimal modes of coordination will ultimately be those weighted in the firm's ability to operate

	<p>efficiently while maintaining internal control over decision-making. Labor markets would be fluid with a robust supply of high-skilled workers, while still allowing freedom to shed labor costs in a downturn.</p>
<i>Bureaucracy/Political Economy</i>	<p>The government would seek to reinforce the ability of the firm to navigate space and time fluidly. Government would not constrain the ability of the firm to expand into new markets or the pursuit of profits. Institutions and laws would be based on logic and reason that support industrial activities and growth, allowing easy navigation of societal structures so as to not impede development progress. Proprietary information would be protected by strong copyright laws. The Iron Cage of Rationality would emerge when regulation of industry hinders progress and the ability of the industry to achieve consistent, stable growth.</p>
<i>World View</i>	<p>Firms facilitation of radical innovation is not impeded by the cultural values of society. Scientific progress is unhindered by regulation. Secularism ensures that all avenues of growth are free of values-based impediments within society.</p>
<i>Authority</i>	<p>The firms maintains its sense of autonomy and ability to function. The firm is the key-decision maker and self-regulates itself in the pursuit of efficiency. Exerting full control</p>

	over investment, divestment, and the authority structure of the labor environment.
Social Stratification	Class hierarchies must lead to a clear spatial division of labor that supports the operations of the firm. Power would be consolidated with the firm acting as the top level of the hierarchy where decisions are made unilaterally by decision makers. Workers would find self-fulfillment in service to the firm. Workers would accept humility in pay and benefits as assigned by the company.

Table 8: Labor Ideal Type of Coordination (LITC)

Characteristics	Labor Ideal Type of Coordination (LITC)
<i>Institutional Arrangements</i>	Labor pursues growth in the quality of living standards in relation to the values of individuals in society. Rationalization is formulated by seeking labor processes and arrangements granting the greatest quality of life for the individual. External variables outside the workplace impact the ways in which labor dynamics formulate and perceptions of value/worth in the workplace.
<i>Bureaucracy/Political Economy</i>	Government would seek to reinforce the rights of the worker and provide adequate checks and balances preventing labor abuse or facilitating an avenue for the laborer to air grievances against their employer. Laws and regulations would protect the individual and provide security from exploitation. The Iron

	<p>Cage of Rationality would emerge where institutional arrangements and laws become unnavigable for the average worker.</p> <p>Bureaucracy which overwhelmingly benefits the firm and prevents restitution for grievances would lead to disillusionment with the system.</p>
<i>World View</i>	<p>The ideology of the society imbued from cultural processes are emphasized. Actions of the individual are rationalized within the grander conceptualizations of what it means to live a good life. The notion of this is fluid and its achievability is subject to the consent of the majority towards a unified view on life. This in turn manifests how satisfaction is derived from labor. The individual should be free to pursue their objectives and freedoms, un beholden to the will of external forces. Values-based systems would reinforce the societal values of either class solidarity or division.</p>
<i>Authority</i>	<p>Authorities exist to protect the worker from abuse. Power is balanced between the firm and the individual in achieving a safe and fair work environment while still facilitating industrial growth to increase realized growth in wages supporting the worker's quality of life. Authorities would reassert the rights of the individual.</p>
<i>Social Stratification</i>	<p>The notion of class would be entirely dependent upon society's worldview.</p>

	<p>Satisfaction with class standing is dependent upon the consent of the individual towards their present status and quality of life. The complex interactions of cultural dynamics and the ability to navigate institutional arrangements.</p>
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Table 9: Nordic Model Ideal-Type of Coordination (NMITC)

Characteristics	Nordic Model Ideal-Type of Coordination (NMITC)
<i>Institutional Arrangement</i>	<p>A robust social welfare system with well-funded public resources such as education, unemployment insurance, healthcare, and public transportation networks. The welfare state exists to create a buffer zone to prevent the working class from falling into intense poverty and hardship. A robust education system provides for a highly educated workforce capable of producing across all industries by reinforcing a highly skilled workforce. Labor institutions reinforce the right of the worker to exercise their rights in the workforce to a safe workplace and adequate standard of living. Institutions are a product of a long-storied history of labor struggle and solidarity. Deregulated labor markets have facilitated a robust union system facilitating class mobility. Meanwhile, neoliberalized reforms have injected new free-market ideologies into existing</p>

	institutions leading to the attraction of foreign capital and foreign-born workers.
<i>Bureaucracy/Political Economy</i>	Bureaucracy is predicated upon efficiency. Historical precedence established a system of bureaucracy dependent upon core competencies and skills to accomplish the job, rather than appointments of bureaucrats through the situation of birth (wealth/bloodlines). This led to a highly efficient state with a high degree of public trust in institutions due to the strong economic and military performance of the State over time. Policymaking has largely sought to reinforce the existing system, with only very recent introductions of neoliberal reforms to markets and institutions in modern history. Weber's Iron Cage of Rationality emerges in the form of institutional dysfunction leading to the rise of populist political candidates like the Swedish Democrats. Their rise to power on the backs of views of a broken immigration system in Sweden has led to further neoliberal reforms of the Nordic Model.
<i>World View</i>	Current world views express humility and content with the expressed ideal of a good-life exemplified by the semi-satirical saying, "Villa, Volvo, Vovve." Rationalization of the everyday life is built simple core tenants of home ownership, the owning of a vehicle for transportation, and a companionship (here in

	<p>reference to a pet dog). The development of this model of everyday life and world view has led to the large importation of foreign-born workers as human capital for growing the economy. These tenants express core values of hard work and conservative/thrifty work values in line with Weber's notion of protestant influence on the formation of capitalist society.</p>
<i>Authority</i>	<p>High degrees of faith in institutions have led to a high degree of peaceful relations between labor and capital due to the high degree of historical competencies in bureaucracy. Authority exists as a facilitator and enforcer of the right for workers to organize under collective agreements with firms through union representation. This means unions are able to a wide-ranging degrees of tactics to impact and disrupt firm operations to gain concessions in negotiations. Other unions are able to participate in sympathy strikes to support fellow workers out of solidarity under the legal framework.</p>
Social Stratification	<p>In line with theories of class conflict and facilitation of equality, the structure of society and institutions is built around facilitating class mobility through deregulated labor markets controlled by unions and trade groups. The institution of welfare state policies facilitated a buffer zone preventing extreme poverty. However, the deregulated</p>

	<p>labor market has also created buffer zones in class mobility exemplified by the contention between the blue-collar unions and white-collar unions regarding sympathy strike participation. Higher-class divisions do not want to lose their own bargaining power and benefits through solidarity with lower-class divisions of labor.</p>
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In Closing

Capitalist variety exists very tangibly globally, and it is evident in the uniqueness of people and the spaces we inhabit as well as the social phenomena that emerge. Varieties are born of the ideological conflict over how best to facilitate the capitalist system. Our forms of capitalism from which many studies are built around, are only formed in these shapes due to the consent of capital and labor ideologically towards achieving end goals of coordination. The behaviors of both are subject to change and are not beholden to any fixed institutional arrangements. Both sides will seek reinforcement of their positions, or a potential shift changing these arrangements. Harner's politics of place framework stands to reason as the best instrument of measuring these dynamic processes that leads to an expanded literature on capitalist variety.

There is much still to be studied in capitalisms. Here, the dynamic of conflict between Tesla and Sweden was examined with the point of contention being the firm behaviors and logics behind its self-interest in capital growth being the site of conflict. Sweden's Nordic model has already experienced deterioration in the wake of neoliberal ideological concessions and this conflict is simply a flashpoint for public debate on the path of which Sweden is heading in terms of economic identity and the institutionalized representation of labor. No State is free of such conflict no matter how harmonious. Capitalisms in Latin America, Africa, and Eastern Europe are more prone to wild swings in populism and reformations of the political economy than other more economically stable societies, and the process of change can be more rapid and radical as a result (Roberts, 2019). Argentina has proven a recent example worthy of further study as the Milei government proceeds with instituting large-scale, anarcho-capitalist reforms in the

economy that will dismantle the established welfare state shifting closer to a capital-based identity (Tobias & Simauchi, 2024). The role of populism affecting economic changes by playing into the “will of the people” whom have become disillusioned with their living standards is a site for further research in understanding how ideology and narratives effect the shape of capitalist institutional arrangements (Roberts, 2019).

Lastly, it remains to be seen what will become of the Nordic model. There is a great deal of solidarity among the blue-collar labor unions in opposing Musk’s global production ideology. Sweden has had a great deal of success in the past waging conflict against firms attempting to institute ideological reforms in the workplace categorically opposed to the cultural beliefs of Swedish society. But the strength of the unions has waned and become more fragmented in the time since those wins. The future of “Villa, Volvo, Vovve” as a phenomenon of socioeconomic and cultural identity is in jeopardy. And as Musk has shown in his rhetoric, “It’s my way or the highway...”

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11. Appendix

1: Word Query Results Table:

Word	Length	Count	Weighted Percentage (%)
tesla	5	828	3.81
union	5	799	3.23
workers	7	360	1.66
strike	6	398	1.64
sweden	6	349	1.61
swedish	7	323	1.49
agreement	9	311	1.30
collective	10	293	1.28
metall	6	228	1.05
company	7	198	0.91
working	7	296	0.77
country	7	182	0.67
labour	6	200	0.67
conflict	8	193	0.56
refusing	8	139	0.56
employees	9	117	0.54
taking	6	317	0.54
model	5	123	0.52
action	6	126	0.51
market	6	103	0.45
transport	9	109	0.45
support	7	143	0.44
bargaining	10	97	0.41
nordic	6	85	0.39
right	5	134	0.39
mechanics	9	90	0.39
trade	5	94	0.38
plates	6	80	0.36
industrial	10	93	0.36
rules	5	106	0.36
members	7	79	0.35
stopped	7	146	0.35
conditions	10	89	0.34
issue	5	151	0.33
service	7	82	0.33
sympathy	8	78	0.33
negotiations	12	79	0.33

directly	8	212	0.31
continue	8	111	0.31
world	5	97	0.30
going	5	182	0.29
carmaker	8	63	0.29
electric	8	87	0.29
postal	6	61	0.28
covered	7	146	0.28
vehicles	8	60	0.28
business	8	81	0.27
think	5	103	0.27
wages	5	68	0.27
tried	5	81	0.26
court	5	84	0.26
called	6	64	0.25
pressure	8	77	0.24
including	9	56	0.24
solidarity	10	52	0.24
license	7	54	0.24
repair	6	60	0.24
employers	9	113	0.23
workshops	9	64	0.23
allow	5	75	0.23
first	5	86	0.22
agency	6	80	0.22
power	5	113	0.22
clear	5	103	0.21
reach	5	92	0.21
important	9	73	0.21
advertisement	13	62	0.21
international	13	72	0.21
united	6	94	0.21
dockworkers	11	44	0.20
system	6	104	0.19
deliver	7	47	0.19
across	6	41	0.19
norway	6	41	0.19
since	5	40	0.18
years	5	47	0.18
germany	7	39	0.18
labor	5	76	0.18
maker	5	61	0.18
place	5	101	0.18
reported	8	77	0.18

comment	7	53	0.18
pension	7	38	0.17
fight	5	92	0.17
create	6	57	0.17
denmark	7	37	0.17
movement	8	76	0.17
announced	9	41	0.17
several	7	68	0.17
growing	7	84	0.16
around	6	42	0.16
relations	9	70	0.16
signed	6	48	0.16
government	10	124	0.16
october	7	34	0.16
measures	8	56	0.15
europe	6	33	0.15
dispute	7	73	0.15
institutional	13	75	0.15
danish	6	32	0.15

2a: Auto-coded Sentiment Results Table:

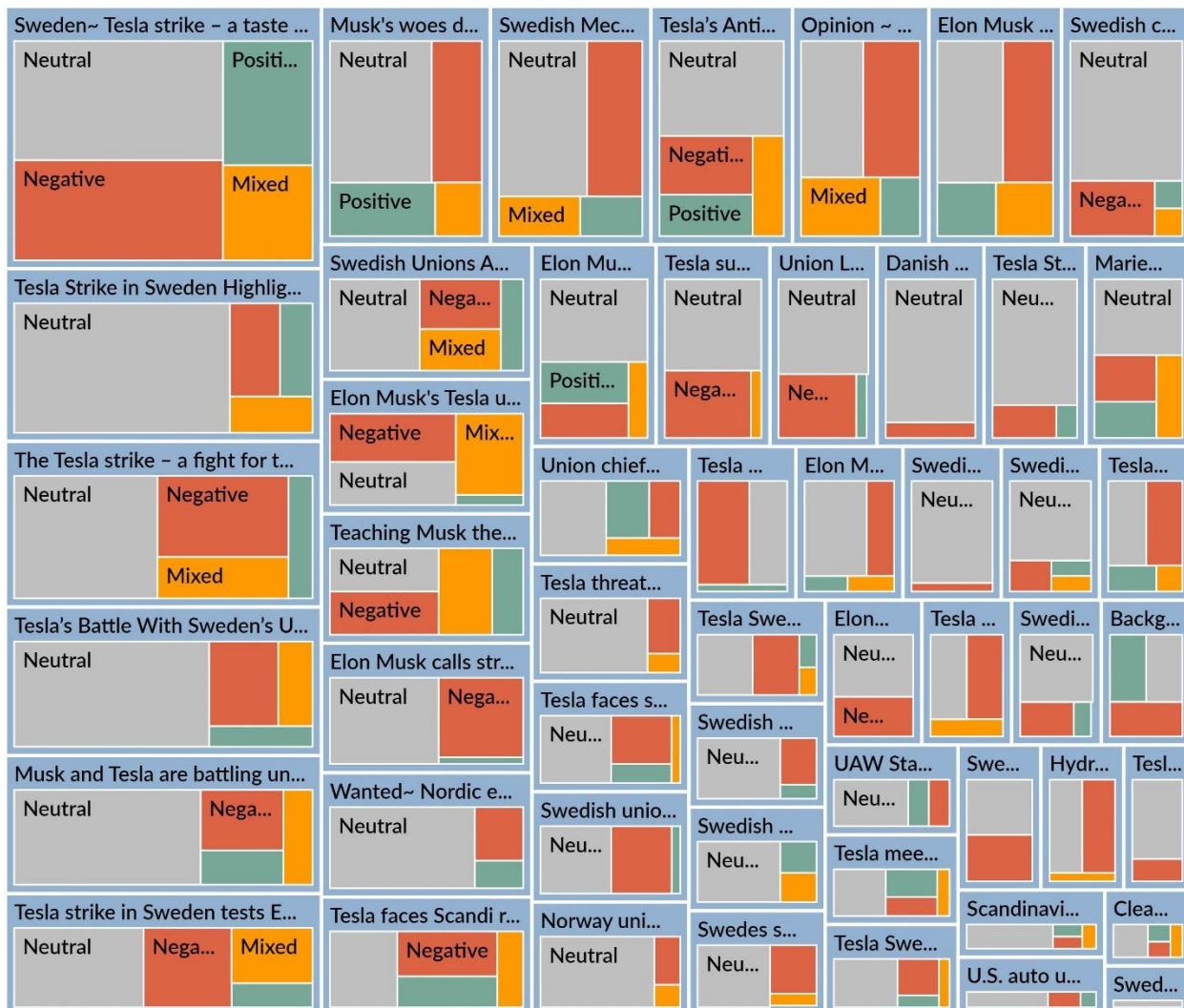
	A : Very negative	B : Moderate ly negative	C : Moderate ly positive	D : Very positive
1 : Files\Background information on IF Metall's conflict at Tesla - IF Metall	0%	41.88%	27.27%	30.84%
2 : Files\Cleaners join solidarity strike at Tesla in Sweden	0%	53.59%	10.78%	35.62%
3 : Files\Danish labour union joins Swedish strike action against Tesla ~ Reuters	0%	100%	0%	0%
4 : Files\Elon Musk calls strikes 'insane' as Swedish workers take on Tesla ~ Sweden ~ The Guardian	14.35%	76.54%	9.11%	0%
5 : Files\Elon Musk claims the consequences of Tesla strike in Sweden are 'insane'	28.57%	71.43%	0%	0%
6 : Files\Elon Musk doesn't understand Sweden's unions. If he did, he'd work with them ~ German Bender ~ The Guardian	10.79%	39.81%	19.06%	30.34%

7 : Files\\Elon Musk says letting workers unionize creates 'lords and peasants'. What~ ~ Steven Greenhouse ~ The Guardian	30.56 %	28.64%	23.79%	17.01 %
8 : Files\\Elon Musk takes zealot stance against union as Tesla strike expands in Sweden ~ Electrek	13.62 %	52.58%	33.8%	0%
9 : Files\\Elon Musk's new enemy~ Nordic workers – POLITICO	0%	0%	0%	0%
10 : Files\\Elon Musk's Tesla union troubles escalate rapidly in Scandinavia ~ Fortune Europe	29.46 %	38.22%	27.69%	4.64%
11 : Files\\Hydro says 20 workers in Sweden may lose job over Tesla union conflict ~ Reuters	18.78 %	70.05%	0%	11.17 %
12 : Files\\Marie Nilsson, the Swedish union leader taking on Elon Musk	28.66 %	20.81%	29.83%	20.7%
13 : Files\\Musk and Tesla are battling unions across Scandinavia. What next in the labor dispute~ ~ AP News	13.99 %	42.82%	39.51%	3.68%
14 : Files\\Musk's woes deepen as Tesla strike spreads across Scandinavia	8.21%	44.5%	29.54%	17.75 %
15 : Files\\Norway union joins Tesla blockade in support for Swedish workers ~ Reuters	22.63 %	54.74%	22.63%	0%
16 : Files\\Opinion ~ Elon Musk's Swedish Problem~ Has the Anti-Union Billionaire Finally Met his Match~ ~ Common Dreams	17.41 %	47.16%	15.01%	20.42 %
17 : Files\\Scandinavian unions say Musk 'can't just make his own rules' – Workers World	47.67 %	0%	52.33%	0%
18 : Files\\Sweden~ Tesla strike – a taste of working-class power ~ Sweden ~ Europe	22.95 %	37.05%	32%	8%
19 : Files\\Sweden's polite war with Elon Musk	0%	0%	0%	0%
20 : Files\\Swedes support Tesla mechanics' strike, poll shows ~ Reuters	0%	83.25%	0%	16.75 %
21 : Files\\Swedish court rules against Tesla in labour dispute; Finnish union joins strike ~ Reuters	23.85 %	48.12%	28.03%	0%
22 : Files\\Swedish labour union to stop collecting Tesla waste ~ Reuters	25.12 %	29.95%	44.93%	0%
23 : Files\\Swedish Mechanics Are Fighting Tesla for Union Rights ~ Progressive International	15.76 %	55.84%	25.75%	2.65%

24 : Files\\Swedish metal union threatens to strike at Tesla over collective bargaining agreement	0%	53.44%	46.56%	0%
25 : Files\\Swedish postal workers join mechanics and dockers in strike against Tesla	0%	100%	0%	0%
26 : Files\\Swedish postal workers strike against Tesla ~ Euronews	13.73 %	21.57%	19.22%	45.49 %
27 : Files\\Swedish Tesla strike expands to include charging stations	20.09 %	79.91%	0%	0%
28 : Files\\Swedish union boss~ 'Culture clash' behind strikes against Tesla	39.44 %	45%	15.56%	0%
29 : Files\\Swedish union to exempt some Tesla cars from mechanic strike ~ Reuters	21.49 %	52.89%	25.62%	0%
30 : Files\\Swedish Unions Are Fighting Together Against Elon Musk and Tesla's Plans	26.46 %	29.06%	23.87%	20.61 %
31 : Files\\Teaching Musk the rules of the game – Work and digitalisation ~ IPS Journal	28.84 %	28.78%	25.07%	17.31 %
32 : Files\\Tesla faces Scandi revolt as Danes join Swedish strike	14.86 %	37.86%	42.03%	5.25%
33 : Files\\Tesla faces strikes in Sweden unless it signs a collective bargaining agreement ~ AP News	16.22 %	41.62%	32.7%	9.46%
34 : Files\\Tesla meets the European social model	30.92 %	19.08%	31.16%	18.84 %
35 : Files\\Tesla Stock Falls After Reports Company Raising Pay Amid Mounting Union Pressure	0%	87.63%	12.37%	0%
36 : Files\\Tesla strike action spreads across borders ~ IndustriALL	0%	100%	0%	0%
37 : Files\\Tesla Strike in Sweden Highlights a Culture Clash - The New York Times	20.28 %	33.41%	28.57%	17.74 %
38 : Files\\Tesla strike in Sweden tests Elon Musk's anti-union stance - The Washington Post	24.12 %	37.47%	25.27%	13.14 %
39 : Files\\Tesla sues Sweden as strikes target carmaker	51.08 %	40.69%	8.23%	0%
40 : Files\\Tesla Sweden employee speaks out after exclusion from IF Metall union	39.31 %	43.9%	5.31%	11.48 %

41 : Files\\Tesla Sweden finds another loophole for record deliveries	12.08 %	60.75%	27.17%	0%
42 : Files\\Tesla Sweden update~ Transport Workers Union's sympathy strike fails	0%	85.88%	14.12%	0%
43 : Files\\Tesla Sweden workers may be fine now, but not as good as they would be with a union~ IF Metall	62.66 %	7.59%	29.75%	0%
44 : Files\\Tesla threatens to bring in strikebreakers as Swedish workers strike	24.81 %	50.38%	24.81%	0%
45 : Files\\Tesla union strike fails in Sweden as workers refused to walk out~ report	12.07 %	36.2%	36.2%	15.54 %
46 : Files\\Tesla's Anti-Union Model Faces a Massive Challenge In Europe ~ Morningstar	13.08 %	41.06%	34.52%	11.34 %
47 : Files\\Tesla's Battle With Sweden's Unions Now Includes Pension Fund - The New York Times	17.95 %	42.82%	28.34%	10.89 %
48 : Files\\The Tesla strike – a fight for the Swedish model — Nordic Labour Journal	21.9%	42.35%	33.09%	2.66%
49 : Files\\U.S. auto union~ "Swedish Tesla union strike truly inspiring" - Radio Sweden ~ Sveriges Radio	0%	90.08%	0%	9.92%
50 : Files\\UAW Stands with Striking Tesla Workers in Sweden - UAW ~ United Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers of America	0%	65.67%	34.33%	0%
51 : Files\\Union chief warns of Tesla threat to Sweden's model	22.18 %	27.72%	50.1%	0%
52 : Files\\Union Leader Says Sweden Tesla Strike Is About Culture 'Clash' ~ Barron's	9.76%	76.59%	13.66%	0%
53 : Files\\Wanted~ Nordic expert to help Elon Musk defuse Tesla union row	4.14%	55.86%	40%	0%

2b: Auto-coded Sentiment Box-Chart:



3: Auto-coded Themes Table:

Codes	Files	References
action	30	49
boycott action	1	1
court action	1	1
industrial action	8	11
labor action	1	2
labour action	2	2
launched strike action	1	2

numerous job actions	1	1
ongoing actions	1	1
secondary action	3	3
secondary strike action	1	2
similar solidarity action	1	1
solidarity action	2	4
strike action	2	2
swedish strike action	1	2
sympathetic actions	1	1
sympathy actions	8	10
taking action	2	2
union organization action	1	1
agreement	39	97
bargaining agreement secretary	1	1
collective agreement	26	55
collective agreement model	3	4
collective agreement negotiations	1	1
collective bargaining agreements	16	22
collective wage agreement	3	3
contractual agreement	1	1
industry agreement	1	1
labor agreement	1	1
labor market agreements	1	1
labor-management agreements	1	1
labormanagement agreements	1	1
motor industry agreement	1	1
official agreement	1	1
reached agreements	1	1
union agreements	1	1

workplace agreements	1	1
bargaining	30	44
bargained provisions	1	1
bargaining agreement secretary	1	1
bargaining system	1	1
bargaining table	1	1
collective bargaining	6	7
collective bargaining agreements	16	22
collective bargaining coverage	1	1
collective bargaining model	1	2
collective bargaining rights	5	6
collective bargaining system	1	2
cars	35	76
100 company cars	1	1
500 car mechanics	1	1
best-selling car	1	1
car brands	1	1
car company	1	1
car dealerships	1	1
car deliveries	2	2
car maker	2	2
car manufacturer	1	1
car mechanics	1	1
car number plates	1	2
car painters	1	1
car parts	1	1
car sales	1	1
concern cars	1	1
electric car company	1	1
electric car giant	1	1
electric car maker	3	3
electric car manufacturer	2	2
electric car market	1	1

electric car specialist	1	1
electric car technician	1	1
electric cars	6	6
good car	1	1
local car repair shops	1	2
moving cars	1	1
shipping cars	1	1
taxi cars	3	3
tesla cars	25	32
transporting cars	2	2
collective agreement	30	60
collective agreement	26	55
collective agreement model	3	4
collective agreement negotiations	1	1
conditions	26	39
american conditions	1	1
employment conditions	2	2
fair conditions	1	1
labour conditions	1	1
labour market conditions	1	2
poor conditions	2	2
safe working conditions	2	4
terrible conditions	1	1
unfair working conditions	1	1
working conditions	21	23
workplace conditions	1	1
electric	27	39
electric automobile company	1	1
electric car company	1	1
electric car giant	1	1
electric car maker	3	3
electric car manufacturer	2	2

electric car market	1	1
electric car specialist	1	1
electric car technician	1	1
electric carmaker	2	2
electric carmaker tesla	1	2
electric cars	6	6
electric vehicle giant	1	1
electric vehicle maker	6	6
electric vehicle manufacturer	1	1
electric vehicle market	1	1
electric vehicle pioneer	1	1
electric vehicles	4	4
electrical systems	1	1
electrical workers	2	2
electricity costs	1	1
labor	14	48
american labor	1	1
danish labor unions	1	1
federal labor law	1	1
generations-old labor market system	1	1
labor action	1	2
labor agreement	1	1
labor battle	1	1
labor blockade	1	1
labor dispute	1	1
labor disruptions	1	1
labor groups	1	1
labor ideals	1	1
labor market agreements	1	1
labor market model	2	2
labor market parties	1	1
labor model	2	2
labor movement	1	1
labor solidarity	1	1
labor storms	1	1

labor strikes	1	1
labor tussle	1	1
labor union historian	1	1
labor unions	2	2
local labor laws	1	1
neighboring labor groups	1	1
organized labor	3	4
protracted labor battle	1	1
scandinavian labor market model	1	1
scandinavian labor union leaders	1	2
statutory labor market regulation	1	1
swedish labor laws	1	1
swedish labor market	4	4
swedish labor market model	1	1
swedish labor market relations	1	1
swedish labor relations	1	2
violated labor law	1	1
labour	26	73
entire labour movement	1	2
future labour market	1	1
german labour law	1	1
global labour practices	1	1
labour action	2	2
labour co-operation	1	1
labour conditions	1	1
labour costs	2	2
labour deal	1	1
labour dispute	3	3
labour force	1	1
labour groups	1	1
labour journal	1	1
labour law	2	2
labour market	2	3

labour market conditions	1	2
labour market conflicts	1	1
labour market issues	1	1
labour market model	4	5
labour market parties	1	1
labour market regulation	1	1
labour market tradition	1	1
labour model	5	6
labour movement	1	1
labour presence	1	1
labour rights	1	1
labour union officials	1	1
labour unions	4	5
labour unrest	1	1
modern labour market	1	2
organised labour	2	2
peaceful labour markets	1	1
stable labour market	1	1
swedish labour dispute	1	1
swedish labour market model	9	14
swedish labour union	1	1
labour market	18	34
future labour market	1	1
labour market	2	3
labour market conditions	1	2
labour market conflicts	1	1
labour market issues	1	1
labour market model	4	5
labour market parties	1	1
labour market regulation	1	1

labour market tradition	1	1
modern labour market	1	2
peaceful labour markets	1	1
stable labour market	1	1
swedish labour market model	9	14
market	31	63
electric car market	1	1
electric vehicle market	1	1
european market	1	1
free market	1	1
future labour market	1	1
generations-old labor market system	1	1
home market	1	1
key market	1	1
labor market agreements	1	1
labor market model	2	2
labor market parties	1	1
labour market	2	3
labour market conditions	1	2
labour market conflicts	1	1
labour market issues	1	1
labour market model	4	5
labour market parties	1	1
labour market regulation	1	1
labour market tradition	1	1
market adjustment pay increase	1	2
market economy	1	2
modern labour market	1	2
peaceful labour markets	1	1

scandinavian labor market model	1	1
small market	2	2
stable labour market	1	1
statutory labor market regulation	1	1
stock market investor	1	1
swedish labor market	4	4
swedish labor market model	1	1
swedish labor market relations	1	1
swedish labour market model	9	14
swedish market	3	3
model	30	58
collective agreement model	3	4
collective bargaining model	1	2
economic model	3	4
labor market model	2	2
labor model	2	2
labour market model	4	5
labour model	5	6
prevailing model	1	1
scandinavian labor market model	1	1
scandinavian model	1	1
social model	1	1
swedish labor market model	1	1
swedish labour market model	9	14
swedish model	9	11
swedish union model	1	2
tesla business model	1	1
plates	27	53
car number plates	1	2
delivering license plates	4	5

delivering plates	1	1
handing license plates	1	1
including license plates	3	5
licence plates	8	13
license plate clash	1	1
license plate deliveries	1	1
license plate issue	1	1
license plates	4	6
number plates	3	3
ordering license plates	1	1
plate manufacturer	2	2
receiving registration plates	1	1
registration plates	3	5
swedish license plates	1	2
temporary license plates	1	1
undelivered registration plates	1	2
strike	43	77
automotive strike	1	1
calling solidarity strikes	1	1
different sympathy strikes	1	1
escalating strikes	1	1
four-month-long strike	1	1
historic sixweek-long strike	1	1
historic strike	1	1
international strike movement	1	1
joining sympathy strikes	1	1
labor strikes	1	1
launched strike action	1	2
making strikes	2	2
massive strike	1	1

month-long strike	1	1
ongoing mechanics strike	1	1
ongoing strike	1	1
organizing sympathy strikes	1	2
planned strike	2	2
secondary strike action	1	2
secondary strikes	1	1
six-week strike	1	1
so-called sympathy strikes	1	2
solidarity strikes	5	6
strike action	2	2
strike guard	1	1
strike measures	1	1
strike notice	1	1
strike – workers	1	1
striking mechanics	3	3
striking technicians	1	1
striking workers	2	2
swedish strike	5	6
swedish strike action	1	2
sympathy strikes	12	17
three-month strike	1	1
union strike	3	3
using strike breakers	2	2
sympathy	26	39
different sympathy strikes	1	1
joining sympathy strikes	1	1
organizing sympathy strikes	1	2
so-called sympathy strikes	1	2
sympathy actions	8	10
sympathy conflict	1	1
sympathy measures	4	4
sympathy strikes	12	17
unregulated sympathy measures	1	1

tesla	43	106
blockading teslas	2	2
buying teslas	1	1
carmaker tesla	2	2
electric carmaker tesla	1	2
offering teslas	1	1
tesla boss	1	1
tesla business	1	1
tesla business model	1	1
tesla careers	1	1
tesla cars	25	32
tesla charge points	1	1
tesla chief	1	1
tesla conflict	1	1
tesla employees	2	3
tesla facilities	1	1
tesla garages	1	1
tesla offices	2	2
tesla owners	3	3
tesla places	1	1
tesla production line workers	1	1
tesla purchases	2	2
tesla sales	1	1
tesla service center	1	1
tesla service centre	1	1
tesla serviced	3	3
tesla shareholder	1	1
tesla shares	1	1
tesla shipments	1	1
tesla shirts	1	1
tesla showrooms	1	1
tesla sign	1	1
tesla sites	3	4
tesla spokesperson	1	1
tesla standoff	1	1
tesla stocks	1	1
tesla vehicles	6	8
tesla waste	1	1
tesla workers	8	10
tesla workplaces	2	2
tesla workshops	2	3
unlikely tesla	1	1

unloading teslas	1	1
trade union	22	36
blue-collar trade union confederation	1	2
intraday trading	1	2
major trade union	1	2
nine trade unions	1	1
powerful trade union	1	1
several trade unions	1	2
swedish trade union	4	7
trade employees	1	1
trade union	9	10
trade union confederation	1	1
trade union members	1	1
trade union movement	1	2
trade union organisation	1	1
trade union stronghold	1	1
whole trade union system	1	2
union	49	176
accepting unions	1	1
auto union	1	1
big unions	1	1
blue-collar trade union confederation	1	2
building maintenance union	2	2
busts union	1	1
construction union	1	1
construction workers union	1	1
custodians union	1	2
danish labor unions	1	1
danish union	1	1
different unions	1	1
dockworkers union	1	2
dozen unions	2	2
electricians union	1	1

entire union movement	1	1
fellow unions	1	1
finnish transport workers union	1	1
finnish union	1	2
german union officials	1	1
german unions	1	2
hold unions	1	1
industrial union	4	4
influential union	1	1
international union movement	1	1
labor union historian	1	1
labor unions	2	2
labour union officials	1	1
labour unions	4	5
local unions	1	1
major trade union	1	2
making unions	1	1
metal union	1	1
metall union	7	7
metalworkers union	2	2
nine trade unions	1	1
nordic unions	1	1
norwegian union fellesforbundet	3	4
painters union	1	1
postal union	1	1
powerful employee unions	2	2
powerful trade union	1	1
powerful union movement	1	1
private sector union	2	2
recognise unions	1	1
retail-store employees union	1	1
scandinavian labor union leaders	1	2

scandinavian union leaders	1	1
scandinavian unions	1	1
several trade unions	1	2
sought union talks	1	1
swedish labour union	1	1
swedish metal union	1	1
swedish trade union	4	7
swedish union contract	1	1
swedish union leaders	2	4
swedish union model	1	2
swedish union movement	1	2
swedish unions	11	13
trade union	9	10
trade union confederation	1	1
trade union members	1	1
trade union movement	1	2
trade union organisation	1	1
trade union stronghold	1	1
transport union	1	1
transport workers union	1	1
transportation union	2	2
union activist	1	1
union activity	1	1
union agreements	1	1
union approval ratings	1	2
union blocks deliveries	1	1
union chair	1	1
union conflict	1	1
union culture	1	1
union demands	1	1

union drive	1	1
union fight	1	1
union lawyer	1	1
union leaders	2	3
union leadership	1	1
union members	4	4
union membership	1	1
union membership numbers	1	1
union norms	1	1
union official	1	1
union organization action	1	1
union plan	1	1
union representation	1	1
union representatives	1	1
union row	1	1
union secretary	1	2
union shop	1	1
union solidarity	1	1
union strike	3	3
union troubles	1	1
union workers	1	1
unionization efforts	1	2
unions reason	1	1
whole trade union system	1	2
workers	46	171
100 service workers	1	1
actual work	1	1
alternative work	1	1
blue-collar workers	1	1
communication workers	1	1
construction workers	1	1
construction workers union	1	1
danish dock workers	1	1
danish transport workers	1	1
discussed workers	1	1
dock workers	5	6

dozen twitter workers	1	1
electrical workers	2	2
employees work	1	1
factory workers	1	1
fellow workers	1	1
finnish transport workers	3	3
finnish transport workers union	1	1
game – work	1	1
german workers	1	1
giving workers	1	1
harbour workers	1	1
including dock workers	2	2
including factory workers	1	1
industrial workers	1	1
letting workers	1	1
metal workers	5	5
n case workers	1	1
non-union workers	2	2
nonunion workers	1	1
ordinary workers	1	1
organising workers	1	1
port workers	1	1
post-sector workers	1	1
postal workers	24	31
postnord workers	2	2
private sector workers	1	1
production workers	1	2
repair workers	1	1
representing transport workers	1	2
safe working conditions	2	4
sanitation workers	1	1
single worker	1	1
strike – workers	1	1
striking workers	2	2
swedish workers	12	13
tech workers	1	1

tesla production line workers	1	1
tesla workers	8	10
transport workers union	1	1
truck workers	1	1
un-unionised workers	1	1
unarmed workers	1	1
unfair working conditions	1	1
union workers	1	1
unionised workers	1	1
video game workers	1	1
work environment issues	1	1
work force	1	1
work practices	1	1
worker category	1	1
worker protection	1	1
worker representation	1	1
worker rights	1	1
workers picket	1	1
working adults	1	1
working class	1	1
working conditions	21	23
working days	1	1
working environment	1	1
working hours	4	4
working life	1	1
working time	2	2