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INTRODUCTION AND WELCOME

The Editors

The International Doctoral Research Centre (IDRC; www.idrcentre.org) was created by like-minded researchers who wish to promote excellence in doctoral and post-doctoral research.

The IDRC hosts two annual research seminars – the European Research Seminar held in April and the American Research Seminar held in September. For details about locations, submission guidelines, and other information about these annual seminars, please visit www.idrcentre.org.

In addition to the two annual seminars, the IDRC publishes an annual journal: the Journal of International Doctoral Research (JIDR).

The IDRC provides doctoral associates and experienced post-doctoral researchers with a forum for presenting and discussing their research at one of the annual seminars. These seminars are an opportunity to get feedback from and exchange comments and views with experienced researchers. Specifically the IDRC provides a forum for peer review of a researcher's current ideas and thoughts which enable him/her to formulate future research plans or unblock problems with current research. A benefit of the IDRC includes building a close network of experienced researchers.

To submit an abstract to one of the IDRC seminars, please forward your working paper to: patjoynt@online.no.

To submit a manuscript for blind peer review for publication to the JIDR, please forward to: jidr.submissions@gmail.com

Regards,

Editorial Board of the JIDR
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MANUSCRIPT PREPARATION

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To help us with the submission process, please follow the preparation checklist at the back of the journal prior to submitting your manuscript. Submissions may have to be returned to authors that do not adhere to the following guidelines. We thank you for your assistance.

CHECKLIST

- Manuscripts should not have been previously published nor submitted to another journal for consideration. If the manuscript has appeared elsewhere, please ensure that you have permission for it to be published in the JIDR and that you acknowledge such a release (see the style guide).
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- Please check that the text adheres to the stylistic and bibliographic requirements outlined below.
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Manuscript stylistic and bibliographic requirements

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2. A title of not more than eight words should be provided.
3. A brief autobiographical note should be supplied including:
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third order is to be italicized but not bolded with only the first word capitalized.

8. Notes or Endnotes should be used only if absolutely necessary and must be identified in the text by consecutive numbers, enclosed in square brackets and listed at the end of the article.
9. All Figures (charts, diagrams, line drawings, web pages/screenshots) are to be embedded directly into the MS Word document in the proper location in the document.
10. References to other publications must be in Harvard style and carefully checked for completeness, accuracy and consistency. This is very important in an electronic environment because it enables your readers to exploit the Reference Linking facility on the database and link back to the works you have cited through CrossRef. You should cite publications in the text: (Adams, 2006) using the first named author's name or (Adams and Brown, 2006) citing both names of two, or (Adams *et al.*, 2006), when there are three or more authors. At the end of the paper a reference list in alphabetical order should be supplied:
 - *For books*: Surname, Initials (year), *Title of Book*, Publisher, Place of publication.
e.g. Harrow, R. (2005), *No Place to Hide*, Simon & Schuster, New York, NY.
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e.g. Calabrese, F.A. (2005), "The early pathways: theory to practice – a continuum", in Stankosky, M. (Ed.), *Creating the Discipline of Knowledge Management*, Elsevier, New York, NY, pp. 15-20.
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 - *For published conference proceedings*: Surname, Initials (year of publication), "Title of paper", in Surname, Initials (Ed.), *Title of published proceeding which may include place and date(s) held*, Publisher, Place of publication, Page numbers.
eg Jakkilinki, R., Georgievski, M. and Sharda, N. (2007), "Connecting destinations with an ontology-based e-tourism planner", in *Information and communication technologies in tourism 2007 proceedings of the international conference in Ljubljana, Slovenia, 2007*, Springer-Verlag, Vienna, pp. 12-32.
 - *For unpublished conference proceedings*: Surname, Initials (year), "Title of paper", paper presented at Name of Conference, date of conference, place of conference, available at: URL if freely available on the internet (accessed date).
eg Aumueller, D. (2005), "Semantic authoring and retrieval within a wiki", paper presented at the European Semantic Web Conference (ESWC), 29 May-1 June, Heraklion, Crete, available at: <http://dbs.uni-leipzig.de/file/aumueller05wiksar.pdf> (accessed 20 February 2007).
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e.g. Moizer, P. (2003), "How published academic research can inform policy decisions: the case of mandatory rotation of audit appointments", working paper, Leeds University Business School, University of Leeds, Leeds, 28 March.
 - *For encyclopedia entries (with no author or editor)*: *Title of Encyclopedia* (year) "Title of entry", volume, edition, *Title of Encyclopedia*, Publisher, Place of publication, pages.
e.g. *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1926) "Psychology of culture contact", Vol. 1, 13th ed.,

Encyclopaedia Britannica, London and New York, NY, pp. 765-71.

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DIVERSITY IN FOCUS: JIDR'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE RESEARCH FIELD

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During the last year, the Journal of International Doctoral Research (JIDR) was honoured with an important accreditation for all the hard work done by the Journal's authors, editorial review board members and editors: the Journal was given official accreditation status in the Norwegian academic publishing system. Our goal now is to maintain such academic ranking status. Furthermore, we aim to continue to seek external recognitions for the JIDR and to continue to develop the impact of our publication within the international research community.

This third volume of the JIDR is devoted to a wide range of research themes, which are all linked to the concept of diversity; both implicitly and explicitly. The discussions in these articles highlight a number of recurring and yet unresolved issues within a diversity framework, with the following aspects:

Geographical diversity of the empirical setting of the studies, from North America, to China and Scandinavia, and also geographical diversity of the affiliated universities of this year's authors: From Reading University (UK), University of California (USA), and BI Norwegian Business School (Norway).

Disciplinary diversity: from organizations and institutional settings to individual level; from management issues and international business to history and behavioural research.

Content diversity: from a typical research article approach, to a career review and a theory meta-analysis, from a quantitative methodology approach to a qualitative approach.

In publishing this symposium we believe that our seven authors offer valid perspectives to researching diverse questions in topical research fields.

This third volume includes five manuscripts. In our first article, O'Connell honours a great academic Professor Alan Rugman, who was also a reviewer for the Journal. Our esteemed colleague from Reading University passed away this year and we pay a tribute to his lifetime achievement in International Business Research. Professor Rugman was an internationally acclaimed researcher who has contributed to diverse International Business Research with more than 500 academic papers, books and articles during his academic career. He is sadly missed and is in our thoughts as we pay honour to his work.

The second article by Knight maps contemporary extant literature within the fields of diversity on leadership, as an antecedent to career goals and promotion within the context of women in leadership within a Canadian banking setting. Transformational leadership theory within a gender diversity perspective is explored and the phenomenon of 'the glass ceiling' is discussed within the Canadian Credit Union industry. Knight is a research associate at Reading University who is about to submit her first doctorate thesis.

The third article by Conway is disseminated directly from his unpublished PhD from 1974. It presents diverse data on the cold war as an empirical setting. Conway explores the multifaceted historical and intellectual origin of the US cold war policies and he attempts to trace the foundations of those particular ideas and attitudes, a most topical research theme in the light of the present global military geo-political landscape. Conway highlights three complex motives behind the American foreign policy elite's pursuit of 1) multilateral free-trade policies 2) policy

of self-determination of nations and 3) military preparedness policies during the cold war period.

As Conway defends in his submission letter to the Journal “As the new cold war seems to be ominously re-emerging, perhaps revisiting the original US-Soviet standoff may shed some mutual light and promote restraint and renewed cooperation.”

Conway concludes within a diverse historical context, that to what degree American policy makers may or may not have predicted the possible exploitation of such measures and developments, can always be explored. Nevertheless, the ‘Open World design’ of the cold war era certainly did lead to increased global productivity and stability and that he concludes, was the dream of its original architects.

The fourth article by McIntyre describes a study of employees’ perceptions of relationships between work design, organisational commitment, and organisational performance excellence. A literature search and critical analysis led to 16 hypotheses that were tested on a convenience sample of 142 Norwegian employees. McIntyre concludes that one of the interesting results of this research process has been the way performance excellence resolved into two distinct factors described earlier as customer and product items, and flexibility and values items. This dichotomy between intrinsic and extrinsic factors has been observed in other studies, for example, of the relationship between personality and work traits.

In our final article our authors Wilberg and Gottschalk contribute to this year’s overriding theme of diversity by offering an innovative approach and methodology within the field of criminal research and the role of the media. 10 diverse crime detecting sources are presented with a Norwegian context: The results of a comparison of journalist and non-journalist detection sources of white-collar criminals is offered within a statistical framework. Findings support the

proposition that diverse white-collar crime detection and follow-up seems to be related to a number of simultaneous journalistic procedures and cultural elements.

In the coming year, it is our vision to have the JIDR continue to publish a combination of manuscripts related to the theme of diversity in international research – we very much appreciate your support as we strive to develop the JIDR as an authoritative journal which publishes research both on empirical data collected for doctoral studies and post-doctoral research in an international context. The success and sustainability of our Journal depends on the number of quality manuscripts submitted for peer review. Our acceptance rate is between 25 % and 50 % each year. Consequently, we encourage you to invite colleagues to consider the JIDR as an excellent publication channel for academics.

All submissions by prospective authors will be handled efficiently by our blind peer review process, and will also be offered a similarity screening check. One of the great benefits to all authors who submit manuscripts to the JIDR is that no matter whether their work is accepted for publication or not, detailed one-to-one feedback on both content and language is always given. These are high quality helpful reviews that are designed to help authors improve their research methodology and manuscripts further.

As in prior years, we would like to take this opportunity to thank the JIDR advisory board members, reviewers and authors, who support the journal and help make it so successful. On a final note we greatly appreciate your support and as our readers. We hope this year's articles offer you new reflections upon the multifaceted concepts of 'diversity' and 'inclusion' within all of our research.

REFLECTIONS ON THE CAREER OF ALAN RUGMAN

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1. INTRODUCTION

‘His intellect, assertiveness, and insights often challenge conventional wisdom and the intellectual and organizational complacency in our discipline.’

-Lorraine Eden (2005) on Alan Rugman

That Rugman was an influential scholar in the field of international business is well-recognized. During his long career, he published more than 500 academic papers, books, and articles, which to date have been referenced more than 16,000 times (Google Scholar, 2014). If research output and citations to a scholar's work are an accurate measure of that the scholar's influence in the field, Alan Rugman was unquestionably one of the most influential scholars in the field (*See Appendix I for articles in refereed journals by Alan Rugman*).

Yet raw numbers do not and cannot convey the entire scope of his presence. It is important to recognize not only that *what* he did was influential, but, so too was the *way* in which he did it. First, his research was generally principled and focused - he was interested in explaining the strategy and behavior of multinational enterprises. In doing so, he generally did not cast about, adopting various theories *du jour* and explanations of phenomena for the sake of publica-

tion. Rather, his research was grounded in and built upon internalization theory as the general theory of the multinational enterprise.

Second, because of this principled approach, he consistently engaged with timely topics and new concepts and theories on multinationals but routinely demonstrated how internalization theory could explain the same phenomena. He (along with others such as Mark Casson, Peter Buckley, and Jean-Francois Hennart) championed internalization theory and its extensions and applications.

Finally, Rugman did not shy from debate and was unafraid to challenge any research he found wanting. In truth, he revelled in being the instrument of provocation, as evidenced by his delight upon reading Banalieva and Dhanaraj (2013)'s description of his 2004 study (along with Alain Verbeke) on the regional, rather than global, nature of the Fortune Global 500 as 'iconoclastic'.

2. THE MAKING OF A CAREER

After earning his B.A. in economics from Leeds University in 1966 and his M.Sc in economic development from London University (SOAS) in 1967, Rugman undertook his Ph.D. at Simon Fraser University in Vancouver, Canada. Under the direction of Herbert G. Grubel, Rugman completed his PhD thesis in 1974 entitled "Foreign operations and the stability of U.S. corporate earnings: risk reduction by international diversification". The thesis extended the Tobin and Markowitz theory of portfolio selection under conditions of uncertainty to foreign direct investment. While his Ph.D. thesis incorporated a decidedly finance approach to the internationalization of firms, the main research focus of his career originated in economics.

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In 1976/1977 Rugman undertook a sabbatical at University of Reading, where he joined the discussion on internalization theory with the likes of John Dunning, Mark Casson and others. This period sharpened his view that internalization theory serves as the general theory of the multinational enterprise, a view which formed the bedrock of his approach to research on multinational enterprises throughout his career.

After completing his Ph.D., Rugman spent the following 25 years primarily in Canada, first at the University of Winnipeg, followed by appointments at Concordia University, Dalhousie University, and University of Toronto. In 1998 he was appointed Thames Water Fellow of Strategic Management at Templeton College, University of Oxford. In 2001 he moved to Indiana University, where he was the L.Leslie Waters Chair of International Business until 2009. He then returned to University of Reading, becoming Head of International Business and Strategy.

In addition to his permanent appointments, Rugman held numerous visiting professorships throughout his career at preeminent universities, including Harvard University, Columbia University Business School, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and London Business School, among others.

Rugman was also heavily involved in The Academy of International Business (AIB), serving in numerous capacities including President, and he was an AIB Fellow. And from 2010 until his death he was the Editor-in-Chief of *The Multinational Business Review*, in which position he encouraged further research and helped shape the discussion on multinational enterprises.

The following discusses a number of areas in which Rugman made significant research contributions. Certainly the discussion is not exhaustive, but all are areas in which Rugman himself would agree he made an impact.

3. INTERNALIZATION AS THE GENERAL THEORY OF THE MULTINATIONAL ENTERPRISE

It was in Rugman (1981) that he fully enunciated the foundations of his thinking on multinational enterprises. During Rugman's sabbatical at the University of Reading, he participated in the significant academic debate of the time regarding the reasons why a firm would own the means to foreign production; or, put simply, why firms create foreign subsidiaries and thus become MNEs.

As an economist, Rugman embraced the concept that multinational enterprises are welfare generating by internalizing market imperfections; that is, the multinational firm as an internal market was more efficient than external markets due to natural and unnatural market imperfections. When markets are missing or transaction costs are too high, and when such missing markets or transaction costs involve business across national borders, firms will internalize the market in the form of a subsidiary. To Rugman the most significant of these market imperfections, and the one that drove his initial thinking underlying the firm-specific advantage/country-specific advantage (FSA/CSA) framework he derived from internalization theory, is the market failure in pricing knowledge (or, knowledge as a public good).

Thus, since multinationals created foreign subsidiaries to own (rather than purchase) knowledge (or the intermediate products of knowledge) in disparate locations, Rugman recognized this ownership of knowledge as a firm-specific advantage, or FSA. Conversely, country-specific advantages, or CSAs, influenced the location of the subsidiary. While the formalized FSA/CSA matrix appears later, Rugman (1981) provides the foundation.

An underrated contribution of Rugman (1981) is that it, while not fully developing the discussion, equates firm-specific advantages to the capabilities of the resource-based view (RBV), long before RBV gained prominence in strategic management.

4. PUBLIC POLICY

Rugman's focus on multinational enterprises was not limited to the strategic decisions within them, but also extended to public policy implications. Two main contributions involve research on (1) trade regulation, and (2) transfer pricing.

During the mid-1980s and early 1990s, much public debate on free trade was occurring in Canada as discussions in the highest levels of government engaged in considerations of the Canada-US Free Trade Agreement and, later, the North American Free Trade Agreement. In the midst of this, from 1986 to 1993, Rugman acted as outside advisor to two Canadian prime ministers on free trade, foreign investment and international competitiveness. Rugman was an advocate of free trade and participated in public debates at the time with anti-free traders (Eden, 2005).

Transfer pricing is an issue which has returned to the forefront recently, with at times both citizens and governmental representatives of various countries decrying the amount of tax foreign subsidiaries are paying locally. Rugman, along with Lorraine Eden, addressed this issue in 1985 (Rugman and Eden, 1985), where transfer pricing is found to be an efficient response to structural market imperfections raised by national governments. In a seminar at Henley Business School in 2013 Rugman expressed angst over parliamentary hearings in the UK in which representatives of certain foreign, primarily American, companies were questioned about how they recorded sales in their UK subsidiaries. He believed, based on transaction costs and internaliza-

tion theory, that firms could more readily and efficiently price transactions internally than any government could and was highly skeptical that government interference would produce a more efficient result. In terms of internalization theory, Rugman viewed transfer pricing as a non-location-bound FSA.

5. THE DOUBLE DIAMOND OF COMPETITIVENESS

In 1990 Michael Porter's *The Competitive Advantage of Nations* was published, and it garnered a great deal of attention as an explanation of why certain industries (and firms within them) became competitive in particular countries. Rugman questioned whether Porter's thinking was generalizable to all country circumstances. From his perspective as an academic in Canada at the time, Rugman doubted whether Porter's diamond, which might explain the competitiveness of industries and firms in large, open economies like the United States, could adequately explain the context of countries that were not. In particular he questioned the applicability of the model to small, open economies like Canada.

In response to the Porter model, Rugman and D'Cruz (1993) argued that firms in Canada (and in other small countries) built on a double diamond of home and foreign country factors for their competitiveness. As such, multinational enterprise activity is significant for competitiveness of these firms.

The double diamond approach of Rugman and D'Cruz versus Porter's single diamond approach serves also to illustrate an important point about levels of analysis. Rugman consistently eschewed the industry in favor of the firm as the appropriate level of analysis, and Porter, as the originator of the industry-based view, drew Rugman's attention. For Rugman, the firm was

the primary level of analysis (and thus multinational enterprises themselves). Along with the firm, the subsidiary was also an appropriate level analysis, but never the industry.

6. MNES AND INTEGRATION VS. RESPONSIVENESS

Rugman and Verbeke (1992) provided the link between transaction costs and internalization theory, and the 'transnational solution' popularized by Bartlett and Ghoshal (Bartlett and Ghoshal 1989). The transnational solution is essentially the optimal strategic solution for international firms between the efficiency benefits of a global strategy and the benefits of national responsiveness, or a multinational strategy.

Rugman and Verbeke (1992) is a significant work in many regards. First, it responds to a criticism of internalization theory prevalent at the time - that the theory (and empirical testing of the theory) reflects only multinational enterprises which develop FSAs at home (in the parent firm) and then transfer them abroad. Second, it combines an economic theory with strategic decision-making. Although he was an economist by background, in this and many other instances Rugman strove to integrate strategic management concepts. Third, Rugman and Verbeke persuasively show that the concept of integration-responsiveness is not a new theory, but in fact is neatly explained by internalization theory by acknowledging that firm-specific advantages may be location-bound or non-location bound.

In Rugman and Verbeke's view, non-location bound FSAs (a) can be transferred abroad and exploited for economies of scale, scope or of national differences (or in Bartlett and Ghoshal terms, for the benefits of integration); and (b) significantly, Rugman and Verbeke explicitly recognize here that non-location-bound FSAs can be developed not only by the parent firm, but also in the subsidiaries.

Location-bound FSAs, on the other hand, are those FSAs that may only be exploited in a particular location and are not transferable without adaptation (or, in Bartlett and Ghoshal terms, national responsiveness).

7. NEW INTERNALIZATION THEORY

Recognizing criticisms mounted against internalization theory, particularly that it assumed the easy transfer of FSAs within the MNE network and that it did not appropriately account for dynamic capability development, Rugman and Alain Verbeke set forth new internalization theory. New internalization theory was and is a response to the changing nature of multinational enterprises. When Rugman originally wrote on internalization theory, beginning in the late 1970s and early 1980s, multinational enterprises were more likely to be firms where FSAs were developed in the parent and transferred to the subsidiaries. Over time, scholars recognized that capability development occurred not only in the parent, but in the subsidiaries. Further, not only was it possible to generate location-bound FSAs in subsidiaries *a la* Rugman (1992) for the benefits of national responsiveness, but that non-location-bound FSAs could be developed in subsidiaries as well.

An early step in the development of new internalization theory was the theoretical and conceptual development of subsidiary-specific advantages (SSAs) by Rugman and Alan Verbeke (Rugman and Verbeke, 2001).

Subsidiary-specific advantages in particular, and new internalization theory in general, address many of the criticisms/implied assumptions of internalization theory as originally set forth. By recognizing the ongoing development and diffusion of knowledge among the parent firm and subsidiaries of the MNE network and showing how internalization explains the phe-

nomena, Rugman and Verbeke not only address the criticisms and implied assumptions, but again engaged with mainstream concepts from strategic management, including the resource-based view and dynamic capabilities (see Teece et al. 1997).

8. THE REGIONAL VS GLOBAL NATURE OF MNES

Rugman also had a profound effect on the study of another popular topic: globalization. In 1992, George Yip's book *Total Global Strategy: Managing for Worldwide Competitive Advantage* was published, and followed a few years later by Thomas Friedman's popular *The World is Flat: A Brief History of the Twenty-First Century*. In the 2000s the concept of globalization had the attention of academics and managers alike.

While many embraced the 'fact' of an increasingly globalized world, Rugman's 2001 book *The End of Globalization: Why Global Strategy is a Myth and How to Profit from the Realities of Regional Markets* signalled he was not one of globalization's acolytes. Rugman and Verbeke (2004) further rebutted the presumption of global business by showing that the large majority of the world's largest firms (taken from the Forbes Global 500) were not global either in sales or assets, but rather were regional. Thus, the empirical evidence showed that firms were unequivocally not global but regional, and that multinational enterprises pursue regional rather than global strategies. Rugman's research on regional versus global strategies and the regional nature of firms initiated a stream of research that continues today. Ten years after the 2004 paper, Rugman and Oh (2014) find that the multinational enterprises largely remain regional.

Rugman's work on regionalization also indicates a certain philosophy on data and empirical work worth noting. He was generally unimpressed by studies that reported large databases for the sake of large databases. He subscribed to the principle that the amount of data was less

important than having the *right* data. He often preferred data found in company annual reports, as it reflected the reality of the firms he studied.

Rugman favored this empirical evidence grounded in business reality. On his regionalization work, he was often questioned by other scholars why he only used the three regions of the triad (North America, Europe, Asia Pacific) rather than other conventions (for example, U.N. reports may have more than 10 regions), and conversely, he was often critical of papers that did not use the triad in their studies on regionalization. Rugman continually argued that the triad were the appropriate regions, for the simple reality that the multinational enterprises publicly *reported* their sales and assets by those regions in accordance with accounting standards.

9. CONCLUSION

The foregoing has attempted to summarize the career and important contributions of Alan Rugman. No doubt some of those contributions have been omitted here, given his extensive publication record. It is worth noting that while Rugman remained a proponent of internalization theory throughout his career -- he held the theory as his foundation and it was the lense through which he examined the world -- that is not to say his research and views did not evolve, nor is it to imply that he ignored topical issues. To the contrary, as evidenced by some of his focus research areas discussed above, he fully engaged with topics of the day, and he often engaged with concepts in the field of strategy -- and then often showed how internalization theory accounted for the concept. In many ways he tried to bridge the gap between internalization theory as a purely economic theory, and strategic management, resulting in an 'international strategic management' approach (Eden, 2005).

Similarly, as the realities of multinational enterprises changed, and as other scholars brought forth new concepts and theories, Rugman consistently extended and reconceptualized internalization theory to show how it continued to be valid for the new reality.

Conversely, as evidenced by his work on, for example, the double diamond of competitiveness, and regionalization, Rugman was a ready critic if the evidence examined through his theoretical and empirical lenses told him a different story than the conventional thinking.

It bears repeating that for Alan Rugman, the measure of his influence must include not only his many research contributions to the field (although he himself held research dear), but also the manner in which he proceeded in his career. An iconoclast, a challenger of conventional wisdom, a principled researcher, a shaper of the discussion, a leader in the field: he was all of those things, and while research contribution may shine brightest, each other role he played was important.

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Journal of International Doctoral Research (JIDR)
WOMEN, LEADERSHIP, AND PROMOTION IN THE CORPORATE ARENA:

MAPPING THE CONTEMPORARY FIELD FROM A CANADIAN PERSPECTIVE

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this article is to map the extant gender and leadership empirical research and leadership theory literature in order to position transformational leadership theory within a gender diversity perspective. In this theoretical and empirical research mapping, an exploration of women's continued underrepresentation in the corporate arena, a phenomenon often referred to as "the glass ceiling" (Hymowitz and Schelhardt, 1986), is discussed with a focus on the Canadian landscape.

The literature mapping highlights two empirical findings and an assumption that are, both separately and collectively, especially relevant for the glass ceiling debate. First, transformational leadership is positively associated with leadership effectiveness. Second, women are either no different, or more transformational, in their leadership style than men. Finally, there is an implicit, and sometimes explicit, assumption that transformational leadership is important for women's promotion to executive roles. The persistence of the glass ceiling despite these empirical findings suggests that this assumption may not be accurate.

The article also presents initial findings from a 2014 study of 483 Canadian Credit Union leaders that finds women are more transformational and effective leaders than men. Additionally, initial results from this study suggest that transformational leadership is not important for women's promotion to executive positions in this industry.

Key Words: Gender, transformational leadership, glass ceiling, promotion, credit unions

1. INTRODUCTION

“The glass ceiling” phrase was introduced in 1986 by *Wall Street Journal* writers to symbolize the invisible barriers that were preventing women from accessing the upper echelons of corporate America; the image highlighted that the finish line was close, and visible, but unachievable (Hymowitz and Schelhardt, 1986). Despite the almost three decades that have elapsed since the introduction of this phrase, and, as this article will highlight, substantial academic and industry research, as well as government and corporate initiatives focused on achieving a more balanced representation of women and men in senior leadership roles, the glass ceiling phenomenon persists (Catalyst, 2014d, Catalyst, 2014c, Silva et al., 2012, Catalyst, 2014b, Barsh J., 2012). Canadian projections suggest that the elimination of the glass ceiling may not be imminent. Estimates suggest that in Canada, given the 1% change of women’s representation in senior management roles since 1987, it can be expected that women will not occupy 50% of senior management roles until 2068 (Beckton, 2012).

This article has four parts. First, a discussion of women and leadership in the corporate arena is presented with a focus on the Canadian landscape. Second, a mapping of the extant literature on leadership theory and empirical research on gender and leadership is provided along with implications for the glass ceiling debate. Next, an overview of the Canadian Credit Union industry is presented to shed insight on women’s leadership representation in a female-dominated industry along with some initial findings from a 2014 Canadian Credit Union empirical study that explores gender, self-perceptions of transformational leadership, and promotion. Finally, a brief discussion of article contributions and limitations is presented as well as suggestions for further research.

2. WOMEN AND LEADERSHIP IN THE CORPORATE ARENA

Since 2006 the World Economic Forum has been producing *The Global Gender Gap Report* which quantifies the gap between men and women globally in four categories: Economic Participation and Opportunity, Education Attainment, Health and Survival, and Political Empowerment. The 2013 report which includes 136 countries representing over 90% of the world's population indicates that when all categories are combined the Nordic countries (Iceland, Finland, Norway, and Sweden) occupy the top four positions (Hausmann & Tyson, 2013). Canada's ranking is 20th, slightly ahead of the United States which is ranked 23rd.

This report indicates that 96% of the gap in Health and Survival and 93% of the gap in Educational Attainment have been closed (Hausmann & Tyson, 2013). Whereas there is only a small difference between men and women in these two categories, the gap in Economic Participation and Opportunity remains wide. Only 60% of the gap in this category has been closed which suggests that there is still significant disparity between men and women in this area. The Economic Participation and Opportunity measure comprises four ratios, and the ratio that is most relevant to this article assesses the ratio of female legislators, senior officials, and managers to comparable male incumbents. Canada's female to male ratio on this measure is .58, which places it in the 25th position globally, significantly behind the United States at position 13, but well ahead of all Nordic Countries (Hausmann & Tyson, 2013p. 52). This 2013 *Global Gender Gap Report* concludes by asserting that there is a strong correlation between a country's gender gap and its competitiveness, income, and development, and that the mobilization of women, who

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represent 50% of a country's talent base, is essential. In short, the report suggests that long term country competitiveness is related to the education and utilization of women in the economy.

In addition to the *Global Gender Gap Report* there are other reports and research in the public sector, the corporate arena, and academia that concur with the findings of the World Economic Forum. These reports specifically address the importance of expanding the role of women in business, particularly at the executive levels in corporations. For example, The European Commission issued a report in 2010 highlighting the importance of increasing the number of women in top positions in the private sector in order for Europe to effectively compete in the increasingly global knowledge-based economy (Fuller et al., 2010). Another example is *The Female FTSE Board Report*, published by Cranfield University (Vinnicombe et al., 2014). This report tracks the progress of women's representation on boards in the United Kingdom following the Lord Davies report that exhorted top corporations to recognize the benefits of gender equality in the board room and to improve women's representation on British Boards. The 2014 report documents improvements of FT 100 firms who had 12.5% female board members and have improved to 20.7% in 2014. The report highlights the importance of moving beyond the boardroom and encourages corporations to examine the representation of women in senior leadership corporate roles (Vinnicombe et al., 2014).

Catalyst and McKinsey and Company have each published reports indicating that organizations with senior female leaders financially outperform those with no women at the top on measures including Return on Equity, EBIT, and stock price growth (Desvaux et al., 2007, Catalyst, 2004, Barta et al., 2012). A 2011 research study supported these industry reports, finding that financial institutions with more women in senior management positions avoided having

to accept Troubled Asset Relief Program (TARP) funds (Bansak et al., 2011). Similar results were found in a 2011 empirical study showing that a significant increase in share price in Fortune 1000 companies occurred following the appointment of women to top leadership roles (Cook & Glass, 2011). In addition to the tangible financial benefits, there are a range of other benefits associated with diverse teams, including more creativity and better problem solving (Barta et al., 2012, Desvaux et al., 2007). The disadvantages associated with women's underrepresentation in top leadership was succinctly summarized by Mintzberg in 1996 as "wasting a great deal of talent" (H. Mintzberg 1996, p. 66. cited inCoder, 2013).

Despite documented evidence suggesting that tangible business benefits are associated with increasing women's representation in executive positions, the glass ceiling persists globally. According to Catalyst, in 2013 women occupied 24% of senior management roles globally, comprising 24% in Europe, 20% in the US and 27% in Canada (Catalyst, 2014d).

This section has highlighted that there is a strong global business case to improve women's representation in the corporate arena, yet women continue to be underrepresented. Progress in Canada is slightly better than the global average and ahead of the United States and Europe. However, Canadian women's advancement into senior levels roles has remained largely stagnant for the last twenty years (Vachon & Lavis, 2013, E. & L., 2011). The next section will take a more explicit look at women and leadership roles in corporate Canada.

2.1 The Canadian Landscape

Recent labour market summary data for Canada indicates that women account for 47.5% of the Canadian workforce, 36.6% of managers, 18.1% of senior business leaders and 5.5% of

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CEOs/Heads (Catalyst, 2013b). Canadian women's representation at the most senior levels is slightly better than their American counterparts, who account for 4.6% of CEOs and 14.6% executive officers (Catalyst, 2014c).

In addition to being underrepresented in senior level leadership roles, Canadian women account for 14.5% of board seats in corporate Canada (Catalyst, 2013b). The Canadian federal government has stated that improving women's representation at the board level was good for women and business in Canada. As part of the Economic Action Plan 2012, this government created an advisory council of leaders from both the private and public sectors to partner with the Minister for the Status of Women to promote the participation of women on corporate boards (Irwin, 2013). The group was formed in June 2013 with a mandate to accomplish three tasks: firstly, to provide recommendations on how industry can increase women's representation on boards; secondly, to suggest mechanism for government and industry to assess progress; and thirdly, to provide suggestions for how the government can recognize companies who have achieved their targets (Irwin, 2013). This group's work resulted in the publication of "Good for Business: A Plan to Promote More Women on Canadian Boards" in June 2014 (Leitch, 2014). The report contains 11 recommendations including increasing women's board representation to 30% by 2019, with a longer-term goal of more gender balance, as well as a "comply or explain" requirement for publicly traded firms not achieving this target (Leitch, 2014).

The drive to improve Canadian women's representation on boards was recently reinforced by the introduction of Bill S-217 by a female member of the Canadian Senate, The Honourable Celine Herviieux-Payette (Herviieux-Payette, 2014). The bill seeks to improve the sex ratio on boards and seeks a balance of at least 40% women and 40% men on all boards of speci-

fied corporations, financial institutions, and Crown corporations. The organizations would need to achieve the targets within six years of the bill passage and achieve at least 20% within the first three years (Hervieux-Payette, 2014). This bill was introduced into the Canadian Senate on March 14, 2014 and has not yet been passed.

Whereas the opportunity to improve women's representation in executive roles in corporate Canada has been documented and there is evidence suggesting that this is a priority for some Canadian government officials, it is important to note that there is industry variance with the level of women's representation in executive roles. An example of this variance occurs in the financial services industry where women's representation is higher than average. Women account for 62.3% of employees, 23.2% of senior officers, 22.2% of board members, and 10.8% of CEO/Heads (Catalyst, 2014a). Women have made better progress in this sector; however, it is also worthwhile to note that this industry is female-dominated and therefore contains a substantially larger pool of women at the lower levels of the organizational hierarchy, 62.3% versus the 47.5% in the Canadian workforce (Catalyst, 2014a).

3. MAPPING THE EXTANT LITERATURE

This section maps the extant literature on leadership theory with a focus on transformational leadership theory. This is followed by a review of gender and leadership empirical studies with an emphasis on studies evaluating transformational leadership. Several relevant findings and assumptions for the glass ceiling phenomenon are then discussed.

3.1 Leadership Theory

Leadership research emerged in the early twentieth century with systematic studies of what constituted effective leadership occurring at US centres of research, such as Michigan and Ohio in the 1940s and 1950s (Avolio et al., 2009). In 1948, Ralph Stodgill published “Personal Factors Associated with Leadership: A Survey of The Literature” which included 128 studies of literature which he characterized according to five traits important to leadership: capacity, achievement, responsibility, participation, and status (as cited in Bass & Bass, 2008p. 6).

By the 1970s, leadership research moved from a focus on personality and traits to consideration of the situation and context of leadership (Zaccaro, 2012). In the late 1970s an additional shift occurred as researchers began to consider what became known as the “new leadership”, which focused on charismatic, visionary, and transformational leadership, and on a viewpoint that it was both personal traits and situations (including followers) that were important considerations in the success, emergence, and efficacy of leaders (Bass & Bass, 2008p. 6). By the late 1980s, traits had re-emerged as an important focus of leadership research along with context.

In 2014, Dinh et al. created a comprehensive summary of the most recent leadership theory by undertaking a qualitative review of original leadership research, published in ten top-tier academic journals between 2000 and 2012 (Dinh et al., 2014). The review included 752 articles from journals including *The Leadership Quarterly*, *Academy of Management Journal*, and *Journal of Applied Psychology*. Their analysis suggested that leadership research conducted in this time period may be broadly categorized as belonging to one of eight categories summarized in Table 1. Of these eight categories, neo-charismatic theories, which includes transformational and charismatic leadership, represents the most frequently researched topic, accounting for 294

articles, or 39% of the literature (Dinh et al., 2014). This was followed by leadership and information processing, and social/exchange relational at 26% and 21% respectively.

TABLE 1

Leadership Theory and Research Summary 2000–2012 (Dinh et al., 2014)

Theory Category and Examples	Representative Research
Neo-Charismatic <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Transformational• Charismatic• Transactional	Antonakis, Avolio & Sivasubramaniam 2003 Bono & Judge 2004 Mumford, Antes, Caughron & Friedrich 2008
Leadership and Information Processing <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Leader and follower cognition• Implicit leadership• Attribution	Lord & Hall 2005 Lord & Shondrick 2011 Martinko, Harvey & Douglas 2007
Social Exchange/Relational <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Leader/member exchange• Relational leadership• Vertical dyadic linkage (VDL)	Uhl-Bien 2006 Brower, Schoorman, & Tan 2000 Shin & Zhou 2003
Dispositional/Trait <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Trait• Leadership skills/competence• Leader motive profile	Judge & Bono 2000 Zaccaro 2007
Leadership and Diversity <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Leadership and diversity• Cross-cultural leadership	Eagly & Chin 2010 Kirkman, Chen, Farh, Chen, & Lowe 2009 Walumbwa, Lawler, & Avolio 2007
Follower-centric Leadership <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Followership• Romance of leadership• Aesthetic	Bligh 2011 Hansen, Ropo & Sauer 2007 Howell & Shamir 2005
Behavioural <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Participative/shared• Behavioural• Leadership reward and punishment	Carson et al 2007 Podsakoff et al 2006
Contingency <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Path-goal• Situational• Contingency	Keller 2006 Vroom & Jago 2007 Yukl 2008
Power and Influence <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Power and influence• Political theory and influence tactics	Ammeter et al 2002 Treadway et al 2004

The range of leadership theories, summarized in the eight categories, suggests that there is not one “right” approach to the study of leadership. This notwithstanding, the preponderance of research that centres on transformational leadership theory suggests that this is both a valid and well explored theory. A deeper discussion of transformational leadership theory is warranted in this article given the usage of this theory and the Multi-Factor Leadership Questionnaire in gender and leadership empirical research studies.

3.2 Transformational Leadership Theory

Differentiating between transactional and transformational leadership was first introduced by Downton (1973) to explain differences among revolutionary, rebellious, reform, and ordinary leaders (as cited in Bass & Avolio, 2004). Downton's conceptualization was more firmly established in 1978 with the publication of “Leadership“, James Burns’ seminal study of political leaders. According to Burns, transactional leadership was the most common leadership style and exists when leaders approach followers with the goal of exchanging one thing for another, such as jobs for votes or extra work for extra financial compensation (Burns, 1978). Transformational leadership was less common and occurs when “one or more persons engage with others in such a way that leaders and followers raise one another to higher levels of motivation and morality” (Burns, 1978p.20). Transformational leaders create conditions in which they and their followers want to be their best and display an elevated commitment and contribution to a shared vision and this behaviour results in outcomes far beyond the cost-benefit model used by transactional leaders. In short, transactional leadership yields expected performance and transformational leadership yields performance beyond expectation. Following Burns, transformational leadership as a construct has been discussed in the works of many academics including Bass 1985; Conger &

Kanungo 1987, 1988; House 1977; Podsakoff, McKenzie, Moorman, & Fetter 1990; Ticjy & Devanna 1986; Trice & Beyer, 1986; & Yukl 1989 (as cited in Bass & Avolio, 2004).

In 1985 Bernard Bass made two significant contributions to transformational leadership research. First, he introduced the Multi-Factor Leadership Questionnaire to measure what he termed the Full Range Theory of Leadership which included transformational, transactional, and laissez-faire leadership behaviours (Bass, 1985, Bass & Avolio, 2004). The MLQ measured the degree to which a leader exhibits each type of leadership behaviour on a scale ranging from “0” representing “not at all” to “4” representing “frequently, if not always”. Second, unlike Burns, who conceptualized transformational and transactional leadership as opposites, Bass theorized that all leaders used all three types of leadership (transformational, transactional, and laissez-faire) but that effective leaders used very low levels of laissez –faire, which includes behaviours such as avoiding decision making and being absent when needed. Conversely, effective leaders frequently used both transformational and transactional leadership behaviours, but the most effective leaders used transformational leadership behaviours very frequently, if not always (Bass & Avolio, 2004). A summary of transactional and transformational leadership behaviour is provided by Colbert et al in Table 2 (Colbert et al., 2006).

TABLE 2

Transformational and Transactional Behaviours (Colbert et al., 2006)

Transformational Leaders	Transactional Leaders
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Model the actions they expect from their followers (“walk the talk”)• Communicate a compelling vision of the	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• View the leader-follower relationship as a process of exchange (e.g. this for that)• Directive and take action

future	• Accept organization goals
• Challenge the status quo	• Work within the status quo
• Support the development of their followers	• Sample Quotation: “Do as I say and you will get a raise.”
• Sample Quotation: “Some men see things the way they are and ask why: I see things as they could be and ask why not?”	

Support for transformational leadership theory has been found in numerous empirical studies and the findings have been summarized in two meta-analytic studies, respectively reviewing 75 studies (Lowe et al., 1996) and 113 studies (Wang et al., 2011). The positive relationship between transformational leadership and leadership results continue to be supported by more recent studies (Kissi et al., 2013, Braun et al., 2013, Sadeghi & Pihie, 2012).

3.2 Gender and Leadership

The previous section highlighted some of the stages and trends in the leadership literature and the idea that transformational leadership theory continues to be a frequently researched topic. This section maps gender and leadership empirical research with an emphasis on transformational leadership which is regularly used in this literature.

Given women’s continued underrepresentation in the upper echelons of the corporate arena (Catalyst, 2014d), it is not surprising that the topic of gender and leadership is the focus of considerable academic research (Schuh et al., 2014, Wolfram & Gratton, 2013, Wang et al., 2013, Sheridan et al., 2014, Appelbaum et al., 2013, Alimo-Metcalf, 2010, Atewologun & Doldor, 2013). A number of research studies seek to contribute to the understanding of the glass ceiling by evaluating whether gender differences in leadership exist. Some studies find evidence of gender differences in leadership and leadership outcomes (Brandt & Laiho, 2013, Ibarra &

Obodaru, 2009, Bartol, 2003, Eagly et al., 2003, Wolfram & Gratton, 2013, Wang et al., 2013, Eisner, 2013, Loughlin, 2012, Kark et al., 2012, Burke & Collins, 2000); others indicate that there are no differences between how men and women lead or achieve leadership outcomes (Kent et al., 2010, Mandell & Pherwani, 2003, Manning, 2002, Brown & Reilly, 2008, Oshagbemi, 2008, Belasen & Frank, 2012, Barbuto et al., 2007). Table 3 presents some of the existing empirical research on gender and transformational leadership.

TABLE 3

Gender and Transformational Leadership Empirical Research Summary

Researcher/ Year	Country/ Industry	Leadership Survey/ Leader Level	Rater Type	Sample Size/ % Women	Gender effect?
Brandt & Laiho/ 2013	Finland/ Mixed	LPI Managers and Leaders	Self and Subordinates	459 38%	Yes
Kent, Rudd et al/ 2010	Germany/ Mixed	LBI Supervisors	Subordinate	337 21%	No
Brown & Reilly/2008	US/ Manufacturing	MLQ Managers and Supervisors	Self and Subordinates	161 28%	No
Barbuto et al 2007	US/ Mixed	MLQ Managers and Leaders	Self and Others	56 64%	No
Mandell & Pherwani/ 2003	US/ Mixed	MLQ Managers and Supervisors	Self	32 59%	No
Eagly et al/ 2003	Global/ Meta-Analysis of 45 Studies	62% MLQ 9% LPI Managers and Leaders	36% Self 38% Subordinates 24% Multi-raters	Varied	Yes
Manning/ 2002	US/ Social Service	LPI Managers and	Self and Others	64 56%	No

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Researcher/ Year	Country/ Industry	Leadership Survey/ Leader Level	Rater Type	Sample Size/ % Women	Gender effect?
	Agency	Leaders			
Burke & Collins/ 2001	US/ Accounting	MLQ Supervisors	Self	1031/ 69%	Yes

Table 3 highlights that there are several methodological differences among the studies. For example, the measure of transformational leadership varies. The Multi-Factor Leadership Questionnaire (MLQ) (Bass & Avolio, 2004) is used most frequently, followed by the Leadership Practices Inventory (LPI) (Kouzes & Posner, 2001) , and the Leadership Behaviour Inventory (LBI)(Kent et al., 2010) . Also, there are differences in the data sources, some studies are based on leader self-ratings, while others include self and subordinate ratings. The level of leader examined in the studies also varies, and can include supervisors, managers, and leaders, or a combination of these levels. The studies also have different organizational demographics, for example, some of the industries are male dominated while others are female-dominated. There has been discussion in the literature that suggests that personal and organizational variable differences may partially explain why studies of gender and leadership yield different results (Vecchio, 2002, Van Engen & Willemssen, 2000, Pounder & Coleman, 2002, Vinnicombe & Kakabadse, 1999, Eagly, 2001). For example, gender differences in leadership style have been found in industries that are female dominated (Melero, 2011, Gardiner & Tiggermann, 1999).

The combination of the viewpoints that there is no difference in how women and men lead, or that women have a leadership advantage, as evidenced by some of the empirical research highlighted above and espoused by some of the literature (Rosener, 1990, Rosette & Plunkett, 2010, Eagly et al., 2003), coupled with the tenacity of the glass ceiling, raises an interesting question:

3.2.1 How Important is Women's Leadership Style for the Promotion to Executive Roles?

There appears to be an implicit and sometimes explicit assumption in the literature that the leadership style is important for women's promotion and that there is a positive association between leadership style and promotion. This is evidenced by the title of a 1994 article: "Shatter the Glass Ceiling: Women May Make Better Managers" (Bass & Avolio, 1994). Alice Eagly is more explicit: "The possibility that women and men differ in their typical leadership behaviour is important because leaders' own behaviour is a major determinant of their effectiveness and chances for advancement" (Eagly et al., 2003p.569). Despite this assumption, there appears to be a dearth of literature that explicitly examines if there is, indeed, a positive association between leadership style and promotion. An empirical study of managers in the mid-western United States found that managers that were promoted rapidly engaged in different behaviours from managers that were effective (Luthans, 1988). Conversely, a more recent experimental study (Vinkenburg et al., 2011) found that transformational leadership is important for the promotion of women and men to senior management roles. The next section provides initial findings from a 2014 Canadian empirical study of leaders that adds to this literature by exploring if there is a positive relationship between transformational leadership and promotion.

4. INITIAL RESEARCH FINDINGS

This section presents some of the initial findings from a 2014 study of gender, leadership, and promotion within the context of Canadian Credit Unions (Knight, 2014). An overview of the Canadian Credit Union industry is presented first. This overview provides context for the research and highlights the benefits of conducting research in this industry in order to provide insight into the te-

nacity of the glass ceiling. Given the word-length constraints of this article, only a high-level overview of the study and findings are presented.

4.1 The Canadian Credit Union Industry

Before describing the benefits of examining the glass ceiling phenomenon within the context of the Canadian Credit Union environment it is useful to highlight the difference between a credit union and a bank. Like banks, credit unions provide core financial services, such as savings and chequing accounts, credit cards, loans, and investment services. Also, like banks, credit unions need their revenue to exceed expenses, and ensure that their employees are paid (Rogers, 2012). Unlike banks, credit unions are cooperatives and this creates three key distinctions: first, credit union equity is not often directly accessible to its member-owners; second; creating value is not solely about maximizing profits; third, creating value is not always measured in economic terms (Rogers, 2012, Deloitte, 2010, CUCC, 2014).

As a female dominated industry, the Canadian Credit Union industry is a particularly interesting environment to explore the glass ceiling phenomenon, and more specifically the intersection of gender, leadership and promotion. Some of these benefits are highlighted by this 2013 quote from Tracie Redies, who is CEO of Coast Capital, currently the third largest credit union in Canada:

“As CEO of Canada’s second-largest credit union, where 72% of our workforce is made up of women, I feel strongly that all levels of our organization should reflect the composition of our workforce and our community. Last year Coast Capital was named the top organization in Canada by Catalyst for the highest percentage of women in senior executive roles in Canada, with 70% of our executives being women. It’s also worth noting that 40% of our board directors and 45% of our leaders below the senior executive are wom-

en. We've done this not only because it's the right thing to do, but also because it makes good business sense to have diverse teams....As an industry that employs a large female cohort, credit unions have been very supportive in developing women. While the large Canadian banks have yet to have a woman in their top position, three of the largest five credit unions in Canada have a female CEO, and the CEO of Canada's largest cooperative financial institution is also a very capable woman" (Redies, 2013).

This Redies quotation highlights three important and unique elements of the Canadian Credit Union industry. First, unlike the top five banks in Canada who have never had a female CEO, three of the top five credit unions in Canada have female CEOs, which represents 14% versus 5.7% in other Canadian corporations (Catalyst, 2013a). Second, the industry is female-dominated and also has a relatively large proportion of female senior leaders. More specifically, women represent 75% of employees of the 22 firms participating in the 2014 credit union leader research study to be discussed in this article, and the proportion of female senior leaders and CEOs in the study is 36% and 14% respectively, compared to 18.1% and 5.7% across all Canadian businesses (Catalyst, 2013b, Knight, 2014). Finally, Tracey Redies's commentary highlighting the business benefits of a diverse senior leadership team and the importance of gender diversity at the board level echoes the themes that were discussed in the women in the corporate arena section presented earlier in this article. In short, with respect to the glass ceiling, it appears that large Canadian Credit Unions may be "getting it right". In summary, analysis of gender, leadership, and promotion in this industry provides a sizeable pool of women leaders to that comfortably supports quantitative methods and the female-dominated nature of the industry may provide useful insights into the glass ceiling phenomenon.

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There were two additional benefits associated with conducting a research study of Canadian Credit Unions. First, although there are Canadian empirical studies that examine transformational leadership in the private and public sectors (Loughlin, 2012, Wang & Gagné, 2013, Simola et al., 2012, Wang & Howell, 2010, Blayney & Blotnicky, 2010, Howell & Hall-Merenda, 1999) and leadership in the across North American credit unions (Barrick & Roberstson, 2013, Colbert et al., 2008), there does not appear to be existing empirical research on gender and leadership in the Canadian Credit Unions. Research in this industry therefore presents an opportunity for a unique contribution to the academic literature from both a country and industry perspective. Second, this industry, like other global cooperatives, is grappling with significant challenges due to an aging customer base, provincial consolidation, and a changing regulatory environment (Haggart, 2012, Brizland, 2011). Environments undergoing significant change and challenge are fertile for the usage and success of transformational leadership, which is the leadership style measure used in the research study (Eisenbach et al., 1999, Antonakis, 2002).

In summary, the Canadian Credit Union industry's relatively high representation of female senior leaders, along with the shared industry obstacles, creates an ideal opportunity to explore the topic of gender, leadership, and promotion. This industry is in the midst of significant change which will likely require a high level of leadership expertise in order to survive and prosper in the future.

4.2 2014 Canadian Leadership Study: Initial Findings

This leadership study seeks to contribute to understanding the persistence of the glass ceiling phenomenon by exploring the topic of gender, leadership, and promotion in the context of a female-

dominated industry (Knight, 2014). Data was collected from 483 leaders across 22 organizations within the Canadian Credit Union industry. Each leader provided demographic information and completed self-ratings of their transformational leadership behaviour and leadership outcomes based on the Multi-Factor Leadership Questionnaire [MLQ (5X)] (Bass & Avolio 2004). Transformational leadership comprises five sub-scales: *idealized influence attributes*, *idealized influence behaviours*, *inspirational motivation*, *individualized consideration*, and *intellectual stimulation* (Bass & Avolio 2004). The leadership outcomes measure comprises three sub-scales: *extra effort*, *effectiveness*, and *satisfaction* (Bass & Avolio 2004). The response rate was 93%, comprising 170 women and 313 men. The data was analysed using one-way between groups analysis of variance and independent samples t-tests.

A one-way between-groups analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to explore the effect of gender on transformational leadership. Participants were divided into two groups according to their gender. There is a statistically significant difference at the $p < .05$ level of transformational leadership behaviour for men and women: $F(1, 470) = 6.320, p = .012$. The effect size, calculated using eta squared, was .01. The mean self-rating for female leaders is 3.34 and is 3.25 for male leaders. The study results indicate support for gender effects on transformational leadership favouring women, with women's self-ratings indicating more frequent displays of transformational leadership behaviour than men's self-ratings.

A one-way between-groups ANOVA was conducted to explore the effect of gender on leadership outcomes. Participants were divided into two groups according to their gender. There is a statistically significant difference at the $p < .05$ level in leadership outcomes scores for men and women: $F(1, 465) = 10.902, p = .001$. The effect size, calculated using eta squared, was .02. The mean score for female leaders was 3.45 and for male leaders 3.32. The study results indicate support

for gender effects on leadership outcomes favouring women, with women's self-ratings indicating that they obtain better leadership outcomes than men's self-ratings.

In order to evaluate whether transformational leadership is important for promotion the leaders were placed into groups based on if they had been promoted within the past five years. Excluding new hires, there were 193 leaders who were in the promotion group and 257 leaders in the no-promotion group. An independent samples t-test was conducted to compare the transformational leadership self-ratings of promoted and not promoted leaders. There is no statistically significant differences in the transformational leadership self-ratings of promoted leaders ($M = 3.27$, $SD = .376$) and not promoted leaders ($M = 3.28$, $SD = .353$); $t(437) = -.38$, $p = .31$.

The initial findings from this research study suggest that women may have a leadership advantage as evidenced by women exceeding men in frequency of transformational leadership behaviours and leadership outcomes obtained. However, this advantage may not be as beneficial to women seeking to shatter the glass ceiling because transformational leadership behaviour does not appear to be important for promotion to executive roles in this industry. This finding suggests that female leaders in this industry who seek promotions to the most senior executive roles should not assume that their transformational leadership style is a catalyst for advancement. These women may benefit from ascertaining what is important for career advancement into executive roles at their respective organizations.

5. CONTRIBUTIONS, LIMITATIONS, AND FURTHER RESEARCH

This article has made three contributions to the literature. First, it has mapped the extant literature in the fields of gender and leadership empirical research and leadership theory, in order to

position transformational leadership theory within a gender diversity perspective. This research mapping has shown empirical support for transformational leadership theory and presence of mixed findings on whether women and men lead in different ways. The mapping has highlighted an assumption in the literature about the importance of women's leadership style for promotion into the executive roles.

The presentation of initial findings from the 2014 Canadian gender and leadership study is a second contribution of this article. Although there are Canadian empirical studies that examine transformational leadership in the private and public sectors (Loughlin, 2012, Wang & Gagné, 2013, Simola et al., 2012, Wang & Howell, 2010, Blayney & Blotnick, 2010, Howell & Hall-Merenda, 1999) and leadership across North American credit unions (Barrick & Roberstson, 2013, Colbert et al., 2008), there appears to be a dearth of empirical gender and leadership research on the Canadian Credit Unions. Hence, this article makes a unique contribution to the literature with its focus on gender and leadership within the Canadian Credit Union industry.

Finally, the initial findings presented from the Canadian Credit Union study are important contributions to the literature. The study participants were exclusively leaders, not managers or a mixture of managers and leaders, which is atypical in the literature. This focus on leaders is especially important to understand women's underrepresentation at the executive level of corporations. Also, the initial findings contribute support to existing research that women and men lead in different ways in female dominated industries (Melero, 2011, Gardiner & Tiggermann, 1999). The finding that transformational does not appear to be important for promotion to executive roles in this industry is also valuable particularly given the dearth of research on this topic.

5.1 Limitations

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This article provides a high-level mapping of the leadership theory and gender and leadership empirical research in order to provide some insight into the persistence of the glass ceiling phenomenon. However, this approach coupled with the article word length requirements prevented the inclusion of structural/cultural explanatory theories of the glass ceiling (Weyer, 2007, Heilman, 2001, Eagly, 2002, Acker, 2009, Kanter, 1977). These explanatory theories collectively provide valuable insight into both the formation and persistence of the glass ceiling.

Another limitation is the usage of self-ratings in the 2014 Canadian Credit Union leadership research study (Knight, 2014). Although self-report data is regularly used in the literature as evidenced by the research summarized in Table 3, the self-report data used in the 2014 research study remains a limitation of this research not only because it provides a uni-dimensional view of the leader but also because the risk of using self-perceptions only is that it does not mitigate the risk of over-rating and under-rating, which research has shown can occur (Van Velsor et al., 1993).

5.2 *Suggestions for Further Research*

The ongoing interest in gender, leadership, and promotion is most recently evidenced by the recent call for papers for a 2016 special issue on Gender and Leadership in *The Leadership Quarterly* (Eagly & Heilman, 2014). This article has highlighted three areas of research that warrant particular focus. First: exploration of whether organizational context, such as whether the industry or company is female or male-dominated, has an impact on gender differences in leadership style. This research may help to explain the mixed findings of existing empirical studies. Second: if the focus of exploring gender differences in leadership style is to shed insight into the glass ceiling, more empirical research focused on leaders, not managers, is needed. Finally: the relationship between transforma-

tional leadership and promotion warrants further research to determine if it is important for women seeking promotion to executive positions.

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**THE INTELLECTUAL ORIGINS OF THE COLD WAR:
AMERICAN POLICYMAKERS AND POLICY, 1933-1945**

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the social, intellectual and historical origins of some fifty important American foreign policymakers who served under Presidents Roosevelt and Truman during the period roughly from 1933 to 1945, and attempts to trace the evolution of those particular ideas and attitudes which became central to their world view and which were decisive in shaping major wartime and post-war foreign policies. Among these policies this study has focused primarily on those which affected Soviet-American relations and which contributed, in one way or another, to the development of the cold war. Thus a major effort has been made to analyze the complex of motives behind the American foreign policy elite's pursuit of the controversial goals of multilateral free trade (via reciprocal trade, Lend-Lease, and the Bretton Woods institutions), self-determination of nations (especially in Eastern Europe), and military preparedness (through Universal Military Training and the retention of the atomic bomb). Finally, the evolution of these strategic policies has been examined within the context of the debate between orthodox and revisionist historians on the origins of the cold war and with the hope of creating a new and more satisfactory synthesis from among their conflicting interpretations.

Among the more tentative conclusions the author finds that the principal foreign policy advisors were not, with a few notable exceptions, the reactionary, obsessively anti-Communist

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corporate elites depicted by certain radical revisionist historians; rather they were essentially sophisticated, liberal, and quite pragmatic men whose policies when measured against their particular family, class, educational and professional backgrounds, and judged in the light of their extensive prewar and wartime experience, were quite reasonable, even enlightened. Thus the pursuit of multilateral free trade through such devices as tariff reduction, non-discriminatory trade, and currency convertibility is viewed not simply as an Open-Door technique to ensure the expansion of postwar American foreign markets, but rather as a theoretically and historically sound way (especially when contrasted with the numerous prewar failures to attain economic self-sufficiency) to create that international equilibrium and increased world prosperity upon which postwar world peace and order were believed to depend. Furthermore, the author shows that multilateral objectives were also widely shared by Great Britain and the other major manufacturing and trading nations although, of course, these nations often insisted upon minor policy changes in line with their own particular economic and political requirements.

As for the American attempt to preserve political self-determination in Poland and the Balkans at the end of the war it, too, was an understandable, if not always realistic, policy. More significant is the fact that this policy derived from a complex of motives and circumstances that had little or nothing to do with any alleged pursuit of the Open-Door in Eastern Europe. Rather, traditional American opposition to spheres of influence diplomacy on the grounds that such policy promoted, rather than prevented, aggression, and the powerful and widely-publicized Anglo-American moral and diplomatic commitment to the postwar freedom of the Axis-dominated countries, Poland in particular, are seen as major determinants in shaping American foreign policy towards Eastern Europe. In addition, the author points out that there was a firm conviction among a newly ascendant and highly influential group of Russian experts within the

foreign policy establishment that Stalin had clearly violated key provisions of the Yalta agreement with respect to Poland and that Soviet Communism and, thus, Soviet expansion, if unchecked in Eastern Europe, might pose as grave a political and economic threat to the fragile and chaotic postwar worlds, as did earlier German and Japanese totalitarianism.

Finally, the continued postwar American emphasis on military preparedness through Universal Military Training (UMT) and the retention of atomic secrecy can be viewed, the author believes, as the defensible response of leaders deeply scarred by the memories of Munich and Pearl Harbor and increasingly apprehensive about the post-war designs of Stalinist Russia.

1. INTRODUCTION

For several decades after the end of the World War II there existed among the American public generally, as well as in the ranks of professional historians, a virtual consensus on the causes of the Soviet-American cold war confrontation. Most Americans regarded such major cold war policies as the Truman Doctrine, Marshall Plan, and the formation of NATO, as the courageous and necessary response of a mighty but essentially altruistic and benign power to the unanticipated and forceful expansion of a ruthless dictator. Stalin, it was widely assumed, was simply resuming his war-interrupted pursuit of traditional Russian expansionism and world-revolutionary Bolshevism. Few Americans, prior to 1960s, would seriously have disputed Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.'s appraisal of early cold war policies as "the brave and essential response of free men to communist aggression." (Schlesinger, 1967)

However, during that decade and largely because of the sordid and prolonged American involvement in Vietnam, a number of younger scholars, many of whom were identified with the New Left, launched a comprehensive attack on the old orthodoxy and forced a dramatic re-

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evaluation of all cold war dogmas and assumptions. Expanding in many cases the earlier Open-Door critique first elaborated by William Appleman Williams during the 1950s, writers like Gabriel Kolko and Lloyd Gardner indicted the United States as the principal perpetrator of the cold war. According to their interpretation, Truman's efforts to expel the Soviets from Poland, Germany, and the Balkans were strident and unwarranted interference with legitimate Soviet security measures and amounted to a direct and willful reversal of key provisions of the Yalta agreement. Furthermore, the effort was hypocritical since the phrases "self-determination" and "free-elections" were mainly a sop to American opinion, and were rather cynically designed to cover Truman's real objective, namely the subordination of Europe and as much of the underdeveloped world as possible to the requirements of sustained American overseas economic expansion (i.e., the Open-Door). There are, of course, significant revisionist variations on this Open-Door theme. Kolko, for example, emphasizes the ideological and institutionally-determined character of most American wartime and postwar planning. Similar to elite theorists like C. Wright Mills and Richard Barnet, Kolko believes that the foreign policy apparatus was (and still is) directed by corporate-minded, conservative elites. Consequently he manifests little surprise that American foreign policy in this period emphasized world-wide order and stability while mounting what he believes was a formidable opposition to leftist revolutionary movements in Greece, France, Italy and much of Latin-America. According to Kolko, the American effort to create an allegedly liberal, multi-lateral (free trade) postwar world through such devices as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the International Trade Organization, and the British Loan, scarcely concealed thoroughly conservative economic goals; namely, the strengthening of American free enterprise through the preservation of a world-wide social and economic status quo.

Lloyd Gardner takes a slightly different approach. While generally agreeing with the Open-Door policy analysis of Williams and Kolko, he stresses certain other factors. Where they observe policymakers attracted by visions of expanding capitalism, Gardner sees them driven by fear. Haunted by the specter of a serious postwar depression, American leaders pursued a multilateral free trade world in a frantic effort to avoid the imposition of radical controls over the domestic economy. Opposition to closed political and economic blocs anywhere, not just in Eastern Europe, was thus a logical necessity. According to this interpretation conservative apprehension about radical domestic reform (the threat of a kind of super New Deal) may be more important than alleged Stalinist expansion in explaining American policy toward Eastern Europe.

Apart from these revisionists who emphasized the expansive nature of American capitalism as the chief cause of postwar Soviet-American confrontation, there are a number of other cold war critics whose work differ markedly on a wide range of specific issues. These writers, sometimes called “soft” revisionists, offer no fundamental critique of American institutions or ideas but stress, rather, the primary significance of certain rigidly anti-communist officials who shaped policy after Roosevelt’s death and who, thus, were mainly responsible for precipitating the Soviet-American conflict. These historians do, of course, agree with the other revisionists that the United States, and not the Soviet Union, bears major responsibility for the Cold war.

The most controversial writer among revisionist historians of this type is Gar Alperovtitz, whose provocative book Atomic Diplomacy (Knopf, 1965), contends that Truman and certain anti-Soviet advisors like Byrnes and Harriman, breaking decisively from Roosevelt’s wartime policy of US-Soviet collaboration and friendship, dropped the atom bombs not to shorten the war

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against Japan (about to surrender, according to Alperovitz, through conventional military pressure), but rather to impress the recalcitrant Soviets with America's new-found power and make Stalin more tractable towards American aims in Eastern Europe and the Far East. David Horowitz' Free World Colossus (1965) also makes the case for a dramatic reversal by Truman of the wartime policy of collaboration. Here the gaunt figure of the dying Harry Hopkins—and behind him Secretary of State Byrnes and Ambassador Harriman—emerge as the decisive personalities urging Truman to assume a posture of belligerency and non-cooperation.

The most recent and, perhaps, most startling revisionist effort may be Diane Shaver Clemens' book Yalta (1970). She contends that it was the United States, not the Soviet Union, which systematically violated the major clauses of the Yalta agreement. In sharp contrast to the actions of an essentially moderate, accommodating, and trustworthy Stalin, Truman and certain key advisors in the months after Roosevelt's death, unilaterally reversed, she concludes, the most important decisions of the Crimean Conference, namely the agreements on the composition of the postwar Polish Government, and the vital question of future German reparations.

Granting the persuasive quality of much of the new revisionism, especially its exposure of some of the self-serving aspects of traditional cold war historiography, what can be said for the overall validity of its claims, especially the comprehensive indictments of American institutions and ideology launched by Williams, Kolko, and Gardner? Can one accept their central charge that the overriding aim of American foreign policy during and after the war was world economic hegemony? That in pursuing this ambitious goal American leaders (as Kolko argues) carefully meshed political and military strategy to subdue everywhere the emerging majoritarian forces of the "left"—while simultaneously resurrecting a moribund pre-fascist capitalist social order? That failing to attain this through economic instrumentalities like the

World Bank, ITO, IMF, the British Loan, and foreign aid assistance, Washington's resourceful cold warriors then largely fabricated and cynically manipulated (as Kolko maintains) a non-existent Stalinist threat in order to obtain the necessary domestic support for the creating of a vast military-industrial machine to service their Open-Door aims?

Any attempts to assess properly this body of revisionist literature raise a host of complex considerations. First of all, one of the most fundamental assumptions of revisionist critics, namely Stalin's essential conservatism and lack of postwar aggressive intentions, cannot be demonstrated with any degree of finality due to the lack of adequate Soviet diplomatic source materials. Nor, for the same reason, can we know to what extent Marxist ideology, as opposed to traditional Russian imperialism, motivated Stalin's foreign policies in this period.

Secondly, the revisionist criticism that American-style free enterprise is innately exploitive and thus inherently illiberal and unsympathetic to change is a proposition that requires, it would seem, more extensive demonstration than that furnished, to date, by the leading revisionists. Are the men who occupy the top policymaking positions in capitalist nations predetermined by that fact alone to act exclusively or primarily in the interests of corporations, propertied classes, or the status quo generally? Are they invariably opposed to liberal governments and their policies of change (not to speak of the more fundamental reforms proposed by socialistic or social-democratic regimes)? One would need to gather a wide sample of the thinking of such leaders and examine a broad variety of their activities in a number of specific instances in order to establish the soundness of such propositions. Furthermore, in order to make major criticisms stick with respect to the Cold War period, one would have to be persuaded that other real, viable, and more liberal alternatives existed and were rejected, possibilities seldom systematically explored by revisionists like Williams, Gardner, or Kolko.

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It is an attempt to uncover some tentative answers to these provoking questions that this thesis is undertaken. It is my purpose to examine the social, intellectual and historical backgrounds of some fifty important policymakers under Roosevelt and Truman in order to comprehend, as far as possible, their collective world view on the eve of World War II and their influence upon the formation of certain American foreign policies during the war and early cold war period. Such an inquiry will illumine, hopefully, the foreign policy elite's attitudes towards such critical cold war issues as freedom and democracy, totalitarianism and communism, (especially the Stalinist variety), and the controversial policies associated with multilateral free trade, self-determination of nations, military preparedness, and the vast problems of postwar social, political, and economic revolution and change. Such examination may then enable us with more confidence to approach a new synthesis between traditional cold war orthodoxy and the new revisionist views.

The sample of policymakers examined here was derived from a wide variety of sources. Individuals who held the offices of Secretary of State, Under-Secretary, and Assistant Secretary, as well as State Department division chiefs, advisors, and key ambassadors and consular personnel were all necessarily included. Officials in other departments known to have influenced foreign policy formation were also studied. Thus, Treasury Secretary Morgenthau, his assistant Harry Dexter White, and Commerce Department Secretaries Jesse Jones and Henry A. Wallace were added to the sample. The Joint Chiefs of Staff and the top hierarchy of the War Department, as well as key Congressional leaders like Senators Vandenberg and Tom Connally, were also included. Special Presidential advisors, both civilian and military, became part of the sample. In this category such figures as Harry Hopkins, Clark Clifford, Admiral Leahy, and Generals John R. Deane and Walter Bedell Smith readily come to mind. Obviously, not all of these men shared

equal responsibility for, or had proportionate influence on, the diplomacy of this period. But taken together they are, I believe, a more representative and comprehensive group of influential foreign policy advisors than have previously been examined in one place.

Information on their backgrounds and thinking was also derived from numerous sources. The most useful were personal memoirs, autobiographies, official and personal papers, various excellent secondary sources, and certain official government publications, especially the invaluable Foreign Relations series. Where pertinent biographical information was lacking, Current Biography and Who's Who often proved quite useful. Finally, additional information of considerable importance was generously accorded the author in personal interviews with George F. Kennan, Charles Bohlen, Averell Harriman, Loy Henderson, Elbridge Durbrow, Benjamin Cohen, General Lucius D. Clay, and Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. I would like to express my deepest thanks to these men for their attentive and thoughtful answers to my numerous inquiries.

2. CONCLUSION

This historical study has been undertaken with several objectives in mind. It has, first of all, attempted to convey a distinct yet comprehensive picture of the social, economic, and intellectual origins of the fifty or so most important American foreign policy-makers during the decade roughly from 1933 to 1945. Secondly, an effort has been made to ascertain the principal elements in the worldview of these men as it had evolved on the eve of World War II, and especially to pinpoint those ideas and attitudes, which were paramount in shaping major wartime and postwar foreign policies. Of these latter policies this study has focused primarily on those which affected Soviet-American relations and which led, in one way or another, to the development of the cold war. Finally all of these matters have been examined within the context

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of the origins of the cold war and with the hope of creating a new and more satisfactory synthesis from among their conflicting interpretations.

Among the numerous conclusions tentatively arrived at in this study several, it would seem, appear quite compelling at the present moment. First of all, unlike the stereotype of reactionary, obsessively anti-communist corporate elites pictured by certain radical revisionist historians, most of the key American foreign policymakers examined here were, with one or two exceptions, highly sophisticated, cosmopolitan, and unusually pragmatic and flexible men. And while one might grant that they held views by and large appropriate to upper class professionals trained in business, law, and diplomacy, these views were certainly not doctrinaire or reactionary nor were they in any sense the overt expression of the conservative business point of view. Rather, the foreign policy elite demonstrated a deep and consistent devotion to the ethical norms of middle class Protestant Christianity, especially its emphasis on freedom and civil liberties, and the principles of legality and order which the policy-makers inherited from their particular family, class, and educational and professional backgrounds. Consequently, the near consensus among them by 1941 on the efficacy and desirability of such goals as multilateralism, self-determination, and military preparedness, and their widespread conviction by 1945 of the ruthless, aggressive, and generally untrustworthy nature of Stalin's regime, were quite reasonable attitudes based on their convictions and what they believed were the indelible historical lessons of the interwar and wartime years.

For example, continued emphasis on military preparedness through Universal Military Training (UMT) and the retention of atomic secrecy was the predictable response of a generation of leaders scarred by the searing memories of Munich and Pearl Harbor and who were faced with the prospects of a prolonged confrontation with an alien and hostile rival power that might prove

to be just as dangerous in the postwar period as Hitler and Nazism had been in the 1930s.

As for the American pursuit of self-determination in Eastern Europe at the end of the war that, too, was a fairly predictable, if not always realistic, policy. Traditional American opposition to European power politics and spheres of influence diplomacy on the grounds that these promoted rather than prevented aggression dictated such a policy, and the growing fear after 1944 that Stalinist Communism might be just as malignant and predatory as Japanese or German totalitarianism made the pursuit of self-determination largely inevitable (Ernest May, 1973). In addition, there were special domestic-political as well as legal-moralistic considerations that prompted American policy-makers to try and ensure self-determination in Eastern Europe, especially in Poland. The large number of vocal ethnic groups and American Catholics would never have stood by and allowed the government leaders to write off eastern Europe as a concession to the Soviets. Furthermore, Americans of all persuasion were increasingly sensitive to the postwar arguments against appeasement and were not in the mood to endure the humiliation of another Munich at the hands of Stalin. More importantly, by 1945 American foreign policy was largely in the hands of experienced diplomats and old State Department Russian experts who, despite sharp periodic fluctuations in their influence at the highest policymaking levels between 1935 and 1945, had, through a series of fortuitous circumstances, risen to the highest levels of government by the end of the war and, thus, were in a position to influence the new President's foreign policies decisively. These men were convinced that Stalin had broken key Yalta agreements with respect to Poland and the Balkans and they were acutely conscious of the United States Government's numerous wartime pledges to restore the freedom of the Axis-dominated countries. This latter consideration weighed on most of them as an urgent moral responsibility. In addition, these policymakers believed that Stalinist Russia, if unchecked,

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might present an overwhelming postwar political and military threat to the fragile political, social, and economic structures of both Eastern and Western Europe.

The source of the American foreign policy elite's grave fear and distrust of Stalinist Russia lay, of course, not only in its deep ideological aversion to Russian Communism, but in its long and intimate acquaintance with Soviet history and especially Soviet-American relations during the interwar period. Many of the most influential advisors whom Truman inherited in 1945, were men who had highly unnerving and disillusioning experiences inside the Soviet Union during the thirties and early forties and who, consequently, nourished a profound skepticism about the possibilities of permanent friendly relations between the United States and Stalinist Russia. Individuals like George F. Kennan, Charles Bohlen, Loy Henderson, Elbridge Durbrow, John Deane, and Ambassador Averell Harriman (not to mention more extreme ideological opponents of Russian Communism like Joseph Grew and James Forrestal) were simply not prepared to trust very much the government of a dictator who, during the tumultuous 1930s, had brutally imposed a vast and savage policy of forced collectivization in Ukraine against the Russian Kulak landowners and their agricultural laborers, killing more than three million of them. Nor could American and Allied policymakers forget the murderous Orwellian "show trials" staged by Stalin and his henchman Vishinsky after 1938 that resulted in the deaths (by execution or exile to gulags) of hundreds, possibly thousands, of innocent Russian men and women convicted as so-called "enemies of the state". In fact, such was Stalin's brutality and paranoia that he used his notorious secret police, the NKVD (predecessor to the KGB) to exterminate numerous high ranking military officers and other suspect Soviet officials who had voiced even mild misgivings about the secret Soviet Non-Aggression Pact with Nazi Germany that Stalin and Molotov had concluded with Hitler and the Nazis in 1939. That fateful pact, of

course, subsequently resulted in the brutal and simultaneous attack by both Russia and Germany on Poland in the fall of 1939, thus igniting the massive horrors and destruction of World War II.

Finally, certain other crucial events of the wartime years further deepened this abiding suspicion of Stalin and Soviet Communism among the majority of Roosevelt's top advisors. A decisive wakeup call for President Roosevelt and his military and State Department Staff occurred in 1944 when Stalin cynically withheld Russian military assistance to the leaders of the Polish underground forces, who had staged a massive and heroic uprising in Warsaw against the rapidly retreating German armies fleeing the advancing Soviet forces. Stalin's deliberate decision to keep the Red Army east of Warsaw and the Vistula River allowed the retreating German forces to utterly destroy the Polish resistance, thus assuring Soviet dominance over Poland in the postwar. When, shortly thereafter, Stalin seemed to deliberately violate his Yalta promise of Polish political independence, the stage was set for a major confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union, and the way was cleared for the ascendancy within the American government of this experienced and skeptical group of Soviet experts. Thus, when President Truman came to power after Roosevelt's sudden death in April, 1945, it was this group with their impressive personal experience of Soviet aggression and duplicity that captured his attention and played the decisive role in shaping his subsequent foreign policies. By contrast, the few remaining pro-Soviet advisors like Joseph Davies and Henry Wallace were largely ineffective since their analysis of Soviet behavior and intentions seemed so controverted by recent events.

However, it was not simply this inner circle of skeptical Soviet experts alone who impelled Truman to protest Russian actions in Eastern Europe at the close of the war. President Roosevelt himself, it now appears, felt grave apprehension shortly before his death about the future possibility of continued Soviet-American friendship and expressed his belief that Stalin

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was breaking key portions of his Yalta agreement regarding Poland. And it is very likely that Roosevelt, too, had he lived, would have initiated diplomatic actions against the Russians similar to those which Truman and his advisors undertook.

Furthermore, American policy in Eastern Europe was not solely the expression of the State Department and Truman's animosity towards the Stalinist regime. The Joint Chiefs of Staff also were convinced that the Yalta promises had been violated and they, no less than the State Department Russian experts, rejected spheres-of-influence diplomacy and adamantly opposed a Soviet takeover in Eastern Europe. Like their State Department colleagues they also rejected the notion that America had supported the alleged Churchill-Stalin spheres-of-influence "deal" in Eastern Europe in 1944 and they supported President Truman's attempt to pursue self-determination in that region. Of course they advised caution and prudence in dealing with the Soviets since they were extremely conscious of the necessity for continued Soviet-American military cooperation in the forthcoming invasion of Japan.

The American postwar pursuit of self-determination in Poland and the Balkan nations can, of course, be faulted on several grounds. In the former country American policymakers often failed to appreciate that Soviet security as well as Russian domestic political considerations absolutely precluded the granting of Polish political independence. Nor did American leaders perhaps fully understand that any American efforts along these lines would inevitably be interpreted by the acutely suspicious Stalin, as a direct threat against the Soviet State. In addition, the Polish controversy revealed the continuing American weakness for relying on a diplomacy of protest and moral condemnation unfortified by a willingness to use the various forms of power adequate to assure the desired goals. And it seems clear that this mischievous Wilsonian impulse continued to influence and plague the execution of American foreign policy throughout the

remainder of the twentieth century, even to the present time. As for American postwar diplomacy in the Balkans, the same weaknesses were visible there, as in Poland, with the additional defect that, when President Truman and Secretary of State James Byrnes sought to ensure free elections in those countries according to the Yalta Declaration on Liberated Europe, they relied on rhetorical appeals to democracy and freedom in nations that had little or no experience with these liberal values and realities which, even more than Poland, were deemed absolutely vital to Soviet internal, as well as external, security. Yet, in retrospect, given the prevailing attitudes and perceptions of American leaders and the public at large, and the generally unconvincing nature of the arguments of the few dissenting members of the foreign policy elite, one can hardly expect Truman and his advisors to have acted any differently.

As for the other major wartime objective of American foreign policy, the goal of a multilateral free trade world (which was of course, another crucial factor in promoting serious Soviet-American friction), a number of conclusions can be drawn. First of all, though multilateralism certainly served American economic self-interest by creating instruments that would facilitate the enormous anticipated expansion of postwar American markets, in many ways this self-interest was, at least in 1945, very largely identical with postwar world economic interests. At that time, and in the wake of the destruction of most of the world's other major manufacturing nations, especially Germany and Japan, the ravaged nations desperately required American goods and services until their own manufacturing and trading capacities could be restored. Moreover, as earlier evidence has attempted to show, American policymakers in the State and Treasury Departments and on the various War Boards were attracted to multilateralism for theoretical and historical reasons that were at least as important as considerations of narrow national economic self-interest. The classical liberal economic principles which most of them

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imbibed during their formal education and which they incorporated in the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act and the Bretton Woods institutions seemed to most State and Treasury Department officials, as well as to numerous distinguished international economists, the best way for attaining that international equilibrium and increased world prosperity upon which world peace and order were believed to depend. Furthermore, in pursuing multilateralism through such classical economic devices as tariff reduction, non-discriminatory trade, and currency convertibility, American policymakers generally enjoyed the concurrence of Great Britain and the other major manufacturing and trade nations, though, of course, these nations often suggested minor changes in line with their own particular economic and political requirements. Finally it should be emphasized that multilateral reconstruction of the postwar world appeared infinitely more promising to American policymakers than the numerous attempts at economic self-sufficiency which the interwar period had witnessed and which, by late 1930s, appeared to them so demonstrably bankrupt and injurious.

Of course, in retrospect it can be seen that American policy-makers overestimated the immediate beneficial effects of multilateralism. The residual strength of protectionist sentiment both in the United States and among the nations invited to participate in these new economic departures would prove too strong for those favoring an immediate and drastic reduction of world tariffs and the establishment of widespread currency convertibility. Nor was it perceived by William Clayton, Henry Morgenthau, and Harry Dexter White and other key foreign economic policymakers in 1945, just how difficult it would be to promote acceptance of these economic devices in those countries of Eastern Europe and the under-developed world which had little or no experience with modern capitalist institutions, or, as in the case of Great Britain and France, which felt deeply threatened by the anticipated economic competition that

multilateralism entailed. The British for example, continued to resist formal renunciation of Imperial Preference when a highly protectionist postwar American Congress failed to reduce tariffs to a mutually agreeable level.

Finally, the enthusiastic emphasis of American policymakers on the remedial capabilities of economic aid and multilateral reconstruction often seemed unqualified by any serious consideration of the possible exploitive potentialities inherent in foreign trade and investment or the flaws in America's own capitalist-democratic social order. Nevertheless, despite these defects and regardless of Soviet and other communist opposition to American-led multilateralism, the Open World design of Bretton Woods and GATT did in fact produce a large measure of that abundance and stability which was the dream of its original architects.

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**WORK MATTERS -
WORK DESIGN, ORGANISATIONAL COMMITMENT AND PERFORMANCE
EXCELLENCE IN A NORWEGIAN CONTEXT**

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ABSTRACT

This article describes a study of employees' perceptions of relationships between work design (Morgeson & Humphrey, 2006), organisational commitment, (Meyer & Allen, 1991, Vella et al., 2012) and organisational performance excellence, (Li, 2013, Sharma, 1999). A literature search and critical analysis led to 16 hypotheses that were tested on a convenience sample of 142 Norwegian employees (McIntyre, 2013). The data is analysed using dual statistical techniques. First, multivariate regression (MR) analysis, (Hair et al., 2010) and then partial least squares – structural equation modelling (PLS) (Tenenhaus & Vinzi, 2005) using the SmartPLS software suite (Ringle et al., 2005). Statistically valid, but not identical results from the analyses confirm eight hypotheses, partially confirm two and reject six. Unexpected results include the rejection of any effect of environmental characteristics and the lack of evidence that work design affects either normative or continuance commitment.

Key Words: work design, organisational commitment, performance, PLS-SEM, SmartPLS, Norway

1. INTRODUCTION

Oldham and Hackman (2010, p. 465) stated that while research on a subject yields more information or a finer understanding, or applies novel methodology, the subject under study is unchanged. This stance is challenged by research on work design, where the phenomena itself is undergoing rapid change (Oldham & Hackman, 2010). Forces of change in technology and in the demographic profile of the workforce have caused significant changes in the way work is designed and executed (Mainiero & Sullivan, 2005). From the 1960s and 70s, when workers operated in clearly defined, delineated and constrained spaces (Alimo-Metcalfe, 1988, Oldham & Hackman, 2010), work design has become more complex, fluid, interactive, and open to interpretation and participation by the employee (Grant & Parker, 2009). These forces affecting work are described below, followed by some consequences on the design of work.

One reason for the changes in work design is recent technological developments in the workplace. Notable developments are enterprise resource management (ERM) systems, personal computing and social media (Chowdhry, 2011, Parker et al., 2001). ERM systems were introduced towards the end of the 20th Century as a tool of central management and enabled more complex organisations to be coordinated. Since then, a widespread implementation of personal computing necessitated changes to work process designs, giving employees more autonomy in the way they receive and process information (Oldham & Hackman, 2010). More recently, the combination of networked employees and social media affects organisational relationships (Gilbert & Karahalios, 2009), consumer behaviour (Li et al., 2007), knowledge transfer (Rogers & Negash, 2007), corporate learning (Meister, 2007), and the understanding of social capital (Steinfeld et al., 2008).

Developments in networked information technology supports practices of working

remotely from the workplace (geographic virtuality), and participation at times, and in amounts, that suit the employee (temporal virtuality). Work design features such as working from home (teleworking) and working with people in several locations and / or across time zones (virtual teams) developed at an unprecedented rate (Harmer & Pauleen, 2012, Parker et al., 2001, Rogers & Negash, 2007).

Over the same period, there have been changes in the workforce demographic profile (Falk & Blaylock, 2010). Compared to 50 years earlier, western economies have seen large influxes of immigrants, and women have entered into the workforce to a much larger extent. Traditional concepts of a fixed retirement age have weakened (Kaarbøe & Olsen, 2006, Mainiero & Sullivan, 2005). The idea of lifetime employment is obsolete and frequent changes of employer are common (Parker et al., 2001), and there is an increasing proportion of people with permanent, but part-time, employment (Torraco, 2005).

These forces have had a profound effect on the concept of workplace cooperation and especially in teams (Mendelson et al., 2011). People work in teams that may be formally arranged, or be self-organising. Team membership may be fixed, or there may be continual changes in membership. Members may be from the employee's own organisation, or may include customers, suppliers or other partners. Employees are increasingly responsible for completing an all-embracing set of activities where they have to continuously balance priorities between activities and participants (Mendelson et al., 2011). Work is less likely than before to be arranged as full time shop-floor positions. Work in the service industries, including call or service centres (Oldham & Hackman, 2010), is occupying a larger proportion of the workforce (Parker et al., 2001). Employees no longer perform physical activities to the same extent, but are knowledge workers, applying theoretical and analytical skills (Parker et al., 2001).

These changes give employees a greater freedom to operate temporally and geographically independent of their organisation, which often blurs the boundaries between work and non-work (Kase et al., 2009, Parker et al., 2013). Work is increasingly integrated with employees social life such that a range of activities are divided, allocated, coordinated and executed by the individual (Grant & Parker, 2009).

1.2 The context of Norway

Norway is an interesting place to observe work design, organisational commitment and organisational performance excellence because of culture and legislation. Culturally, Norway is a society that emphasises cooperation, and good working relationships are important (Sandbakken, 2004, Thorsrud, 1974). There is a longstanding cooperative culture in Norway (Johnsen & Joynt, 1986) and the population is interested more in democracy at work, gains in work-life balance and intangible, individual self-developmental measures than in incremental, discretionary, financial compensations (Allardt, 1976, Hellevik, 2003, Qvale, 2008, Thorsrud, 1974). Current Norwegian working environment legislation includes elements from Hackman and Oldham's (1975) model of workplace motivation. These concepts include skill variety, task identity, task significance, autonomy and feedback from the work (Hackman & Oldham, 1975).

1.3 Literature Review and Hypotheses

Work design theories can be traced back as far as the oft cited work of Adam Smith in the 1770s (Grant & Parker, 2009). A modern period of work design literature started in the USA with the development of the Job Characteristics Model (Hackman & Oldham, 1975). The work moved on with investigations performed under the auspices of the UK Tavistock Institute, notably by Erik Trist, Fred Emery and Ken Bamforth (Emery & Trist, 1965, Trist & Bamforth,

1951). There were also investigations in Norway into the democratisation of work design (Emery & Thorsrud, 1976, Emery et al., 1978) and organisation effectiveness (Joynt, 1976, Joynt, 1979). Following the societal changes described earlier, the work of Hackman and Oldham (1975) was revised into the Work Design Model (WDM) (Morgeson & Humphrey, 2006). This model includes social elements omitted by Hackman and Oldham (1975). The WDM had not been tested in its entirety before this study.

The organisational performance excellence model by Sharma et al., (1999) is a non-objective measure of employee's perceptions of their performance and is suitable to this research in the Norwegian context described earlier. The organisation commitment model by Meyer and Allen (1991) emerged from the literature as a reliable and well-tried concept that was suitable for this research project (McIntyre, 2013). Sixteen hypotheses emerged from the literature review, shown in Table 1.

TABLE 3

Summary of the research hypotheses, adapted from McIntyre (2013)

	Hypothesis	References
H1.1	Task characteristics relate positively to perceptions of increased performance excellence.	(Hackman & Oldham, 1975, Sims Jr et al., 1976, Caruana et al., 1995, Sharma et al., 1990, Morgeson & Humphrey, 2006)
H1.2	Task characteristics relate positively to perceptions of increased affective commitment.	(Allen & Meyer, 1990, Hackman & Lawler, 1971, Morgeson & Humphrey, 2006, Sims Jr et al., 1976)
H1.3	Task characteristics will not relate to perceptions of continuance commitment.	No reference to a relationship identified
H1.4	Task characteristics will not relate to perceptions of normative commitment.	No reference to a relationship identified

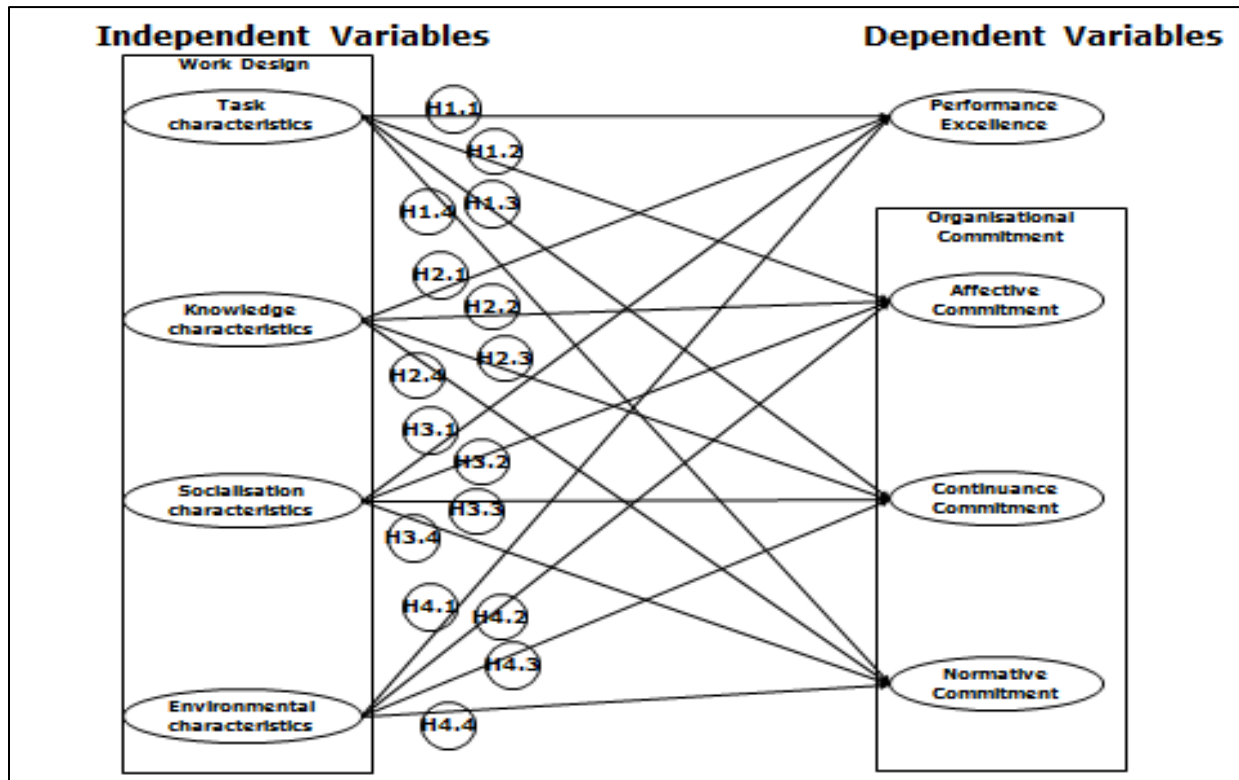
Hypothesis		References
H2.1	Knowledge characteristics of work design will relate positively to perceptions of increased performance excellence.	(Brewer, 1996, Campion et al., 2005, Hackman & Lawler, 1971, Petty et al., 1984, Caruana et al., 1995, Sharma et al., 1990)
H2.2	Knowledge characteristics relate positively to perceptions of increased affective commitment.	(Morgeson & Humphrey, 2006, Hackman et al., 1975, Edwards et al., 1999, Allen & Meyer, 1990)
H2.3	Knowledge characteristics relate positively to perceptions of increased continuance commitment.	(Morgeson & Humphrey, 2006, Hackman et al., 1975, Edwards et al., 1999, Allen & Meyer, 1990, Campion & Thayer, 1985)
H2.4	Knowledge characteristics will relate positively to perceptions of increased normative commitment.	(Morgeson & Humphrey, 2006, Hackman et al., 1975, Edwards et al., 1999, Allen & Meyer, 1990)
H3.1	Social characteristics of work design relate positively to perceptions of increased performance excellence.	(Sims Jr et al., 1976, Hackman et al., 1975, Morgeson & Humphrey, 2006, Sharma et al., 1990, Caruana et al., 1995)
H3.2	Social characteristics relate positively to perceptions of increased affective commitment.	(Morgeson & Humphrey, 2006, Hackman & Oldham, 1975, Hackman & Lawler, 1971, Edwards et al., 1999, Meyer & Allen, 1991)
H3.3	Social characteristics relate positively to perceptions of increased normative commitment.	(Kiggundu, 1981, Morgeson & Humphrey, 2006, Hackman et al., 1975, Edwards et al., 1999, Allen & Meyer, 1990)
H3.4	Social characteristics will not relate to perceptions of continuance commitment.	No reference to a relationship identified
H4.1	Contextual characteristics of work design relate positively to perceptions of increased performance excellence.	(Hackman & Oldham, 1975, Morgeson & Humphrey, 2006, Campion & Thayer, 1985, Edwards et al., 1999, Sharma et al., 1990, Caruana et al., 1995)
H4.2	Contextual characteristics relate positively to perceptions of increased affective commitment.	(Morgeson & Humphrey, 2006, Hackman et al., 1975, Edwards et al., 1999, Allen & Meyer, 1990, Campion & Thayer, 1985)
H4.3	Contextual characteristics relate positively to perceptions of increased continuance commitment.	(Morgeson & Humphrey, 2006, Hackman et al., 1975, Edwards et al., 1999, Allen & Meyer, 1990)
H4.4	Contextual characteristics relate positively to perceptions of increased normative commitment.	(Morgeson & Humphrey, 2006, Hackman et al., 1975, Edwards et al., 1999, Allen & Meyer, 1990)

2. METHODOLOGY

The research concepts, and the hypotheses that emerged from the literature, are depicted in the operational design model shown in Figure 1.

FIGURE 1

Operational research model, adapted from McIntyre (2013)



2.2 Scales and Language

The borrowed scales of the WDQ (Morgeson & Humphrey, 2006), the EXCEL (Sharma

et al., 1990), and the OCQ (Meyer & Allen, 1991) are all constructed using 7 point, Likert-like interval scales. These instruments were combined into a questionnaire consisting of 109 items, summarised in Appendix 1. The items were presented in random order to the respondents. The instruments were translated into Norwegian using two translators working back-to-back, to ensure rigour in keeping the meaning of the original questions. This practice is in accordance with recent research practice (Warner-Søderholm, 2010).

The questionnaires were prepared and sent as an embedded email link to the participants using a web based tool provided by Questback, a Norwegian company. The respondents were anonymous to the researcher, but the responses were monitored by the system and a maximum of one follow up request was sent to those who were slow in responding.

For this study, HR managers at several Norwegian companies facilitated access to a sample of respondents at their organisation, acting as gatekeepers (Karen et al., 2012). The sample represented a design-frame consisting of employees working mainly in office environments, with higher education levels, and with extensive exposure to the Norwegian working environment. The sample can be considered a convenience sample, as this researcher was afforded privileges to these populations and not to others (Easterby-Smith et al., 2008).

In research, it is common to gather demographic data to allow a determination of any differences in the relationships between various groups of the sample (Schwab, 1999). However, in recent research, variables of age and gender have been shown to be uncertain indicators of work values (Furnham, 2005), or of effective performance effects (Furnham, 2003). Culture has an effect on corporate performance (Gandossy et al., 2009) and leadership (Munley, 2011). However, in organisational research, it is difficult to isolate and inspect the effect of culture on performance (Gandossy et al., 2009). The Norwegian working environment has been shaped by

several iterations of legislation. For this research design, culture is acknowledged as playing a role, but there is no investigation of specifically cultural effects. This research did not include any analysis into sub-samples so “stuck to its knitting” (Peters & Waterman, 1982).

Data was collected from a total of 142 respondents with no invalid samples. A range of rules of thumb (Easterby-Smith et al., 2008, Hair et al., 2010, Pallant, 2007, Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007, Mertens, 1994), and a power effect calculation (Wright, 2003), supported the stance that this was an acceptable sample size. The responses represented a response rate of 67% and, given that a response rate of 15 – 30% is typical for virtual surveys, (Kuvaas & Dysvik, 2009), this can be considered satisfactory. 4.7% of the data items were missing and these, in accordance with the recommendations of Hair et al., (2010), were dealt with by mean substitution.

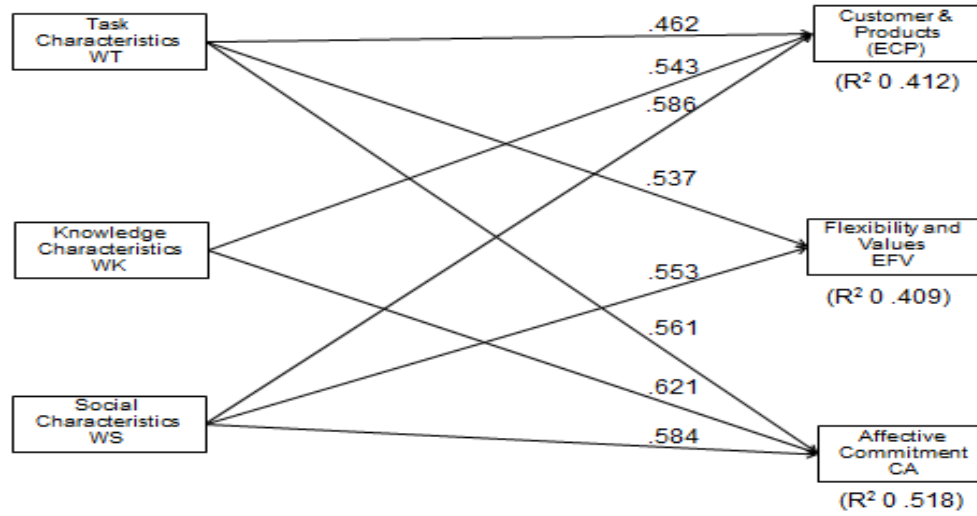
Exploratory factor analysis (EFA) in accordance with literature and previous doctoral processes, has shown the underlying data structure (Bertsch, 2009, Hair et al., 2010). This analysis consisted of checking for high factor loadings, the elimination of indicators that cross-load, and reviewing communalities. Several of the variables were discarded and the resulting data set for each concept resolved into discrete factors.

3. ANALYSES

The two central research questions concerned the nature of relationships between a) work design and performance excellence and b) work design and commitment. The resulting analysis model for these questions is shown in Figure 2.

FIGURE 2

Partial models of the relationships between factors in the research questions adapted from McIntyre (2013)



This model was analysed by two separate methods and the results compared. Conclusions from the research were based on compared results and are described later. Multiple regression (MR) was applied to investigate each of the two research questions in accordance with the recommendations of, amongst others, Hair (2010). Results from the MR were evaluated in accordance with acceptable limits given by, amongst others, Pallant (2007). Partial least squares – structural equation modelling (PLS) was used to analyse the entire research model in one calculation. PLS is increasingly used in management and marketing research (Henseler et al., 2009). The methodology involves three distinct processes. Firstly, the indicators are examined to determine whether they are formative (influence the latent variable) or reflective (are influenced by the latent variable) in nature. Secondly each set of indicators are examined to estimate a value for their latent variable and their relationships. Finally, the external, or structural, model is

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estimated (Chin et al., 2005). The actual calculating is performed by the SmartPLS software package (Ringle et al., 2005) and the results were presented in accordance with published recommendations (Chin, 2010). The results from both these analyses were similar but not identical, and are summarised in Table 2.

TABLE 4

Comparative results from MR and PLS analyses adapted from McIntyre (2013)

Multivariate Regression Results					PLS Results			
	WT	WK	WS	WE	WT	WK	WS	WE
ECP	√	√	√	X	√	X	√	√
EFV	X	X	√	X	√	X	√	X
CA	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	X
CC	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
CN	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

(√ = relationship supported, X = relationship not supported)

It could be expected that different analyses of the same data should give the same results. However as Wright (2003) and Gorard (2013) suggest, there is no “right” statistical test for each particular situation, and flaws may be produced in the statistical reasoning. There are many commonalities between methods but there are also some slight, key differences. These differences make methodological choice less straightforward (Wright, 2003, p. 127). (Wright, 2003, Gorard, 2013).

Having the benefit of two sets of analysis results, a parsimonious approach is adopted in presenting the final result, in accordance with recent practice in work design (Dierdorff et al.,

2009, p. 985). That is, results are only considered significant where both types of analysis agree on a relationship. Where neither of them agree, or when they disagree, the relationship has been reported as not supported. Thus, results reported in this research project are somewhat different due to the dual analysis methodology. This is a contribution that illustrates the differences that can occur, not from theory or general methodology or even from the data, but from the statistical process itself (Gorard, 2013, Wright, 2003). The results for each hypothesis, and each analysis, are detailed in Table 3.

TABLE 5

Summary of hypotheses testing from multivariate regression (MR) and SEM analyses
adapted from McIntyre (2013)

	Hypothesis	References	Finding– MR	Finding– SEM
H1.1	Task characteristics relate positively to perceptions of increased performance excellence	(Hackman & Oldham, 1975, Sims Jr et al., 1976, Caruana et al., 1995, Sharma et al., 1990, Morgeson & Humphrey, 2006)	Partially confirmed as relationship is confirmed between WT and EFV but not for WT and ECP.	Confirmed
H1.2	Task characteristics relate positively to perceptions of increased affective commitment	(Allen & Meyer, 1990, Hackman & Lawler, 1971, Morgeson & Humphrey, 2006, Sims Jr et al., 1976)	Confirmed	Confirmed
H1.3	Task characteristics will not relate to perceptions of continuance commitment	No reference to a relationship identified	Confirmed	Confirmed

	Hypothesis	References	Finding– MR	Finding– SEM
H1.4	Task characteristics will not relate to perceptions of normative commitment	No reference to a relationship identified	Confirmed	Confirmed
H2.1	Knowledge characteristics of work design relate positively to perceptions of increased performance excellence	(Brewer, 1996, Campion et al., 2005, Hackman & Lawler, 1971, Petty et al., 1984, Caruana et al., 1995, Sharma et al., 1990)	Partially confirmed for relationship between WK and ECP but not for WT and EFV.	Rejected
H2.2	Knowledge characteristics relate positively to perceptions of increased affective, commitment	(Morgeson & Humphrey, 2006, Hackman et al., 1975, Edwards et al., 1999, Allen & Meyer, 1990)	Confirmed	Confirmed
H2.3	Knowledge characteristics relate positively to perceptions of increased continuance commitment	(Morgeson & Humphrey, 2006, Hackman et al., 1975, Edwards et al., 1999, Allen & Meyer, 1990, Campion & Thayer, 1985)	Rejected	Rejected
H2.4	Knowledge characteristics relate positively to perceptions of increased normative commitment	(Morgeson & Humphrey, 2006, Hackman et al., 1975, Edwards et al., 1999, Allen & Meyer, 1990)	Rejected	Rejected
H3.1	Social characteristics of work design relate positively to perceptions of increased performance	(Sims Jr et al., 1976, Hackman et al., 1975, Morgeson & Humphrey, 2006, Sharma et al., 1990, Caruana et al., 1995)	Confirmed	Confirmed
H3.2	Social characteristics relate positively to perceptions of increased	(Morgeson & Humphrey, 2006, Hackman & Oldham,	Confirmed	Confirmed

	Hypothesis	References	Finding– MR	Finding– SEM
	affective commitment	1975, Hackman & Lawler, 1971, Edwards et al., 1999, Meyer & Allen, 1991)		
H3.3	Social characteristics relate positively to perceptions of increased normative commitment	(Kiggundu, 1981, Morgeson & Humphrey, 2006, Hackman et al., 1975, Edwards et al., 1999, Allen & Meyer, 1990)	Rejected	Rejected
H3.4	Social characteristics will not relate to perceptions of continuance commitment	No reference to a relationship identified	Confirmed	Confirmed
H4.1	Contextual characteristics of work design relate positively to perceptions of increased performance excellence	(Hackman & Oldham, 1975, Morgeson & Humphrey, 2006, Campion & Thayer, 1985, Edwards et al., 1999, Sharma et al., 1990, Caruana et al., 1995)	Rejected	Partially confirmed as the relationship is confirmed between WE and ECP but not between WE and EFV.
H4.2	Contextual characteristics relate positively to perceptions of increased affective commitment	(Morgeson & Humphrey, 2006, Hackman et al., 1975, Edwards et al., 1999, Allen & Meyer, 1990, Campion & Thayer, 1985)	Confirmed	Rejected
H4.3	Contextual characteristics relate positively to perceptions of increased continuance commitment	(Morgeson & Humphrey, 2006, Hackman et al., 1975, Edwards et al., 1999, Allen & Meyer, 1990)	Rejected	Rejected

	Hypothesis	References	Finding– MR	Finding– SEM
H4.4	Contextual characteristics relate positively to perceptions of increased normative commitment	(Morgeson & Humphrey, 2006, Hackman et al., 1975, Edwards et al., 1999, Allen & Meyer, 1990)	Rejected	Rejected

For research question one, relating to the relationship between work design (WD) and performance excellence (PE), there are differences between analytical results. Both agree on the roles of Task aspects of work design (WT) and social aspects of work design (WS) on the customer and products component of performance excellence (ECP), and of WS on the flexibility and values component of performance excellence (EFV). The PLS results indicate a relationship between environmental aspects of work design (WE) and ECP, and WT and EFV, that the multiple regression results do not reveal. Finally, the multiple regression results suggest a relationship between knowledge aspects of work design (WK) and ECP that is not indicated by the PLS results (McIntyre, 2013).

For the second research question, relating to the relationship between work design and organisational commitment, both analyses agree that there are no statistically significant relationships between work design and either continuance or normative commitment. There is close agreement about the relationships between work design and affective commitment (CA) with statistically significant relationships between WT, WK and WS and CA. There is a no relationship being reported between WE and CA in the multiple regression analysis but there is in the PLS analysis (McIntyre, 2013).

4. CONTRIBUTIONS

The work produced contributions to both theory, methodology and to management practice. For reasons of space, this article describes only two contributions from this research. The first is the first ever application of the entire work design model of Morgeson and Humphrey (2006). The second is the dual analyses of the data using MR and PLS which revealed interesting results.

There have recently been some other studies of work design in a Norwegian context. One looked at employees' perceptions of investment in development and their relationship to intrinsic motivation and work performance, respectively (Kuvaas & Dysvik, 2009), and another studied the relationship between work design variation and outcomes (Holman et al., 2009). However, neither of these studies used the Morgeson & Humphries (2006) model. Kuvaas and Dysvik (2009b) applied a measure of internal motivation instead of organisational commitment. Holman et al. (2009), although acknowledging the work of Morgeson and Humphrey, used a job discretion instrument (Parker & Wall, 1998). Finally, a study by Kaarbøe and Olsen described relationships between job design, career concerns, and financial rewards, from the economic agent theory perspective (Kaarbøe & Olsen, 2006).

Since its publication to date of writing, the Morgeson and Humphrey (2006) model has been cited some 140 times in the EBSCOHOST business source database. However, only parts of the model have been applied and documented in research. In correspondence dated 13 November 2013, the authors have not been able to cite any full application. In their email they could not offer any reason for this selective usage; however, they suggested that maybe "the reason that the instrument has not been fully utilized yet is that scholars are not frequently testing all of the dimensions of job design at the same time" (email from Stephen Humphrey, 2013).

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This research project is the first retest of the model in its entirety, anywhere in the world. The results returned good values for both Cronbach's alpha and for variance extracted and these are shown on Table 4.

TABLE 6

Work design scales, Cronbach's alpha and variance extracted adapted from McIntyre (2013)

SCALE	WT	WK	WS	WE
C' alpha	0,875	0,937	0,808	0,519
V. E.	78%	71%	64%	70%

It is not usual to perform dual analyses of research but it can give useful input to the understanding of the two techniques as well as enlightening research results. In particular, the differences in these results are interesting because, when a formative PLS measurement model is assumed, the external model is estimated using multivariate regression techniques (Hair et al., 2011 p.141). According to a recent publication, an analysis of the same data and model based on a single regression equation using multiple regression, PLS, or SEM approaches should always result in identical estimates (Marcoulides et al., 2009). The difference in estimates in this research is probably due to technicalities in data-handling in the SmartPLS software package.

5. DISCUSSIONS, LIMITATIONS AND SCOPE FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This paper has described a study on employee's perceptions of relationships between work design (Morgeson & Humphrey, 2006), organisational commitment, (Meyer & Allen, 1991, Vella et al., 2012) and organisational performance excellence, (Li, 2013, Sharma, 1999).

Using a convenience sample of employees in Norwegian organisations this exploratory study provided contributions on the nature of these relationships (McIntyre, 2013).

One of the interesting results of this research process has been the way performance excellence deviated from the Sharma (1990) model and resolved into two distinct factors described earlier as ECP (from customer and product items) and EFV (from flexibility and values items). This dichotomy between intrinsic and extrinsic factors has been observed in other studies, for example, of the relationship between personality and work traits (Furnham et al., 2005).

The lack of a relationship with environment characteristics is a surprise. Due to the institutionalisation of work legislation (Arbeidsdepartementet, 2006) in the Norwegian work environment and the high levels of prosperity in Norway (Legatum Institute, 2011), it could be expected that people would have a high regard for their physical surroundings and be strongly affected by them (Morgeson et al., 2010). That did not seem to manifest itself with the current sample and it would be an interesting subject for further research, possibly in a more industrialised Norwegian context. The study had a number of limitations and the main ones are shown in Table 5.

TABLE 7

Main Limitations adapted from McIntyre (2013)

	Limitation
1	Limitations related to the sample size, composition and collection issues
2	Limitations related to the Work Design Questionnaire by Morgeson and Humphrey (2006).
3	Limitations to the generalizability of the results in other applications in Norway
4	Limitations imposed by the use of self-report instruments
5	Limitations imposed by the choice of randomised instruments

The sample frame consisted of employees working mainly in office based environments. A repeat of the study in a heavy industry, such as metals refining, may contribute additional understanding and clarity. The Morgeson and Humphrey (2006) study was employed here for the first time. It may be that the instrument has not been previously fully utilized as scholars are not frequently testing all of the dimensions of job design at the same time. Recent articles have used the scale for task and social characteristics, and the scale for autonomy, in studies of work (Barrick et al., 2013, Dysvik & Kuvaas, 2013). It is to be hoped that the full instrument is more used frequently in future studies.

Finally the methodology of self-report instruments and the decision to randomise the items could impose limitations. A 360 type of survey would have balanced the self-assessment element of gathering data (Anseel et al., 2011). A wider survey with large studies over many more organisations may have shed light on the potential systemic variations affecting industries. There is no collective guidance on the issue of grouping or randomising items in instruments. Morgeson and Humphrey (2006) say they have better experience with grouping them, whereas Meyer and Allen (1991, 1997) grouped some items but randomised others. As in all such decisions in social science, this one has both positive and negative effects.

It is hoped that this paper contributes to the understanding of work design in a changing technological and demographic context. It would be interesting to observe future research expanding the understanding of this field in alternative contexts.(Legatum_Institute, 2011, Henley_Business_School, 2010)

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APPENDIX 1

Nomenclature of questionnaire items

Indicator Items	Morgeson, F. P. And Humphrey, S. E. (2006). The Work Design Questionnaire (WDQ): Developing and Validating a Comprehensive Measure for Assessing Job Design and the Nature of Work. Journal of Applied Psychology, 91, 1321–1339.
TA01–03	Task Autonomy – Scheduling
TD01–03	Task Autonomy – Decision-Making
TM01–03	Task Autonomy – Method Choice
TV01–04	Task – Variety
TS01–04	Task – Significance
TI01–04	Task – Identity
TF01–03	Task – Feedback
KC01–04	Knowledge – Job Complexity
KI01–04	Knowledge – Information Processing
KP01–04	Knowledge – Problem Solving
KV01–04	Knowledge – Skill Variety
KS01–04	Knowledge – Specialisation
SS01–06	Social Characteristics – Social Support
SI01–03	Social Characteristics – Initiated Interdependence
SR01–03	Social Characteristics – Received Interdependence
SO01–04	Social Characteristics – Interaction Outside the Organisation
SF01–03	Social Characteristics – Feedback From Others
WE01–	Contextual Characteristics – Ergonomics

03

WP01–03 Contextual Characteristics – Physical Demands

WC01– Contextual Characteristics – Work Conditions

05

WU01– Contextual Characteristics – Equipment Use

03

Sharma, S., Netemeyer, F. G. And Mahajan, V. (1990).

In Search of Excellence Revisited:

An Empirical Evaluation of Peters and Waterman's Attributes of Excellence. Enhancing Knowledge Development in Marketing, 1, 6.

EV01–04 Values

EF01–05 Flexibility

EE01–03 Innovation

EC01–04 Customers

Allen, N. J. and Meyer, J. P. (1990)

The measurement and antecedents of affective, continuance and normative commitment to the organization. Journal of Occupational Psychology, 63, 1–18.

CA01–08 Affective Commitment Scale Items

CC01–08 Continuance Commitment Scale Items

CN01–08 Normative Commitment Scale Items

D01–05 Demographic Questions (as applied)

MEDIA ROLE IN WHITE-COLLAR CRIME DETECTION IN NORWAY

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ABSTRACT

In an empirical study of white-collar criminals in Norway, 80 out of 305 convicted criminals were detected by the media. This paper presents results from the study, and discusses media role in white-collar crime detection. White-collar crime detection and follow up seems to be related to a number of simultaneous journalistic procedures and cultural elements. For example, the argument of white-collar crime detection among journalists seems to be related to the story's importance in itself and, as such, it will be treated as just another crime or news story and have the same internal process. It is also based on the elements of the story in itself and the extent that it can be described as a story that is regarded as interesting for the readers. That will be dependent on the general profile of the news medium, the journalistic competences and the overall resources and priorities of the news medium.

Key Words: Financial crime, empirical study, white-collar criminals, news media, journalism

1. INTRODUCTION

Financial crime is often defined as crime against property, involving the unlawful conversion of property belonging to another to one's own personal use and benefit. Financial crime is profit-driven crime to gain access to and control over property that belonged to someone else. Pickett and Pickett (2002) define financial crime as the use of deception for illegal gain, normally involving breach of trust, and some concealment of the true nature of the activities. They use the terms financial crime, white-collar crime, and fraud interchangeably.

Sutherland (1949), in his seminal work, defined white-collar crime as crime committed by a person of respectability and high social status in the course of his occupation. According to Brightman (2009), Sutherland's theory of white-collar crime from 1939 was controversial, particularly since many of the academics in the audience perceived themselves to be members of the upper echelon of American society, where white-collar crime can be found. Despite his critics, Sutherland's theory of white-collar criminality served as the catalyst for an area of research that continues today (Hansen, 2009).

Sutherland argued that criminal acts are illegalities that are contingently differentiated from other illegalities by virtue of the specific administrative procedures to which they are subject. Some individual white-collar offenders avoid criminal prosecution because of the class bias of the courts (Tombs and Whyte, 2007). White-collar crime is sometimes considered creative crime (Brisman, 2010).

In most criminal areas, it is expected that a combination of victim and police are the main sources of criminal detection. After crime victims suffer an injury or a loss, they tend to report the incident to the police who investigate and hopefully find the offender(s). In cases of financial crime by white-collar criminals, it is often quite different. A victim is frequently not aware of the

injury or loss. For example, accounting fraud resulting in tax evasion is not a damage perceived by tax authorities.

Therefore, this article is concerned with the following research question: *How is white-collar crime detected?*

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

As suggested by Barak (2007), news making criminology refers to the conscious efforts and activities of criminologists to interpret, influence or shape the representation of newsworthy items about crime and justice. News making criminology as a perspective on the theory, practice and representations of crime and justice is an important approach for understanding white-collar crime. However, Barak's work focused on how the media constructs images of crime. In this research, the media is used as a source of potentially objective information, where factual information in terms of quantitative numbers is collected from newspaper accounts.

Our operational definition of white-collar crime restricts the sample to those who receive prison time as punishment. This restriction excludes cases of fines as penal response, which is quite common. This sample restriction enables us to only study serious white-collar crime cases. Our intention is not to identify white-collar crime in reference to the law, but mainly with respect to the reporting of these offenses resulting in imprisonment. If the sample would be selected as references by the law, then a number of offenses would be defined in non-criminal statutes. Non-criminal statutes cannot, by their definition, result in prison time, only in civil remedies. Thus, by taking this view, we have essentially omitted most white-collar crime cases of fines from our study, since their severity is of a minor extent. Research articles edited by Gerber and Jensen (2006) suggest that only the most serious white-collar crime offenders end up in prison.

For this study, it was considered sufficient that the person was sentenced in one court, even if the person represented a recent case that still had appeals pending for higher courts. A sentence was defined as a prison sentence. Therefore, cases ending with fines only were not included in the sample. Since our research is based on newspaper articles written by journalists, the reliability and completeness of such a source is a challenge in social research. However, most cases were presented in several newspapers over several days, weeks or even months, enabling this research to correct erroneous initial facts as more information became available. Additionally, court documents were obtained whenever there was doubt about the reliability of a single newspaper report that could not be confirmed by other media. This happened in one-third of the reported cases.

It must be noted that there are, of course, disadvantages in using newspapers as data sources. According to Burns and Orrick (2002), research suggests that the media present a distorted image of crime by focusing on violent, sensational events that are atypical of crime in society. They argue that the media is neglecting coverage of corporate offenses, and that the media disproportionately focus on conventional crime while neglecting the impact of corporate misbehavior. This line of reasoning does not only acknowledge possible biases in our research, but it can also be understood as an argument for our research design, where an important characteristic of our sample is that the white-collar crime cases are prominent in the media.

Nevertheless, some types of corporate crime – probably those that are more typical – maybe still go unreported than other types of corporate crime. For instance, the media may be biased against small corporate offenses preferring larger, more sensational offenses.

Two methodological issues have to be kept in mind because of our decision to use newspapers as sources:

- *Bias because of press coverage.* Financial crime committed by white-collar criminals is only exposed in the press to the extent that they are sensational and possibly revealed and discovered by the press itself. Therefore, no claim is made that the sample is representative of white-collar criminals in general. Rather, there is a bias towards white-collar criminals that, for some reason, are of special interest to journalists and newspapers that cover their story. Therefore, the attribute of news coverage is explicitly added to the list of attributes for white-collar criminals including items such as position of trust, network and opportunity.
- *Data errors in press coverage.* Newspaper articles tend to have some errors in them. There may be factual errors, such as offender name, offender age, imprisonment sentence, crime type, and crime year. Furthermore, there may be a disproportionate focus on the sensational aspects of both criminal and crime. Everyone who has ever read about himself or herself in the newspaper will know that there are errors or wrong impressions in the presentation. To minimize this source of error, several newspaper stories of the same case were read and cited based on investigative research. Furthermore, court sentences were obtained in most of the cases to check both factual and story elements concerning both criminal and crime.

Joshi et al. (2010) recognized the limitation of secondary data collection in that secondary data were susceptible to media bias because of unbalanced media attention and reports about different companies across various industries. To address this limitation, they searched a wide range of data sources in terms of news outlets to reduce potential media bias.

It must be noted that journalists in Norway enjoy respectability because of their integrity and seriousness. Very few newspapers, if any, are engaged in reporting undocumented, sensational stories. In fact, during our research into financial crime by white-collar criminals, we have not found one such newspaper in Norway. Some journalists in the financial press have developed sophisticated skills in digging for criminal cases, where they apply robust and transparent methodologies.

The media in other countries might find a very different public vision of the media in Norway, which enjoys and deserves public trust. For example in the US, “it now appears clear that some prominent columnists and commentators placed that trust at risk by accepting substantial fees from Enron” (Rosoff, 2009: 515). Furthermore, Knottnerus et al. (2006) argue that deviance at Enron could be difficult to detect because of special rituals that were an important part of corporate culture. The press, needless to say, depends on public trust.

A newspaper sample might suffer from severe selection biases that have to be taken into account when studying research results:

- Longer prison sentences than many other crime cases, since newspaper articles will disproportionately discuss more serious crime cases with longer sentences.
- Selecting crime cases with sentences instead of fines will also produce cases with longer sentences and thus give skewed distribution to the data.
- The average amount involved in each crime case will be higher since newspaper articles generally focus on more serious crime cases.

- Most crime cases were committed by a group as again, newspaper articles are more likely to discuss these crime cases because conspiracies are more newsworthy than other individual crime cases.
- A significant number of criminals in high management positions will be present in the sample, again, because newspapers are more likely to discuss crime committed by higher-level employees.
- The size in terms of turnover and employees will be at the higher end, and the company will tend to be profitable, since crime against more successful companies is more likely to be newsworthy.

The danger of media as an information source for research into white-collar crime was wisely emphasized by Pontell and Geis (2007: viii):

We tend to see the media as our colleagues, for in keeping with our critical stance toward the power elite, journalists tantalize us with exposés that attack the powerful. In our enthusiasm for the bounty of information that the sensational case produces, we must remind ourselves of what we know about the manufacture of news and the social construction of knowledge for public consumption.

Similarly, Goldstraw-White (2012) warns that journalist research is often biased, aimed at producing a good story rather than a factual report, and tends to highlight particular types of offenders, such as those regarded as famous. However, since being famous or becoming famous is part of our definition, this bias is acceptable for the current research. Goldstraw-White, in her research, applied a small convenience sample of white-collar criminals in prison who were interviewed about their offending behavior.

3. RESEARCH METHOD

Newspaper articles are suitable for content analysis, which is the research method applied in this study. Newspaper reports provide insights into how media organizations frame and depict white-collar crime, but they cannot be used as a direct reflection of the real number and/or nature of white-collar crime in Norway. It has value in its ability to examine the social construction of white-collar criminality in Norway's financial media.

During our literature search on the topic of media-based research, we have uncovered numerous examples where content analysis of newspapers has been the source for empirical research. For example, Murphy (2010) studied media coverage of a female white-collar criminal in the United States, Martha Stewart. The study examined media reputation, which is the representation of a person or organization in the media. The study found that the media worldview is largely immune to attempts from outside to shape it. Media coverage of Stewart was found to take on its own character.

Rainey and Runyan (1992) used newspapers as a source in an analysis of fatal accidents and concluded that newspapers covered 96% of the fire fatalities and 78% of the drowning incidents and contained more information than medical examiner records on several factors, including fire cause and smoke detector presence, pool fences, warning signs, and supervision of children. Jonsson (2005) studied newspaper stories in Sweden on the Tsunami in 2004 and concluded that the reports tend to express feelings of intensity and clearness. They are also personal. Furthermore, the result shows that the newspapers are acting as intermediaries of information more than as critics. Welch et al. (1998) used newspaper articles as a basis for research on decoding and deconstructing popular images of crime, and discussed this in the context of social

constructionism. Bubela and Caulfield (2004) conducted an analysis of 627 newspaper stories reporting on 111 peer-reviewed research papers in 24 scientific and medical journals, and concluded that their data suggest that the majority of newspaper articles accurately convey the results of and reflect the claims made in scientific journal articles. Earl et al. (2004) concluded on the theme of selection bias that hard news of an event, if it is reported, tended to be relatively accurate.

The research technique applied in this study is content analysis (Riffe and Freitag, 1997) of newspaper articles as well as court documents in terms of final verdicts. Documentary analysis of newspapers and court records is described by Scott (2006) as a methodology to identify quantitative measures as well as measures of the significance of particular ideas or meanings in documents. The purpose of content analysis in this research was to identify key measures for each convicted white-collar criminal. Mainly facts about offender age, prison sentence and other relevant issues were obtained. Furthermore, the purpose of content analysis was to identify the likely source of crime detection (Krippendorf, 2004; Neuendorf, 2002).

The decision only to include cases that were successfully prosecuted means that the generalizability of our findings does not extend to the broader population of undetected or unprosecuted white-collar cases. Other researchers, such as Steffensmeier et al. (2013), did the same by only including cases that resulted in convictions.

Given our definition of white-collar crime as news in the media, there is no bias in our data, except for the journalistic bias which is part of our conceptualization. Therefore, the study can be reliably replicated and has sufficient support from outside sources to be valid (Barak, 2007; Briscoe and Murphy, 2012; Knotterus et al., 2006; Rosoff, 2009; Schnatterly, 2003; Zavyalova et al., 2012). We argue that almost all important cases are picked up by the media in a

small country like Norway, although long and complex legal procedures in these cases facilitate the decline of media interest. Although newspaper reports remain a controversial basis for empirical research, we justify it here by including newspaper coverage as one of our criteria for qualifying as a white-collar criminal.

One of the criteria used to define white-collar crime is their fame as documented in the news. Thus, media coverage is one of the requirements to qualify as a white-collar criminal. The sample consists of high profile and large yield offenses. This is in line with research by Schnatterly (2003), who searched the Wall Street Journal for several years in her study of white-collar crime which was published in the Strategic Management Journal. Media often pick up examples of companies and their leaders by negative media coverage because of white-collar wrongdoings (Briscoe and Murphy, 2012). Media coverage is following wrongdoings (Zavyalova et al., 2012).

4. SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS

Our sample has the following characteristics as applied by newspapers when presenting news: famous individuals, famous companies, surprising stories, important events, substantial consequences, matters of principles and significant public interest. The two main financial newspapers in Norway are “Dagens Næringsliv” and “Finansavisen”, both of which are conservative-leaning business newspapers. In addition, the business-friendly national daily newspaper “Aftenposten” regularly reports news of white-collar criminals. Left-wing newspapers such as “Klassekampen” very seldom cover specific white-collar criminal cases, although generally report on white-collar crime. It is important to understand the agenda setting and framing functions of the press and media, perhaps the two most important schemes in journalism, media and communication studies, and clearly relevant as the theme and focus of this article.

Dagens Næringsliv, Finansavisen and Aftenposten were studied on a daily basis from 2009 to 2012, i.e., four years, to identify white-collar criminals. Every edition of these four newspapers was studied on a daily basis to identify stories reporting on white-collar cases and the people involved in them. A person was defined as a white-collar criminal if (1) he or she committed an offense in a deliberate and purposeful manner as part of professional activity linked to regular business activities and using non-physical means; (2) the offense involved large sums of money or large losses for others; and (3) the offender was portrayed in the newspapers as being successful and having high social status and a position of some power and access to organizational resources. In short, our approach to defining white-collar crime is consistent with Sutherland's (1940, 1949) offender based definition rather than the offense based definition, since it is about all kinds of financial crime committed by a special kind of offenders.

A total of 255 white-collar criminals were reported during those years. A person was defined as a white-collar criminal if the person satisfied the general criteria mentioned above, and if the person was sentenced in court to imprisonment. Examples of newspaper accounts include Dugstad (2010), Haakaas (2011), and Kleppe (2012).

Verification of facts in newspaper accounts was carried out by obtaining court documents. After registering newspaper accounts as an important indication of white-collar offenders, the contents in newspaper articles were compared to and corrected by court sentences, which typically range from five to fifty pages in Norwegian district courts, courts of appeal and Supreme Court. Thus, we reduce the effects of counter measures by firms and individuals to cover up for their wrongdoings (Zavyalova et al., 2012)..

It is important to keep in mind that our data are about newspaper accounts of white-collar crime, not the distribution of financial crime in society, since we are applying an offender-based rather than an offense-based perspective on crime.

5. RESEARCH RESULTS

Two questions are important: “How was the crime detected?” and “Who detected the crime?” In this research, we identified the sources of crime detection, see table 1. Interestingly, journalists in the media investigated and revealed a total of 80 out of 305 white-collar criminals, representing 26 percent, which means that one-fourth of all white-collar crime was revealed by the press. Although there is a bias in our sample towards media sources, since only cases presented in the media are included, it nevertheless may seem surprising that journalists make such a significant contribution. After journalists we find victims of crime, who revealed 61 criminals (20%), as listed in the table.

TABLE 1

White-Collar Crime Detectors

Rank	Crime Detecting Sources	Criminals	Fraction
1	Journalists investigating tips from readers	80	26%
2	Crime victims suffering financial loss	61	20%
3	Internal controls of transactions in organizations	28	9%
4	Lawyers identifying misconduct after bankruptcy	27	9%
5	Tax authorities carrying out controls	18	6%
6	Banks carrying out controls on accounts	18	6%
7	Auditors controlling client accounting	11	4%
8	Police investigations into financial crime	4	1%
9	Stock exchange controls of transactions	3	1%
10	Other detection sources	55	18%
TOTAL		305	100%

Crime detection sources were identified in court documents and by communication with prosecutors and defense lawyers. Since our data only comprise cases prosecuted in court, we avoid bias from behind the scene deals with white-collar criminals by tax authorities, banks and police investigators.

While it may seem surprising that journalists detected as many as 80 criminals (26%), it may seem surprising as well that the police only detected 4 criminals (1%). It is also surprising that auditors, who are in charge of accounting controls in client organizations, detected very few of the white-collar crime cases.

A comparison of convicted white-collar criminals detected by journalists and convicted white-collar criminals detected by others, is presented in table 2. Statistically significant differences can be found for crime amount, business revenue and business employees. This means that journalists detect financial crime cases where there is significantly more money involved. Journalists detect financial crime cases in significantly larger organizations when compared to crime cases detected by others.

TABLE 2

Comparison of journalist and non-journalist detected white-collar criminals

Total 305 criminals	80 detected by journalists	225 detected by others	T-statistic difference	Significance of t-statistic
Age convicted	48 years	48 years	-0.178	0.859
Age crime	42 years	43 years	-.418	.676
Years prison	2.1 years	2.2 years	-.549	.583
Crime amount	114 m NOK	23 m NOK	4.523	.000
Involved individuals	4.4 persons	3.6 persons	1.626	.105
Personal income	268,000 NOK	359,000 NOK	-1.247	.213
Personal tax	112,000 NOK	151,000 NOK	-1.293	.197
Personal wealth	1,589,000 NOK	1,488,000 NOK	.122	.903
Business revenue	294 m NOK	154 m NOK	3.151	.002
Business employees	198	98	2.665	.008

When we compare financial crime categories committed by white-collar criminals in terms of detection, results indicate that journalists tend to detect theft a relatively larger extent than fraud and manipulation, as listed in table 3. It comes as no surprise that manipulation – such as accounting fraud and fake invoices – are harder to detect than theft and corruption for external investigators such as journalists. In actual numbers, fraud cases outnumber other kinds of white-collar crime.

TABLE 3

Financial crime categories detected by journalists

	Total detections	Detections by journalists	Percentage by journalists
Fraud	153	36	19 %
Theft	21	14	40 %
Manipulation	73	17	19 %
Corruption	58	13	18 %
TOTAL	305	80	26 %

6. DISCUSSION

A number of angles can be explored in the process of white-collar crime detection within news media. On the one hand we have the news media (newspapers and online-media) that have specialized and focused on financial information of all sorts, and report on this regularly. For them, the sources of information can be traditional through tips, company reports, stock-exchange information, and press conferences as well as other sources. For regular news media spread out over the country, the situation can be quite different. The detection of white-collar crime can come as a tip-off from a whistleblower or as official information if the Economic Crime Prosecutor (ECOCRIME) performs a search locally. Whistleblowers in many cases alert journalists to serious crime and are sometimes the true “detectors”, not the journalists or media

(Bjørkelo et al., 2008; Johnson, 2005; Rothwell and Baldwin, 2006, 2007; Stansberry and Victor, 2009; Vadera et al., 2009; Varelius, 2009).

Additionally, the way the news is treated in the news media is dependent on many variables that occur at the same time: Do they have the right journalists in place at the time? Do they have an interest in the matter? Do they know anything or anyone related to this? There will also be a resource balance that takes place. The resource perspective in leading media houses is concerned with knowledge management (Joshi et al., 2010; Ko and Dennis, 2011; Lacy et al., 2009; Laise et al., 2005).

Not many news media outside of the larger ones will have the possibility of setting aside journalists to work on an investigative white-collar crime for months. In the cases where they have done this, some experience among editors seems to be that there is an uncertainty as to whether this was worthwhile relative to the size and the complexity of the case. For a common, non-specialist news media, there will always be the balance of resources against the newsworthiness of the matter at hand. If a major white-collar crime story had emerged in Norway in the weeks after the July 22 terrorist attacks in 2011, reasonable doubt can be raised if the matter would have caught much attention in the general public press.

General news media have a constant incoming flow of news on hand, and there is a constant daily priority of what is important and what should be published. For all news items there are some general rules of journalism that comes into play: Is it important for many people? Is it really news? Is it possible to get reliable information on this? Is it possible to approach the right people with the right questions? Can both parties in a conflict be approached? And in addition to these questions, there will be a question as to whether the news organization at this point in time has the resources to deal with it. If the journalist knowledgeable of economic matters is on holi-

day, doubt can be raised if the news media organization will come back to the same matter later. That will depend on the development and the newsworthiness of the case at the second point in time. If the news organization is the first to report on the crime and it is regarded as “hot” it will probably do whatever possible to handle the matter at hand, knowing that other media, and especially online media can report on the same matter and as such “steal” the story. There is always an internal pride in a news organization when it can report on a matter of significant interest, and be cited by other news organizations.

The organizational culture also has an influence on white-collar crime detection among journalists (Hofstede et al., 1990; Schein, 1990; Veiga et al., 2000). If you have journalists that are driven by their own interest to win investigative journalist prizes, there is a higher possibility for such stories to emerge in publication. But that will differ greatly among the news organizations. Øvrebø (2004) showed in a study of the Norwegian newspaper Dagspressen after a change of the Editor-in Chief in 2001, that the news profile and priorities of the newspaper changed according to the principles laid down by the new editor when she took up her position. It can be argued that personal preferences of an editor can have influence on the priorities of news in the newspaper, and that this will relate to all types of editorial material, whether it is general news, sports, culture or financial news.

For a general news organization, white-collar crime is not a big story in itself unless it has repercussions on well-known persons locally or if something happens to the organization where the crime has taken place. Nationally it can be a big story if the person is a well-known profile, or if the crime in itself is of an unusual nature. If a main employer locally has to file for bankruptcy because of a white-collar crime, then the story is more than just another white-collar crime case since it has wider consequences that turn the world upside down for ordinary people

in this local area. Then the white-collar crime will take the form of another typical important news story and be followed and treated as such, and the white-collar crime element will be mixed with other elements and consequential stories, building on the starting point as a white-collar crime. Campbell (1997) studied the journalistic process of environmental news in Scotland, and addressed the information sources which are used in the news process. The study showed the preference for human sources as opposed to library-based information and discussed the influence of pragmatic constraints like time and space on the production of news. It can be argued that this process is likewise in the news-gathering process for white collar crime.

The argument of white-collar crime detection among journalists seems to be related to the story's importance in itself and, as such, it will be treated as just another crime or news story and have the same internal process. For smaller news organizations without journalistic specialization in financial matters, the white-collar crime story will be treated according to the news prioritizing structure of that particular organization. For larger news organizations that typically have separate sections for financial and economic news the story will be treated within the prioritizing of that particular section. And if the story is big enough in total it will be moved from the particular section for finance into the general news of the organization. The higher the profile of persons involved, the more likely it is that it will have a more centralized coverage i.e. moved into what is often the first section of the newspaper or the prioritized areas of a website's front page.

As shown in table 1, four of the ten categories made up 64% of the total crime detecting sources and out of these the first two: *Investigating tips from readers* and *Crime victims suffering loss* made up 46%. It can be argued that these two categories are more susceptible to journalistic interest than the others, simply because it is easier to construct news stories based on these jour-

nalistic angles. Themes like manipulation and corruption are much more difficult to make into a story that is interesting for the readers simply because it is more complex and difficult to describe these matters in layman terms. A tip from readers that is given to a news medium is most of the time accompanied by a subjective story from the person giving the tip, that in turn gives the journalist clues to work on and discuss internally to assign the right news priority and angle. This is also supported by the breakdown in Table 3 that shows that theft is the category that has the highest percentage of journalistic detection.

7. CONCLUSION

White-collar crime detection and follow up seems to be related to a number of simultaneous journalistic procedures and cultural elements. For specialized publications in the financial information area, the white-collar crime news arena is closer at hand and the organization will typically be able to go deeper into the matter. If white-collar crime is detected by general or local news organizations, the procedure involved will more often take the form of a general news story with the resource balance that follows from that. It can also be shown that white-collar crime is more often detected by journalists if it is based on a tip from readers or if it is reported as a theft (Gottschalk, 2014). Underlying all this are the internal news preferences and editorial guidance that is part of the policies of the news medium.

There are several avenues for future research. First, journalist detection work can be compared to police investigation work, both in terms of information sources and in terms of work procedure. Next, case studies of famous detection stories can be develop to provide deeper insights into the process of investigative journalism. Finally, the knowledge aspect of investigative journalism can be explored in terms of knowledge categories and knowledge levels.

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