European Journal of Workplace Innovation

EUROPEAN JOURNAL OF WORKPLACE INNOVATION

The European Journal of Workplace Innovation (EJWI) is an open-access, net-based, peer reviewed and English-language journal. The Journal invites research-based empirical, theoretical or synoptic articles focusing on innovation and workplace development. The aim of the journal is:

- To develop insights into workplace innovation
- Provide case studies from Europe as well as comparative studies from other continents
- Develop and present new theories in the field of workplace innovation
- To increase international publication within the field
- To become an important publication channel for workplace innovation researches as well as the international research community

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Editorial

Richard Ennals

The European Journal of Workplace Innovation (EJWI) was launched in a context of a European Commission initiative to create a new network across the EU, the European Workplace Innovation Network (EUWIN), with a focus on private sector companies. Funding did not support research, but an international co-ordinating consortium drew on long experience of previous research. There was a programme of activities and events over four years, with the final conference in Brussels on 10th October 2016.

A network had developed over the four years, but it was apparent, from presentations by senior officials of the European Commission, that decisions have not yet been made regarding the way forward from 2017. It is likely that the EUWIN Knowledge Bank will be maintained in some way, and EUWIN bulletins will continue to be published, for example raising awareness of EJWI.

The European Commission is very aware of the pace of change in many workplaces, and recognises the need for dissemination of good practice. Technological change, complicated by economic crisis and high levels of unemployment in many countries, will mean that a New Work Agenda, or Policy Framework, will emerge. This is likely to link several Directorates-General, and to encompass issues such as engagement, the collaborative economy, skills and learning. There is likely to be a significant role for the Social Partners, in a New Social Dialogue. No commitments have been made with regard to funding.

What does this mean for research in the field, and for EJWI? We cannot assume that there will be a major EU programme to serve as a locomotive for research. We need to reflect on our experience to date.

Issue 1 of EJWI enabled established research leaders to set the scene and present agendas. Established researchers were much in evidence at the first and last EUWIN events. Their agendas had changed little. Case study reports responded to particular developments at a company level. Conference facilitation enabled discussion of different company cases to be linked.

Issue 2.1 broadened the debate, with articles on research projects concerned with Workplace Innovation and related issues, such as Older Workers. There was no single agenda, and there were opportunities for new researchers to contribute.

Issue 2.2 may come to be seen as the early blooming of a hundred flowers. Each article has a focus related to the workplace, but the overall issue exemplifies the pluralism that was promised in the editorial for Issue 1.

Johnsen's article, from Norway, combines radical and conventional elements. He describes developments with a successful company network, the EYDE network. They have taken a collaborative approach to management development, in partnership with the University of Agder. This provides the basis for debate on company models.

Palin et al tackle a fresh issue which draws on new technology and changes in work organisation in Finland. Crowdsourcing is attracting increasing attention. Here, with

consideration of In House Crowdsourcing, it is added to the debate on Workplace Innovation.

Uusiautti is concerned with success at work in a medium-sized enterprise in Lapland, where working life is changing fast. With a general focus on motivation, she considers the importance of hope. Changes in work were a key factor.

Dessers et al concentrate on work in the care sector in Belgium, and offer a practical approach to Workplace Innovation, using a game based on Karasek's Job Demand / Control Model. The game lets participants experience differences between job characteristics and job quality in a setting that relates to their own field of work.

Gabathuler, from Switzerland, asks whether healthy workplaces are innovative. He notes the overlapping debates on Workplace Health Management and Workplace Innovation. The article suggests ways in which the two concepts can reinforce each other.

Pomares et al, from the Basque Region of Spain, consider Regional and Workplace Innovation. This means considering institutional, territorial and socio-organisation situations of companies. The article draws heavily on EU developments in Workplace Innovation, and sets out an ambitious agenda for the region.

Tutchell and Edmonds consider the problem of gender-based power inequality in the UK. Based on a large number of interviews, their book Man-made, with a campaigning flavour, poses stark challenges. Whether in the workplace or in public life, women continue to be second class citizens.

What can we expect from EJWI Issue 3.1, and subsequent issues? There is an opportunity for innovation in the knowledge workplace. This is all the more important because of current uncertainty regarding European Commission programmes.

EJWI is published by the University of Agder. It is free, open and online. As our collection of articles builds up, there will be scope for collaboration, online dialogue, joint projects, and conferences. There are opportunities for younger researchers to take leading roles.

Industrial development as discursive change: A case of symbiotic learning

Hans Christian Garmann Johnsen

Abstract

The Eyde Cluster is a network of companies at Agder seeking to enhance sustainable development through vocational training. A dialogical approach is taken to developing a new discourse, using principles of communicative organisational change. There is discussion of a more bottom up approach, in line with Workplace Innovation. The paper argues for balancing formal education and vocational training in a way that creates symbiotic learning.

Keywords: Cluster, dialogue, discourse, Lean, network, sustainable development, triple bottom line, vocational training, symbiotic learning

Introduction

This paper considers the initiative by the Eyde Cluster at Agder to enhance sustainable development through vocational training. The Eyde Cluster, which today has 33 member companies, was established in 2007 as a network of ten companies within process industries at Agder, the southernmost region of Norway. Each of them are world leading in their field. They are intensive in their use of natural resources, and are among the largest multi-national companies in metal and mining.

The companies in the Eyde Cluster have put sustainability high on their agenda. They argue that, in order to survive as companies, they have to develop in a more sustainable way. They also argue that the present speed of use of resources, and the negative environmental consequences of today's production methods, are not sustainable.

In order to set the new direction towards more sustainable development, the network has initiated a training programme that is intended to involve a large group of employees across the ten companies, and at different levels in the organisations. This programme is called Eyde Leader, and the first course in the programme is called Sustainable Process Industry, and was launched in co-operation with the University of Agder in the fall of 2014. The first cohort of participants completed the course in spring 2015, the second in the spring of 2016 and the third cohort started in the fall of 2016.

The motivation behind this training programme is to engage a large group of employees in a discourse on sustainable manufacturing. The objective is not individual skills or training, but to create this discourse. Lars Petter Maltby, former Managing Director of Saint-Gobain Ceramic Materials AS Lillesand & Eydehavn, Norway, one of the process industry companies that have taken part in Eyde leader, now Managing Director Eyde Innovation Centre, CTO Eyde Cluster, argues that the main purpose of Eyde leader has been to create a network across process industry companies at Agder, thereby sharing knowledge and competence. In addition to that, the Eyde leader programme is expected to create identity across the companies. This paper describes how this course has been developed and perceived by the participants, and discusses the idea of creating industrial change by initiating this kind of discourse.

The course Sustainable Process Industry is an interesting example of a communicative, discursive change process that in form is rather formal, and complies with the formal higher education system, but in content is dialogical and manages to create a new discourse within the business network. The task and purpose of Eyde Leader is in some sense rather abstract (vision towards sustainability, identity formation, competence development, etc.). The paper tries to explain how to handle this ambiguous task and the type of symbiotic learning (Eikeland 2013) that has taken place in the dialogue between researchers and practice.

The case

Phase one: The Eyde network develops their strategy

At the time when Eyde Leader was developed, the Eyde network consisted of nine process industry companies at Agder, each of them subsidiaries of large, multinational companies. These companies are engaged in mining, metal production, as well as

chemical production. They consume a considerable amount of energy, and have over the years had a large environment impact. All of them have developed strongly over the last year, not least in terms of reducing pollution parallel to increasing efficiency. About 3,000 employees work in these nine companies at Agder.

The network was established in 2007, and, soon after, it initiated a common visionary project related to *Vision 2050* and envisioned a sustainable process industry by 2020 (Landmark, Rodvelt & Torjesen 2015). As part of this vision, ideas for a leadership training programme were initiated, and a process started to develop what such a training programme should contain.

In the fall of 2013, the Eyde-network contacted the University of Agder, and a project group was established with the intention to develop a leadership programme within the network, called *Eyde Leader*. The assignment was to develop a structure for training leaders over the coming years towards the new vision. The work was organised in three arenas. Firstly, three project groups within Eyde discussed input to the programme. The three groups had three different assignments; one had background in the Human Resource departments in the companies, one in the Lean forum for the network, and one in the group that had worked with the sustainability vision.

Secondly, two workshops were held, where the three groups and University of Agder participated, with the intention to bring the ideas from the groups together into a consistent whole. The third arena was the meeting place between the Eyde network and University of Agder.

By the spring 2014, a model for Eyde Leader was emerging. The three groups had developed an agenda, with challenges and central topics in each of their areas. Thus the overall challenges for the network were broken down into a set of issues that were regarded as important in the companies. The Human Resource group focused on personal behaviour, communication and leadership. The Lean group formulated Lean inspired ideas on continuous improvement and increased efficiency, while the sustainability group had formulations about increased awareness of global challenges, and a focus on use of resources and pollution.

At this point, the steering group between the University and Eyde had agreed on some overall structural dimensions for the initiative. It was to be an introductory course in sustainable process industry. The course should be given in two versions; one for middle managers and one for people with operational responsibility in production, or team leaders. The first would be a masters level course of 10 ECTS, the second a bachelor level course of 10 ECTS.

The argument for giving the course in the format of the University's adult education system was that it might encourage participants to move forward with other courses within, among others, the Executive MBA at the University of Agder.

Given these two organising processes; the inspiration of the Eyde working groups and the University's formal education structure, two workshops were organised in order to bring the two together. From the working groups came ideas of how to bring the three perspectives together. A model for Eyde leader was proposed, called the Eyde Business System (inspired by the Toyota Business System):

Eyde Business System
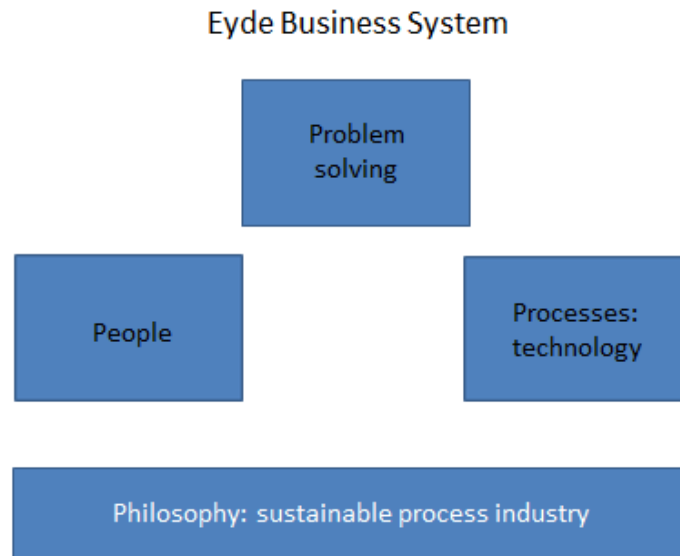
Figur 1 Eyde Business System

The philosophy part was described as creating understanding of future challenges. The people part was about leadership, engagement and competence building. The technology part was about utilising technological possibilities and new technologies to reduce waste, increase resource efficiency and reduce pollution. The problem-solving part was the idea that all of this is problem driven. But it also focused on problem solving tools, like Lean and knowledge about work methods.

The concept was cast in business language. The idea was that the philosophy of sustainability should form the foundation from which one would develop new ideas on organisation, use of technologies, care of people and procedures for problem solving. However, looking beyond that, the idea was to combine both operational and long term tasks, and to argue that, at the core of the change process, there was a need to approach future challenges regarding people and technology.

Phase two: The University develops a teaching plan

In the late spring 2014, the University was given the task of developing these ideas into the two courses. The Eyde network wished to have the courses in parallel, but also to have some teaching separate. The reason for this was the assumption that process-managers that were on the shop floor, and often team leaders of the operating team around a machine or process, would have different issues to discuss among them, and perhaps less experience with the study situation, than the middle managers. On the other hand, one wanted the two groups to communicate. The Eyde network also wished to involve the top managers of the companies involved in the course as speakers. It was decided to do this by having one top manager from one of the companies to give an hour of introductory lecture to each of the five course meetings.

The researchers from the university involved in this process came from management studies and social science. Sustainability is a concept that is easily associated with

physical things like pollution and climate change. It was made clear from the researchers that their approach to sustainability was more related to the social and organisational aspects of this concept, than to the more technological aspects. Thus sustainability was defined as a form of triple bottom line: social, economic and environmental satiability. The intention of the leadership training was formulated as finding ways to balance these three aspects and intentions.

It was decided to have five course (teaching) sessions, each over two days. The first teaching session for the first cohort was in mid-September 2014, the fifth and last in mid-April, 2015. Each session had an overall theme. The first introduced the concept of sustainable process industry. The second had people and leadership and the Norwegian model as a theme, the third had sustainability and global challenges as the overall theme, the fourth had continuous improvement and Lean as a theme, and lastly the fifth had sustainable work systems as a theme.

For these five teaching sessions, we choose the following literature: An introductory book on Lean (Wig 2013), a book about the Norwegian work life model (Levin, Tove, Ravn & Øyum 2012), book and articles on sustainability (Heck & Rogers 2014; Vision 2050; Elkington 2012; Porter & Kramer 2011; Winston 2014) and a book on sustainable work systems (Docherty, Kira & Shani 2008). We also used John Kotter's (1996) book "Leading Change", as part of that change management teaching. All of these books were for the Master's course, while only the Norwegian books and articles were used for the Bachelor course. All in all, eight different university professors took part in the teaching over the five teaching sessions, in addition to top managers of five of the companies in the Eyde network, and representatives of the Eyde work groups that had participated in developing the programme.

The running of the courses

A little more than 30 managers, half at process level (Bachelor) and half at mid-managers level (Master), signed up for the course when it started in mid-September 2014. The first teaching session introduced the idea of the course and the vision for the Eyde network, including Vision 2050.

After this first teaching session, some of the participants reacted to the programme by arguing that they thought this was going to be "ordinary" leadership training, and that they were unprepared to be approached with a lot of sustainability stuff. Staff from the university had a meeting with one company which in particular represented these reactions. During the meeting the history behind the course was presented, and the expectations by the participants were explained.

From this meeting we learned two things: that the idea of the course had not been communicated thoroughly to those who participated, and that neither were they aware of the visions of the Eyde network. The aftermaths of this clarification led to a couple of participants leaving the course, but those who continued were more motivated than before.

The second teaching session had leadership and organisational development as a theme, and was met with much enthusiasm. The rest of the teaching sessions went well, and the courses were finished according to plan. As the course proceeded, more and more teaching was done with both courses in the same room. The last teaching session spent all the time with the two courses together.

The student's performance

For students to pass the course, they needed to write a group paper. In order also to get grading for the course (so that it would count in the ordinary university system), each student needed to have an oral exam. 25 students completed the two courses. Students were grouped in eight groups (three at Bachelor level, five at Masters level). All groups were organised across companies. The groups picked subjects for their group work, and based on that were assigned a supervisor from the university.

All eight groups made empirical surveys to support their discussion. At Masters level, two were on leadership, one on organisational structure/change one on Lean and one on sustainability. The last one discussed at a strategic level, the others at an organisational level. In the Bachelor class, one paper was on organisational change and efficiency, one on organisational culture and one on learning organisation/Lean. In the last teaching session, the eight groups presented their paper to the rest of the students before their final hand in, and got feedback and discussions related to that. All the papers passed. Only four students, all at Masters level, chose to take the exam. All got an A. In the second cohort, twelve participants assigned for the exam. Grades were slightly more distributed.

Evaluation of the courses

There was a meeting between the Eyde network and University of Agder before the fifth and final teaching session. There the Eyde network reported on their board meeting, where they had decided to continue the courses with a new cohort to start in September 2015. In the last teaching session there was an evaluation of the whole course. The two courses were combined and the evaluation done as a focus-interview. The students were grouped into four focus groups mixed with both Bachelor and Masters students. They were asked to comment on three themes: the impact of the course, the structure and operation of the course, and the network that was formed.

The evaluation gave some practical input to the managing of the course, including better information to participants, principles for forming the groups, and adjustment of the literature. These inputs were taken into account as the next cohort was being prepared. The most important input from the evaluation was support for the wide scope of the course. One recommended keeping sustainability as a perspective and vision, even if the more practical inputs were more useful. The participants had comments on how their learning was understood in the companies, and argued that the top managers did not share this insight. They saw the network among companies, and the relation they had developed to colleagues, as very useful. They wanted more engagement from the theme groups within the Eyde network.

Based on the papers that were delivered, and the exam, we could add some insight. Firstly, participants say they have got a wider understanding of sustainability; it turned out to be a more comprehensive concept than they had been aware of, as it covers both physical and social issues. Secondly, even though all these companies adhere to Lean, there are many different versions of Lean, and in most companies it is contextualised and mixed with the companies' traditional structure and routines. Thirdly, they acknowledge that a change in direction for the industry is a long term process that will imply commitment and attention over time. Finally, it seems to be generally acknowledged that the theme of efficiency, Lean, sustainable work systems and sustainability, are issues that requires competence in leadership at all

organisational levels. Finally, and where there is great potential and a need for improvement and change. These insights were used in the planning for the second cohort.

Theory of Industrial development as discursive change

Based on this case, I would like to reflect on theoretical perspectives on industrial development as discursive change. My starting point in these reflections is the *communicative turn* in Norwegian wok life research (Gustavsen 1992; Toulmin & Gustavsen 1996; Pålshaugen 2002). There were two main philosophical roots to this turn; one came from Habermasian theory; the other came from pragmatism (Johnsen 2001).

Communicative change and vocational training

The concept of communicative organisational change focuses more on legitimacy and the procedural ways by which their changes are made, than the actual content of the changes. Gustavsen (1992 p.70) argues that there might be four groups of results, and that these might be related. The four groups are:

1. change in patterns of communication
2. change in what issues are defined as subject to development and in the way in which the development work is performed
3. change in work organisation
4. change in the selection and configuration of technological elements

One can try to illustrate the difference between organisational in more conventional forms and organisational through communicative processes as in the table 1.

Development al stages	Communicative change with reflection and participation	Conventional change with directions and incentives
Involvement	Involvement as a result of willingness to communicate, trust in the process, reflection, interpretation and reconsideration of own arguments and beliefs	Motivation through incentives and extrinsic rewards or intrinsic motivation such as learning, adoption and personal growth
Co-ordination	Co-ordination of interests and bargaining for voluntary interaction, establishment and construction of norms, respect of procedure, striving at truth, accepting roles and moral obligations	Adjustment to organisational structures through self-transformation (endogenous preferences), unintended consequences of action, framing, bandwagon effects and games.
Institutio-nalisation	Make validation of rules and role conformity, legitimacy of rules maintained by moral/ethical discourses	Creating internal coherence through: cultural pressure, team-pressure, commitment and conformism

Table 1 Communicative and conventional theories on individual involvement

(Source: Modification form Johnsen (2001))

Gustavsen (1992) argued that the characteristics of dialogue oriented processes are distinct from more conventional approaches to organisational change. The main difference is that the researcher in communicative change process is herself a participant. He argues that:

- The logic of the project: Interactive

- Chief theoretical source: Theory of participative democracy

- Legitimacy: Participation in the process which creates solutions

- Leading actors: Many

- Definition of initial conditions: On-going process

- Situational map: Minimally structured

- Procedure: Stepwise

(Gustavsen 1992 p. 7)

Common to the communicative change concepts are that change grows out of the practical, experiences or situation one is embedded in. Also common to these ideas are that change grows from below, and according to the meaning that participants put

into the dialogue. It is assumed that by talking and becoming aware of one's own experience as well as others, one is able to develop common perspectives for change.

The advantage of this type of change process is that it is based in the organisation and understood in a common way. The process develops commitment to the common understanding. Top-down changes often have the shortcomings that their intentions are not commonly shared. On the other hand, one can argue that bottom-up changes can become too embedded, too small steps, and not sufficiently visionary or innovative.

There has to be motivation to participate, with rules for participation and a practical intention with participation, in order for this type of change process to give meaning. The challenge with the Eyde-leader programme is that the practical intention is less clear than what is normally the case at workplaces. Furthermore, the programme has not grown out of a strongly felt need for change at the workplace, rather as a wish to make change at a more strategic level. Thus, the programme is only a small step in a process with a not-so concrete goal.

Designed change and organic development

Comparing the case I have presented with the principles of communicative organisational change, one might ask if the case lives up to the principles of communicative-based change. One could argue that the programme has been designed from a distance, with strategies set out by senior management and the University. Participants, at least in the beginning, seem not to have understood the objectives of the programme or the policies of the network.

The programme has been driven top down, using a pre-determined model. The MBA seems to have a central role. Does this serve to root participants in the past? How does the network operate, to what extent are the workforce engaged? The focus seems to be on senior level management, rather than the wider workforce. The pilot student cohort was small. Can it influence wider company culture? One could think of such a programme in a more bottom up way, focusing on the tacit knowledge of participants and support to develop this further (Ennals, Göranzon, Nelson & Alvunger 2016). Furthermore, one might ask:

- To what extent can we describe these courses as "outside the conventional educational system"?
- Why did the companies choose to take part in the network and the programme?
- How do member companies work together? How is the network managed and facilitated? Is it a matter of network orchestration?
- What, if anything, has been learned from the experience of regional development coalitions? Has there been initiative fatigue?
- Does the programme address issues of knowledge, including tacit knowledge, or does it rely on conventional academic texts?
- Is the programme part of a wider strategy at the University of Agder, working with company networks across the region? How have University practices changed? Has the University learned?
- How is dialogue conducted within and between companies?

There are subsequently good and relevant questions to be asked about the way this case has been designed. As I see it, the Eyde network has taken one small step in a direction of creating a dialogue on sustainability. It will take time to develop this further, and involve a substantial amount of the 3000 employees in these companies. That is why the network put up a vision with 2050 as a framework.

In this programme, sustainability was discussed in terms of building mutual competence (Johnsen, Torjesen & Ennals 2015). Included in this concept is the idea that some sort of common knowledge has to be developed, and that some learning has to include traditional academic learning. The point here is that this change process does not grow out of specific immediate needs in the companies. They are all more or less doing well. The point is rather, that this is a process of developing a new awareness. Even though this development has been initiated from above, the process itself has been open and critical. However, the task has been to initiate abstract organisational learning, it has not been to direct anyone.

	Individual	Organisational
Concrete	A) Simple learning	B) New procedures, routines and patterns of cooperation
Abstract	C) New beliefs, change of values	D) Creating a new paradigm, perspective, vision for the organisation

Table 2 Different forms of learning

As illustrated by table 2, the task of stimulating type D) learning is quite different from the process that lead to type A) learning. Thus, one argument for choosing a type of hybrid solution, between a communicative process and a formal education process, is that the university can function as an arena for critical discussion, beyond the interests and power structures of the companies.

The present paper does not address these questions entirely, which are relevant for further investigation into this case. They will require a more longitudinal study than the one presented here. Currently the Eyde Cluster is committed to develop this Eyde leader programme further. They see Eyde leader as an important contributor to building a communicative culture within the Cluster. They also see new, relevant fields appearing, such as circle economy, sharing economy and Industry 4.0, that they want to address. They want a certain number of employees to get experience with the programme in order to create a viable dialogue on sustainability. Thus, there is both a time and a numeric dimension in this type of development processes.

It can be argued that what characterises the current case, is that it has been an attempt to create new forms of learning. One could argue that the topic of sustainability is an abstract, partly metaphorical concept. The course has tried to create a common vocabulary for a dialogue on a sustainable future, and make that issue move from being abstract to become less abstract. I have addressed the role of design in such a discursive development and learning process. The pedagogical model has included lectures, discussions, reflections in groups, so we could argue that the type of learning

has been *transformative,* to some extent *expanded learning* (Engesrtrøm 1990). The researchers have tried to become insiders, helping practitioners reflect over own practice. The Fagskolen (Fach-hochshole) was intended to run what became the bachelor course. When even this part of the course was given by the university, we combined academic and vocational education. In the process, also the university lecturers have learned. Thus there is a case for calling this *symbiotic learning*.

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Employee motivation to participate in workplace innovation via in-house crowdsourcing

Kira Palin, Valtteri Kaartemo

Abstract

Crowdsourcing has rapidly gained popularity in business and academia. Research on crowdsourcing has focused mostly on the resources external to an organisation, with less attention being paid to in-house crowdsourcing (IHCS). We believe that IHCS has potential to empower employees to partake in workplace innovation. We argue that employee motivation is one of the most significant factors influencing the success or failure of any IHCS project. Yet, to the knowledge of the authors, employee motivation has not been studied in the context of IHCS thus far, and the present study aims to fill this research gap. We present the case of an IHCS project launched by a large Finnish government-owned company (GOC) that offers diversified logistics services. We identify five factors that influence employees' extrinsic and intrinsic motivation to participate in workplace innovation via IHCS, namely working environment, rewards systems, feedback and processing time, user experience and role of technology, and site marketing and communication. Further, we set several theoretical propositions for empirical testing. Our contribution to workplace innovation literature is two-fold: enhancing the general understanding of IHCS; and studying employee motivation in the IHCS context. We also contribute to the wider innovation management literature by increasing general knowledge about innovativeness of GOCs.

Introduction

The concept of crowdsourcing, that is, outsourcing an organisational function to an undefined (and generally large) network of people in the form of an open call, has spread among companies over the past decade and is currently facing increasing demand from both the crowd and companies. Coined by Howe (2006), crowdsourcing has rapidly increased its presence in contemporary business, in addition to being studied widely by academics.

The traditional view of crowdsourcing focuses on the resources external to an organisation. Yet, there is another significant form of crowdsourcing used within companies, namely, internal, in-house, or intra-corporate crowdsourcing (Villarroel & Reis 2010; Stieger et al. 2012; Simula & Vuori 2012). According to Villarroel and Reis (2010, p. 2) intra-corporate crowdsourcing refers to "the distributed organisational model used by the firm to extend problem-solving to a large and diverse pool of self-selected contributors beyond the formal internal boundaries of a multi-business firm: across business divisions, bridging geographic locations, leveling hierarchical structures." Companies using internal crowdsourcing employ modern technological tools to receive ideas, suggestions, and solutions from their own employees (Stieger et al. 2012). In addition, internal crowdsourcing benefits from the knowledge of a heterogeneous employee pool (Simula & Ahola 2014). Thus, there is a clear linkage to workplace innovation, which refers to "new and combined interventions in work organisation, human resource management and supportive technologies" (Pot 2011, pp.404–405). Particularly, workplace innovation discusses work organisation, structure & systems, reflection and innovation, workplace partnership, and 'the fifth element' – the interdependence between these workplace practices (Totterdill 2015).

In the traditional innovation process, management is considered to make decisions on innovations (Kesting & Ulhøi 2010). It has been thought that the cognitive bias of employees prevents them from understanding the "bigger picture," which is required for the innovation process to be commercially successful. This is thought to be one of the reasons why only a fraction of employee innovation ideas are perceived as relevant (Kesting & Ulhøi 2010). In these situations, an in-house crowdsourcing (IHCS) platform would be a handy workplace innovation practice to empower employees to challenge established practices and suggest own ideas to the senior management. As Simula and Ahola (2014) point out, in IHCS not all ideas go all the way to the management, but they are filtered through the systems of the IHCS platform. Although IHCS platforms and systems filter employees' ideas through the process, IHCS could be contrasted with intra-organisational knowledge transfer, which has been noted to motivate employees to share their knowledge within an organisation (Aalbers et al. 2013).

The IHCS concept has not been addressed widely within academia (Stieger et al. 2012). However, companies such as Nestlé have already implemented IHCS by creating an internal social network and peer-to-peer knowledge sharing systems that enable all Nestlé workers to share their ideas with their colleagues. Employees can discuss and suggest development ideas to an extent not possible before. In addition to the organisational effects of internal crowdsourcing, Internet technology frees employees from the bounds of working hours or physical workplaces. Moreover, online collaboration allows contributors from diverse backgrounds to participate in the process, which is one of the main success factors of any crowdsourcing process.

Overall improvement in the extent of reach and abundance of information, as well as the rich diversity of respondents, are aspects that can be counted as the main positive factors of IHCS (Stieger et al. 2012). Yet, these positive results are not exclusive to the most progressive multinationals. To underline this, we present the case of an IHCS project launched by a large Finnish government-owned company (GOC) that offers diversified logistics services.

We argue that one of the most significant factors affecting the success or failure of any IHCS project is the degree of employee motivation. Change in the overall job description or a small increase in the amount of work is likely to result in rejection, resistance, or possibly both. Therefore, in order for a company to secure the success of a desired project, it should be able to motivate its workers in a correct manner. Yet, to the knowledge of the authors, employee motivation has not been studied yet in the context of IHCS, and through the current study, the authors aim to fill this research gap.

The purpose of this study is to identify the factors that motivate employees to engage in workplace innovation via IHCS. Our contribution to workplace innovation literature is two-fold. First, we enhance the general understanding of IHCS, which has remained largely unearthed in the literature. Second, we contribute to the literature on employee motivation and innovation by linking the two ideas in the context of IHCS. More broadly, we contribute to research on the innovativeness of GOCs. Innovation processes in GOCs have been studied to some extent, and the results have been fairly diverse. Research indicates that GOCs are not able to capture the benefits of open innovation (Väätänen et al. 2011). On the other hand, federal agencies in the U.S. have their own innovation promotion and rewarding programmes, and federal employees who feel that creativity and innovativeness are rewarded in their organisation are more encouraged to innovate (Fernandez & Pitts 2011). As a contribution for practitioners, we discuss the implications of our results for GOCs as well as other companies who are planning or are already running an IHCS project.

Employee motivation

Employees' motivation to be part of an innovation process is affected by multiple factors. The ability of an employee to make decisions and feel empowered is a significant factor in his or her motivation to participate in innovation processes. Although the final decision-making is vested with the top management, the impression of having an impact on the process itself supports employees' motivation to innovate. Moreover, employees are more likely to participate in innovation processes if they perceive the management's support positively (Fernandez & Pitts 2011). It has further been discovered that communication is a crucial element with regard to employees' motivation to innovate (Gobble 2012). In the context of China, HRM practices including hiring and selection, reward, job design, and teamwork were found to impact employees' motivation and ability to be creative, but, simultaneously, neither performance appraisal nor training had any significant impact on employee creativity (Jiang et al. 2012). In another study, it was found that encouragement and support from the company's side are key factors for employees to feel bound to innovate, as also social determinants of innovation processes matter to employees (Szczepańska-Woszczyna 2014). Thus, proper human resource management can enhance trust among employees involved in innovation processes (Allen et al. 2015).

People differ in the levels of motivation they demonstrate toward a task and in the way they are motivated (Ryan & Deci 2000). In 1985, Deci and Ryan created the Self-Determination Theory (SDT) in which they distinguished two types of motivations, namely, internal and external, and these two types differ in terms of the motives that give rise to an action (Ryan & Deci 2000, p.55). In intrinsic motivation, the source of inducement is from within a person, whereas extrinsic motivation is induced by external sources (Frey & Jegen 2001). Although these types of motivation originate from different sources, as discussed below, they are not mutually exclusive (Rosenblatt 2011).

Intrinsic motivation comprises the satisfaction, curiosity, and enjoyment originating within a person toward an action and for bettering one's competence in performing said action (Frey & Jegen 2001; Bruno 2013). Moreover, Amabile (1993, p. 188) supported this idea by stating that "individuals are intrinsically motivated when they seek enjoyment, interest, satisfaction of curiosity, self-expression, or personal challenge in the work." In brief, a person's actions are not defined or directed by external or monetary incentives but by a stance that extends beyond those incentives (Becchetti et al. 2013). In order for a person to be highly intrinsically motivated, their needs of independence and capability need to be fulfilled (Ryan & Deci 2000). Employees tend to recognise intrinsic rewards as important, and according to Deci (1973), two factors influence intrinsic rewards. The first is the planning of job chores that employees find interesting and those that require creativity and ingenuity. The second is employees' ability to make decisions regarding their job and feeling a sense of power. For a person to be intrinsically motivated, they need to feel independent to make their own decisions, in addition to being competent enough to complete the required tasks (Ryan & Deci 2000).

Although intrinsic motivation has been studied and proven to be a significant aspect in employees' work performance (Deci 1973), it remains somewhat of a mystery to managers. Intrinsic motivation has been disregarded in economic activities, mainly because it has been hard to pinpoint the elements in a person's job motivation that originate from intrinsic motivation (Frey & Jegen 2001; Antoni 2009).

The general economic assumption lies in the idea that the higher the monetary compensation one receives, the better would be their work performance (Gneezy & Rustichini 2000). Moreover, it is theoretically assumed that external incentives lead to a higher level of effort, which consequently leads to higher performance (Bonner & Sprinkle 2002).

Extrinsic motivation in which the inducements come from an external source, such as receiving monetary compensation or reward, or avoiding punishment (Frey & Jegen 2001; Bruno 2013), is oftentimes considered an inferior type of motivation, but it is also argued sometimes to be equal to intrinsic motivation (Kreps 1997). Individuals are considered to be extrinsically motivated when they have an external goal not related to the work itself (Ryan & Deci 2000; Amabile 1993).

Extrinsic motivation can be divided into sub-categories depending on the amount of autonomy in decision making. In other words, extrinsic motivation can occur in situations where an individual is externally motivated to, for example, complete a task owing to outside control and fear of punishment, as well as in situations where an

individual makes a decision based on extrinsic motivation vested in free choice and personal approval (Ryan & Deci 2000).

As established above, the elements that build employee motivation are intrinsic and extrinsic motivation. Intrinsic motivation factors should be in balance with extrinsic motivation factors, but this balance is difficult to achieve. As a matter of fact, companies are advised to focus more on factors that promote intrinsic motivation than those that promote extrinsic motivation to obtain the best results from their employees (Deci 1973). On the one hand, employees who feel intrinsically motivated are stimulated to work by the sheer enjoyment and satisfaction derived from performing a task, as well as from the intrinsic rewards of being able to plan their own work and execute it independently. On the other hand, employees who are extrinsically motivated act upon a task because they either expect to receive compensation from an external source for completing the task or they aim to avoid making mistakes in completing the task and are thus motivated to act due to external control. Both types of motivation have been argued to be effective and to improve work performance in their own right. Although intrinsic motivation has been argued to be superior to extrinsic motivation when it comes to employee motivation, in this chapter, we evidenced the importance of extrinsic motivation in relation to work performance. Therefore, by balancing the two types of motivation suitably, maximum work performance can be expected.

Participation in crowdsourcing

When placing motivation in the context of crowdsourcing, in general, one finds that some people are motivated to participate in crowdsourcing projects because they get to share information with others (Bonabeau 2009), whereas others are motivated to participate in crowdsourcing projects or sites owing to the sheer possibility of learning something new (Boudreau & Lakhani 2013). The possibilities of working independently and participating voluntarily increase people's motivation to participate in crowdsourcing projects (Schenk & Guittard 2009). Although the motives for participating in a crowdsourcing project may be versatile, the initiating company should be able to identify them and recognise how they should be used to maximise the crowds' dedicated involvement in a given project (Schweitzer et al. 2012). The same can thought to be applicable to companies exercising IHCS. Without recognising the factors that motivate their crowd workers, that is, employees, an organisation might lose many potential IHCS users and their ideas.

Simula and Vuori (2012) found some challenges with internal crowdsourcing and in the way companies may motivate and engage their employees to participate in the process. For example, people need to understand the context of the idea and the framework in which the idea is executed, people do not wish to share their ideas with others, or do not think that their ideas are good enough. Moreover, one of their case companies identified the need for early adopters who would then make the others join in as well.

Intrinsic and extrinsic motivation of employees in innovation processes

Ederer and Manso (2013) found that innovation processes are better nurtured through incentive plans that accept early-stage failure and reward long-term success than

through regular salary and pay-for-performance types of external rewards. Wendelken, Danzinger, Rau, and Moeslein (2014) found that employees who participate in organisational innovation are extrinsically motivated in terms of "career and reputation, learning, as well as firm- and peer-related issues," whereas these employees are intrinsically motivated in categories of "community, firm, fun, and enjoyment, as well as object- and task-related issues" in addition to "issues of individual connectivity and general personal attitude toward work." Furthermore, Wendelken et al. found, in accordance with existing literature, that participating employees did not feel motivated by monetary rewards, altruism, or issues related to personal needs. By contrast, non-participants in innovation projects were found to be more concerned about the lack of monetary compensation, probable stress caused by participating, and the object of the innovation project being unclear to them. Furthermore, they were found to be more distant from the organisation than the participating employees. Non-participants were also found to be most likely to be less intrinsically motivated than participants, and organisational setting and atmosphere were factors affecting their participation in innovation processes.

In the context of federal agencies, Fernandez and Pitts (2011) found out that the feeling of appreciation in the work process increases employees' willingness to innovate. The more the employees in the study felt like a part of the decision-making process regarding their work, the more willing they were to innovate. Moreover, the employees who trust and have a good relationship with their supervisor are more likely to innovate because they feel confident of being rewarded or in case of failure, not being punished. Relationships matter in the building of an atmosphere in which an employee feels encouraged to innovate; in order to get innovation from public enterprises, managers must invest in employee training and development.

It has been further concluded that employees feel increased pressure to innovate when a company is struggling and, simultaneously, increased willingness to maintain the company's competiveness in its marketplace (Nečadová & Scholleová 2011). This could be related to employees being afraid of an external punishment, for example, losing their job, which, in turn, increases their motivation to innovate. However, it is possible that the employees are simply genuinely concerned about the future of their employer and thus wish to assist the company by innovating, therefore being intrinsically motivated. Both motivation types, intrinsic and extrinsic, have been argued to be effective and to improve work performance.

Intrinsic motivation is generally positively linked with employees participating in innovation processes (Rosenblatt 2011), but it has also been found that extrinsic motivation through rewards and recognition does not necessarily undermine employees' willingness to innovate. Some employees might find encouragement from external rewards, whereas others might find such rewards demotivating (Rosenblatt 2011). Innovation may be found to present a change and a threat to the existing balance of an organisation and, thus, employees may not always perceive innovation as positive or embrace novel aspects that are to be implemented in an organisation (Szczepańska-Woszczyna 2014).

Methods

Research approach

This research is based on the single-case study approach (Siggelkow 2007). The idea of the single-case study approach is to present a detailed study of one case from which a researcher may find novel relationships and question the relevance of old ones (Dyer & Wilkins 1991). Particularly, a single-case study aims to "explore and understand how the chosen case works as a configurative and ideographic unit of analysis" (Eriksson & Kovalainen 2008, p.121). In the present study, we employed this approach to study IHCS and employee motivation within one firm and generate suggestions based on our research results, which may be useful for other organisations as well.

Case site

The VR Group is a 150-year-old Finnish government–owned company operating mainly in the railway sector, in addition to providing bus transport and catering services. The company employs around 10,000 people and in 2014, its turnover was 1.4 billion euros. Currently, the VR Group has exclusive rights for long-distance passenger services in Finland. Recently, the VR Group's exclusivity on long-distance passenger services was extended until the end of 2024, when it is expected to be revisited. In addition to Finland, its main country of operation, the VR Group operates in Russia and Sweden.

In 2009, the VR Group began a restructuring program with the main aims of responding to the changing market environment and improving customer satisfaction by answering customer needs. One system within the restructuring program is the "Ideat kehiin" IHCS site, which was launched in 2011. It is aimed at becoming a pivotal, integrated part of the company culture in the future. This IHCS site is the representative case of IHCS in the current study. The idea behind the IHCS site is inclusion of employees in the development of the company and their own work tasks, as well as for steering the company's working environment and culture toward greater openness and inclusion. In the initial stage, the site aimed to increase the number of ideas pitched, develop good ideas that can lead to organisational development, and support the concept of pitching of ideas via an information site. At the end of stage one, a third of the company employees had participated via the site in some way. The use of IHCS in this form is based on the manner in which the platform is built and the simplicity of idea pitching. Currently, the IHCS site is in stage two, and the main intentions are to further increase the number of ideas and, especially, develop ideas that can create financial and performance benefits for the entire group. In the final stage three (2017 onwards), the site is expected to be part of the company culture and idea pitching would occur on a daily basis.

The process begins with an employee having an improvement idea on any aspect of the organisation. The employee can post the idea directly on to the IHCS site, send it as an SMS message, leave a voice mail, or send the idea in an email. The idea is then registered to the pitcher's IHCS account and posted anonymously on the IHCS site, where it can be accessed for eight weeks by others for viewing and further development. If the idea has potential, it is grouped with the 20 per cent of ideas that are passed to the decision request stage. If it passes this stage, it is approved, and the

pitcher's name is published. Finally, the top 12% of all ideas are implemented and absorbed as new practices of the VR Group.

Currently, around a third of the company's employees have participated in the IHCS process via the site, with customer service personnel being the most active idea pitchers. Of the over 5000 ideas pitched, 260 have passed all criteria and been developed further to improve work community– and security-related issues. In addition to idea pitching, employees can comment on and "like" their colleagues' ideas on the platform. Comments are generally aimed at refining ideas, and "likes" indicate the popularity of an idea among employees.

One major aspect of the IHCS site is rewarding pitched ideas. Users are awarded points for every pitched idea, accepted idea, awarded idea, and comment. These points are convertible into euros and can be used to buy "idea prizes" in the same manner as, for example, frequent flyer miles can be used to buy products or converted directly into money. All pitchers of innovative ideas are also invited to the "Best Idea of the Year," an event in which the top ideas pitched during the year are awarded, and the pitcher of the best idea of the year is awarded 1000 euros. Other ways of encouraging people to join the site include, for example, a challenge task in which employees are to find a solution to a predefined problem.

Data collection

In the present study, data was collected via semi-structured interviews of both employees and supervisors. The interviewees were selected in close collaboration with the case company's representatives. All interviews were conducted over a period of three weeks in February 2014. We gathered people who would suit the preferred interviewee profiles, that is, subordinates who had been active in IHCS and those who had not been. In total, we conducted 18 interviews: five with supervisors and 13 with employees. In addition to primary data, we collected organisational documentation in the form of annual reports, press releases, and background information on the IHCS site because such documents provide an alternative perspective on employees' interpretations of the company or the current project.

None of the interviewed supervisors had submitted ideas of their own but had commented on their subordinates' ideas on the site. Of the 13 subordinates/employees, six had never participated on the IHCS site (created ideas or commented on ideas), whereas seven had participated. A few interviewees clearly stated that they had been told by their supervisors to attend the interview and one employee even suggested that someone else would attend the interview in his stead because, in his opinion, he did not have sufficient knowledge about the theme at hand. Despite the negative attitudes of a few participants toward the interviews, in the end, all employees were relatively active and participative in the interviews.

Of the 13 interviewed subordinates, only one was female. Similarly, of the five interviewed supervisors, one was female. Although age was not specifically asked in the interviews, the interviewees' ages ranged from 25 to 60 years, with the majority being between 35 and 45 years old. The job descriptions differed in that some were involved in customer service, while others were involved in maintenance and train driving.

Data analysis

Ghauri (2004) suggested a two-stage analysis method for case studies. In the first stage, a general narrative of the events that occurred during data collection (e.g., in interviews and other documentation) is written, and in the second stage, the narrated data are rearranged into conceptual categories. We commenced data analysis rather subconsciously during the process of transcribing the interviews and continued in a more organised and detailed manner after all interviews were transcribed. This enabled instant interpretation of the data at hand and allowed the researchers to pose new and clarifying questions to the remaining interviewees (cf. Belk, Fischer, & Kozinets 2013). The transcribed interviews and other documentation were then read carefully for the first time, and a few initial comments were noted on the side. During the second read-through, clear themes began to emerge and they were written down and analysed. Each interview was analysed separately so that the researchers could comprehensively understand all the different issues raised and reflect them on each other as well as on the secondary data sources.

The primary method of analysis employed in this study was thematisation. It is essential to find the essential themes from a sea of information to analyse their significance for the study. Using thematisation, one can recognise important themes in relation to the research problem and compare them with previous theoretical backgrounds. Thematisation works best when theory and empirical data are used together.

Empirical findings

The most noteworthy factors affecting employees' motivation to partake in workplace innovation via IHCS in the case company are working environment, rewards system, processing time, implementation and feedback, user experience, role of technology, and site marketing and communication. To an extent, these factors are in line those mentioned in the relevant literature, and they have been found to affect employees' motivation to innovate. In the table below, the factors are classified according to their effects on intrinsic and extrinsic employee motivation.

	Intrinsic	Extrinsic
Working environment	- individual's feeling at work - positive, secure, and supportive	- relationship with colleagues and supervisors
Rewards systems	- usefulness - feeling of accomplishment	- money - gratitude
Feedback and processing time	- reassurance - confidence boost	- supervisor's role - time constraints
User experience and role of technology	- initial success	- technology tools
Site marketing and communication	- goal of site - insecurity factors	- results of site

Table 3: Factors affecting employee motivation to participate in workplace innovation through IHCS

In the following chapters, the aforementioned factors are examined individually.

Working environment

Although the role of the working environment was not particularly emphasised in the interview questions, it appeared to be a significant factor for many of the interviewees. The theme clearly stood out, and it was the first to be discussed. The theme embraces some important background information on the workers and supervisors, and their attitudes toward IHCS, in addition to raising questions pertaining to the impact of work colleagues and the current changes in the company's environment.

The VR Group is known as a traditional company with hierarchical company characteristics embedded in its culture owing to a long history of being a government bureau and then having been turned into a limited company. Since the company started the IHCS site in 2011, it has clearly been aiming not only to reinvent its innovation systems but also to reinvent the manner in which employees' wellbeing is supported. Because the VR group is government-owned, it is often perceived as a faceless corporation that has no real owner in overall charge of the company and to whom employees would feel comfortable reporting to. According to the information retrieved from the interviews, an IHCS-type of reform is welcome, although it requires some heavy reflection on the working environment, the current changes in the company's environment, and supervisor–colleague interaction.

After the 2009 change program, many organisational aspects were altered within the VR Group. Employees are still confused as to what is happening in the company and whom they should call or write an email to. This overall confusion, at least in some parts of the company, contributes to people not participating on the IHCS site. It was mentioned in the interviews that "everyday there is something new, new cell phone number, etc. It's just mostly been putting out fires, haven't had the time to get into the core yet."

One of the main issues dissuading employees from participating on the IHCS site is the lack of faith in their ability to make any actual difference. Oftentimes, the answer was "why should I do anything, it's not going to have an impact anyway" and "whatever." This shows how employees are unsure about their actual impact possibilities, most likely based on old perceptions, bad experiences, and rumors. In some cases, employee non-involvement was attributed to the general unpleasant atmosphere in the company and the company's current HR policy. In these cases, employee non-involvement actually had little to do with the IHCS site itself and more with the work environment and relationships across different organisational levels within the company.

In relation to the working environment and people's attitudes towards the IHCS site, the backgrounds and personal attributes of the workers should be taken into closer consideration. People who were clearly supportive of the site and had been active in ideation appeared to be more curious, self-imposed, and willing to help others participate via the site. On the contrary, people who felt disappointed, frustrated, and disregarded by the company, and uncertain about the site were much less inclined to participate in the IHCS process.

When asked about the roles of colleagues' and the work community's perceptions on interviewees' participation on the IHCS site, a minority of interviewees agreed that they played, mostly a negative, role in influencing the interviewees' perceptions of the site. The rest mentioned that colleagues do not really have any kind of impact on

their participation but that it may be dispiriting to hear negatively toned rumors about the IHCS site. Such rumours might also steer a person's perception toward the negative direction. In addition, a few interviews showed that employees do not discuss IHCS with colleagues or, in general, do not have a lot to do with their colleagues.

In contrast to the above findings, in one case, it was pointed out that the main reason for employee non-participation in IHCS was possible mockery by co-workers. The IHCS site was created to be an anonymous platform, but sometimes, it is rather easy to figure out who posted an idea. Work colleagues' perception of the IHCS site appears to alter employees' perception of the site, but it does not automatically prevent the employees from using the site.

Another aspect that influences the work environment is the supervisor–subordinate relationship. One of the interview findings was that employees rarely felt the support of their supervisors and rarely felt the need to have it. When asked about what supervisors had done to encourage employees to participate on the site, the main response was "nothing." This finding might contradict the aim of the IHCS site, according to which supervisors are expected to play a leading role in commenting on ideas. In one of the major renewals of the change program in 2009, new supervisors were hired to give employees more support and the feeling that they are being listened to. However, because some of the new supervisors lacked field experience, they faced challenges in commenting on their subordinates' ideas regarding IHCS, especially on the technical aspects. This finding is unfortunate because the idea of the IHCS site was that the supervisors would, with their expertise, be the first to comment on the ideas of their subordinates.

Despite the understanding of employee motivation in IHCS in theory, the reality still seems to be far from functional because the overall impression in the employee interviews was that supervisors played a small role motivating or encouraging workers to participate on the site. Moreover, the majority of interviewees said that their supervisors had not motivated them in any significant way and do not have to do that either. From the general tone of the interviews, it was apparent that the employees did not expect their supervisors to motivate them in relation to the IHCS site. It was mentioned that a supervisor could simply not motivate a subordinate if the subordinate did not have an idea to pitch. Furthermore, if a supervisor was aware of a subordinate's active involvement in IHCS, they did not need to motivate them in any particular manner. The role of supervisors was found to be rather small in motivating employees in relation to IHCS, but their presence and relationship with their subordinates clearly impact the subordinates' participation on the site. As a matter of fact, sometimes, subordinates did not pitch in an idea because of a bad relationship with their supervisor, but once the supervisor had left, they started to submit ideas again. According to the subordinates, the main method of supervisor motivation in relation to IHCS was to share informative flyers about the site. The above issues all relate to the general working environment in the company, which affects employees' motivation to participate on the IHCS site.

Proposition 1a. Working environment increases employees' intrinsic motivation to participate in workplace innovation via IHCS when employees feel appreciated in that environment and the environment is perceived as positive, secure, and supportive.

Proposition 1b. Working environment increases employees' extrinsic motivation to participate in workplace innovation via IHCS when their relationships with supervisors and colleagues are perceived as positive, secure, and supportive.

Rewards system

The rewards system of the IHCS site was found to affect employee motivation to participate on the IHCS site. In relation to the rewards system, we analyse the differences between the interviewees' motivation types.

Oftentimes, the main reason for the interviewees' non-participation on the site was "the lack of proper rewards." The points received from the creation of an idea were not the main motivation of any of the 13 employees interviewed. The rewards system was also subject to criticism, as some interviewees compared it to the rewards system that was in place prior to the current one. It appeared that the main problems employees had with the current rewards system were related to points. They were referred to as "mockery" and that receiving points felt like doing something for free. These comments came from non-participating employees. Most employees who had participated on the site perceived the points in a more positive light, but this may also be due to their intrinsic motivation toward the site. In other words, points do not play a large role from the viewpoint of intrinsically motivated employees because they would be generating ideas anyway.

However, since even the previous employee initiative system offered financial compensation for ideas, it is unlikely to consider not giving any monetary compensation for the ideas submitted to the IHCS site. Giving no reward would most probably not work, not only based on past experience but also due to the employee culture, which, as pointed out by the supervisor side, is very much run by financial incentives. An example of the influence and significance of concrete monetary compensation identified by the company's employees is that even though the old system was considered stiff and slow, many interviewees still think fondly of it because the prize for an idea was money. These interviewees are extrinsically motivated individuals, whereas intrinsically motivated interviewees stated that the old system was nothing but stiff and slow. The difference in motivation type clearly makes a difference in this case.

The rewards system divided the interviewees into the following two groups: those who felt either motivated or not demotivated by it and those who did not feel motivated by the rewards system at all. As a matter of fact, one finding in this area was that employees who were already intrinsically motivated did not feel that the points received from the IHCS site motivated them, and the non-participant employees felt more demotivated than motivated by the points system. In some cases, the points were actually the main factor keeping the non-participants from participating on the site. Both IHCS participants and non-participants felt that the company is currently receiving a disproportionate advantage in comparison to what an employee receives from pitching in an idea.

For people intrinsically motivated, the desire to do something arises from within and without external expectations. It could be said that all interviewees who participated on the IHCS site were more intrinsically motivated than extrinsically. This was evident as they expressed their opinions about the external compensation, that is,

points: "they don't play any role," "they are not that significant," "points are as good as nothing," and "one euro here and there."

Employees who reacted negatively or indifferently to the IHCS site were found to be either extrinsically motivated or amotivated. Hence, an individual's own perception of the workability and credibility of the site seems to affect the level of intrinsic motivation. The aspect that warranted attention was that an initially intrinsically motivated employee mentioned "points are as good as nothing, you would have to do 100 ideas just to get something," where "something" means money. Intrinsically motivated people mainly said that their activity on the site would not change even if there were no monetary compensation. However, there was some variance in the answers, for example, some ideas were not pitched or commented on if no monetary reward was involved.

Interestingly, it seemed that the opportunity to win 20.000 euros increased the motivation of those employees who were otherwise considered as being driven by intrinsic motivation. Upon analysing the answers, one cannot help but wonder whether the currently intrinsically motivated employees would be actually more extrinsically motivated if they perceived the provided compensation to be desirable? This aspect seems to support previous studies in the same area in which initially performance suffered due to the introduction of compensation, but once an increase was proposed to the existing pay, performance was expected to improve again.

Proposition 2a. The rewards system increases employees' intrinsic motivation to participate in workplace innovation via IHCS when the rewards system is perceived to create a feeling of accomplishment and a sense of usefulness.

Proposition 2b. The rewards system increases employees' extrinsic motivation to participate in workplace innovation via IHCS when the rewards system involves desirable levels of monetary rewards and expression of gratitude.

Feedback and processing time

One of the biggest concerns that came up in every interview was the long processing and implementation times of ideas. It was clearly a large factor for all interviewees and one of the most criticised aspects of the entire IHCS site. Thus, unsurprisingly, a site that bases its value on the feedback channel among supervisors, their subordinates, and experts cannot be motivating if this channel is not perceived to function properly. Additionally, the old government agency culture lingers in the company and continues to affect the manner in which feedback is provided.

This aspect of the site was one of the most demotivating because the majority of the interviewees seemed to have lost faith in the processing and implementation of their ideas. It was mentioned that an idea had been pitched in the site six months prior to the interviews and had not been processed yet. Similarly, an employee's idea had taken so long to pass through all the stages that the company had implemented the idea without the person getting any recognition. The common response to the idea processing time was negative, and interviewees even appeared to have lost their trust in the site. In most interviews, the lack of quick and helpful feedback on ideas was

brought up. An example of the disappointment toward the feedback time was the feeling of not receiving adequate appreciation or thanks for idea creation. Furthermore, the interviewees mentioned they were not properly informed as to why an idea was rejected (i.e., did not receive feedback). It was mentioned that one of the most demotivating factor is when ideas are archived without any proper explanation as to why they were not processed further. In addition, the majority of the interviewees mentioned that they have other ways of getting their ideas and opinions heard than the IHCS site and that these ways (e.g., direct contact with supervisor or an expert) are often faster and more efficient than the site.

In theory, the IHCS site comprises elements of gamification, but in practice gamification was not found to be an aspect that enhances employee motivation to participate in IHCS. This is most likely due to the long time it takes for employees to receive feedback and see their ideas implemented in practice. In fact, a small minority of the interviewees, representing Generation Y, identified IHCS as having game-like characteristics, but the other interviewees did not. The connection between receiving points by participating was insufficient to compensate for the demotivation caused by long process times. As a result, the process of providing feedback to employees suffered and was found to be inefficient. It would be ideal if the ideas could be commented on within days from their submission because "when nothing is moving onward, motivation is destroyed." Thus, the main finding is that employees wish to see immediate results and receive feedback when participating in IHCS. Currently, this is not taking place as anticipated and employees are left feeling demotivated.

Proposition 3a. Feedback increases employees' intrinsic motivation to participate in workplace innovation via IHCS when employees perceive feedback as relevant and reassuring.

Proposition 3b. Feedback and processing times increase employees' extrinsic motivation to participate in workplace innovation via IHCS when supervisors' role is perceived as positive and time constraints are minimised.

User experience and role of technology

User experience emerged as one of the themes affecting employees' motivation to participate on the IHCS site. There was a clear division between the interviewees who had positive user experiences and those who had not. Negative user experiences mainly included not getting feedback and waiting for the idea to be moved forward within the site. During the interviews, on the one hand, it was indicated that when employees did not receive any feedback on their ideas, they were unlikely for to even consider pitching an idea on the site again.

On the other hand, it was discovered during the interviews that positive user experience increased the likelihood of future activity in IHCS. This highlights the importance of positive user experiences as they can even lead, at least in the case of intrinsically motivated employees, to the development of ideas in free time. The importance of positive user experience appears to be indisputable in the case of IHCS. However, if a person is intrinsically motivated, he/she may be willing to try the site

more times than a person who participates only for the sake of financial compensation.

In relation to user experience, technology has been found to play a significant role in IHCS. It was also found to be true in the IHCS of the case company. The interviewees responded rather positively to the large role of technology in IHCS but mentioned that occasionally challenges emerge because people do not know how to navigate on the site or have not created user IDs yet.

Technology played a negative role for a small minority, and it was the biggest reason for this minority having not participated on the site, arguing "I am not good with computers" and "ideas should be developed personally with supervisors and experts, not be left there for others to see." It was pointed out that the technology used for the IHCS platform poses a potential security risk because all company employees can access it independent of their location.

Another user experience and technology–related aspect has to do with the use of social media on the IHCS site. Two interviewees said that IHCS is a good channel for people to exchange feedback and improve the atmosphere in the working community. However, although it is positive that people aim to improve their working environment, it was also evident in some of the interviews that the employees do not appreciate the social aspect of the site. Some mentioned the social media aspect as the main reason for their non-participation.

One characteristic related to both user experience and technology that came up during various interviews was speculated misuse of the site. Site misuse manifests in the form of pointless comments or simple ideas with no actual development value to the company. Because every idea earns a person three points (three euros) and each comment one point (one euro), it was speculated whether some users have simply begun collecting money from the IHCS site and, consequently, eroding its credibility. It was mentioned that the line between the ideas that should be written on the site and the ones that should not had blurred and that in some cases, the ideas had "gotten out of hand." The speculated misuse of the site had not affected interviewees' participation to a great extent, but many of them are aware of it and clearly annoyed by it. The misuse of the site may diminish its credibility in the eyes of current and future users and should thus be contained in some way. Although misuse seems evident, it is impossible to say whether some commenters simply find some ideas worthy of multiple comments and are not intentionally misusing the site for points. In relation to the social media aspect, the types of ideas that should be submitted on the site were discussed. A small minority of the interviewees found ideas and comments about the social aspect of work to be acceptable, whereas others thought that the submitted ideas should be strictly innovative and aim to develop the company

Proposition 4a. User experience increases employees' intrinsic motivation to participate in workplace innovation via IHCS when the initial user experience is perceived as successful and positive.

Proposition 4b. Technology increases employees' extrinsic motivation to participate in workplace innovation via IHCS when it is perceived as easy to use and helpful.

Site marketing and communication

During the interviews, it became apparent that some of the interviewees were not completely aware of the workings of the IHCS site. When asked about the advantages, internal or external, of the site to the VR Group, the majority mentioned that they had no idea. From the subordinate interviews, it could be said that for whatever reason, there is a communications blockage across different levels of the company. When basic information about the site does not reach everyone, false misconceptions may arise, damaging the image of the site. The company has recognised that communication and interaction regarding changes need to be developed further. Although communication remains an issue, the company is aiming to improve it. During the interviews, it was suggested that in order to motivate employees to participate on the site, the company should communicate some concrete results created by the site. In other words, the company should show what has been achieved by implementing an employee's idea, it costs, and its eventual benefit in terms of money saved by the company. Furthermore, more internal marketing was demanded by the non-participants, who stated that while it would be motivational to see the concrete results of an idea, the focus should be on the development process and not the person who performing the process. Despite the demand for more internal marketing, some objections were made against it owing to the fear that with increased solicitation of idea initiators, the number of individuals attempting to misuse the site would increase.

In relation to communication and internal marketing of the IHCS site, not all of the interviewees were familiar with the site's goal. Some actually admitted to not being aware of the goal and the reason for having an IHCS site. According to them, there was a lack of marketing, in addition to personal inactivity on the site. Many could not say in which ways the goals motivated them, whereas others were certain that the goals do not motivate them to participate in any way. The interviewees who expressed an understanding of the site's goals listed them to be improvement of company performance and working environment, down-to-top innovation, cost savings, and service development.

Proposition 5a. Site marketing and communication increase employees' intrinsic motivation to participate in workplace innovation via IHCS when marketing and communication articulate the goal and purpose of the site while simultaneously alleviating security fears.

Proposition 5b. Site marketing and communication increases employees' extrinsic motivation to participate in workplace innovation via IHCS when marketing and communication present positive tangible results of IHCS.
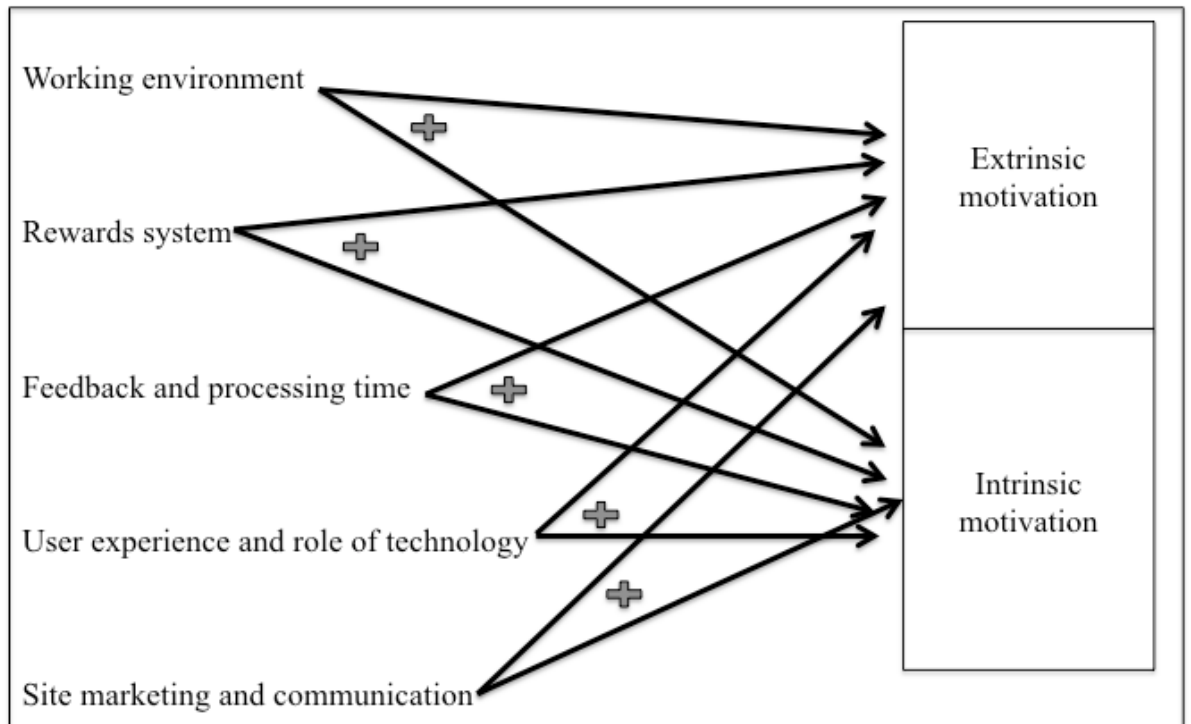
Figure 2 Factors affecting employee motivation to participate in workplace innovation via IHCS

As presented in Figure 1, all five factors affecting employee motivation to participate in workplace innovation via IHCS affect both intrinsic and extrinsic motivation. The five motivation factors, working environment, rewards system, feedback and processing time, user experience and role of technology, and site marketing and communication are found to positively affect both intrinsic and extrinsic motivations of employees. In the following section, we present conclusions made based on these findings and list both managerial and theoretical implications.

Conclusions

Although the benefits of workplace innovation (Black & Lynch 2004; Pot 2011) are encouraging, the research focusing on employee motivation to participate in workplace innovation practices is still in its infancy. In this study, we aimed to identify the factors that affect employee motivation to participate in workplace innovation via IHCS, namely working environment, rewards system, feedback and processing time, user experience and role of technology, and site marketing and communication.

The results of this study suggest that in the context of workplace innovation, motivation toward action originates from both intrinsic and extrinsic sources. This finding is somewhat in contradiction to the findings of previous studies, which found employee participation to exemplify unassuming readiness to contribute to organisational accomplishment (Albrecht 2010, p.5). This study argues that although intrinsic motivation is important for participation in workplace innovation, extrinsic rewards are required to motivate extrinsically motivated individuals. A balance between extrinsic and intrinsic motivators must be created to secure employee participation in IHCS.

This research contributes to existing workplace innovation literature by presenting a unique take on employee motivation in the context of IHCS. Interestingly, the study discusses employee motivation in the context of a large GOC. We indicate some hurdles faced by a company of this specific nature and the influence of said hurdles on company culture. Furthermore, we discuss the influence of working environment, rewards system, feedback and processing time, user experience and role of technology, and site marketing and communication on employee motivation to participate in workplace innovation in general, and the IHCS process in particular.

Given that the study is limited to a single case company with defining company characteristics, generalising the results is challenging. However, in terms of further research, researchers dealing with this subject could possibly use our results to conduct comparative studies on different types of organisations for determining whether some universality exists in motivating employees to participate in workplace innovation via IHCS or whether there are significant differences between GOCs and private businesses.

Managerial implications

The results of this study are useful for organisations using IHCS to facilitate workplace innovation or for organisations planning to implement it. Based on the findings, companies already using IHCS may wish to revisit their IHCS policies and understand the factors that influence their employees in terms of participating in IHCS.

Based on the information in this study, it would be advisable for companies planning to implement IHCS to evaluate the type of rewards that appeal to their employees, namely, intrinsic or extrinsic, and implement a rewards system accordingly while bearing in mind that intrinsic motivation is oftentimes the prerequisite for long-term employee participation. Once compensation is introduced, it tends to eat up the initial intrinsic motivation and causes employees to get used to and be directed by the expectation of compensation.

Limitations and suggestions for further research

Since the case company presented in this study is a large GOC, it possesses many characteristics not found in private or small and medium-sized companies. Moreover, as the results of the study are based on one specific case company, they may not be directly generalisable to other companies. To elaborate, companies not sharing the defining characteristics of the case company may not be facing similar challenges in terms of employee motivation in workplace innovation or not at least to the same

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extent as the case company. As the results of this study focus on employee motivation in the context of a large company, they may not be applicable to smaller companies. Additionally, small and medium-sized companies do not generally possess resources to the same extent as a large company and may thus not be able to change their operations to the same degree as large companies. As public organisations tend to attract different types of people than private companies (Perry & Porter 2012), the research results are limited solely to representing employee motivation factors in this particular environment. If a similar type of research was conducted in a private company, the results may differ from the results of this study. The empirical research is also limited to Finland and is thus bound by cultural features that are likely to differ greatly in comparison to those in other countries.

Given that the combination of the IHCS and employee motivation concepts is novel, the possibilities for further research are vast. A suggestion for further research would be to test the theoretical propositions made in this study. Moreover, it would be interesting to compare different types of companies varying in size, industry, and company culture, and research how employees in different types of organisations react to IHCS. In addition, a comparison of a private company's IHCS and a GOC's IHCS may provide new insights into their differences and suggest possibilities for knowledge integration. In case significant variance is found, one could further investigate the reasons underlying the variance and determine whether a universal framework on IHCS engagement could be drawn. An additional future research direction could focus on supervisors' attitudes and opinions on IHCS and the effects thereof on the manner in which they encourage their subordinates.

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Success at work requires hope and the ability to engage in an optimistic attitude

Satu Uusiautti

Abstract

As working life is changing fast at the moment, new studies on psychosocial dimensions of work are needed to improve efficiency, productivity, and well-being in workplaces. This was a qualitative study employing a mixed-methods approach to study enterprise personnel's perceptions of success at work. Leaders and supervisors (N=15) in a northern Finnish mid-size enterprise were interviewed personally about how they understand success and the related factors. The data were complemented by open-ended questionnaires filled out by employees (N=29) of the enterprise. The data collection took place in 2014. The purpose was to find the key elements of success when analysed from a positive psychological viewpoint. The findings provide information about the means to promote productivity, well-being, and sense of meaning at work. Changes in work appeared the most important factor influencing success at work in the target enterprise. The attitude to and coping with changes were analysed through reported experiences. The analysis showed that to be successful, learning of new methods and positive attitudes at work are crucial.

Keywords: success at work; well-being; productivity; engagement; hope.

Introduction

Success was once defined as the fullest expression of mastery (Krueger 1990). People can achieve success in many areas of life, and work is one of these areas. But what do we talk about when we talk about success at work? The traditional understanding, presented frequently in the media, may include features such as power, leadership position, and high income. However, success at work can also be described differently. It can consist of expertise, competence, and successes that come from intrinsic motivation and interest in one's work (Uusiautti 2008; Uusiautti and Määttä 2015b). From this perspective, success is merely an employee's inner feeling, a very positive feeling.

When an employee becomes riveted by work and senses the greatest self-fulfillment, work provides the state of flow (Csikszentmihalyi 2008), and work engagement and joy of work (Carver & Scheier, 2005; Hakanen, Perhoniemi & Toppinen-Tanner 2008). Intrinsic motivation is crucial as well when defining success from this positive perspective (Deci & Ryan 2008). The concept of competence (e.g., Kanfer & Ackerman 2005) is closely connected with motivation and performance at work. The path from a (maximal) performance at work to work competence illustrates a learning mechanism connected with work-related experiences that increase competence (see Stoltenberg 2005).

Overall, performing well at work, work motivation, work drive, and competence form a complex network of elements that all contribute to success at work (Uusiautti 2008). When this equation is added with the ever-changing work life, success can also necessitate quite a special kind of competence: the competence to face new challenges at work (Carver & Scheier 2005). According to Carver and Scheier (2005), this means that employees should be equipped with understanding of their own capability to reach new goals, address various challenges and opportunities. Success therefore means self-reflection as well; in other words, familiarisation with one's abilities, strengths, and weaknesses (see e.g., Linley, Willars & Biswas-Diener 2010).

I have defined the concept of a worker's personal success at work as the combination of three elements (Uusiautti 2013). First of all, success at work depends on certain individual features (such as competence, motivation, ability to select positive strategies) and on the context-bound features (such as opportunities and restrictions, expectations, and obligations). Secondly, success requires positively-focused proactivity at work: success does not happen without action. This kind of action consists of seizing opportunities, employing one's strengths, and pursuing personal development. Finally, success is manifested as a sense of meaningful doing, productivity, and perceived well-being at work (see also Uusiautti & Määttä 2015a). My previous studies among Finnish top workers (see e.g., Uusiautti 2008; Uusiautti & Määttä 2015b) confirmed that the positive experience of work is one of the most essential dimensions of success (cf. also Liden, Wayne & Sparrowe 2000), even though the outer features of work: the working conditions, should not be underestimated.

From the viewpoint of developing work, it is important to share experiences that show positive development, efficiency, productivity, and well-being (Alasoini 2015; Totterdill 2015). Although Alasoini (2015) points out that all local practices and experiences cannot be transferred as such from workplace to another, we still can learn about the success factors that are found in various work contexts. At its best, the improved understanding of realities at workplaces and organizations can be turned

into new designs of workplace structures and practices (see e.g., Johnsen 2015; Ramstad 2014). As mentioned, in the study at hand, the change in work brings an especially interesting viewpoint to the definition and manifestation of success. Therefore, it is relevant to discuss the chance of maintaining positive experience at work in these demanding situations (see also Twenge & Campbell 2013).

One of the recent career theories is Spencer G. Niles et al.'s (see Niles 2011; Niles, Amundson & Neault 2011) career flow theory, which can help analysing the 21st century's rapidly changing work life from an employee's perspective, especially if we want to understand how their not only cope with changes and challenges at work but also maintain their productivity and succeed at work. The Hope-Centered Model of Career Development (HCMCD) is based on six core concepts that are hope, self-reflection, self-clarity, visioning, goal-setting and planning, and implementing and adapting. Niles (2011, 175) explains that hope is needed to believe that one can manage any career flow experience effectively. The second concept, self-reflection, is necessary to understand a certain career flow experience accurately, while self-clarity is required to understand the personal and environmental resources necessary for coping effectively with the challenges encountered. In this model, visioning, goal setting, and planning are required tasks for imagining a successful outcome and identifying strategies for achieving it. However, successful outcome will not happen if the strategies are not implemented and adapted.

Actually, hope is an important human strength (see Seligman et al. 2005), which can be the key feature of those employees finding success at work. Hope differs from optimism, which means merely aptitude to wait for the best or good to happen. Optimism can be defined an important element of hope. It is important to understand that realistic, positive expectations are closely connected with the evaluations of the efficiency of one's own action. When this idea is contrasted with success at work, hope is especially important from the perspective of achieving goals, making plans about the future, and coping with various event in life, especially the negative ones. Positive expectations partly depend on the hopeful attitude.

Niles et al.'s theory is not the only one including hope and optimism to human beings' ability to cope in various areas of their lives. Also Snyder (2002) defines the skills of self-motivation and reaching goals with the concept of hope. In his theory, hope is defined as a positive motivational state that is based on the interaction between goals, planned actions, and agency (see also Snyder, Irving and Anderson 1991). Snyder (2002) has found that hope is connected with better performances and outcomes in academic skills, sports, physical health, and psychological adjustment to changing life situations. The concept of hope is interesting here because it can explain employees' abilities to survive in the riptide of modern work life. In addition, the idea of hope at work complements earlier theories, such as Bandura's (1997) theory of self-efficacy or Mitchell's (1997) theory of work motivation, that have, for their part, helped explain the phenomenon of performance and success at work.

The purpose of this study is to describe success at work from the viewpoints of leaders and supervisors, as well as employees of the target enterprise participating in this study. Two research questions were set for this study:

(1) How do the leaders and supervisors, and employees perceive success at work?

(2) How do the leaders and supervisors, and employees describe factors that enhance success and well-being at work?

This part of the study leans on the earlier theoretical illustration of success at work (Uusiautti 2008; 2013; Uusiautti & Määttä 2015b) complemented with Niles et al.'s (2009) hope theory. The aim is to find out how similar or different these groups' opinions on success and its prerequisites are, and how to enhance productivity and well-being in enterprises, based on the findings of this study.

Method

This study employed a multi method approach that combined qualitative research methods within one study (Ivankova, Creswell & Stick 2006; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie 2004). This kind of approach was considered the best, as the purpose was to obtain personal experiences and perceptions and analyse them qualitatively (Sale, Lohfeld & Brazil 2002). The participants represent both leaders and supervisors, and employees of the target enterprise, and the combination of multi methods happened in the data collection phase: the leaders and supervisors were interviewed while employees participated by filling out an open-ended questionnaire.

The study was conducted in a mid-size banking enterprise located in northern Finland. The bank is a co-operative bank (quite similar to NCB in the USA), which is a part of a larger parent company in Finland. These independent subsidiaries are owned by their customers, and each bank operates in their own local market areas. The target enterprise of this study operates in the area of the province of Lapland with rough 180,000 inhabitants (1.98 pop per km2) in its 21 counties. It comprises 12 offices and is a very significant employer and provider of financing services in Lapland.

In addition to the chief executive officer, the enterprise has bank managers with their own areas of responsibility and offices across Lapland. The enterprise has about 130 employees in these banking services, financing, investments and legal advice. The services also include insurance products. Furthermore, the bank has a subsidiary, an estate agent company that has 12 agents as employees, who were also included in this study. The values of the target enterprise, as stated in their mission statement, are "reliable northern-Finnish bank, ringside expert, and enabler of success". These ambitious goals are realised in the wide, sparsely-populated area of Finnish Lapland above the Arctic Circle.

The data collection took place in 2014. First, the leaders and supervisors were interviewed with the qualitative themed interview method. This method was chosen because in this study, the participants were seen as subjects whose perceptions and experiences should be obtained. Themed interviews allow participants to express these in their own words, and interviews usually have the form of a conversation. The form and order of questions can vary, but each theme is discussed in every interview (Creswell 2009). In this study, the themes were mainly theory based: (1) the definition of success, (2) well-being and factors enhancing success at work, and (3) leadership practices that can enhance success and well-being and perception of oneself as a leader.

All leaders and supervisors were asked to participate in the study. Of 20 leaders and supervisors, 15 agreed (8 women and 7 men). They were personally interviewed at the main office in Rovaniemi or in offices located across Lapland. All interviews were recorded. The interviews provided useful information about the enterprise as a work place, basic function of each unit and office, and leadership principles and practices in the enterprise. I also received information about success factors and definitions as

well as possible problems and challenges. This knowledge was used when designing employee questionnaires.

The questionnaire addressed all employees of the enterprise. The purpose was to find out their perceptions and experiences of the themes. The qualitative questionnaire method was chosen because the number of employees was relatively high. The questionnaire included 12 questions about themes of, for example, challenges and changes at work, work motivation, leadership practices, and work atmosphere. All employees (N=118) were emailed the request to participate in November 3, 2014. They could return the questionnaire by email or anonymously by regular mail. The deadline for replies was continued twice so that the final deadline was December 19, 2014. Only 29 employees (23 women, 6 men) participated. However, the questionnaire data appeared rich and useful. In addition, the participants represented relatively well the personnel of the company when compared the proportion of women and men, their age, and years of service. In December 2014, the whole personnel consisted of 82.4 % women and 17.2% men, while in this study women formed 79.3% and men 20.7% of participants. In the whole personnel, the average age of women was 46.1 years and men 41.1 years while in these data, women were 45.9 years and men 37.4 years.

Although the sets of data form a relatively small quantity of data, it is worth noticing that the study pursued understanding the specific workplace reality and learn from those functional practices and experiences that could be drawn from this specific case. For example, what kind of teamwork or decision-making structures appear relevant for the success in the context of the target enterprise (cf. e.g., Alasoini, Ramstad, Heikkilä, & Ylöstalo 2010). Enterprises and organisations with similar features may find the practical descriptions and findings useful when contemplating their own areas of development and chances of dealing successfully with the changing work. The advantage of qualitative studies like the one in hand is that it brings out the personnel's voices and experiences, and thus, can get deeper in the workplace reality than, for example, large surveys would do (see also deMarrais 2004).

The qualitative content analysis method was employed for data analyses (Mayring 2000). In this study, the data collection was led by theoretical framework, and therefore, also the data were initially analysed with these theoretical concepts, that formed categories for the initial analysis. However, the items in categories were found with data-based analyses because the purpose was to find factors that emerge from data. Both sets of data were analysed with the same principles. After this coding, the researcher can proceed to interpretations. The purpose of content analysis is to form a description of the target phenomenon in a general and concise form (Creswell 2009).

The analyses thus started by writing transcripts of the interview data and combining the questionnaire data into an electronic form. Excerpts of the data are included in Results sections. To ensure anonymity, no identification codes are used in interviews, because it would be relatively easy to identify each participant in such a small group of leaders and supervisors. Interview data quoted in the article are referred simply with L/S (= leaders / supervisors). The employees in questionnaire data were given random codes. For example, the code "Q1" refers to the participant number 1 in the questionnaire data.

Next, I will discuss the reliability of the study. Lincoln and Guba (1985) distinguish four criteria that help in assessing qualitative research. They are credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (see also Shenton 2004). Credibility in this study was secured by selecting well-known research methods that were also previously familiar to the researcher. In addition, careful familiarisation with the target company was necessary in the form of meetings with the CEO and the enterprise contact person nominated for the study. On the other hand, the phenomenon under study was extremely familiar to the researcher, which made the designing and execution of the study fluent. A third way to improve credibility is related to participant selection. In this study, the goal was to recruit all leaders and supervisors, and employees, but, as any research involves, the participants are entitled to decline or draw from the study at any phase.

Transferability means the evaluation of how well the study can be transferred to another context. Qualitative research is always very context-bound, which makes this criterion difficult to assess. However, careful descriptions of research methods, participant selection, data collection and analyses help the task. Likewise, the description of the study context is crucial, in this case, especially the understanding of the location of the enterprise as well as the special nature of the co-operative banking. Thirdly, dependability assesses to what extent, the same methods used in the same conditions and with same participants can reach the same research results. The researcher's influence on data collection and interpretations can be critically viewed. Confirmability relates to objectivity. Like dependability, also confirmability can be improved with rigorous description of study procedures and solutions as well as reflection on the researcher's position and preconceptions. Here, my background with research on success has directed the selection of theme and theoretical viewpoints, and analyses as well. On the other hand, this knowledge combined with earlier research experience with workers from various fields may have provided with insight on the phenomena taking place at workplaces. The strong interest in positive development and possibilities of positive action is the fundamental basis of the study.

Results

Success as an outcome

First, success was described as a particular outcome that included three elements: sales, customer satisfaction, and quality of work. Nowadays, work at banking is directed by various goals for outcomes. Therefore, it was quite natural that the participants of this study mentioned first various goals as the definition of success. Success was, in other words, considered as the achievement of a certain goal:

"Pretty much you measure it [success] *with the sales figures. - - So, it is the economic and sales success quite much in this business, it is a really important part of it."* (L/S)

"Sales" was the word to describe success. However, the bank has also units or departments that do not have sales but outcomes are measured differently (e.g., debt collection) or administrative services within the bank. Frequently, their success can be perceived as well-functioning operations and as the part of the entity of a bank:

"We have enormously information about our performance that we have to look at and analyse all the time." (L/S)

In addition to achievements of goals, customer satisfaction was mentioned as an important criterion of success. Seven leaders and supervisors described how a bank cannot succeed without its customers' success:

"Customer satisfaction has to remain good. - - I certainly consider it very important that customer feedback would be good." (L/S)

Customer satisfaction was described not only as their satisfaction with services provided by the bank but also as the manifestation of work quality and productivity. In sum, customer satisfaction tells about success also when evaluating work quality:

"We have to aim to an outcome that satisfies the bank and the customer. - - If you think of a successful outcome, it is mutual satisfaction." (L/S)

Success as a positive and efficient process

Despite successful outcomes, a true success involves a positive process that takes place before the outcome is reached. When success is perceived as a process, efficient and quality work methods become part of the definition of success. Furthermore, they can be analysed from a singular employee's point of view as well as from the work unit's point of view, especially the nature of co-operation between co-workers. Next, I will introduce the promoters of the success process based on the leaders' and supervisors' interviews and employees' questionnaire data.

Adjustment to changes

Modern work involves numerous changes, and banking has not avoided them either, quite the contrary. Work in Finnish banks has changed, from traditional cash and loan services to sales of various products and services. Employees are expected to contact customers and make them aware of new services; the sales of these services are directed by clear numeric goals.

Naturally, changes are a natural part of work, but often they are confronted with quite contradictory feelings and resistance (see e.g., Bunce & West 1994; Cascio 2013). Resistance for change can slow down adjustment and learning but, on the other hand, it is also a sign of caring whereas the lack of resistance can tell about indifference (Torppa 2012). In this study, many supervisors discussed profoundly how they could ensure that employees would face the changes positively and efficiently (cf. Twenge & Campbell 2013), and learn from their experiences (see also Billett 2004). They described their experiences of difficult change processes. From their perspective, it was the most crucial to be able to find such tasks for each employee that suited their skills the best: if this kind of planning was possible in the situation. Often, the

supervisors thought that reason for incongruity between employees' skills and tasks was the change in banking business. Eight supervisors described how employees had come to work in quite a different task in the bank:

"If you think about people who have come here 20-30 years ago. They did not come here to be salespersons. - - If you were not sales-oriented then, you will not automatically be like that now." (L/S)

"It was probably still the 1970s—we have people who came here already then—that we recruited good girls with nice handwriting. But this is not what we expect in banking anymore, but you have to have those sales skills." (L/S)

Employees in any field are expected to adjust to changes, keep up with the changes, and develop according to the new requirements (see e.g., Carver & Scheier 2005; Torppa 2012). Certainly, the supervisors admitted that the nature of work in banking has changed so drastically that it would almost necessitate a change in an employee's personality. However, the supervisors' opinions differed: while some emphasised employees' opportunities to adjust and learn new methods and attitudes, others questioned the chance of changing personality or whether it can be even expected. Even if changes were not always perceived fair or something employees could influence themselves, resistance would not be the answer. According to the supervisors, changes were an inevitable part of work:

"Work is painful sometimes. Waking up is painful. Everyone has trouble at home at some point too. - - At work, you have to face [the changes] *without blaming your supervisor or employer for it."* (L/S)

However, most supervisors were optimistic about their employees' willingness and ability to learn and develop. They found it the most important to believe that you can cope with changes. Still, changes require hard work and willingness to challenge oneself at work. These situations were challenging the supervisors as well. Changes can be defined a sort of surf of one's career flow (see Niles 2011) that necessitate willingness to change and adjust but, more importantly, an optimistic attitude and hopefulness as described by one of the supervisors:

"You have to be ready and, on the other hand, bold to seize [them]. *Indeed, this is a business where you have to educate yourself widely and extensively. There have been changes, and there will be changes."* (L/S)

The changing work was expressed quite systematically in the employees' questionnaires as well. According to their evaluations (N=9), the most challenging situations at work were changes, adjusting to them and being updated. Employees described changes and related challenges in various ways:

"Increasing changes (work methods, guidelines, demands, applications) are challenging." (Q28)

76% of employees reported that the content of their work had changed a lot or extremely lot. Three ways of perceiving changes could be distinguished: (1) changes are opportunities, acceptable and even positive; (2) changes are inevitable, adjustment is the core; and (3) changes are clearly negatively experienced. Surprisingly, almost half of the participants (N=13) had perceived changes positively because they had led to better work methods, increased diversity of work tasks, and especially opportunities to develop as a worker. These employees appeared as active and ready to seize changes and even develop the content of their work. According to Niles, Amundson, and Neault (2009) this kind of attitude illustrates hopefulness at work, making active action possible so that employees keep believing in their opportunities to find and use positive strategies in changing situations:

"[Changes have required] *in-service training and your own enthusiasm to seize new things."* (Q26)

Ten employees described changes as merely inevitable, but their attitude was also fundamentally positive and based on their own flexibility. Although the attitude to changes was more moderate than in the first group, it still seemed to support a positive image of oneself as a worker. Changes may not always be desired but coped with, also in the future:

"For me, it has required keeping up with changes. You take what you get. Sometimes you do it with 'a little whining' but mostly with a positive attitude." (Q9)

All employees did not find changes good, but had had negative experiences. It could be interpreted that changes were perceived undesired because of their dramatic influence on the contents of work, or the way the changes were introduced in the workplace. In both occasions, the message is that employees' voices have not been heard (see e.g., Dhondt & Van Hootegem 2015) and taken into account in the management of change (e.g., Luomala 2008). Although the ability to adjust to changes varies by person, positive attitudes can be enhanced by adopting a dialogue-based approach to management that emphasizes co-creation of solutions rather than dictation (Alasoini 2011).

Right person in right place—using one's strengths at work

Overall, adjustment to changes at work greatly depends on how employees experience their abilities to respond to the new contents of their work. Changes can necessitate learning of new areas of work that employees may have not had to know before. The extent employees can develop, experience successes, and feel competent, is the sum of developmental opportunities and personal willingness to learn, adjust, and develop at work. In this connection, leaders and supervisors referred to successful selection of

employees: it was natural to assess that finding a right person to a right place was an important success factor not only for employees' personal success but also for the success of the whole company. Eight supervisors emphasised their ability to match persons with new tasks. In addition, twelve supervisors described the phenomenon from a negative perspective; as the lack of compatibility of tasks and employees. Therefore, practically all supervisors emphasised the fit either based on their positive or negative experiences, or both:

"We do it completely so that we use each employee's strengths and distribute work according to them." (L/S)

This viewpoint is important, and shows the connection with success as a process; being able to use one's strengths at work makes working seem meaningful. It also boosts engagement, satisfaction, and motivation at work (Stairs & Galpin 2013). Employees who use their strengths are likely to experience successes at work and are highly intrinsically motivated (see also Uusiautti 2008). These successes are important to the success process, because they produce joy of work, and strengthen the sense of capability and competence. This, on the other hand, leads to efficient and productive working, and makes it possible to reach success as an outcome. One of the supervisors stated quite felicitously:

"Surprisingly enough, those successes are rewarding in our work as well." (L/S)

The employees were asked what kind of strengths they perceived in themselves as workers. Their basic description was "diligent, conscientious, and thorough" as stated by 12 participants. These are characteristics that are typical of bank employees. Six employees mentioned customer service skills while only four mentioned sales skills and goal-orientation.

However, their most important strengths were long experience in banking, and commitment to one's work. They were mentioned by 14 employees. Moreover, ten described flexibility and collaboration skills as their strengths. These strengths illustrate well also the making of the participants: many of them had already long careers behind them in this workplace which also tells about commitment and experience. Flexibility and adaptability referred to this engagement, too, but also included the change that had taken place in banking work:

"I am committed and responsible – I have long work experience and I support newly recruited employees when they learn about their jobs." (Q28)

Deficient skills, unfitness with the task, and lack of experiences of success were described in leaders' and supervisors' interviews as the true problems inhibiting success at work. Decrease in motivation was manifested as unwillingness to take new tasks, dissatisfaction, and inability to co-operate with others even if the employee was otherwise a good worker:

"The work contents or tasks should be designed so that they produce successes to these people. I feel that some of them has the experience of never succeeding in their tasks. It is discouraging, and they are not bad employees." (L/S)

In the questionnaire data, most of the employees (N=18) described whether they have a chance to use their strengths at work or not. The majority of them (N=15) stated that they could. Positive experience can occur when employees' strengths match the employer's expectations:

"In my opinion, I am flexible and I also consider my employer flexible. So, it is easy to face the challenges set by work tasks and show my strengths." (Q15)

Some of the supervisors mentioned that, more often than not, employees tended to problematise their tasks too much. They could see the expertise and talents in employees, if they just had the courage to use their skills widely. Those employees who took new challenges open-mindedly had the chance to see the opportunity to use their strengths in new ways.

Atmosphere and collaboration in the work unit

Both the supervisors and leaders and employees emphasised the importance of good and supportive atmosphere and positive collaboration at work as the prerequisite of success. Nine of the supervisors talked about the good practices and mutual collaboration in their work units. On the other hand, four supervisors mentioned problems and competition among employees. Therefore, the phenomenon became described both from negative and positive viewpoints:

"Surely, it is important to keep up this good spirit at the unit as it provides the joy of work and that we can together cheer the good performances. - - So, that everyone would understand that we are doing more when we do it together; that together we are more productive than alone." (L/S)

Likewise, employees in the questionnaire wrote about synergic strength, but also brought out how collaboration was not always unproblematic. The atmosphere could turn negative if the rules of collaboration are unclear. For example, competition over sales can lead to various interpretations of the foundations of collaboration. It was interesting to notice that the employees (N=20) described problems in collaboration and negative atmosphere when they were asked to evaluate their work units and atmosphere. However, when they were asked to describe the importance of mutual support and encouragement between co-workers, most of the participants (N=22) described the indisputable significance of the support and positive, open-minded collaboration in teams and work units:

"Lately, some people in our unit have expressed their dissatisfaction which influences the whole team. The team spirit has suffered from the negative atmosphere and collaboration has stepped aside from competition between co-workers." (Q6)

In addition to competition, differences in measurements of performances could cause envy or other problems. As mentioned earlier, not all employees had clear numeric goals, which meant that their good performance could remain unnoticed if only the achievement of goals were followed. Even if you knew that you had worked well, and even if you understood the meaning of your work in the wider sense, you could have a feeling of being ignored or not appreciated due to the lack of clear goals. Those employees (N=9) who described the joy of working together and supportive atmosphere understood the importance of collaboration for reaching goals or working successfully otherwise. In addition, they mentioned the influence on well-being at work and coping:

"The good feeling of working and everyone is bearing their responsibility." (Q18)

"The outcome tells the success in numbers but the work atmosphere tells even more." (Q21)

75 % of employees agreed that colleagues' support mattered for their own performances and success at work. This viewpoint was explained with various ways from benefitting each other's areas of expertise to mutual spurring and feedback as well as positive attitude to work in general:

"Very important! In a good, goal-oriented, and positive team you perform also personally well!" (Q9)

Also those employees whose work did not have measurable goals had noticed the importance of support and good atmosphere:

"I do not have personal goals or means to measure my performances. The role of my own team is however big for me being able to do my job successfully." (Q19)

The supervisors in this study also had noticed the employees' responsibility to create and nurture good atmosphere:

"I argue that those people who have the courage can look in the mirror and ask themselves how I can influence this atmosphere. So, it starts by changing one's own attitude." (L/S)

Self-development and development of work

One of the special features supporting the process of success was development in employees themselves and the development of work methods and contents. The emphasis was greatly on the former because the change in banking business was reported to require plenty of ability and willingness to develop from employees. Most of the supervisors reported that they had developmental discussions with their employees on a monthly basis. These meetings helped to recognise employees' strengths and weaknesses:

"We have had development in this team that people have already started, or left their comfort zones, to learn new things. And there is lots of development in this team. - - These younger people who are still enthusiastic; they are happy to learn. - - They have plenty of potential left. - - Then there are these older people who have worked in this bank for a long time. - - I think they have potential too, and if they find it in themselves, they can develop." (L/S)

In the questionnaire, employees were asked to describe how they developed or would like to develop their work methods, or whether they thought that they were supposed to develop work in the first place. Their expectations could be divided roughly in four categories. Ten of the employees described their own willingness to develop and advance their careers. Their answers illustrated a very active work attitude and future orientation:

"I expect to develop as a banking expert and to have more responsibility as a customer responsibility person. In the future, I would be interested in a possible supervisor position." (Q22)

The second group (N=7) had a more moderate attitude toward the future. Their expectations were merely focused on life within the changes at work and coping with them. These answers did not emphasise their own activity in development, or any ideas of enhancing their careers:

"I take what I get. I have seen already so many 'winds of change' that nothing surprises me." (Q23)

Seven employees reported that their work would stay the same. Their current expectation was to have the ability to do their work well in the future, and that their work would remain suitable and pleasant to them. When comparing to the earlier category, these employees did not mention the changes in their work:

"The ideal situation: I would have time to take care of the customers well. - - Nowadays, I do not have enough time." (Q13)

"My expectation is that my work and work environment would stay meaningful" (Q9)

The remaining five employees said that they did not have any expectations concerning their work. Some of them were already close to their retirement age but some also referred to the current situation at work:

"I do not have any expectations. The prevailing atmosphere does not give any reason to cherish expectations." (Q28)

One way of interpreting employees' expectations was to read their ideas about how to develop their work. The main impression was their uncertainty whether they are even supposed to develop their work, which is, from the viewpoint of workplace development, surprising or downright alarming (see e.g., Dhondt & Van Hootegem 2015). When connected with success, it is worth mentioning that development of work methods and contents was also perceived salient by the Finnish top workers (e.g., Uusiautti 2008; Uusiautti & Määttä 2015b). In this study, eight employees reported they should, while seven employees disagreed. The rest of the participants did not take a stand. Altogether about a half of the participants (N=14) compared development of work with reaching the goals. Therefore, developmental expectations were, in their opinion, targeted at their possibilities to develop as workers to reach the goals, and not so much to develop their work methods or contents. Encouragement to adopt a developing attitude at work did not appear in employees' answers, but they described goal achievement instead:

"Supervisors expect plenty of development and achievements from us, in other words, sales, sales. Our work methods have been actively developed in good and also in bad directions. The goal seems to be merely outcomes rather than well-being at work. I would like to develop work toward collaboration, not just individual performances, which does not motivate us in the long run." (Q6)

"Perhaps, we have forgotten own thinking and own doing. - - We do not have this systematic development. - - There is not this culture that we would expect employees to develop their own work." (L/S)

Leadership as a part of the success process

Success in enterprises and organisations always requires leadership and management. It has also been proven that top managers' leadership styles affect widely their companies' innovation capability (see e.g., Jung, Chow & Wu 2003). In the target enterprise of this study, the idea of coaching leadership was adopted as the main leadership ideology. Some of the interviewees did mention it as an important means behind success. However, supervisors' opinions did differ from each other, but mainly these differences could be explained by their leadership styles and differences between the units or offices they supervised. In general, coaching was seen to support

employees' development as workers (see also Grant & Spence 2013), as it appeared to be an important tool to teach and learn about sales skills:

"The immediate supervisor's role in sales, sales coaching is incredibly important. And quite often the problem we have perhaps is that we use the same template to everyone when aiming at success. When there are many paths to reach it." (L/S)

Employees were also asked to describe how the supervisors could best enhance their success, and what kind of leadership practices they perceived as the most positive and beneficial. The most important means to support employees' success as described by the participants (N=10) was the supervisor's expertise and substantial knowledge. The employees reported that they expected their supervisors to have wide knowledge and expertise, so that they could help employees in problem situations and self-development:

"A great person. The supervisor has been doing these grass-root tasks and thus understands us employees and knows what we do. The supervisor can guide, keep us up-dated." (Q3)

Seven employees described the supervisor as an enabler and creator of benign working conditions. According to the participants, this was an important factor in success. Instead of supervisors' substantial knowledge, these participants highlighted the supervisors' abilities to pay attention to best work methods and work atmosphere, notice employees' suggestions, and take care of employees' in-service education:

"The supervisor has created such work conditions that I find it easy and fluent to do my job." (Q4)

According to the employees, other good and efficient leadership practices were positive feedback (N=6) and support and spurring (N=5). Employees would like to get more positive feedback after accomplishments and good performances and through coaching. The supervisor's spurring was considered especially important when the supervisor's expertise was not considered as high as the employee's own, but was described as presence and aspiration to understand the employees' work in general. According to the employees' answers (N=20), they received most of their feedback at work from their supervisors. Positive feedback was perceived as supportive and important for work motivation:

"My supervisor gives me feedback. Positive feedback encourages and help you cope during bad times as well." (Q1)

Furthermore, the employees appreciated the supervisor's knowledge of the work in practice. This was closely related to the supervisor's substance knowledge and

expertise. Indeed, the current viewpoint of workplace development principles includes that co-operation between leaders and employees is important because open interaction create shared understanding of the state in the workplace (see Alasoini 2015). Support from this kind of supervisor who is aware of the work reality also from the employee's point of view was concrete and beneficial:

"What is especially good in my supervisor is the expertise and ability to help in problems when necessary." (Q22)

In sum, employees expected the supervisors to have balance between human management skills and strong substantial knowledge. The same appeared in the supervisors' interviews as they reported how they were balancing between these two dimensions trying to find the golden mid-way. The success of leadership and the coaching ideology described by the supervisors requires an open and unreserved relationship between supervisors and employees—"management as a shared activity" as Alasoini (2015, p. 44) puts it.

"If there is something, act immediately; can we talk right now? I think we have open and good relationships. They do not have to worry whether they could dare to come to say something or whether some issue is too a minor matter." (L/S)

Summary of results
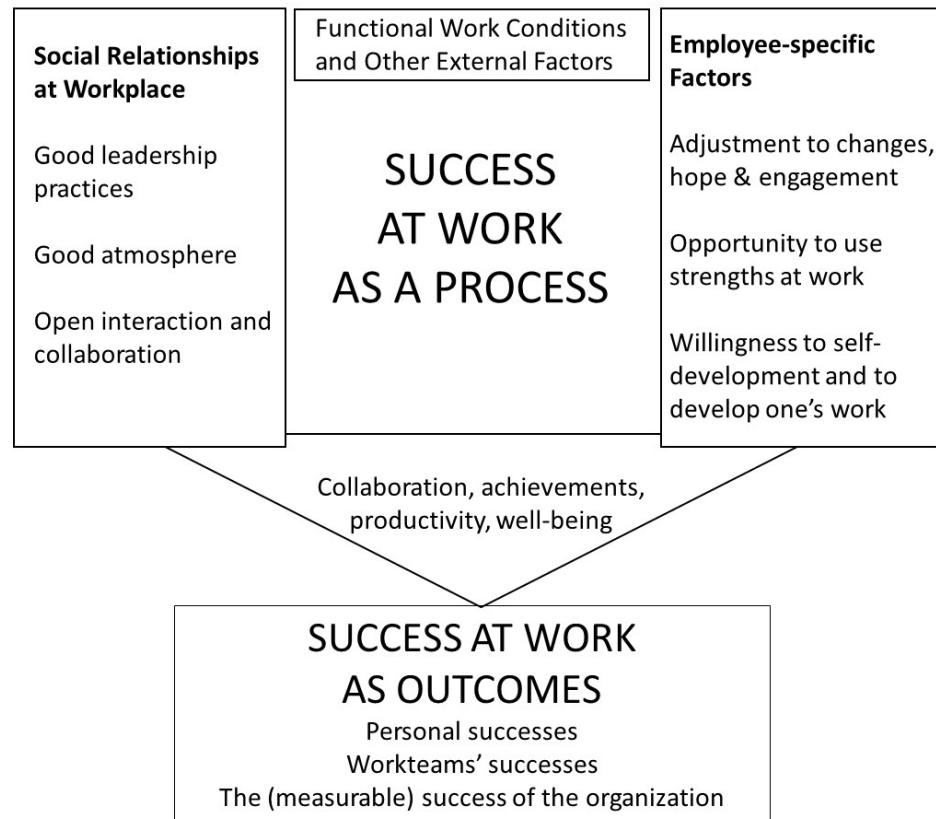
Figure 1: Success at work as a process and as outcomes

I have illustrated the findings in Figure 1, which combines the elements of success and shows their interconnectedness. Although the role of work conditions (e.g., workplace premises, equipment, etc.) did not get a big role in this study, they certainly influence the success process. Based on the findings from this research, other factors influencing the process included social relationships at workplace and, then again, employee-specific factors. Social relationships cover elements such as good leadership practices, positive feedback and support, good work atmosphere and open interaction and collaboration. The latter was pronounced by both leaders and supervisors, and employees of the target enterprise. The individual employee brings in the process his or her ability to adjust to changes at work. What is crucial, however, is that the employees can use their strengths at work; this influence also their engagement and willingness to develop themselves and their work.

When the process is good, positive action and phenomena occur, such as collaboration, achievements, productivity, and well-being, leading to the success at work as outcomes. Outcomes cover not only employees' personal successes, but those of work teams as well, and finally, the measurable success of the organisation these people work for. This is how people are the keys to success.

Discussion

As the results suggested, success at work in the target enterprise was defined not only as the successful outcome of reaching goals, but also as a successful process. This process was profoundly determined by the recent changes having taken place in banking business, changing the daily work of the employees dramatically. Actually, the case of this target enterprise was not particularly unusual since the same kind of changes have been ongoing in the banking field in Finland in general. However, it seemed that the northern location of the bank probably influenced on the employees' and leaders' success in many ways. On the one hand, the special features of Lapland and the pursuit of providing well-being and serving people in remote areas made leaders and employees feel proud of their work—they were coping with the challenges the sparse population, harsh climate, and long distances presented to their work. Actually, the positive sense of finding one's work meaningful and enjoyable is the cornerstone of success as well (Achor 2010). On the other hand, these challenged their success, and sometimes, reaching the basic level and goals in sales and customer service seemed overwhelming. In order to keep up with the modernization and digitalization development, in other words the efficiency pressures in the banking field, the nature of daily work had to be changed and was still changing, which necessitated prompt action and boldness from leaders and supervisors, and positive learning abilities from employees, as well.

Hope is manifested in success at work as a positive attitude, and active dealing with problem situations. The phenomenon entails that challenges and adversities are merely considered as chances and opportunities for learning (see also Uusiautti 2008). Perseverance in these situations appears as willpower but also as attitude: successful employees think that they can solve the situations, learn new skills and knowledge when needed, and make positive progress. Hope as a part of success at work as was discovered among top workers (see Uusiautti 2016), therefore, appears at least as (1) the ability to seize challenges and daring to indulge in one's work; (2) being prepared to work hard and finding pleasure from accomplishing the most tedious parts of one's work; (3) believing in oneself and one's accomplishments (see also Maddux 2002); and (4) searching for meaning and finding hope at work. All this means that today's employees have to be ready to engage in continuous professional development, which means life-long learning at work (see e.g., Hemmington 1999). However, this engagement is not likely to be successful without an optimistic attitude that opens mind for new perspectives, new work methods, and development.

Multidimensional positive experiences at work enhance people's productivity, engagement, problem-solving skills, and well-being (Harter, Schmidt & Keyes 2003; see also Hakanen, Perhoniemi & Toppinen-Tanner 2008; Stairs & Galpin 2013). This finding should not be underestimated as today's work and organisational psychological research connects well-being at work as a crucial element of productivity (Ramstad 2014; see also e.g., Syväjärvi et al. 2012). According to Perttula (2011), every employee should aim at as good being at work as possible: being at work can be both negative and positive, but not limited to just well-being. Perttula (2011) also connected being at work with the sense of meaning at work. Both meaning and well-being are personal evaluations that are based on each employee's personal experiences. However, their importance should be better recognised from the perspective of success at work (see also Uusiautti 2015; Uusiautti & Määttä 2015a, 2015b). The study at hand showed that success at work is more than finding meaning,

more than using one's strengths, more than reaching goals and performing well, and more than being optimistic. Success at work includes all of them, as well as the active willingness to develop and learn within the new demands of ever-changing work life.

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CARE JOBS: An educational game on workplace innovation in chronic care settings

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Abstract

CARE JOBS is a game designed for educating people working in chronic care settings on the relation between job characteristics and job quality. The game is based on Karasek's Job Demand/Control (JD/C) Model, which predicts that job quality results from the joint effects of workload (i.e. job demands) and autonomy (i.e. job control). The game is about dressing toy dolls, which represent residential care clients. Twelve, sixteen or twenty participants are divided over four tables, each representing a residential care unit. At each table, one of the job types identified by the JD/C Model is simulated. Job demands are manipulated by controlling the number of dolls. Job controls are manipulated by (lack of) strict clothing rules and (lack of) access to extra clothing in the storage. Participants are instructed to dress their residents in six minutes time. In the debriefing, participants are asked after their results and experiences. Guided by the facilitator, participants reconstruct the JD/C Model. The full game can be played in half an hour time. The game is appealing because of its simplicity, and offers starting points for exploring options for workplace innovation and their possible effects.

Keywords: Workplace innovation, educational game, job quality, chronic care

Introduction

Against the background of the economic crisis and an increased urgency for continuous innovation and sustainable growth to maintain global competitiveness of the European Union (EU), workplace innovation recently gained importance at the EU policy level (Kesselring, Blasy & Scoppetta 2014). Workplace innovation should contribute to European competitiveness, and encompasses practices that enhance employers' workability, resulting in higher productivity and improved employees' job-satisfaction and wellbeing. In other words, workplace innovation is not only aimed at increasing organizational performance, but also at simultaneously improving the quality of work of the employees (Dhondt & Hootegem 2015).

Workplace innovation is a cross-cutting policy issue, concerning all types of organizations and sectors (Kesselring, Blasy & Scoppetta 2014), including health care. Due to the rapid aging of the population and the greater longevity of people with multiple chronic conditions in many high income countries, the number of persons with chronic illness is growing at a fast rate, while the care systems were organized historically to respond rapidly and efficiently to acute illnesses and injuries (Wagner et al. 2001). Moreover, many European countries are faced with health care workforce shortages (Kroezen et al. 2015) and members of the health care workforce report widespread burnout and dissatisfaction (Bodenheimer & Sinsky 2014). These evolutions represent important intra- and inter-organizational challenges, related to task division and coordination, multidisciplinary team work and job design.

The Triple Aim (Berwick, Nolan & Whittington 2008) - enhancing patient experience, improving population health, and reducing costs - is widely accepted as a compass to optimize health system performance, also in chronic care. Bodenheimer and Sinsky (2014) recommend that the Triple Aim be expanded to a Quadruple Aim, adding the goal of improving the work life of health care providers, including clinicians and staff. Care professionals well-being is regarded as a prerequisite for the Triple Aim. Chronic care provision relies on the efforts of committed and healthy care professionals.

The Job Demand/Control Model (JD/C), developed by Karasek (1979) predicts the possible impact of job characteristics on job quality. The JD/C model is one of the most widely studied models of occupational stress (Kain & Jex 2010). Yet, people from practice, such as care professionals, tend to find this conceptual model rather abstract. CARE JOBS is a game which helps to educate care professionals, and by extension everyone working in chronic care, in the JD/C Model by letting them experience jobs with differing characteristics in a game context. The game offers starting points for exploring options for workplace innovation and their possible effects.

The JD/C Model predicts that job quality results from the joint effects of workload (i.e. job demands) and autonomy (i.e. job control). Job quality is defined as the extent to which a job fosters beneficial outcomes for the worker in terms of low risks of psychological strain and physical illness, and high levels of intrinsic motivation and learning opportunities. Karasek explains that job quality is not only determined by job demands, but also by the decision-making freedom available to the worker facing those demands. Job quality depends on the balance between job demands (implying control needs) and control capacity. Figure 1 shows that the JD/C Model describes four types of jobs that might result from different combinations of job demands and job control. The JD/C Model predicts an increasing risk of psychological strain and

physical illness following Arrow A, and increasing motivation and learning opportunities following Arrow B. 'High Strain Jobs' and 'Low Strain Jobs' represent situations where job demands and job control diverge. Workers in 'High Strain Jobs', facing high job demands combined with low job control in meeting those demands, experience great risks of psychological strain and physical illness. 'Low Strain Jobs' combine low job demands with high job control, but these control capacities do not correspond with actual control needs. 'Low Strain Jobs' do not offer the worker learning opportunities and are not likely to increase job motivation and involvement. 'Active Jobs' and 'Passive Jobs' represent situations where job demands and job control are matched. The JD/C Model speaks of 'Active Jobs' when job demands and job control are simultaneously high. 'Active Jobs' offer learning opportunities and increase motivation and involvement. In contrast, 'Passive Jobs' combine low job demands with low job control. Although both are matched, such jobs represent no challenges and tend to lead to a mind-numbing routine.
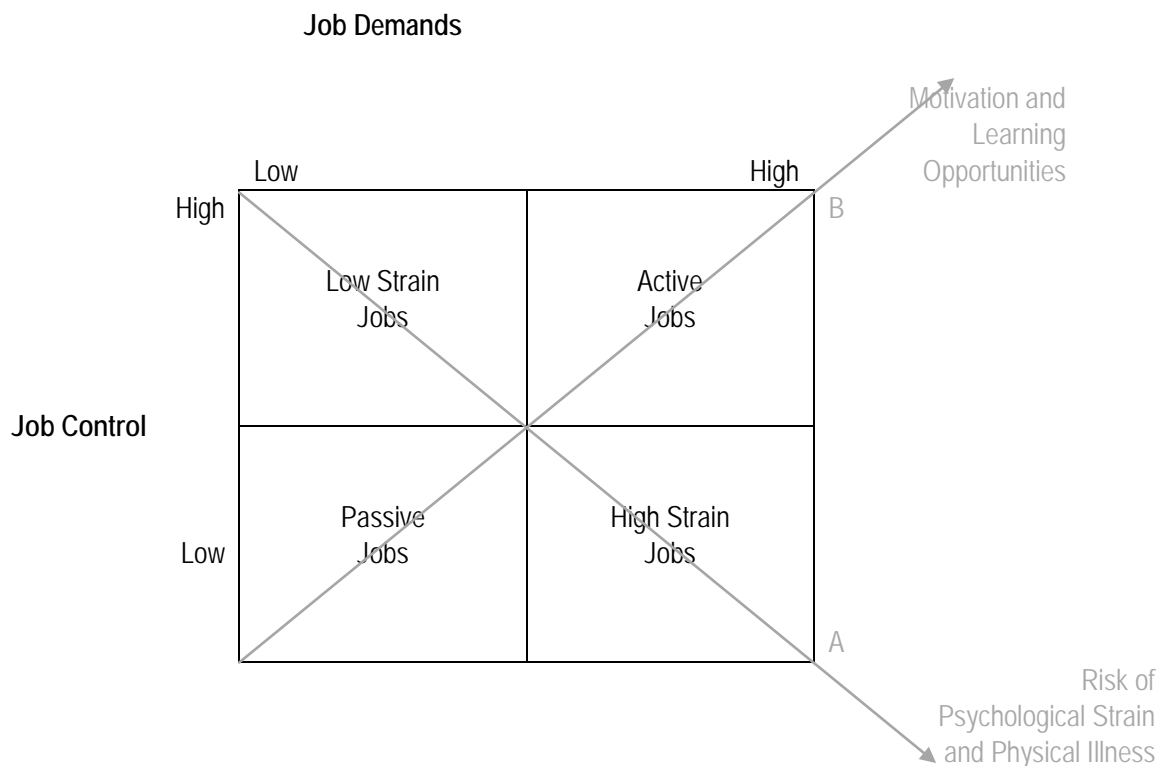
Figure 1: Job Demand / Control Model (based on: Karasek, 1979)

CARE JOBS is about dressing toy dolls, which represent residential care clients. Twelve, sixteen or twenty participants are divided over four tables, each representing a residential care unit. At each table, one of the four job types identified by the JD/C Model is simulated. Job demands are manipulated by controlling the number of dolls. Job controls are manipulated by (lack of) strict clothing rules and (lack of) access to extra clothing in the storage. In the debriefing, participants are asked after their experiences in terms of results, encountered problems, frustration, enjoyment, boredom etc. Guided by a facilitator, participants reconstruct the JD/C Model themselves, which helps them to understand the underlying principles.

Basic Data

Instructional objectives: To increase awareness of the joint effects of job demands and job control on job quality. To experience the relationship between task division and job control. To reflect upon the relation between job types and team performance.

Game objectives: To dress all toy dolls and to serve them breakfast. Photo 1 in Appendix A illustrates reaching the game objectives.

Debriefing format: Open discussion with all participants, guided by the facilitator.

Target audience: People working in chronic care (including care professionals, support staff, administration and management). By extension, every individual interested in learning more on the subject.

Playing time: 15 minutes (including introduction and briefing).

Debriefing time: 15 minutes.

Number of players required: 12, 16 or 20, divided into four groups of equal size. In case the number of possible participants does not exactly match one of these numbers, one or more participants can take the role of an observer during the playing of the game, and join in the debriefing discussion.

Computer/internet configuration: not applicable

Materials/equipment required: 70 toy dolls; 70 sets of toy doll clothing (shirt/top/body; skirt/pants; shoes); 70 pieces of toy kitchenware (e.g. plates, cups); four toy breakfast tables (e.g. the lid of a box of printing paper); five storage boxes; a countdown clock; a room with one chair per participant, five tables and a flip-over, whiteboard or blackboard; four types of instruction sheets, five copies of each type; four prints of the 'game objective' photo; two copies of five function tags for the participants; two sets of four clothing cards with permitted clothing combinations; two request forms for additional clothing items; a unique label for each of the four tables;

Facilitator's guide

In CARE JOBS, the participants take the role of care professionals working in four residential care units: 'Maple', 'Willow', 'Cypress' and 'Alder'. Figure 2 shows that the jobs in each of these units correspond with one of the job types of the JD/C Model.

Maple	Cypress
Low Strain Jobs	Active jobs
Willow	**Alder**
Passive Jobs	High Strain Jobs

Figure 2: CARE JOBS: Job Types and Residential Care Units

Table 1 gives an overview of the time schedule for preparing and playing the game.

	Time	Phase
	One-off	Acquiring materials
	In advance, 30'	Preparation
	10'	Installation
Runtime game: 30'	5'	Introduction
	4'	Instruction
	6'	Playing the game
	15'	Debriefing

Table 1: CARE JOBS Schedule

Acquiring materials

The CARE JOBS game requires a one-off investment in collecting and preparing the materials that are needed to play the game.

- The following materials can be bought off-the-shelf:
- 70 toy dolls (Barbie-style fashion dolls);
- 70 sets of toy doll clothing, each set consisting of three pieces: shirt/top/body; skirt/pants; pair of shoes;
- 70 pieces of toy kitchenware (e.g. plates, cups);
- Five storage boxes (for sorting the materials in the preparation phase);
- A countdown clock (visible for all participants during the game).
- The following materials need to be made:
- Four toy breakfast tables (e.g. the lid of a box of printing paper);
- Four different types of instruction sheets, five copies of each type (see Appendix B);
- Four prints of the 'game objective' photo, showing the dolls properly dressed at the breakfast table (see Appendix A, Photo 1);
- Two copies of the following function tags for participants: Sorting; Shirt/top/body; Skirt/pants; Shoes; Breakfast. A function tag can be a badge, a sticker or just a piece of cardboard, as a means of displaying the participants task for others to view;
- Two sets of four clothing cards with permitted clothing combinations. In order to make these cards, you first need to define four different clothing combinations, using the clothes you have available for the toy dolls. Each combination consists of a unique mixture of three pieces: shirt/top/body; skirt/pants; pair of shoes (for an example, see Appendix A, Photo 2);
- A stack of request forms for additional clothing items. This is the only piece of material that is not reusable. For each time the game is played, two copies of the request form are needed (for an example, see Appendix C);

- For each of the four tables, one label showing the name of the residential care unit involved: 'Maple', 'Willow', 'Cypress' and 'Alder'.

The following materials need to be provided in the room where the game is played:

- Flip-over, whiteboard or blackboard (hereafter referred to as flip-over);

- One chair per participant;

- Five tables.

Preparation

The success of the game will highly depend on a secure preparation. If, for instance, the number of clothes which are available on one of the tables would not be correct, the game will probably fail. The CARE JOBS game involves quite a large number of dolls, clothing items and kitchenware. It is therefore essential that you select and sort the necessary materials per table in advance.

- Make sure you know in advance how many participants to expect. Note that the game can only be played by 12, 16 or 20 participants;
- Take the five storage boxes, one for each residential care unit, and one for the storage room / management office;
- Fill the 'Maple' box with the following materials:

  ➢ Two dolls per participant;
  ➢ Clothing items, matching the number of dolls: Shirt/top/body; Skirt/pants; minus one pair of pants (to be put in the storage room);
  ➢ Shoe pairs, matching the number of dolls;
  ➢ Kitchenware, matching the number of dolls;
  ➢ One toy breakfast table;
  ➢ One copy of the 'Maple' instruction sheet per participant;
  ➢ One print of the 'game objective' photo.
  ➢ Fill the 'Willow' box with the following materials:
  ➢ Five dolls per participant;
  ➢ Clothing items, matching the number of dolls, and matching the clothing cards with permitted clothing combinations: Shirt/top/body; Skirt/pants; minus one pair of pants (to be put in the storage room);
  ➢ Shoe pairs, matching the number of dolls, and matching the clothing cards with permitted clothing combinations;
  ➢ Kitchenware, matching the number of dolls;
  ➢ One toy breakfast table;
  ➢ One copy of the 'Willow' instruction sheet per participant;
  ➢ One print of the 'game objective' photo;
  ➢ One set of five function tags for the participants;
  ➢ One set of four clothing cards with permitted clothing combinations;
  ➢ One request form for additional clothing items.
  ➢ Fill the 'Cypress' box with the following materials:
  ➢ Two dolls per participant;
  ➢ Clothing items, matching the number of dolls: Shirt/top/body; Skirt/pants; minus one pair of pants (to be put in the storage room);
  ➢ Shoe pairs, matching the number of dolls;
  ➢ Kitchenware, matching the number of dolls;

➢ One toy breakfast table;
➢ One copy of the 'Cypress' instruction sheet per participant;
➢ One print of the 'game objective' photo.
➢ Fill the 'Alder' box with the following materials:
➢ Five dolls per participant;
➢ Clothing items, matching the number of dolls, and matching the clothing cards with permitted clothing combinations: Shirt/top/body; Skirt/pants; minus one pair of pants (to be put in the storage room);
➢ Shoe pairs, matching the number of dolls, and matching the clothing cards with permitted clothing combinations;
➢ Kitchenware, matching the number of dolls;
➢ One toy breakfast table;
➢ One copy of the 'Willow' instruction sheet per participant;
➢ One print of the 'game objective' photo;
➢ One set of five function tags for the participants;
➢ One set of four clothing cards with permitted clothing combinations;
➢ One request form for additional clothing items.

- Fill the 'Storage Room / Management Office' box with the following materials:
   ➢ The four pairs of pants, taken from the other boxes. Make sure these are four identical pairs of pants.

Installation

Before the participants enter, you need to arrange the room and distribute the necessary materials.

- You need one chair per participant, and five tables;
- Spread the five tables in the room;
- Decide which table will serve as the 'Storage Room / Management Office';
- Distribute the available chairs equally among the four remaining tables;
- Label each of the four tables with the name of one of the four residential care units: 'Maple', 'Willow', 'Cypress' and 'Alder';
- Make sure the dolls have no clothes on at the start of the game;
- For each table, put the materials from the matching storage box on the table;
- The distribution of the function tags depends on the number of participants:

   ➢ In case of 20 participants, put one function tag in front of each chair, in the following order: Sorting; Shirt/top/body; Skirt/pants; Shoes; Breakfast;

   ➢ In case of 16 participants, put both the Sorting and the Breakfast function tag in front of the first chair, followed by putting each of the remaining functions tags in front of one of the other chairs, in the following order: Shirt/top/body; Skirt/pants; Shoes;

   ➢ In case of 12 participants, put both the Sorting and the Breakfast function tag in front of the first chair, put the Shirt/top/body function tag in front of the next chair, and put both the Skirt/pants and Shoes function tags in front of the third chair;

- Install the countdown clock in such a way that every participant can see it, and set it to six minutes;

- Install the flip-over in such a way that every participant is able to see it;

- Invite the participants to enter the room and take a seat at one of the tables.

Introduction and instruction

- Explain the game setting and goal to the participants, based on following example:

Welcome to your new job! You each will be working as a care professional for one of our four residential care units. It is early in the morning, and the residents of your unit just woke up. As usual, the morning is a very busy time because everybody needs to get dressed and have breakfast. All of this needs to happen in six minutes time. You can find all information you need to do your work in the instruction sheets, which are on the table in front of you. You have five minutes now to read the instruction sheet and to ask me for clarifications, if necessary.

- Allow the participants five minutes for reading the instruction sheet and for getting familiar with the various materials on the table;

- Pass by every table to check whether the instructions are clearly understood;

- After the five minutes have passed, and all participants are ready, show the 'game objective' photo and remind the participants that the objective for all of them is to dress all their residents and to serve them breakfast in six minutes time.

Playing the game

- Make sure all participants are ready;
- Start the game by activating the countdown clock;
- During the game, you sit at the 'Storage Room / Management Office' table;
- When a request form is handed over to you, wait for 30 seconds before giving the requested clothing item to the applicant;
- Keep an eye on the countdown clock during the game. As soon as the countdown finishes, you put an end to the game.

Debriefing

Up to this point, most of the participants are still largely unaware of the differences between their unit and the other three units with regard to working rules and the number or residents to be cared for. In the debriefing, you will gradually reveal these differences and explain their possible consequences in the field of job quality and team performance.

Phase 1: The results

- Make sure you have everybody's attention;
- Draw four quadrants on the flip-over, and label each quadrant with the respective residential care unit name (see Figure 3);

Maple	Cypress
Willow	Alder

Figure 3: CARE JOBS. Starting the debriefing.

- Ask the participants from each residential care unit how many residents they were able to dress and to serve breakfast. Only fully dressed dolls sitting at the breakfast table with a piece of kitchenware in front of them may be counted;
- Write down these numbers in the matching quadrants;
- Point out that the four groups produced very different results in six minutes time;

Phase 2: Job Control

- Explain that the units differ with regard to the way the work is organized;
- Ask the participants from each unit to explain which rules they had to follow during their work. You should concentrate on the differences between 'Maple' and 'Cypress' versus 'Willow' and 'Alder'. Make sure that the following differences emerge from the discussion: only permitted clothing combinations versus free choice of clothing items; the obligation to use request forms for missing clothing items versus the ability to access the storage room yourself; specialized jobs with narrow tasks versus non-specialized jobs with broad tasks; task division versus team work; task-oriented versus client-oriented work; following procedures versus self-managing;
- Recapitulate that 'Maple' and 'Cypress' worked as teams, in which every participant had broad tasks and a client-oriented perspective (i.e. dressing a resident and serving him breakfast), and a high level of autonomy (i.e. free choice of clothing items, and unlimited access to the storage room);
- Recapitulate that the work at 'Willow' and 'Alder' was characterized by a strict task division based on specialization. Every participant had a very specific, narrow task. These tasks needed to be performed in a sequential way. Participants were highly dependent on the work of others, and only had

control over their limited part of the work process of dressing and serving breakfast;

- Explain that this difference can be seen as the distinction between having high and low levels of 'job control' in your work. The participants in the 'Maple' and 'Cypress' units dispose of decision-making freedom with regard to how to organize their work, which results in a high level of job control. The participants in the 'Willow' and 'Alder' units lack this level of autonomy, resulting in a low level of job control;

- Write down 'job control' at the Y-axis of the figure on the flip-over;

- Point out that a high job control seems to be associated with higher performances. The likely result after playing the game that all residents of the 'Maple' unit will be dressed and served breakfast before the countdown finishes, as will most of the residents of the 'Cypress' unit. These number can be expected to be far lower for the 'Willow' and 'Alder' units.

Phase 3: Job Demands

- Ask each team how many residents they had to take care of. Write down these numbers in the matching quadrants on the flip-over;
- Point out the differences in workload. The number of residents in the 'Maple' and 'Willow' units represents only 40% of the number of residents in the 'Cypress' and 'Alder' units;
- If the 'Cypress' unit had more residents dressed and served breakfast to than the 'Willow' unit, point out that an autonomous team with a high workload apparently was more productive than a unit with a specialized tasks with a low workload;
- Explain that the workload can be described in terms of job demands: based on the number of residents, the participants in the 'Maple' and 'Willow' units face low demands, compared to the high job demands in the 'Cypress' and 'Alder' units;
- Write down 'job demands' on the X-axis if the figure on the flip-over.

Phase 4: Job Types

- Ask the participants of each unit how the atmosphere was during their six minute working day, using questions like: Did the work go well? How did you feel? Did you like it? Were you frustrated? Were you satisfied? Was it stressful? Was it fun to do? Did you feel involved with your residents? Do you think your residents were happy with the treatment you gave them?

- Explain that the different combinations of job demands and job control result in four types of jobs, each of which matches one of the units in the game;

- Write down the name of each job type in the matching quadrant in the figure on the flip-over: Maple: 'Low Strain Jobs'; Cypress: 'Active Jobs'; Willow: 'Passive Jobs'; Alder: 'High Strain Jobs';

- Explain that these four types can be related to different levels of job quality. Clarify that job quality is defined as the extent to which a job fosters beneficial outcomes for the worker in terms of low risks of psychological

strain and physical illness, and high levels of intrinsic motivation and learning opportunities;

- Draw an arrow from the left top to the right bottom of the figure on the flip-over. Explain that, following this arrow, the risk of psychological strain and physical illness increases, as the job demands grow and job control decreases;

- Draw an arrow from the left bottom to the right top of the figure on the flip-over. Explain that, following this arrow, motivation and learning opportunities increase, as the job demands and job control increase in a balanced way. Increased job demands offers chances for learning and can be motivating, on the condition that the worker has a level of autonomy which allows him to deal with these increased job demands;

- Explain what this means for each of the four job types, based on the following text:

'High Strain Jobs' and 'Low Strain Jobs' represent situations where job demands and job control diverge.

(1) Workers in 'High Strain Jobs', facing high job demands combined with low job control in meeting those demands, experience great risks of psychological strain (e.g. burnout) and physical illness (e.g. high blood pressure).

(2) 'Low Strain Jobs' combine low job demands with high job control, but these control capacities do not correspond with actual control needs. 'Low Strain Jobs' do not offer the worker learning opportunities and are not likely to increase his job motivation and involvement. Bullying colleagues and displacement of goals are typical risks associated with situations in which you have much autonomy and free time, yet little work and few challenges.

'Active Jobs' and 'Passive Jobs' represent situations where job demands and job control are matched.

(3) We speak of 'Active Jobs' when job demands and job control are simultaneously high. 'Active Jobs' offer learning opportunities and increase motivation and involvement.

(4) In contrast, 'Passive Jobs' combine low job demands with low job control. Although both are matched, such jobs represent no challenges and tend to lead to a mind-numbing routine, with a risk for bore-out and dissatisfaction.

- Point out that the feelings which the participants experienced (in terms of frustration, satisfaction, disempowerment…) can be related to the characteristics of the job type they were in. Explain that people often think that stress and motivation are related to personal features, and possibly require interventions at the individual level. Yet, in the case of job-related stress and motivation issues, only interventions at the level of work organization and job design can be effective;

- Point out that in the domain of (chronic) care, the overall job demands are not likely to decrease. Therefore, it is imperative to (re)design care processes and organizations in such a way that also job control is increased, in order to create more 'Active Jobs' and avoid a further growth of 'High Strain Jobs'.

Phase 5: Wrap-up

Conclude by clarifying that the CARE JOBS game was evidently not intended to be a realistic simulation of actual dressing and catering procedures in residential care centers. Explain that the game was meant to experience the joint effects of job demands and job control on job quality, in terms of risks of psychological strain and physical illness, and levels of intrinsic motivation and learning opportunities.

Conclusion

Serious games have been used in a health care setting for various purposes, from education of care professionals to policy exploration by managers. In the present paper we described a short, care-related game for educating people working in chronic care settings on workplace innovation, and more specifically on the relation between job characteristics and job quality. We believe the game is appealing because of its simplicity, and it offers starting points for exploring options for workplace innovation and their possible effects. The main purpose of the game is obviously not to simulate the average health care job as realistically as possible, but to let participants experience differences between job characteristics and job quality in a setting that relates to their own field of work.

APPENDIX A

Photographs of the game

Photo 1: Example of a 'game objective' photo

Photo 2: Example of a clothing card, depicting one of the permitted clothing combinations

APPENDIX B: Instruction Sheets

Residential care units 'Maple' and 'Cypress'

You are a care professional working in a residential care unit. Your unit is entrusted with the task to see to it that each of the residents is properly dressed, and is served breakfast afterwards. Please note the following rules:

- Residents have to be fully dressed before they can be seated at the breakfast table.

- Preferably, each resident will be fully dressed and seated at the breakfast table by the same care professional. However, you can call upon the help of you colleagues when needed.

- Each resident has to wear two pieces of clothing: (1) a shirt, top or body and (2) a skirt or pair of pants.

- Each resident has to wear a pair of matching shoes.

- In case of shortage of clothing items, you are allowed to go search for additional clothing items in the storage room (next to the management office).

- As soon as a resident is fully dressed, she can sit at the breakfast table, where she should be given a plate or a cup.

- Residential care unit 'Willow' and 'Alder'
- You are a care professional working in a residential care unit. Your unit is entrusted with the task to see to it that each of the residents is properly dressed, and is served breakfast afterwards. Please note the following rules:
- Residents have to be fully dressed before they can be seated at the breakfast table.

- Each resident needs to wear one of the prescribed combinations of clothing and shoes, as depicted on the four clothing cards.

- In case a clothing item is missing, a request form needs to be filled out and handed over to the management (i.e. the facilitator). The management will make sure you receive the requested clothing item after a waiting time of 30 seconds.

- As soon as a resident is fully dressed, she can sit at the breakfast table, where she should be given a plate or a cup.

- You and your colleagues each have a specific task. You may only perform your task, and it is strictly forbidden to help your colleagues with their tasks.

- Your task can be found on your function tag.

- The tasks need to be performed in the prescribed sequence:

1. Sorting: preparing the prescribed combinations of shirt/top/body, skirt/pants and shoes. Filling out the request form for additional clothing items when needed.
2. Shirt/top/body: putting on the shirt, top, or body.
3. Skirt/pants: putting on the skirt or the pants.
4. Shoes: putting on the shoes.
5. Breakfast: putting the resident at the breakfast table.

APPENDIX C: Example of the request form

Request Form

Please indicate in the second column of the table below the clothing item you need. Only one clothing item can be requested per form.

Clothing items	Requested
Pants/skirts	
Pink pants, long	
Short blue pants	
Silver skirt	
Pink knee-long pants	
T-shirts/tops	
Pink and white shirt	
Pink with blue top	
Silver body	
White shirt with pink print	
Shoes	
White boots	
Dark pink shoes with flowers	
Light pink pointed shoes with point	
Dark pink shoes without flowers	

Signature:

Acknowledgements

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Are healthy workplaces innovative?

How workplace health management can help launching workplace innovation

Michael Gabathuler

Abstract

Based on a review of existing literature and studies, the author explores the synergies between workplace innovation and workplace health management. The object of investigation is the overlap between workplace health management and workplace innovation, with a hybrid primary focus on concurrent improvement of organisational performance and quality of working life. The review provides an insight into which internal and external elements play a decisive role in the process towards better performance and quality of working life. The author clarifies how workplace health management and workplace innovation share common ground with respect to the salutogenic quality of an organisational system. Moreover, he suggests a model to conceptually distinguish workplace health management and workplace innovation with regard to the specific focus. Finally, the comparison points to opportunities how the two concepts can reinforce each other.

Keywords: workplace innovation, workplace health management, occupational health, salutogenesis, salutogenic organisation, quality of working life, organisational performance

Introduction

Occupational health is an integral part of workplace innovation. Good health is not only an enabler of workplace innovation, but it is also part of its outcome in the form of quality of working life (Kesselring, Blasy & Scoppetta 2014).

Hence, the concept of workplace innovation cannot be easily distinguished from workplace health management, and the question arises how the two concepts correlate. While comparing the two, it becomes obvious that they share common ground at different levels such as the supporting theories, suggested interventions and expected effects (Eeckelaert et al. 2012; Pot & Koningsveld 2009a).

Both concepts follow the *line of argumentation* of the "happy-productive worker hypothesis" (Pot & Koningsveld 2009b, p. 10) based on the interdependency of working conditions and organisational performance. In terms of their *theoretical foundation*, they both refer to the job-demand-resource model explaining the relation between work organisation, individual performance and well-being (Demerouti et al. 2001). As a consequence, the two concepts suggest implementing *measures of interventions* which are built on the principles of socio-technical systems (Ulich & Wülser 2014; Dortmund / Brussels position paper on workplace innovation 2012). And finally, they are meant to produce similar *outcomes* aiming at improvements in quality of working life and organisational performance (e.g. Kesselring, Blasy & Scoppetta 2014).

Research question

In light of this overlap, the article is concerned with the relationship between workplace innovation and workplace health management. The objective is to provide:

- conceptual clarification of the relationship between workplace innovation and workplace health management.

- empirical evidence of the overlap between workplace innovation and workplace health management.

There is a certain controversy to what extent workplace innovation can lead to better health in the workplace. For example, Eeckelaert et al. (2012, p. 30) conclude that most probably measures of workplace health management in the area of "organisation, stress and well-being" relate to workplace innovation (see also Pot & Koningsveld 2009a). Contrary to this, the OECD (2010, p. 131) report on innovative workplaces refers to some empirical studies "that show that all types of workplace innovation are associated with lower average employee well-being and job satisfaction". Practices of workplace innovation may enhance the quality of working life, but may also reduce it, for example, through increased responsibility and greater competence requirements (Ramstad 2014).

On the other hand, quality of working life as a potential outcome of workplace innovation correlates with the workers' well-being (Huzzard 2003; Gallie 2013). Therefore, the assumption is that particularly those practices of workplace innovation which aim at simultaneous improvements of organisational performance and quality of working life refer to the same elements and processes as workplace health management.

Method

The author investigates the overlap between workplace innovation and workplace health management by revising existing theory and relevant studies. Assuming that the quality of working life connects workplace innovation with workplace health management, the author selects working definitions of both concepts that explicitly refer to simultaneous results of enhanced performance and quality of working life.

Taking this specific focus into account, a narrow choice of selection criteria is applied when seeking out relevant studies. Only studies were selected that analyse work practices that comprise a social process with simultaneous (positive or negative) impact on the organisational performance and quality of working life. Such a narrow search radius avoids combining fragmented evidence of different studies. With respect to the chosen focus however, it is important to avoid tautology when interpreting the data. The findings only apply to the shared common ground based on the chosen focus. This specific perspective is helpful to focus on those aspects which help clarifying how the two approaches can reinforce each other.

Workplace innovation

Workplace innovation is a broad concept that unites diverse narratives about the workplace and work organisation. For example, workplace innovation is related to concepts like high performance work systems (Cox, Rickard & Tamkin 2012), innovative workplaces (OECD 2010), employee-driven innovation (Høyrup 2012) or the learning organisation (Senge 1990).

These various approaches share common ground. They all include practices from domains such as human resource management, organisational development and innovation management aiming at increasing labour productivity, development of competences, organisational learning, innovativeness or enhancing quality of work life (Kesselring, Blasy & Scoppetta 2014).

Cox, Rickard and Tamkin (2012, p. 22) distinguish three kinds of focus for implementing concepts of work organisation related to workplace innovation:

1. *Single primary focus* on enhancing organisational performance
2. *Parallel focus* on multiple innovations, some aimed at organisational improvements and some focused on employee benefits
3. *Hybrid primary focus* on innovations aimed at employees with consequent benefits for organisation.

As aforementioned, when exploring the correlation between workplace innovation and workplace health management, those kinds of workplace innovation are of particular interest, which result in both, better performance of the organisation and better quality of working life of the employees ('hybrid primary focus'). It is to be expected that quality of working life and work-related health are entirely overlapping.

In this respect, the Dortmund / Brussels position paper on workplace innovation (2012, p. 1) provides a suitable definition:

"Workplace Innovation is defined as a social process which shapes work organisation and working life, combining their human, organisational and technological dimensions (…). This simultaneously results in improved organisational performance and enhanced quality of working life."

However, workplace innovation does not follow a linear cause-and-effect relationship because workplace innovation is "likely to affect its own enablers". For example, good health is an enabler *and* a result of workplace innovation (Kesselring, Blasy & Scoppetta 2014, p. 35).

Quality of working life

Besides the "process-outcome complexity of workplace innovation", (Kesselring, Blasy & Scoppetta 2014, p. 20), both results, organisational performance and quality of working life, are multidimensional phenomena allowing for a variety of interpretations. For instance, the organisational performance can be measured in functional productivity such as quality of products and services, flexibility of customer service, the productivity of work, fluency of operations, quality of operations or in financial productivity like profit, market value, growth in sales, etc. (Ramstad 2014; Houldsworth & Jirasinghe 2006).

Similarly, quality of working life is also a complex phenomenon. Besides the fact that there is no consensus whether the quality of work describes certain types of change processes or an outcome of such processes, there are also diverse understandings of what constitutes quality of work (Huzzard 2003).

In the literature, Gallie (2013, p. 458) identifies three principles to specify aspects of the work situation as important for the quality of working life:

1. The employees own view on what matters to them in a job.
2. A set of job characteristics which enable an individual to use and extend his or her skills.
3. A set of job characteristics which have an impact on the workers' psychological well-being and health.

With regard to job characteristics that are important to quality of working life, the existing literature suggests many characteristics of work organisation, human resource management and style of management that facilitate the development of competences and improvements of well-being (see table 1).

At the process level, quality of work can be defined as a result of the design of work organisation, the underlying managerial choices and its consequences for working conditions. Within this framework, quality of working life is regarded as "a characteristic of individuals, more specifically, as an evaluation from employees of their working conditions in the pursuit of the following four objectives": job security, health and well-being, competence development and combining working and non-working life (Oeij & Wiezer 2002, p. 15f.).

Level	Dimension	Sub-dimension
Individual level	Socio-economic security	• Adequate earnings • Job and career security • Social security system
	Education & training	• Skill development, life-long learning • Employability
	Working conditions	• Safety and health at work, work ergonomics • Autonomy • Job enlargement, job enrichment • Work intensity • Participation, • Workplace relationships (with colleagues, supervisors, discrimination, harassment)
	Work-life balance	• Working hours • Working time arrangements
Aggregate level	Broad economic social context	• Labour market performance, • Collective interest representation, social dialogue at work, • Social situation like income equality, education
	Inequalities and ethics of employment	• Equal treatment of genders, child labour, forced labour

Table 1: *Job features facilitating improvements of the quality of working life (OECD 2013; Huzzard 2003; Gallie 2013; European Commission 2015)*

The ideas covered by quality of working life can be traced in similar themes but without using the terminology of quality of working life (Huzzard 2003). This applies in particular to concepts that focus on health aspects of work (Ulich & Wülser 2014). For example, it is related to the concept of *salutogenesis* and the question on which resources support the human health and well-being (Antonovsky 1979) or to *work ability* and the question of which methods help to extend the working life of (elder) employees (Ilmarinen 2005; Maltby 2013).

Workplace health management

Occupational health can be looked at from a *salutogenic* or *pathogenic* perspective. For instance, traditional occupational safety and health protection approaches like the definition of occupational safety and health by the international labour organisation

(Alli 2008) focus on reducing risk factors and disease outcomes. On the other hand, the salutogenic approach combines the strategy of risk reduction (pathogenic perspective) with the strategy of the development of protection factors and health potentials. Accordingly, a distinction can be made between avoiding *negative health* and developing *positive health* (Jenny et al. 2007).

However, the lines between the promotion of health and the protection of health hazards are blurred and should be united to achieve best effects on health in the workplace. In order to apply a holistic approach on occupational health, it is looked at through the lenses of workplace health management (Ulich & Wülser 2014).

Workplace health management can be defined as "the continuous participatory analysis and optimisation of organisational structures and processes that have a direct or indirect impact on the health of employees and thus influence the organisation's business outcomes" (Bauer & Jenny 2007, p. 220).

By this understand, workplace health management builds on the four principle of the Luxembourg Declaration (ENWHP 2007) such as *participation* (involvement of all employees), *integration* (considered in all important corporate decisions), *project management* (oriented to the cycle of continuous improvement of plan – do – check – act) and *comprehensiveness* (including individual-directed and environment-directed measures as well as the pathogenic and salutogenic approach).
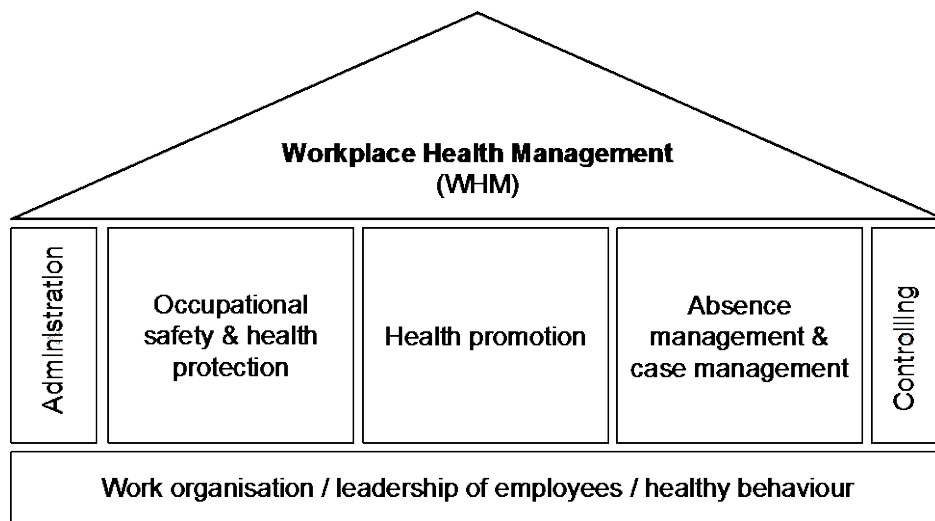
Figure 1: Dimensions of workplace health management (modelled after Ulich & Wülser 2014 and Jastrow, Kaiser & Emmert 2012)

Systematic workplace health management is perceived as a management task (see figure 1). All measures aimed at work-related health are systematically planned, organised, implemented and evaluated. Moreover, they are steered centrally but with a participatory approach. Workplace health management comprises not only measures of health promotion like healthy food in the canteen or sports exercises, but also management of human resource and labour organisation, absence and case management, occupational health and safety, management and leadership, decision making and communication (Huber 2010; Health Promotion Switzerland 2015b).

Building working conditions for positive health

According to the concept of salutogenesis, health in the workplace is determined by quantitative and qualitative job demands and individual and social resources at work (Antonovsky 1979; Bauer & Jenny 2007). And the individual reaction to the interaction of demands made and resources available at work is called work-related stress (Stavroula, Griffiths & Cox 2004; Zapf & Semmer 2004).

It is important not to confuse the scientific discourse on work-related stress with the popular understanding of stress that risks to pathologise work (Wainwright & Calnan 2013). Demands are unavoidable in the world of work and can be perceived as acceptable or even positively stimulating (e.g. for motivation, activation, learning) depending on the available resources and personal characteristics (Stavroula, Griffiths & Cox 2004).

According to the standard of DIN (Deutsches Institut für Normung), the various factors that are at work in a situation of positive or negative stress can be structured as in figure 2.
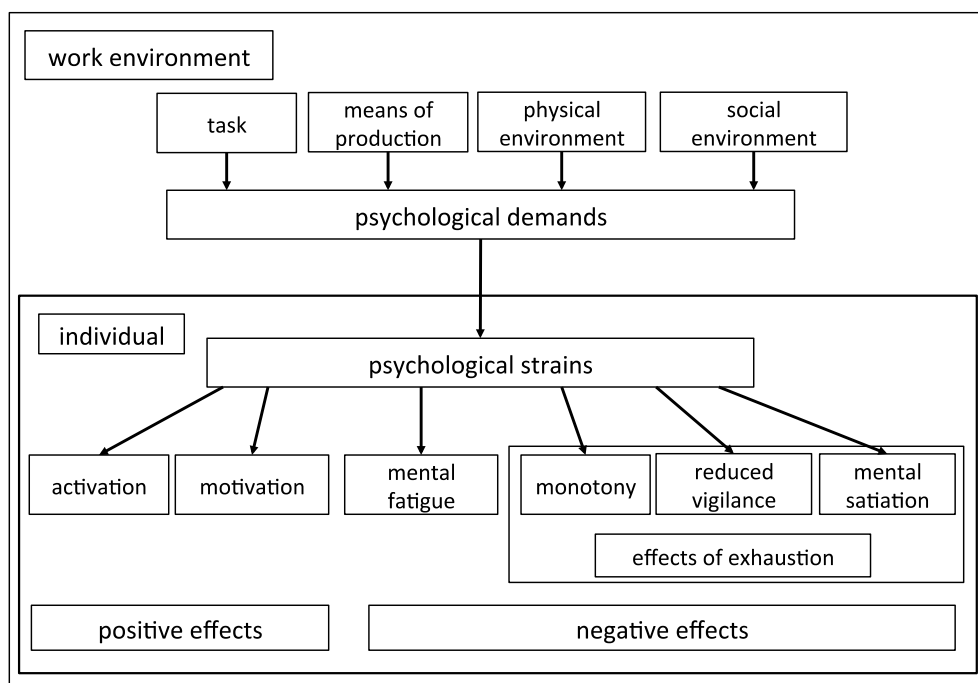

Figure 2: Terminology and conceptual correlation of demands and strains (Nachreiner 2002)

In order to explain the mechanism of stress, two approaches are particularly prominent in the literature (Ulich & Wülser 2014): The job-demand-control (JDC) model and the effort-reward imbalance (ERI) model.

The JDC-model describes work situations on the two axes of control (decision latitude) and psychological demands. Accordingly, work of low control and high psychological demands has particularly detrimental effects on health whereas high control and low demands result in low strain jobs. On the other hand, work situations of high control and high psychological demands are expected to produce activation in terms of motivation and learning ('active jobs'). Depending on the combination of demands and resources, work can produce negative or positive stress (Karasek 1979). The first JDC-model of Karasek (1979) was later extended by the dimension of support, because motivational processes play also an important role as job resources

(Karasek & Theorell 1990). And lately, the JDCS-model was further developed to the the job-demand-resources model which adds more demands and resources to the mechanism that influences work-related stress and consequently affects health (Demerouti et al. 2001).

On the other hand, the effort-reward imbalance (ERI) model of Siegrist (2002) refers to the role of workers' rewards (e.g. earnings, esteem, promotion prospects and job security) instead of the control structure of work. Accordingly, the most stressful work conditions are those where the reward does not match the effort made by the worker. The ERI model predicts that job strain occurs when workers do not feel adequately rewarded for the effort they invest in their work. The "high cost/low gain conditions" are particularly harmful to a person's self-regulation when success fails after long lasting investment (Siegrist 2002, p. 264f.).

With regard to stressors, reality does not follow a simple stimulus-response pattern but includes various mediation processes and feedback loops. Accordingly, it is difficult to relate one demand (external stimulus) to a specific strain (individual response). In light of the interdependency of demands and resources and the individual's coping ability and personal needs, the same situation can result in positive or negative stress (Ulich & Wülser 2014).

Stressor	Description / Examples
Task related stressors	Time pressure, monotony, high complexity, interruptions
Work-related stressors	Shift work, overtime, on-call work
Social stressors	Social interactions with superiors, employees, customers, conflicts, bullying, aggression in the workplace, lack of feedback
Role-related stressors	Role overload (too much, too complicated), role conflict (conflicting expectations, conflict with my personal values), role ambiguity (unclear expectations)
Career-related stressors	Underemployment, lack of career opportunities, job insecurity
Organisational change	Introduction of new technologies, company merger
Physical stressors	Physical working conditions such as noise, dirt, heat, chemical or toxic substances, tiring and painful positions, carrying or moving heavy loads
Traumatic stressors	Accidents, very dangerous activities
Work life balance	Interface of work and home; working hours do not fit in with family and social commitments outside work

Table 2: Potential stressors in the context of work (Igic et al. 2014; OECD 2013; Ulich and Wülser 2014)

Even though stress is subjective and mediated by the individual evaluation of a situation, there are nevertheless a number of substantive factors that require sustained physical and psychological efforts and hence can be identified as 'potential job-related stressors' (see table 2).

Similarly, it is also possible to detect a group of job resources that "may be used to prevent the occurrence of stress, mitigate the severity or reduce the effect of stress" (Zapf & Semmer 2004, p. 1042f.). They can be differentiated between internal (personal) resources and external (situational) resources. Table 3 summarises the job characteristics (external resources), which can positively influence the stress experience at work.

An important moderator between job resources and job demands is the so-called 'sense of coherence'. It is a construct of the three factors comprehensibility, manageability and meaningfulness (see table 3). "Individuals with a high sense of coherence appraise fewer demands as stressors, they are more flexible in choosing from their resources, react more confidently and determined to a problem and evaluate the success of their action more adequately" (Bauer & Jenny 2007, p. 224). The sense of coherence related to work can be used as a general indicator for the salutogenic quality of an organisational system (Bauer & Jenny 2007).

Comprehensibility	Transparency / Task clarity
	Information and communication opportunities
	'Wholeness' of tasks / task identity
Manageability	Participation
	Job autonomy / latitude of decision, control, action and temporal flexibility
	Feedback
	Cooperation
	Social support
	Management support
Meaningfulness	Alternation of tasks
	Diversity of requirements
	Learning opportunities
	Career development prospects
	Meaningfulness and relevance of work

Table 3: Job characteristics with beneficial effects on personal resources (Igic et al. 2014; OECD 2013; Ulich & Wülser 2014; Bauer & Jenny 2007)

Comparing the work-related demands (table 2) and resources (table 3), it becomes clear that they refer directly or indirectly to the same job characteristics that affect the quality of working life (table 1). Hence, the question occurs which practices utilise these job characteristics to result in better health or quality of working life respectively.

Generally, all work designs that embrace the *socio-technical system approach* are likely to improve organisational performance and health and well-being. Such approaches (see table 4) try to optimise the interdependency of technical equipment, work organisation and human capital (Eeckelaert et al. 2012; see also Dortmund / Brussels position paper on workplace innovation 2012). The features in table 4 refer to the factors constituting the sense of coherence (compare table 3).

Principles	Features	Assumed effects
1. Forming independent organisational entities which can work on the whole of a task 2. Ensuring coherence of the tasks within the organisational entity in order to create awareness of the common task and foster team support 3. Ensuring the entity of product and organisation so that the result of the work can be qualitatively and quantitatively related to the team	• Wholeness	• Experiencing the relevance and significance of their job activity
	• Diversity of requirements	• Using divers skills and knowledge • Avoiding one-sided strains
	• Social interaction	• Tackling challenges together • Mutual support helps to better bear strains
	• Job autonomy	• Reinforcing self-esteem and readiness to take over responsibility • Experiencing influence on and meaning in work process
	• Opportunities of learning and skill development	• Ensuring mental flexibility • Developing professional competencies
	• Time flexibility and control	• Avoiding inappropriate workload • Providing room for manoeuvre and space for stress-free reflection
	• Meaningfulness	• Creating experience of contributing to socially beneficial products • Ensuring consistency between individual and societal interests

Table 4: Principles, features and effects of socio-technical systems (Ulich & Wülser 2014)

Considering that workplace innovation and workplace health management share elements and processes that lead to the same or similar results, it is to clarify how the two concepts can be distinguished.

Shared common ground – clarifying the overlap

When appraising the shared common ground between workplace innovation and workplace health management, it is important to bear in mind that the area of interest leads to a specific research focus. The object of investigation is the overlap between workplace health management and workplace innovation with a hybrid primary focus on concurrent results of better organisational performance and quality of working life. This specific perspective is helpful. It increases the overlap of the two concepts in order to broadly elaborate what workplace innovation and workplace health management have in common.
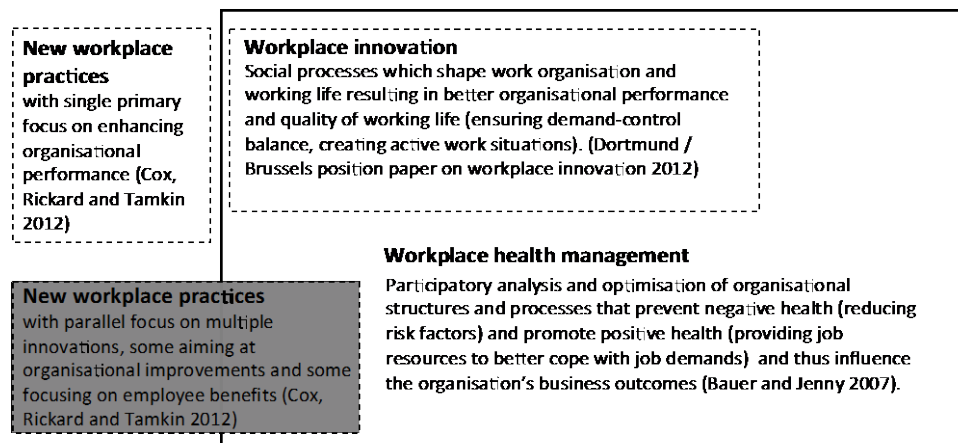

Figure 3: Common ground between workplace innovation and workplace health management (own visualisation)

As a consequence of the chosen definition, all workplace innovation of hybrid primary focus contributes to workplace health management (see figure 3). In particular, when looking into quality of working life (see table 1), it becomes clear that this aspect of workplace innovation entirely overlaps with the salutogenic approach of workplace health management (see table 2 and 3). Health and well-being are not only essential elements of the quality of working life. The job features that facilitate the improvement of quality of working life are also resources for improving the salutogenic quality of an organisational system (Bauer & Jenny 2007). Moreover, the demand-resource balance is a fundamental mechanism affecting positive *and* negative stress at work (Demerouti et al. 2001).

As Eeckelaert et al. (2012, p. 32) conclude, "occupational health and workplace innovation cannot easily be distinguished conceptually in a model". In this regard, it has to be considered that practices of workplace health management can be categorised whether they are explicitly or implicitly associated with health (Bauer & Jenny 2007). Accordingly, implicit salutogenic practices to change the work environment (e.g. personnel management, organisational development, technical and environmental design) are strongly relevant to health, but commonly not linked to it by executives and staff. For example, incentive schemes are relevant to workplace innovation (Kesselring, Blasy & Scoppetta 2014) but seem less relevant to workplace health management. However, according to the effort-reward imbalance (ERI) model, workers' rewards in form of earnings, esteem, promotion prospects and job security are related to job stress (Siegrist 2002).

Despite this difficulty of clearly distinguishing the two concepts, the schematic diagram in figure 4 might contribute to the further conceptual differentiation. For example, figure 4 helps clarifying that common elements fulfil different functionalities within workplace innovation and workplace health management.
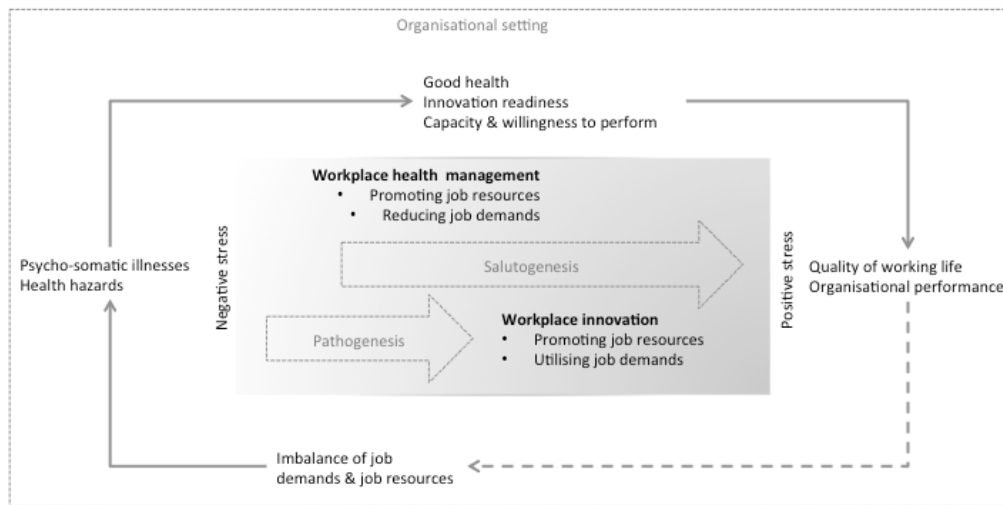

Figure 4: Relationship between workplace innovation of hybrid primary focus and workplace health management (own visualisation)

First, good health and the capacity and willingness to perform and innovate are essential enablers for workplace innovation (see figure 4). These elements are at the same time objectives of workplace health management. In particular, pathogenic health management practices aim at preventing health hazards and illnesses at work and hence, are a precondition to workplace innovation (Kesselring, Blasy & Scoppetta 2014).

However, a workplace health management goes beyond pathogenesis. It does not only aim at reducing job demands, but also at promoting job resources which help to cope with job demands to reduce strains at work (negative stress) (Bauer & Jenny 2007). At this stage, workplace health management starts overlapping with workplace innovation because the elements and processes that help to balance the job demands and job resources are also relevant for activation and motivation (positive stress) (Demerouti et al. 2001).

In this respect, the demand-control-support-model predicts that high psychological demand, decision latitude and social support result in activation. Though, it cannot specify the exact mix of demands and resources that leads successfully to this outcome. The interaction of job resources and job demands is complex. It is mediated by many factors; it does not follow a linear chain of effect and is evaluated subjectively (Ulich & Wülser 2014). As a consequence, it is difficult to differentiate the two concepts at this stage where workplace health management and workplace innovation of primary hybrid focus encompass the salutogenic approach to reach their goals.

Nevertheless, there is a difference in the emphasis of the two goals of organisational performance and quality of working life. The objective of workplace health management is to positively affect: directly or indirectly, the employees' health, which then influences the organisational business outcomes. In consequence, its

objective is to promote job resources and to reduce job demands as much as possible. Of course, if applied in a market-oriented enterprise, workplace health management has to take into account the commercial imperative of the organisation. Therefore, it cannot reduce job demands to zero and it does not have the means to promote all job resources possible. Nevertheless, workplace health management has the overall objective to (re-)establish the equilibrium of the cognitive-emotional-environmental system ('sense of coherence') at work, which has a positive impact on the organisational performance (Bauer & Jenny 2007).

On the other hand, workplace innovation aims at positive stress in form of active jobs for promoting motivation, learning or change (Dortmund / Brussels position paper on workplace innovation 2012). Yet, there is no universal recipe to successfully enhance at the same time both, organisational performance and quality of working life. Particularly, quality of working life is a fragile construct depending on work organisation, working conditions, managerial choices and individual evaluation (Oeij & Wiezer 2002).

From the perspective of workplace health management, the question is hence: How far can workplace innovation push positive stress in order to enhance organisational performance without decreasing quality of working life? In light of the high-strain/low-strain hypothesis (Demerouti et al. 2001), it cannot be excluded that workplace innovation implies the risk of generating an imbalance of demands and resources that leads to negative stress. This risk is visualised by the dashed arrow in figure 4.

Regarding this, it is of interest whether studies can provide empirical evidence which practices related to workplace innovation can lead to simultaneous improvements in organisational performance and quality of working life, particularly in terms of better health and well-being.

Empirical Evidence of the overlap

As aforementioned, the simultaneous occurrence of enhanced quality of working life and organisational performance depends less on the particular elements, but rather on the process of their application. This is why a narrow choice of selection criteria is applied. Only those studies were selected that analyse work practices that comprise a social process with simultaneous (positive or negative) impact on the organisational performance and quality of working life.

Such a narrow search radius avoids combining fragmented evidence of different studies. There are many studies that analyse specific aspects or single outcomes of workplace innovation (e.g. Benders et al. 1999; Flood & Guthrie 2005; Westgaard & Winkel 2011). However, combining results of different studies on single aspects risks to correlate practices of workplace innovation with quality of working life and organisational performance without proof that these practices caused the two outcomes simultaneously (Kesselring, Blasy & Scoppetta 2014).

As a consequence, only four relevant studies were selected which analyse both outcomes concurrently. Besides the small number of studies, it has to be considered that the selected studies clearly differ in sample size, data-collection method and operationalization of the selection criteria. The studies of Ramstad (2009, 2014) and Wood (2008) provide valuable findings based on broad data. Both authors analyse

large data samples (one from the Finnish Workplace Development Programme and the other from the UK's Workplace Employee Relations Survey). Jenny et al. (2011) evaluated a stress intervention programme in eight Swiss organisations. These differences between the selected studies have to be taken into account when comparing the findings and drawing conclusion. It cannot be expected that the reviewed data will be sufficient to draw general conclusions about the subject of interest. However, the findings can provide points of reference how the two concepts could reinforce each other.

In light of the research focus, the review of the selected studies aims first at finding empirical evidence that workplace innovation of primary hybrid focus is possible. The second objective is to clarify which measures of work organisation facilitate the concurrent outcomes.

With regard to the question whether workplace innovation of primary hybrid focus is possible, the findings do not present a uniform picture. Ramstad (2009) concludes that performance and the quality of working life can be improved simultaneously by using the same workplace practices. The data from her study of 2014 confirm her conclusions of 2009. Similarly, Jenny et al. (2011) give evidence that participatory and systematic stress management interventions can shape work organisation and culture while having a positive impact on both the organisational performance and the well-being of the employees.

On the other hand, Wood (2008) draws a more differentiated conclusion. According to his study, work practices related to workplace innovation such as high involvement management does not lead to simultaneous outcomes. Practices of high involvement management are positively associated with labour productivity, but not with other outcomes. This is why Wood (2008, p. 11) states that "the results suggest that both the mutual gains and the conflict models are relevant as the mutual gains model fits work enrichment, and the conflict model is more applicable to high involvement management: it appears to have benefits for shareholders and managers but may have costs for workers in the form of increased anxiety".

The overview in table 5 shows which elements and processes are promising for achieving simultaneous outcomes in terms of organisational performance and quality of working life. However, it also shows that there is no one right solution towards simultaneous outcomes. The same elements do not always result in mutual gains. Ramstad (2009) notes that she could not generalise any rule of application of particular elements or processes. It rather seems that the combinations vary from workplace to workplace depending on the needs and past development.

	Ramstad 2009	Ramstad 2014	Jenny et al. 2011	Wood 2008
Analysed Practices	- Collaboration - Involvement - Participation	- Participation - Decentralized decision making - Supervisor support - Competence development - Internal collaboration - External cooperation	- Employee survey - Management trainings - Stress-management courses for employees - Team workshops to elaborate solutions to the challenges of stress	- Teamwork - Flexible job descriptions - Idea-capturing schemes - Competence development - Involvement
Success factors	*Affirmative outcomes:* It was not possible to separate any clear clustering between the various practices resulting in mutual gains. However, a variety of practices are promising like - Teamwork - Leadership - Working capacity - Coping capacity - Pay - Customer service - Quality systems - External networking - Practices related to ageing workers	*Affirmative outcomes:* Positively associated with simultaneous improvements are - Decentralized decision-making - Employee competence - Internal and external cooperation	*Affirmative outcomes:* Positively associated with simultaneous improvements are - Collaboration - Motivation - Will for change - Commitment of management - Corporate culture	*Conflicting outcomes:* -Only work enrichment is positively linked to mutual gains

Table 5: Empirical evidence for success factors to achieve mutual gains

For example, teamwork seems to be a promising practice with regard to simultaneous outcomes. However, Ramstad (2009) warns that the introduction of teamwork does not necessarily improve productivity unless it is supported by a related management and incentive system. The lack of supportive management practices might be an explanation why Wood (2008) could not find any correlation between team work and mutual gains. Similarly, Jenny et al. (2011) refers to the internal context (e.g. motivation, commitment of management and corporate culture) as decisive success factors for the stress intervention programme resulting in both outcomes.

With respect to the nature of the method of implementation, Ramstad's second study (2014) shows that different practices have to be applied at different stages of a project in order to achieve organisational performance and quality of working life at the same time. According to her findings, simultaneous improvements in productivity and the quality of working life are related to active employee and middle management participation in the planning and implementation phase of a project, close internal collaboration and specific competences during the project work.

Moreover, the external context seems to be influential, too. For example, Ramstad (2014) mentions that external collaboration (e.g. methods used by external expert and external networking) is positively associated with simultaneous improvements. This goes in line with Huzzard's (2003) conclusion that the external context in terms of labour market and labour law sets a specific scene which can have favourable effects on the experience of the quality of working life inside an organisation.

In addition to the context, the time of data collection could also influence the findings. For example, Jenny et al. (2012) stated that the evaluated interventions showed success especially when looking at the long-term perspective. For example, some measures led to a positive return on investment only after four years. Similarly, Ramstad (2009, 2014) analysed data from longitudinal studies and found mutual gains. On the other hand, Wood (2008) analysed data from the year 2004 only. However, this is an assumption that needs further research with respect to how the period of observation might affect the findings on positive simultaneous outcomes.

With regard to the operationalization of the simultaneous outcomes, it does not seem possible to find any manifest differences between the studies. Wood (2008) and Ramstad (2009, 2014) considered multidimensional measures for organisational performance and quality of working life. Jenny et al. (2011) only looked at labour productivity in terms of organisational performance but also applied a complex operationalization of quality of working life. Consequently, it cannot not be specified which kind of organisational performance or which aspect of quality of working life is most likely to be affected by practices related to workplace innovation.

Finally, the conflicting findings of Wood (2008) might be a confirmation of the aforementioned theoretical explanation that workplace innovation risks to lead to an imbalance of job demands and job resources that can produce detrimental effects on the quality of working life of employees (see dashed arrow in figure 4). Accordingly, high involvement management increased the levels of anxiety (Wood 2008). In light of his findings, Wood (2008, p. 12) hypothesise that high involvement management entails pressures to improve employees' performance that may raise their concerns about their competencies. Such questioning may reduce employees' self-efficacy, psychological and economic security, as high involvement management may be perceived as carrying the threat that jobs are at risk, if workers do not improve their performance. It may also be the case that it increases role ambiguity.

To sum-up, the study review provides empirical evidence that there are work practices that can concurrently result in enhanced organisational performance and quality of working life. The conflicting results however indicate that it is not about a simple combination of the same elements. The nature of the implementation processes plays a decisive role in successfully improving both outcomes. The key success factor seems to be less about the *what* (which solution) but the *how* (concept-driven within a participative and managerial anchorage). Moreover, external factors affect the outcomes, too.

In other words, the complexity and interdependency at different levels make it difficult to define which elements and processes have to be selected, combined and applied in order to achieve both results. Nevertheless, the empirical findings help identifying opportunities of how the two concepts could reinforce each other.

Conclusion

Workplace health management does not only provide healthy employees. By its salutogenic measures, workplace health management establishes processes and resources that are a corner stone of workplace innovation aiming at concurrent results of improved organisational performance and better quality of working life.

In light of the shared common ground, there are several opportunities where initiatives of workplace innovation can tap into existing resources that are explicitly or implicitly linked to the field of workplace health management.

Join forces to build a salutogenic organisational culture

Workplace health management implements salutogenic measures to create a sense of coherence with beneficial effects on the individual experience of quality of working life and hence, the organisational performance. For a better leverage of such salutogenic resources while launching initiatives of workplace innovation, organisations should aim at joining expertise, managing and communicating initiatives of the two fields in an integrated manner and looking for opportunities to share external resources:

(1) Joint expertise. When starting new initiatives for promoting workplace innovation, those departments who are responsible for health in the workplace can provide useful expertise and proven approaches to implement salutogenic practices at an individual and organisational level. Enterprises that have systematically anchored their workplace health management in the organisation (figure 1) dispose of comprehensive tools for data collection. For example, a so-called cockpit of workplace health management collects data from employee surveys, absence management and personnel management to analyse the salutogenic culture of the organisation (Päper 2015). Such data management can be helpful to assess the specific context of a company before launching an initiative of workplace innovation. According to the reviewed studies, it is decisive to understand the specific situation and culture of a company in order to successfully implement work practises towards better performance and quality of working life (see Ramstad 2009, 2014).

(2) Integrated management. A systematic use of such internal resources requires an integrated management of workplace health management and workplace innovation at a strategic level (planning and financing across departmental budgets, linking to overall business objectives and joint evaluation of effectiveness). The reviewed studies conclude that a key success factor for simultaneously improved performance and quality of working life is how such work practices are implemented and managed (concept driven, with supportive management style and corporate culture, participative anchorage). In this respect, workplace health management can support workplace innovation of primary hybrid focus with already existing salutogenic processes. For example, it is often integrated into quality management systems for ensuring the sustainability of such processes (Grutsch & Bürki 2015). However, it has

to be carefully assessed which quality management practice might be suitable to develop and promote workplace innovation (Kim, Kumar & Kumar 2012).

(3) Integrated communications. Involvement, motivation and commitment are key success factors for mutual gains (Jenny et al. 2011). Therefore, communication should build on the good arguments of both concepts. Good health and well-being (including implicit and explicit salutogenic practices) can be a valid argument to win the employees' acceptance (incl. workers representative) for impending change projects related to workplace innovation. Moreover, healthy workplaces can strengthen staff retention in terms of better job satisfaction and in form of a company's reputation as part of its employer branding strategy. At the same time, better innovation readiness and organisational performance can help strengthening the position of workplace health management inside the company. For example, the label Friendly Work Space is awarded to organisations in Switzerland which successfully implement workplace health management and hence, make a systematic commitment to ensuring good working conditions for their employees. The communication of the label builds purposefully on the arguments from both, innovation and health management (see Health Promotion Switzerland 2015a).

(4) Sharing external resources. Initiatives and projects that occur within the common ground can potentially tap into external resources (funds, networks, platforms, external partners) for innovation management (universities, innovation clusters, national funds etc.) and health promotion (insurances, public health funds, etc.). For example, two innovative projects from the field of workplace health management, such as health promotion in change projects related to new work environments (Windlinger et al. 2014) and prevention tools for strengthening the mental health of apprentices (Amstad, Blum & Blaser 2015) successfully applied for funding from the national commission for technology and innovation of Switzerland.

Besides these synergies, the leverage of the overlap can however comprise risks, too. It has to be considered that by conflating the two concepts, there is a risk of dilution and loss of clear focus and direction. Workplace health management aims at healthy workplaces by balancing job demands and job resources (Ulich & Wülser 2014). On the other hand, workplace innovation aims at combining job demands and job resources towards activation of the employees. As a consequence, there could be a conflict of interest between the two concepts with regards to the use or reduction of job demands in order to achieve the objectives (figure 4).

Provide a recipe book for implementation

As aforementioned, the chosen focus is not yet covered by much empirical research. In order to better understand which practices in what context result in mutual gains, more robust data covering the entire process (work practices related to a social process shaping concurrently organisational performance and quality of working life) are necessary. In this respect, it has to be taken into account that workplace innovation and workplace health management are applied concepts. For a better applicability of both concepts, further research should contribute to the development of an integrated impact model which links – theoretically and empirically – optimisation processes to outputs, outcomes and impact in order to explain how to combine the ingredients for workplace innovation of primary hybrid focus.

Kesselring, Blasy and Scoppetta (2014, p. 20) have structured the process of workplace innovation according to the "input-process-output-outcome-impact scheme used in evaluation studies". By their approach, it is possible to identify different sets of "organisational structures and capacities or individual capabilities" which fulfil a certain function towards workplace innovation. With regard to the mutual gains however, the layers described by the three authors do not clarify, how to manage the complex, interdependent and hence fragile balance of job demands and job resources towards simultaneous outcomes of better organisational performance and quality of working life.

Considering the overlap of workplace innovation of hybrid focus and workplace innovation, an integrated impact model of workplace innovation suggested could build on already existing organisational health development models (see Jenny et al. 2011). The suggested *recipe book for the successful implementation of workplace innovation* would have to take into the account the specific situation and context of an organisation and give guidance how to proceed step by step. The more such a recipe book is founded on empirical evidence, the better workplace innovation for productive and healthy workplaces can be promoted and applied in organisations.

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Patterns of Regional and Workplace Innovation in the Basque Country

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Abstract

The importance of Workplace Innovation to improve competitiveness and employability strategies in the Basque Country has been a key ingredient of policy discussions in this region. This paper is focused on the analysis of the context and current state of workplace innovation and productivity policy and programmes. For this purpose the focus is on the analysis of the institutional context at Regional level (Basque Country), the territorial context surrounding workers participation-based programme in the Province of Gipuzkoa, and the socio-organisational situation of companies in territorial contexts that comprises the project of Gipuzkoa Workplace Innovation.

This article seeks, therefore, to establish a pattern between these three contexts, and to explain how these dynamics have influenced the development of new programmes and policies through the feedback of their different components related to participation and workplace innovation. It also aims looks to understand the diverse and complex workplace environment of an important part of the Basque Country's work organisations and companies. The evaluation of their practical learning activities, management as intervention, work organisation, and worker participation, and their influence in the employment skills of their workers, is a crucial part of this research. This article takes a close look to these organisations, through a detailed analysis of their main changing processes in their workforce skills, their organisational knowledge and their economic and competitive performance.

Introduction

Support for business innovation and employment in the Basque Country[1] has been a recurring process in the different political initiatives and strategic plans of recent years. A commitment to improving business competitiveness, the organisational change of Basque industry, new technological and scientific innovation processes and the transition from a mainly industrial Basque industry to a Post-Fordist one have significantly influenced the development of the political strategy with regard to technological, scientific and organisational innovation in Basque manufacturing and businesses.

The perspectives oriented towards the endogenous development of the region through its development integrated into areas and the restructuring and consolidation of a Basque Regional Innovation System, have encouraged the new institutional context for the development of new public policies and programmes to support regional innovation and competitiveness, with a particular focus on employment, sustainable development, social innovation, organisational change, and science and technology, among others.

This article is framed within this context and has two objectives: on the one hand, to describe the progress of these strategic goals as part of far-reaching public plans and policies in the Basque Country in the field of Regional Innovation and Competitiveness; and on the other, to describe the development and dissemination process of the Gipuzkoa Workplace Innovation (2014-2016) project within the framework of the "Programme for the promotion of a Socially Responsible Territory" set up by the Regional Government of Gipuzkoa[2] in 2014.

This last programme gave rise to the commitment to this new strategic focus in the Territory of Gipuzkoa, becoming an example of integration, adaptation, dissemination and learning in the co-design and co-production of intermediate innovation structures. The political materialisation of these public initiatives has contributed towards enriching Regional Learning and Policy Learning, impacting on the way organisational change, social learning and policies are understood as potential and effective vehicles for Regional Development (Karlsen & Larrea 2014).

Throughout this article we will focus on an analysis of the following elements:

- The institutional context of socio-structural change that these policy programmes take place in at a Regional level (Basque Country). This context is part of a broader process involving the development of policies and regional competitiveness and innovation perspectives that has evolved since the early 90s until today.

- The territorial context surrounding the "Programme for the Promotion of a Socially Responsible Region" promoted by the Government of Gipuzkoa.

- And finally, the specific Gipuzkoa Workplace Innovation project as a reflection of the socio-organisational situation in the Territory of Gipuzkoa.

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[1] The Basque Country is one of the 17 Autonomous Communities that make up the Spanish State. With a surface area of slightly more than 7,000 km2 and with approximately 2,200,000 inhabitants, the Basque Country enjoys ample power for the planning and management of public policies by virtue of the Statute of Autonomy approved in 1979.

[2] Gipuzkoa is one of the three historical territories that make up the Basque Autonomous Community. The region has an extension of 2,000 km2 inhabited by slightly more than 700,000 people. The Regional Government of Gipuzkoa is the institution that governs the territory.

- This article seeks, therefore, to establish a pattern between these three contexts, and to explain how these dynamics have influenced the development of new programmes and policies through the feedback of their different components. The action-research strategy has helped us to exemplify these policies in particular by means of the description and analysis of the Gipuzkoa Workplace Innovation project (2014-2016).

The Basque Institutional Context: towards a Regional Innovation System

The existing literature on Regional Innovation Systems[3] converges on the hypothesis that a system such as this one is stronger if there are systemic links between the different units that it is comprised of; i.e. between its sources of knowledge production (education and scientific research infrastructures, organisations, etc.), the political-institutional framework (public institutions and the "government of innovation"), and the business sector. In many cases this vision leaves aside the importance of the socio-cultural, historical and political dimensions that influence the institutionalisation process of these links and the dialectics that take place between *expert knowledge* and *political knowledge*. A problem that has been thoroughly dealt with by historical sociology and political sociology and which, however, is now rescued by economic geography through path dependency theory[4] (Mahoney 2000; Lagerholm & Malmberg 2009; Musterd & Murie 2010).

Similarly, we must take into account that any political planning and management process has to consider the constant interaction between the dominant economic synergies and interests, in addition to the mediation and rivalries that arise in the institutional framework itself. In this respect, we forget that often the dynamics, the configuration of *powers* and the institutional complexities intrinsic to any political system, set out and regulate the agenda of relations, policies and institutional activities of each region.

From this position, the social, economic, political and institutional characteristics of the Basque Regional Innovation System (BRIS) make it a unique, singular and complex case for several reasons:

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[3] Regional Innovation Systems are built on a theoretical-discursive perspective dedicated to analysing the institutional architecture present in the regional support networks for innovation and cluster policies. All with the aim of increasing the business and economic competitiveness of the regional and territorial scale of the different countries. That is, that the regions within a same country also compete among each other in innovation and economic growth, which creates different typologies, strategies and policies between them, making it very difficult to replicate the same approaches in different socio-structural contexts. For more on this, see Porter (1990); Cooke (1998); Moulaert & Sekia (2003).

[4] A term derived from historical sociology to refer to the establishment of possible relationships of causality between the historic past, present and future from a deterministic and evolutionist perspective. That is, the need to establish causal factors that explain certain results, considering that political or economic action processes cannot be generalised or extrapolated without acknowledgement of the factors involved in their socio-historical evolution. See Mahoney, J. 2000. "Path-Dependence in Historical Sociology", in Theory & Society 29: 507-548.

On the one hand, worth noting is the level of political, economic and institutional autonomy linked to the Basque Statute of Autonomy, where the regional government is[5] the main public agent that has led the construction of a R&D&i structure in the Basque Autonomous Community. The launch of a Science and Technology policy in 1980 and a technological-industrial orientation towards Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises of regional R&D&i, marked the early decline and industrial inheritance received from the 19th and 20th centuries. This process has created a productive culture based on strong economic, co-operative and political-identity ties.

On the other hand, and precisely as a consequence of this industrial inheritance, the Basque Regional Innovation System is built with a focus on the readaptation of its technological-industrial infrastructure and, therefore, is centred around policies to support technology centres and to encourage the *clusterisation* of its productive fabric (Porter 1990), mainly focused on metal forming, machine tools and the automotive industry. This initial orientation determines the course of the Basque Country's regional policy during its future evolution, as it is focused on research oriented towards the productive-technological sector led by the *Industrial Promotion and Reconversion Association* (SPRI) which belongs to the Basque Government's Department of Industry. This leadership has had scarce collaboration with other departments of the same government such as the Department of Education or the Department of Health, the Public University of the Basque Country and the scientific infrastructures of basic research (Olazarán & Gómez Uranga 2001; Del Castillo & Patón 2010; Martínez Granado et al. 2012).

The construction of a BRIS is a faithful reflection of the *competitive paradox* that productive sectors around the world are exposed to; that is, the difficulties that exist when mechanisms must be created to compete in a global world, but with local and regional elements and dimensions.

As regards the BRIS, the main elements forming it have been developed from this *endogenous* capacity with equal importance of the processes and policies for the governance of innovation, the characteristics of its industrial and technological framework (networks, level of connection, etc.) and the sociocultural dynamics implicit in the same.

However, before carrying out a specific analysis of the factors of regional development and competitiveness in the field of innovation, it is appropriate to carry out a brief description of the economic, labour and productive indicators of the Basque Autonomous Community, taking into account that the industrial sector and manufacturing activities continue to play a very important role in the competitive development of the territory.

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[5] The Basque Country is formed by the regions of Gipuzkoa, Bizkaia and Araba; throughout the article we will use the concept of region to refer to the Basque Autonomous Community, while we will use the term Territory for Gipuzkoa.

Some Contextual Facts

The Basque Autonomous Community is currently the wealthiest community within Spain, with a per capita gross domestic product of 30,829 €, 30% above the EU average and 35.4% above Spain's average. The services sector represents 62.6% of GDP according to the prices set by the market, while industry generates 21.3%, leaving the construction sector and the agricultural sector with 6.5% and 0.8% respectively. In 2012 the unemployment rate was 12.1%, well below the Spanish average of 25%, and 2.5% above Europe's average, which was at 10.5%. This unemployment rate rose during the first third of 2014, strongly influenced by the impact of the crisis which, although felt later than in the rest of Spain, reached 15.5%. The figures related to youth unemployment among younger people are more worrying, reaching 42.8% in the 16-24 age group (Eustat 2014).

From a strictly industrial point of view, classic sectors such as metallurgy, metal products, machinery and capital assets are those that dominate most of industrial production, together representing 37.2% of industrial Gross Added Value (GVA) in 2011. The energy sector (electricity, gas and steam) also occupies a prominent position with 11.8% of the GVA, while the pharmaceutical industry is the smallest with 0.4% (2011). Together with the production of rubber and plastics, the sectors mentioned concentrate 59.1% of the industrial weight.

The technological level of its industry, following the categorisation used by the OECD, is average-low. In the year 2011, 41% of the activity was at this level. The activities that are in the average-high category represent 25.9% and just 3.5% have a high value (Eustat 2014). In relation to innovation carried out in the field of production, expenditure in innovation carried out by industry as a whole represented 37.9% of the total expenditure, where investment in in-house R&D&i was the most prominent innovative activity with 48.4% of the total invested. Innovation in machinery purchases represents 24.1% and investment in external R&D&i represents 20.8% of expenditure. If we analyse investments carried out according to the branch of industrial activity, transport material and the production of computer and electronic material are the most innovative branches with 24.8% and 21.8% of investment respectively, with a notable presence of the automotive sector (Eustat 2014).

In the European Innovation Union Scoreboard (IUS) from 2105, the Basque Country has an index of 0.50, at the same level as countries with high levels of innovation, above the Spanish average of 0,38%. There are two dimensions in which the region stands out with respect to the European average. On the one hand its human resources, with averages above the EU's regarding young people aged 20 to 24 with higher education, and the population aged 30 to 34 with tertiary education. On the other hand its business links and initiatives, with a high percentage of SMEs with in-house innovation, and the percentage of SMEs that collaborate in the field of innovation. In relation to the dimensions of Research Systems, Business investment and Economic effects, although these have had positive effects, the results are slightly poorer. Funding and support, and Intellectual and Innovative Assets are dimensions in which the results are lower than the European average (Eustat 2016).

Towards a Polycentric City-Región

The commitment to incorporate a model of *territorial innovation* is obvious in the *New Territorial Strategy of the Basque Country* contained in its *Territorial Management Guidelines* (2012). The combination and organisation of the future of the Basque Autonomous Community is based on this approach, protected under the umbrella of the *Polycentric City/Region* (*"Euskal Hiria Plus"*) and the path towards a *second economic transformation*.

This proposal is perfectly aligned with the protagonism granted to the three Basque territories (Bizkaia, Araba and Gipuzkoa) and to their main cities (Bilbao, Vitoria-Gasteiz and Donostia-San Sebastian), as the main centres of transformation. In this context, the space between region, territory, urban cluster, neighbourhood or district is thus transformed into the foundation that makes it possible to generate economic development projects and initiatives that are capable of mobilising civil society through its *participation* (Bellemare & Klein 2011: 5).

The perspective of *Integrated Area Development* supports the idea that the development of any region involves a contrasted analysis of its historical evolution.

Each territory has very specific ways of organising their regional spaces in relation to their production processes, generating and witnessing, during their development, new challenges or alternatives to face the crisis in their own spatial and economic environments. Metropolitan regions and their most distinguished cities often suffer these industrial and productive crises, which reveal how the old structures of the more traditionally profitable industrial frameworks disappear or are rendered obsolete with the emergence of new socio-economic realities. But these critical situations can become windows towards the incorporation of innovative industrial, social and technical structures; or on the contrary, they can derive in greater socio-economic and urban degradation.

It is, therefore, a process of dialectic transition that substantially modifies the organisation of labour, the territorial space and the social/labour and productive divisions; a process that incorporates a series of synergies of organisational, technological, institutional and social changes that can help us explain why certain regions survive their own challenges and why others are, inevitably, abandoned to their fate. In any event, this space of change is always a framework open to new regulatory and institutional opportunities through which their deficiencies can be overcome (Moulaert et al. 1988; Moulaert & Swyngedow 1989; Moulaert 2000; Jessop 2001).

3. Regional Competitiveness and the perspective of Participation in Industry Plans

These perspectives, regional in nature, are the referential framework based on which each territory within the Basque Country has been able, independently, to design their own territorial programs and policies. Since the Framework Programme for Employment and Economic Reactivation, Euskadi 2020, the Basque Government's commitment in these fields is divided into two important blocks: the Employment Reactivation Plan and the 4I Strategy[6]

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[6] Innovation, Industrialisation, Internationalisation and Investment.

for Economic Reactivation (2014). Likewise, the Industrialisation Plan 2014-2016 contains the instruments for support and the strategic guidelines that define the future of the new Basque industrial policy, placing particular emphasis on the need to build foundations to strengthen business competitiveness after the strong economic crisis of recent years.

Specifically, the Plan highlights as a goal the promotion of technological and non-technological innovation, coordinating initiatives for the promotion of organisational innovation and different formulas of workers' participation in companies. Participation and organisational innovation are increasingly recurring concepts. As contained in the 2015 Basque Competitiveness report, *"the innovation strategy has been more based on hard innovation assets than on soft assets and on the promotion of innovation from the point of view of the offer (creation of infrastructures) more than demand (increasing the capacity of absorption of businesses). This has led to a situation where today there is a specific profile of innovative companies"*. However; there are deficiencies in the capacity to generate spaces of learning in the workplace and poor positioning in organisational innovation, with a weak development of high-performance work systems" (Orkestra 2015; 24).

The Basque Government's Economic Reactivation Plan explores in more depth the development of ad hoc formulas for participation in companies, the creation of a capital risk Fund to support participation in the ownership of the company (LANPAR Fund), and advice programmes or the exploration of fiscal formulas. Another guiding principle is based on the development and support of human capital, by promoting and encouraging people's participation, aligned with the Employment Reactivation Programme 2014-2016, by the Department of Employment and Social Policies. The strategic employment guidelines point towards innovation-based competitiveness through education and the creation of organisational dynamics that make it possible to develop and take advantage of the creative and relational skills of workers.

In line with the activities to promote participation, in the year 2013 the Basque Government, along with the three territorial governments, created the Innobideak programme. The strategy based on this programme is exclusively aimed at industrial companies and supporting services (it does not include the network of science, technology and innovation agents, and other stakeholders) by means of different programmes based on its own advanced management model. The model includes market diversification, training of senior staff and the diagnosis and implementation. 2015 saw the emergence of a new programme to foster and promote the participation of workers in management (decision-making), results and in the capital.

Another decisive aspect is the education system; the Framework emphasises the synergies derived from the Law on lifelong learning (Law 1/2013), and the new Basque Law on vocational training approved in 2015. The Law on Vocational Training and the Basque Vocational Training Plan, which mention the transformation of business models and employability through participation, along with the University Plan, in addition to supporting the adaptation and transformation of the education and training model, modestly contribute towards the application and dissemination of innovation among companies.

According to the Industrialisation Plan (2014-2016), Basque companies need to overcome the current scenario (*labour conflicts, high levels of absenteeism, salary levels not adapted to the current economic environment, etc.*)[7]. The aim is to support a new governance in companies. *"Governance within the company is the reflection of its particular culture, of a strategy designed according to medium and long-term competitiveness, of the particular policy concerning its social capital and the management of the people who share the productive activity"* (Landa 2014: 304).

If we consider the consequences of effective governance in the company, the term *participation* must include a nuance of a functional nature and not so subject to the regulatory sphere. The participation of people is much more than intervening, collaborating or getting involved, it means acknowledging diversities. Participating makes sense along with a clear vision of what one seeks to achieve and the steps to be taken to achieve it. This is why, specifically, innovation-oriented participation processes and change must necessarily be developed from the particular (people) to the collective (what is shared, the company, and the territory).

Participative processes must generate results and an impact on the productivity of organisations. These processes in organisations, and by extension in the region, can be privileged contexts to create, share and transform knowledge. The aim is to distribute knowledge, to expand it. In addition, the importance of participation in business competitiveness, the quality of work and the commitment of workers to the improvement of their skills (lifelong learning), motivation and intra and inter-organisational exchanges of knowledge (business-university-public institutions) are priority lines of work. In Europe, these priorities have been grouped under the terms of work organisation and workplace innovation, with policies over the course of twenty years, starting in the 90s with the *Lisbon Agenda* and the current EU 2020 Strategy (Pot et al 2016).

Key concepts: workplace innovation, territorial development and promotion programmes

The *Green Paper Partnership for a new organisation of work* approaches the modernisation of work as: "*a more fundamental change in the organisation of work is emerging; three factors — human resources, markets and technology — can have a fundamental impact on the way workplaces are organised. The potential economic benefit of a new organisation based on participation and trust, are substantial with potential gains for everyone*" (1997; 9-10). Thus an invitation was extended to social partners and to public authorities in order to seek new partnerships for the development of a new framework for work modernisation in Europe in 1997.

Since then, typical objectives in European work organisation development programmes

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[7] We should mention at this point the latest labour reforms passed in Spain in the years 2010 and 2012, in particular the latter (Law 3/2012), approved unilaterally by the Spanish Government and which introduces a series of urgent measures as a response to the crisis. Although the purpose of this article is not to assess or analyse the reforms, we do consider it important to mention that the changes introduced have an effect on the mechanisms of adaptation of working conditions and their *flexibilisation*, and that it established a regulation of collective agreements that tended towards their decentralisation, prioritising company agreements as opposed to sectoral agreements. These regulations, conceptualised under the term of *flexibilisation*, are also known in Europe (COM 2005).

include team-based organisational structures; flexible working practices; and business practices (Alasoini 2016; 23). Workplace innovation (WPI) is defined as strategically-induced changes that are adopted in a participatory manner in an organisation's practice of managing, organising and deploying human and non-human resources that lead, simultaneously, to an improved organisational performance and an improved quality of working conditions (Pot, Dhondt & Oeij 2012, 8).

In this sense, Tuomo Alasoini *refers to WPI as "collaboratively constructed changes in a company´s organisational and management practices that lead to simultaneous improvements in productivity and quality of working life and that also supports other types of innovation; WPI may include, for example, technological changes, changes in the workplace's network relations, or changes in labour and employment relations, which are mediated through changes in organisational and management practices"* (Alasoini 2011). In this definition we find that these practices can be revised from three dimensions; first, through their content (describing the features of the new practices implemented); second, the process (the way in which the practice has been created and who has participated); third, the context (which refers to the common and shared framework of the staff and management of the organisations). Thus, for example, the *Third European Company Survey – WPI in European Countries* determines that WPI is a practice (or combination of practices) that structurally (in terms of division of labour) and/or culturally (in terms of employee empowerment) enable employees to participate in organisational change and renewal so as to improve the quality of working life and organisational performance (Eurofound 2015).

Among the compared studies and research carried out within the framework of Europe (Business Decisions Limited,2000, 2002; Alasoini, T. et al 2005; Gustavsen 2008; Eeckelart,2012), and those carried out in companies and businesses (Eurofound 2015) we find that, in general, the elements of analysis contained practices focused on management based on autonomous teams, flexibility, diversification of skills and capacities, and participation.

As pointed out by the definitions chosen, the promotion of WPI has a clear orientation towards the promotion of improvements in productivity, the quality of working life and employment. The general idea is based on the use of organisations as a strategic tool; introducing workplace innovation allows the improvement of quality of QWL, employee well-being and the improvement of organisational performance (Pot, 2011). *"Sustainable convergence between high performance and high quality of working life is explained by cumulative causation in which empowering workplace practices are aligned at each level of the organisation. The mutually-reinforcing impact of workplace partnership, shared learning, high involvement innovation, enabling organisational structures and systems, self-organised teams and empowering job design can create a tangible effect in workplaces which is hard to quantify but which is often described in terms of engagement and culture"* (Totterdill & Hague 2004; 43).

The evolution of the workplace has been transformed from the establishment of scientific management principles to the current modern socio-technical systems. In the current context what is required is a new integration of theoretical and practical knowledge in organisations oriented towards long-term results; less inequality, higher quality of work, more productive and more innovative companies (Dhondt & Van Hootegem 2015).

An example of this is a readiness to carry out developments in the organisation of work, and an interest by research, the business world and public administrations in exploring the relationship with productivity, well-being and innovation. Northern European countries with a long tradition in national programmes for workplace development and with high levels of

QWL use this dual premise, where innovations and improvements in productivity and QWL can be considered as key outputs. For example, according to Tuomo Alasoini the high standards reached by Northern European countries in terms of QWL and productivity and innovation can be found in the special characteristics of Nordic capitalism (advanced technology, high levels of education and training among employees, industrial relations based on cooperation, the openness of their economies and exports) and in the idea of the enabling welfare state. According to this author, the system is underpinned by a welfare state that plays a twofold role. The first is due to the contribution made to the rapid transformation of working life and the protection of workers through risk reduction. The second corresponds to the support and mobilisation of resources for the reform of working life. This convergence results in the conditions necessary to understand WPI as a driving force and strategic factor for development and competitiveness (Alasoini 2016).

Workplace Innovation and its relationship with Regional development

We thus find WPI as a product of complex intra and inter-organisational social interactions (with stakeholders). Or, in other words, that the outcomes of these interactions have social and economic consequences that go beyond the boundaries of organisations. *"In particular the – regional- setting within which the organisation exists acts as a gateway to knowledge and resources able to inspire and support workplace innovation"* (Totterdill & Hague 2004: 43).

In addition to the importance of learning in organisations (Argyris & Schon 1978) the way in which they adopt new ideas and absorb and exploit knowledge (Cohen & Levinthal 1990), there is also a consideration of the perspective of the regions that learn (Asheim 1998), the interaction of the different stakeholders (Etzkowitz & Leydesdorff 2000), of development coalitions (Ennals & Gustavsen 1999) or the institutional and organisational infrastructure where the innovation interacts within the regional system (Asheim et al; 2011). In this sense "*regions are significant for their ability to act as focal points converging economic opportunities, technologies, human resources and culture, as centres of collective learning. Regional competitiveness depends on the ability to unlock such resources through the creation of favourable learning contexts. Thus, new approaches towards smart regions are also required".* (Totterdill & Lantz 2004; 183),

WPI Participation and Programmes and Policy Production

The importance of the improvement in productivity and QWL has contributed towards increasing public attention in the search for new solutions. Diverse modes of policy production and implementation co-exist, reflecting the changing nature of the state and the increasing complexity of social and economic problems (Totterdill, Cressey, Exton & Terstriep 2015).

The use of hard regulation has been rare; from general policy frameworks to the provision of 'good practices', training and education, and more direct forms of support, workplace development programmes are a widely used *soft form of regulation* to facilitate workplace change (Alasoini 2008, 2011). The use of soft regulations, as opposed to hard or normative regulations, is understood in relation to the diversity of the organisations going through change, the processes and individual itineraries, and the variety of stakeholders taking part (Alasoini 2016:21).

These soft forms can be understood as mechanisms of Animation. Animation understood as proactive interventions by public administrations designed to bring (about social or economic) changes that lie beyond the scope of passive regulatory mechanisms (Totterdill 2016). On this basis, we can distinguish between regulations designed to influence change in specific workplaces (*Direct Animation*), measures designed to raise the level of knowledge or create practical tools and resources for workplace innovation including research, learning networks and educational programmes (*Meso-Level Animation)*, and general awareness-raising (*Indirect Animation*).

As for the structure and framework of the programmes, the main characteristics are three; first, the development of the programme is carried out simultaneously (in a time period) within a shared framework with a series of organisations. Second, the content of the framework is shared by the management and staff of the participating companies and other stakeholders. And third, the organisations within the programme operate on the basis of exchanges of information, interaction and cooperation (Alasoini 2008). As regards their orientation; programmes typically include accumulating, analysing and distributing knowledge of cutting-edge practices and evidence-based approaches to change; linking researchers and practitioners; active research to promote workplace innovation; the development of new learning resources to support workplace change; providing knowledge-based business support; and creating inter-company learning networks (Totterdill 2002).

From a conceptual framework closely linked to systemic thought, the programme can operate as a production system and as a development system (Alasoini 2008). From this perspective, the programme and the basic elements that categorise it form a production system. As a result, there are a series of conditioning factors that determine the different strategies (Alasoini 2011:37) of the programs depending on the type of changes pursued in organisations by means of the programme; their durability and sustainability; the extension and impact on third-party organisations; or the changes that have an impact on the national, regional or sectoral knowledge system as a whole (Alasoini 2008: 66). On the other hand, the programme as a system of development acts as a system of learning for those implementing the programme and for the policy makers. Thus, it must be capable of generating learning in the implementation (programme learning), and on the other at the level of policies (policy learning) in a broader context.

As a result, we find the fundamental features and orientations that characterise WPI development programmes. In the next point, we will focus on the specific case of the Territorial Programme of Gipuzkoa.

Territorial Programmes in Gipuzkoa through participation

In 2014 the Territorial Government of Gipuzkoa launched the call of the Programme for the Promotion of a Socially Responsible Region. The Department of Innovation, Rural Development and Tourism established the operative framework for the development of social innovation and workplace innovation. The lines of action to be developed by the programme are summarised as; the development of relational models based on participation and shared projects in companies; the promotion of collaboration and cooperation between social stakeholders for the application of innovative and entrepreneurial proposals; and the implementation of initiatives based on WPI and on Social and territorial Innovation.

The programme describes Social Innovation as "collaborative processes of participation between people, involving co-creation and a cross-cutting approach, which generate learning,

incite commitment and have an impact at a local/regional level" (Regional Government of Gipuzkoa 2014). On the other hand, it considers WPI as "the integration between people, skills and technology; innovation based on the flexibilisation of the organisation of work, learning processes and the autonomy of people, making workplaces a source of productivity and quality employment" (Official Bulletin of Gipuzkoa 2014. No.131;2).

Policy background in the Territorial context of Gipuzkoa

Gipuzkoa has a long tradition in the promotion of knowledge through programmes. Since the early 90s, the Territory has developed policies underpinned by three concepts; learning, entrepreneurship and innovation. The principles of action of public policy can be summarised as public/private partnership, subsidiarity and proximity, equal opportunities, the integration of IT and governance.

In the late 90s the Territory had activities related to lifelong learning, the first business innovation programmes, the development and training of the active population, and integral employment programmes. In the decade starting in the year 2000 (Lisbon Agenda) the first programme for the promotion of LLL was created for the promotion of knowledge, or society-company programmes. In a way, from our point of view, there was a logical correlation of policies, centred around the person (learning –Programme for the promotion of a Territory that learns - 2000), the organisation and the company (entrepreneurship– Programme for the Promotion of Entrepreneurship - 2003), and the model of person-company-territory relationships (Programme for the Promotion of a Socially Responsible Territory 2014).

The Partaidetza (Participation in Basque) strategy launched in 2013 was designed for the promotion of new models to configure organisations and companies, based on people on the one hand, and on the other, on the Territory. The *People* approach promotes participation by contributing towards greater involvement in business projects, bringing decision-making powers closer to the local context and facilitating business management; it is aimed at improving the characteristics of job positions, promoting people's skills, the representation of workers and the involvement of companies in the regulation of employment.

On the other hand, the second approach (*Territory)*, seeks an alignment of interests (stakeholders) by including them in decision-making operations and processes. At this point it is about to establish dynamics and networks that integrate economic, social and educational stakeholders in the competitive territorial/regional and local development of a governance system.

After the elections in the year 2015, the new government in Gipuzkoa included in its strategic management plan (2015-2019), among others, objectives related to economic reactivation, the model of social cohesion and governance. Specifically, the Department of Economic Promotion establishes as objectives an increase of participation in companies by defining strategy, organisational and systemic innovation, endogenous development and, among others, an increase of participation in learning activities among the adult population (ages 25-75).

The promotion of innovation and knowledge in the Territory is configured in 5 blocks with the new orientation: lifelong learning, science and technology, new companies, business development, and innovation and knowledge.

Description and analysis of the programme in Gipuzkoa

In this context, the main feature of the programme in Gipuzkoa is its focus on participation. The programme aims to promote organisations based on new advanced management formulas that promote the central importance of people, thus including social innovation in companies through WPI. The aim is thus to promote tangible and intangible assets, aligning them towards a sustainable vision of the Territory. The programme's vision considers that public action can create favourable conditions and contexts as a driving force for innovation.

The programme is aimed at broad targets of stakeholders; companies and business associations (regardless of the sector or number of workers), along with trade union organisations, entities belonging to the Basque Science, Technology and Innovation Network and educational, economic, social, local and regional associations. That is, unlike the regional programmes presented in point three, the territorial programme establishes a broad and diverse field in its target group, incorporating social and educational agents in the co-generation of proposals.

The activities receiving subsidies and funding consist, on the one hand, of R&D – experimentation projects, and of extension and generalisation projects (diffusion). The situations contemplated by the program can be summarised in five points: participation (relationship models and workplace organisation); advanced workplace innovation formulas (experimentation); open innovation models; promotion of territorial sustainability; and the creation of spaces, dynamics and networks; valuation and dissemination. With respect to funding, the subsidisable costs of the projects include, depending on the type of project, in-house and external staff, and those derived from management, communication and dissemination. Funding can be up to 100% in R&D, innovation and experimentation projects, and 75% in those related to extension and generalisation projects.

In both scenarios, the projects to be developed and their eligibility and assessment is carried out taking into account parameters such as the innovative nature of the strategy adopted, the coherence of objectives and methodologies, the impact and the quality and intensity of the cooperation and participative processes. In general, the programme promotes equal opportunities and the participation of women, as well as positive actions in favour of the Basque language.

Gipuzkoa Workplace Innovation as a new Regional Asset

Within the territorial programme for the promotion of workplace innovation, in the year 2014, Sinnergiak Social Innovation, the University of the Basque Country's research centre, designed and implemented the Gipuzkoa Workplace Innovation (GWPI) project.

In 2014 GWPI emerged, a research-action project focused on innovation in forms of working in the Territory's companies. Throughout 2014 and 2015 the project was organised on 4 pillars; conceptualisation, research, intervention and dissemination. One year earlier, in 2013, the concept of workplace innovation was being worked on in a community of practice that the researchers involved in writing this article participated in. Hedabide, the project where four communities of practice were developed in Gipuzkoa, was oriented towards the creation of hybrid learning and practice models focused on solving challenges through social innovation.

The conceptualisation of WPI has been carried out taking into consideration the orientations of the Programme, the foundation of the project based on communities of practice, and the contributions of the European Network of Workplace Innovation (EUWIN) of which

Gipuzkoa is a participant. Thus, the concepts underpinning the project are: the organisation of work, participation and continuous improvement. This conceptualisation has been used by us as a foundation to define the main analytical dimensions during the research and intervention phases of the project.

The research carried out aimed to provide a detailed analysis of the situation of WPI within the business fabric of Gipuzkoa (organisations with 20 or more workers). In order to achieve this goal it was considered necessary to collect information on different aspects that we thought acted as indicators and constituent parts of that essential objective which we have divided into five main ideas: to collect the data and characteristics of the target audience; to establish the information that these organisations have regarding innovation in ways of working, as well as their knowledge of the concept; to discover what the actions and practices are; and to learn about the perception and assessment that company managers express about the origin of innovation in ways of working, about the consequences for the life of the organisation, about the appropriateness of putting them into practice and about the difficulties that their implementation has in the organisation. Last of all, to express the incentives, highlighting the role that different agents can have, highlighting the barriers and establishing the role that the public administration should play.

In order to approach and achieve the proposed objectives we have set out a quantitative research design. More specifically, we have carried out a quantitative survey aimed at business organisations in Gipuzkoa that could potentially carry out innovative practices in their ways of working. The type of sampling that we have used is simple random sampling according to counties, establishing in each of them quotas per sector of activity and size of the organisation proportionally to the data provided by Eustat.

The project was carried out in Gipuzkoa where we interviewed 496[8] companies, distributed in 8 economic sectors and distributed in 11 counties. The field work was carried out during the months of January, February and March 2015. Information was recorded in software format for its subsequent debugging, tabulation (descriptive univariate and bivariate) and statistical processing during the months of April and May.

Out of the sample of 496 organisations, 66.3% correspond to companies with 20-49 workers 19.3% with 50-99, 10.8% with 100-249, and 3.6% with more than 250 workers.

As for the activity sector that the consulted organisations operate in, we can observe that more than half of them carry out their activity in the field of manufacturing Industry (54.3%), by far the sector with the largest presence. At a distance we have the professional, scientific and technical Activities sectors (10.4% of the sample) and the Construction sector (10.3%), followed by administrative Activities and auxiliary services and brackets 8.3%) and the Transport and storage sector (7.1%).

With respect to the practices listed, the results show that there are a series of practices that companies in general have totally or partially implemented. Practices such as the autonomous organisation of work; information on the situation of the company, systematised internal communication, coordination of activities, training and systematic learning, support for initiatives by workers, shared use of knowledge and experience, and the integrated use of ICTs. Among these practices, the autonomous organisation of work has much room for improvement with 29% of companies having total autonomy in the workplace and 63% with

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[8] Our estimate is that we are working with a total universe formed by 1052 organisations. With this sample, and working with a confidence level of 95% (Z= 1.96, worst-case scenario, where p=q=0.5), we would be tolerating a maximum sample error of +/-3.20%.

partial implementations. Workplace training and learning takes place partially in 42% and totally in 49%. Only 4% of companies do not have practices related to the support of initiatives by workers and the shared use of knowledge and experiences.

In general, 55% of the companies have five to eight of these practices implemented totally or partially. 37% have a catalogue of three to five practices, and only 8% operate with three or fewer practices.

Other than these types of practices, the research shows that there are also others, such as timetable flexibility and mobility, self-managed teams, systematic innovation in the company, and the participation of people in strategic decision-making, which have a more modest implementation. Only 13%, in a total manner, and 41% in a partial manner, have mechanisms for participation in strategic decision-making. With respect to timetable flexibility and mobility, self-managed teams and systematic innovation, the results are similar with total and partial implementations of between 73%-77% of the total of companies.

Companies in the Territory mainly have difficulties in the deposition of management staff (49%), workers (48%), the business culture (46%) and the lack of prioritisation in the adoption of practices (40%). Economic cost (27%) and legal regulations and frameworks (11%) are not perceived negatively. As for attitudes, a large majority (85%) consider that WPI is not a passing trend. 92% consider that it produces benefits in productivity and QWL, 89% that it is necessary for sustainability, and 70% consider it an opportunity for improvement.

As regards the intervention phase, the project has identified 4 companies with which in-depth interviews have been carried out about the organisation of work, the participation of people and the capacity of the company to face continuous improvement. The interviews have included experts (EUWIN) to provide contrast, and have been useful, along with the results of the research, to collect information on a series of experiences related to processes of change, and the way in which WPI is adopted.

The GWPI project during the 2015-2016 period created a learning network formed by 11 companies. The network is useful as an intermediate support resource for exchanging experiences. The project is currently in the evaluation phase and the results of the experiences require future analyses and research.

Conclusions

Throughout this paper we have tried to clarify, analyse and describe the paths of Regional and Territorial Policy-Making and Policy Learning programmes in the Basque Country. We have strongly focused on the contextual factors that have influence this path, from the Basque Country's productive structural change, to the appearance of specific regional programmes that have focused on the development of Workplace Innovation in Gipuzkoa.

In this sense, we have identified a series of key challenges in order for WPI programmes to progress. First, the need to frame WPI within a wider political and structural framework focused on the regional Basque Level and its three provinces. This policy programme has to be aligned with the principles that define the Basque Regional Innovation System and its' main policy frameworks. This is key in order for WPI to become a policy framework milestone recognised by the wider Basque Regional Context and SME's. Moreover, this alignment needs to match the vision of employment and educational programmes designed by the Basque Country. Gipuzkoa has, therefore, been and important pioneer in the development

of a clear *action-research* strategy towards the acknowledgement of WPI but needs to be extrapolated to other productive Basque regional environments.

Also, the future of GPWI needs to clearly define the path of its future challenges according to the observed in its earlier project versions. Participation and analysis strategies have had an important impact on these first attempts. However, it would be interesting to take a clearer notice of the three levels described by Peter Totterdill in order to improve the future development of this GPWI project. That is, the importance of policy actions capable of changing the labour environments inside Basque SME's; the potential use and increase of knowledge and tools inside Basque and Gipuzkoan SME's; and the construction of new learning networks both, internally and externally, exemplifying different reference models and cases in a wider European context.

Professional, scientific and technical employment sectors need to be aware of the potential on WPI. A diversified productive acknowledgement of WPI in the Basque's productive environment is therefore a gap that needs to be reduced. Future editions of this project have to focus on the growth of its internal 11 members' company network in order to generate a significant impact in Basque WPI policy learning.

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Man-Made: The damaging consequences of having so few women in positions of power

Eva Tutchell and John Edmonds

Abstract

Behind the surface issues of workplace innovation, structural change is needed. The UK is failing to benefit from the true innovative potential of women, to the detriment of business and political organisations. Despite rhetoric and legislation, inequality continues. Research for "Man-Made" (Tutchell and Edmonds; Farnham, Gower 2015) has shown that women are denied power. The article sets out an agenda for change.

Keywords: change, inequality, power, UK, women

Introduction

Some politicians seem to forget the enthusiasms of their youth very quickly. Before he became Prime Minister, David Cameron talked as if he really cared about equal rights for women. As Leader of the Opposition, he said he was working hard to get more women into safe Conservative seats. As Prime Minister, he appointed Lord Mervyn Davies to lead a Government initiative to increase the number of women on the boards of large British companies. This enthusiasm seemed to infect his colleagues. Theresa May famously wore a tee shirt declaring, "This is what a feminist looks like".

After all the warm words and photo opportunities, not very much changed. Some commentators predicted that the 2015 General Election would transform the proportion of women MPs on the Conservative benches. It did not happen: there are still four male Conservative MPs for every Tory woman MP. The only major Party that does worse is the Liberal Democrats who have no women MPs at all. Meanwhile Lord Davies spent six years trying to persuade big companies to appoint more women as Non-Executive Directors. Eventually he reported that the proportion of women on FTSE100 Boards had touched 25%. Is this a cause for rejoicing? As the authors of *Man-Made*, we find it difficult to raise even half a cheer. Women in the boardrooms of our largest 100 companies are still outnumbered by three to one. The next 250 companies have even fewer women on their boards and the record of smaller companies is abysmal.

When we started the research for *Man-Made,* our book about women and power*,* we thought that we might find a pattern of steady improvement. Like many people in Britain, we wanted to believe the optimistic stories about a host of women breaking through the glass ceiling into top positions. Instead, what we discovered was often disappointing and sometimes shocking. The contrast between those encouraging headlines and the reality is depressing. We found that Britain is an 80/20 society: 80% of powerful positions are held by men and only 20% are held by women.

Imbalance

As part of our research for *Man-Made* we interviewed over a hundred successful women. We learnt that being outnumbered by men is part of their shared experience, particularly as they rise through the hierarchy. Many women employees work in the lower levels of most organisations but as successful women climb to each higher rung on the career ladder they find fewer and fewer women and many more men.

Sometimes the imbalance of power is so extraordinary that people are noticeably shaken when they see the figures. The most powerful people in most companies are the CEO and the Finance Director. In the 350 biggest Companies (the FTSE350) there are 700 such positions. Only 34 of these posts are held by women and over 95% of these powerful jobs are held by men.

This imbalance of power does not just occur in private companies. In local government there are many women Councillors, but when it comes to the most powerful position of all: the Council Leader, we found that men outnumber women by about seven to one. We uncovered a similar pattern in the professions and in our institutions. The twelve most powerful judges in Britain sit in the Supreme Court and only one is a woman. Charities and the Arts are often thought to be women-friendly, but men heavily outnumber women as Chairs of Trustees and as Directors. We were shocked by some of the things that go on in our great orchestras.

We struggled to find sectors where women have a dominant position. The one exception seems to be in primary education where women occupy about 71% of the headships. Move into secondary education, and men are once more in control, as they are in further education and in the universities.

Is it getting any better? If it is, the progress is glacially slow. We interviewed Brenda Hale, that solitary woman on the Supreme Court, and she was not encouraging. "I am disappointed that in the ten years since I was appointed not one among the thirteen subsequent appointments has been a woman."

In a better world, this unfairness would be universally recognised and the need for remedial action would be self-evident. However, and surprising though it may seem, a significant number of men (and a few women) do not regard increasing gender equality as a high priority. They question whether it really matters if men hold almost all the senior positions and very few women get to the top. So, in *Man-Made*, we spell out the reasons why reform is so urgently necessary.

The Business Case

When Lord Davies began his task of increasing the number of women in Britain's boardrooms, he decided to focus on what he called the "Business Case" for appointing more women. At a Conference in Sheffield we listened to him describing his initiative and we were surprised that in a half hour speech he never once used the words 'equality', 'fairness' or 'justice'. Since the current imbalance of power seems to us to be self-evidently unfair, we asked him why he appeared to disregard these issues. He explained that he had to take account of the views of his audience. Davies had to catch the attention of the men who sit in Britain's boardrooms and control senior appointments. Change would only come if he convinced them that it was in their interest to appoint more women. His tactics were based on the belief that these powerful men would perhaps listen to arguments about commercial advantage but would give little attention to someone 'nagging on about inequality'. So he set about demonstrating that companies with women in the boardroom would perform better than companies with all-male boards. During the whole period of his Government-backed initiative he never stepped outside the narrow confines of this Business Case.

As outlined by Davies, much of the Business Case is perfectly reasonable. Choosing top people from all the population, rather than from the half which happens to be male, immediately doubles the talent pool. Recruiting people with better brains means more ideas and more innovation. Having both men and women in boardrooms means that decisions are likely to be better scrutinised than if only the life experience of men is brought to the table. Recent research also suggests that companies with both women and men at the top are likely to be more prudent and take fewer excessive risks than all-male boards. There is even a suggestion, so far unproven, that companies with women on the board have a better profit record.

However the problem with this Business Case is not with what it claims to deliver but what it chooses to ignore. Basing the case for appointing more women Non-Executive Directors on the proposition that they will make companies perform better might have some validity but it is narrow-minded in the extreme. We argue in *Man-Made* that the gaining of some small commercial advantage is far less important than giving everyone in Britain: female or male, the same opportunity to fulfil their potential and get to the top. Somewhere in the policy discussion, the enthusiasts for the Business Case seem to have forgotten that politicians of

every Party say they want Britain to be a more equal society. The achievement of that noble aim should be the driving force for reform.

Unfortunately this argument is often brushed aside. There are many people in senior positions in Britain who, after a peremptory expression of regret, will insist that the problem in our society is not that women are treated unequally but that women do not take advantage of the opportunities that are available to them. "They are less ambitious than men; they do not apply for the jobs; they don't want to work the long hours; they have other priorities; they want to give more time to their families." There is a lengthy catalogue of overlapping arguments, many listed in self-help books, suggesting that women have only themselves to blame. It is argued that if only women tried harder, or if they were more ambitious or were more willing to promote themselves, all would be well.

The unhelpful legacy

In *Man-Made* we examine whether it is the women who need fixing or whether the problem lies in an unfair system. We conclude without reservation that Britain has a severe cultural problem. We have a society that awards continuing advantage to men. It is that system and not the women that needs to be fixed.

We examine the causes of Britain's cultural bias. Our analysis begins with an important observation that is rarely made. Our system of government, our professions, our companies, our institutions and almost every aspect of British society was fashioned by men for the convenience of men. This happened mostly during the nineteenth century when women had no vote, few legal rights, very little power and where married women could own no property. In a case study we tell the story of one of our biggest companies, Shell UK. Founded by a man, managed almost exclusively by men and, as a result, Shell UK nowadays forms a comfortable network in which men can flourish. Some women have recently got close to the top and there are women Non-Executive directors but the Shell Management Board, where so much of the power resides, is exclusively male. In this company, as in most organisations, women have to fit into a system and deal with a culture that they had no part in creating.

Most organisations have been structured to suit men: careful distinctions of status between layers of hierarchy with governing bodies that are large and formal. At the top, there are long attendance hours with little time for family. This pattern of work reflects a conviction that the job must take precedence over every other obligation; any request for flexibility is regarded as showing a lack of commitment. A mountain of evidence demonstrates that such man-made structures do not work very well and plenty of women have told us that they are uncomfortable in organisations with narrow and inflexible systems of command and control. Nevertheless, to be successful, women have to find a way to fit in. Most of the interviewees told us that, because, as women, they are regarded as outsiders, they are under constant pressure to prove themselves, and that usually means working harder than the men.

The nineteenth century is a long time ago but *Man-made* is full of examples of how the customs and attitudes of that distant period maintain a grip on our lives. The House of Commons is laid out like a gentleman's club. Our great institutions are determinedly male. The Institution of Civil Engineers has had 151 Presidents: 150 men and just one solitary woman. Sometimes the results are bizarre. University teachers are called Fellows even when they are women and their female students study for degrees that make them into Bachelors or Masters.

The cultural legacy has an even deeper significance. From the cradle we are taught that men are the doers and the leaders and that the role of women is to help and support. Anyone who doubts that truism should try to buy a birthday card for a child that shows a girl who is active and in control. Indeed the stereotyping is so strong that many men find it difficult to envisage a woman in a leadership position. We lost track of the times we were told about high-profile women who had been mistaken for catering staff. This happens so often that one woman says she keeps a business card handy to thrust at any man who thinks she is there to serve the canapés.

Women in our culture are expected to be nice, helpful and obliging. Leaders on the other hand are expected to be tough, decisive, dominant and even domineering: the stereotype of the alpha male in all its rugged arrogance.   That is certainly an old fashioned and inappropriate image but it is still embedded in our national consciousness.   We were told about one particular woman who was thought to lack leadership qualities because she "consulted too much". That was never a criticism that was levelled at the autocratic Fred Goodwin during his disastrous time as Chief Executive of RBS.

This conflict between what is expected of a "normal" female in our society and what is expected of a leader creates a Catch 22 problem for ambitious women. If a woman appears helpful and supportive she may well be liked and valued but she will not be regarded as a candidate for promotion. On the other hand if she starts behaving like an archetypal male leader, she may climb the career ladder but she will almost certainly be intensely disliked. Tough and decisive men are admired; tough and decisive women are liable to be labelled as hard and unfeminine. The cultural stereotyping has an iron grip.

Looking the part

Because *Man-Made* is written by both a women and a man, we can contribute very different experiences. A man knows, in a way that no woman can, exactly how some men speak about women in all-male company. When no women are present, the tone is often sexist and the jokes are often insulting. From time to time the curtain is pulled aside and women are allowed to see how some men regard them. John Inverdale had just commentated on the Wimbledon Tennis Final won by Marian Bartoli when he was told that she intended to retire. "I am not sure what she can do next. After all she is no looker", was his comment on her future prospects. When viewers complained he "explained" that he had been misunderstood. In mitigation he added that he had been suffering from hay fever at the time.

The BBC never censored Inverdale for his rudeness, and he kept his job. So did Richard Scudamore, Chief Executive of the Football Premier League, after his emails were hacked and he was found to be assessing women on the basis of their desirability as sexual objects. He often referred to them as "gash" or by some other obscenity. Several people came to his defence. We were told that Scudamore is not sexist and the offending emails were just aberrations. Regrettably this sort of behaviour is only too common. One of the saddest features of our society is that men feel able to comment, often in intimate detail, about how women look and whether they are sexually desirable.

Although most of this offensive examination takes place in private, every woman knows that not only is she expected to behave in a particular way but she must also be very careful about her appearance. The pressure starts early and persists throughout a woman's life.   Little girls are told how important it is to be pretty. Teenagers are surrounded by adverts that promote a particular and, for most girls, an unattainable body shape. Women of all ages are bombarded

with advice on their make-up, hairstyle and, of course, on the desperate need to be slim. In *Man-Made* we quote research that demonstrates the extent of body shame and shows just how damaging it is to women's self-esteem. Men and women are judged very differently. Men are allowed to go grey without comment but when Mary Beard, the well-known academic, appeared on television with long grey hair, the social media was filled with criticism and abuse.

Almost every woman we interviewed talked about the importance of appearance and the burden it imposes. Our interviewees suspect that many men still judge women more by how they look than by their ability. Indeed some successful women told us that men do not start listening to what a woman says until they have sized her up and decided whether she is attractive or not. There are traps everywhere. An ambitious woman must never appear sexy or she will be the subject of gossip but she must never appear drab because she will be ridiculed or, worse still, publicly pitied. So she has to find the right way to look and, without many role models to emulate, this is easier said than done. As one woman told us, searching for the right style takes up an awful lot of brain space.

Surprises

The interviews produced many surprises, some unwelcome. We were alarmed by the sexual harassment that some of the women had suffered. A number of the incidents are truly appalling. Most were mentioned, usually with great reluctance, almost as an afterthought. But it was clear from how the incidents were recalled that they had a deep effect on every woman who had suffered.

Even more prevalent were the stories of the relentless low level sexism still encountered by many women: the patronising comments, the jokey suggestions and the breezy assumption that in many respects women are just less capable than men. The constant pressure from a myriad of unwanted remarks was memorably described by one woman as "like water torture".

Discrimination takes many forms. The gender pay gap is well known but we were surprised to find that the official figure produced by the Office of National Statistics (ONS) is based on a comparison that significantly understates the extent and importance of gender pay differences. The ONS figure is about 10%. A more representative figure is double that.

We uncovered many examples of promotion denied and of opportunities constrained. One woman in banking said that she and her female colleagues would often get onto the short list for a top executive position but rarely got the job. "We always seem to come second or third". Sometimes women seem to be ushered away from the most powerful posts or find that the men are given leadership of the most prestigious projects. After that happens a few times, the temptation is to move on and we found that many organisations suffer a substantial loss of talented women. It is not yet as bad as in the US, where the attrition of middle ranking women is so great that it has been called a national crisis, but in the UK the problem seems to be increasing.

The baby question

The moment when most women discover the full extent of the unfairness in our current system is when they have their first child. One woman reminded us that "the baby question" has never been resolved. Most organisations still seem to expect the "normal" career to be unbroken. Maternity leave is looked on as a significant business inconvenience rather than as

a normal fact of life. Some women told us that the best time to have children is before a career takes off; others said that it is best to wait until a career is established. The truth is that, because of the way the world of work is organised, there is no right time. Whenever a woman is absent, men are being promoted and leaving her behind.

Childbirth brings many problems. Mothers are paid less and promoted less. Childcare can be a nightmare. Many women noticed that, once they had children, they were no longer regarded as reliable employees. Some said the best way to avoid unfair treatment is not to mention their children: in effect to make them "invisible". The most worrying comment came from a woman who had chosen not to have children: she said that she was sure that she would not have achieved the same success in her career if she had decided to be a mother. One of the great failures of our society is that our power structures and our systems of work do not take proper account of the self-evident fact that most women bear children.

Enforcement

What should we do about this complex of problems? *Man-Made* is not just concerned with describing the source, interaction and severity of the injustice in our society; our aim is to find remedies and solutions. People talk about the smashing the "glass ceiling" but TUC General Secretary Frances O'Grady sees things differently. She says, "Never mind the ceiling, the whole house needs to be rebuilt from the skirting boards to the roof." We are convinced that because so many of the attitudes, customs and practices that we have identified are long-standing and deep-rooted, only a thorough-going process of reform will be successful. We need to change our culture. Quick-fix solutions do not work.

So the last part of *Man-Made* is about how we can achieve equality, not in the 70 or 100 years that are predicted if we let current policies run their course, but in a single generation. In Chapter 11 of *Man-Made* we set out an extensive programme of specific reforms.

The starting point for any thoroughgoing process of reform is easy to identify. Those important laws of the 1970s: the Sex Discrimination Act and the Equal Pay Act, were intended to remove the two greatest injustices suffered by women. The two Acts of Parliament were significant in declaring public policy and changing some management practices but unfortunately they have not delivered the fair treatment that they promised. The reason is simple: the two Acts have never been properly enforced.

A woman who feels that she has suffered discrimination must take her case to a Tribunal. At first sight that seems wonderfully reasonable. In practice it usually results in a horrendous experience for the applicant. Tribunals were meant to provide informal justice in a relaxed atmosphere but that hope has never been fulfilled. To be successful, the woman applicant has to challenge her employer in public and that can be traumatic. The employer's lawyers will most likely disagree with her version of events, cross-question her about the details and suggest that she is either mistaken or telling lies. Tribunals meet in public and the newspapers often report cases. The appellant has her appearance scrutinised and prurient remarks are frequently made about how she dresses and carries herself. All this is extremely distressing and the fact that the woman's name becomes public knowledge means that the personal damage stretches into the future. Human Rights Barrister Helena Kennedy warns women about the risks of taking discrimination cases. "You may be a victim… even if you win the case. You may well be seen as a trouble maker by future employers. It might well be a pyrrhic victory."

We believe that it is ludicrous to rely on the bravery of individual women to enforce major social legislation. The task of enforcing the law should be transferred to a public agency.

Transparency

Man-Made reveals that much unfairness and discrimination in Britain's workplaces tends to be hidden and is the result of informal practices that are neither exposed nor explained. Organisations are expected to treat men and women equally but it is very difficult to discover how their policies work in practice. Companies often boast about their commitment to equality for women but they rarely publish the information which would allow their claims to be tested. We argue that companies and other organisations should be required by law to be open and transparent about gender pay differences and about the positions and status of men and women in their employ. Reports should be up-to-date, regular and published over the name of the Chief Executive.

Positive action

The British Government believes that voluntary action will increase the number of women in senior positions and has ruled out changes in legislation. Unfortunately for the supporters of voluntarism it is very difficult to find an example anywhere in the world where the voluntary approach has worked. Indeed more and more progressive Governments now accept that government intervention is necessary and desirable. Norway led the way by introducing a quota system that requires the boards of large companies to include at least 40% women (and at least 40% men). The rest of the world is following. The British Government's opposition to quotas is looking more and more like an out-dated and minority position.

Whenever quotas or other forms of direct government action are contemplated, the objection is usually made that senior positions must be filled on merit and that taking positive action to increase the number of women conflicts with the merit principle. Therefore, in *Man-Made*, we examined the issue of merit very carefully.

At first sight it is difficult to believe that men are better equipped than women to make good decisions. Girls tend to outperform boys at primary and secondary school and more women than men gain university degrees. But it was when we examined exactly how senior positions are filled that the extent of injustice in the present system was exposed.

Are top jobs filled on merit? The answer is: very much less often than is usually claimed. Almost all senior appointments in the private sector are made informally and without due process. Only 1% of positions on boards of FTSE100 companies are actually advertised. Some vacancies are filled from lists produced by Head-hunters but rather more are filled from friends and personal contacts. This means that most women (and most men) do not even know that a vacancy exists until after it has been filled.

Career breaks

We make a series of other recommendations and they would all move equality a little closer. But we soon became aware that the present structure of careers favours men so strongly that, unless that is changed, women would remain at a disadvantage. So our final recommendation is the most radical: we aim to disrupt the notion that the normal career path of people in Britain is linear and unbroken. To do that we need to make breaks in work: that are so

necessary to women and for which they are so heavily penalised, into a normal feature of everybody's working life.

Fortunately there will soon be an opportunity to make the necessary change, bringing relief to women and, we are glad to say, better career prospects for men. Girls born today will probably live to 100 and boys will not be far behind. So we will face a working life not of 40 years but of 60 years and perhaps even longer. This explosion in longevity means that the world of work has to change; few people can contemplate 60 years of continuous graft without a desperate lowering of the spirits. Even the most unimaginative politician will recognise that this is not a prospect that can easily be put before the British people. At the very least we will need changes to make such a long working life tolerable. We suggest that public policy goes much further, and that we take the opportunity to design a new system of work that will make our lives more equal and more fulfilling.

We believe that a key element in that new system should be an entitlement for each individual to take paid career breaks periodically through their working life. In our proposal each of those breaks should be for a maximum of three years: long enough to take an extensive period of training or a full university course.

To ensure that the entitlement is universal and does not inflict unreasonable costs on employers, the payment would have to come from the state. That probably means that, although our motive is different, the change would have to be justified in economic terms. Fortunately that is not difficult. As working lives grow longer and the pace of technological change accelerates, a continuing cycle of training and retraining will be an economic necessity. For the development of talent and innovation people must be given a second and third chance at higher education. In an extended working life people will need periods of rest and reflection and the chance to change direction, to try new things and to move into a new career. By including childbirth and childrearing in the career break system, women will have more flexibility to plan their families without damaging their prospects at work. Men will have a genuine opportunity to contribute to child-rearing without ruining their careers.

Paid career breaks will make the world of work fairer for women and more congenial for men. Careers will become more varied with fresh starts and new opportunities. The linear career will be banished to the history books, fewer men will be trapped in careers that have lost their appeal and women will no longer find that after childbirth they are always playing catch-up.

Innovation and talent

Our full programme of reform amounts to a substantial change in society and a transformation in the world of work. For the reasons we have explained, we base our justification on the principles of equality and fairness. However our programme can also be regarded as achieving the modernisation of systems that are outdated and are no longer fit for purpose.

Over-powerful Chief Executives, top down control and hierarchical management remain the organisational characteristics of most companies in Britain. More than a decade ago the American academic Rhona Rapaport and her colleagues carried out a detailed examination of what such a structure means in practice. Their conclusion is that it is normally extremely damaging. The man at the top usually tries to control too much and, as a consequence, the talent of other people in the company is wasted. Catching the eye of the top man is a good way to gain recognition, so individual success and self-promotion come to be regarded as more important than collective effort. The routine and unglamorous work of support staff,

most of whom are usually women, rarely catches the attention of the top man and, as a consequence, their work is routinely undervalued.

Wasting talent means that innovation is stifled. The concentration of power at the top of organisations distorts priorities. Any initiative launched by the top man is given greater importance than other work, even if that work is very important. Employees at lower levels in the hierarchy may have great ideas but they must be very careful to ensure that those ideas do not conflict with, or undermine, the convictions or prejudices of the top man. Some of those prejudices can be both startling and stultifying. We were surprised to be told by one female senior executive in the retail sector that her boss dismissed organic products as "a passing fad".

We interviewed Lesley Wilkin, the Managing Director of Hay in the UK and Ireland. She is not impressed by macho posturing and says that good leaders must be adept at "managing the complex relationships with the many stakeholders" of an organisation. This is not a new conclusion. Annie Pye, from the University of Exeter says that more than a century ago sociologists such as Georg Simmel were studying the importance of the social networks through which people operate. Annie Pye's own research demonstrates that successful leaders operate, "at the centre of a web of relationships". And the modern leader has to foster diversity in appointments and diversity in opinion because these are the necessary attributes of an innovative organisation.

This more modern view of leadership, within organisations where power is less concentrated and structures are less hierarchical, would make work more satisfying for most women and, we believe, for most men. If structural reform could be accompanied by changes in attitudes which recognise that men as well as women might move from full-time employment to part-time and back again, we would be creating not only the conditions for greater equality but starting to build a society which values family relationships and friendships as much as it lauds ambition and financial success. That might also become a world where looking after children and elderly dependents is recognised as the obligation of all humanity and not just of the half that is female.

Political Pressure

Will any Government elected in the next few years have the foresight and determination to adopt such a radical programme? A culture change is needed, and modern governments seem to have lost the appetite for reforms on the scale that is necessary to make our society more equal and our lives more fulfilling. It also has to be recognised that a radical programme of reform will face substantial opposition. Very few of the top men in our society seem attracted to the idea that they should share some of their power and some of their wealth.

Our best hope is that enough of the women who suffer the injustice of our unfair society might decide to put politicians under the sort of sustained pressure that we last saw 40 years ago. Before that happens, a dilemma will need to be resolved. Women want equality but we found that many, including younger women, dislike being called feminists. The myths of bra-burning and man-hating still make women hesitate. So, at the end of *Man-made,* we speculate about whether the new generation of women activists can rehabilitate feminism and mobilise the power to change the out-dated culture of Britain.

Success will bring many rewards and not just to women. Our radical programme would help men to escape from the confines of a narrow masculinity and live in a society that honours them as much for their compassion as for their toughness. For women, much more is at stake.

If we allow Governments and our powerful organisations to take no effective action, our offspring will inherit the inequality that we have tolerated for so long. Without a new and more determined programme of reform, our great granddaughters will still be paying the price of our failure in the last years of this century.

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