Travel of Ideas

A story about Full-Time Labour

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Abstract

Titel: Travel of Ideas - A story about Full-time Labour

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The purpose of this thesis is to analyze the common identity and the conditions for the implementation of Full-time labour policies in three different municipalities (Hofors, Falu and Lerum) in Sweden. This issue is important since the increasing demands imposed by the right of employees to have Full-Time labour rates requires from the municipalities affected to undertake significant changes in order to make such labour rates available, affecting and even modifying the organization structure and culture.

To carry out the goals set in this thesis we used data collected from policies, project plans, final reports, interviews and questionnaires. Afterwards the data are integrated within our theoretical framework, Travel of Ideas, in order to apply to it our analytical tool: *translation* as a four phase process.

Our conclusions were that the same idea adopted different *translations*. In Hofors the idea became the *desired employment rate model*. In Falu it became the *full-time for everyone model*. In Lerum, however, the translation attempted was not fully suited for the environment in which it should be implemented, resulting in present day delay.

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1.Introduction

"In the last election (2014) full-time labour contracts were promised to all the [Elderly Care] employees of the municipality [of Lerum]. But still nothing has been done, except for discussing the matter itself for several years".

(Dissatisfied, 2017, 21 mars)

In 2014 a policy designed to implement a new full-time labour model within the Elderly Care in the Municipality of Lerum (Protokoll 2014/5:KS13.1017) was enacted. According to this document, a project designed to carry out this policy was to be created, implemented and scheduled to be fully operational two years after. The Project Plan, however, was published in 2016, and currently the implementation of the Project has reached an *impasse* affecting employees, managers, politicians and customers, creating a situation which resolution remains unclear.

The quote that opens this introduction represents a sample of the current discomfort experienced by some of the people affected by this issue. Answering to this letter, the political representative of the Municipal Council of Lerum who is also the chairman of the Care and Support department in Lerum wrote: *"There is a clear political compromise, established for a long time, for which the municipality of Lerum will offer Desired employment rates [labour contracts]. The question has been discussed for long, I concede that to [the person signing] Dissatisfied. Implementing a full-time labour policy is very complex. There are strong connections related to how the schedules are created, to the culture at the workplace and to the stuff policy of the Municipality. Going from a part-time organization to a full-time organization, without incurring in higher costs, can not be done in the blink of an eye"* (Andersson, 2017, 27 mars).

As it happens, not only has the implementation of this policy surpassed the due date, but also the entire Project has been put in standby. In the words of the Elderly Care Area Manager of the Municipality of Lerum interviewed for the present research study: *"Where we are now is in a stop, we need to look back to the entire organization [...]. We need to create a sound foundation"* (Personlig kommunikation, April 28th, 2017).

The testimonies presented here provide three perspectives, namely those of the politicians, the public managers and the employees, that reveal some of the conflicts currently affecting the implementation of a full-time labour public policy in the Municipality of Lerum. The case could be considered merely anecdotic if it was not for three particularities. The first is that the implementation of full-time labour policies in Sweden is inserted in a trend (fashion) already ongoing since approximately the mid 90´s and therefore the case Lerum does not constitute and isolated or even a pioneering attempt -circumstances that, if true, could constitute an explanation of the current difficulties in Lerum. The second particularity is that case of Lerum shares, together with the municipalities of Hofors and Falu, similar policies oriented to implement an organizational change -i.e a transition from a Part-time labour model into a Full-time labour model. And the third is that the Project Manager of the first two cases acted also as a *consultant* in Lerum, being in charge of the assessment study commissioned prior to the articulation of the policies (KS13.1017) that articulate the Project. Whereas the implementation of the same public policy has been -as we will see later on in this research study- successful in the cases of Hofors and Falu, the implementation in Lerum is facing a high risk of not being completed. Then the question arises: Why has this particular project -as the interviewee above claims- come to a stop? or more specifically: What are the factors that are hindering the realization of the implementation of a policy that shares the same legal foundation, policy structure, key people and objectives with two other already successfully implemented policies?

The debate about how to achieve full-time labour is a topic that has been discussed in Sweden for more than 20 years (Regeringens proposition, 1996/97:16). But, what constitute *part-time labour*? For the purpose of this thesis we will adopt the definition given by the International Labour Office, which states that *part-time labour* is to work less than 35 hours per week due to labour market reasons (SOU 1999:27).

The Swedish regulations concerning labour time rates have their roots in the tradition of *consensus* (this is mentioned in part 2.2), adopting therefore the form of *agreements* rather than *laws*. In 1996-1997 the Swedish Government issued a proposal (Regeringens proposition 1996/97:16) in which changes in the Employment Protection Act (Anställningsskyddslagen 1982:20) were introduced. Among other changes, this proposal stated a modification of the regulations for the employees with a part-time job: *An employee who has a part-time job contract and who expresses his or her interest in having a contract with higher number of working hours, should then be eligible to get it.*

In recent years, the debate about full-time labour rate has been an important issue for the political agenda in Sweden, both at national and at the local level. According to the Full-time labour Questionnaire (2015), some municipalities decided to implement the "right to full-time labour rate" or "desired employment labour rate" for all the employees or for employees in specific organizations. In 2015 at least 135 municipalities, a 57% out of a total of 238 municipalities in Sweden, have made political decisions about the right to Full-time labour rate or about Desired employment rate (Sveriges Kommuner och Landsting, 2015).

According to the report issued by Swedish Public State Research office (SOU) there are several studies showing that people working part-time do not have the same opportunities than those working full-time. *"Part-time employment affects the size of earnings and thus the possibilities of an individual to support himself through his own work. A person who works part time is also affected in that a low income has an impact on the transfer systems. This applies to the size of pension benefit and health and unemployment insurance benefits"* (SOU 2005:105).

Then, the debate concerning full-time labour rates is important in Sweden for several reasons. One of them is the need to meet recruitment demands. Another, is the need to enhance the quality and the continuity within the organizations. Another factor is the need for offering competitive working condition, so the professions are not only attractive for employees and future recruits but also suitable to comply with the gender equality regulations (Sveriges Kommuner och Landsting, 2015).

From the point of view of the Public Administration studies, our present study is relevant since attempts to show how the increasing perception of the employment trends of part-time employment in Sweden as potentially dangerous for the well-being of workers in the long-term triggered the creation and implementation of policies that would bring about deep organizational changes and how the public managers have interpreted these policies in order to implement them. The outcome of this study intends to serve as a "lessons-learnt" of sorts with which to understand the complexities of the everyday practice of the contemporary public manager in Sweden.

1.1 Statement of the problem and Goal

The debate referred to above has an especial impact in the Elderly care sectors. As the SOU (2005:105,58) shows, the Elderly care profession is listed among those with a higher proportion of long-term Part-time unemployment. In order to palliate this trend several Municipalities have implemented policies oriented to increased the number of employees with a full-time labour contract.

The purpose of our thesis is twofold: First, to study the spread and reception of the idea and related policies that articulate the full-time labour projects in the three selected cases of Hofors, Falu and Lerum, and second, to explore the conditions for the implementation in each case, as well as the causes of the current status of the project in Lerum.

To this end, we will use as a theoretical framework the metaphor *Travel of Ideas* presented by Czarniawska and Joerges in the book "Translating Organizational Change" (1996). This theoretical framework will be applied analytically through the interpretation made by Erlingsdottir and Lindberg (2005).

1.2 Research Questions:

1. How has the idea of "implementing Full-time labour policy" been translated in different municipalities in everyday practice?
2. Why is the case of the municipality of Lerum experiencing a long delay in its implementation in comparison with the other two cases?

2. Earlier research

There is an extensive corpus of quantitative and qualitative research literature devoted to analysing different schemes of employment regulations, strategies, policies and programs in Sweden (SOU, 2005:105, 231-234). However, in the light of the goals set for our present study and the theoretical framework chosen to accomplish it, we will devote the remainder of this chapter to illustrate the present state of the debate in Sweden, in order to setting the context to answer, in later chapters, our research questions.

2.1 The Full-time / Part-time labour debate

In a nutshell, the keys of the debate lay on two main factors: On the one hand, there is a lack of a single law articulating employment contracts in Sweden. On the other, there is the central role given to the bargaining of collective wage agreements.

In spite of the general awareness of the negative, long-term effects the part-time labour poses for employees (SOU 2005:105,46), the labour regulations in Sweden, far from being unified, are scattered through sections of different laws, such as the Law of Protection of Employment (Anställningsskyddslagen, 1982:80) or the Law against Discrimination (Lag, 2002:293) among others. On the other hand, the characteristics of the Swedish policy-making system, examined later in section 2.2, allow for multiple interpretations of the regulations, ultimately sending the responsibility for implementing full-time labour policy programs to local level organizations.

One of the most comprehensive references available in Sweden to grasp the complexity of part-time/full-time debate is the State Public Enquiry *Strengthening the right to full-time employment* (SOU 2005:105). This document is an official investigation held at national level with the purpose of providing an insightful proposal for a new law concerning full-time labour, carried out by a multidisciplinary team of experts led by Gudmund Toijer.

According to this report, the goal of Swedish economic policy is the prosperity through full employment and a strong, sustained growth. There is then a need for more people working and

more working hours to cope with the task (SOU 2005:105, 41). In recent years however, the labour market and working life has undergone constant changes at an ever increasing pace. Increased international dependence and periods of economic uncertainty have led to increased flexibility in production, adapted to changes in demand. In the public sector, many organizations have undergone changes leading to a reduction in the number of employees. In general the changes have driven the development towards an increased use of flexible labour forms such as temporary work, hourly basis and part-time (SOU 2005:105, 129).

Even if this trend towards a more flexible labour market might meet interests of both employers and workers and Part-time employees can not generally be seen as workers in disadvantage, the reality is, according to Toijer, that the opportunities to choose the labour-time conditions are different across individuals (SOU 2005:105, 130).

This statement opens the discussion about the perception of part-time labour as a problem. In spite of the advantages that flexible forms of employment might present, the report recalls several studies that, in general, claim that people who work part time have less development and career opportunities than those who work full time (SOU 2005:105, 133). Summarily, for the majority of the people part-time labour represents the way to access the labour market that might, in the long run, lead to full-time employment. But studies and the National Labour Market Board (Arbetsförmedlingen) show that many part-time unemployed remain in part-time employment against their will for a long period (SOU 2005:105, 134). At the same time, as part-time employment conveys the possibility of new opportunities of establishment in the labour market, for many it also entails a risk of being locked into part-time employment for a long time.

In connection with the characteristics of the Swedish policy-making system that will be analyzed in 2.2, the report reminds us of the strong tradition present in the country allowing social partners a major influence on employment and working conditions, as well as the central role given to the bargaining of the collective wage agreements. In sum, according to the report, there are many reasons to suggest that the parties should be given the possibility to agree on the choice between fulltime and part-time positions and thereby contribute to the solution of the problems deriving from the part-time/full-time labour contracts (SOU 2005:105, 137).

According to the Inquiry, there are abundant examples of attempts made at the municipal level in order to address the mitigation of part-time labour formulas. For example, the county councils have achieved very good results in reducing part time unemployment in their own organisations. There are also several good examples among municipalities, even though the efforts there have not come as far. The National Labour Market Board (Arbetsförmedlingen) has worked actively to reduce part time unemployment, for example by introducing new working methods and routines aimed at informing employers about part time unemployment among staff in their own operations. Among others, the cases of Växjö, Falköping and Hofors are mentioned, together with the so called *Hela Projekt* which between 2002–2004 implemented 63 local projects both in the private and public sectors. In general, and in spite of the efforts made, which by no means should not be underestimated- the report states that there is statistical proof confirming that the proportion of part-time employment is raising in several branches of both private and public sectors, rendering the above mentioned projects as insufficient (SOU 2005:105, 138).

In the report entitled *Five Authorities cooperating against part-time unemployment* (Statskontoret 2003:17) an analysis of the results yielded by the Project HELA is carried out. Essentially, this report identifies two types of obstacles, namely those pertaining to the regulatory system and those pertaining to a conflict of goals. A fundamental problem of the first group, affecting the entire project, is that the interest for the projects at the local level has been low. One of the reasons for this is the lack of knowledge the local parties had concerning both the attitudes and the knowledge about part-time labour as well as about the real needs to be invested upon (Statskontoret 2003:17, 69). A problem of the second group refers to the conflictive goals selected for the project, namely the fact that the project had two differentiated goals (reducing part-time unemployment and introduce new labour methods) that are diametrically opposite (Statskontoret 2003:17, 70).

In conclusion, it seems to be clear that in spite of the regulations concerning full-time and part-time labour in Sweden, namely the Law of Protection of Employment (1982:80), the proposition 1996/97:16 (Labour Right for Increased Growth) and the Law against discrimination of part-time employees (2002:293), and more specifically, considering that the Swedish government stated that the aim should be towards full-time employment, and part-time employment should only be considered exceptionally, the experience shows that the intentions behind the regulations have not been fully realised or applied to a relatively limited extent. This

debate is interesting because there is a tendency for the markets to employ part-time. But this creates difficult conditions for the employees as mentioned in SOU 2005 (SOU 2005:105, 133).

2.2 Policy-making in Sweden

Elmore, Gustafsson and Hargrove in their study "Comparing Implementation Processes in Sweden and the United States" (1986) analyzed the policy making processes, the policy content, and the governmental structures of these two countries. According to these authors, the National policy-making in Sweden is highly differentiated, i.e, is a system designed to produce a high level of consensus- and characterized by (1) relatively strong political incentives for policymakers to attend problems; (2) relatively broad and extensive consultation; and (3) relative stability in the role specified for regional and local government in the implementation of national policy (ibid., p.218).

The Swedish administrative model is highly 'centralized', in the sense that political parties, interest groups, and - to a degree- administrative agencies have strong vertical organizations, and there are strong norms of consultation at the national level which promote a high level of consensus on national policy. But the system is also highly 'decentralized', in the sense of granting considerable autonomy to administrative agencies and municipalities shaping national policy to variations among localities (Elmore, Gustafsson and Hargrove, 1986:220).

The Swedish policy-making system can therefore be described as follows: Complex policy issues are set into frame laws before they are fully aired at the national level, then supplemented with rules requiring extensive consultation and planning during implementation. The result is that consensus on fundamentals is postponed and important policy questions are exported, or pushed out, to the regional and local levels (Elmore, Gustafsson and Hargrove, 1986:230).

According to these authors, Swedish policy-making is in general typically prospective and preventive in its intent, rather than retrospective and remedial. That is, policies are designed more to anticipate and respond to developing trends than to repair existing problems. Prospective and preventive policy is difficult to make, however, since no one understands with any degree of certainty what will happen many years hence. The most rational response to uncertainty of this

type is to leave the content of policy relatively unspecified, but to specify in some detail the process by which policy will be adapted to unanticipated events. Then, the characteristic form of national policy is 'frame laws', or 'meta-policy', that mobilize the expertise of administrative boards, the general authority of municipalities, and the political influence of parties and interest groups behind institutionalized process of consultation planning (Elmore, Gustafsson and Hargrove, 1986:221).

Another relevant factor that needs to be taken into account in connection with the policy-making process described here is the role given to the local government, which in Sweden is exceptionally strong (Pierre, 2015:12). The role of local government in Sweden is based on both specific authority conferred by national policy and also on a more general authority, which has a long constitutional and informal tradition in Scandinavia. The general authority specifies that municipalities shall 'conduct their own affairs', meaning, on the one hand, that they are empowered to take any appropriate action that is in the interest of their inhabitants (Elmore, Gustafsson and Hargrove, 1986:218). On the other hand, municipalities in Sweden have an obligation to implement and deliver central government services. To find a balance between the former and the latter constitutes a constant problem for the local governments (Pierre, 2015:12).

2.3 Roles of the Public Servants

In Sweden, the relations among policymakers and administrators are based on norms and institutions that provide a *strong role for administrative expertise*, that traditionally have an independent authority designed to guarantee citizens against legislative excess (Elmore, Gustafsson and Hargrove, 1986:219). The executive autonomy that the public administrators have in relation with other branches of the government, commonly known as *dualism* (Sundström, 2015:1), describes in general terms the behaviours of the public servants within the Swedish Administration (Pierre, 2015:11). These factors, together with characteristics of the Swedish local government described above, constitute the background against which to contrast the figure of the contemporary Swedish public servant in relation with the policy-making process.

In general, the contemporary Swedish public servant's identity and role have been shaped after the so called "Administrative reform" carried out from the mid-1970s on and in which the New Public

Management model and its result-oriented managerial approach have been implemented, although the neo-liberal side of this approach was adopted later on, in the mid-1990s (Sundström, 2015:2). The term *public manager* used in this study refers then to the group of public servants who work within the Swedish administration having responsibility over an administrative division.

In their analysis of the role of the Swedish public managers, focused on the fundamental principles and mechanisms that convey the legitimacy of their activity in the democratic system and the scope, range and limits of their realm of action, Hysing and Olsson (Hysing & Olsson, 2012:27) state that the duties of the public manager involve a number of requirements that are not rarely conflicting or sensitive. At the same time their activities are deeply interwoven but separated of the activities reserved for the elected members of the democratic government (Hysing & Olsson, 2012:9).

On this regard Peter Ehn argues that, in the wake of the reforms experienced within the administrative system that the last two decades implemented the principles of the so called New Public Management, the "nowadays Swedish public servants can hardly be characterized as old-fashioned bureaucrats, but neither as fully fledged managers." (Ehn, 2015:1). According to Ehn, there are three main elements contributing to this claim. In the first place the author considers "the alignment between the public and private sector regarding the statutory regulation of working conditions. Today, the public and private sector differ very little in this regard." (Ehn, 2015:4). In the second place, Ehn considers the politicization of the public servants, in connection to the influence of the New Public Management model, in which the doctrine of "management by results" and the political appointment of high-level positions might be seen as government attempt to grasp political control over administrations (Ehn, 2015:4). Finally, the author claims that "the government's delegation of decisions to the agencies regarding internal organization, human resources policies, and financial and operational issues, in combination with managing by results, has created a situation where public servants at the agency level have come to regard the agency as a formal organization in its own right" (Ehn, 2015:16).

These three elements are partially described also by Hysing and Olsson (2012), when referring to the traditional model of the political process by which the politicians have the responsibility of proposing initiatives, stating agendas, formulate policies, prioritize and decide, whilst the public

manager must implement the decisions taken and possibly participate in the evaluation of the results. But in practice, state these authors, the public manager have a much more important role and are much more active in every step of the political process (Hysing & Olsson, 2012:20).

In sum, the public managers are invested with a mantle of power and influence that, in practice, extends beyond the theoretical limits imposed by the category defined by their duties. The definition of their position, coined by Hysing and Olsson as their *type*, together with the characteristics and properties of their professional profile (experience, expertise and merits) as well as their continuous presence in the system (as opposed to that of the politicians) make of the public manager a multirole *political* actor (Hysing & Olsson, 2012:20-22).

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3.Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework chosen for supporting the study of cases presented in Chapter 1 is the metaphor of *travel of ideas* developed by Czarniawska and Joerges (1996).

There are three main reason for the choice of this theoretical framework. The first one is the rationale that this two authors present when addressing the issue of how *change* has been addressed in the school of the so called *Scandinavian Institutionalism* as opposed to the approach taken by both the *Old* and *New Institutionalism*. In relation to *change*, the *Old Institutionalism* is characterized by logic of appropriateness in the actions of the actors and in the logic of *rational choice* in its legitimization. The *New Institutionalism* emphasises the logic of appropriateness and considered *change* an exception to the ruling norm of stability. In this light, the theoretical framework proposed by Czarniawska and Joerges (1996:4) pays great attention to how to *interpret* change from the point of view of *uncertainty* rather than from the traditional perspectives such as *planned change* or *change as adaptation to the environment*. The Scandinavian Institutionalism encompass *change* and *stability* as an organizational norm. To this particular core idea of this school of organizational theory, Meyer (1994) pointed out that "organizations are very uncertain and irrational structures but function in highly rationalistic environments that depict and legitimate organizations as coherent and responsible rational actors" Meyer (1994:722).

The second reason is directly related to the above mentioned concept of *uncertainty* which is, according to the description of the policy-making process in Sweden provided in 2.2, an inherent property of Swedish administration arising from the interplay between *centralization* and *decentralization* as well as the *prospective* and *preventive* character of the policy-making process.

The third a final reason is the relevant role that the metaphor *Travel of Ideas* confers to the actions and interactions of *people*, as the key actors that contribute to accomplishing *changes*.

Since organizational change is exactly what *implementation* is about and, briefly speaking, implementation is the difference between *expectations* and *results* then, approaching the subject from the perspective of Czarniawska and Joerges (1996) provides an interesting way of the

studying policy-making and implementation from a perspective that is deeply embedded in the Swedish administrative system and which, inevitably, shapes the roles and behaviors of the public managers.

3.1 Travel of ideas: Core Ideas and Criticism

The metaphor of travel of ideas, developed by Czarniawska & Joerges (1996), provides a method based in constructivism for describing the complexity of factors involved in the study of organizations, including nonetheless phenomena such as *globalization, evolution* and, above all, *change*.

The metaphor describes the *materialization* of an idea as a *voyage* in three basic steps. In the ideal case an idea starts first as a local phenomenon, then if successful becomes global, i.e. becomes available to a much greater audience but lacking the original context, and in the latter phase, this idea might be adopted by any other organization but experimenting in the process an *interpretation*, i.e. a customization of sorts that leads to new possibilities of *change* within the adoptive organization.

The generation of *an idea*, according to Czarniawska and Joerges, does not refer to general or specific ideas that can circulate at any given moment anywhere in the world. Rather, an *idea* is in this metaphor a realization, the conversion from *abstract* into *concrete* of a set of thoughts performed by *people*. In our present research, such a set of thoughts refer to the increasing perception of the employment trends of part-time employment in Sweden as potentially dangerous for the well-being of workers in the long-term.

The metaphor of *travel of ideas* is therefore an active process in which the objects of study are identified as *travel routes* and *means of travel* in order to explain how ideas are not only *transported* from one place to another but also *interpreted*, i.e. how ideas might be born in a

localized context, then spread through space and time and then re-embedded in a new context and *materialized* into action.

An *idea* in this context is defined as an *image* that becomes quasi-objects, and then objects, i.e. is *materialized* and subjected to change, into an *object* or *action*, whether as a text, a sound, or a drawing. Materialization is therefore a process of *application* of an idea performed by *acts of communication* which are in turn trazable in space and time.

This last construct is the key for understanding the metaphor *travel of ideas*: Ideas change all the time when they are applied in different places, even if the distances are too short. But ideas do not spread on its own. There are reasons for individuals for translating an idea for their own use. And sure an idea will be different with every each translation (Czarniawska, 2005:123-124). According to Sahlin and Wedlin, even a small reformulation of an idea may change not only the form of the idea, but also its focus, content and meaning. To avoid transferring from one context to another, an idea must be clearly formulated and made it more explicit (Sahlin & Wedlin, 2008).

Completing the metaphor *travel of ideas* Czarniawska and Sevon introduced the concept of *translation* borrowed from Latour, 1986 (quoted by Czarniawska & Sevón, 1996, p.6) in order to describe the dynamic process under which an idea is adapted to new contexts, needs and circumstances, resulting in something completely new: *To set something in a new place is to construct it anew* (Czarniawska & Sevon, 2005:8). Ideas, argue these authors, must undergo the process of *materialization* to be able to travel, a complex interaction of factors characterized as a mixture of change, social mood and intention that might not always lead to the realization of an idea, i.e. its transformation into *an object*.

When the decision of adopting an idea is formally taken, it only confirms what is already irreversible, but turning the idea into substance might take the form of a planned change, no matter how ingenious the decision-making body was (Czarniawska & Joerges, 1996:30). The materialization of ideas can be understood as a *legitimized ritual*. The authors stress that it is always important for the materialization of ideas to be guided by a competent person to create the mobilization needed for action. Nevertheless, according to Czarniawska & Joerges (1996), an idea can have a greater chance of being realized as long as it is in the focus of attention. Then, after an

idea is objectified, has traveled and arrived to a new place, it is ready to be translated into local action.

The metaphor presented by Czarniawska & Joerges, however, is not exempt of criticism. Karin Brunsson (1997) argues that this metaphor yields an understanding of the concept of change in which "there is little room for spontaneity, creativity or uniqueness", since organizations "employ changes that are already in circulation", coined by Brunsson as "master ideas" leading to the belief that "organizations *must* change in this rather standardized and mechanical fashion".

Nevertheless this criticism, let us remind that -as pointed out in 2.2- in spite of the alignment occurring in Sweden between the private and public organization, the latter -even more at the municipal level- is driven by the obligation of providing central government services, which include the offering of public employment. The argument developed by Brunsson (1997) essentially does not invalidate the use of the metaphor *Travel of Ideas* as a way of studying organizational change within the Swedish public administration.

3.2 Translation as a four phase process

According to Czarniawska and Joerges (1996), the metaphor *travel of ideas* describes the *transformation* of ideas into objects, from *abstract* to *concrete*, as a journey of sorts that might transcend time and space. Inspired by this construct, Erlingsdottir and Lindberg (2005) developed a four phase model that we will use in this research study as the analytical tool for investigating how an *idea* becomes materialized as an *object* in an organization, applied in our case to the study of policy-making and implementation.

The model proposed by Erlingsdottir and Lindberg (2005) builds up the causal chain of their four-phase structure as a communication process, with a sender (the actor carrying the *idea*), a *channel* (the process as such) and a receiver (the end user of the idea). Therefore, for an idea to travel, i.e. for a certain management concept to spread, the idea must first be *disembedded* from its previous context, then must be *packed* as a quasi-object in order to travel, then, in a third phase, it must be *unpacked* by the receiving organization, i.e. *adapted* to suit the new surroundings and, finally in the fourth phase, the idea must be *re-embedded* into organizational practices and structures. The sender is often an institution or organization that have implemented the idea successfully or the original conceiver of the idea. The receiver is the organization that has applied the core idea successfully, which means that the receiver will eventually become a sender for future receivers (Erlingsdottir and Lindberg, 2005).
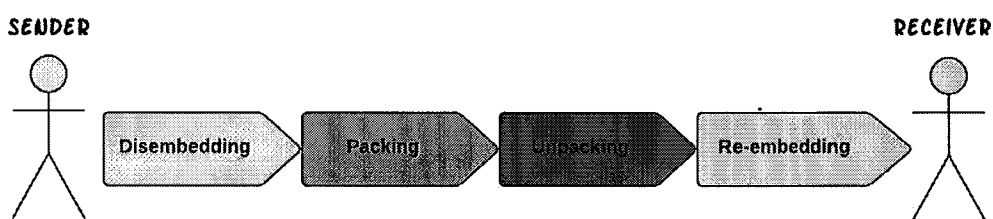
Disembedding:

The disembedding of an idea can be described as the process of extracting or *discovering* an idea from a certain context, detaching the idea from it and placing it in a different one. When

disembedding an idea you have to be sure that it can be reinterpreted into a new field or circumstance. Ideas are frequently used if they become institutionalised and used in a dominant matter (Erlingsdottir and Lindberg, 2005).

Packing:

According to Czarniawska and Sevon (1996), the new idea is adapted to the new context, needs and circumstances, resulting in something completely new. Is this stage of the cycle *travel of ideas*, when the idea becomes *packaged*, what these authors call *packing*.

Sahlin-Andersson (1996) mentioned in Erlingsdottir and Lindberg (2005) argue that for an idea to be able to change concept it has to be packaged. What it means is that the central idea will be transformed into a model, policy or a text. Some of these models will be used by many organizations and will become institutions while others will fade away.

Packing has to be both unique and familiar at the same time for the idea to stick. If a model should remain supreme it has to be founded by a logical background and with rational explanation. This means that the introduction of new ideas are often presented with a problem and a solution where the cause and effect relationship is clarified. The people that translate the idea, act upon in relation with on how they perceive the situation and local practice. The translation process is therefore necessary to re-embedding the idea so that it will become common enough to appeal many but also become sufficiently concrete to be passed on in the field (Erlingsdottir and Lindberg, 2005).

Unpacking:

The idea has now been packed but when being used in practice(unpacked) it will face whatever policy, model or norm that has been the supreme. That is why many ideas can get lost if it is received in a local environment where the practice has been the complete opposite. For the idea to be fully translated it has to be unpacked in the right circumstances. The idea is edited by those who receive it in the local practice by combining old and new, the local and the foreign models. If these models are in opposition to each other, it can be solved by the models getting decoupled.

This means that both the context that the idea meets and idea's characteristics are important for the reception of the idea (Erlingsdottir & Lindberg, 2005).

Re-embedding:

Czarniawska & Joerges (1996) explains that an idea will only get fully realized when it becomes re-embedded. The idea will be actionable by being coupled with established practice, and materialized in the form of written descriptions. Ideas and actions are paired as a result of the process. An idea that is translated into actions that are repeated, eventually becomes stabilized and taken for granted. An idea that reach this supreme status will be then re-embedded in several organizations, institutionalized in the organization field (Erlingsdottir and Lindberg, 2005).

For the reasons pointed out in the introduction of this chapter, we believe that this theoretical framework is suitable for its application in the study of policy-making and policy implementation in the Swedish public administration. On the one hand, the relevance given by Czarniawska and Joerges to the concept of *change* and uncertainty as well as the role of people and their interactions provides a solid foundations for studying of the administration. On the other hand, the systematization of this metaphor carried out by Erlingsdottir and Lindberg create a simple but powerful scheme with which the study of the cases selected for this thesis becomes systematic and regular, paving the way for the design of our research described in the next chapter.

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4. Methodology

The purpose of this chapter is to clarify the research approach selected for this study in accordance with our research goals. Firstly, we present our research design, then the documents, interviews and other research material used in our investigation. Finalizing the chapter, we present the limitations of our thesis.

4.1 Research Design: A comparative qualitative study

In order to accomplish the goals set for this study we have, in the first place, to study the spread and reception of the idea and related policies that articulate the full-time labour projects in the three selected cases, i.e. Hofors, Falu and Lerum. In the second place, we have to explain the conditions for the implementation in each case, as well as the causes of the current status of the implementation in Lerum. Only then will we be ready to answer our research questions, namely: a) *How has the idea of "implementing Full-time labour policy" been translated in different municipalities?* and b) *Why is the case of the municipality of Lerum experiencing a long delay in its implementation?*

For this purpose, we chose to integrate, within the theoretical framework provided by the metaphor *travel of ideas*, a comparative qualitative study as our research design. The advantage of this method is that it provides a deeper understanding of the subject studied within a specific area, attempting to see the situation from the perspective that the research subject conveys (Esaiasson, Gilljam, Oscarsson, Towns, Wängnerud, 2017, 211). Since our theoretical framework stresses the fact that are the *people* and their *actions* the vehicles that moves the *ideas* and that *listening closely* to the actors involved is the primary duty of the researcher (Czarniawska & Joerges, 1996), it feels only natural to us the choice of this method, for it provides the required perspective for analysing people's actions.

The empirical data for our three cases are divided in two categories: a) legal, political and administrative documents and, b) interviews and questionnaires.

4.2 Case Studies

In the introduction of this thesis we presented our interest in finding out the causes affecting the paralyzation of the implementation of a full-time labour policy in the Municipality of Lerum. We also stated the reasons for which this case featured, in our opinion, some interesting characteristics that called for a closer look, namely, the fact that there have been in Sweden previous and successful attempts that share many fundamental similarities with the case in Lerum, as well as its apparent risk of failure, that is creating havoc beyond the Organization itself and out into the social context of the Municipality.

The first characteristic connects with the first goal of this thesis: to study the spread and reception of the idea and related policies that articulate the implementation of full-time labor schemes in the case of Lerum and in the two previous cases of Hofors and Falu. In doing so, we believe we will find a vantage point that will help to accomplish the second goal: to analyze the conditions for the implementation in each case, in order to clarify -connecting, thus, with the second characteristic- the causes leading to the current status of the implementation process in Lerum.

The selected case studies will then be used for both goals, first describing each one separately in chronological order, and then performing a qualitative comparative analysis.

4.3 Interviews and Questionnaires

As pointed out in 4.1, the design of our study requires the collection of information from the actors involved in organizations in which the policies were implemented. The use of interviews and questionnaires becomes therefore an essential research tools to accomplish our goals.

The interviews and questionnaires were carefully crafted, delivered, collected and archived, complying with the ethical and legal principles that must be followed in Sweden regarding the participation of people in a research study (Lag 2003:460), specifically: a) participation was voluntary; b) an informed consent was gained from each one of the participants; c) their privacy and confidentiality was protected at all times and d) the selection of participants was kept as equitable as possible taking into account the relatively small size of the focus groups and the departments in which they work.

All the interviews, except for one, as well as the questionnaire were performed and collected in person during the field research stage of this study in the municipality of Lerum, between March and April, 2017. Only one interview, with the *consultant* was done via telephone. In all cases the names of the interviewees and respondent are not mentioned. Instead we use their job position name hold at the time of this research.

The interviews are not presented in full. Instead we use excerpts coded according to relevant topics of discussion.

a) Face to face interviews

The interviews were carried out and transcribed in Swedish and later translated into English for its use as quotes in this thesis. We had a basis of questions but we were mostly trying to have a discussion with the interviewees, therefore new questions arose based on the answers we were given. This gave us the advantage of being able to change the order of how the questions were asked instead of sticking to a fix lay-out of the interview, which would prevent us to shape the conversation in different ways. The interviewees were unit managers, one department manager, two project managers and one area manager. It gave us a complete picture of the decision making process in the elderly care in Lerum.

b) Telephone interview

This option was used due to the impossibility of meeting the *consultant*, a key informant for the three cases, in person for reason of agenda. The procedure, however, was identical as the face to face interview model.

c) Questionnaire

We used a questionnaire for the employees of the elderly care in Lerum in order to collect the perceptions the employees have concerning the full-time labour project. Its confection followed the considerations provided by Kothari (2004), and were very carefully constructed. Therefore, in order to maximize participation and completion, the questionnaire included five printed yes/no questions as well as space for further clarification. The questions were sequenced in order of increased difficulty and were void of technical terms or vague expressions. The questionnaire were delivered to all elderly care centers in the municipality of Lerum. The participation was voluntary and the respondents wrote the answers on their own.

4.4 Documents

We are using the policies, project plan, final reports of the projects and excerpts of the interview with the Project Manager for the cases of Falu and Hofors as the main source of material for these finished projects. From Lerum we are using the Project Plan proposal, written by the same Project Manager of the cases of Falu and Hofors -that in this occasion had a role only as a consultant in the stages prior to the approval of the policy-, as well as the actual Project Plan from the current Project Manager. Using these documents allowed us not only to understand how the different municipalities have translated the idea of full-time labour but also to support our interviews with the managers in Lerum to understand why the project in Lerum has been in a delay.

4.5 Limitations

The field of study in which this thesis is originated is the Master Program in Public Administration, Organization and Management. For this reason, our interests are aligned with processes concerning management and leadership and that might incline the focus of our thesis to aspects related to policy-making, decision-making and implementation. Nevertheless, we have tried, true to our theoretical framework, to approach the subject of study taking into account the perspectives of people belonging to all the levels of the Organization studied. In the the case of Lerum, through the use of interviews and questionnaires as well as documental research. The cases of Hofors and Falu, both set in the past, call for a more indirect approach, relying in documents and the key informant (*consultant*).

5. Empirical research

In this chapter we present, in chronological order, the information collected for three case studies. Our corpus encompasses legal texts, organizational information, policies and reports, as well as field research, documented in the form of interviews and questionnaires.

5.1 The municipality of Hofors

Hofors is a municipality in east central Sweden, currently counting 9533 inhabitants. The organisations of Hofors is based on a clear division between politicians and public sectors. Together they find the strategies leading to an attractive, sustainable and stable development municipality in order to accomplish their vision: *Hofors municipality is the friendliest in Sweden: for living, business and leisure* (Hofors kommun, 2016).

In April 2002 the Municipality of Hofors approved a proposal (KF15, 2002:2001.42-020) for which a work-group was created in order to explore the practical possibilities of implementing a policy for which the employees in the municipality would be offered the possibility of raising their employment rate to a full-time employment contract. Under the title *Full-time labour is a right - part-time labour is an option*, the work-group set to work guided by two main principles: gender equality and the right to full-time labour.

The result of their work, usually referred to as *Hoforsmodell* (Fernlund, 2004) was officially approved in February 2003, and was scheduled for completion in December, 2006. The goal pursued by this plan was: "to offer employees the labour rate they would wish in order to decrease the number of part-time employments as well as to make the Care sector a more attractive employer. We shall give employees a higher degree of participation in the planning of the daily work" (Fernlund, 2004, 2).

By the time the project finished, the municipality would be a more appealing employer and, for the new employees, there would be no partial employment. The expected results in the long run would not only transform the Elderly care department into a much more attractive employer, but also would increase the number of applicants to work in it. By the end of 2006, every employee in the Elderly care should have gotten the employment rate they had chosen, and at least 30% of the

people that were interested in finding a job within the Elderly care should perceive it as an attractive alternative (Fernlund, 2004, 4).

To accomplish this, a Project manager was appointed to carry out an extensive survey. This survey, entitled *Implementation Plan for the Model Hofors* (Fernlund, 2004) became a thorough revision of the entire Organization, including surveys concerning the employee's desired labour rates, as well as analysis of the previous plans conducted in the Organization in order to implement the Project. Justifying the need for this survey, the Hofors Project Manager said in our interview: *"There was no investigation in any municipality before they hired me for a such large project [...]. On the other hand, in 2003 the Full-time labour [debate] was a just new issue, at least when we introduced it in Hofors"(Consultant)*.

As quantitative goals, the *Implementation Plan for the Model Hofors* stated that by 2005 at least 80% of the employees should perceive that they had control over their labour rates. Accordingly, every employee would offered a Full-time labour contract, being able to choose between a 90%, 80%, 75%, 70%, 60% or 50% employment rates. Additionally, at least 50 % of the employees should perceive that their possibilities of participating in the construction of labour schedules had increased.

There were in this Project three critical procedures, designed in order to set the plan in motion, that are relevant for our study. First, the Project manager planned an extensive agenda of meetings with the employees, in order to determine what the desired employment rates would be for each one of them. In the words of the Project Manager: "Regular information meetings and discussion meetings will be crucial for the success of this project [...] This project should be well known in the entire organization" (Fernlund, 2004). Second, the costs variations for each employee was duly calculated and registered. And third, a work-group was appointed to participate in the planning of the project, and to follow up and assess the development of the Project.

The Project was divided into multiple phases. In the first place, the employees would provide feedback to the work-group, by means of answering questionnaires, for which the basic information regarding the employment situation of every employee would be assessed. Secondly, the assessment would provide the foundation needed in order to set a budget and an operational

plan. The following phase involved the creation of the staff planning and the schedule models. In the final phase, the Organization would then be ready to start using the new schedule system.

Finished Report of the *Hofors model*

The Project Manager describes in this document the two main characteristics of the Hofors Model: Firstly, the employees would have the opportunity to choose their own their labour rates and, secondly, the Organization would have a flexible work model. To the success of the Project contributed not only the good managerial practices and full employee participation, but also the full support provided by politicians and the Union.

However, there were some difficulties with the latter due to the novelty of the system, i.e., an organizational change that while enabling employees to choose their own labour rate, would create uncertainty among them, making some of the participants afraid of the incoming changes. In the beginning, it was difficult to convince the employees about the advantages of the new model. The lack of knowledge the employees had in, for example, the administrative scheduling procedures, was one of the factors that needed to be overcome, consequently hindering the implementation process. Since this Project was a completely new endeavor, for the Project manager in particular and for the whole Full-time labour concept in general, another obstacle the Project had to overcome was the interpretation of laws and regulations.

The Project was deemed completed in March 2015, with an approximate cost of 2,5 million SEK. This amount refers to costs concerning the staff and materials needed for the Project to start working and did not affect the budget assigned to the Elderly care department in which it was implemented.

In general, all the goals of the Project were reached with high degree of success. Summarily, in total, 264 employees were involved in the Project, from which 164 of them choose the Full-time labour option for both the year of 2004 and 2005; 76 employees chose not to change their labour rates, and the number of employees with a 90% employment rates grew from 57 (22%) to 150 (57,5 %).

The employees did not only become more knowledgeable in managing schedules, but they also became more aware of how scheduling affects the budget. In the process, the gain the ability to influence the planning.

The entire Municipality supported the Project, from the very own Elderly care department employees and managers as a whole, to Union representatives as well as the politicians. In the words of the Project Manager: *"If you build obstacles in advance, it will never succeed. In order to create real changes, one must dare to launch ideas"*. As long-term goal, the Municipality expected to implement the Full-time labour project across the entire Organization(Hofors Kommun, 2005).

In 2013, ten years after the beginning of the so called Hofors Model, the Union *Kommunal* argued that was breaching the Collective agreement concerning the stipulated payment of specific hourly rates. Since the Municipality of Hofors refused to raise the lowest wages, the cancellation of the implementation of the model followed suit (Lundin, 2013, 12 mars).

5.2 The municipality of Falu

Falu municipality has 60 000 inhabitants and is a part of the greater Borlänge region, in the south area of Central Sweden, with 165000 residents (Falu Kommun, 2016). Falu has a vision to become bigger, in terms of population, economy, labour possibilities, and sustainability (Falu Kommun, 2016).

In mars 2011, the Municipality of Falu approved a decision for starting a project in order to implement a Full-time labour policy. Entitle *Full time for everyone* (Heltid till alla) (KS 196/11), the policy addressed that the core of the project was the need of a clear and constant information flow, participation and support. The policy also address the need of a Project Manager and that the Project Plan should be ready by august 2011.

The Project Manager appointed for this project is the same one that led the Hofors Project to a successful completion. The Project Plan expressed the political will of offering to all public employees Full-time labour contracts, having the possibility of getting Part-time labour contracts if the opportunity would arrive. The goal for the project established that by the end of 2014 all the employees with Part-time labour contracts would be provided with Full-time labour contracts.. Although targeted for the entire Municipality, the Project Plan presented here applies only for the Elderly care department in Falu. The Project Plan presented two main features. The first one being division of the Project in chronological phases and, the second, a well described hierarchical structure to facilitate fluid communications among managers, departments, groups and employees (Falu Kommun, 2011).

The Project *Full-time for everyone* is divided according to the following phases:

Anchoring - Appointment of the steering group (november-december 2011). a combination of members of the Municipal board and the Union (Kommunal).

Information - Managers' information reception phase, extending from November 2011 to March 2012. A key phase to make the Managers aware of the context, needs and consequences of the Project, daily updated by the Project Manager.

Inventory and Analysis - undertaken within the same period that the previous phase, the goal was to collect all relevant information for the incoming organizational change. This inventory would then be handed over to the Steering Group, which in turn would analyse and assess the actual dimensions of the implementation plan.

Implementation plan - This phase produces the actual document for which the Project will be implemented, with detailed time-schedules, extending from April 2012 to September 2013. Regular meetings between Managers and the Steering group were hold up until the completion of the Project.

Implementation - The actual implementation phase was scheduled between April 2012 and December 2014.

Evaluation - The assessment phase was scheduled between October 2014 and March 201, and documented in the Final Assessment Report (Falu Kommun, 2011).

Final Report in Falu 2016:

According to this document, the key to success was the agreement reached with the local Union *Kommunal*, for which the principles guiding the entire Project were accepted as part of the Collective wage agreement. However, the Managers had the right to shift employees across different units according to schedule needs.

The strategy developed by the Project Manager focused on working close to the employees form the very beginning, so the Project would flourished from the actual needs and conditions of the Organization. Another key for success was allowing extra time, for those employees who needed it, in order to understand the goal of the Project, so even if the Project would take longer time than expected to implement, it would make sure that the it would not be neglected.

The project was finished in 2014, with a total cost of 5,3 million SEK. By the end of 2015, around 80 % of the employees in the elderly care in Falu had full-time labour contracts. (Falu Kommun, 2016).

In general, the Project is assessed successful and, in the long-term, the Elderly care department has an improved quality and a better reputation, which in turn facilitated new recruitments. Also, several Municipalities got interested in the Project. (Falu Kommun, 2016)

5.3 The Municipality of Lerum

Lerum is a municipality in Västra Götaland county with barely 40000 inhabitants (KS16.712). The town of Lerum acts as the administrative center of the municipality. Lerum has a vision to become the leading environmental municipality of Sweden in the year 2025 or earlier. This vision entails protecting not only the inner but also the outer environment, and so this vision is divided in three main areas: sustainability, creativity and influence. The vision describes a development of the society that meets every person's basic needs (Lerum Kommun, 2015).

The municipality of Lerum is coordinated by a director in charge of the main three administrative sectors: Learning, Support, and Care and Planning. The political leaders set the goals and the

director's primary responsibility is to bring the goals for each sector into a reality (Lerum Kommun, 2011).

All goals are agreed upon and established in the document called *Operational plan* published every financial year. All the agreements and policies set in this document constitute the directive lines for governing every and each one of the organizations within each sector. Capital to the entire system of power is the continuous process of monitoring affecting all levels, who´s responsibility relies on the directors but that needs the cooperation of every person working for the municipality (Lerum Kommun, 2016).

In the municipality of Lerum, as well as in general in Sweden, the population of the elderly is increasing. The populations projections (2015-2025) indicate a steep increase within the elderly population, approaching almost a 50% (Lerum kommun, 2016).

The development of a care system for the elderly based on the needs and wishes expressed by the very own elderly population is one of the political goals in this municipality. Lerum wants to have a modern elderly care system, based on the principle that people are all different, have different needs and different wishes. A modern elderly care system which uses welfare technologies, facilitates the living both for the elderly and for the people working for the elderly care system. The employees working for this system constitute an important part in this chain, and the municipality is investing in keeping the needed skills for which it will be offering full time jobs (Lerum Kommun, 2016).
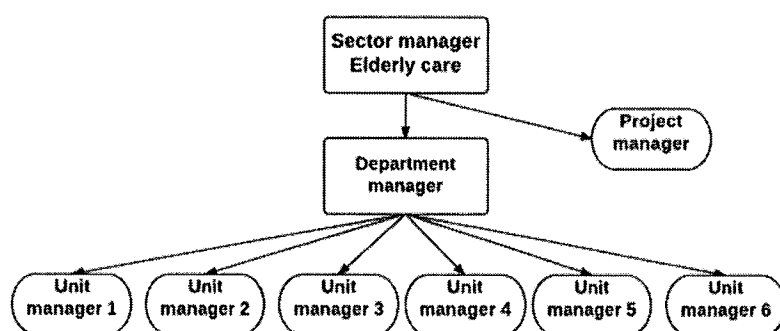

Figure 1. Organisation of elderly care Lerum

The timeline of the implementation of *Full-time labour project* in Lerum

"In 2006 start this idea of full-time labour to be implemented in Lerum municipality and all

employees could choose how much they want work in procent. After a period, they lost a half

million sek and decide to put the project on the side. The idea was meant to be implemented

without extra costs. "

(Excerpt from the interview to Unit manager 3)

In january 2006 the public managers of the municipality of Lerum approved a the implementation of a project (VON 6/2006) which goal was to analyse the consequences of offering a Desired labour rate contracts to the employees of the Elderly care center of Hedegården in Lerum. The project had a timeframe of two years, between March 2006 and March 2008 and the Unit Manager was responsible for monitoring and reporting the development of the project. The Full-time labour project in the Hedegården center was designed so the staff themselves would have the possibility of choosing their employment rates. The project meant also that there would be an increasing in the number of hours for the current employees. This, in turn, would help to make for the needs of hiring temporary workers in case of illness or holiday.

The report issued after the completion of the Project (KS08.102,022) entitled *Evaluation of the project Hedegården* (Utvärdering projekt Hedegården), presents a summary of the economical evolution of the Project and its consequences for the Center. Among others, we can read that there were a slight increase of 4,5% in the staff costs in the first year. But this cost decreased during the second year of the project. The projections ensure that it would have been possible to keep the costs decreasing if the project timeframe was longer.

From the report we can also learn that the staff involved had mostly a positive perception of new system implemented. However, the new system created some stress among the employees, since occasionally the readjustments in the working schedules forced workers to be in their positions more weekends than were planned before the beginning of the project. Nevertheless, the project had positive consequences for the staff, improving their private economic situation and increasing job security. The users were also benefited from this project, by providing them with staff members that would have more continuity in their daily routines, increasing the quality of the

service. In conclusion, the general evaluation of the Hedergården project was very positive (KS08.102,022, 12)

In 2012, the Municipality of Lerum attempted to raise the interest for Full-time labour, and in order to prepare a future Full-time labour policy -eventually approved in 2014 (KS13.1017) an expert consultant, who had previously developed two successful Full-time labour models for the municipalities of Hofors and Falu, was called in. The investigation and analysis that followed were documented in the report entitled: *Full-time labour in Lerum: A model for the Elderly care department* (Heltid i Lerum: Modell för införande av heltid inom äldreomsorgen) (Lerum Kommun, KS13.1017, 2013) .

This report showed the opportunity to work full-time in elderly care by having the possibility to choose the employment rate every year. The report proposed new work model that should not decrease the quality for the user and the cost will not increase. *The consultant* assured that the model will be successful in the long term, but also, in his own words: "*Full-time labour does not mean icrease costs, but can be quite difficult to introduce [...] The implementation of full-time labour should be associated with good economy and high quality*" (Lerum Kommun, KS13.1017).

Along the detailed report, all contingencies and eventualities are duly covered, from the generalities of the national regulations to the particularities of the municipality of Lerum and its department for Elderly care. Especially relevant for the future policy deriving from this report are the detailed analysis and recommendations gathered in it concerning the difficulties to overcome Lerum report (registered 2013), the council of Lerum decided, in march 2014, to approve a proposal for which a model of Desired employment will be designed and implemented across the entire organisation of Lerum. This model should be implemented under 2014-2016 (KS13.1017).
As mentioned above, it was in 2014 when the municipality of Lerum approved the creation of a project in order to implement the Full-time labour model within the Elderly care department. (KS13.1017).

The project *Full-time labour employment in Elderly Care* (Heltidsanställd och heltidsarbetade (sic) inom stöd och omsorg) presented in Lerum in 2016, shapes the policy agreed upon in 2014

(KS13.1017) for which an extensive program designed to provide all employees with a full-time contract within the public Elderly-care system of the municipality of Lerum will be implemented.

The project goal was that all employees will have full-time employment, but from different reasons can choose to work part-time. Lerum' municipality goal is to have a high number of full-time employees.

"The public servants worked activ with the idea to implement full-time labour, but because of unclear goal or the deficiencies in the organisation, they did not succes"(Project manager in actual implementation plan).

To implement full-time labour or desired employment rate is, is according to this project plan, a very complex problem, concerning organisational culture, schedule, the way to plan, to think. The organisation will change from a part-time labour to a full-time organisation labour.

This project, that already in the beginning declares the difficulties that need to be overcome, has the years 2016 to 2020 as a general timeframe, divided in three main stages designed to progressively create a pool of employees working full-time by the end of 2019.

The first stage in this plan was that under 2016 all employees will have, if they wanted, 75% rate employment. For 2017/2018 the plan is that all new employees will have full-time employment and the actual employees will have the opportunity to increase their hours, but not to decrease it. The goal for the second stage is so clear: *all the employees who want and desire full-time labour, will have it* (Lerum Kommun, 2016).

The last stage defined as a goal different activities to change part-time employment into full-time. To work active with that employees who still have part-time to wish and choose full-time employment.

The expected results of this project are connected with the leading *vision* under which the municipality of Lerum is steering its policies: to become the leading environmental municipality of Sweden. The expected results of this project are related to sustainability, creativity and influence as the dimensions in which the results will be measured.

Nevertheless the objectives of this project is to offer full-time labour without affecting the organisation economy or quality of users. The users should have positive effects like quality and continuity in their home. This means that we get a durability and increased professional staff.

In the end of the project plan is mentioned that the experiences from other municipalities show that will take time and demand resources to change from a part-time to a full-time organisation.

Interviews

As explained in the section *methodology*, here we do not present the interviews in full. Instead we present excerpts of them according to a classification by topics aligned with our research questions and study goals:

- Perspectives on the interpretation of the meaning "Full-time labour project
- The key to success with the implementation of the Full-time labour project.
- Why is the project experiencing long delays in its implementation?
- The advantage of implementing Full-time labour in their Elderly care department.

The excerpts in each section are presented hierarchically, following the Organization structure presented in figure 1.

- Perspectives on the interpretation of the meaning "Full-time labour project" (Heltidsprojekt).

In this section we present all the excerpts referring to the perceptions concerning the understanding of the Full-time labour policies and goals of the Municipality.

The Area Manager referred to her perceived need of shifting the project from its original placement as *special project*, to a regular process in the Elderly care department:

"When I started here, the Project "Desired employment rate" was placed under the Development department [...]. I don't understand why it should be conducted as a project on the Development department and I don't want it as a "project", I want to have it as a regular development of the Organization" (Area Manager).

In the following excerpt, the Project Manager expressed her points of view concerning the apparent confusion between two alternative labour models in the Organization:

"The vision is that all employees will have full-time labour in the end of 2020 [...], but right now it has been decided to offer "Desired employment rate". Right now we offer 75% employment rate, but the last decision has not been taken yet [...].Quite honestly, I thought: "How hard can it

be?". Everyone are close to each other in this Municipality and all speak the same language. I did not really see the complexity. Actually Full-time labour is the real goal of the Project. The mission is to transform an Organization from a Part-time labour [model] to a Full-time labour one" (Project Manager).

The point of view of the Consultant aligns in this case with that of the Project Manager:

"First, the goal was to offer Desired employment rate contracts, but now the new agreement is [to offer] Full-time [labour contracts]" (Consultant).

The Development Leader expresses her will to focus in the customer's needs as a way to channel the implementation of the Project. The Project Plan, although mention this as one of the key factors needed for shaping the implementation, is unclear about how to accomplish it:

"In Lerum, I noticed that they built up the working schedules from the needs of the employees. I tried to change the way of thinking of the Department, so it would become more customer oriented" (Development Leader).

In the following two excerpts we can appreciate that the Unit Managers had different perceptions about the goals of the Project:

"There is a proposal that everyone should have Full-time employment and then they should have the opportunity to apply for leave of absence if they don't want to work full-time" (Unit manager 2).

"I think that our Project Manager had a hard time from the beginning, because she did not know what the order [of the Project] was [...] What was her mission? Should be Full-time for everyone or should be Desired employment rate?. These are different things and she did not know either which option was better [...]. I understood that everyone should have the Right to Full-time labour [...] This has to be clear for us, that everybody will have Full-time employment [contracts]" (Unit manager 6).

- The key to success with the implementation of the Full-time labour project

The Area Manager understand that this policy is a must for the Department:

"Failure is not an option, since I did not see this as a project, [but] rather as a necessary development"(Area manager).

The Consultant remarks the key elements for success: communication, meetings and getting all the relevant people to think in the same way:

"The way the Municipalities had been working with this project is different. It is very important that you know that you work with people. It is possible to implement Full-time labour, but all people have to be in the same train. Managers want and understand that it is possible to implement it. What that means is that they have to believe in this project or not[....]We have met all managers. We had planned 1300 meetings with different people. This is the key to success: meetings, continuity. Many meetings"(Consultant).

The Department Manager provides a full picture of her understanding of the Project:

"We have to work laying out a foundation first [....] I have a picture of the project in my head. The Project Manager does also have the same picture as me but it does not exist in the rest of the organization.[....] My job is to make sure that everybody in the Elderly care understands the Project. It starts with the Unit managers. But it is not easy and it will take it's time. Everyone has a different understanding of Full-time labour [...] The Project Manager and I have agreed that Full-time for everyone is the final goal. But we will need a tool to reach that goal. That will take it's time and this is where the Development Leader comes in the picture, with expertise in scheduling and planning"(Department Manager).

The Unit Managers expressed their opinions for success and the difficulties affecting the Department undergoing an organizational change:

"We need to have the conversation with the employees: "Are you happy with your labour rate?". A discussion with every employee is a part of the process, to have good communication. It is fundamental to be able to answer the employees' questions" (Unit Manager 4).

"We must be decided and truly want to implement this Project. [We must] look into the economic and social consequences. We have to be aware about that [...]. There are many things that must work together. This is a big organisational change for our employees, and we can not everything in one go. There are many steps that must be taken" (Unit manager 6).

- Why is the Project experiencing long delays in its implementation?

The Area Manager, a relatively *newcomer* into the Elderly care department, expresses her concerns about the Project as well as the difficulties trying to harnessing it.

"Where we are now is in a stop, we need to look back to the entire organization [...]. We need to create a sound foundation" (Area Manager).

"It takes some time before you get into a situation. For me it took 4-6 months since I arrived. [...] because it did not understand the logic of it" (Area Manager).

"We got strong reactions to some of the changes [...]. It is important that all [the Unit Managers] have different perspectives, so we don't miss anything [...] It is good to have new perspectives, especially in the Elderly care department, with which culture I am not so familiar with [...]" (Area Manager).

The Development Leader considers *leadership* as the key to succeed with the Project. Changes in the managerial positions are therefore factors hindering the development of the Project:

"We don't have a clear goal. Now we have to work with the Department in order to find a structure [...]. Now we have to plan how to use our staff in the most effective way, and after we can start setting up goals[...]. It's very easy to put the blame on the way we work. All development depends on leadership, and on how open we are the changes [...]. Every time the managerial positions are changed the [Project] work stops, because it takes time [for them] to get used to the way the Municipality works" (Development Leader).

The Unit managers express their concerns about the apparent disconnection across the all the department levels.

"They [the politicians] do not have any idea about the [economical] consequences. They do not live in the same reality the employees have [...]. We, who are tasked with solving this puzzle,

devote a lot time to work it out in the best, most effective and economic-efficient way [but] about this they [the politicians] have no idea" (Unit manager 2).

The Project manager does not have the required knowledge, and can not manage the schedule system. [...] But now they employed a new [employee, the Development Leader] and she is knowledgeable on this matter"(Unit manager 2).

"I noticed that some projects start quite quickly and then stop because they need more resources" (Unit manager 5).

"I think this project is going too slow. Our employees are interested, they ask if they can work more hours, so I wish this project would be implemented faster [...]. The department manager has stated very clear that she demands the project to be implemented within the current budget 2016-2017" (Unit manager 6).

- The advantage of implementing Full-time labour in the Elderly care department of Lerum

The Area manager expresses her points of view concerning budget and social issues behind the Project goals.

"I see [the Full-time labour project] from a slightly different perspective [...] All parts are important for me, but I think we have to speak more and more about the economic part [...]. I see it is important to increase the employment rates just to give employees the possibility to work Full-time and live on their salary. It seems to be a gender equality issue, because there are always more women working [...]" (Area manager).

The Department manager observe gender-related factors as a reason for implementing the Project.

"I see the Full-time labour project as a necessity in order to offer full-time labour. I think it should be obvious to offer [it]. Part-time labour gives a picture that are the men who are supporting their homes since this profession is dominated by women" (Department manager).

The Development manager expresses her own perception of what the Project should be, as well as the disagreements that arises with other managers in involved in the Project.

"For me, the Full-time labour project means to be able to manage your own employment rates. I know that the Project manager and I do not always agree [...]. The Project manager wants all employees working full-time, without a possibility of choice. I just think that it should be good for everybody to be able to change your employment rate if it is possible" (Development manager).

The Unit managers express their main concerns referring the need of staff and the low wages paid in this profession.

"I think about: "Who could afford to work less"? It should be a free choice to work more, if somebody wants to do so. Salary wages are low in this profession and the majority are single mothers" (Unit manager 1).

"[...] we need employees, people who want to work in this profession. They must be able to live on their salary" (Unit manager 2).

"To implement Full-time labour is very important to maintain continuity" (Unit manager 4).

"I think that it is important to have the possibility to work full-time. The women are majority in this profession and the pay is low. It is difficult to live with that salary" (Unit manager 5).

Questionnaire

In order to help us to understand the employees' perception concerning the Full-time labour project, we used a questionnaire, delivered 10 items to each one of the the five Elderly care centers in the Municipality. The questionnaire presented a total of five yes/no questions, with additional space for individual comment if needed. The total number of questionnaires properly answered was 27, slightly over 50%.

Questionnaire results:

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<u>Question 1</u>: *Do you work full-time today?* Only 2 employees out of 27 had a full-time labour contract.

<u>Question 2</u>: *Do you want to work full-time?*

17 employees out of 27 (75%) answered negative. They think that the work is demanding both physically and mentally or they have personal reasons not do it. *" It is a heavy job [...]It is heavy and, to less employees [...] No, because the working days are too short and that means many days to work [...] The workload is too high in the Elderly care and I will not do it".*

For the employees who wanted to work full-time, 25% of the respondents, is very important because it provides better income and retirement benefits. *"I cannot afford to work part-time [...] I need money [...] I want to can leave on my own with my salary [...] I cannot afford to leave with just 80% av my low salary. My retired money will not increase either".*

<u>Question 3</u>: *Do you know about the Full-time labour project?. If so, how did you get this information?*

Almost all the employees (90%) knew about the Full-time labour project from the meetings with their managers.

<u>Question 4</u>: Although 75% of the respondent do not want to work full-time, for the question 4 *"It is important to have the possibility to work full-time?"*, almost all employees (24 employees out of 27) answered yes, reasoning, in general, that is very important to have the opportunity to choose the employment rate. *" Yes, it is very important to have the possibility to work full-time. This is a women trap! [...] To have the opportunity to choose your employment rate, should be a free choice [...] It is worth to have this possibility [...]."*

<u>Question 5</u>: *Do you feel you can influence your possibilities of working full-time?,*

20 employees out of 27 (83%) answered negative. *"No. If you want to change something, change your job. I sign up my employment here, because full-time will never a reality. I got a full-time labour contract in other city" [...] "There are possibilities of working extra, but it is difficult to come up to full-time labour for the people who wants it".*

6. Analysis

In the present chapter we carry on a comparative qualitative analysis of the three cases based on the theoretical interpretation of the framework provided by the metaphor *Travel of Ideas*. Following the stages establishes by Czarniawska, the relevant content pertaining to each of the three cases (Hofors, Falu and Lerum) is presented and analysed in chronological order. The analysis of each stage is closed with a critical discussion of the facts analysed.

6.1 Disembedding

As described in 3.2, the first phase to be considered for analyzing the entire cycle of *travel of ideas* is *disembedding*, i.e. the process for which an idea *embedded* in a context gets carried out to a new context where the following phase -*packing*- will take over.

In the case of the municipality of Hofors, we can observe the early reception of the needs and rights stated in the Swedish regulations Proposition 1996/97:16 concerning gender equality. In 2001, a representative of the political party Socialdemokraterna presented a bill in order to implement a policy for which all the public employees would be offer Full-time labour contracts in the Municipality of Hofors (KF15, 2002:2001.42-020). Argumenting from the need to comply with the Swedish regulations regarding *gender equality*, the bill proposed to start a survey from which create strategies in order to accomplish this. "*From a gender equality perspective, everybody should be entitled to full-time labour with opportunity to choose part-time labour.*" (KF15, 2002:2001.42-020).

In the case of the municipality of Falu, the disembedding process starts with the enactment of the project called *Full-time labour for everyone* (KS 196/11). In this case we can observe a comparatively much clear focus regarding the guidelines of the work that needed to be done in order to accomplish the implementation of the full-time labour policies, including the need of hiring an external Project Manager.

For the reasons explained in 5.3, the *disembedding* process in the case of the Municipality of Lerum have two differentiated milestones. The first one, in 2006 (VON 6/2006) and the second in 2014 (KS13.1017). However, the policy approved in 2014 does not mention the pilot project held in 2006, even though both of them have the same designation in the official diary of the Municipality of Lerum (KS13.1017).

6.2 Packing

The second stage of the metaphor *travel of ideas* refers to, as described in 3.2, the actual adaptation of ideas to a new context.

The Full-time labour policy in the Municipality of Hofors (KF15, 2002:2001.42-020) was designed to implement a labour model that would provide the employees with the *Desired employment rate* labour contract. The expected results were to increase the number of male workers in the Organization, reducing the number of part time employees, as well as increasing the wellbeing of the workers. This *idea* was then packaged in the form of a Project-plan that carefully analysed the current status of the Organization at that time.

In the Municipality of Falu the goal of the project (Falu Kommun, 2011) was to provide all employees with *Full-time* labour contracts, but including the possibility of choosing part-time labour contracts as well. In this case, there is a pattern similar to the one found in the case of Hofors concerning the *packaging* of the Project Plan, but differs slightly from the Hofors case in the strategy the Project Manager developed for implementing it, including a more direct approach that would bring the employees in close contact with the changes at an earlier stage as well as detailed description of the interactions of individuals, groups, managers and other organizations and groups involved in the Project.

The Project plan for the Municipality of Lerum was approved in 2016 (Lerum Kommun, 2016) The goal, expected to be completed by 2020, was to provide *Full-time* labour contracts without the possibility of having part-time contracts. The Project Plan document, although presents in the surface an structured approach to the goals is, already in the beginning a hard to read -let alone interpret- document. In the introduction, the Project Manager presents two alternative Full-time

labour practices that remain undefine with no further explanation or description of how they work or even if these are the alternatives to be considered goals for the Project. Instead, the text refers to some undefined difficulties concerning the implementation of Full-time labour contract in Lerum, as a justification for the apparent delay the process has been experiencing.

6.3 Unpacking

The third phase, according to the four phase model Erlingsdottir & Lindberg (2005) adapted form Czarniawska and Joerges *Travel of Ideas* (1996), describes how an idea as a quasi-object is ready *to travel*, is then *unpacked*, i.e. *adapted* by the receiving organization so it suits the new surroundings.

In the case of Hofors, three factors were considered capital for the implementation to take place: first, everyone in the Organization must understand the goals of the Project. Second, the employees were to be given the power to modify their work-schedules. And third, the new schedule system would introduce a *flexible* labour model.

According to the final report (Hofors Kommun, 2005) during the implementation process, one of the major obstacles to be overcome was instructing the employees in the changes to come. These changes meant a major cultural change for which employees would have the responsibility over their own time-schedules and therefore, the traditional structure of power would be subverted. That explains why a significant portion of the implementation process was devoted to instructing and informing the employees not only about the tools and methods to accomplish it but also the uncertainty the new practices could convey.

The implementation process for the case of Falu, carried out in 2011, had a slightly different strategical approach. Instead of focusing in preparing the employees for the changes to come, a system for continuous information and feed-back, called *Information Plan* was in place. This device put in practice the Project Manager's strategy for which working in close contact with the employees would help the changes flourish from within the very Organization.

The implementation phase in the case of Lerum presents, however, a different scenario. So far, the first phase of the implementation plan has been attempted, but only one portion of it was completed: offering 75% *Desired employment rate* for all the employees who were working less than 75% against their will. The rest of the goals scheduled for 2016 remain, however, incomplete: the creation of a central management unit for coordinating the staff needs for all the geographical locations of the Elderly care department, or the hiring of a knowledgeable professional for managing the scheduling system, who was hired later, in January 2017.

6.4 Re-embedding

According to the model proposed by Erlingsdottir and Lindberg (2005) adapted form Czarniawska and Joerges *Travel of Ideas* (1996), *re-embedding* is the fourth and final phase of our analysis. In this phase an *idea* has already been implemented and if it becomes dominant, it could become then an institution, a source of for future ideas.

When looking at the cases of Hofors, Falu and Lerum, a review of their history and achievements reveals that neither the projects of Hofors and Falu are active any longer, and it is clear that Lerum is struggling even to accomplish parts of its already delayed first stage.

However, when considered in their historical evolution, we can perceive the pattern that has been defined as *re-embedding*. The case of Hofors, which Project ended in 2013 due to disagreements with the Union *Kommunal* (Lundin, 2013), did actually become an *institution* since the Project Manager that created and articulated the Project model and the implementation process become the carrier of an *idea* that was later *packed* across the country and beyond (Hedenström, 2009), including the Municipality of Falu. In Falu was not only the so called Hofors Model *unpacked* but its creator was called in, again as a Project Manager. In the case of Falu, the Project was equally successful, and up to date the model developed is used in this Municipality.

7. Discussion

The previous chapter presented a comparative qualitative analysis of the spread, reception and implementation of the idea and related policies articulating full-time labour models in the municipalities of Hofors, Falu and Lerum using Czarniawska and Joerges' metaphor *Travel of Ideas* (1996) as analytical tool.

The present chapter is a discussion of the results of each one of the stages of our analysis, centered in the actions of the public managers involved in these projects and in the roles they played in *translating* the *idea* of full-time labour contracts.

As described in Chapter 2, an administrative reform took place in Sweden from the mid-1970s on, adopting the model known as New Public Management. However, social and economical factors related to mid-1990s lead to the adoption of a new public management based on liberal market-models in Sweden (Sundström, 2015:2).

The open-ended legal framework and the traditional relevance given to the negotiation of the collective agreements (described in chapter 2) created an in this period an scenario in which on-demand labour contracts represented a big portion of the employment market. However, the risk associated with these practice (SOU, 2015:105) were revealed as a threat in the long-term. Risk of unemployment, lower salary wages and other factors pushed for a change.

This in its turn is the general local (country level) context in which the idea of offering full-time labour contracts arises, emanating from an interpretation of the Swedish regulations (Anställningsskyddslagen 1982:20), (Regeringens proposition, 1996/97:16).

7.1. Disembedding

The *disembedding* process of the idea of offering full-time labour contracts constitute a rational response of the municipalities analysed that is highly consistent with the characteristic of the

Swedish local government described in 2.1: the freedom to conduct their own affairs and the obligation of implement and deliver central government services.

7.2. Packing

At this stage we can observe the signs that will lead to the different *translations* of the *idea*. Whereas the cases of Hofors and Falu follow a similar pattern, the differ in the strategies for achieving the implementation. Among the factors that contributed to shape the *idea* from a concept into a semi-object -following the metaphor of Czarniawska and Joerges- in these two municipalities, the need of changing a culture is identify as a key for success: both Organizations were in need of turning the profession more attractive to potential job-seekers as well as providing the current employees with a higher perception of ownership of their working-time.

However, the strategy developed for Hofors was based on the premise that no previous knowledge was taken for granted, and therefore the design of an instruction system for the employees across all levels and stages of the implementation is central to the whole Project Plan. The case of Falu, on the contrary, adopted a *hand-on* approach that put all employees in close contact with the changes at an earlier stage.

The similarities and differences described above illustrate successful, alternative organizational adaptations in the design of the Project plan that guided the implementation process. The Project plan in the case of Lerum, on the other hand, does not present such thoroughness in its strategy and seems to be conceived more as a declaration of intentions than an actual, well detailed implementation plan.

Among other weaknesses we can point out the "goal" set for the first stage, which almost at the end indicates the need of hiring knowledgeable personnel in order to administrate the scheduling system. This need alone should be prioritize from the beginning, even before launching the implementation program. Further down, in the paragraph devoted to risks analysis, there are two items that indicate again the weakness of the whole Project Plan: the first one refers to going over budget, which, if carefully assessed should not even been a risk. The other item identify as a risk "unclear goals due to political disagreement".

We observe that the Project Plan lacks a solid foundation, since there is documentary proof not only of a very different background that contradicts the statements made by the Project Manager in the introduction to the Project Plan, but also previous studies, made by an independent consultant in 2012 (who happens to be the former Project Manager of the Project plans for Hofors and Falu), that assess the needs of the Elderly care department in Lerum in a much detailed and deeper way. Besides, the Municipality of Lerum had already in 2006 (VON 6/2006) a previous experience in implementing Full-time labour contracts within the Elderly care department that was successful. In sum, the Project Plan released in 2016 seems to ignore the resources, analysis, pre-studies and previous real-life experience and information the Municipality has been compiling for ten years prior to the 2016 Project Plan.

For all the above reasons, we conclude that there seems to be a rationale for the diversity of interpretations concerning the Project Plan goals that the Project Manager and the rest of the managers involved in the Project had. As an example, in 2014 (KS13.1017) when the policy for Lerum was developed, the department in charge of the project was *Infrastructure*. In 2015, a new Area manager was appointed, being then in charge of the Project:*"When I started here, the Project "Desired employment rate" was placed under the Development department [...]. I don't understand why it should have to be conducted as a "project" within the Development department [...] I want to have it as a "regular" development of the Organization"* (Area Manager). The Area Manager referred to her perceived need of shifting the project from its original placement as *special project*, to a *regular* process within the Elderly care department.

Another example of the diversity of interpretations concerning the Project is found in the words of the very own Project Manager: *"The vision is that all employees will have Full-time labour [contracts] in the end of 2020, but right now the decision is to offer Desired employment rate [contracts]. Right now we offer 75% [Desired]employment rate [contracts], but the last decision has not been taken yet"* (Project Manager). There seems to be a confusion about what the goal of the Project really is. In connection to the latter statement, the Unit Manager 6 says: *"[...] What was her mission? Should be Full-time for everyone or should be Desired employment rate?. These are different things, and she did not know either which option was better [...]. I understood that everyone should have the Right to Full-time labour[...] This has to be clear for us, that everybody will have Full-time employment"* (Unit manager 6).

As we can see, the two first cases, Hofors and Falu, had clear goals from the beginning, and time and effort were invested in preparing the two Organization for the changes to come. Then, the basic conditions described in the *Travel of Ideas* for the *Packaging* phase are met for these two cases. In the case of Lerum, however, the *packaging* phase seems to be muddled up due to the weaknesses present in the Project Plan (2016) and the neglection of previous analysis and reports.

The structural differences that we can appreciate between the case of Lerum and the cases of Hofors and Falu bring up the statement of Czarniawska referring to the variability of ideas across time and space: *"Ideas change all the time when they are applied in different places, even if the distances are too short"* (Czarniawska, 2005) .

7.3. Unpacking

For the cases of Hofors and Falu, this stage crystallized the strategies for the implementation process articulated in the Project plan, and according to the documents presented in Chapter 5 the obstacles, if any, were successfully overcome and the Project plan goals achieved.

Concerning the case of Lerum, however, the *adaptation* stage is proving to be more difficult. In 2017 weaknesses of the Project Plan, as analysed in the previous sections, start to arise, critically affecting the implementation process. To begin with, the very own Area Manager did not agree with the ownership and scope given to the Project. In her own words: *"When I started here, the Project "Desired employment rate" was placed under the Development department [...]. I don't understand why it should be conducted as a project on the Development department and I don't want it as a "project", I want to have it as a regular development of the Organization".* This fact alone proves there is an internal disagreement that affects the Project as a whole. Considering how important is the cohesion of any organization in the face of accepting changes (Czarniawska and Joerges, 1996), we can appreciate the depth of the obstacles ahead.

Another perspective of the current status of the implementations can be found in the following statement of the Project Manager concerning the confusion between the two alternative labour models in the Organization: *"The vision is that all employees will have full-time labour in the end*

of 2020 [...], but right now it has been decided to offer "Desired employment rate". Right now we offer 75% employment rate, but the last decision has not been taken yet [...]. Quite honestly, I thought: "How hard can it be?". Everyone are close to each other in this Municipality and all speak the same language. I did not really see the complexity. Actually Full-time labour is the real goal of the Project. The mission is to transform an Organization from a Part-time labour [model] to a Full-time labour one" (Project Manager).

If we continue further down the organizational chain, we can see how the lack of cohesion affects the Unit Managers, when they openly criticized the entire endeavour: *"I think that our Project Manager had a hard time from the beginning, because she did not know what the order [of the Project] was [...]"* (Unit Manager 6). Or in this other: *The Project manager does not have the required knowledge, and can not manage the schedule system. [...] But now they employed a new [employee, the Development Leader] and she is knowledgeable on this matter"* (Unit manager 2).

In the case of the very employees, which perceptions of the implementation of the Project are collected in the questionnaire, there is the general understanding that they are not listened to, therefore rendering a failure one of the pillars crucial for the implementation of the Project, starting from the needs of the employees. Is therefore representative of this negative perception the comment of one two of the respondents, arguing that: *[...] If you want to change something, change your job. I quit up my employment here, because full-time will never a reality. I got a full-time labour contract in other city"* (Respondent 1), and also: *"[...] There are possibilities of working extra, but it is difficult to come up to full-time labour for the people who wants it"* (Respondent 2).

It seems to be that the Project started its implementation phase not only without the necessary internal cohesion, as the comment of the Area Manager proves, but also that the goals, according to the Project Manager will need to be met by means of future decisions that have not been planned for. Thus can we fully understand the claim made by the Area Manager, quoted in the introduction of this study, when saying: *"Where we are now is in a stop, we need to look back to the entire Organization [...]. We need to create a sound foundation".*

In conclusion, the *unpacking* phase of Lerum presents some dramatic differences compared to the cases of Hofors and Falu. The main difference is the above mentioned weakness of the Project Plan. Also there is the general lack of understanding of the Project as a whole. In comparison, the project plans of Hofors and Falu were much more integrated in goals, acceptance and strategy, essentially due to to importance given to constant and tidy communications and meetings across all levels of the organizations and during the implementation of the two projects.

From Lerum we see no signs of this philosophy of work or even traces of the information, knowledge and expertise available in the Municipality at the time. This might explain the different interpretations of the goals during the implementation phase. The managers think in different ways, which in itself shouldn't be a problem, but they do not share the same goal.

The lack of knowledge, but mainly the lack of communication explain then the *impasse* Lerum is experiencing at the moment. In the closure of this section, we retake Sahlin & Wedlin (2008) reminding us that "Even small reformulations of an idea, which may accrue as the idea is transferred from one context to another, may fundamentally change its meaning or focus."

7.4. Re-embedding

The analysis presented in 6.4 showed that there is a solid foundation for accepting that both the cases of Hofors and Falu fulfill the requirements of the fourth stage of the metaphor *Travel of Ideas*, but how about Lerum? The implementation is experiencing delays by the reasons analyzed above, and therefore there seems to be no room for taking it into account for this final section of the analysis.

However, the case of Lerum does actually participate of the conversion in institution of the Hofors Model since even the policy that articulates the project *Full-time labour in Elderly care* (KS13.1017) takes its basic form from the same *idea carrier* responsible for the models and projects of Hofors and Falu. The pre-study commissioned by the Municipality of Lerum in 2012 (registered in 2013) to create a model for implementing the transition of the elderly care department from a Part-time labour organization into a Full-time labour organization predates the approval of the policy that articulates the ulterior implementation.

8. Conclusions

Our research study has reached a full circle. Our original goal had two main objectives. On the one hand, study the spread and reception of the idea and related policies that articulate the full-time labour projects in the cases of Hofors, Falu and Lerum. On the other, we needed to study the conditions for the implementation in each case, as well as analyze the causes of the current status of the implementation process in Lerum.

The first goal has been accomplished through our analysis, determining that the three cases share the same idea carrier, the actor identified as *Project Manager* in the case of Hofors and Falu which is the actor identified as *consultant* in the case of Lerum. According to our theoretical framework (Czarniawska and Joerges,1996) then, this actor would be the *energy* that makes the *idea* to travel, assembled as a *quasi-object* that needs to be *translated* before each implementation to the needs of the new context. In the three cases the same actor brought the same *quasi-object* that was translated into three different translations of the same idea. Our methodological analysis has then answered our first research question. In Hofors the quasi-object became the *Desired employment rate model*. In Falu, it became the *Full-time labour for everyone model* and in Lerum, in spite of the knowledge, previous experience and expertise that we have proved was available at the time, the quasi-object did not had a translation properly suited for the environment, since the actors tasked with the *unpacking* (Erlingsdottir and Lindberg, 2005) of the idea were disconnected from the previous phases.

The results obtained in our analysis concerning the packing phase in Lerum provide the means to reach our second goal. Through our comparative qualitative analysis we determined that the conditions given in the implementation process both of Hofors and Falu are, from the point of view of our theoretical framework, better adapted for the reception of the *idea*, i.e., for the organizational change that was intended to be introduced. In the case of Lerum, on the other hand, the conditions for the implementation are already affected by the previous phase. The lack of goals clearly defined, the different interpretations made by key people in the Organization or even the disagreement about the ownership of the Project were factors that critically affected the implementation of the idea. These factors are sufficient reason for explaining the delay the Elderly care department in the Municipality of Lerum has been experiencing, and therefore our second

research question *"Why is the case of the municipality of Lerum experiencing a long delay in its implementation?"* has been also answered.

In our closure of our study, we would like to bring up a reflection made by Czarniawska and Joerges (1996) in the section entitled *Ideological Control* of their thesis *Travel of Ideas:* "Ideological control in organizations tends to be of the expository kind: it is the authority of the "teacher-leader" and not the motivation of the "learner-follower" that gives weight to an idea. [...] We claim that discovery, either spontaneous or guided by a skillful teacher, is always important for the materialization of ideas. Exposing people to ready-made ideas preempts translation and therefore does not create the mobilization needed for action". In our opinion, this reflexion characterized quite appropriately the circumstances surrounding the case of Lerum in the light of our analysis. The authority of the managers (the teachers-leaders) does not suffice for generating the needed motivation among the employees (the learner-followers), and the idea shaped in the Project Plan became, rather than a translation of a *discovery*, a ready-made, of-the-self, mock-up of what it could have been.

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Annex 1.

Questions for the Interviewees:

Kan du berätta lite om din yrkesroll?

Vilken roll har du i detta projekt?

Varför är det viktigt att implementera heltidsprojektet? Vad innebär projektet för din verksamhet?

Tror ni att detta projekt kommer att lyckas?

Hur tror ni att detta projekt kan implementeras på ett effektivt sätt?

Varför har det tagit så lång tid för Lerums kommun att införa heltidsprojektet?

Hur ser er process ut när ni ska applicera ett projekt som detta på er verksamhet?

Vilka hinder har uppstått sen detta projekt startades?

Genom vilken kanal fick ni veta om heltidsprojektet? Hur tänkte du när du fick veta detta?

Har ni titta på andra kommuners arbete med heltidsprojekt? Isåfall på vilket sätt har det hjälpt er att förbereda verksamheten?

Annex 2.

Questionnaire

Fråga	Ja	Nej	Kommentarer
Arbetar du heltid idag?			
Vill ni arbeta heltid? Varför?			
Känner ni till heltidsprojekten? Hur?			
Är det viktigt med möjligheten att arbeta heltid?			

Känner ni att ni kan påverka eran möjlighet att arbeta heltid?			