

# **Management and Employee Views on Outcomes of Workplace Reforms in Comparison**

## **The Case of Publicly Supported Development Projects in Finland**

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### **Introduction**

This paper examines to what extent management and personnel representatives<sup>1</sup> perceive the effects of development projects aimed at workplace reform in a similar way. There are many reasons why the use of management vs. personnel representatives as informants on workplace reforms might lead to quite different conclusions when assessing the effects of development interventions on enterprise or workplace level. In fact, there exist to date surprisingly few studies in which management and employee views have been systematically compared for that purpose.

The Nordic countries have a long history of publicly supported programmes to promote workplace reform. Typical objects in the programmes have included team-based forms of work organization, flexible working methods, networking, working conditions, and business practices based on trust and broad employee participation. Norway is the pioneering country with the longest history of experiments, dating back to the early 1960s. Also Sweden has a long history of innovative experiments with, for example, job redesign, group work, factory layouts and workplace democracy since the late 1960s. Finland and Denmark are latecomers; in both countries, similar programmes on national level started in the 1990s (Alasoini 2009; Brödner & Latniak 2003; Gustavsen 2007). Recently, in Sweden and particularly in Finland, publicly supported programmes to promote workplace change have been increasingly integrated under a broad concept on ‘innovation policy’, with somewhat less emphasis on the ‘democracy aspect’ of change (Alasoini 2011).

The empirical material, which we utilize in the comparison between the use of management vs. personnel representatives as informants on workplace reforms, is based on a two-phase survey carried out by the Finnish Workplace Development Programme TYKES (2004–10). TYKES was a governmental R&D programme for promoting simultaneous improvements in labour productivity and the quality of working life (QWL) in workplaces through changes in managerial and organizational practices. Support from the programme focused on the work input of consultants and action researchers used in the projects to help workplaces plan new organizational designs and implement participatory processes of change.

This paper starts with a presentation of the TYKES programme. This is followed by an examination on why the use of management vs. personnel representatives as informants on workplace reforms might lead to different conclusions. Next, we present the survey method and data. The empirical part of this paper examines the results of the survey. Finally, the results and their policy implications are discussed.

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<sup>1</sup> In Finnish context, this concept refers to shop stewards, staff representatives (in the case of white-collar workers), local union presidents, occupational safety and health delegates, and employee members of labour-management cooperation committees.

## **TYKES Development Projects**

TYKES was a public R&D programme, coordinated by the Finnish Funding Agency for Technology and Innovation (Tekes) and implemented in cooperation with the social partners. Between 2004 and 2010, the programme funded 996 development projects, covering over 3000 workplaces of all sizes in virtually all sectors of the economy. The largest sectoral grouping in funding was industry (35%), followed by private services (30%) and the local government sector (24%). SMEs received a lion's share (77%) of all funding granted to projects in private enterprises. Total programme funding to the projects between 2004 and 2010 was €57m. The financial contribution by the workplaces themselves was twice as much.

The workplace-level objective of TYKES was to help workplaces adopt new practices that will enable them to bring about simultaneous improvements in productivity and QWL (Alasoini 2004; Ramstad 2009). Productivity improvements, in practice, meant improvements in labour productivity, product quality, customer service, throughput times, etc. Improvements in QWL were manifested in greater opportunities for learning and exerting influence at work for personnel. The most typical aims of development projects included the development of work processes, work organization, working methods and supervisory work.

The development projects started on the initiative of the workplaces themselves and they should be implemented in close cooperation between management and personnel. The minimal requirement for cooperation was that management and personnel jointly deal with the project's implementation plan and commit themselves to implementing it in cooperation, and that a group representing the above parties is established to monitor project implementation. In more than 60% of the cases, the experts working in the projects were private consultants, either self-employed or employed in small indigenous consulting houses. In addition, there were researchers from universities and research institutes as well as other experts from lower-level educational institutes working in the projects. The division of work between consultants and researchers is not so clear-cut in Finland as in many other industrialized countries and, in fact, in many cases consultants and researchers worked in cooperation in the same projects.

TYKES funded considerably large projects, lasting typically from one to three years, which were also intended to pave the way for long-term development cooperation between management and personnel. The programme left a lot of leeway to workplaces for setting project goals and implementation. The methods used in the projects varied a lot, depending on the goals of the projects and the expertise of the consultants and researchers participating in the projects.

## **Management and Personnel Representatives as Informants**

Resorting one-sidedly to either management's or employees' views on the effects of workplace reforms, or any other matters that touch on employment relations, might in many cases lead to quite different conclusions. A good example is provided by the 1998 British Workplace Employee Relations Survey (WERS 1998), in which Cully et al. (1999) carried out an analysis on managers', non-managerial employees' and union representatives' views on the climate of employment relations and how a number of 'high-commitment management practices' were associated with the climate. The comparison revealed largely different views between the three groups on both the climate in itself and the relationships between the

climate and its supposed determinants. Even in this case, the authors did not try to provide a clear explanation on the reasons for these highly diverging responses.

To elaborate the nature of this problem in more conceptual terms, we can make a distinction between ‘labelled’ and ‘featured’ workplace practices (Armbruster et al. 2008). The concept of ‘labelled’ practices refers to practices whose adoption can be asked by using labels of practices such as teamwork, continuous improvement, business process re-engineering, etc. The problem with this methodology is that the analysis has to rely on the judgement of the respondent or her/his understanding of a label. In the case of ‘featured’ practices, an enquiry asks about the realization of specific features, rather than uses ready-made labels, and then draws conclusions about the existence of the practice. One could argue that the problem when resorting one-sidedly to either management’s or employees’ views is more serious in the case of ‘featured’ than ‘labelled’ practices. This is because, in the latter, the possible difference of view derives mainly from differences in formal definitions or in the amount of information possessed by the respondents and not so much in factors shown below.

There are many reasons why information gathered from management and personnel representatives might deviate from each other, particularly in the case of ‘featured’ practices: Firstly, the parties may resort to different kind of information. It is possible, for example, that responses by management may reflect more the operation of the formal organization, whereas responses by personnel representatives may be guided more by ‘custom and practice’, i.e. the operation of the informal organization. Secondly, management and personnel representatives view existing practices from different structural positions and ‘concern frameworks’ and, therefore, may use different standards or value bases when making assessments on the ‘same’ phenomenon. This applies especially to matters concerning control, managerial authority and employment relations, such as what is considered as ‘good management’ or ‘real participation’ (e.g. Edwards et al. 2006; Kalleberg et al. 2009). Thirdly, the state of cognitive order, which encourages people to give positive assessments of different kind of phenomena, may be constructed in organizational changes quite differently for top management and the rest of the personnel. McKinley and Scherer (2000) suggest that organizational restructuring *in itself* is often an important source of cognitive order for management, whereas on lower levels of the organization it, in contrast, often leads to increased sense of *disorder* where many new options have to be considered. In their view, organizational changes, in many cases, are characterized by bifurcation of views between top management and the rest of the personnel.

Fourthly, it is also possible that in certain situations either party – in most cases management – may be subject to ‘halo error’ in its assessments on the presence of certain practices or policies in the enterprise or in associating high performance with these practices and policies (Bacon & Blyton, 2000, 1433–4; Godard & Delaney, 2000, 490–1). Finally, and especially concerning publicly supported development interventions, management may even has a vested interest to provide distorted information outwards (e.g. to the project funding agency) on purpose. Management may be tempted in its responses, for example, to reinforce the corporate image in the eyes of the funder or convince the funder that the external support was used skilfully and led to desired outcomes.

## Methods and Data

In this paper, we compare the views by management and personnel representatives on changes achieved in TYKES development projects on six set of items. The items include the extent of decentralization of decision making, the authorities of work teams, information sharing, the role of supervisors in supporting employees, labour-management cooperation in development, and the employment relations climate at the workplace. Most questions concern 'featured' rather than 'labelled' workplace practices.

The data derives from a survey that was aimed at a selected group of workplaces participating in TYKES development projects, both at the beginning of the project and at its conclusion. Workplaces were selected for the survey using the following criteria: at least 10 employees, covering at least 25% of the personnel, participate in the project; the funding received by the workplace from the programme is at least €10,000 (€5000 in the case of a local government workplace); the duration of the project is at least 10 months; and no more than three workplaces are selected for the survey in each project. The purpose of these criteria was to pinpoint the workplaces that participate in development projects the most intensively. The survey was given separately to a representative of management (usually production or personnel manager) and of the largest personnel group (usually chief shop steward or staff representative) using an online form. In practice, the programme team sent questionnaires to a group of projects approximately every three months. The first round of questionnaires of the entry survey was sent in September 2004 and that of the exit survey in December 2005. The last round of questionnaires was sent in autumn 2011.

The entire entry survey material consists of 1124 responses (response rate 66%), and the entire exit survey material 687 responses (response rate 48%). The response rate by management is higher than that of personnel representatives in both surveys (73% vs. 60% in the entry survey, 61% vs. 35% in the exit survey). In order to ensure a genuine longitudinal research setting, the comparison only includes workplaces that had responded to *both* the entry *and* the exit survey; the number of responses is 643 and 570, representing 399 projects and 432 workplaces. The numbers of management responses in the entry and exit surveys are 367 and 364, and those of the personnel representatives 276 and 206, respectively.

For practical reasons, it was not always possible to get a response to the two surveys from the same person in the workplace. The incidence of same person in the material is 75% for management and 66% for personnel representatives. The overall union density in Finland is high (around 70%), which means that nearly all personnel representatives that have responded to the survey are union members. Of all personnel representatives in the material, 58% are blue-collar workers, 15% senior white-collar workers and 27% other white-collar workers.

The material under comparison was compiled from very different workplaces. 37% of responses were from industry, 24% from private services, 23% from the local government workplaces, 12% from NGOs, 3% from central government workplaces and 1% from agriculture and forestry. This diversity is not a problem with regard to the research question. The sectoral distributions in the two surveys are very similar for both management and employee responses. There is no reason to expect that materials in the two surveys would differ from each other to a significant degree by any relevant background variable.

## Results

### *Decentralization of Decision Making*

Decision making in the workplaces is analysed by making use of the ‘responsibility index’, developed by the Nordic ‘Flexible Enterprise’ project (NUTEK 1999). This paper does not use the index as such; instead, decision making in the workplaces is examined through seven items included in the index separately. In the survey, the respondents are asked who usually makes a decision in different matters. There are six given alternatives (Figures 1 and 2). Following a classification developed by Klein (1991), decision making in a modern work organization can occur in three different ways. Decision making is *centralized* in case a manager makes the decision, or the decision is based on a rule or procedure. Decentralized decision making can take place in two different ways. In *independent* decision making responsibility is delegated to individuals, whereas in the case of *collaborative* decision making the team comes to a decision. The following looks at the extent to which decision making in the seven items is decentralized, either in an independent or a collaborative way.

A great majority of the workplaces have a decentralized structure for decision making in daily planning of an individual employee’s work tasks. In about half of the cases, employees or teams make decisions on weekly planning as well. Supervisors and middle managers play the utmost role especially in the follow-up of results, quality control and purchasing, while the role of top management is emphasized in the development of production and services. In the entry survey, personnel representatives give a greater role than management to individual employees in all seven items. Management, in turn, emphasizes more often than personnel representatives the role of either teams or supervisors as the prime decision makers.

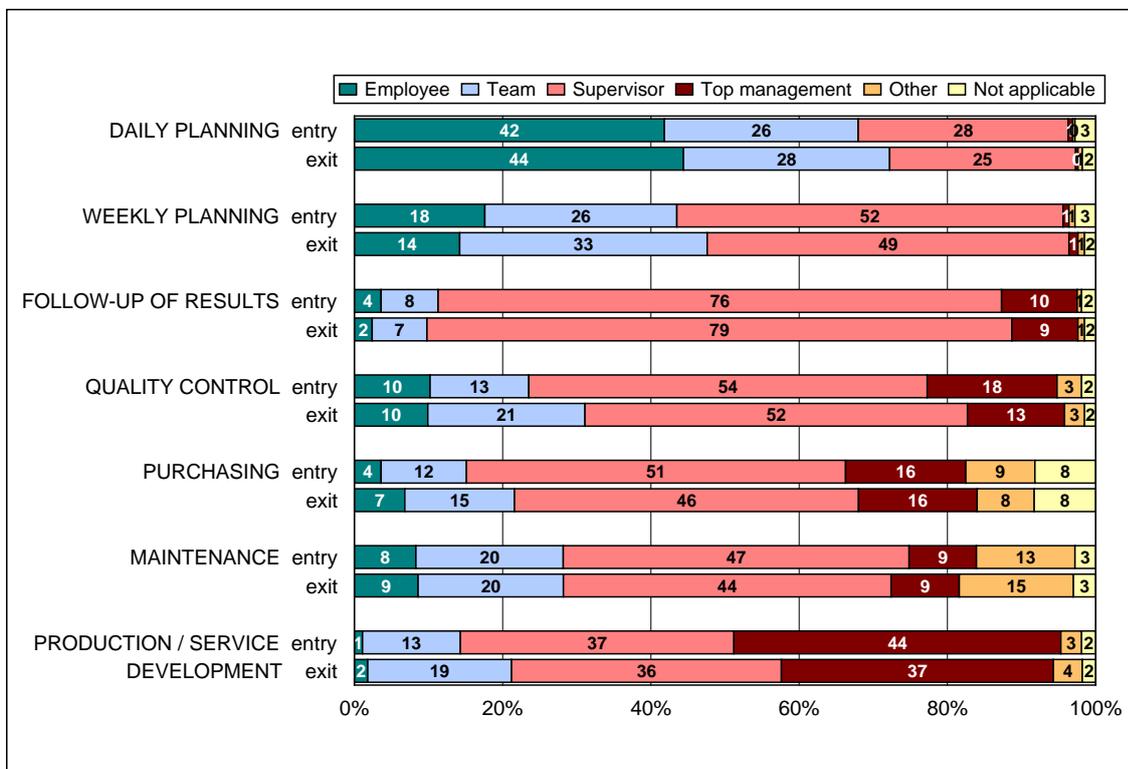


Figure 1. Main decision-making level on different matters in the workplace (viewed by management).

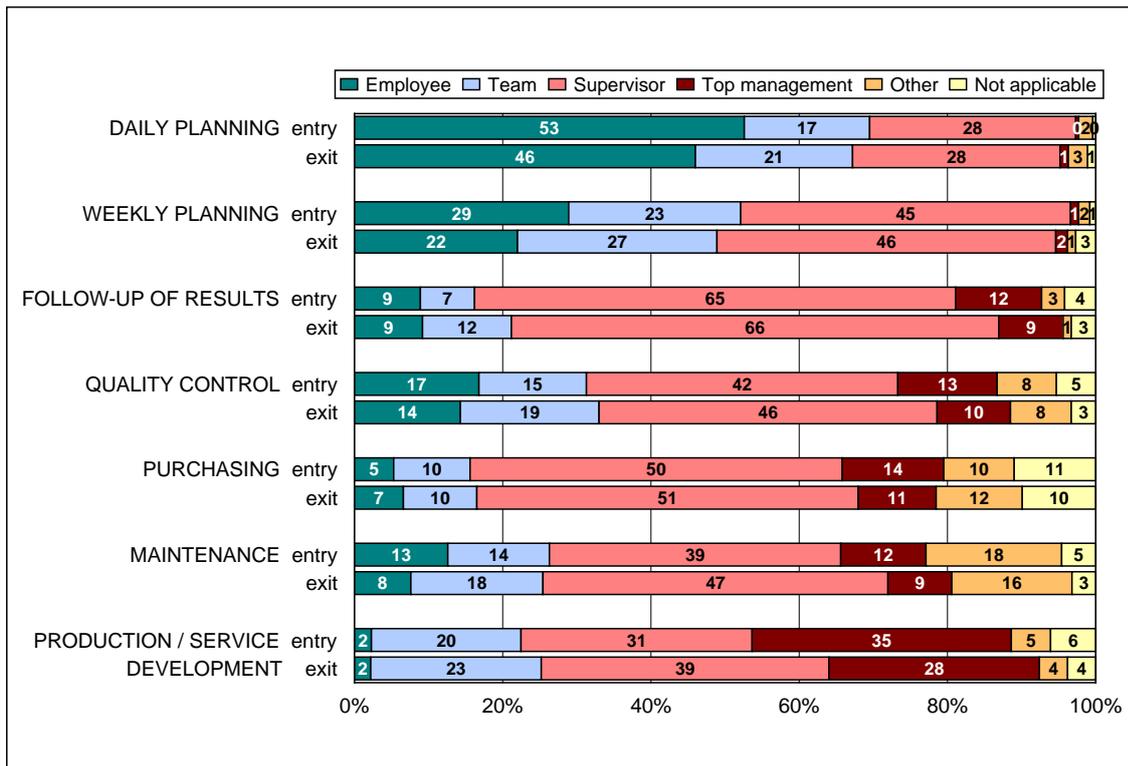


Figure 2. Main decision-making level on different matters in the workplace (viewed by personnel representatives).

Views by the two parties on changes between the two surveys differ from each somewhat. Management perceives a trend towards more decentralized decision making in five of the seven issues. In management's view, the role of teams has increased mainly at the expense of that of supervisors. Personnel representatives, in turn, do not see an indication of decentralization. Unlike management, they consider that the increased role played by teams is in most items paralleled by decreases in the decision-making power of individual employees.

### *Authorities of Work Teams*

Teamwork is a widespread phenomenon in Finland these days, and Finland, together with the other Nordic countries, holds a top position in Europe in the spread of autonomous teamwork (Parent-Thirion et al. 2007, 53). The role of teams, however, differs greatly from one workplace to another also in Finland (Kalmi & Kauhanen 2008). The survey characterizes teams with nine features. Figures 3 and 4 comprise only those workplaces (82% of all workplaces) that in the survey informed that they have teams.

The greatest differences between the two parties in the entry survey concern the extent to which members perform several tasks in the team and choose their own leaders. Here personnel representatives give teams a greater role. The views of the two parties on the extent of change achieved in the projects differ from each other quite a lot. In most cases, management perceives bigger increases in teams' authorities than personnel representatives; in four of the nine items, personnel representatives do not see any increase at all. The difference of view on the extent of change is mostly emphasized in teams' contacts with other teams in the workplace and their role in developing their operations. Interestingly enough and in contrast to the project start-up phase, in the exit survey management respondents give

teams a greater role than personnel representatives in most issues, the most notable exception being multi-tasking in the team by team members.

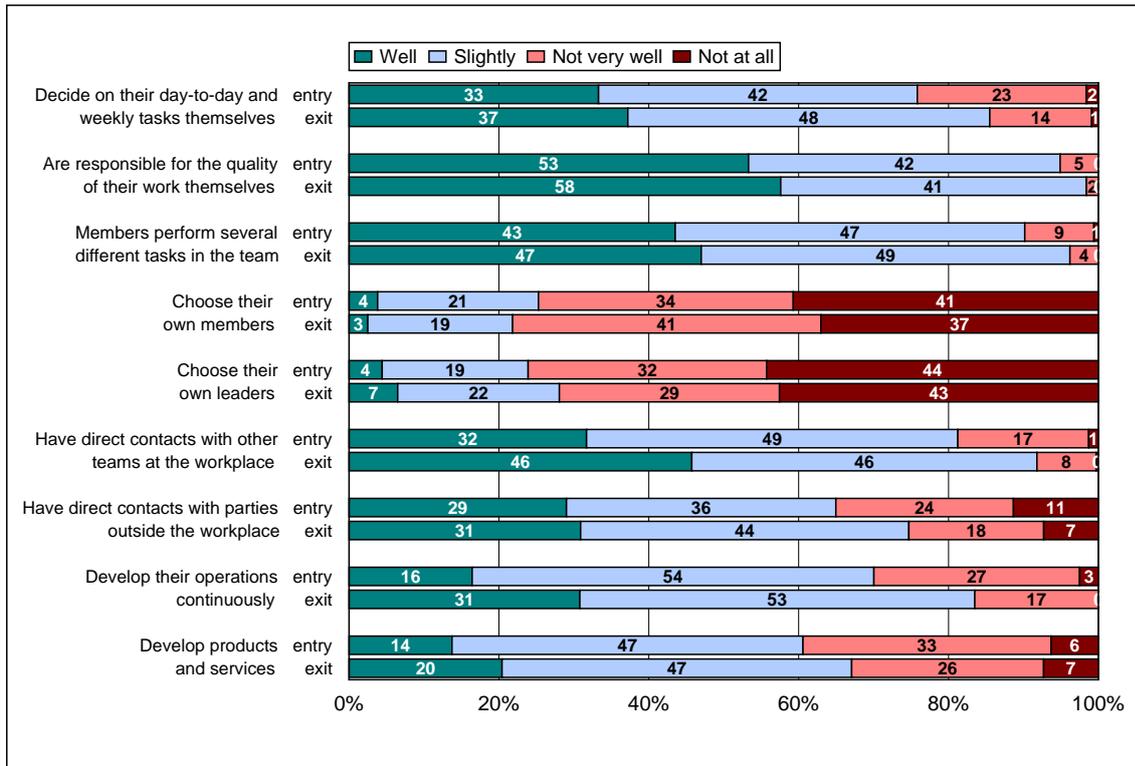


Figure 3. Characteristics of teams at those workplaces that have teams (viewed by management).

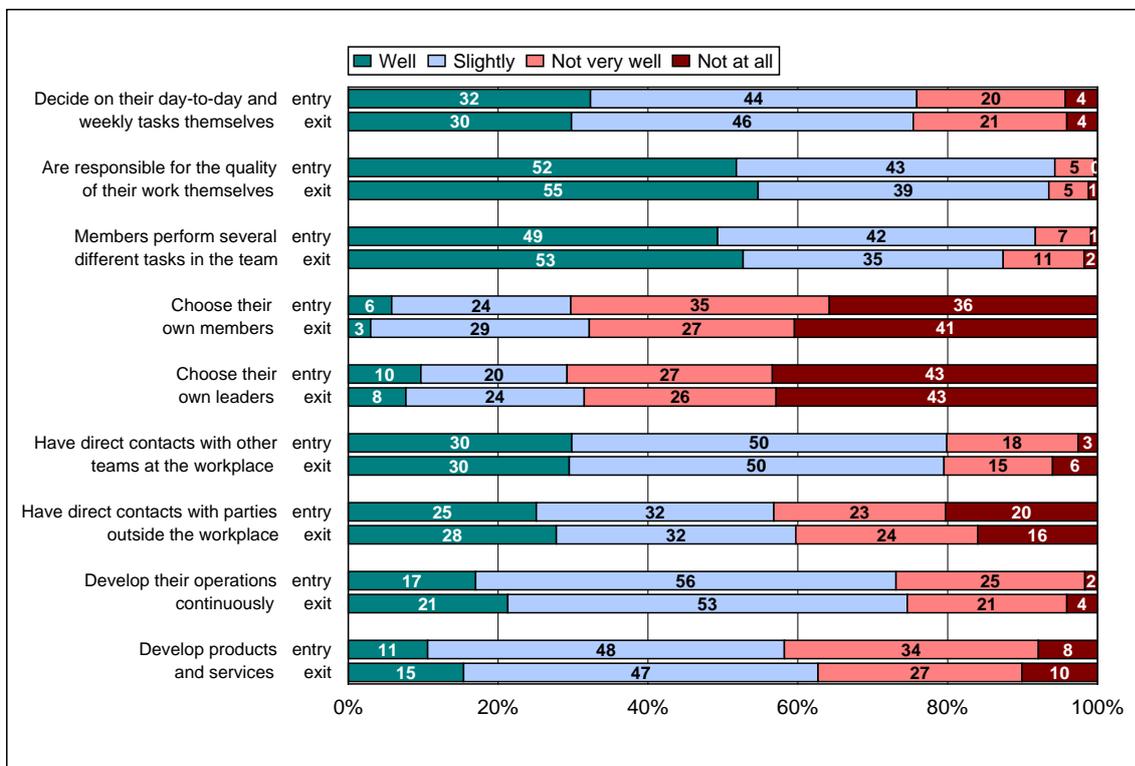


Figure 4. Characteristics of teams at those workplaces that have teams (viewed by personnel representatives).

### Information Sharing

Changes in the effectiveness of information sharing on the key results targets in the participating workplaces are examined through two questions. The survey asks how well the respondents think that the personnel know the key results targets of the entire workplace and their own work unit. Figures 5 and 6 show a clear difference between the entry and exit surveys in the responses by both management and personnel representatives. Both parties perceive clear improvements on the level of the entire workplace and the work unit. This may be partly explained by the fact that any development project, in itself, requires increased openness and transparency in order to lead to success. Management's view on personnel's knowledge on the targets is more positive in both questions and the gap has further widened in the exit survey.

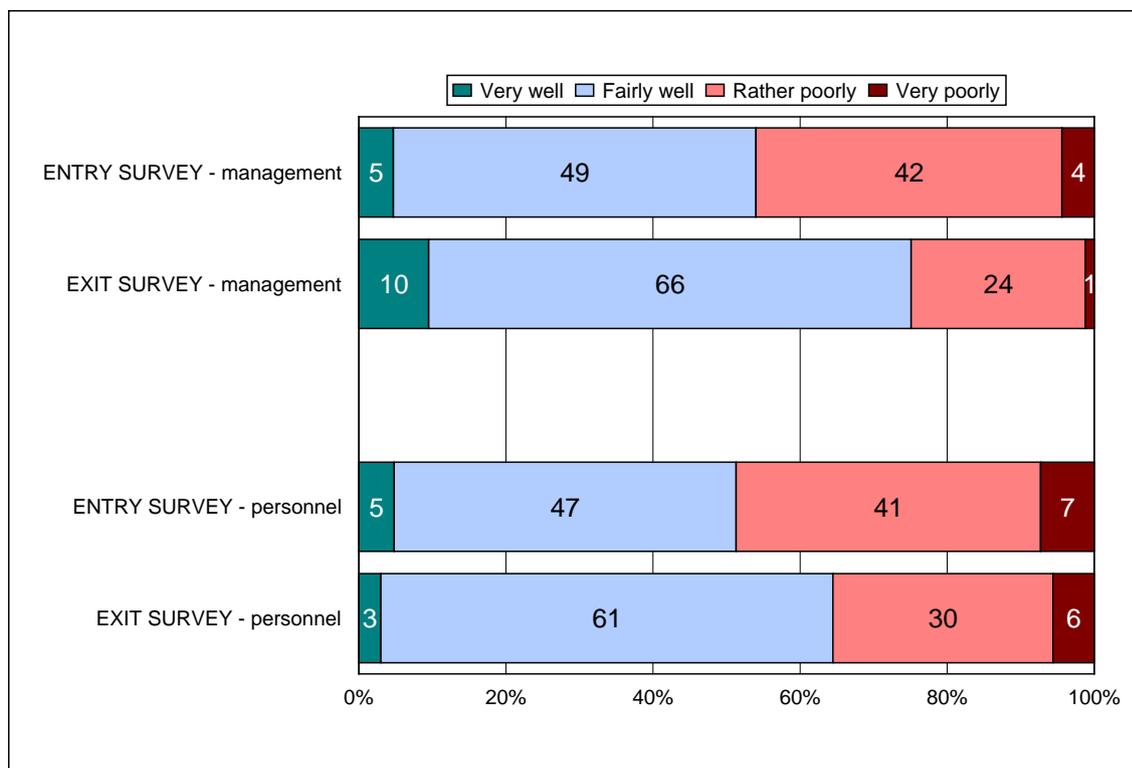


Figure 5. Personnel's knowledge on the key results targets of the entire workplace.

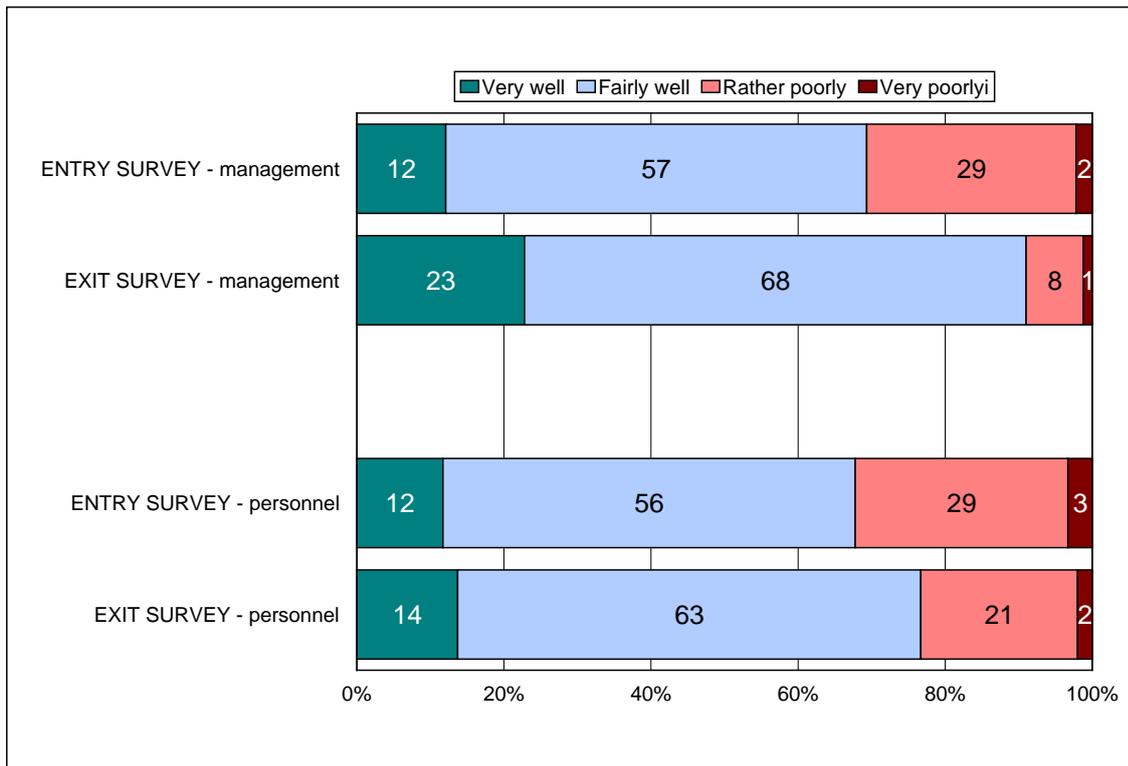


Figure 6. Personnel's knowledge on the key results targets of their own work unit.

### *Role of Supervisors in Supporting Employees*

Supervisors can play a coercive or an enabling role for employees, as indicated by Adler and Borys (1996) in their paper on two types of bureaucracy. Supervisors' *coercive* role refers here to a mode of behaviour, which is designed to force reluctant compliance and to extract recalcitrant effort. In the following, the focus is exclusively on the *enabling* role of supervisors. The survey examines through three statements how the respondents consider the role of supervisors in supporting and encouraging employees in their work and prompting them to learn new things and develop themselves at work and take initiative.

All in all, there prevails a significant difference of level between management and personnel responses in all three statements in both surveys. Comparing the results of the entry and exit surveys indicates a change towards a more widespread enabling role for supervisors in all three items (Figure 7). In the statement concerning the role of supervisors in supporting and encouraging employees in their work, the trend especially among those who 'agree completely' with the statement is more apparent for management respondents. In the statement concerning supervisors' role in encouraging employees to take initiative and develop new procedures, the boot is on the other foot.

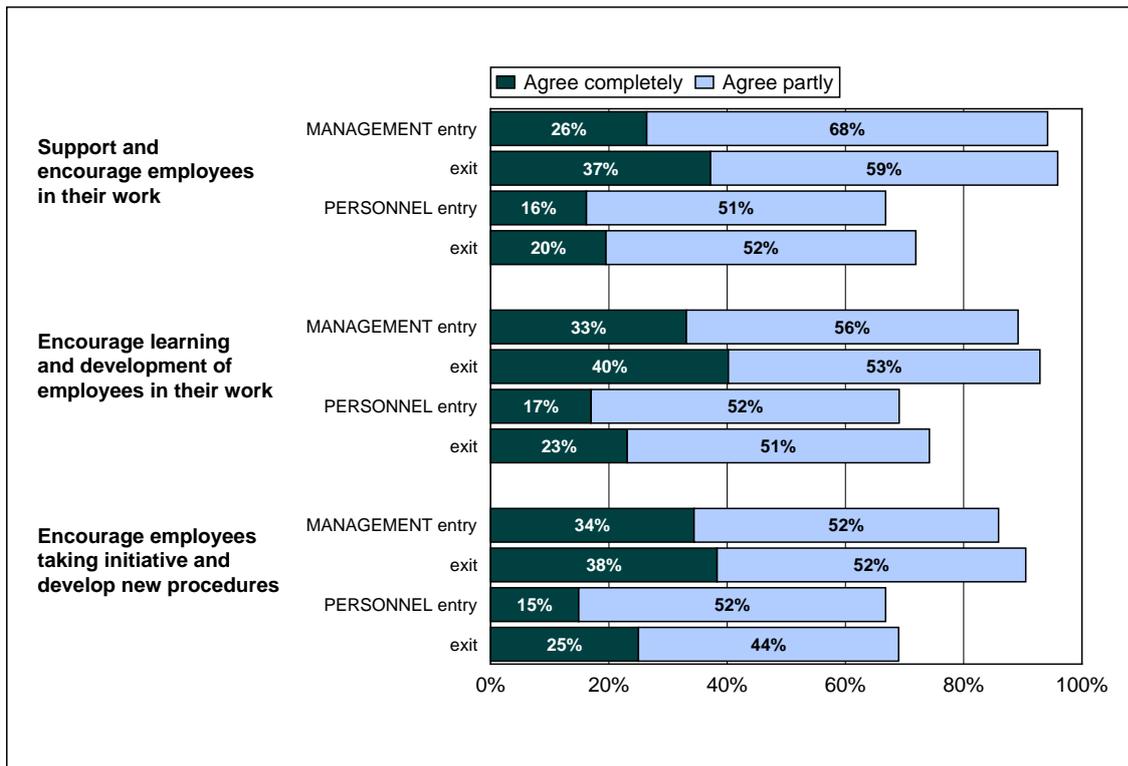


Figure 7. Role of supervisors in supporting employees.

### *Cooperation between Management and Personnel in Development*

Cooperation between management and personnel in development is examined in the survey through two questions. The survey asks to what extent the two parties agree with a statement that management/personnel take a constructive approach to proposals made by the other party. Once again, management respondents' views on the situation in the workplace are much more positive in both cases (Figure 8). In the statement concerning management's constructive approach to proposals made by personnel, the gap between the views by the two groups is pronounced. When asking about personnel's constructive approach to proposals made by management, the gap clearly decreases, but remains. An increasing proportion of management respondents in the exit survey 'agree completely' that their own approach to personnel proposals is constructive, whereas they are somewhat more cautious to think that personnel's approach has changed accordingly. Personnel respondents do not share the positive views by management. In fact, the proportion of respondents who 'agree completely' or 'partly' with the statement that management takes a constructive approach to personnel proposals is six percentage units lower in the exit survey.

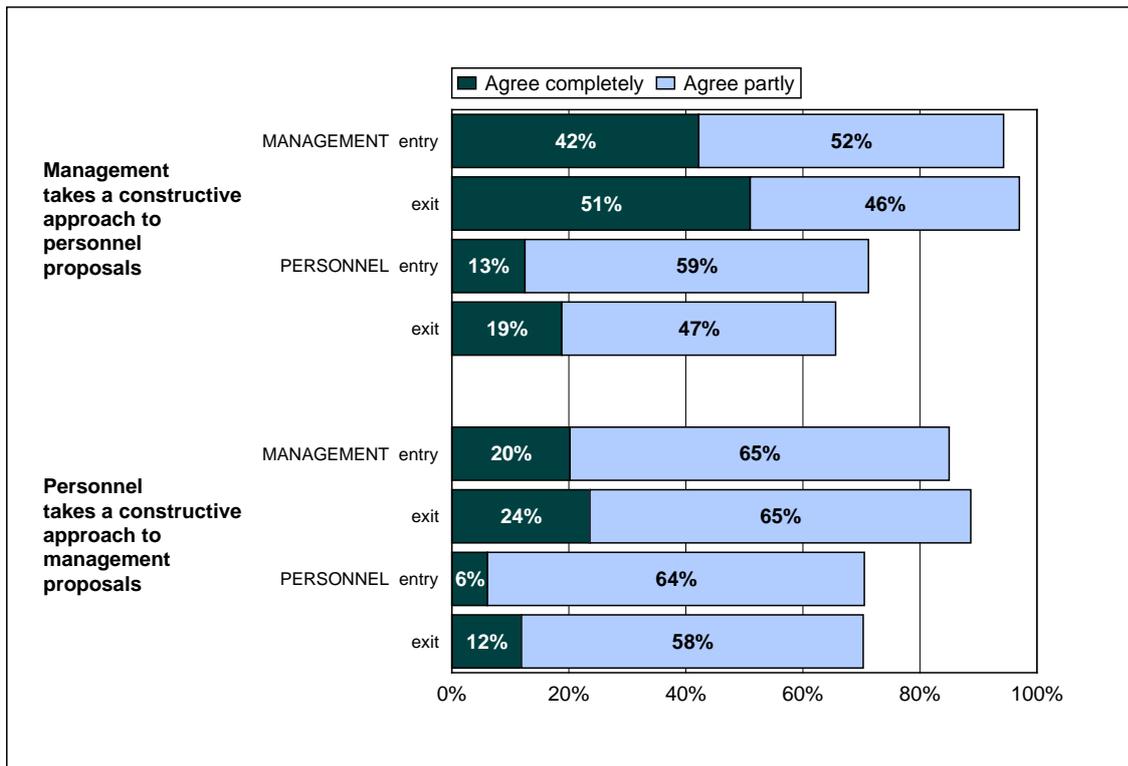


Figure 8. Constructive approach to proposals made by management and personnel.

### *Employment Relations Climate*

As in the case of the previous items, there exist a significant difference of level between views of the two groups in matters concerning the climate in the workplace in general (Figure 9). Here again, management's views on the overall trend towards a more collaborative climate are counterbalanced by personnel representatives' much more cautious views of any change at all. Personnel respondents share with management the view that relationships between the different personnel and occupational groups have changed into more open and confidential, but even here the gap between the views by the two parties has widened between the two surveys. In the two other questions, a slight increase can be found in the proportion of personnel representatives who 'agree completely' with the statements. This is, however, counterbalanced by a clear decrease in the proportion of those personnel respondents who 'agree partly' with these two statements.

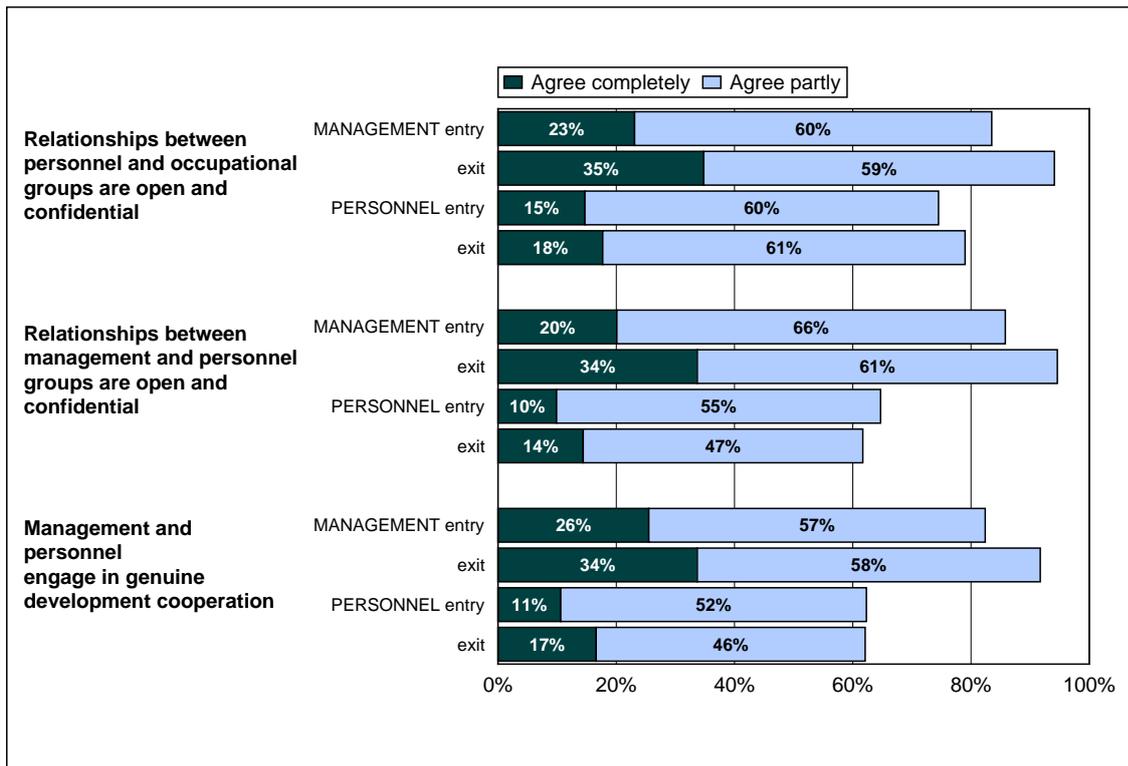


Figure 9. Employment relations climate in the workplace.

## Discussion and Conclusions

This paper examines views by management and personnel representatives on changes achieved in publicly supported workplace development projects in Finland, with a view to assessing to what extent the views by the two parties differ from each other. If implemented in a collaborative way, one could expect that the projects lead to increased convergence between the views by the two parties. On the other hand, and as shown above, there are several factors, which may act as a hindrance to the convergence of views and, in some cases, even make the differences more pronounced.

Both management and personnel representatives in the survey consider that the role of work teams has increased in decision making. In management's view, this has mainly taken place at the expense of supervisors and middle management, whereas personnel representatives perceive parallel decreases in the decision-making power of individual employees. In most cases, management perceives bigger increases in teams' authorities than personnel representatives. The difference of view is highlighted particularly in questions concerning teams' contacts with other workplace teams and their role in developing their operations. Personnel representatives consider that teams' authorities have, in fact, slightly decreased in three of the nine items.

Concerning information sharing and supporting role of supervisors, there prevails a significant difference of level between the views by management and personnel respondents in all statements, both in the entry and the exit survey. Both parties perceive improvements in the two statements concerning information sharing and the three statements concerning the role of supervisors. In most cases, however, management's view of the magnitude of change is greater than that of personnel representatives.

Differences in both the entry and the exit survey between responses by management and personnel representatives in matters concerning their mutual cooperation in development and the employment relations climate are clear. Management respondents' views on changes achieved in the projects are also more positive in all five questions. One could argue that, generally speaking, personnel representatives do not see hardly any change to the better. Slight increases in the proportion of those personnel representatives who 'agree completely' with the statements is in most cases counterbalanced by clear decreases in the number of those who 'agree partly' with the statements in question.

The empirical analysis indicates that the development projects have been more successful in bringing about improvements in supporting practices, such as information sharing and the role of supervisors, than in the organization of work as such. This observation may reflect the fact that change in the organization of work are often slow, complex social processes, requiring a plenty of time and changes in many supporting practices first to take place. Therefore, to make affirmative conclusions on the supporting role of programmes in bringing about change in work organization would require a sufficiently long time span. This, however, is seldom the case in programme evaluation studies. This applies also to the TYKES programme, in which the questionnaire was usually sent to the respondents within three months after the project has ended. The survey also demonstrates that the success of the projects has been most modest concerning employment relations and the state of development cooperation between management and personnel in the workplace, especially from the perspective of personnel representatives. The statements used in the survey focus on matters that are probably deeply rooted in their value- and culture-based assumptions on management behaviour. It may even be unrealistic to assume that an individual development project would bring about a radical break in matters like these.

All in all, there were clear differences between management and personnel representatives as informants on the occurrence of different practices at the workplace as well the extent of change achieved in the projects. The fact that personnel representatives give a greater role in decision making to individual employees than management might be taken as an indication that their responses are guided more by the informal organization where bureaucratic procedures are often passed over in favour of 'custom and practice', with or without formal consent by the superiors. As representatives of the personnel, their views may also be guided by a tendency to downplay the role of supervisors and middle managers in everyday functioning of the organization and as supporters of non-managerial employees in their daily work. Managers, instead, may respond more 'by the book' either because they have a more machine-like view on the operation of the organization in their mind as such or because they do not simply know how the organization works on the level of the shop floor.

One eligibility criterion for TYKES development projects was that management and personnel jointly deal with the project's implementation plan, commit themselves to implementing it in cooperation and establish a joint steering group to monitor project implementation. Because respondents on both management and personnel side usually were members of that group, it could have been expected that both parties show a tendency to view changes achieved in the projects in a uniform way. As stated above, this was not often the case. In most items, management perceives changes in a more positive light. In practice, a great majority of the projects were started on the initiative of management. This means that the sense of ownership of the projects was in most cases probably stronger among

management than personnel representatives, a fact contributing to management's more positive views.

The survey clearly demonstrates how important it is to gather information on the projects from more than just one stakeholder group. At the same time, broadening the survey to cover also ordinary employees would have probably showed an even more diversified picture of outcomes of the projects (e.g. Cully et al. 1999). In view of the great number of projects, this would have been laborious.

A major limitation of this study is that it does not permit to conclude that the differences found between the entry and exit surveys are a result of the TYKES development project that was carried out in the workplace. Most workplaces that participated in the programme had carried out other projects at the same time. A second major limitation is the lack of information on the sustainability of the changes achieved in the projects (see above). Thirdly, the response rate, particularly for personnel representatives was much lower in the exit survey than in the entry survey. This fact does not as such distort the comparative setting between the two surveys, but increases the possibility of random variation in the material.

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