

“Primus inter pares”

Leadership and Culture in Sweden

“Swedish leadership is vague and imprecise [...] the typical Swedish order is ‘See what you can do about it!’ What does it mean? It obviously has to do with a far-reaching delegation of authority. Managers who say ‘See what you can do about it!’ demonstrate trust for their co-workers. It is also a matter of the execution of control by a common understanding of the problem, rather than direct orders. This must be regarded as a strength with the egalitarian Swedish society”. (Edström & Jönsson, 1998).

Introduction

The citation above points to a central theme of the enactment of leadership in Sweden. In the following chapter, we will explore the Swedish society and culture as well as conceptions of (outstanding) leadership. A number of themes important for the understanding of leadership in the Swedish context emerge along the way.

The chapter is based on a number of different studies carried out 1994-97 within the framework of the GLOBE project. We start by introducing the Swedish society in terms of general facts, its history and development into a modern welfare nation.

General facts about Sweden

Sweden has an area of 450,000 km², slightly larger than the size of the State of California. The relatively small population of 8.8 million (April, 1998) is far from evenly distributed; about 85 percent are living in the southern half of the country. One out of four Swedes live in one of the ten biggest cities, with the capital Stockholm, Göteborg (Gothenburg) and Malmö as the three major ones.

Sweden’s economy is highly international. At an early stage, Swedish companies understood the importance of being represented in foreign markets, and global free trade has been of utmost importance to the growth of Swedish industry and prosperity. Sweden, formerly a member of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA), joined the European Union (EU) on January 1, 1995. Sweden’s main trading partners are the Nordic countries and the major Continental European countries. More than half of Swedish foreign trade is with the EU. In 1997, imports accounted for a third of Sweden’s Total Supply, and exports for 40 percent of the Gross Domestic Product (Swedish Institute, 1997a).

Sweden is becoming a post-industrial service-oriented society, but the manufacturing industry still dominates foreign trade. The engineering industry accounts for about half of Swedish exports, with machinery, telecommunication and electrical equipment, and motor vehicles as the main products. Other important exports are pulp, paper, paper products and wood products, as well as chemical or pharmaceuticals products (Swedish Institute, 1997b).

The Swedish economy has a services sector dominated by public organizations. Services like child-care, health-care, education are all supplied under public auspices in order to guarantee equally high standards for every citizen¹. In 1995, about 28 percent of the labor force were employed in central and local²

¹ A minority of private alternatives co-exists with the public services.

² Municipals and county councils.

government agencies (including the social insurance sector). In terms of the public spending share of GNP, Sweden has the largest public sector in the Western world (SOU 1990:44, p. 24).

Sweden is a constitutional monarchy with a parliamentary form of government. The King, Carl XVI Gustaf, today has only ceremonial functions as Head of State. Parliament consists of one chamber, whose members are directly elected by proportional representation for four-year terms. Sweden has universal suffrage and the voting age is 18. Voter turnout is traditionally very high, 85-90 percent.

Some historical notes

It is a rather difficult task to select some historical fragments that should say something meaningful about the contemporary Sweden we are about to explore in this chapter. While one may argue that “history” in itself is always a gross oversimplification of immensely complex and irreducible processes and constantly rewritten and edited for contemporary interests and purposes, there is still the challenge in a chapter like this to further reduce and simplify the already oversimplified and yet say something meaningful. What criteria do one use to make the selections? We have chosen to select those historical themes and events that most Swedes would refer to in everyday conversations. In other words, the selection itself might say just as much about the contemporary Sweden, as the actual content of the same.

The Viking Age, 800–1050 AD, was a period of expansion primarily directed eastwards. Many Viking expeditions set off from Sweden with the mixed purpose of plunder and trade along the coasts of the Baltic Sea and the rivers which stretched deep into present-day Russia. The Vikings active in the east traveled as far as the Black and Caspian Seas, where they developed trading links with the Byzantine Empire and the Arab dominions. The Vikings were thus Sweden’s pioneers in establishing international relations and trade.

In the Middle Ages, the loose federation of provinces forming Sweden became part of the Catholic European cultural sphere. In 1397 Scandinavia was united under the throne of Queen Margaret. The union lasted until the early years of the 16th century when the Danes besieged Kalmar and Stockholm. Gustav Vasa (1523–60), historically one of the major political leaders in Sweden’s history, regain control of the country and was made its king.

The foundations of the Swedish national state were laid during the reign of Gustav Vasa. He gave Sweden a strong central government – an administration reorganized along German lines – and established Protestantism as the State religion.

In 1818 Jean Baptiste Bernadotte, a French marshal enemy of Napoleon, was crowned king of Sweden. His direct descendents are today’s royal Swedish family, which is highly respected by Swedes while having no formal political influence.

During the latter part of the 19th century, Sweden was one of the poorest country in Europe, in which 90% of the population earned its livelihood within agriculture. One consequence of this situation was emigration, mainly to North America, which in relative terms was very substantial. From the middle of the 19th century to 1930 about 1.5 million Swedes emigrated out of a population which totaled only 3.5 million in 1850 and slightly more than 6 million in 1930.

Late but fast industrialization

The technical advances achieved during the 16th and 17th centuries were mainly attributable to the immigration of skilled craftsmen, merchants and professionals – among them many Germans, Scots, Dutchmen and Walloons.

In the late 19th century, the Swedish engineering industry entered a period of rapid industrialization and expansion unparalleled before or since. Sweden had a rich domestic supply of iron ore, timber and waterpower. The next few decades witnessed the creation of a number of companies that would gain a dominant role in Swedish industry through successful combinations of inventors, entrepreneurs and financiers. Industry did not begin to grow until the 1890s, but then developed very rapidly between 1900 and 1930, resulting in Sweden becoming one of Europe's leading industrial nations after the Second World War.

With pleasure the Swedes remember the achievements from engineers and entrepreneurs like Lars Magnus Ericsson (1846-1926) who together with a partner started the company that evolved into Telefonaktiebolaget L.M. Ericsson (today abbreviated Ericsson). It began manufacturing telephones and telephone equipment in 1878. As early as the 1890s the company established subsidiaries abroad, and Ericsson's products attracted international attention. Other inventors and/or entrepreneurs who started enterprises of contemporary importance are Alfred Nobel³ (1833-96), the inventor of dynamite (Nobel industries), Nils Gustav Dalén⁴ (1869-1937) who invented the automatic maritime beacons (AGA), Gustaf de Laval (1845-1913) who invented the cream separator (Alfa-Laval), and Sven Wingquist (1876-1953), who is the father of the modern ball bearing and founded AB Svenska Kullagerfabriken (SKF), which remains the world's leading producer of industrial bearings⁵.

Being faced with a relatively small domestic market, Swedish companies were early forced into international expansion. Today Swedish-owned multinational firms account for about half of total Swedish exports and manufacturing output. Many of these firms are highly globalized, with almost 90 percent of sales in foreign markets and with more than 60 percent of their staff employed outside Sweden.

Access to raw materials, skilled workers and innovative talent helped Sweden achieve the same per capita income level as Great Britain by the outbreak of World War II. Sweden was fortunate enough not to be drawn into the war. Its industry and infrastructure were thus intact and well equipped to take advantage of the upswing in world trade during the postwar period.

Nineteenth-century Sweden was also marked by the emergence of strong popular movements like the free (i.e. non-state) churches, the temperance and women's movements and above all the labor movement. The latter, which grew in pace with industrialization in the latter part of the nineteenth century, was reformist in outlook after the turn of the century and the first representatives of social democracy entered the government as early as 1917. Universal suffrage was introduced for men in 1909 and for women in 1921, and this latter date also marked the breakthrough of the principle of parliamentary government.

³ Alfred Nobel's will created the Nobel Prizes in physics, chemistry, medicine/physiology, literature and peace, to be given to those who had "conferred the greatest benefit on mankind" the preceding year. The Nobel Prizes were awarded for the first time in 1901.

⁴ Dalén was awarded the Nobel Prize in physics in 1912.

⁵ For more extensive descriptions of the evolution of seven dominant Swedish companies, see Jönsson (1995).

Building the welfare state: Folkhemmet and "The Swedish model".

An important concept to describe the development of Sweden into a modern welfare state is the political utopia of a "Peoples' home" – *Folkhemmet* – envisioned around 1930 by the Social Democratic party, the ruling political party for more than four decades after 1932⁶. *Folkhemmet* is a metaphor of society as a good home, a nation-wide community in which "equality, concern for others, co-operation and helpfulness"⁷ (like in any good home) should prevail. It was a vision of the reasonable and socialistic society, implying economic and social justice and equality. It proved possible to put these plans into effect in all essentials after the Second World War.

Important figureheads during the post-war *Folkhemmet* period were the Social Democratic leaders – Per Albin Hansson, Tage Erlander and Olof Palme – in the role of Prime Ministers⁸. Especially Hansson and Erlander became "nation fathers", and were clearly visible as leaders. Palme had a similar status but was much more controversial. One reason was that his political focus was much broader than the domestic arena. Palme became internationally famous for his strong engagement in the third world, and the fight for the emerging nations' right to self-determinacy.⁹

The development of the Swedish society in general and especially the development of the modern universal welfare state are often described in terms of "the Swedish model". As the name suggests that there are some factors in the model that, taken together, are typical and unique for the Swedish society. While the Swedish model is practically abandoned by now, it certainly is essential to sketch some of its main characteristics in any account of the development of the Swedish society and culture.

The Swedish model should not be understood as being a precise and unambiguous concept. Nevertheless, a number of partly interconnected distinctive features developed between the end of 1930 to the beginning of 1970 (the period coinciding with Social Democratic ruling) were identified in the five-year interdisciplinary research program "The Study of Power and Democracy in Sweden" (*Maktutredningen. Huvudrapport: "Demokrati och makt i Sverige"*, SOU 1990:44). Those features can be summarized as:

- A non-interventionist stance of the State in the industrial relations system. The labor market actors avoided the threatening State intervention in conflicts and it is probable that this threat pushed forward co-operation among the actors¹⁰. In the Swedish model, this cooperation soon became the norm.
- Centralized collective negotiations among the actors on the labor market. The centralization facilitated the pursuit of a wage policy showing solidarity with low-paid workers in the sense that the general wage level was adjusted up to the most internationally competitive industries, forcing unproductive enterprises to improve or close.
- The potential problem of laid-off labor resulting from this wage policy was handled by an active government labor market policy, basically aimed at promoting the movement of labor force from low- to high productive sectors.

⁶ The Social Democratic Party has held power alone or in coalitions during the periods 1932-1976 and 1982-91, while the non-socialist parties were in joint coalition government 1976-82 and 1991-94. After the 1994 as well as the 1998 elections, the Social Democratic Party have ruled the country with a minority government.

⁷ The would-be Prime Minister Per-Albin Hansson in a speech in Swedish Parliament 1928, touching the sentimental home-sweet-home-feelings of the general public (Hirdman, 1989, p 89).

⁸ In Palmes case also in the role as opposition leader, during 1976-82.

⁹ In foreign affairs, Olof Palme charted new directions, such as disarmament, building global security in a Cold War world filled with confrontations, and narrowing the gap between the rich and poor nations. For good and for worse Sweden developed a role like the "world conscience" in international relations. The assassination of Prime Minister Palme in February 1986 has for many observers been called the loss of virginity for Sweden.

¹⁰ C.f. Jönsson, 1995:125.

To this comes a unique political climate among the parties on the labor market, a consensus culture that reigned for several decades after WW II. The 1938 “Saltsjöbaden-agreement” was a historical compromise reached between the two main actors, the Swedish Trade Union Confederation (LO) and the Swedish Employers’ Confederation (SAF)¹¹. This event marked the starting-point for a period of relatively peaceful industrial relations, co-operation and mutual trust. The spirit of Saltsjöbaden became the cultural frame in which the Swedish model was developed and “signaled the end of worker-employer hostilities and paved the way for the economic basis of the welfare state” (Trädgård, 1990:48, cited in Berglund and Löwstedt, 1996). Over time, this economic basis became concentrated to large enterprises with a considerable share of foreign activities.

Thus, Swedish development into a welfare state was to a large extent due to the “Swedish model” and its middle road strategy between capitalism and socialism, a strategy carried out in a joint effort by the triad of the State, the labor unions and the employers. Berglund and Löwstedt (1996) suggest that the Swedish model can be seen as an attempt to realize a *Gesellschaft* within a *Gemeinschaft* (c.f. Tönnies, 1963).

Economic growth was especially fast during the post-war period until the mid-1970s, when the Swedish export industry was highly competitive and the Swedish economy had an exceptional growth rate. In contrast to most other Western European countries, unemployment in Sweden remained low during the 1970s and 1980s.

“Those were the days...”

In recent decades, Sweden – like many other Western countries – has gone through a rapid evolution toward a more service- and knowledge-based society. The move toward a service-oriented society led to an expanding public sector since such key services as medical care, childcare and education were overwhelmingly provided by public organizations. As Sweden moved into the 1990s, economic trends turned downwards. As the recession deepened, unemployment rose from a very low rate to a more average European level. In 1996 unemployment averaged 8.0 percent. In addition, 4.5 percent of the labor force was engaged in employment training, public relief work and other activities supported by the government. The public sector, previously a bastion of employment for women, suffered major cut-backs and family policies became less generous. Swedish GNP per capita has declined to a below average position among the OECD countries. Labor disputes have become more common in the past decade or so, although they are still infrequent by international standards. The system of centralized bargaining between LO and SAF that prevailed for much of the postwar period has gradually been abandoned since 1983, at the initiative of employers.

Undoubtedly, Sweden is in need of strong political leadership and also the emergence of new entrepreneurial heroes like the ones that transformed the Swedish society over a century ago. The possibility of a Great Recovery through entrepreneurial activities is evoked again today as the Swedish model is abandoned in practice and the economy is strained.

¹¹ Besides LO (which represents blue-collar and some clerical occupations) and SAF (representing private-sector employers), there are several national confederations of white-collar employees and employers covering workplaces in both the private and public sectors.

Swedish society in the GLOBE study

As described in chapter 1 in this anthology, the GLOBE project collected data using multiple methods. The following section will report results from quantitative data collection, and more specifically the surveyed middle managers' observations and ideals about the Swedish society in terms of the nine GLOBE culture dimensions. This data presentation will be followed by an elaboration of each study dimension by adding qualitative data such as interviews, public information and non-obtrusive observations relevant to the different dimensions.

The Swedish questionnaire was distributed to middle managers in fourteen business organizations active in three different industries: finance (4 organizations, N=373), food processing (6 organizations, N=301) and telecommunication (4 organizations, N=222). In sum, almost 900 middle managers responded to the questionnaire. Methodological details relevant to this section are found in Appendix 1.

Basic demographics

The most important demographic characteristics of the sample of middle managers can be summarized in the following list:

- Gender: 82.3 per cent of the respondents were male, 17.7 per cent were female.
- Age: The age of the respondents ranged between 25–64 years, with a median of 46 years.
- Cultural conditioning: 97.1 per cent were born in Sweden and 85 per cent had never lived abroad for more than a year.
- Working experience: The full-time working experience of the middle managers ranged between 4 and 49 years with a median of 25 years, with 12 years being the median for holding a management position. 26.4 per cent of the managers had worked for a Swedish or foreign multinational corporation during their career.
- Education: Around 23 per cent had only basic, compulsory education (9 years). 37 per cent had an education equivalent to a college diploma (12-13 years of formal education), or less. The remaining 40 per cent had continued to earn a university degree. Around half of the middle managers reported that their educational specialization, regardless of educational level, was within business and administration, and an additional 25 per cent were educated as engineers.
- Training: 90 per cent of the managers reported that they had participated in formal management training of some kind.
- Staff: The median number of people directly reporting to the manager was six, and the average number of subordinates was 55.

Results for Swedish sample

Table 1 presents the results for Sweden in terms of (a) absolute scores on a seven point Likert type scale, (b) ranking order position within the 61 participating nations, (c) an indication of membership of country clusters for each culture dimension and (d) an absolute score indicating the differences between the two different culture measures, observations and values, explained in the introductory chapter.

Starting on the higher end, the results show very high scores and rankings on the following four dimensions in terms of observations (the conceptions of how it is): Collectivism-Individualism (1/61),

Non-Assertiveness (1/61), Uncertainty Avoidance (2/61) and Gender Equality (9/61). In an international comparison, we can therefore distinguish Sweden as clearly a very collectivist society where equality between men and women is relatively high. It is further characterized by a large number of institutional arrangements and structures that reduce uncertainty. Finally, people in the Swedish society are generally tender and non-assertive, according to the middle managers.

In terms of values (the conceptions of how it should be) for the same high-end dimensions, the results show that the middle managers think there should be much less stress on Collectivism (57/61), Non-Assertiveness (38/61) and Uncertainty Avoidance (58/61). Regarding Gender Equality, there is a clear statement that this societal issue should be advanced even further; while already high it should be even higher (2/61).

At the low-end of table 3, we find very low observation scores and rankings on the following two dimensions: Performance Orientation (48/61) and Family Collectivism (59/61). In an international comparison, the Swedish society is apparently not arranged for emphasizing or rewarding performance. A striking and highly interesting result is the fact that Sweden, while being ranked the most collectivist society in the GLOBE study, is also ranked as extremely individualist in terms of the Family Collectivism dimension. A similar radical shift is noted for the Uncertainty Avoidance dimension. These results are further commented below in the concluding section.

Culture dimension	Observations "The way it is"		Values "The way it should be"		Difference (Should be – Is)
	Score ^a	Rank ^b	Score ^a	Rank ^b	
Collectivism (-Individualism)	5.22	A ^c (1)	3.94	C ^c (57)	-1.28
Non-Assertiveness	4.97	A ^c (1)	3.58	B ^c (38)	-1.39
Uncertainty Avoidance	5.32	A ^d (2)	3.60	C ^d (58)	-1.72
Gender Equality	3.84	A ^c (9)	5.15	A ^c (2)	1.31
Future Orientation	4.39	B ^d (9)	4.89	B ^c (56)	0.50
Power Distance	4.85	B ^c (50)	2.70	C ^d (31)	-2.15
Humane Orientation	4.10	C ^d (30)	5.65	A ^c (9)	1.55
Performance Orientation	3.72	C ^c (48)	5.80	B ^c (41)	2.08
Family Collectivism (Triandis)	3.66	C ^c (59)	6.04	A ^d (11)	2.38

Table 1: Results for Sweden for the nine GLOBE cultural dimensions on society level.

Notes:

^a Country mean on a seven point Likert type scale.

^b Group letters A-D (the span varies between the scales) indicate group membership, i.e. meaningful country clusters, for that particular scale. A>B>C (>D) for each scale. The number in parenthesis indicates rank order for Sweden in comparison with 61 other countries.

^c Group span ranges from A-C.

^d Group span ranges from A-D.

Values for Performance Orientation and Family Collectivism stress an increase for both dimensions in absolute terms, but the shift is only clear for Family Collectivism in an international comparison. While there is a big difference of more than two points between the observations and values for Performance Orientation, the shift in international ranking is only a modest one: from 48/61 (As Is) to 41/61 (Should Be). The equivalent result for Family Collectivism is a major shift in ranking from 59/61 (As Is) to 11/61 (Should Be).

Finally, there are three remaining dimensions where the scores and rankings for Sweden do not stand out markedly in any direction, at least not regarding observations (As Is): Future Orientation (9/61), Power Distance (50/61), and Humane Orientation (30/61). While rankings show that Future Orientation is rather high and Power Distance fairly low, with Humane Orientation really in the middle, Sweden is still positioned in the middle country clusters for these dimensions (see table 1, rank columns).

Values regarding one of these three dimensions go in two directions, depending on the perspective. The absolute direction for Future Orientation is positive; the middle managers think there should be more attention on future oriented activities, such as planning and preparing for future events. In relative terms, however, the direction is negative. Ranking for Future Orientation drops from 9/61 (As Is) to 56/61 (Should Be). In other words, the Swedish middle managers think there should be more focus on Future Orientation than what is conceived to be the present state, in line with their colleagues in most other nations, but to a much less degree.

Swedish middle managers think there should be less Power Distance, and the difference between “how it should be” and “how it is” in absolute numbers is the largest within the sample. Yet, the shift is only modest in an international comparison. Therefore the ranking is actually higher for the value score (30/61), than the observation score (50/61). In other words, values regarding Power Distance seems to follow an international pattern where (much) lower Power Distance is universally desired but to a relatively less extent compared to most other nations.

Finally, value scores and rankings for Humane Orientation show that Swedish middle managers have a relatively strong preference for an increase of arrangements and activities promoting an even more humane society. Value ranking (“how it should be”) is 9/61, qualifying Sweden to membership in the top country cluster.

Illustrations and elaboration of the study dimensions

The results presented above will be illustrated and elaborated in the following section, using data from two sources. One source is non-obtrusive measurements using public sources and expert knowledge collected by the Swedish GLOBE team. A second source is direct observations of local expressions relevant to the GLOBE culture dimensions on society level. This data was mainly collected by the Swedish research team during the spring 1995, and subsequently supplemented with additional interviews and observations during 1996-97.

Collectivism

In the preceding section, we concluded that Sweden is the most collectivist society among all participating nations. Collectivism is here referred to as social arrangements on a societal level that promote conformity

and interdependence among (groups of) individuals, and a concern for collective interests rather than individual.

One good indicator of the collectivism dimension and the promotion of collective interests are labor unions; e.g. the political influence they have, and the membership degree. Sweden is in fact the leading country among a group of nations with a very high unionization rate, such as Denmark and Finland. In Sweden, almost nine out of ten (87 percent) of the wage earners are organized within a union. Some comparable figures are, for instance, one out of three (34 percent) in UK, and one out of four (24 percent) in Japan. In France, only 9 percent of the wage earners are organized within a union¹².

Another expression of collectivism is the relatively high taxes in Sweden. The public sector, i.e. national government (the state) and local government (the municipalities and county councils), has assumed extensive responsibility for many services such as education, labor market and industrial policies, care of the sick and elderly, pensions and other social insurance, environmental protection, and so on. The tax system is thus a key institution for the realization of political goals regarding collective interests.

A third example of the expression of collectivism is The Right of Public Access (*Allemansrätten*; literally meaning "Every Man's Right"). The law provides each and everyone the right to responsibly use nature for recreation and tourism, e.g. right to visit somebody else's land, to bathe in and to travel by boat on somebody else's waters, and to pick the wild flowers, mushrooms, berries. The individual landowners' interests are thus subordinated to collective interests. The Right of Public Access is unique for Sweden and is a very important base for recreation. It also has an important cultural/historical value as a right based on medieval traditions¹³. The Right of Public Access with its delicate blend of freedom and responsibility catches something essential in the relationship between the individual and the collective.

A final example expressing concern for collective interests rather than individual is the "Principle of public access to official records" (*Offentlighetsprincipen*), inscribed in the Swedish constitution. The principle means that all official records should be accessible for the citizens, when nothing else is decided. Openness should be the rule and secrecy the exception. For instance, civil servants and others working for the authorities are obliged to tell others what they know and to give information to media unless this information is strictly confidential. Court proceedings as well as sittings in Parliament and in local and regional authorities are open to the public and media. Even the computer logs that track the Prime Minister's surfing on Internet as well as the e-mail correspondence belongs to the publicly accessible.

Non-assertiveness

Non-assertiveness is the degree to which individuals in the society are tender, non-dominant, and non-aggressive in social relationships. Sweden occupies the highest international ranking in this dimension (1/61), with a score of 4.97.

Following the definition, it is difficult to find institutional (societal) expressions of non-assertiveness, but in everyday life non-assertiveness can be related to the rare use of car horns in traffic, except in cases to ward off danger. To hoot is generally considered as an unnecessary, aggressive act (Daun, 1989).

¹² Sources are: Sweden: Statistics Sweden (SCB), UK and France: Visser, 1996, *Trends in Union Membership and Union Density in OECD Countries 1970-1994*. Centre for Research on European Societies and Industrial Relations, February 1996, and Japan: Japan Institute of Labor. Reported in Kjellberg (1997).

¹³ The right was originally designed for protecting people travelling through the vast forests by giving the travelers the right to collect what they needed for survival during the journey (e.g. nuts, berries, wood, or grass for the horse). This was regulated in the provincial laws.

Also, it can be related to a special love for rituals. Strong emotions are rarely expressed openly in Sweden so indirect forms are used instead as compensation. For instance, a well prepared speech by the Managing Director to the just pensioned accountant, preferably including a little joke, is the appreciated way of expressing love and gratitude to a loyal employee; the end of an era. This does not necessarily mean that Swedes feel less emotion than other nationalities; it is the way of expressing them (or rather not expressing it) that is cultural specific (Daun, 1989). The subtle signals can be very difficult for a foreigner to interpret, and as a consequence foreigners often regard Swedes as shy, reserved and “cold-hearted”.

Uncertainty Avoidance

Uncertainty Avoidance is defined as the extent to which a collective strives to avoid uncertainty by reliance on social norms, rituals, and bureaucratic practices to alleviate the unpredictability of future events. The mean value scored by Sweden was 5.32, positioning Sweden as the second country out of 61 within this dimension. This result indicates high uncertainty avoidance.

Protecting the rights of individuals in their contacts with authorities is fundamental to the process of law in Sweden, and one of many expressions of uncertainty reduction. In this context, the Swedish ombudsman system is a guarantee against oppressive measures and misgovernment in the judiciary and public administration. The Parliamentary Ombudsmen investigate suspected abuses of authority by civil servants. Other ombudsmen protect the public by keeping a watchful eye on consumer rights, ethnic and sex discrimination, press ethics, and the rights of children and young people, and persons with disabilities.

Another example is the fact that all residents in Sweden are covered by the national health insurance. If a person is ill or must stay home to care for sick children, (s)he receives a taxable daily allowance; 75-85 percent of lost income depending on the length of the absence.

Gender Equality

In the dimension of Gender Equality – the extent to which a society minimizes gender role differences – Sweden ranks the 9th position, scoring 3.84, where the middle score (4.0) attests to equal status. The score indicates the attribution of almost equal status between men and women, although a slight bias towards the male side can be noticed.

The 1994 elections in Sweden resulted in a substantial increase in the proportion of women in Parliament. Of the 349 members of Parliament over 40 percent were women¹⁴. This world record in women participation was kept in the 1998 elections, resulting in 43 percent women in Parliament. Another breakthrough for equality occurred in the Cabinet formed 1994 by former Social Democratic Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson: half of the cabinet members were women. The present Democratic Cabinet headed by Prime Minister Göran Persson also consists of 10 female and 10 male ministers. Quite clearly, those facts are strongly symbolic to the gender equality ambitions within the Social Democratic movement.

However, the situation in the working life is still far from equal – at least by Swedish standards. While labor-force participation is more or less equal among men and women¹⁵ the labor market is strongly

¹⁴ Comparable figures for a collection of other nations are Denmark 33%, Germany 20%, USA 10%, Great Britain 9%, Spain 5%, Japan 2% (Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), 1991).

¹⁵ In 1996, 75.5 percent of all women aged 16-64 were in the labor force, though many worked part-time. 80 percent of men in the same age group belonged to the labor force the same year. Women accounted for approximately half of Sweden's total labor force (48%) (Swedish Institute, 1997a).

segregated, despite a general political consensus on the principles of gender equality¹⁶. Among all women on the labor market, 60 percent are active within the public sector and 40 percent within the private. The equivalent figures for men are 25 and 75 percent respectively (Statistics Sweden, 1992). Although women have a relatively strong position in directly elected bodies, men still dominate nearly all policy-making bodies. This also goes for senior positions in employer and employee organizations as well as in political and other associations. In senior management positions in the private sector, the percentage of women is even lower: on average eight percent according to a study by Höök (1994)¹⁷.

The main statute governing the practical realization of equality between women and men is focused on working life. The Act on Equality between Men and Women at Work, generally known as the Equal Opportunities Act¹⁸, entered into force in 1980. This Act was replaced by a new and stronger Equal Opportunities Act on January 1, 1992.

A separate Equality Affairs Division (*Jämställdhetsenheten*) was established at central governmental level in the early 1980s. The Office of the Equal Opportunities Ombudsman (*Jämställdhetsombudsmannen, JämO*) is an independent government authority under the Ministry of Labor. It was set up when the first Equal Opportunities Act came into force in 1980. The main purpose of the Act is to promote equal rights for men and women with respect to employment, working conditions and opportunities for personal development at work. The rules cover two main areas: rules prohibiting an employer from discriminating against a person because of gender, and rules requiring an employer to take active steps to promote equality at the workplace.

A last example is an institution promoting equality in the private domain of life. When a child is born, the parents are legally entitled to a total of fifteen months paid parental leave from work, which can be shared between them and used any time before the child's eighth birthday. One of these months is reserved specifically for the father and is forfeited if he does not use it. Surveys show that more than 50 per cent of fathers utilize their right to paid parental leave during the child's first year. In addition to these benefits, all fathers are entitled to a ten-day leave of absence with parental benefit just after the child is born. About 80 per cent of fathers take advantage of this opportunity. On average they use nine of the ten days.

Future Orientation

Future Orientation is the degree to which an organization or society encourages and rewards future-oriented behaviors such as planning, investing in the future, and delaying gratification. Sweden's future orientation ranks rather high, being located in the 9th place with a score in the Likert scale of 4.39. This results indicate a direction towards long-term focus rather than short-term.

One obvious expression of future orientation is investments in different kinds of education and personnel development (competence development, post-graduate education, conferencing, etc). Sweden has for many years been among the leading countries in the world in terms of investments in education. Almost a fifth of GNP is spent on the educational system¹⁹. The educational attainment of the population is high in Sweden. In 1996, only 30 percent of the population had not gone beyond primary/lower secondary

¹⁶ These principles are also incorporated in the Swedish Constitution.

¹⁷ Of course there are substantial differences among different industries. The percentage of women in company boards varies between 1% (chemical/petroleum) and 37% (insurance). The percentage of women in senior company management positions varies between 0% (electricity/water) and 25% (restaurants).

¹⁸ It is of course interesting to note that gender equality policy is fundamentally concerned with creating equal conditions for each individual, regardless of gender, to achieve economic independence through gainful employment. The redistributing power, for instance, does not seem to be an end in itself.

education. Also, Swedish employees spend the most amount of time at internal conferences among all countries in Europe²⁰ and the market for executive education such as MBA programs and other post-graduate education is steadily growing.

Another expression of high future orientation is that Sweden is among the top countries in terms of industrial research and development (R&D) as a percentage of GDP. In 1993 industrial R&D expenditures were equivalent to 2.0% of GDP (Swedish Institute, 1997).

Power distance

Power distance is defined as the degree to which members of an organization or society expect and agree that power should be unequally shared. Sweden scored a mean of 4.85 for the Power Distance dimension, and ranked 50/61, thus being perceived as a low power distance society.

Non-obtrusive measures gave eloquent examples of expressions relevant to Power Distance. For instance, in most business organizations, there are no different dress codes according to employee status and often, titles are seldom listed on the door signs. The door-sign for Sweden's Prime Minister only states his name, Göran Persson on a simple text stripe. Furthermore, titles are generally not used when addressing others who are not intimate friends.

At work, eating places are generally not separated depending on working position. However, some privileges are allocated to senior managerial levels such as special parking places or bigger offices.

Outside work, low power distance can be revealed at burial places not being separated depending on family wealth or status. Similarly, personal status does not help either when getting the bus or any other public transportation, as queuing is the duty of everybody.

Another significant example is the lack of pictures of living political leaders in any public place or symbolic artefacts, such as stamps (apart from members of the Royal family. Then again they have no formal political influence). Only in very special circumstances are public recognition symbols of political, business or religious leaders designated. Such is the case after the murder of former Prime Minister Olof Palme in 1986. The name of the street that ends at the location of the lethal gunshot was changed to "Olof Palme street". In general, if a street name is acknowledging an individual at all, it is highly likely of a culture-historical origin.

Two examples of institutional expressions of reducing power distance in the Swedish society are progressive income tax and the Co-determination Act (*Medbestämmandelagen*), a law from 1976 guaranteeing the unions the formal right to membership in company boards.

Humane Orientation

Humane Orientation is the degree to which an organization or society encourages and rewards individuals for being fair, altruistic, friendly, generous, caring, and kind to others.

The social concern characteristic to Swedish culture is partly highlighted by this dimension, where Sweden scores 4.10 ranking 30th. This result is rather surprising at first glance, since Sweden is

¹⁹ 17% of GNP was spent on education in 1992, plus another 3% on research and development (Andersson, 1993).

internationally reputed for being a very humane society. One explanation is that this dimension focuses on individual humane characteristics, rather than institutional arrangements. The latter is the primary source to Sweden's reputation, exemplified below by institutional arrangements for two different groups, criminals and disabled persons.

The Swedish Prison and Probation Service is the public institution responsible for persons sentenced to imprisonment and probation²¹. The basic underlying ideas behind their operations are summarized, in their own words, as follows:

- As little intervention as possible, probation and parole being the best way of rehabilitating offenders.
- In prison care shall be formed to promote inmate rehabilitation to society and to mitigate the harmful effects of incarceration.
- Care time is used to persuade the inmate to live a life free of crime and drugs.
- The regular resources of the community, e.g. medical care and social services, are to be utilized as far as possible. (*Kriminalvårdsstyrelsen*, 1998)

Clearly, these ideas or principles are rooted in an explicit humane orientation of the Prison and Probation service. As for prison-life conditions, prisoners work while convicted and get remunerated for it. They have their own TV set in their personal cell, and have easy access to a physician in case they need it.

Another area expressing humane orientation in Sweden is in policies regarding disabled persons. Already the Swedish understanding of the concept "handicap", which of course plays a central role in any disability policy, is fundamentally humane. A handicap in Sweden is not viewed as a characteristic of a person, but as something that *arises* when a person with a functional impairment is confronted by an inaccessible environment. Thus, a common theme in different policies is to lay responsibility on all organizations to create and sustain environmental conditions such that a personal disability is not turned into a handicap. Apart from many rights of financial support and personal assistance, disabled individuals have their own ombudsman, The Office of the Disability Ombudsman (*Handikappombudsmannen*), an authority monitoring their rights and interests.

Performance Orientation

Performance Orientation refers to the extent to which an organization or society encourages and rewards group members for performance improvement and excellence. Sweden was ranked rather low in the international comparison: 48/61, with an absolute score of 3.72.

The relatively low score reflects the Swedish version of performance orientation, which is to focus on the performance of organizational units rather than specific member of the units. For instance, a common procedure at universities is to provide regular feedback to faculty departments about their scholarly performance related to research and publication. However, faculty members' teaching performance is generally not evaluated and students with the best grades generally are not honored.

This general observation does not exclude practices to encourage and reward individual performance excellence, such as in major companies where promotions are granted to individuals on a performance excellence basis. Another example is that politicians at the top three levels of the national government

²⁰ According to Mr. Björn Strömberg, manager at a publishing house publishing the periodical *The Conference World* (*Konferensvärlden*).

have kinship ties with other politicians at those same levels only by coincidence. What counts is the competence for performing the duties, rather than social connections or some other criteria. Most organizations, however, do generally not apply formal, explicit performance appraisal systems for individuals. Again, the organizational department or similar group is the unit for performance evaluation.

Family Collectivism

According to the results in table 1, Sweden was found to be one of the extremely individualistic nations investigated in GLOBE (rank 59/61) in terms of the Family Collectivism scale. This result is very conspicuous, together with the already commented high collectivism on a society, or system level.

Modal values in Sweden stresses individual independence and strength. The strong need for independence could be expressed as a wish to be left alone, to “be spared from others”, but also in a wish not “to own a debt of gratitude to anyone”. The word *ensamhet* (solitude) has a positive connotation. It suggests inner peace, independence and personal strength.

Hendin (1964) assigns the relationship to solitude to the Swedish way of child up-bringing. Swedish children are early encouraged to become independent; the sooner in life, the greater sign of what the Swede thinks is maturity. It is certainly not a coincidence that the world famous character Pippi Longstocking (*Pippi Långstrump*) was created by a Swedish author, Astrid Lindgren. Being able to take care of oneself, like Pippi always does, is regarded as very positive. Therefore, the family does not hold a central role in the Swedish society in an international comparison.

It is therefore not surprising that the proportion of single households is the highest in the world. One reason is that the different generations as a rule do not live together. Widowed parents or elder family members do not live with their relatives. Instead, residences for old people are frequent in Sweden. It is rare to find unmarried adults living with their parents, but also the youngest are encouraged to leave their family homes early, with the help of state loans. In Sweden, a 22 years old person still living at his or her parents is considered dubious.

In 1997 approximately 75 percent of all Swedish children in pre-school age (0-6 years) were spending (at least parts of) their days at a child care institution of some kind²². In sum, in the typical Swedish family both parent are working and their children are either at a child care institution or in school. The grandparents are living by themselves. This means that family life in Sweden, as most commonly understood, is rather exclusively enacted during weekends.

Cultural themes for Sweden

In the following analysis, we will synthesize the quantitative and qualitative results presented above into a number of empirically grounded cultural themes valid for Sweden; metaphors that we believe together distinguish some of the most important aspects of the Swedish culture. We will also incorporate additional information regarding Swedish society and culture through ethnographic and sociological accounts in this section.

²¹ The average number of people in prison and custody in Sweden on a given day is just below 5,000 (Kriminalvårdsstyrelsen, 1998).

²² Out of a population of 767,851 in the age of 0-6 years, 564,976 children were enrolled in childcare 1997 (Statistics Sweden). The state expenditures for childcare equals the expenditures for national defense in round numbers (Affärsvärlden, 1998-09-23).

Two life worlds: socially concerned individualism

The extreme positions of Sweden in the two dimensions Collectivism (1/61) and Family collectivism (59/61) in relation to the other countries is truly a striking and puzzling result. Sweden is both an extremely collective and extremely individualist society. How can we make sense of being this paradoxical statement? The result can be contrasted with the result of Hofstede (1980), in which Sweden was labeled an individualistic culture²³. One explanation to this difference is that Hofstede did not distinguish between the small family group, or clan, and the much wider group constituting the society as a whole. This distinction is obviously important in the Swedish case. Hofstede's measure and definition most closely correspond to the Family Collectivism dimension, thus revealing only half of the picture.

In ethnographic descriptions of Sweden, it is often asserted that Swedes have a strict border between public and private life, whereas in many other parts of the world, the two are inseparable (Daun, 1989). In many aspects, the two spheres are of very different natures, and blending the two might be problematic. We earlier found that independence and solitude are important and positive concepts for Swedes in general, something which is enacted in the private sphere. A function with the strict border between public and private could be to defend the integrity, and guarantee the individual the much-wanted feeling of independence from the outside world.

Thus, the two life worlds are preferably kept separate in time and space. For instance, it is rare that the Swedes are together with their working colleagues in their spare time; they belong to the public sphere.

We therefore believe that Swedes are fundamentally individualists in the private sphere, and collectivists in the public sphere. We summarize this in the notion of the socially concerned individualists. In their seven-country comparison, Hampten-Turner and Trompenaars (1993) has a similar notion. They assert that Swedes "more than any other culture examined in this book²⁴ begin with the individual, his or her integrity, uniqueness, freedom, needs, and values, yet insist that the fulfillment and destiny of the individual lies in developing and sustaining others by the gift of his or her own work and energy" (p. 239). This energy is almost exclusively translated into engagements in organized activities (c.f. Corporativism).

It is also important to highlight the striking difference between the middle managers' observations concerning the two dimensions (Collectivism and Family collectivism) and their values. Judging from the results, the respondents have strong preferences for replacing socially concerned individualism with stronger social ties within the family or clan and much less emphasis on collectivistic institutions on the society level. Should this pattern be valid for the broader population, Sweden would be going through a major transformation the basic foundations of the *Folkhemmet* impacting all areas of social life, not least working life.

Coping with an uncertain future – rationality and pragmatism

A second striking result from the quantitative data is the extreme position in the uncertainty avoidance dimension (ranking 2/61). Comparing our results with Hofstede (1980; 1991) the results are again in contradiction with his results. Sweden was ranked 46/50 on Hofstede's Uncertainty Avoidance index (UAI). Also, Sweden was found to be high in the future orientation dimension, ranking 9/61. Since uncertainty is by definition connected to the genuinely uncertain future, avoiding uncertainty would suggest avoiding future. In this sense, the results occur as contradictory. How can we understand a culture

²³ Sweden had ranking number 10 among 53 nations on Hofstede's (1980) IDV scale, thus being classified as an individualist society.

with strong future orientation and at the same time being highly uncertainty avoiding, and more interesting here: how does the culture resolve this apparent paradox?

In the ethnographic literature about Sweden a recurrent theme is the pronounced emphasis on reason, objectiveness, matter-of-fact, and order. Everything beyond reason is awkward, and perhaps even immoral (Daun, 1989). Only rational-pragmatic arguments that stick to the point are legitimate during discussions; “irrelevant” imaginative associations are out-of-bounds. We thus conclude that Swedes are typically very rational, although the word “rationality” can be given a variety of meanings. Daun (1989) defines Swedish rationality as setting the accent on practical solutions, on suitability to the pursued goal, on aiming at a single objective at a time. Swedes adopt a practical orientation which other authors summarize with the term “pragmatism” (Czarniawska-Joerges, 1993). We believe that these rational and pragmatic attitudes are expressions of the high uncertainty avoidance culture found in our study. Rationalism and pragmatism are “solutions” to the problem of coping with uncertainty. In addition, this perspective dissolves the apparent paradox. With a rational and pragmatic attitude the future do not *occur* as uncertain, but rather predictable and manageable, thereby allowing for an orientation towards the future.

On the other hand, rationalism and pragmatism might be of less importance in the future, considering the big difference between the middle managers uncertainty avoidance observations (very high) and values (very low). At least in the sense of the “social engineering” culture that has prevailed for many decades during the creation of the Swedish welfare state.

Consensus – egalitarianism and equality

A third theme that we can distinguish from our findings (table 1) has to do with the relationship to power and influence. Sweden was found to be a relatively equal and egalitarian society. This result is in concordance with Hofstede’s (1980) study, where Sweden was labeled a low power distance culture (ranking 43/50). One feature of countries with small Power Distance is that everyone is regarded to be “just like everyone else” and status differences are undesired.

The Swedish population is unusually homogeneous, compared to other countries. It is a low-context culture, a culture where the situation is not recognized to have any significance for how people act and react. Swedes share the same history, same language, same religion; and differences between different groups within the nation are comparatively small (Daun, 1989). This facilitates communication between different societal groups and opens up the possibility of wide agreement and collective actions (Berglund and Löwstedt, 1996).

Out of this a strong norm for consensus has grown, a Swedish cultural trait often mentioned in the relevant literature (Daun, 1989). Everyone’s opinions, ideas and experiences are respected and listened to, since all are potential contributors to the accomplishment of the task in place or to the solution of the problem being dealt with. Mutual understanding, collective consideration and compromised solutions are favored. Consensus is thus seen primarily as a *condition* for dialogue (Czarniawska-Joerges, 1993) but also as a preferred *outcome* of the dialogue. Such an attitude enables a search for creative solutions prior to decisions, and wide support once decisions are taken. This provides Swedish business with a unique capacity for collective action. In sum, we believe that the notion of consensus reflects the egalitarian and equality values.

²⁴ USA, Japan, Germany, France, Britain, and the Netherlands [our addition].

The fear of conflicts, or better stated the desire to avoid them, is another common theme in the literature – a major key to understand the Swedish culture (Daun, 1989). Rather than seeing conflict avoidance as an end in itself, we believe that it is intimately connected to the concept of consensus. Conflicts are clearly threatening to the strong norms of upholding good conditions for dialogue, and therefore one is expected to be kind to others and not to quarrel in Sweden. A kind, polite and neutral attitude is preferred and strong and spontaneous emotional expressions are regarded as ridiculous and childish (Daun, 1989). As presented above, non-assertiveness is extremely high in Sweden in an international comparison. In our analysis the egalitarian, equality and non-assertive dimensions thus all converge in the consensus concept.

The Swedes have a term for fairness, *lagom*, which means 'just right'... Swedish children learn that putting either too much or too little on the plate is not *lagom*, and Swedish unions demand that wages be *lagom* enough to create solidarity. The value of *lagom* permeates Swedish culture and is a way of minimizing the envy and sibling rivalry that could destroy the solidarity of the Swedish national family²⁵.

Maccoby, 1991, p. 6

²⁵ The untranslatable term *lagom* thus expresses the delicate balance and optimization of individual and collective interests. Its origins are found in *viking* times, when a bowl of a beer-like drink was shared among those seated around the table. Doubts arose about how much to sip: not too much (which would upset the others by not leaving enough drink left), not too little (as one also wanted to enjoy the drink). A *lagom* sip is "just right" for fulfilling the two conflicting interests.

Images of leadership in Sweden

In this section, images of leadership in Sweden will be presented using multiple sources. The section begins with data presentation from the GLOBE questionnaire surveying middle managers, examining the data on both national and industry levels. This is followed by an analysis of a number of ethnographic interviews with leaders of organizations active in very different contexts. We also present an analysis of leadership images constructed by media. In the final analysis, the different images are compared to the cultural themes distinguished in the previous section.

Middle managers' implicit leadership models in Sweden

The GLOBE questionnaire included sections in which a collection of leadership traits and behaviors attitudes was presented to the respondents. The aim was to collect data on attitudes and values relevant to “outstanding leadership” which taken together could be said to represent the respondents’ implicit leadership models. This section presents results for Swedish middle managers’ attitudes to leadership.

Table 2 summarizes the Swedish scores for the 21 leadership dimensions utilized in GLOBE. Two different perspectives on the country scores are included in the table: a between-country ranking as well as a within-country ranking. The advantage with parallel perspectives becomes clear when comparing the two different ranking columns in the table. The ranking is clearly not the same between the two, and not even similar. For instance, the highest rated dimension in a GLOBE comparison, Autonomous, is only at 13th ranking position when compared with all other dimensions within the Swedish sample. Thus, a within-country analysis will provide us with an implicit model of outstanding leadership, and a comparative analysis will enable us to distinguish the components in this model that are typical for Sweden in relation to other countries. In this case, we use the comparable results from 60 other nations to analyze the Swedish results.

Leadership scale (GLOBE)	Country score	GLOBE ranking ^a	Variable ranking ^f
Autonomous	3.97	A ^c (23)	13
Humane Orientation	4.96	A ^d (26)	10
Team II: Team Integrator	5.98	A ^d (32)	4
Diplomatic	5.27	A ^b (47)	9
Integrity	6.29	B ^e (18)	2
Charismatic II: Inspirational	6.31	B ^e (20)	1
Team I: Collaborative Team Orientation	5.50	B ^d (32)	7
Charismatic I: Visionary	6.05	B ^e (37)	3
Non-participative	2.51	B ^c (37)	17
Performance Orientation	5.96	B ^d (41)	5
Charismatic III: Self Sacrificial	4.81	B ^d (45)	11
Decisive	5.59	B ^d (49)	6
Modesty	4.59	B ^c (51)	12
Autocratic	2.41	C ^d (42)	18
Face-saver	2.39	C ^d (52)	19
Administratively Competent	5.44	C ^c (52)	8
Procedural	3.19	C ^d (55)	16
Conflict Inducer	3.33	C ^c (56)	14
Self-Centered	1.79	C ^d (57)	20
Status Consciousness	3.30	C ^d (59)	15
Malevolent	1.52	D ^e (55)	21

Table 2: Swedish results on attitudes to leadership traits and behavior.

Notes:

^a Group letters A-E (the span varies between the scales) indicate group membership, i.e. meaningful country clusters, for that particular scale. A>B (>C>D>E) for each scale. The number in parenthesis indicates rank order for Sweden in comparison with 60 other countries.

^b Group span ranges from A-B

^c Group span ranges from A-C

^d Group span ranges from A-D

^e Group span ranges from A-E

^f Rank order of GLOBE variables within the Swedish sample.

Country scores for Sweden from a within-country perspective

By examining the results from table 2 the central components in the Swedish middle managers' implicit leadership model are possible to specify:

The leader dimensions that the Swedish middle managers rated very high or high²⁶ (contributing factors) were, in decreasing order: (1) Inspirational, (2) Integrity, (3) Visionary, (4) Team Integrator, (5) Performance Orientation, (6) Decisive, and (7) Collaborative Team Orientation. At the other side of the spectrum we find the dimensions that are rated low or very low²⁷ (inhibiting factors): (18) Autocratic, (19) Face-saver, (20) Self-centered and (21) Malevolent.

This result suggests that according to the middle managers an outstanding leader should be honest and trustworthy, and inspire and engage the organization members to perform their best towards a visionary future. (S)he should not work in her or his own self-interest, but rather for the common good and also be a

²⁶ The operationalization of very high ratings is total mean >6.0, and high ratings 6.0-5.5.

²⁷ The operationalization of very low ratings is total mean <2.0, and low ratings 2.0-2.5.

master of creating a team spirit within the organization. This implicit model of leadership is the straightforward interpretation following from the definitions of the dimensions and the total sample means. Thus, an outstanding leader, according to a large majority of the Swedish middle managers, possesses qualities that are associated with a charismatic and team oriented leader style. Comparing this model with the universal model of outstanding leadership (House et al, 1998), we note that they are similar to a large extent, especially with respect to contributing factors. Being charismatic and a team integrator are universally positively endorsed traits.

Country scores for Sweden from an international (GLOBE) perspective

Table 2 shows that Sweden is included in the extreme high-end clusters – and therefore typical in an international comparison – of the following dimensions: Autonomous, Humane Orientation and Team Integrator²⁸. What characterizes Swedish outstanding leadership, according to middle managers in an international comparison, is therefore humane leaders with extraordinary capabilities to create and sustain teams. Somewhat paradoxically, it is also characterized by a relatively high degree of autonomy. The relationship between team and autonomy is further commented in relation to Swedish culture in the concluding discussion below.

In addition, we note that all remaining high-end components in the Swedish middle managers' implicit model of leadership, found in the preceding section, are included in the medium-high end clusters (group B): Inspirational, Integrity, Visionary, Performance Orientation, Decisive and Collaborative Team Orientation.

The table further shows that Sweden is comparably low or very low on the following eight dimensions: Autocratic, Face-saver, Administratively Competent, Procedural, Conflict Inducer, Self-Centered, Status Consciousness, and Malevolent. Four of these dimensions are universally viewed as inhibiting outstanding leadership: Autocratic, Face-saver, Self-Centered, and Malevolent (House et al, 1998). The result points to the conclusion that the negative perceptions of those four dimensions are indisputable for the Swedish middle managers as well as for middle managers in most other countries. The remaining four dimensions (Administratively Competent, Procedural, Conflict Inducer and Status Consciousness) are culturally contingent dimensions and are therefore more pertinent in distinguishing the typical character of outstanding leadership in Sweden. The result shows that these dimensions are rated much higher in most other nations. Hence, in a comparative perspective, leaders in Sweden are not associated with different expressions of formality and order such as administration, organization, routines and procedures. Administratively Competent is a special case since it is classified as a contributing factor. While not rejecting administrative competence in absolute terms (mean 5.44), the results show that this variable is rated lower in Sweden than in most other nations and therefore say something about the *Swedish* version of outstanding leadership. Finally, the result shows that outstanding leaders should not be status- or class conscious, but rather to play down or even transcend the existing differences within the group, organization or community.

²⁸ The dimension Diplomatic is a fourth variable that has high end cluster membership (A). The variable does only split the international sample in two halves, however. It is taken out from this analysis since the cluster membership does not inform us of something typical or modal for Sweden. Rather, being diplomatic is assessed to be a universally endorsed leader trait (House et al, 1998).

Industry differences within the Swedish sample

By sampling three qualitatively different industries and collecting a larger data sample from each industry than required for GLOBE between-country analysis purposes, we were able to study the homogeneity of the results presented above in more detail within the Swedish sample.

In order to do this analysis we needed to obtain scales with sufficient reliability for our purposes. The original GLOBE scales were constructed for maximizing reliable and valid scales for between-country analyses. We therefore had to redesign the collection of scales somewhat to serve our purposes.

The redesign of the scales, based on reliability analyses, is described in further detail in Appendix 1. The final result includes 12 of the original 21 GLOBE leader scales, and 3 additional scales that are modifications of original GLOBE scales: Friendly (modification of Humane orientation), Independent (modification of Autonomous), and Close supervision (modification of Non-participative).

	Total mean N=896	Finance N=374	Food processing N=301	Telecom- munication N=221	Z-value (1)	Z-value (2)	Z-value (3)
Charismatic II: Inspirational	6.30	6.36	6.20	6.37	-4.36**	-0.33	-4.19**
Integrity	6.29	6.28	6.30	6.29	-0.07	-0.13	-0.06
Charismatic I: Visionary	6.05	6.11	6.00	6.02	-2.46*	-2.14*	-0.05
Team II: Team integrator	5.98	6.00	5.93	6.00	-1.63	-0.27	-1.67
Performance oriented	5.96	6.08	5.89	5.85	-3.61**	-4.35**	-0.98
Team I: Collaborative Team ori'n	5.49	5.46	5.47	5.61	-0.03	-3.24**	-3.15**
Administratively competent	5.44	5.50	5.55	5.19	-0.76	-5.27**	-5.65**
Friendly	4.68	4.67	4.62	4.77	-0.90	-1.38	-2.18*
Independent	4.33	4.55	4.17	4.19	-3.13**	-2.87**	-0.05
Status Consciousness	3.30	3.34	3.31	3.23	-0.43	-1.31	-0.92
Procedural	3.19	3.24	3.28	2.95	-0.52	-5.08**	-5.10**
Autocratic	2.41	2.52	2.42	2.22	-1.24	-4.09**	-2.90**
Malevolent	1.97	2.00	1.96	1.91	-1.31	-2.96**	-1.72
Close supervision	1.89	1.88	2.01	1.75	-1.28	-2.42*	-3.33**
Self centered	1.79	1.84	1.84	1.65	-0.57	-4.22**	-3.32**

Table 3: Results (means) for modified leadership scales totally and per industry, and Mann-Whitney U non-parametric test statistic for differences between two independent samples. * = Sig. <0.05. ** = Sig. <0.01

Z-value (1) Mann-Whitney U non-parametric test between finance and food processing.

Z-value (2) Mann-Whitney U non-parametric test between finance and telecommunication.

Z-value (3) Mann-Whitney U non-parametric test between food processing and telecommunication.

Table 3 further explores the Swedish middle managers' implicit leadership model, described above. Evaluating the total means naturally recreates the original model: a leader being inspirational, visionary and performance oriented contributes to outstanding leadership. Strong personal integrity is another important contributing factor, as is the ability to integrate teams. Factors inhibiting outstanding leadership are autocratic, malevolent and self centered. Furthermore, close supervision is a factor that is strongly rejected. In addition to this, by analyzing the industry results and by making statistical comparisons, we are able to identify industry specific emphasis on various factors that to various extents modify the original model.

The telecommunication industry stands out for rating Collaborative Team orientation significantly higher in relation to the other two industries, and Administratively competent, Procedural, Autocratic, and Self-centered significantly lower. The finance industry stands out for rating the two variables Performance

orientation and Independent significantly higher than the two other industries. Finally, the food processing industry has significantly lower rating of the variable Inspirational than the other two. In sum, the most pertinent differences between the industries has to do with degree of formalization, order and systemization (Administratively competent, Procedural), relation to performance (Performance orientation), and motivation and encouragement (Inspirational).

The different profiles of the results by industry give somewhat different images of the preferred leadership. For instance, middle managers in the telecommunication industry emphasize the idea of teamwork, co-operation, personal freedom (no close supervision) and flexibility (non-procedural, less administration). The metaphor for outstanding leadership could be that of a team leader or team coach. This certainly makes sense in an industry that is characterized by a rapidly changing business environment such as deregulation of telecom markets and the opening of new business opportunities, and fast and accelerating technological development.

Thus, while the basic components of the middle managers' implicit leadership model hold across industries, we nevertheless find support for different variants of the Swedish middle managers' implicit leadership model depending on the industry, and the "industry recipe" (Spender, 1989) for conducting business (see Appendix 2 for brief industry presentations).

Comparing the results with previous studies

Our findings can be contrasted with what other scholars have found in previous studies about leadership and/or management. The most closely related study was conducted by Tollgerdt-Andersson, in a doctoral thesis investigating "naïve leadership theories, corporate climate, and methods of judgement". The concept of naïve leadership (or spontaneous) theories is very close to the notion of implicit theories, used in GLOBE.

Tollgerdt-Andersson (1989) surveyed approximately 100 top managers concerning their spontaneous leadership theories, in terms of "important" leader characteristics and behaviors. In summary, factors considered important for a good leader among the top managers were being enthusiastic, able to enthuse others, being decisive, having co-operation skills, being honest, and able to delegate. This result is very much in line with the general implicit leadership model promoted in this chapter (c.f. table 2), suggesting that Swedish top- and middle managers are aligned on the most important characteristics of an outstanding leader.

In addition, Källströms (1995) study of outstanding leadership in Sweden as expressed by famous top managers to a large degree confirms our results and findings. According to Källström, Swedish management is founded on the ability to create consensus and commitment for a certain communicated vision. The vision serves as guidance and inspiration for both thoughts and action, and is consciously comprehensible and distinct at its core but blurry in its contours in order to provide a clearing for personal interpretation, initiative and independent action. The employees are this way forced to get involved in the vision and to create a personal relation to it. The preferred way of communicating the vision is by direct face-to-face meetings and personal dialogues, according to Källströms data. Again, we note that a number of central themes of leadership in Sweden are repeated: enthusiasm and inspiration; involvement and creation of a team spirit, yet recognizing everyone's autonomy and independence. This finding was further established and elaborated in a recent doctoral dissertation by Zander (1997) who characterize Swedish

implicit leadership theories, or “the license to lead”, as “empowering coaching”. Empowerment in this case is understood as the delegation of responsibility, the involvement of employees in decision-making processes and the taking of their advice, and appreciation of initiatives. Coaching refers to the creation and encouragement of team spirit and co-operation, and a strong focus on performance both for the individual team member and the team itself.

In comparing the results of middle managers’ implicit leadership models with previous studies of managers and leaders in a business context, we conclude that there is a rather high agreement across studies as to what constitutes outstanding leadership in Sweden.

Leadership images in ethnographic interviews and focus groups

Another way to analyze the homogeneity of the results found in the questionnaire is to compare the middle managers’ implicit model with the accounts and narratives of leadership provided in a number of focus groups (managers and business students) and ethnographic interviews. The interviewees came from a deliberately wide range of contexts: a Bishop in the Swedish Church, a General Director at a National Authority, a Secretary of a political party’s youth organization, a General Manager of a nation-wide lobbying organization, a Regional Director at another national authority, and a Theatre Director. Methodological details for this section are found in Appendix 1.

Managers vs. leaders

A fundamental distinction in leadership theory is the distinction between management and leadership (e.g. Zaleznik, 1977; Burns, 1978, Bass, 1990). While mostly a taken-for-granted issue in the literature, the distinction seems to be problematic to managers and students in the focus groups. The Swedish conception of management (*chefsskap*) is described at first almost exclusively in rather technical terms: it is little else than functional responsibilities, an administrative task. A manager is a person who is formally responsible for a work group or a unit.

However, when it comes to a *competent* manager the distinction becomes less clear. A competent manager is someone who has good professional skills and an administrative competence that goes beyond doing a good job:

“A good manager is a leader. A bad manager is not a leader”. (General Manager).

Being a competent manager includes social competence as well. When describing desirable interpersonal traits the interviewees used words like professionally competent, empathetic, fair, informative, trustworthy, friendly, enthusiastic, good listener, respectful – traits that, taken together, describe a supportive management style. Competent managers are expected to give feed-back to employees, both positive and negative, and to support them socially and technically in their work. When in need of advice, a good manager should always be available.

When it comes to the descriptions of outstanding leaders, the participants included some of the traits and behaviors of competent managers, like for instance trustworthy, enthusiastic, respectful, and professionally competent. But outstanding leaders are also expected to be holistic, visionary, good communicators, team-builders and change agents.

Consider the following citations, describing the perceived differences between managers and leaders:

"Someone who is formally a manager does not necessarily become a leader. As a manager you may not have that natural authority for leadership or you are not able to build your role as a leader. [...] to be a leader is a way of being as a person, while manager is something you are formally". (General Manager).

"Formally, you can be the manager. It is a position you are given. I mean, if the board appoints you as CEO of a company or if the government appoints me as General Director, they have made me the manager. But, those appointing someone as manager are at the same time hoping to have provided the organization with a leader. That is the most important aspect of recruiting managers; to hit the right spot, to get a manager who is also prepared and able to be a leader". (General Director of a National Authority).

"For me, leadership is about having this somewhat greater overall view [...] and to lead the company or in this case the theatre in a direction with a worked through idea or philosophy about how it may be developed as a unit... I am of course a manager in the sense that people come to me and say 'Paul, what do we do in this situation' [...] But, what really interests me is the leadership issues, that is, to lead an entire, large company as a whole and much more in fact than these managerial functions. And that is why I apply to a large extent so called delegated responsibility... I fiddle very little with details... ". (Theatre Director)

"I think that for me leadership is something more than management, Management, that is to make certain decisions. It is about being superior to others, [dealing with] systems of rules. Leadership is something more. It contains many, many elements. It is a question of a kind of holistic picture. It is to have an experience to offer. It is a question of having an interest in looking a bit further ahead". (Bishop)

"It is to have a vision how one is to develop one's company, one's workplace or one's organization, to lift your eyes, kind of to see what it takes for us to get there. To look at what paths of change one has to go... ". (Secretary of political youth organization)

"This is really compressed as you can see [referring to a policy document]. Leadership is will and ability to build enthusiasm and to cooperate. To share your knowledge. To be focused on goals and results. Develop and change". (Regional Director)

Outstanding leaders are repeatedly described as holistic, visionary and communicative. A common argument is as follows: a good communicative talent is simply necessary since Swedes does not accept orders. In general they expect to participate in discussions or in one way or the other to be part of decisions taken. This involves something more than just a transfer of ideas to subordinates. The issues need to be discussed and criticized, and this process puts great demands on the leaders. Excellent leaders are expected to fight for their ideas in a respectful manner.

Data also shows that excellent leadership incorporates the abilities and the skills of a change-agent. Although nobody is actually saying that leaders should be change-agents, there seem to be a presumption built into the idea of leaders as being visionary and holistic. Visionary leaders look into a future and create something that doesn't exist, which among other things means that they have to cross borders and break the rules.

"Well... I think that an important part of a leadership is also to be adequately go-ahead or unafraid when it comes to rule systems and money". (The General Director)

Same concept – different enactment

There is a strong general agreement as to what visionary stands for (lift your eyes to see what lies in front of us, looking into the future, have an interest in looking ahead, etc). When it comes to the origin of the vision and how visionary leadership is exercised, several ideas about team-building and team-building efforts are put forth. For instance; visions created by the leader, visions created by the leader in dialogue with a vital few, visions as expressed as a mission or an assignment (indicating a strong influence of external actors) and collectively created visions. Although many managers would argue that visionary leadership cannot be reduced to preaching, there are some vivid examples put forward in the interviews, like in the first quotation below:

"That is the first thing, to make clear for oneself what assignment one has or has taken or has been given. Secondly, to be prepared to communicate that mission to the organization one has been put to lead. [...] when you are clear on

this [the assignment], to be prepared to clarify and translate the message, the assignment, out in the entire organization. And in various ways see to that this is known and that one is keeping up. Because if you do not have the organization with you the top brass will float on top, believing they are actually carrying out the assignment". (The General Director)

"I see myself as a coach and head of a team and I live in the faith that we can accomplish a whole lot more if each and every one gets the opportunity to develop in their work. That each and every one feels they are working in a learning organization. Each and every one feels forced to take an increasingly large responsibility. So I think [...] that this organization can accomplish much more than if every one is just sitting and doing what they are told". (General Manager)

"Formulating the mission presupposes a dialogue with one's colleagues, because you can't sit there in your Ivory Tower and sort that out. It is a combination of finding out where you are, how you perceive the mission and what you want to do... in a dialogue with and influenced by your closest co-workers". (General Director)

The Secretary of a political youth organization presented the fourth alternative, i.e. a collectively created vision: exercising visionary leadership in a political organization rather means setting up situations in which co-workers can make a real contribution.

Leadership beyond the context

The data collected through focus groups and interviews shows that the distinction between outstanding leaders and very competent managers can be hard to pinpoint in practice. The interviewees seemed hesitant to talk about leadership without referring to their own context-bound experience, i.e. managerial leadership as they know it. This might explain the phenomenon that some traits and behaviors were included in both categories, e.g. trustworthy, ability to enthuse co-workers, showing respect etc.

However, a critical examination of the narratives of preferred enacted leadership behavior suggests that it is possible to distinguish leadership beyond the context. Outstanding leaders are visionary by challenging the existing paradigm (such as beliefs, common goals, structures, institutions). Building a team means building strong commitment to a specific future rather than building a strong and loyal group. High integrity stands for being loyal to the vision rather than being loyal to the team/the group/the organization. An outstanding leader is referred to as a role-model i.e. *förebild*, someone who substantially influence other peoples identity and values, rather than a *föredöme*, i.e. affecting co-workers attitudes and behaviors²⁹.

One last but very important observation is that outstanding leaders are admired and seem to earn a status in society by their achievements, though there seem to be a general agreement on the idea that leaders should be admired because of their way of being. Few if any of the interviewees could actually recall an outstanding leader from their own experience! Instead, they inferred outstanding leaders from what they knew certain well-known persons have achieved. Business leaders like Jan Carlzon (SAS), Percy Barnevik (ABB) and Ingvar Kamprad (IKEA) were typically mentioned.

Leadership images in Swedish media

A social-constructivist viewpoint (Berger and Luckmann, 1966) emphasizes the development and transmission of shared implicit theories. It suggests that our understanding of social phenomena like

²⁹ In Swedish there exists a concept of *förebild*. To be a *förebild* means to be someone from which others can or do learn. The English translation "role model" is not always a good translation; a role model is someone who acts as a model for someone else in terms of a specific role (e.g. formal position), a *föredöme*. *Föredöme* is expressed as a more rationalistic view of role modeling, for instance: "...we [i.e. managers/leaders] never do understand well enough that we become *föredömen* (role models) in our organizations, whether we like it or not, or whether we are aware of it or not. 'The boss does it, therefore it is all right for me to do it.' It really important to be aware of this, I believe. The way I am dressed [...], at what time I come to work in the morning. If I come in at nine, it somehow becomes legitimate to come in at nine" (General Manager) (c.f. Kallifatides, 1997)

leadership and organizing, as reflected in our implicit theories, is likely to be controlled by our interactions with social agents who affect the availability, salience and value of the information we receive (Chen and Meindl, 1991; Salancik and Pfeffer, 1978). Mass media is therefore an important actor in the shaping of views of ourselves and the world we live in.

Research has shown that media influence people's cognition in a variety of ways (for a comprehensive review, see Roberts and Maccoby, 1985). The media may determine what issues are important and set the agenda for the public debate, transmit knowledge and information, reinforce or crystallize (or change) existing beliefs, and cultivate perceptions of the nature of social reality (Chen and Meindl, 1991). While the ostensible mission of the media is to provide facts and information, it is therefore clear that journalism extends into areas well beyond simple reporting, transmitting to the readers a variety of deeper messages regarding leadership.

In a second study within the GLOBE project the deeper messages and images of outstanding leadership expressed in Swedish printed media were analyzed, using an ethnographic semantics approach. A large amount of empirical material was collected from five different newspapers and business magazines during two independent periods. For an extensive methodological description, see Appendix 1.

What follows is a frequency summary of the empirical material that was a result of the chosen collection periods:

	Dagens Nyheter	Dagens Industri	Expressen	Veckans Affärer	Månadens Affärer	Total
Number of newspapers/ magazines	14	8	14	2	2	40
Number of articles	4732	744	1575	363	650	8064

In brief, the images of outstanding leadership were distilled from a process of categorization of the data via the selection of key phrases and key words.

Findings

Table 4 shows a summary of the 60 final typification categories generated from this media analysis, together representing 853 key words relevant to leadership, extracted from over 8,000 articles in Swedish newspapers and magazines.

The ten categories with highest rating among the 60 typification categories represent 301 of the 853 key words (35%). These categories obviously describe important aspects of leadership as expressed in Swedish media, in terms of how outstanding leaders should be. The top ten categories are Action oriented, Cooperate, Work for Equality, Communicate & verbal ability, Enthusiastic & inspiring, Accountable, Delegate, Trustworthy, Control, Humane. Together, these ten categories constitute what could be regarded as the dominant *explicit* model of outstanding leadership in Swedish media.

Table 4: Summary of the 60 typification categories generated from the media analysis, together representing 853 key words.

Typification category	Frequency
Action oriented	43
Cooperate	38
Work for equality	32
Communicate; verbal ability	31
Enthusiastic & inspiring	31
Accountable	26
Delegate	26
Trustworthy	26
Control	25
Humane	23
Compromise & consensus	22
Risk-avoiding/careful	22
Ethical/moral	21
Humble, low key, modest	20
Elucidate & simplify	20
Fair/equal treatment	18
Honest	18
Non-authoritarian/hierarchic	18
Reasonable & pragmatic	18
Ambitious	16

Typification category	Frequency
Good listener/Sensitive	16
PR/image figure head	16
Visionary	16
Performance oriented	15
Relational	15
Network builder	14
Flexible & change oriented	13
Informing	13
Charismatic	12
Autonomous	11
Determined	11
Accessible & visible	10
Careful & orderly	10
Encouraging/motivational	10
Respectable & respectful	10
Balanced/harmonic	9
Entrepreneurial	9
Generalist	9
Long-term oriented	9
Open	9

Typification category	Frequency
Providing guidelines	9
Strategic & tactical	9
Humorous	8
Popular/common touch	8
Patient & tolerant	8
Prone to risks/Bold	8
Coordinator and organizer	7
Cultured	7
Induces loyalty	7
Competent	6
Creative	6
Effective bargainer	6
Self-confident	6
Empathic	5
Family oriented	5
Planning	5
Informal	4
Evaluate	3
Personnel oriented	3
Role model	2

In order to further explore the data and distinguish deeper messages or *implicit* model(s) of leadership in media, we wanted to search for underlying themes in the material or any patterns in the data related to different contexts.

After an iterative interpretation process of framing, testing and re-framing the semantic links between the 60 typification categories (done on the article and key phrase levels) we finally ended up with twelve clusters. Hence, each cluster came to consist of a number of typification categories bound together by an underlying theme relevant to the understanding of leadership. The twelve themes are briefly presented in table 5.

Leadership theme	Brief explanation
Action orientation	Found in articles describing leaders as decisive, demanding, and action oriented.
Charisma	Found in articles describing leaders as visionary, inspiring, charismatic, enthusiastic and having an extraordinary verbal ability.
Consensus	Found in articles describing leaders as willing to compromise and seeking consensus, being emphatic, humane, and good listeners.
Egalitarianism	Found in articles describing leaders who gives fair and equal treatment to others, works for equality, delegate and is non-authoritarian.
Entrepreneurial	Found in articles describing leaders as prone to take risks, bold, entrepreneurial, and creative.
Integrity	Found in articles describing leaders as honest, trustworthy, ethical and moral.
Performance orientation	Found in articles describing leaders as goal oriented, hard working, ambitious and acting with self-confidence.
Popular	Found in articles describing leaders as popular, informal, open, humble, low-profile, and humorous.
Pragmatism	Found in articles describing leaders as rational, reasonable, pragmatic, patient and tolerant
Procedural	Found in articles describing leaders as coordinators, organizers, planners, long-term oriented, careful and risk-avoiding.
Team building	Found in articles describing leaders as cooperative, relational, loyalty inducing, personnel oriented and network builders.
Visibility	Found in articles describing leaders as accessible, visible, figure heads, and role models.

Table 5: Twelve underlying themes relevant to the understanding of leadership.

The themes in table 5 could be regarded as the dominant implicit model of leadership expressed in Swedish media. According to this model an outstanding leader should be performance- and action oriented, charismatic and visible within and outside the organization, honest, pragmatic, work for egalitarianism and consensus, and so fourth (see table 5).

How does this image of outstanding leadership expressed in Swedish media compare with the previously presented quantitative results, i.e. the Swedish middle managers' implicit leadership theories? To enable such a comparison we first needed to calibrate the concepts from the two different studies for equivalence in meaning. Since the two studies used different scientific approaches – a deductive approach (the questionnaire) and an inductive approach (the media analysis) – this calibration could only be done *post facto* by comparing the underlying basic units (items and key words, respectively) constituting the concepts used in the two studies. Table 6 summarizes our analysis of equivalence between the concepts. Out of the twelve leadership themes from the media analysis, five themes were found to have readily equivalent leadership dimensions. Four themes were found to have equivalent meaning to *pairs* of leadership dimensions. Finally, three themes – Egalitarianism, Pragmatism and Visibility – had no equivalent leadership dimension, and are therefore concepts that say something important about leadership, at least in a Swedish context, that aren't covered in the leadership questionnaire.

Leadership theme from media	Leadership dimension from questionnaire
Action orientation	Decisive
Charisma	Visionary + Inspirational
Consensus	Humane + Diplomatic
Entrepreneurial	Charismatic III: Self Sacrificial
Integrity	Integrity
Performance orientation	Performance orientation
Popular	Humane + Modesty
Procedural	Administratively Competent
Team building	Team I: Collaborative Team Orientation + Team II: Team Integrator
Egalitarianism	<i>No equivalent dimension</i>
Pragmatism	<i>No equivalent dimension</i>
Visibility	<i>No equivalent dimension</i>

Table 6: Comparing meanings between leadership themes (media analysis) and leadership dimensions (questionnaire).

In conclusion we find that the results from the two separate studies to a large extent are mutually supportive. The media analysis also enabled us to identify three additional themes that are essential for the understanding of leadership in Sweden.

One model or multiple co-existing models?

The next question was to investigate whether the implicit model of leadership was indeed one model valid for most or all leadership situations in Sweden, or if it varied depending on the context. The great majority of the selected articles contained information on leadership in two specific and different settings, namely the political domain and the business domain.

By introducing this context-based distinction we soon realized that the common assumption of one dominant model of leadership did not hold. The distinction between leadership in a political versus business context opened the possibility of multiple co-existing models. Table 7 summarizes our findings.

Leadership theme from media	Leadership dimension from questionnaire	Result	Political leadership	Business leadership
Action orientation	Decisive	High	II	
Egalitarianism	No equivalent dimension		II	
Consensus	Humane + Diplomatic	High	II	
Popular	Humane + Modesty	High	II	
Charisma	Visionary + Inspirational	Very high	II	II
Integrity	Integrity	Very high	II	II
Pragmatism	<i>No equivalent dimension</i>		II	II
Procedural	Administratively Competent	High	II	II
Entrepreneurial	Charismatic III: Self Sacrificial	High		II
Performance orientation	Performance orientation	Very high		II

Team building	Team I: Collaborative Team Orientation + Team II: Team Integrator	High - Very high		II
Visibility	<i>No equivalent dimension</i>			II

Table 7: Comparing results between the media analysis and leadership questionnaire.

The table shows that the two implicit models of leadership share three out of twelve important aspects of leadership, but differs in the remaining depending on the context. The implicit model of outstanding political leadership can be summarized as action-oriented, popular, procedural and pragmatic leaders with integrity and charisma, striving for egalitarianism and consensus. The implicit model of outstanding business leadership can be summarized as performance-oriented, visible, entrepreneurial, procedural and pragmatic leaders with charisma, getting the job done through creating and sustaining teams.

Furthermore, the shared aspects in the two models do not necessarily have the same connotations in the two different contexts. Charisma, for instance, is a trait that is much celebrated within the business context, while in the political context ambivalence was evident. Charismatic politicians are both wanted and rejected. When rejected, the line of argument focused on the conflicting norms between charisma on the one hand, and egalitarianism and consensus on the other.

How can these differences be explained? Considering the historically close ties and joint effort between political, business and labor union leaders in building the Swedish Welfare State (c.f. “the Swedish model” in section one) similarities rather than differences would be expected. Apparently, the ties are no longer as close as they once were. In 1988, a book with the dramatic title “The Doctrine Shift – New ideals in Swedish management”³⁰ was published (Beckérus et al, 1988). The fundamental thesis in this book, as suggested in the title, is that Swedish business management has gone through a radical change: a shift in terms of conscious ideals, important basic assumptions and practices. The main driving forces for this change are identified to be an increasing internationalization, a more competitive environment, access to flexible technologies, an increased demand on short term returns on investment from the owners, and a cultural shift in the environment from an emphasis on instrumental values to existential values. The authors assert that the doctrine shift is constituted of changes of basic assumptions and values within three areas:

- Business logic: From a production based business logic, to a customer based.
- View of man: From a fragmented view of man, to a holistic view.
- Leadership: From an order based to a value based leadership.

According to the authors, Swedish business leadership is becoming primarily value based today, and has a distinct ideological and pedagogical profile. A business organizations’ ability to mobilize collective action, efficiency and effectiveness has thus become a matter of accomplishing organization wide support and commitment for a certain vision, according to the thesis. While this is a rather abstract thesis, it certainly is in line with our findings for the implicit model of outstanding business leadership. Furthermore, the thesis suggests an implicit explanation for the differences between business and political leadership, since the political environment has not gone through the same radical change as the business environment. While many significant changes have occurred on the political arena, such as the membership in the European Union, we assert that a corresponding doctrine shift within the political

³⁰ Our translation. Original title, in Swedish: “Doktrinskiftet – Nya ideal i svenskt ledarskap” (Beckérus et al, 1988).

domain has not occurred. In sum, we conclude that the political leadership is still fundamentally rooted in the traditional Swedish value system, and the business leadership is more and more fundamentally rooted in an international, capitalistic value system. Clearly, these different value systems provide two distinct context, within the same national framework, in which leadership is executed and enacted.

The relationship between culture, implicit models of leadership and behavior seem to be more complex than often assumed. It could be argued that the two implicit models of leadership presented above are still not fully internally consistent, implying that the type of context for leadership, explored here, could be but one of many possible mediating factors.

The implicit leadership models in light of Swedish cultural themes

In the second section on GLOBE results concerning Swedish culture, we ended by summing up our findings into three important themes: socially concerned individualism as a metaphor for the relationship between the individual and social groups (society), rationality and pragmatism as ways of coping with uncertainty, and consensus as an expression of egalitarianism, equality and non-assertiveness. We also indicated the future directions judging from the differences between the observed present situation and the values (how it should be), according to the respondents. Especially the first two themes were found to be under revision, reformulation and possible transformation.

A number of components central to the perception of leaders as outstanding have emerged in the previous analyses. In the following we will summarize the most essential findings and discuss them in light of the findings on Swedish culture.

The concept of team (building, integration, coordination, sustention, etc) has consistently been found of great importance for outstanding leadership in the business context across the studies conducted (using different methodologies). While team integrating abilities seems to be widely desired internationally, the Swedish perceptions of importance were found to be especially high. It is quite likely however that the enactment of team leadership might vary between different cultures.

The notion of consensus as a condition for dialogue is of immediate relevance to the understanding of the strong preferences for team leadership. The strong egalitarian values suggest that the Swedish version of a team is a group of equal individuals, with the leader as the *primus inter pares*. Says Lawrence & Spytbey (1986): “[the norm for] egalitarianism tends to value everyone’s commitment and consent equally. Thus, according to both Swedish managers themselves and others commenting on their *modus operandi*, decision making in Sweden is naturally participative, like a less exaggerated example of Japanese corporate decision making. It is therefore normal for a Swedish manager to consult his subordinates, and not just cosmetically”. Similarly, Hofstede (1980) observed that “in countries with small power distance [...] there is a considerable sympathy for models of management in which even the initiatives are taken by the subordinates. Subordinates expect superiors to consult them and may rebel or strike if superiors are not seen as staying within their legitimate role”. In other words, managers are not necessarily best suited to make decisions, since specific knowledge and competence does not come with a position.

From the ethnographic interviews we concluded that the social ties within a team stems from a common commitment to a desirable future, rather than strong interpersonal ties between the team members. This idea relates to the cultural theme of Swedes as socially concerned individualists. While this traditional attitude to working groups is evidently being questioned, we conclude that (professional) individuals united for a certain cause or goal still prevail as the fundamental relationship among team members in Sweden. Also, the relatively very high preference for autonomy fits well with this picture. In sum, the rather paradoxical result with a combination of autonomy and team integration can be understood as a mirror of the peculiar Swedish combination of individualism and independence on the one hand, and collectivism and cooperation on the other. With this background, the unifying component in the team is primarily the cause or goal. Thus, leadership necessarily involves being exceptionally able to communicate the vision, alternatively to manage the collective creation of it.

New ideas are better stated in quite general and vague terms initially, in order to invite others in the process. In other words, Swedes are generally very suspicious to ready-made ideas or solutions. It is also a matter of “ownership” to the idea. If a Swede has not been involved in the generation process, no one should take for granted that (s)he will in the implementation process either (c.f. Källström, 1995). Even within the Royal Army, where obedience without questioning has historically been widely accepted, ideas of participation and involvement are firmly established today. An example is the institution “mission tactics”, *uppdragstaktik*, an army version of decentralization to the lowest executing unit possible and management-by-objectives.

In Åkerbloms (1995) focus group study, people describe good leader’s behavior as being delegative. It is an expression of trust in the other as an individual, and reliance in other individuals’ capacities and potential to problem solution. However, it would be a sign of lack of confidence to tell another person how (s)he should perform a certain task, and leaders are certainly aware of this norm. When situations occur that requires some sort of specific instruction, good leaders seem to be those who show great skills in providing this information without “writing it on the nose”, i.e. without being explicit. We can therefore understand vagueness (in the sense lack of ready-made ideas or solutions) in light of egalitarianism and equality both as a way of inviting others to actively participate but also as a way to make status differences invisible.

An interesting deviation from the images of the Swedish culture consists of the two leadership dimensions Administratively Competent and Procedural. Being a high uncertainty avoiding society, with an inclination to create rules and routines for almost any issue of social importance, the expectation was that leaders would be implicitly assigned the role of accommodating and managing the uncertainty by administrative means. On the contrary, outstanding leaders are precisely non-procedural, according to the middle managers. Administrative competence was not rejected in absolute terms but the international comparison showed that this variable is generally much higher rated in most other nations. One interpretation to this particular result, supported by the ethnographic interviews, is that Swedes perceive their lives to be rather restricted by laws and regulation, rules and procedures. However justified they might be – they symbolize and recreate important achievements from the past – what can be done in the present to build for the future is at the same time delimited. Hence, the implicit meaning of leaders, who personify the better future, are conceived to be persons with willingness, courage and ability to break with the existing rules and procedures, rather than reinforcing them.

Another recurrent and essential theme for outstanding leadership in the Swedish context is being charismatic. The findings from the questionnaire analysis as well as the ethnographic interviews are indisputable; the respondents and interviewees show strong preferences for charismatic leaders, i.e. inspirational and visionary. However a shift in meaning was distinguished in the examples of outstanding leadership given by the interviewees. While charismatic leadership as a way of *being* is clearly the ideal, the really admired leaders like e.g. Jan Carlzon (SAS), Ingvar Kamprad (IKEA) and Percy Barnevik (ABB) were selected primarily on the basis of their achievements – real or imaginary. Thus, charismatic leaders are highly preferred but in order to be fully admired they need to have an outstanding track record, i.e. high performance orientation. To what extent the most admired leaders are seen as charismatic seems to be an open question, perhaps with Jan Carlzon as an exception.

The rhetoric generated by the very successful turnaround of Scandinavian Airline systems (SAS) by CEO Jan Carlzon is a good example of the other side of the coin when it comes to charismatic leadership

in Sweden. Mr. Carlzon was appointed CEO of SAS in the early 80ies, and soon became a favorite prototype of a charismatic leader in the media, as well as in academic work (e.g. Edström et al, 1989). After only four years, the company had turned from big losses to impressive profits. Mr. Carlzon also wrote a best-selling book about his charismatic management philosophy, “Moments of Truth”, translated into eighteen languages and with over three million copies sold. His philosophy formed the basis for “the doctrine shift” in Swedish management ideals to a large extent (c.f. Eström et al, 1988), and probably also for the implicit models of leadership studied here. Despite his indisputable success and influence, however, his charisma is often reduced to a “charm course guru” (Uggelberg, 1998).

Furthermore, our analyses of the images of leadership as expressed in media showed that the connotation and enactment of charisma also varies depending on the context, e.g. the political and business context. Similarly, the ethnographic interviews showed that being a visionary leader in Sweden does not necessarily imply actually having created the vision, it could just as well be to stand for the collective creation of a inspiring vision. This of course relates to the discussion on team enactment above, and the pragmatic emphasis on the vision rather than the visionary. Indeed, the Swedes seem to have a somewhat ambiguous relationship to charismatic leaders – perhaps because the relationship between charisma and performance still remains unclear from a Swedish rational/functional perspective, and is yet to be proven?

Conclusions

Our analysis show that it is possible to establish an implicit model of outstanding leadership in Sweden that gets wide support not only across methodologies and managerial groups, but also across research projects or studies.

From the industry comparison we learned that the model needs to be further developed with regard to the industry in which the leadership is to be enacted. In addition, the media analysis showed that it might even be a matter of several co-existing models in different contexts such as the political vs. business context.

In conclusion, we find that the implicit model of outstanding leadership is an informative analytical construction. It is never enacted in practice, but is always defined from and within a certain context. Another way to phrase it is that the contributing and inhibiting factors for outstanding leadership found in the international comparison, when taken together form the necessary but not sufficient conditions for outstanding leadership in Sweden.

Appendix 1: Notes on methodology

The GLOBE questionnaire

When preparing for the data collection, we translated the semi-final version of the English questionnaire into Swedish. We then back translated the Swedish version into English. Two independent professional translators did most of this work, under our supervision. In addition, the translators and the Swedish GLOBE team had expert support from a social scientist with wide experience in business surveys, with English as his mother tongue while also fluent in the Swedish language³¹.

The data was collected during the first five months in 1996. A contact person at each and every participating organization handled the distribution of the questionnaires, in order to reduce distribution costs as well as increasing the legitimacy and motivation for the questionnaire. The responses were sent back to the research team directly by mail. Since we wanted to enable within-country analyses as well as international comparisons (between-country), the Swedish sample was considerably bigger than required from a GLOBE standpoint.

The final version of the Swedish questionnaire was distributed to middle managers in fourteen business organizations active in three different industries: finance (4 organizations, N=373), food processing (6 organizations, N=301) and telecommunication (4 organizations, N=222). In sum, almost 900 middle managers responded to the questionnaire. The overall response rate was 75%, which was very satisfactory for a study of this type. All questionnaire responses were coded into a computer with the aid of six research assistants during May and June 1996.

Redesigning the scales for industry comparisons purposes

In order to do the industry comparison (within-country) we needed to obtain scales with sufficient reliability for our purposes. The original GLOBE scales were constructed for maximizing reliable and valid scales for between-country analyses. We therefore had to redesign the collection of scales somewhat to serve our purposes.

The following original scales were kept in the industry comparison: Administratively competent, Autocratic, Charismatic I: Visionary, Charismatic II: Inspirational, Integrity, Malevolent, Performance oriented, Procedural, Self centered, Status Consciousness, Team I: Collaborative Team orientation, and Team II: Team integrator. Reliability (Chrombach's alpha measure) for these scales varied between 0.56-0.80 with an average of 0.66.

Three additional scales (included items in paratheses) were constructed, using reliability analyses as a basis for detecting items that had great influence on low alpha values, and factor analysis to investigate the factor structure within-country: Friendly (Generous, Compassionate, Sensitive, caring: 0.56), Independent (Independent, Autonomous: 0.72), Close supervision (Micro-manager, Non-delegater: 0.71).

Interviews and focus groups

During the first phase of the project two focus groups were conducted, one with managers and one with students (February and March 1994). The manager group consisted of 4 men and 2 women. They represented different industries (mainly telecommunication, food industry, banking and insurance) and held various managerial positions (one managing director, two general managers, one project manager and two functional managers). The second focus group comprised seven final year students of business administration. All of them reported at least two years of work-life experience.

Participants of both groups were asked to do a preparatory assignment on their personal experiences with outstanding leaders and competent managers respectively.

³¹ Associate Professor Peter Docherty at Stockholm School of Economics. We are very grateful for his generous contribution in the development of the Swedish GLOBE questionnaire.

The focus group interviews lasted about two hours each and focused on three themes defined within GLOBE: the definitions of (outstanding) leadership and (competent) management, the difference (if any) between the two concepts, and examples of outstanding leadership.

Four semi-structured interviews were also conducted right at the start of the project with individuals in managerial positions in different industries. They were asked about their perception and experience of outstanding leadership, and if there was any difference between outstanding leaders and competent managers. The average duration of the interview was 1.5 hours. The guiding questions covered the same three themes that were used in the focus groups.

During a later stage of the project we also conducted ethnographic interviews, in line with the GLOBE qualitative research manual (Agar, 1995). Six high-rank officials from very different formal organizations were asked to develop their views on leadership and on what constitutes successful leadership, as well as their views on how their organizations work. The interviewees were chosen so as to represent a wide range of societal sectors, all outside or at the margins of the sphere of privately or publicly owned corporations. The interviewees were: a Bishop in the Swedish Church, a General Director at a National Authority, a Secretary of a political party's youth organization together with one of her colleagues, a General Manager of a nation-wide lobbying organization, a Regional Director at another national authority, and a Theatre Director. The duration of the interviews varied from 1.5 to 2.0 hours. Every interview consists of the interviewees' own account of leadership, leadership behavior mixed with stories from their own experience of successful and unsuccessful leadership. The six interviews have been tape-recorded and full transcripts have subsequently been typed by the interviewer (Kallifatides, 1998)

The four semi-structured interviews and the six ethnographic interviews were transcribed and structured into text-segments covering different ideas/topics. All interviews were first analyzed individually, before the frame-building on the group level was conducted. The data was analyzed in three different sets of categories: the person-specific characteristics (traits and behavior), leader/follower relations (values and norms regarding leader/follower interactions), and organizational issues (the leaders' role within the organization as well as organizational practices).

The interviews were checked for intra-personal consistency between what the interviewee said about leadership in general and what he or she described in the stories about good and bad leadership.

Analysis of Swedish media

The research strategy and methodology for the analysis of media was outlined in three internal GLOBE project documents; two research manuals (Agar 1995; 1996b) and one document describing a pilot study which applied the methodology on media in the USA (Thomas, 1996). The approach is referred to as "ethnographic semantics" (Agar 1986; 1996a). Ethnographic semantics is semantics because it deals with word meanings, and ethnographic because the aim is to create and resolve "rich points", empirical observations that does not make sense from the researchers point of view and therefore suggest a surfaced gap between two worlds of knowledge. A rich point represents an opportunity to learn something about the view of the world that the studied group of people have (Agar, 1996). Central to this approach is the idea that an understanding of a particular culture emerges from an exploration of the system of concepts, and the links that tie the concepts together, within that culture. Concepts are expressed in language in linguistic labels; mainly words. Thus, words label concepts, and the system of concepts (relevant to leadership) is the primary focus in this type of study. In short, the outlined procedure aimed at helping the researcher to extract the most important strings of words from a large amount of text. From this extracted data, concepts and relationships between them can be further explored.

The Swedish newspapers and magazines that best fitted the criteria stated in the research manual (Agar, 1996) were (1) *Dagens Nyheter* (Daily News), the largest and most well respected daily national newspaper with an average daily circulation of 357,000, (2) *Dagens Industri* (Business Today), the only general business newspaper distributed nationally (100,000), (3) *Expressen* (The Express), at the time of data collection the largest daily national newspaper aimed at the general population (339,000) and with a reputation of being one of the main newspapers prone to sensational journalism, (4) *Veckans Affärer* (Business Weekly), the largest weekly magazine aimed at the general business community (33,000), and (5) *Månadens Affärer* (Business Monthly) a glossy business magazine often

containing specials on management issues, as well as leader profiles. Circulation is primarily based on the magazine being a monthly supplement to subscribers of *Veckans Affärer*.

Data for this study was collected during two periods (weeks): March 15th to 23rd 1996 and July 12th to 18th 1996. The time periods were determined beforehand, and to our knowing at the time of selection this would be two very “normal weeks” with no major national events, such as political elections or an important anniversary that would take up a large proportion of the news space and journalistic focus.

During the month of July, *Dagens Industri* was only published on Fridays due to the summer season (vacations). Therefore, only one issue was collected of *Dagens Industri* during the second collection period. *Veckans Affärer* was not published at all during July, so the latest issue from June was collected instead as a replacement.

Appendix 2: Industry descriptions

Swedish telecommunications industry

The telephone was introduced in Sweden in 1877, at a time when liberalization ideas were strong. The first telephone networks were established and owned by small companies, most of them telephone co-operatives (Helgesson, 1994). It was not until 1946 that the whole network, telephone services and switches were owned by the state, via *Televerket*, the Swedish National Agency for Telecommunications (Kommunikationsdepartementet, 1992).

Until 1982, *Televerket* enjoyed a monopoly status although Sweden was the only developed country without a regulatory law defining the monopoly or delimiting the rules of the telephone market. Theoretically, Sweden represented the most liberal and competitive telecommunications market in the world since no license or other obligations were forced to potential competing operators (Kaplan, 1997).

Another peculiarity of the Swedish telecommunications industry at that time was the tacit agreement between the two main actors: *Televerket* and *Ericsson*, the Swedish largest equipment manufacturer. Many inventions have resulted from this co-operation, e.g. the system AXE for telephone stations, which has become a successful export product (Wellenius & Stern, 1994). A third major actor during this time was *Teli AB*, a domestic manufacturer of telephone equipment owned by *Televerket* (Helgesson, 1994).

However, since 1980 deregulation was included in the political agenda. In 1981, a second national operator for mobile telephony, *Comviq analogue*³², was allowed. In 1985, *Televerkets*' control over telephone connections to its infrastructure was abolished by opening the market for consumer telephones (PA Consulting Group, 1995; Helgesson, 1994; Kaplan, 1997). In the summer of 1991, the parliament decided to change some of *Televerkets*' activity requirements in order to get a better adaptation to a free market situation. *Televerket* had thus to adjust financial and economic management to the way other companies did. In 1992, a parliamentary decision to corporatize *Televerket* the coming year was taken. The final corporatization took place the first of July of 1993 (Karlsson, 1998; Kommunikationsdepartementet, 1992), together with the establishment of the first Telecommunications Law, as a stable regulatory framework for increased competition (Kaplan, 1997). *Televerket* thus became *Telia AB*, a state-owned company that fulfilled the prerequisites to successfully operate in the competitive market that was coming. A restructuring process was soon initiated (Kaplan, 1997; Wellenius & Stern, 1994).

Although the privatization of *Telia* was been a political objective and has often been requested by *Telia* itself, it has constantly been delayed. Different excuses have been given, such as a weak economic climate, a capital shortage on the Swedish stock market or a change of ideal in the policy makers towards a sudden focus on universal coverage (Kaplan, 1997).

As a consequence of the 1993 Law, opening the market to any applicant "obviously capable to pursue the activity on a permanent basis", a stream of new operators came into the market (Kaplan, 1997). Currently, there are 17 operators covering telephone services, mobile and fixed telephony. However, *Telia* still dominates the market with a 85% share of fix and mobile telephony, followed by *NetCom Systems AB* which holds a 9% of the share, being *Europolitan AB* in the third position with a 4% (Hedström & Järvebro, 1998).

Market Share	1994	1995	1996	1997
Telephone Market Value (GSEK)	23,9	26,5	29,0	32,0
Telia AB	96%	92%	88%	85%
NetCom Systems AB ³³	3%	6%	8%	9%
Europolitan AB	1%	2%	3%	4%
Others	0%	0%	1%	2%

³² *Comviq* is presently owned by *NetCom Systems* and operates a GSM service.

³³ *NetCom Systems AB* includes the brand names *Tele2* (fixed line), *Comviq* (mobile) and *Kabelvision* (cable TV).

Table A1³⁴: Market Share for fixed and mobile telephony during 1994-1997 period.

Despite of the deregulation and contrary to all expectations, *Telia* has demonstrated substantial effectiveness, both in defending the domestic market share and in its international expansion. However, regulation has not been as effective in creating competition as initially desired. In a report at the beginning of 1997, the Ministry of Finances notes that the central obstacle for the realization of full competition in the Swedish Telecommunications market was the regulation for interconnection within fixed telephony, which inclined the balance towards *Telia* (Kaplan, 1997). Therefore, the new operators have not been able to compete for access to the fixed line in the same conditions as the state-owned company. Concerning mobile telephony, the competitive advantage of *Telia* lies in its larger coverage when compared with other operators (Hedström & Järvebro, 1998).

The shortage of competition, the wish from policy makers to keep *Telia* as a state-owned company together with *Telia's* internal disagreement concerning regulatory possibilities make of future policy development an uncertain issue (Helgesson, 1994; Kaplan, 1997).

Swedish food industry

Historical Development of the Industry

The Swedish food industry became highly regulated in the 1930s due to important price fluctuations in the 1920s together with the State desire to be autonomous from other countries concerning the provision of food. Since then, an institutional frame has guaranteed the sale of food products by means of e.g. guaranteed prices, export support, and subventions to storage. In addition, the national market has also been protected from external competition via quotas and import's taxes since the early '30s (Åkesson, 1998).

Protectionism against foreign competition and regulation in the home market directed the industry to a general quantitative, or 'volume-oriented', way of reasoning. The development of the food industry was decided via agreements between representatives for the farmers, consumers and the State. These agreements were valid for a period of five years and prices were administratively decided. This meant that the State covered the risks via subventions and support (Åkesson, 1998).

In the 1980s, several factors fed the discussion about the regulative situation of the food sector, questioning it. The State's financial situation, the high costs involved in the subvention system, concern about the quality of the food and the beginning of environmental considerations increased the debate on regulated prices and the need to make the sector more effective by adapting it to a market structure (Åkesson, 1998).

This general change of opinion came to coincide with the international development. Both GATT and EU changed the rules at an international level, thus supporting the discussed ideas. As a consequence of the signals from the home market and the changes in international competition, the Swedish State began a harmonization process of food policy with the other European countries (Åkesson, 1998).

As a result of these new trends, a deregulation was proposed and accepted by the government at the beginning of the 1990s. This reform involved a slow but successive fading out of the rules with the aim of adapting farmers' production to the internal demand of products. This new policy implies that the State abandons its role as a price-setter (Industriförbundet, 1992).

Today's situation – characteristics of the industry today

A unanimous definition for what branches the food industry comprises does not exist. Disagreement can be found even among different governmental statistical sources. This gives an idea of how heterogeneous the industry is. However, a common distinction is often done between those activities protected, and those unprotected. Of the four areas included in the Swedish GLOBE project – slaughterhouses, dairy products, bakery, and brewery – the first two named are protected and the last two are included in EFTA and EU free trade agreements (Industriförbundet, 1992).

³⁴ Adopted from Hedström and Järvebro, 1998.

Another characteristic of the food industry is its high degree of concentration, at the owner, regional and distribution levels. Political restrictions for trade and agriculture have limited the possibilities to grow in this already mature market. As a result, production companies got fewer but bigger, concentrated in those densely populated regions and the number of distribution channels decreased while increasing their capacity (Industriförbundet, 1992).

Slaughterhouses

Slaughterhouses are the businesses most protected from international competition. Almost 80% of the Swedish slaughterhouses are owned by 9 regional farming co-operatives. Besides, these co-operatives have an extensive horizontal integration, thus realizing most of the operation within the meat industry (Industriförbundet, 1992).

Dairy products

The dairy products industry is completely dominated by 17 farming co-operatives, which are affiliated to the National Swedish Dairy Association (Svenska Mejeriers Riksförening). Fruit yogurt and cheese are the only business areas where this industry has both national and international competition, whereas a monopoly exist for milk, sour milk and cream (Industriförbundet, 1992).

Bakery

This is the branch within the food industry with a bigger number of companies, including everything from small bakery-shops to bigger bakery-suppliers. However, the branch is dominated by a relatively small number of firms (Industriförbundet, 1992).

Beverages

This branch includes wine, liquor, brew, mineral water and soft drinks. Along the years a substantial concentration towards fewer and bigger producers and companies has happened. The brewery market is dominated by three major groups, beside other smaller companies strong at a more local level (Industriförbundet, 1992).

The Swedish banking industry

Already before the establishment of the modern credit market, the Swedish State ordered financial services, which often were supplied by the Central Bank. During 19th century, new organizations came into the market, changing the roles of the previous actors. These new organizations specialized in certain types of financial services, while the Central Bank cut down its commercial activity, centering it to the functions common to a Central Bank. Thus, the State's need of financial services was mainly covered by private organizations (Larsson & Lönnborg-Andersson, 1996).

Swedish Central Bank's regulation and detailed control of the financial market respond to a desire of economic stability in the banking sector. This goal, together with its monetary policy function has been leading the Swedish Central Bank's measures from the 1950s until mid-1980s. In addition, after the second War World, both the economic development and the governmental transfers to the economy contributed to restore the State's role in society and the financial market. The State began to act as a client of financial services, as an owner of credit institutes and as a controller of the financial system (Larsson & Lönnborg-Andersson, 1996).

However, the strict control from the Swedish Central Bank did not impede commercial banks to be a key component in the financial system during the 20th century. Personal relations and the establishment of networks among the different financial actors have allowed these banks to broaden the scope of their business. Yet, these strong relations between banking sector and companies contributed to the spreading and worsening of the financial crisis which took place at the beginning of the 1990s.

In 1985, in order to adapt the domestic financial market to the international, a deregulated market substituted the State's, until date, severe control. This lead to harsh competition among financial actors in the credit market. Banks' adopted a growth strategy leading them to strongly compete for customers, which forced them to accept clients with low solidity or without warranted security. Also, the 1968's law to equal the conditions of all sorts of banks fostered the ending of bank specialization in certain financial services and the broadening of their activity, promoting competition even more. What in the 1980s was seen as a successful expansive strategy of the banks, in the 1990s was blamed for being the cause to an important crisis, bringing big loan loses that spread across the whole business

system (Larsson & Sjögren, 1995). To save the banking system from collapsing, a governmental intervention was brought about in the form of extensive loans to some of the main banks, such as Nordbanken, Sparbanken, and Gota Bank (Larsson & Sjögren, 1995).

However, it has been pointed out that the crisis was not directly deriving from the deregulation of the financial market. Rather, the problem came from *when* such a measure was implemented: too late, in a time of heated conjuncture and before an important tax reform (Larsson & Sjögren, 1995).

The long-term consequences of the crisis at the beginning of the '90s are significant, e.g. increase in the interest margin for the banks to improve their income, and re-structuration of the financial market in form of mergers (Larsson & Sjögren, 1995)

At the beginning of 1995, Sweden became a member of the European Union. The single market allows for free mobility of goods, labor, services and capital, which introduces the need to harmonize the different countries' markets. In this line, it is important to generate a uniform credit market where banks and other credit institutions are entitled to set up subsidiary companies and branches and to provide services throughout the entire EU area. The already visible consequence of this is the opening of foreign banks' branches in Sweden (Swedish Bankers' Association, 1995).

Besides, adding to this new market situation for banking system, a new wave of mergers can be seen today. In 1997 alone the Swedish bank *Nordbanken* merged with Finnish *Meritabank*, *Sparbanken* with *Föreningsbanken*, and *S-E Banken* with the insurance company *Trygg Hansa*.

Additionally, a number of small banks have been started. They are called "niche banks" as they concentrate their activity on selected types of services. Internet banking, insurance companies, starting banks with a highly lean structure are but a few examples. However, within their selected segment, they offer serious competition to major banks (Swedish Bankers' Association, 1995).

References

- Agar, M. H. (1986): *Speaking of ethnography*. SAGE Qualitative Research Methods Series, Vol. 2. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications Inc.
- Agar, M. H. (1995): *The GLOBE project: Ethnography Manual for Leadership Studies*. University of Maryland, MD: Ethknoworks.
- Agar, M. H. (1996a): *The professional stranger: an informal introduction to ethnography*. 2. ed. San Diego: Academic Press.
- Agar, M. H. (1996b): *The GLOBE project: Qualitative Research Manual II*. University of Maryland, MD: Ethknoworks.
- Andersson, T. (1993) *Den långa vägen: den ekonomiska politikens begränsningar och möjligheter att föra Sverige ur 1990-talets kris*. Stockholm: Industriens utredningsinstitut, IUI, (The Research Institute of Industrial Economics).
- Bass, B M (1990): *Bass and Stogdill's Handbook of Leadership*. New York: Academic Press.
- Beckérus, A., Edström, A., Edlund, C., Ekvall, G., Forslin, J. and Rendahl, J E. (1988) *Doktrinskiftet – Nya ideal i svenskt management*. Stockholm: FARådet & Svenska Dagbladets Förlag.
- Berger P. L. and Luckmann, T. (1966/1991) *The social construction of reality: a treatise in the sociology of knowledge*. Reprint. London: Penguin.
- Berglund, J. and Löwstedt, J. (1996): "Sweden: the Fate of Human Resource Management in a 'Folkish' Society". In Clark, T. (ed): *European Human Resource Management*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Brulín, G. (1997): "Företagsledningskonsulternas kunskapsbas". In Sandberg, Å. (ed) *Ledning för alla? Om perspektivbrytningar i företagsledningar*. 3rd ed. Stockholm: SNS Förlag.
- Burns, J. M. (1978) *Leadership*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Chen, C. C. and Meindl, J. R. (1991): *The Construction of Leadership Images in the Popular Press: The Case of Donald Burr and People Express*. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, Vol. 36, December, p. 521-551.
- Czarniawska-Joerges, B. (1993) "Sweden: A Modern Project, a Postmodern Implementation". In: David J. Hickson (ed.), *Management in Western Europe*. Society, Culture and Organization in Twelve Nations; pp. 229-247: Walter de Gruyter. (de Gruyter Studies in Organization)
- Daun, Å. (1989): *Svensk Mentalitet*. Stockholm: Rabén & Sjögren. (English edition: *Swedish mentality*, 1996, translated by Jan Teeland. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State Univ. Press).
- Edström, A., Norbäck, L-E., Rendahl, J-E. (1989) *Förnyelsens ledarskap: SAS utveckling från flygbolag till reseföretag*. Stockholm: Norstedt
- Edström, A., and Jönsson, S. (1998) "Svenskt ledarskap". In Czarniawska, B (ed) *Organisationsteori på svenska*. Malmö: Liber
- Forss, K., Hawk, D. and Hedlund, G. (1984): *Cultural Differences – Swedishness in Legislation, Multinational Corporations and Aid Administration*. Stockholm School of Economics: Institute of International Business.
- Hampden-Turner, C., and A. Trompenaars (1993) *Sweden's Social Individualism: Between Raging Horses*. In *The Seven Cultures of Capitalism*. Value systems for creating wealth in the United States, Japan, Germany, France, Britain, Sweden, and The Netherlands, pp. 233-260: Doubleday
- Hedström, G. and A. Järvemo (1998) *Marknaden för telekommunikation i Sverige 1997*. Stelacón, AB, rapport till Post & Telestyrelsen
- Hendin, H. (1964): *Suicide and Scandinavia. A psycho-analytic study of culture and character*. New York and London: Grune & Stratton, Inc.
- Helgesson, C-F. (1994) *Coordination and Change in Telecommunications*. Stockholm School of Economics: Department of Marketing, Distribution and Industry Dynamics and EFI
- Hill, R. (1995) *Swedes: The rational realists* In *We Europeans*; pp. 223-230. Brussels: Europublic SA/NV.
- Hofstede, G. (1980) *Culture's Consequences: International Differences in Work-Related Values*. Beverly Hills: SAGE.
- Hofstede, G. (1991) *Organisationer och kulturer – om interkulturell förståelse*. Lund: Studentlitteratur.
- House, R. J. (1994) *Global Leadership and Organizational Behavior Effectiveness Program Prospectus*. University of Pennsylvania, PA: The Wharton School of Management.
- House, R. J., Wright, N. S. & Aditya, R. N. (1997): "Cross-Cultural Research on Organizational Leadership. A Critical Analysis and a Proposed Theory". In Earley, P. C and Erez, M (eds) *New Perspectives in International Industrial/Organizational Psychology*. San Francisco: The New Lexington Press.
- House, R. J., Hanges, P. J., Ruiz-Quintanilla, S. A., Dorfman, P. W., Javidan, M., Dickson, M. (1998) "Cultural Influences on Leadership and Organizations: Project GLOBE". In press. In Mobley, W. (ed) *Advances in Global Leadership*, vol 1. JAI Press.
- Industriförbundet (1992) *Sveriges industri*. Stockholm: Förlags AB Industrilitteratur.
- Jönsson, S. (1995) *Goda utsikter. Svenskt management i perspektiv*. Stockholm: Nerenius & Santérus Förlag.
- Kallifatides, M. (1998): *Leadership and the Ethics of late Modernity*. Centre for Advanced Studies in Leadership: Research Paper Series, 1998/2.
- Kaplan, M. (1997) *Liberalisation and Privatisation in Telecoms: Does sequencing matter?* Stockholm School of Economics: Department of Marketing, Distribution and Industry Dynamics and EFI
- Karlsson, M. (1998) *The Liberalisation of Telecommunications in Sweden. Technology and Regime Change from the 1960s to 1993*. Linköping: Linköping University (Linköping Studies in Art and Sciences)
- Kjellberg, A. (1997) *Fackliga organisationer och medlemmar i dagens Sverige*. Arkiv Förlag.
- Kommunikationsdepartementet (1992) *Svensk Telemarknad i Förändring*. Stockholm: Kommunikationsdepartementet
- Kriminalvårdsstyrelsen (1998) Information published on Internet at <http://www.kvv.se>.
- Källström, A. (1995): *I Spetsen för sin flock. Normer för svenskt management*. Gothenburg Research Institute: Förlags AB Industrilitteratur.
- Larsson, M. and M. Lönnborg-Andersson (1996) *Institutioner och organisationer på den svenska bankmarknaden. Erfarenheter från bankkrisen*. Uppsala papers in financial history. University of Uppsala: Department of economic history.
- Larsson, M. and H. Sjögren (1995) *Vägen till och från bankkrisen. Svenska banksystemets förändring 1969-94*. Stockholm: Carlssons.
- Lawrence, P. and Spytbey, T (1986): *Management and society in Sweden*. London: Routledge.
- Le Grand, C. & R. Szulkin, M. Tähhlin (eds) (1993). *Sveriges arbetsplatser – organisation, personalutveckling, styrning*. Stockholm: SNS Förlag.
- Lindkvist, L. (1988): *A Passionate Search for Nordic Management*. Handelshøjskolen i København: Institut for organisation og arbejds sociologi.
- Lord, R. & Maher, K J (1991): *Leadership and Information Processing: Linking Perceptions and Performance*. Boston: Unwin-Everyman.
- Maccoby, M. (1991): "Introduction: why American management should be interested in Sweden". In Maccoby, M. (ed): *Sweden at the edge*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- McLuhan, M. and Fiore, Q. (1967): *The medium is the message: [an inventory of effects]*. New York: Bantam Books.
- Meindl, J. R. (1990): "On Leadership: An alternative to the conventional wisdom". In Staw, B. and Cummings, L. L. (eds): *Research in Organizational Behavior*. Vol. 12, p. 159-203. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.
- PA Consulting Group (1995) *Marknads- och konkurrensanalys av den svenska kommunikations-marknaden*. Stockholm: Post & Telestyrelsen
- Roberts, D. F. and Maccoby, N. (1985): "Effects of Mass Communication". In Lindzey, G. and Aronson, E. (eds): *Handbook of Social Psychology*, p. 539-598. New York, NY: Random House.
- Salancik, G. R. and Pfeffer, J. (1978) *A social information approach to attitudes and task design*. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, vol 23: 224-253.
- Sandberg, Å. (ed) (1997) *Ledning för alla? Om perspektivbrytningar i företagsledning* [Management for everyone? On different perspectives on Management]. Stockholm: SNS förlag.

- SOU, Statens offentliga utredningar (1990) Maktutredningen. Demokrati och makt i Sverige: Maktutredningens huvudrapport. 1990:44. Stockholm: Allmänna Förlaget.
- Spender, J-C (1989) Industry recipes: an enquiry into the nature and sources of managerial judgement. Oxford: Basil Blackwell
- Swedish Bankers' Association (1995) The Swedish Credit Market. Stockholm: Svenska Bankföreningen.
- Swedish Institute (1997a) The Swedish Economy. Stockholm: Svenska institutet.
- Swedish Institute (1997b) Swedish Trade Policy. Stockholm: Svenska institutet.
- Thomas, J. (1996): A GLOBE pilot study of the media analysis method in USA. Internal project report. University of Maryland. MD.
- Tollgerdt-Andersson, I. (1989) Ledarskapsteorier, företagsklimat och bedömningsmetoder. Stockholm: Ekonomiska forskningsinstitutet vid Handelshögskolan i Stockholm (EFI)
- Trompenaars, A. (1993) Riding the waves of culture. Understanding Cultural Diversity in Business. London: Nicholas Brealey Publishing. [1997 ed.]
- Trädgårdh, L. (1990). "Varieties in *Volkish* ideologies: Sweden and Germany 1848-1933". In Stråth, B. (ed.) Language and the construction of class identity. Report from the DISCO II Conference, Göteborg University.
- Tönnies, F. (1963) Community and Society: Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft. New York: Harper Torchbook.
- Uggelberg, G. (1998) "Skandinaviskt ledarskap i världsklass – som bevisades i praktiken". Personal och ledarskap, nr 10.
- Wellenius, B., and P. A. Stern (1994) Implementing Reforms in the Telecommunications Sector. Washington: The World Bank (World Bank Regional and Sectoral Studies,
- Zaleznik, A. (1977) Managers and Leaders: Are they different? Harvard Business Review, May-June, 67-78.
- Zander, L. (1997) The licence to lead: an 18 country study of the relationship between employees' preferences regarding interpersonal leadership and national culture. Stockholm: Institute of International Business, Stockholm School of Economics
- Åkerblom, S (1995): "Svenska föreställningar om chefer". In Löwstedt (ed) Människan och strukturena. Stockholm: Nerenius & Santérus.
- Åkesson, G. (1997) Företagsledning i ett strategiskt vakuum. Om aktörer och förändringsprocesser. Doctoral dissertation at EFI, Stockholm School of Economics.