

**From industrial democracy to “coworkership”
- Development trends in work organization practices in Sweden**

Stefan Tengblad & Thomas Andersson
University of Skövde, Sweden

Corresponding author: stefan.tengblad@his.se

Abstract

Sweden has a reputation of being one of the most progressive countries in the world concerning work-life development, if not the most progressive country. In this paper an overview of the major reform efforts is presented, including the antecedents, major events, actor positioning, and the outcomes and their explanations. In particular two major reform strands will be described; one broad social-movement like reform aiming to create a radically different work-life (in the paper referred to as The great vision) and one narrower reform movement aiming to create a more engaging work-life (in the paper referred to as The small vision). Both these reforms built theoretically and practically on socio-technical systems theory and represent a challenge to the regime of scientific management. In this triadic competition the two visions are mostly antagonistic, although the real enemy is scientific management. The historical analysis shows that the great vision struggled for hegemony in the 1970s and 1980s but was defeated in the economic crisis of 1990s. The small vision than became the dominant force in the Swedish work-life but due to globalization and the popularity of standardization and formal management techniques, scientific management has regained strength and has put the small vision in jeopardy.

Introduction

How the principles and practices for work organization and the formation of complex organizations have evolved over time and in national contexts has been a topic for several important studies (Barley & Kunda, 1992; Bendix, 1956; Chandler, 1990; Guillén, 1994; Waring 1991 and Wren 1994). These studies have shown, in somewhat simplified terms and despite important differences in national trajectories, an ideological competition between principles for mass production (often referred to as scientific management, Fordism and/or Taylorism) and principles for basic human needs in the work place (often referred to as human relations and organizational development). On the one hand, division of labour, standardization of work procedures and a hierarchical distribution of power can be used to produce products and services in a reliable and inexpensive way, but on the other hand these principles have also created problems such as alienation, grievances, rigidity and lack of innovation. Management practices that on the other hand seek to remedy these problems by involving workers in decision-making, treating them as valuable assets, provide autonomy and possibilities for human growth have not been very successful when it comes to reform the working life into a more humane and innovative institution. The reasons for this are complex. Some would argue that the capitalist mode of production inevitably reduces the worker into a powerless object, others would see this as a result of a lack of imagination and human fallibility where insecure managers feel the need to have tight control instead of empower.

In this paper we will examine the struggle between principles of mass-production and the principles of organizational development where the workers and employees ideally should grow into competent, mature and satisfied persons, over almost half a century in Sweden. Sweden is here an interesting case as the Swedish industry conducted world-famous experiments in the 1970s and led a socio-technical development more extensive and imaginative than in any other country (Guillén, 1994: 239; Cole 1989: 89-92; Sandberg, 1982:117) and since then several influential waves of work life reforms have swept over the country in different periods. In particular, the paper will describe how traditional ways of production first were challenged by a great vision of restructuring of human conditions at the workplace during the 1970s and 1980s, and then by a smaller vision of more responsible workers in the following two decades, in this paper referred

to as co-workership. Co-workership is a translation of the Swedish word Medarbetarskap, which has no English synonym. To some extent these two visions have been competing with each other at the same time they have had a joint enemy in the established practices for mass-production. In order to provide an explanatory framework to the case description Guillén's (1994) framework for comparative studies of organizational paradigms is utilized. This framework highlights material conditions, ideational development and actors' interplay in order to explain the evolution of organizational practices.

The aim of the paper is to describe and analyse how reform efforts of developing the Swedish work life have shifted from a great vision of a democratic and humanistic work-life characterized of consensus, knowledge and communication to a much smaller vision of committed and responsible workers who are involved in continuous improvements with relatively large autonomy. The main contribution of the paper besides the illuminating description of the reform trajectories is the discussion about the importance of contextual factors, in particular the importance of the national economy.

Theory

As mentioned in the introduction several important studies of comparative study of organization paradigms (Barley and Kunda, 1992; Bendix, 1956; Chandler, 1990; Guillén, 1994; Waring, 1991; Wren and Bedeian, 1994). The paper utilizes Guillén's (1994) theoretical framework since it can be seen as a synthesis of many of the previous studies and because of its multidimensionality and orientation towards longitudinal analysis, where the adoption, re-making or rejection of organizational ideologies and practices is the centre of attention, in particular the struggles between proponents of the scientific management and human relations paradigms. Guillén's (1994) analytical apparatus includes 7 factors:

- *Structural change*: For instance changes of size and complexity of organization, industrial bureaucratization, development of markets.
- *International pressures and opportunities*: Cooperation and/or competition between national states, the level of openness to other economies and feelings of insecurity/security within societies.

- *Labor unrest:* Guillén sees industrial conflicts a pervasive engine of organizational change. Different management techniques can legitimize managerial prerogatives in regards to different societal and economic challenges.
- *Elite mentalities:* Mentalities are thought dispositions that are non-reflective in character and comprises of a world-view and taken for granted assumptions. Important elite groups in this setting are capital owners and entrepreneurs.
- *Professional groups:* Salaried managers often make decisions based on their professional training for instance in engineering, business administration, finance or business law.
- *State involvement:* State can play an important role for the institutionalization of organizational paradigms according to Guillén. The level of State activity in the work level varies between different times and different countries.
- *Workers responses:* The final factor in the analytical schemata is the way workers and their unions' responses to different management techniques and ideologies. Workers' and unions' responses can vary from cooperation to hostility.

Guillen compares the development of organizational paradigms in the United States, Germany, Spain and Great Britain from the rise of industrialization to around the years of 1970. He shows that each of these countries has developed their own institutions for industrial organizations due to differences between the factors and differences in the interplay between various actor groups.

Sweden: A modernist society with a strong labour movement

Before describing the development of the two visions, we will discuss some basic features of Sweden. Starting with the process of industrialization, Sweden was a late adopter due to a relatively peripheral location, and a sparsely populated country with very few cities of substantial importance in economic terms. However Sweden, as a country with abundant natural resources such as forests, mining and hydro-electric power benefited from the more advanced industrial on the continent and the UK. Also

important for the development was a peaceful introduction to democracy, a neutral position in both great wars and without any serious regional and/or ethnic tension. After the Social Democrats get the governmental power in 1932, and then stayed in power for 44 years (until 1976) the labour movement was the dominating political force in the post-war boom even though some of the elections were very close. Together with the Social Democratic Party the strongest organization in the labour movement was the union LO (i.e the "National Organization") who organized the great majority of blue-collar workers. LO was positive to economic rationalization, but as long as a large proportion of the economic gain went to the workers and that the State was supporting workers that became unemployed due to the rationalization. The main idea was that the workers should leave relatively unproductive work (including farming) and move to larger cities with successful exporting industries. The Social Democrats also was positive towards free trade as long as it meant increased possibilities for the expanding mechanical engineering industry even though this meant that the textiles and shoes industry soon went into financial trouble and closedowns.

The dominating mentality for most of the examined period was definitely modernist and this mentality made it possible for proponents but form private companies and the labour movement to cooperate and to make larger investment both in the private and the public sector. While the public sector became dominating in education, healthcare, railways, postal services and telecommunications, the private sector was dominating in industrial production, agriculture, forestry, retailing and finance. The outlook among the leaders from both spheres was sometimes antagonistic, but there was also a consensus that decisions should be based on facts and rational thinking and that societal modernization and economic growth was basically something desirable. From the beginning, the modernization had a material focus and that the population received better healthcare, education, housing and transportation.

In the 1960s, when Sweden was the richest country in Europe (together with Switzerland), new values also began to influence the Swedish mentality that could be labelled as post-modern. More materialistic and authoritarian values were questioned in favour of individual self-expression, life quality, and personal self-fulfilment (Inglehart, 1997; Inglehart *et al.*, 1998). Criticism was raised about stressful conditions at work.

Workers were generously paid relatively other European countries, but they did not have an influence on shop-floor work practices and their jobs were often physically tearing and monotonous. Other aspects that were brought into public attention and debate in this period were the lack of gender equality and an increasing environmental degradation. In the 1970s these new ideas had organized themselves into new social movements for gender equality, environmental protection, international solidarity and – of special interest of this paper – for industrial democracy. The emerging post-modernist mentality led to a cultural clash in the 1970s with the proponents of the modernist regime and young politicians with a radical agenda was gaining power in a period with many confrontations in issues as the further construction of nuclear and hydro-electric plants, a more industrialized deforestation, piece-rate systems seen as exploitive of workers, women's right to abortion and public child care, a more extensive welfare provision and in many other issues. The social welfare net for sickness leave, unemployment assistance, access to educational and healthcare service were developed during the 1960s and 1970s into one of the most generous in the World, if not the most generous.

A relatively early adoption of postmodern values Sweden is visible in the well-known study of Hofstede (1984), where IBM employees from 70 countries answered a questionnaire about personal values the years around 1970. Here, Sweden stood out in two regards in comparison to other West-European countries: 1) there was a low level of uncertainty avoidance and 2) a low level of masculinity (the lowest of all investigated countries) (Hofstede 1984). This should according to the theory imply that Swedes have a high tolerance for ambiguous situations and that they value good relations, environmental care and equality relatively higher than material rewards and social prestige. The focus on equality and personal self-fulfilment in Sweden is also recognized by Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1997). In the theoretical framework of modernization and post-modernization developed by Ronald Inglehart and colleagues (1997), Sweden is one of the countries with the highest frequency of postmodern values. Inglehart and Baker (2000) therefore identify Sweden as a country on the cutting edge of cultural change. Byrkjeflot, 2003, p. 29 referring to Cetron & Tool (1983) perceive Sweden in a similar vein, as a country especially receptive to social innovation.

It can always be discussed how far reaching and important the development during the 1970s was. While it certainly was a major break from the previous modernization it was not really economically tenable. The reforms in virtually all sectors of the society were very costly and the Swedish taxes increased year by year to the by far highest in the world and the competitiveness went down so seriously that three major devaluations was needed to avoid large trade deficits. But the development during the 1970s provided without any doubt the bedrock for the great vision of a different work life soon to be described more in detail.

Methodology

This research is based on a hermeneutic approach with the interpretation of texts as key method. The hermeneutic circle has influenced our research process, implying that the meaning of a part can only be understood in a rich way by relating it to the whole, that is, other facts that are known about the object, its context and its history (Alvesson and Sköldbberg, 2009). We have started in some parts (texts and cases) and have tentatively related this to the whole (the development of Swedish work-life), which have brought new thoughts to our minds and helped us to see a larger picture in all the details we have noticed. We have then returned to texts and cases (existing and new) with this new picture of the development of Swedish work-life, which has constructed new meanings into the texts and cases. Consequently, as Radnitzky (1970) points out, the hermeneutic circle is not a circle when translated to the research process, but rather a spiral. The alternately shift between the whole and the parts gradually creates a deeper and deeper understanding.

The parts that we have studied in order to understand the development of Swedish work-life have been texts describing the development until year 2000 and texts and own cases from year 2000. The choice of texts is primarily research texts describing various events related to the work-life reforms and also books and interviews with business leaders, union representatives and governmental officials collected over a long period of time (from 1999 until 2014), gathered by the authors as a frame of reference for several research project concerning the role of employees and the interplay between managers

and employees when responsibility is distributed. Consequently, we have not performed a literature review in a strict sense, but the choice of texts has been strategic, based on how we perceived that they could influence the whole. From year 2000 it is not only texts, but also our own case studies in public and private organizations that represent the parts. In total we have performed more than 20 case studies during 1999 – 2014. The different cases are rather equally divided between public and private sector organizations and they cover a wide range of different industries and professions such as architects, bank clerks, construction work, retail work, consultants, manufacturers, product developers, jobcentre officials, veterinarians, geriatric care workers, municipal administrators, school teachers, psychiatrists, healthcare workers and police officers (references will be inserted in a later stage if the paper is accepted for anonymity reasons). Data collection in case studies has mainly been performed by interviews and observations.

The rise and evolution of the great vision: Work democracy and “the Good work” (1970-1990):

The historical compromise between labour and capital in Swedish work-life, which previously had been very successful for increasing productivity and generating growth, met new challenges in the second half of the 1960s. There was a shortage of workers in many industries and many industrial firms were plagued by a troublesome high personnel turnover. The young generation, who recently had received new possibilities of obtaining higher education (except the upper-class) and was used to have more freedom as “teenagers”, were in many cases reluctant to accept the harsh conditions of industrial work.

Commentators began now to question the principles of scientific management with fragmented and repetitive work (Tengblad 2003, chapter 3). The Swedish Employer’s Federation saw the problem as important and started a technical department in 1966 with the mission to find ways on how to combine productivity with work satisfaction. The head of the technical department had led work-life experiments in a major Swedish metal company and furthermore they had established contacts with researchers from

the Tavistock Institute and Einar Thorsrud and his colleagues who conducted work-life experiments in four Norwegian companies in the mid-1960s (Emery & Thorsrud, 2013).

The spark that ignited a fervent development was a large wildcat strike at the iron mining company LKAB in the Northern-most part of Sweden. The strike started in the end of 1969 and lasted for three months, and it provoked a large number of smaller wild-cat strikes all over the country. These strikes led to a change in perspective from a focus on technical rationalization to what can be done to adjust the production technology and work organization to the needs of the workers. The technical department developed a leading position in the 1970s for both theoretical underpinnings of work-life reforms and practical development work. Their main idea was to organize workers in small groups, and that the workers should receive influence about production practices and planning and other forms of job-enrichments and that there was an incentive structure at the group level with regards to production goal. The department conducted a large number of projects and the most famous of these was the Volvo Kalmar plant, the first mass-producing automotive factory without a conveyor-belt since the days of Henry Ford. The CEO at Volvo at the time, the charismatic Pehr G. Gyllenhammar established himself as an international spokesperson for work-life reforms in order to make industrial work much more meaningful and rewarding for the workers Gyllenhammar (1977).

While the Kalmar factory had many innovative features it was not radically different and the workers had three to four minutes to accomplish their work until an automatic wagon transported the vehicle to the next station. The sociotechnical aspects were also decreased due to a downturn in car sales in 1977, which threatened to make the factory redundant. The factory survived but the assembly work was substantially intensified.

According to Sandberg (1982:117) Swedish industry conducted in the seventies a socio-technical development more extensive and imaginative than in any other country. Institutional support was provided not least from the Swedish Employer Confederation who was active in the development of a work organization based on production groups with extended responsibilities for planning, preparation and conduct of work. Socio-technical work organization also received large institutional and financial support from

government agencies such as The Swedish Institute for Work Life Research and the Work Environment Fund (Gustavsen *et al.*, 1996). According to the proponents of socio-technique more responsibility to workers and employees was seen as very beneficial both regarding work satisfaction, commitment and productivity.

For the more radical left and for many representatives in the blue-collar union, LO, the reforms led by the technical department were not sufficient and these reforms were attacked for not addressing the key issue in their minds was the unequal power of production. Shop-floor reforms should therefore be supplanted and even be preceded by boardroom reforms. Gyllenhammar was proactive in this regard as well and he invited the unions to elect representatives to the company board in 1971, and legislative bill was taken in 1973, which stated that there should be two seats for the unions in companies with more than 200 employees. The notion that workers and employees should have more say on their work have had strong political support in Sweden from the 1970s and onwards. There was a strong political majority behind the idea that managers should consult with employee representatives before important decisions and also to conduct joint decision-making in industrial relations and work environmental issues. In the first half of 1970s also other new work-life legislation was taken, the most important was a law for employment protection, and there was also laws that regulated (and supported) the work for union representatives, for work environment, and legal rights related to absenteeism for child care, education etc.

To create functional co-determination practices below the boardroom level but above the shop-floor level was a harder nut to crack. Managers on different levels were unwilling to share power and differences in viewpoints between managers and union representatives were hard to reconcile. The Technical department and the Employers' Federation were also negative to codetermination practices below the board-room level. The Social Democratic government was working on a legislation with the aim of create a more equal power base, but a centre-right coalition which resumed in power in 1976 removed the more radical propositions in the Bill which was granted in 1977. The new government faced huge problem with large companies that suffered from a drain of financial resources. Many companies were overtaken by the State in order to avoid heavy job-losses. The political will to reform the working life was no longer strong.

The blue-collar union LO, who from the beginning was critical to the Employer Federations inclination to use socio-technical inspired work groups as a means for further rationalization of industrial work, and who preferred administrative reforms, changed its opinion in the eighties. In an influential report from 1985 called “The good work”, the Metal Workers Union (one of the two largest branches within the LO) accepted the use of a socio-technical work organization in order to increase productivity and flexibility, if the power over shop-floor management was given to the workers. This meant that the supervisory function should be abolished and that production groups were given full responsibility to take care of internal matters as long as agreed quotas of production and level of quality were fulfilled (Metall 1985). Instead of workers obeying orders, the workers should be able to negotiate on production quotas and delivery schedules. The good work represented in many ways the best synthesis of the great vision; that is, a work that was combining industrial democracy with good working conditions and work development. The report was given strong institutional support by the LO and work life researchers linked to the Swedish Council for Work Life Research, a state-financed national research agency.

The movement towards a greater work-life democracy was supported by election victories for Social democratic party in 1982, 1985 and 1988, and an improved competitiveness and expansion after a 16 % devaluation in 1982. A large-scale research and development program called “Leadership, organization and co-determination” (LOM) was initialized in 1985 which came to encompass 60 researchers and 150 organizations (Naschold *et al.*, 1993). The LOM program made use of Jürgen Habermas’ ideas about democratic dialogue where workers and managers were trained in communication skills and took part in open-ended discussions about issues that the participants felt important.

In the second half of the 1980s, similar problems with labour turnover and shortages as in the 1960s occurred and the employers were once again motivated to continue with work life development and particularly semi-autonomous groups. Volvo started a new car factory in Uddevalla, a city 80 kilometers north of Gothenburg, in 1988 based on craft production where small groups assembled a whole car.

The further development of the small vision: The institutionalization of coworkerism and influence of neotaylorism (1990-2010)

The “great vision era” came to an end with the economic crisis in the beginning of the 1990s and it was clearly manifested by Volvo’s decision to close down the innovative socio-technical factories in Kalmar and Uddevalla (Berggren, 1995). The Swedish State had huge budget deficit and a high debt and was pressured by international lenders to make economic reforms. Work life reforms in Sweden now took a different direction. The industrial democracy movement, that was strong in the 1970s and struggled to gain momentum in the 1980s, almost disappeared in the 1990s. Such initiatives of power sharing were rejected by private employers (Tengblad 2003). The social democrats was in opposition between 1991 and 1994 and when they came back in power they did not spearhead any work-life reform, but continued to reform the economy by deregulation and tax cuts on capital gains. Instead this was a period of recession in Sweden and employers therefore perceived a need for extensive efforts of decreasing costs. In particular the T50-program launched in 1991 within the Swedish units of the engineering firm ABB was influential. ABB took thereby over Volvo’s role as the leader of work-life reformation. No other internal company development program has ever had such big impact as T50 on the general development of Swedish work-life (ibid.). Pivotal for diffusion of the T50 experience was The Swedish Working Life Fund, who enthusiastically advocated the principles and techniques used in ABB’s T50-program (Gustavsen et al., 1996).

The goal of T50 was to create radical increases in productivity, customer satisfaction and flexibility. The connections to lean production were clear, since the goal in particular was to cut lead times in production, administration and distribution by half and to create a corporate culture centred on the creation of customer value (Lillrank, 1996). The implementation of T50 also included the abolishment of supervisors in favour of ‘production leaders’ responsible for two or three work groups. The role of production leaders was to be a coach for the work groups and not least work with HRM issues such as compensation, personal development, rehabilitation and counselling.

Each working group was given responsibility for planning, internal work distribution and productivity development (Gustavsen et al., 1996). The introduction of working groups with extended responsibilities has been a major trend within industry, in services and also the public sector although there are exceptions.

Group organization and delegated responsibility remained a central idea and heritage from the socio-technical movement even during this era, but it was now connected with productivity and customer orientation, while it had previously been connected with the “good work”. An employee perspective had in times of economic recession been exchanged with customer orientation. Group organization even became a means of rationalization when working groups became responsible for their own productivity development.

In December 2006 the newly elected centre-right government decided to close down the National Institute for Working Life, since it was seen as too aligned to the labour movement and the ambitions to strengthen the position of the workers.

Post-modern management philosophy was also manifested by customer orientation since it became the main reason behind flat organizational structures with delegated responsibilities where all co-workers should have the customer as the guiding-star (e.g., Carlzon, 1987). Even if organizational culture became an example of postmodern management already in the previous era, the interest for management by values and objectives following this ideal exploded in the 1990s. Organizational culture had different meanings and implications during the 1990s compared to the 1980s. During the 1980s it was more about creating a collective spirit that through group organization could be the prerequisite for cooperation. During the 1990s organization culture became more about creating a culture of responsible workers who had the customer as a guiding star. Organizational culture took a more individual direction during the 1990s compared to the collectivistic 1980s, which also manifests the change from a great vision to a smaller vision.

A central part of postmodern management philosophies in Sweden is the practice of HRM theories. We have already mentioned it related to the abolishment of supervisors

and the increase of HRM responsibilities for line managers. This is not only a Swedish development, but an international development. However, the development appears to be more pronounced in Sweden (Lindeberg & Månsson, 2006) than in other countries such as United States and the UK, and especially continental Europe. However, after the financial crisis in 2008 some issues such as lay-offs appear to have returned to HR-departments in Sweden (Lindeberg & Månsson, 2012). In comparison to research from the UK that reports about a reluctance among line managers to take larger responsibilities in HRM-issues (Frances & Keegan, 2006; Kirkpatrick et al, 1992; Lowe, 1992), in Sweden HRM has become a major feature for managers with directly reporting personnel (Hällsten, 2003; Larsson and Persson, 2002; Tengblad 2003).

In line with the individualization of organization and HRM practices directed to responsible workers, coworkership (*medarbetarskap* in Swedish) became a phenomenon that researchers began to conceptualize in the end of the 1990s. Research had both a descriptive and normative character (e.g., Tengblad, 2003; Hällsten & Tengblad, 2006; Tengblad et al., 2007; Andersson & Tengblad, 2009; Tengblad, 2010; Andersson et al., 2011). Descriptive research generated descriptions and conceptualizations of the new forms of organizing and work practices characterized by increased demand of agency, responsibility and initiatives among co-workers, but also a strengthened more cooperative relationship between them. Normative research provided conceptualizations of prerequisites of well-developed coworkership and models on how to develop coworkership. The most influential research contribution is the coworkership wheel (Hällsten & Tengblad, 2006), which was developed further in 2010 (see Tengblad, 2010). The coworkership wheel describes prerequisites for a constructive and well-developed coworkership. The model illustrates how coworkership can constitute a philosophy for organizational development. It has had a direct impact on practice, and has been the role model for many coworkership development projects and it is included in several organizations' policy documents, visions etc.

The combination of managers extended responsibility for personnel together with coworkership in Sweden can be regarded as one of the most influential HRM practices in the world so far. HRM is otherwise seen as a theory that has had large difficulties to

break through in practice in other countries (see for example Legge, 1995 and Townley, 1994), because the traditional way of organizing personnel work (i.e. with specific HR departments), still is complicated to change. HRM tries to go beyond the personnel work managed by the HR department (Boxall and Purcell, 2003), which has become a part of practice in Sweden, and not only theoretical visions.

Considering the descriptive definitions of coworkership, coworkership has always existed in Swedish organizations. However, the more collective coworkership during 1970s and 1980s started to take a more individual direction during the 1990s, meaning that the focus shifted to co-workers who took responsibility for their work in cooperation with managers. The direction meant less focus on autonomous working groups (even if decentralization still was a main characteristic), but more focus towards cooperative relationships between individual managers and individual co-workers. Autonomy became cooperative interplay between managers and co-workers.

The conceptualization of coworkership made it a concept used in HR practice, not only a research concept. The previously mentioned practical implications of HRM ideas in Sweden had prepared the soil for coworkership development. There are several interesting and comprehensive case studies that describe implicit and explicit coworkership development work. Their comprehensiveness makes it possible to trace strategies and ideas behind the work. Stockhult (2005) describes coworkership as a way to manifest organizational values. Her study performed in 2003 in call-centre organizations clearly manifests the shift to a small vision, where management tried to extend the boundaries of worker responsibility. Kilhammar's (2011) doctoral thesis describes two different perspective of coworkership. The employer/manager/HR perspective that often is characterizing coworkership development projects aiming at creating responsible co-workers. Participation is then seen as a prerequisite for responsible co-workers. Yet, co-workers often represent another perspective, where participation has a value on its own, not as a means to achieve responsible workers. In regard to our argument, Kilhammar's (2011) results are very interesting, since they illustrate the manifestation of the small vision through the employer/manager/HR perspective that influence coworkership development projects, but a heritage from the great vision is alive through the coworkers, who still see value in the by employer's

obsolete corporate democracy movements. The management/HRM perspective is confirmed by Stockhult (2013), who described a coworkership development project from 2007 in which management defined what kind of coworkership should characterize the organization, and then tried to implement it.

Since about 2010 there has been a re-emerged interest in organizational values. It is seen in policy documents, CSR philosophies and organizational values/ethics development projects. Especially in public organizations (authorities, municipal organizations and public health organizations) these development projects often include coworkership development projects, since they perceive that coworkership display organizational values such as responsibility, trust and cooperation that management/HR wants coworkers to align with. This has created a second wave of individual directed coworkership development projects, but mainly in public organizations. In municipal organizations there has not been much explicit resistance, but in public healthcare the resistance has been significant. However, the resistance appears not to be directed to the ideas, but the resistance comes from the professionals who resist employers and managers independent of ideas (Huzell, 2005; Norbäck & Targama, 2009;)

So what about the future? What will happen to the small vision? During the last year we have, as previously mentioned, to some extent seen a return of HR issues to HR departments. There has been a mode of market rationalism with de-regulation and increased use of temporary employment arrangements. Lean production has spread to new sectors (Modig and Åhlström, 2011) and created a new-authoritative leadership based on standardization and centralization. HR transformation has moved transactional and administrative HR-tasks to employees, but also to line managers (Thilander, 2013). The question is if we stand in front of a development where the cooperative relationships that we can see between managers and co-workers will be abandoned for traditional managerialism with authoritative managers? In that case the great vision has transformed to a small vision and might be exchanged with no vision.

Analysis

Here we will discuss the Guillén factors in more detail.

Structural change: The increased affluence of the citizens created a demand for change so that the work-life should become more satisfying and rewarding. Later on, work became less easy, that is, the value of a motivated and multi-skilled workforce increased.

International pressures and opportunities: High external demand for Swedish products made employers more interested in work-life reforms with a humanistic orientation, while bad economic conditions created incentives for rationalization regardless of the effect for the workers. Ongoing de-regulations, in particular the creation of the European common market and the rise of Asian manufacturers, created strong competitive pressures.

Labor unrest: The case supports Guillén's view that industrial conflicts are a pervasive engine of organizational change. The great vision is popular when labour is a scarce resource, and scientific management is popular in times where labour is an abundant resource.

Elite mentalities: Important elite groups such as capital owners and entrepreneurs were negative to the great vision in the entire period.

Professional groups: The case shows that leading career top managers are receptive to trends in times and that they can promote the development of work-life reforms. Linked to contextual factors it can be noted that the career top managers today are not very interested or not all interested in work-life reforms, but the potential of management-by-objectives is quite well-spread. The power of engineers in manufacturing can explain the strong position of scientific management, while work-life reforms were spearheaded by social scientist and psychologists.

State involvement: The Swedish State played an important role, first as catalyst for work-life reforms during the 1970s and 1980s, but then decreased its involvement gradually. The ebb and flood of State involvement is in line with Guillén's analysis.

Workers responses: It can be noted that the workers interest was divided. The blue-collar workers and their unions were much more engaged in work-life development issues, especially related to humanize and democratize the work-life while white-collar employees were more in favour of the small vision.

This table summarizes the case from very positive (+2) to very negative (-2)

Actor positioning	The great vision	The small vision	Scientific management
Employer federation	Very limited, active or passive resistance -2	Quite strong in different time periods +1	In periods active resistance to the model, otherwise support +0
Blue-collar unions	Strong support +2	Limited interest, occasionally active resistance +0	Active resistance -2
White-collar unions	Limited interest -1	Acceptance of this model, occasionally strong support +1	Acceptance of this model, occasionally resistance +0
State Authorities	Strong support occasionally, limited support occasionally +1	Acceptance of this model, occasionally strong support, +1	In periods active resistance to the model, otherwise acceptance -1
Representatives for State controlled companies	Little interest, sometimes strong resistance -1	Acceptance of this model but not a very active support. +0	Acceptance of this model, occasionally efforts to question this model +1
Leading private companies	Active resistance -2	Strong support, +2	Shifting from a negative to a positive outlook, +0
Scientific community/ work-life research	Strong support +2	From a negative to a positive outlook +0	Strong negative view -2

References

- Alvesson, M. and Sköldböck, K. (2009) *Reflexive Methodology: New Vistas for Qualitative Research*, 2nd ed., London: Sage.
- Andersson, T., Liff, R. and Tengblad, S. (2011) "Ledarskap och medarbetarskap inom vård- och omsorgsarbete: En studie inom barn- och ungdomspsykiatri." Göteborg: *Västra Götalandsregionens Rapportserie*.
- Andersson, T. and Tengblad, S. (2009) "Medledarskap: Ledarskap som kollektiv initiativförmåga", in S. Jönsson & L. Strannegård (Eds) *Ledarskapsboken*, s. 249-272, Malmö: Liber.
- Barley, S. and Kunda, G. (1992) "Design and devotion: Surges of rational and normative ideologies of control in managerial discourse", *Administrative Science Quarterly*, Vol. 37 No. 3, pp. 363-399.
- Bendix, R. (1956) *Work and authority in industry: managerial ideologies in the course of industrialization*, Transaction Publishers.
- Berggren, C. (1995) "The fate of the branch plants – performance versus power, in Sandberg, Å. (ed.) *Enriching production*, Aldershot: Avebury.
- Boxall, P. and Purcell, J. (2003) *Strategy and Human Resource Management*, New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Byrkjeflot, H. (2003) "Nordic management", in Czarniawska, B. and Sevón, G. (Eds), *The Northern Lights - Organization theory in Scandinavia*, Malmö: Liber.
- Carlzon, J. (1987) *Moments of Truth*, London: Harper Perennial.
- Cetron, M. and O'Toole, T. (1983) *Encounters with the Future*, New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Chandler, A. D. (1990) *Strategy and structure: Chapters in the history of the industrial enterprise*, Vol. 120, MIT press.
- Cole, R. E. (1991) *Strategies for learning: small-group activities in American, Japanese, and Swedish industry*, University of California Press.
- Emery, F. E. and Thorsrud, E. (Eds.) (2013) *Form and content in industrial democracy: Some experiences from Norway and other European countries*, Routledge.
- Frances, H. and Keegan, A. (2006) "The changing face of HRM: in search of balance", *Human Resource Management Journal*, Vol. 16 No 3, pp. 231–249.
- Guillén, M. (1994) *Models of management: Work, authority, and organization in a comparative perspective*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Gustavsen, B., Hofmaier, B., Philips, M. E., & Wikman, A. (1996) *Concept-driven development and the organization of the process of change: an evaluation of the Swedish working life fund* (Vol. 3) John Benjamins Publishing.
- Gyllenhammar, P. G. (1977) *People at work*, Philippines: Addison-Wesley.
- Hofstede, G. (1984). *Culture's Consequences*, London: Sage.
- Huzell, H. (2005). Management och motstånd: offentlig sektor i omvandling-en fallstudie, Doctoral thesis at Karlstad University, Karlstad: Karlstad University Press.
- Hällstén, F. (2003) *Det dygdiga personalansvaret: om chefers ansvarstagande för personal utifrån etiska perspektiv*, doctoral thesis at University of Gothenburg, Göteborg: Bas.

- Hällstén, F. and Tengblad, S. (2006) *Medarbetarskap i praktiken*, Lund: Studentlitteratur.
- Inglehart, R. (1997) *Modernization and Postmodernization*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Inglehart, R., Basanez, M. and Moreno, A. (1998) *Human Values and Beliefs: A Cross-Cultural Sourcebook*, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.
- Inglehart, R. and Baker, W. (2000) "Modernization, cultural change, and the persistence of traditional values", *American Sociological Review*, 65, February, 19-51.
- Kilhammar, K. (2011) *Idén om medarbetarskap*, doctoral thesis at Linköping University, Linköping: Linköping Electronic University Press.
- Kirkpatrick, I., Davies, A. and Oliver, N. (1992) Decentralization: Friend or foe of HRM, in Blyton, P. and Turnbull, P. (Eds.) *Reassessing Human Resource Management*, London: Sage.
- Larsson, U. and Persson, L. (2002) Decentraliserat personalarbete, in Hällstén, F. and Tengblad, S. *Personalansvar och medarbetarskap*, Göteborg: Bas.
- Legge, K. (1995) *Human Resource Management: Rhetorics and realities*, London: Macmillan Business.
- Lillrank, P. (1996) *T-50 ett svenskt svar på lean production?* Stockholm: Arbetslivsinstitutet.
- Lowe, J. (1992) Locating the line, in Blyton, P. and Turnbull, P. (Eds.) *Reassessing Human Resource Management*, London: Sage.
- Metallindustriarbetarförbundet (1985) *Det goda arbetet, Huvudrapport från programkommittén om industriarbetets värde och villkor*.
- Naschold, F., Cole, R. E., Gustavsen, B., and van Beinum, H. (1993) *Constructing the new industrial society* (Vol. 3) Van Gorcum.
- Modig, N. & Åhlström, P. (2011) *Vad är Lean?* Stockholm: Stockholm School of Economics Institute for Research.
- Norbäck, L-E, and Targama, A. (2009) *Det komplexa sjukhuset: att leda djupgående förändringar i en multiprofessionell verksamhet*, Lund: Studentlitteratur.
- Radnitzky, G. (1970) *Contemporary Schools of Metascience*, Göteborg: Scandinavian University Books.
- Sandberg, T. (1982) *Work organization and autonomous groups*, Malmö: Liber.
- Stockhult, H. (2005) *Medarbetaransvar: ett sätt att visa värderingar: en konceptualisering av medarbetarnas ansvar och ansvarstagande i callcenter*, Örebro University.
- Stockhult, H. (2013) *Medarbetare i dialog: en studie om viljan att göra mer än det formellt förväntade*, doctoral thesis at Örebro University, Örebro.
- Tengblad, S. (2003) *Den myndige medarbetaren*, Malmö: Liber.
- Tengblad, S. (2010) *Medarbetarskap på 60 minuter*, Report at University of Skövde, Skövde.
- Tengblad, S., Ackerman, C., Hällsten, F., Velten, J. (2007) *Medarbetarskap: Från ord till handling*. Malmö: Liber.
- Townley, B. (1994) *Reframing human resource management: Power, ethics and the subject at work*, London: Sage.

- Trompenaars, F. and Hampden-Turner, C. (1997) *Riding the waves of Culture*, London: Nicholas Brealey.
- Waring, S. P (1991). *Taylorism transformed: Scientific management theory since 1945*, Haworth Press.
- Wren, D. A. and Bedeian, A. G. (1994) *The evolution of management thought*, 6th ed., Wiley.

Industrial democracy through WPM achieves the following: 1. Performance of both groups is evaluated objectively. 1. Technology and organisations today are so complex that specialised work-roles are required, making it difficult for people to participate successfully if they go very far beyond their particular environment. This means that low-level workers can participate successfully in operating matters, but they usually have difficulty participating in policy matters. In Indian conditions the efforts of WPM is more on papers and little in practice. The noble instincts of WPM is more practiced in PSE units and very little or negligible in private sector. Sweden: Industrial Democracy in the 1970s L O och loutagarfundsfrigan. En studie i facklig politik och strategiEmployee Participation in Sweden 1971-1979: The Issue of Economic h a r d Kampen om loutagarfonderna. Jan 1978. A new phase in the development of capitalism can be detected: from welfare capitalism to financial capitalism. Large parts of the public sector have been privatized by both conservative and labor governments, even while retaining public funding. The social gaps grow, and a new line of conflict is emerging in the values and interests that should govern care-taking, schools, and living conditions. Making democracy work. Making democracy work. CIVIC Traditions in modern italy. Robert D. Putnam. industrial suburbs of Milan, crossing rapidly the fertile Po Valley, plung-ing past the proud Renaissance capitals of Bologna and Florence, circling the grimy, joyless outskirts of Rome and then Naples, and climbing at last into the desolate mountains of Basilicata, isolated in the instep of the Ital-ian boot.1 To the thoughtful observer, however, this swift passage is less impressive for. the distance spanned than for the historical contrasts be-tween the point of departure and the destination.