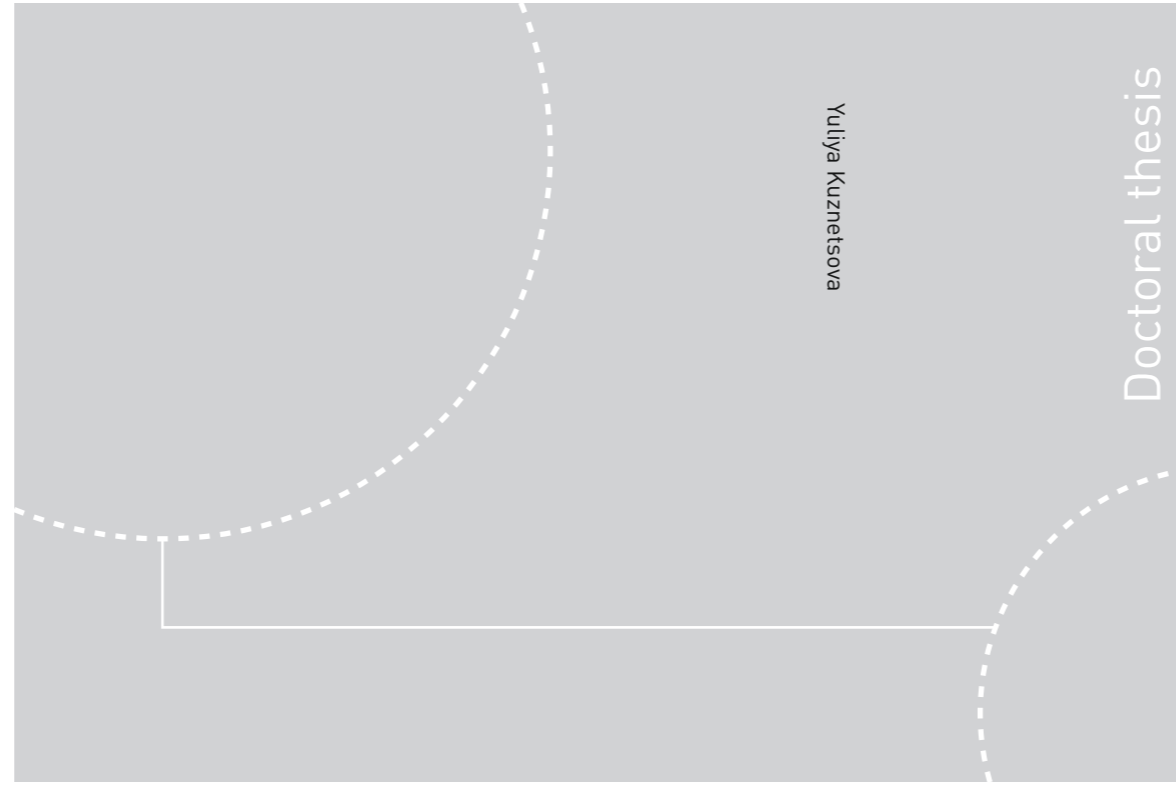


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Yuliya Kuznetsova

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The case of Norway

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Preface

This research started with the support of the Marie Curie EU Framework Programme in 2011 under the Disability Rights Expanding Accessible Markets (DREAM ITN) Project (Grant number 265057). During implementation of the Project from 2011 to 2014, I was employed at the Norwegian Social Research Institute (NOVA) in Oslo, and registered as a PhD candidate at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU) in Trondheim, Norway. The DREAM Project offered an opportunity to go beyond a traditional academic setting and to participate in practical trainings organised by the DREAM Network, to share knowledge with the leading experts, researchers and scholars in the disability field and to contribute to the implementation of the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UN CRPD). It has been a privilege to work under the supervision of Professor Rune Halvorsen and Professor Bjørn Hvinden during my stay at NOVA and beyond to whom I want to express my sincere gratitude. Thank you both for your guidance, comments and suggestions that improved my work and developed my understanding in disability policy research. I also want to thank my colleagues at NOVA, and especially Janikke Solstad Vedeler, for their support, and Siri Kristiansen and other colleagues at NTNU for always being in contact and providing necessary information.

The objective of the thesis is to compare large, multinational companies that demonstrate a commitment to include persons with disabilities in their hiring, recruitment, and retention processes and to examine the mechanisms behind these commitments, which may contribute to an inclusive corporate culture. This entailed considering both *external* factors relating to broader societal processes such as law and policy reforms and the implementation of administrative regulations, as well as *internal* factors relating to the considerations, decisions and practices of the companies and their key actors. Despite a large amount of research on employers' attitudes and best practices, there is a lack of systematic research on the conditions under which large companies are able to establish a corporate culture (as demonstrated through shared norms, values, beliefs and behaviours) that contribute to including persons with disabilities in the workforce.

The thesis focuses predominantly on a case study of Norway where I recruited two large companies that volunteered to participate in this research project. The research analysis considered both 'visible' and 'invisible' levels of the corporate culture in both companies. First, I collected data from the companies' corporate websites, annual and Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) reports, and introductory interviews with Human Resources (HR) managers. Second, I conducted qualitative interviews with the managers and employees of these companies. Third, I conducted interviews with the government representatives in

Norway. To increase the validity of the study, I compared the data from the Norwegian companies with large companies' practices in Sweden, as presented in Article II, and I compared the disability policies in Norway, Denmark and Sweden with the disability policies in the neighbouring Baltic countries (Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania), as presented in Article III. Furthermore, I used Norwegian Disabled People Labour Force Survey data to analyse the impact of the Norwegian disability policy on employers' responses to employing persons with disabilities and the necessary adaptations at the workplace.

The theoretical framework of this thesis combines the neo-institutional theory, the corporate culture theory and the impression management theory which represent three complementary perspectives. They are combined in an analytical framework that has guided the data collection and analysis of the inclusion of persons with disabilities in mainstream employment. This framework has allowed me to consider both external factors related to disability law and policy and internal factors related to employers' responses and practices.

I want to express my gratitude to the companies that participated in this research, especially their HR managers who provided necessary information and support throughout the data collection and analysis. I also thank all other contributors who have spent their valuable time participating in the interviews. I am grateful to the employers' associations, trade union representatives and government interviewees in Norway who recommended companies and shared their points of view. I also want to thank the Business Disability Forum in the UK for their moral support.

Thanks to the Marie Curie ITN Disability Rights Expanding Accessible Markets I managed to establish collaboration with Betül Yalcin and her supervisor, Professor Mark Priestley, at the University of Leeds, UK. I would like to express my sincere gratitude for their co-authorship, collaboration and support.

Finally, I would like to thank Professor Paula Campos Pinto (Coordinator of the Disability and Human Rights Observatory (ODDH) at the University of Lisbon, ISCSP, Portugal) for the opportunity to be part of the ODDH team since October 2015, and my colleagues at ISCSP/ODDH for their support. Of course, the warmest gratitude to my beloved parents, my husband, and all my friends in Portugal, Norway, Ukraine, Russia and other parts of the world, who have supported me while I wrote my PhD thesis. I would also like to thank Ted Weihe for proofreading this work.

Lisbon – Oslo – Trondheim, April, 2019

Yuliya Kuznetsova

... the two sides (disability and business) are already capable of helping one another but may not have recognized the ways they can make this happen..."

Riley, 2006

Disability and business: Best practices and strategies for inclusion (p. vi)

1. Introduction

1.1. Thesis background and overview

Employment is an important part of human life that brings a variety of benefits and a sense of social belonging for the individual (e.g. Newton, Ormerod, & Thomas, 2007; Schur, 2002). Yet, some people remain outside the labour market and experience social exclusion; among these are a large group of persons with disabilities. This thesis aims to study the employment of persons with disabilities in the mainstream labour market and the factors that are likely to influence employers' commitment in large multinational companies (MNCs) to an inclusive corporate culture. The main research questions are how employers respond to public disability policies aimed at promoting an inclusive working environment (e.g. through recruitment, retention, accommodation of persons with disabilities), and how the institutional contexts influence employers' practices of inclusion and exclusion of persons with disabilities in the mainstream labour market. More specifically, this thesis aims to gain a better understanding of how large companies in Norway respond to *the evolving international and European human rights regimes* to ensure the inclusion of persons with disabilities in the workforce, and what the factors or mechanisms are that foster or hamper the adoption of an inclusive corporate culture and practices. My goal has been to investigate whether there is a trend towards more inclusive policies and practices for persons with disabilities based on a sample of MNCs that espouse inclusive commitment and an inclusive corporate culture and their decisions to include persons with disabilities in the workforce.

'Disability' has long been associated with 'inability' or 'functional limitations' that were expected to be 'fixed' or changed by medical and other treatments. In many European countries, the evaluation based on this medical model has determined a person's eligibility for disability benefits that substituted income when a person could not return to paid work in the labour market. The medical conditions have been reflected in the priorities given to rehabilitation to improve the bodily functions of individual persons and limit the impairments. Vocational rehabilitation agencies, however, often emphasised the potential earning capacity and 'marketability' of applicants (or those who were easiest to rehabilitate) because they needed to justify their actions in public budget-setting contexts (Stone, 1984). This prevailing medical approach has made many persons with disabilities dependent on the state and professional/medical intervention (Goodley, 2011).

A paradigm shift occurred with the recognition of 'a social model of disability', by the

pioneering work of the Union of the Physically Impaired Against Segregation (UPIAS, 1976) in the United Kingdom (UK) which made a distinction between ‘impairment’ and ‘disability’, and defined ‘disability’ as ‘socially constructed’ (Barnes & Mercer, 2013). Disability is, therefore, situated in the external environment, and is not a consequence of an individual’s physical and/or cognitive impairment. This vision of a social model of disability required changes in society and policies to remove the existing economic, cultural and environmental barriers and to increase participation of persons with disabilities in all aspects of life, including mainstream employment (Lawson & Priestley, 2017). However, the social model has also received criticism (e.g. Barnes, 2000; Barnes & Mercer, 2005; Shakespeare, 2004). Scholars have argued that not only societal factors and processes but also interactional and personal aspects may create restrictions, hindrances and challenges in everyday life and limit the active citizenship of persons with disabilities (Reeve, 2004; Shakespeare & Watson, 2002).

Alongside the British social model of disability, other models have been recognised, such as the North American minority model and the Nordic relational approach (Goodley, 2011; Shakespeare, 2006; Thomas, 2004; Traustadóttir, 2009). The ‘minority model’ stemmed from the civil rights and political movements in the USA, and took a more eclectic approach to the socio-cultural formations of disability, instead of solely focusing on the socio-structural barriers as addressed in the social model.

Accordingly, persons with disabilities also undertake a minority position in a society where they are denied their civil rights, equal access and protection (Goodley, 2011; Shakespeare, 2006). In contrast, the Nordic relational approach has developed in the context of the welfare state and addresses disability as ‘situational/relative to the environment’ (Goodley, 2011; Tøssebro, 2004, 2016). According to this model, disability exists on a shifting scale between the individual and the institutional level, or as “a mismatch between the person’s capabilities and the functional demands in the environment” (Ineland, 2005; Tøssebro, 2004, p. 4). The social model of disability (Oliver, 1990; Shakespeare, 2004), in comparison, locates disability firmly within the structures of society including its values, mode of production, political economy, and physical environment. Despite the existence of different approaches to disability, as stated by Traustadóttir (2009, p. 8), “they are unified by a common idea to reject the focus solely on the individual’s impairment and to increase attention to the social processes and cultural meanings that greatly influence disabled people’s lives and opportunities.”

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UNCRPD) - adopted in December 2006, opened for signature in 2007 and entered into force in 2008 - has

empowered persons with disabilities with a new disability rights paradigm (Harpur, 2012; Quinn, 2009; Waddington, 2009). The CRPD defines persons with disabilities as “those who have long-term physical, mental, intellectual or sensory impairments which in interaction with various barriers may hinder their full and effective participation in society on an equal basis with others” (Article 1). Some scholars (e.g. Trömel, 2009, p. xvii) consider this “non-exhaustive definition a victory for and a reflection of a social model of disability”. Other scholars (e.g. Degener, 2017) argue that the UN CRPD’s definition nevertheless goes beyond the social model and introduces “a human rights model of disability”. As such, the CRPD neither refers explicitly to the social model nor purports to create new laws or new rights. Even though the CRPD recognises the significance of societal barriers for the ‘full and effective participation’ of persons with disabilities, one could still argue that this definition may be closer to a relational model of disability or rather a social-relational approach with an emphasis on the interaction between the person and the social environment recognising disability as “an evolving concept” (Quinn & Arnardóttir, 2009; Traustadóttir, 2009, p. 16). With the adoption of the UNCRPD, the attention to the human rights of persons with disabilities and their participation in different activities on an equal basis has significantly increased (Quinn & Arnardóttir, 2009; WHO, 2011).

The ideas of a ‘social model’ and the ‘human rights’ of persons with disabilities have gradually been incorporated into public policy since they are better suited to tackling disabling barriers for persons with disabilities in many spheres of life, including access to mainstream employment (Barnes & Mercer, 2005; Lawson & Priestley, 2017). However, in many countries, a mix of medical and social models of disability still operates, for example, in evaluating a person’s working capacity (Roulstone, 2004a). In Norway, the medical, relational and social models exist side by side (Grue, 2014; Tøssebro, 2010). The medical model has been extensively applied for allocating social protection for persons with disabilities, while a relational model is more prevalent in the provision of assistive technology (Halvorsen, 2010). The social model has been more influential as a rationale in the general employment protection laws and since the 2000s in the specific disability non-discrimination legislative provisions (Halvorsen & Hvinden, 2009, 2011). The latter approach has intensified in Norway through the focus being on the new ‘social regulatory policy measures’—anti-discrimination legislation, financial incentives and persuasion strategies aimed at influencing the behaviour of employers and other non-governmental actors—especially following the adoption of the EU Equality Employment Directive (2000/78/EC) (Vedeler, 2014).

By adopting ‘regulatory policy measures’, European governments aim to ensure that more employers recruit and retain persons with disabilities in the ordinary labour market (Halvorsen, Waldschmidt, Hvinden, & Böhler, 2017). Since the 2000s, employers, indeed, have made their social responsibility and voluntary commitments more visible. Many multinational corporations (MNCs) have demonstrated an inclusion of persons with disabilities as part of their corporate social responsibility (CSR) and diversity agenda (Cordero, Ortiz de Zúñiga, & Rueda, 2014), and shared openly ‘best practices’ of disability inclusion (ILO, 2010). Recently, multiple publications of practical guides, and information about disability-inclusive employers and/or disabled employees proliferate, namely:

- publications that exemplify the disability-inclusive practices of MNCs and present recommendations on how to provide more inclusive workplaces, e.g. ‘Best Jobs for People with Disabilities’ (Forbes, 2014); ‘Business’s Next Frontier: People with Disabilities’ (Forbes, 2015); ‘Why Hire Disabled Workers? 4 Powerful (and Inclusive) Companies Answer’ (2016);
- public awards (e.g. *Disability Matters Award*; *DiversityInc*) that honour the best employers for successful practices in including persons with disabilities into employment;
- special indicators (e.g. *Disability Equality Index* (DEI, 2016)), or disability self-assessment standards (e.g. ILO) that assist companies in rating their own inclusiveness to persons with disabilities to improve the current practices.

Do these examples signify that employers, especially large MNCs, are becoming “part of a solution” as recommended by the OECD (2010, p. 14), and do they commit to anti-discrimination legislation and ensure inclusive workplaces where persons with disabilities are employed, accepted and provided with the necessary accommodations?

Despite visible progress in companies’ practices and the evolving regulatory policy reforms in the European Union (EU), the official employment rate for persons with disabilities of working age in most European countries is at least half of that for those with no disability (OECD, 2010, p. 51; WHO, 2011). In 2011, according to EU-SILC data, about 47% of persons with disabilities, defined as ‘people having basic activity difficulties’ (with respect to sight, hearing, walking, and communicating) were employed compared to 72% of persons without disabilities. The EU average for people without disabilities was 67% (Grammenos, 2013). In 2014, Eurostat (2014) reported that among the inactive population aged 15 to 64 an illness or disability was the main reason stated for not seeking employment, with 9.2% of the male

population and 8.9% of female in this age group inactive for this reason in the EU-28. The Eurobarometer (2015) showed a high level of employment discrimination on the ground of disability (46%) in the EU, which was especially high in recruitment (69%). In contrast to other European countries, the Nordic countries, according to the OECD (2017), reported some of the highest employment rates across the OECD. Norway was one of the top performing countries regarding the inclusion of disadvantaged groups.

The lower employment rate of persons with disabilities in many countries may be due to multiple barriers that prevent their access to employment and/or still exist at the workplace, as indicated by prior research (Ali, Schur, & Blanck, 2011; Chan et al., 2010; Graffam, Shinkfield, Smith, & Polzin, 2002; Nota, Santilli, Ginevra, & Soresi, 2014; Vornholt, Uitdewilligen, & Nijhuis, 2013). These barriers may either refer to individual factors, e.g. health issues, lower average levels of education and training for persons with disabilities; external environmental factors, e.g. transportation or other accessibility barriers, disincentives from disability policy; and organisational factors, including employer uncertainty, prejudice, discrimination, and lack of a strong commitment to including persons with disabilities and workplace adaptations.

The research findings on the practices of large companies employing persons with disabilities are contradictory. Some research acknowledges that there is greater potential for large companies to increase the presence of employees with disabilities among the workforce than there is for smaller and medium-sized companies (Ball, Monaco, Schmeling, Helen, & Blanck, 2005; Bruyère, Erickson, & VanLooy, 2000; Fraser et al., 2010; Graffam et al., 2002; Houtenville & Kalargyrou, 2012; Kaye, Jans, & Jones, 2011). Some of these scholars (e.g. Ball et al., 2005) have also argued that large companies' stated commitments do not always result in the application of practices that promote or ensure the inclusion of persons with disabilities. Other researchers conclude that, despite their size, employers' concerns about the costs of making accommodations, legal liability and/or lack of prior experience with persons/employees with disabilities prevent their successful recruitment and hiring (Erickson, Schrader, Bruyère, VanLooy, & Matteson, 2014; Gröschl, 2007; Henry, Petkauskos, Stanislawzyk, & Vogt, 2014; Kaye et al., 2011; Nota et al., 2014). Therefore, both small and large-sized employers may express concerns about costs and their need for additional support. In large companies, it is, however, attitudes and stereotypes that more often appear to be an issue than employers' considerations of extra costs associated with hiring and retaining disabled employees due to lower productivity and/or accommodation of the workplace (Houtenville & Kalargyrou, 2012).

Indeed, employers may have prejudices and stereotypes about persons with certain types of disabilities, in particular, psychiatric disabilities and/or learning disabilities and/or mental illnesses, who might be seen to require greater supervision and attention (Ju, Roberts, & Zhang, 2013; McDowell & Fossey, 2015; Zissi, Rontos, Papageorgiou, Pierrakou, & Chtouris, 2007).

Another strand of the literature (Miller, 1998; Samant et al., 2009; Schur, Kruse, & Blanck, 2005; Schur, Kruse, Blasi, & Blanck, 2009; Stone & Colella, 1996) focuses on organisation or corporate culture as an important element that may eliminate existing prejudices and contribute to inclusion of persons with disabilities among the workforce. These scholars argue that we are more likely to find a corporate culture with inclusive values embodied in the organisational structures, attitudes and behaviours in large companies because they have the necessary resources and policies in place. Employers that adopt ‘an inclusive corporate culture’ are more likely to accept and incorporate persons with disabilities fully into the workplace alongside other employees that “enables contributions from a broader range of styles, perspectives and skills” (Miller, 1998, p. 152; Schur et al., 2005). As argued by Schur and colleagues (2005, p. 3), “if the employment of persons with disabilities are to be improved significantly, attention must be paid to the ways in which corporate culture creates or reinforces obstacles to employees with disabilities, and how these obstacles can be removed.”

Some studies have identified big corporations in the technology, telecommunications, and banking/financial sectors as the strongest disability-inclusive companies with ‘an inclusive corporate culture’ (Ball et al., 2005; Riley, 2006; Samant et al., 2009; Sandler & Blanck, 2005; Schur et al., 2009). But, there is still a lack of research on the conditions under which the corporate culture (the shared norms, values, beliefs and individual behaviours) of large companies contribute to the labour market inclusion or exclusion of persons with disabilities. Apart from a few studies that have explored the internal practices of large companies (Gröschl, 2007; Kalargyrou & Volis, 2014; Sandler & Blanck, 2005; Younes, 2001), other researchers predominantly focused on analysing the ‘visible practices’ demonstrated through the CSR reports (see, for instance, Ball et al., 2005; Cordero et al., 2014; Singh & Point, 2004). While these scholars studied mainly the ‘external’ or ‘visible policies’, they have not considered the relationship between these statements and the ‘internal’ practices of the enterprises and recommended it for further research. Other studies have predominantly focused on analysing human resource practices of MNCs (e.g. Kulkarni, Boehm, & Basu, 2016).

This thesis aims to contribute to the literature by investigating the practices in a sample of large companies (MNCs) with a stated commitment to include persons with disabilities

among their workforce through recruitment, hiring, and providing workplace accommodation. For this purpose, I have taken into account both internal corporate practices and external forces, e.g. the evolving international, European and national disability policy measures and laws. The goal is to explore how broader societal processes promoting employment of persons with disabilities translate into the considerations and motivations of key actors at the company level and how the corporate leadership and managers respond with disability-inclusive corporate practices.

The research focus is to examine the case of Norway and on how employers, mainly large companies, relate to the emerging and new social regulation policies. Norway has, in principle, aimed at a balance between income maintenance, services and social regulation, but the first two have been more developed (Hansen, Andreassen, & Meager, 2011; Mandal & Ose, 2015). During the course of this thesis, the focus has gradually shifted from being only about Norway to comparing Norway with other Scandinavian countries - Sweden and Denmark. My focus on Scandinavian countries involves the comparison of their social redistributive policies (transfers and services) and regulatory policies (emerging anti-discrimination legislation) and existing employers' practices, since the governments in these countries have traditionally assumed high responsibility for including vulnerable populations, among which are persons with disabilities, in the labour market and society (Halvorsen & Hvinden, 2007; NORDEN, 2010).

At the outset of this research, I planned mainly a qualitative case study of selected large companies for an "in-depth understanding of the complex contemporary social phenomena in a real-life context" (Yin, 1989, p. 23) regarding the inclusion of persons with disabilities into mainstream employment. However, throughout this effort, I have applied an abductive logic (Dubois & Gadde, 2002; Eriksson & Lindström, 1997; Peirce, 1931-1958; Råholm, 2010) to theory construction, data collection and analysis in the research methodology. This approach helped me to increase this case study validity and analytic generalisability of research findings. Instead of relying solely on collecting and interpreting qualitative data, I also collected and analysed data about both 'external' and 'internal' factors: public policy documents, corporate documents/policies and data from qualitative interviews' with the companies' senior- and middle-level managers and other employees. I have also benefited from available statistical and qualitative data from other countries, which has provided a broader perspective on the labour market situation of persons with disabilities in Norway. Through cooperation with international colleagues, I was able to extend the case study analysis of two large companies in Norway to a

cross-national comparison with large companies in Sweden. Cooperation with the same colleagues has also enabled me to conduct a comparative policy analysis between Scandinavian countries represented by Norway, Denmark, Sweden, and the Baltic countries of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. Finally, I have used time series data from the Norwegian labour force survey (LFS) to analyse the policy effect on the employers' responses with regard to providing workplace adaptation measures for employees with disabilities during the decade 2005-2015. All these approaches have allowed me to examine how Norway compares to other Nordic countries in disability policies and the inclusion of persons with disabilities into employment, as well as how Norwegian employers respond to the expectations to adopt affirmative action policies.

1.2. The structure of the thesis

This thesis is composed of an 'introductory chapter' ('kappe' in Norwegian) and a collection of four articles.

The 'introductory chapter' is structured in eleven sections:

- Section 1 – Introduction - presents the overview of research questions and the scope of research.
- Section 2 presents the main concepts based on review of prior research on the inclusion of persons with disabilities in mainstream employment and the typologies of disability policy measures.
- Section 3 analyses the disability policy measures (both redistributive and regulatory) in Norway compared with two other Scandinavian countries selected for this research - Denmark and Sweden.
- Section 4 provides an overview of the employers' responses, in multinational companies (MNCs) in particular, to promoting inclusion of persons with disabilities in mainstream employment.
- Section 5 presents the analytical framework for this thesis based on three theoretical perspectives.
- Section 6 explains the choice of a qualitative research methodology and a case study as a research method, including the selection of cases, data collection and analysis and the complementary research methods applied to increase case study generalisability and validity.

- Section 7 discusses the ethical issues that were necessary to address during the research process.
- Section 8 presents an overview of the four articles that compose this thesis.
- Section 9 discusses the findings that emerge from the articles in light of the analytical framework.
- Section 10 discusses the limitations of this thesis.
- Section 11 concludes by discussing the implications of the findings for future research and disability policy development.

The four articles that compose this thesis are referred to as:

- **ARTICLE I:** *An inclusive corporate culture: Examining the visible and invisible levels of disability inclusiveness in two large enterprises* (2016);
- **ARTICLE II:** *Inclusion of persons with disabilities in mainstream employment: is it really all about the money? A case study of four large companies in Norway and Sweden* (2017);
- **ARTICLE III:** *Labour Market Integration and Equality for Disabled People: A Comparative Analysis of Nordic and Baltic Countries* (2017);
- **ARTICLE IV:** *Workplace Adaptations Promoting the Inclusion of Persons with Disabilities in Mainstream Employment: A Case-Study on Employers' Responses in Norway* (2018).

Included in the annexes are the ethical approval from the Norwegian Data Protection Official for Research (NSD), the research invitation letter, the topic guide for interview, the individual consent form, an overview of the data analysis results, as well as the full versions of all four articles.

2. Main concepts of disability policy measures for the inclusion of persons with disabilities in mainstream employment

This section presents the concept of ‘inclusion’ of persons with disabilities in mainstream employment and a typology of disability policy measures that might foster or hamper such inclusion.

2.1. Inclusion of persons with disabilities in mainstream employment

The concept of inclusion does not have an accepted definition, and many scholars point out the inconsistencies of this term¹. Most commonly, *‘inclusion’* signifies ‘meaningful social interactions that can be fostered and maintained’ in different social situations, including work (e.g. Patterson, 2001, p. 20), and the extent to “which individuals can participate and contribute fully in society” (Miller, 1998, p. 151). Jones (2011, p. 57) argues that “the main principle of inclusion is simple as it is opposite to exclusion and alienation” and this is “the right of the individual and the responsibility of society as a whole”. Over time, the concept of ‘inclusion’ has evolved into a broad principle underpinning many initiatives in society and life stages: childcare, school and the workplace (J. Lee, Mathews, Shing, & Kuansong, 2017). Since the adoption of the Maastricht Treaty in 1992 (e.g. Atkinson, 2002; Daly, 2007), ‘social inclusion’ has become a major orientation in the EU policy to ensure that all members of society, whatever their personal characteristics, participate equally in the political, economic, work and cultural spheres of life (Pallisera, Vilà, & Fullana, 2012). Among the principal objectives of the EU social inclusion policy is to “ensure the active inclusion of all by promoting participation in the labour market and by fighting poverty and exclusion among the most marginalised people and groups” (Daly, 2007, p. 6). Furthermore, The World Bank defines ‘social inclusion’ as “the process of improving the terms for individuals and groups to take part in society, - their ability, opportunity, and dignity².”

For persons with disabilities ‘inclusion’ covers multiple contexts and different aspects of life: participation in society and social activities, access to fundamental rights and decision-making, meaningful social interactions and relationships, and physical inclusion (S. Hall, 2009; Patterson, 2001). While paid work in mainstream employment and quality jobs are considered essential components of adult life, they are likewise highly important for the social inclusion of

¹ See online publication: <http://www.metrolab.brussels/publications/test-publication>

² <http://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/social-inclusion>

persons with disabilities (Ju et al., 2013; Roulstone, 2004b; Schur, 2002). Nevertheless, inclusion in society, especially in the mainstream labour market, remains a challenge for many persons with disabilities. According to Jones (2011, p. 57), the inclusion of persons with disabilities is successful only “if it embraces provision of access (or accessibility); non-discriminatory and inclusive attitudes; and facilitation of participation by providing necessary support.” As such, “inclusion is about valued recognition, meaningful engagement and enabling social policy” (Jones, 2011, p. 57).

Persons with disabilities face fewer employment chances and longer periods of unemployment compared to non-disabled people. Prior research has concluded that multiple barriers, assumptions and disabling attitudes exist in society and at the workplace (e.g. Barnes & Mercer, 2005; Graffam et al., 2002; 2004; A. Hogan, Kyaw-Myint, Harris, & Denronden, 2012). Miller (1998, p. 152) argued that these were either “tangible barriers, such as stairways that block access to people in wheelchairs”, or “subtle barriers” such as ‘paternalistic’ and ‘protective’ attitudes that society has for a long time demonstrated towards disabled persons. Persons with disability were treated as “lacking of ability to carry out the required tasks or capacity to undertake the necessary roles resulting from the medical understanding of disability” (Oliver & Barnes, 2012, p. 13). Their employment opportunities were restricted to separate institutions and other segregated forms of employment, and fell under the obligation of the state, making these people unable to compete in the mainstream labour market (Kelemen & Vanhala, 2010). Multiple environmental and cultural barriers inhibited disabled people’s entry into the paid workforce (Barnes, 2012).

Oliver (1990, pp. 26-27), in support of a Marxist perspective, argued that “what happened to disabled people results from the coming of industrial society [...] as societies develop, and the nature of the work environment, the living conditions and the relationships between institutions also become more complicated and comprise more constraints”. In Oliver’s view, and according to Finkelstein’s (1980) evolutionary model, the situation of persons with disabilities has passed through several phases of historical development. The last phase is characterised by the arrival of industrial society and the rise of capitalism. It has resulted in new forms of business and work relations that, in contrast to pre-capitalist and small-scale agrarian societies, has brought both positive and negative consequences for disabled people. According to Oliver (1990, p. 28), “disabled people came to be regarded as a social problem and were excluded from the workforce as a special segregated group”. Barnes and Mercer (2005, p. 532), likewise, argued that “the prominence attached to paid work drew a clear

line between the citizenship and exclusion". After World War II, governments expressed a social obligation to disabled people, particularly those with wartime injuries and disabled war veterans. Nevertheless, the labour market policies soon relegated disabled people back to the margins. Whereas "the wage-based capitalist society provided income and a sense of identity", those who could not work, for whatever reason, e.g. persons with disabilities, "were deemed unable to conform to the demands of the capitalist labour market" (Barnes & Mercer, 2005, pp. 533, 540).

Early advocates of the social model of disability argued that "the struggle to achieve integration into ordinary employment is the most vital part of the struggle to change the organisation of society" since the adoption of a 'social model of disability' (UPIAS, 1976, p. 16). The new policy paradigm has emerged to promote the inclusion of persons with disabilities in all spheres of life, through non-discriminative attitudes, equal treatment and accessible environments, that also suggested a wide range of social transformations and a radical reformulation of the meaning and organisation of work (Barnes, 2000; Barnes & Mercer, 2013). Policy makers have adopted the language of inclusion, and introduced anti-discrimination legislation and various policy measures at both the national and international levels (Barnes, 2012). Public attention has also been directed to the inaccessibility of public transport and the built environment that indirectly contributes to the unemployment of persons with disabilities and excludes them from the world of work (Barnes, 2000).

Despite positive intentions of 'inclusive' policies and programmes, 'inclusion' can be potentially oppressive in ways that may not be obvious to non-disabled persons. As argued by Hyder and Tissot (2013), 'inclusion' becomes a 'tokenistic tick-box approach' that leads to basic compliance to regulations, and some services may claim to be 'inclusive', but are really patronizing or oppressive. Hodkinson (2012) argued about the 'exclusionary inclusion' meaning that discriminative practices may still operate under the principle of inclusion such as when employers simplify jobs to hire persons with disabilities. When inclusion is not a right but an obligation, disabled people (and also employers if referring to inclusive employment practices) may feel obliged to participate, which may be considered "a forced participation". Even though the wage subsidy programmes are interpreted in positive terms as supporting employers to bring disabled people into the workplace, questions arise about the outcomes of these programmes (Robert & Stephanie, 2006). Not only is the removal of the existing barriers in society considered important, there must be changes in policies and laws, and the enabling environments. Changes in employers' attitudes, responses and practices, are equally important

to ensure the inclusion of persons with disabilities in mainstream employment (Roulstone, 2004b).

2.2. Typology of disability policy measures promoting the inclusion of persons with disabilities in mainstream employment

Historically, 'disability' has been defined by public policy as a 'problem' or a 'disadvantage' that requires compensatory or ameliorative action (Oliver, 1990; Roulstone & Prideaux, 2012). 'Disability' as opposed to 'normality', according to Stone (1984, p. 4), accounted for "a substantial proportion of income redistribution and the distribution of some fundamental privileges and duties of citizenship." In this regard, disability policy, as argued by Roulstone and Prideaux (2012) and Drake (1999), has long been based on the 'paternalistic' attitudes to persons with disabilities that were 'buttressed by religious beliefs' and by the scientific background such as the field of genetics. Oliver (1990, p. 30) likewise noted that "a philosophy of compassion linked to religious and philanthropic perspectives" and "a philosophy of protection" predominated in public attitudes and policies, particularly in relation to persons with mental impairments.

With the advent of the welfare state and social security provisions from the late 19th century onward, local authorities have placed the main emphasis on how the person's impairment has influenced his or her paid employment and on their being economically self-sufficient (Hvinden, 2013). The earliest disability policy measures gradually developed in health and welfare services that intended to compensate and to rehabilitate, though many disabled people remained excluded from mainstream employment (Drake, 1999). Disability pensions, rehabilitation benefits and work quotas prevailed as major policy approaches in many European countries, with the idea that persons with disabilities could contribute to society, but only insofar as they were 'rehabilitated or normalized' (Toboso, 2011). In the 20th century, industrial injuries and war-related impairments led to increased public concern for disabled people (Toboso, 2011). However, a persistent lack of access to paid work, lack of choices in daily living and low level of inclusion in mainstream employment have raised concerns as to the effectiveness of the prevailing redistributive policies for persons with disabilities (Roulstone & Prideaux, 2012). The existing disability policy is considered too disparate and complex to be susceptible to a single policy model. Thus, different disability policy typologies have emerged.

Drake (1999) suggested a typology of 'negative' and 'positive' policy interventions for disabled people, which governments formulate and implement based on their ideologies, values, beliefs, and understanding of 'disability'. He concluded that '*negative policy models*' denied the human and civil rights of persons with disabilities and eradicated physiological and cognitive disorders; played a minimal part in the lives of disabled people and denied the existence of problems connected with disability or isolated disabled people from society; as well as policies that implied random response to disablement, for instance, through only supplying specific services, aids or equipment. In contrast, '*positive policy models*' propose hybrid solutions involving some environmental change and the provision of individual aids and adaptations, and promote 'the social or rights-based policy' that recognises disablement as a product of a society. The only policy model "that secures equal rights and equality of opportunity for disabled people", in Drake's (1999, p. 36) view, is the one that promotes their inclusion into society on an equal basis with other people. Though Drake (1999) has attempted to develop a general typology, he applies it mainly to understanding the development of disability policy in the United Kingdom.

According to Hvinden and Halvorsen (2003, p. 296), disability policy consists of "a wide range of policies that have consequences (intended or unintended) for the welfare, living conditions and participation" for persons with disabilities. Therefore, another distinct characteristic of disability policy lies in the differences between the 'redistributive' and the 'regulatory' policy measures that are particularly important for the analysis of policy making. Redistributive policy measures consist predominantly of "income redistribution and provision of merit goods" (Majone, 1993, pp. 163, 167), and also comprise the major part of the national disability policy including income transfers, health, social provisions, education and employment services (Hvinden, 2013; Hvinden & Halvorsen, 2003).

In contrast, economic and social regulations consist of 'laws involving specific obligations' that are the new frontier of public policy (Majone, 1994). Disability regulatory policy measures have intensified from the 1990s onward which promote equal opportunities, participation and inclusion of persons with disabilities in all spheres of life including employment, and increasing accessibility of transport, built environment and assistive technologies (Waldschmidt, 2009). In this way, governments aim to influence the behaviour of the markets' actors "by setting legal standards for health and security and labour protection or by stimulating the development of industry standards for the accessibility and usability of different products and services" (Halvorsen & Hvinden, 2009, p. 178).

Disability policy can also be seen as “a mix of redistributive and social regulatory provisions” (Hvinden, 2013, p. 376). According to Halvorsen and colleagues (2017, pp. 13-14), a contemporary disability policy can be regarded as “represented by three subsystems: disability-related cash transfers or redistributive provisions; service delivery; and, most recently, social regulation”. These authors argue that three subsystems need to be “interconnected and interdependent with the effect that changes in one part are likely to have consequences for the other two, whether by intent or without it” (Halvorsen et al., 2017, p. 14). The cash transfer and service delivery subsystems redistribute resources among differing population groups from general taxes, mandatory or private social insurance or contributions from the protected persons and employers. A social regulation subsystem includes either legislative means, financial incentives or persuasion through information or a combination. Here, they have drawn from Vedung’s (2010 [1998]) distinction between three policy instruments to achieve positive employment outcomes:

- regulation (‘the stick’);
- economic means (‘the carrot’); and
- information (‘the sermon’).

In this interpretation, regulation measures represent the traditional instrument of government by formulated rules and directives which mandate receivers to act in accordance with what is ordered in these rules. Economic means involve the handing out or the taking away of material resources, such as subsidies. Information attempts to influence people through knowledge transfer, communications, and persuasion, and may also represent voluntary appeals with an emphasis on prevention of wrong or corrective conduct. Yet, each of these mechanisms has its own variations. For instance, regulation prohibitions can be either unconditional or conditional and affirmative in prescribing what has to be done (Vedung, 2010 [1998], pp. 41-42).

In the next section, I use the distinction between redistributive and regulatory disability policy measures to examine the main features of the Norwegian disability policy on labour market participation of persons with disabilities.

3. Disability policy measures in Norway within a Scandinavian and European context

This section discusses the policy measures that promote the inclusion of persons with disabilities in mainstream employment in Norway, as compared with two other Scandinavian countries³ - Denmark and Sweden. This comparison provides a better understanding of Norwegian disability policy in contextual data that was not possible to fully include in the article(s) on cross-country comparisons presented in this thesis.

3.1. Typologies of country differences in disability policies – Nordic disability policies in a European context

The literature on cross-national and comparative studies of national disability policies indicates systematic and persistent country differences in their policy profiles. Scholars, however, disagree on how relevant the existing welfare regime classifications are in comparing disability policies across countries.

Esping-Andersen (1990) identified three ‘ideal-types’ of welfare regimes: liberal (Anglo-Saxon), conservative-corporatist (Central European) and social-democratic (Nordic). The Esping-Andersen’s typology of welfare regimes (1990, p. 27) clustered Norway, along with Sweden and Denmark, as ‘social-democratic welfare states’ that are characterised by a high degree of universal arrangements and ‘an equality of highest standards’ that guarantee universal benefits that are more generous than in the two other welfare regimes (see Alestalo, Hort, & Kuhnle, 2009; Kautto, Fritzell, Hvinden, Kvist, & Uusitalo, 2001; Kvist, Fritzell, Hvinden, & Kangas, 2012). Several authors (e.g. Kvist et al., 2012) argue that the Scandinavian welfare states have been characterised more by a large emphasis on services in kind than by high expenditures on social security benefits. However, the same authors conclude that Esping-Andersen’s concept of ‘decommodification’ (which signifies a degree to which citizens are independent of the labour market through cash benefits) may be misleading when referring to how the Nordic countries make people independent of the labour market. Instead, the ‘Nordic equality’ may be also associated with “less desirable and unintended consequences, such as a tendency to marginalise or exclude those less qualified, fit or productive (Kvist et al., 2012, pp. 7-9).”

³ The concepts ‘Scandinavian’ and ‘Nordic’ are used interchangeably in this thesis, referring to ‘Nordic’ when describing welfare states or policies, and ‘Scandinavian’ when referring principally to the three countries under analysis – Denmark, Norway and Sweden.

Even though Esping-Andersen's typology does not explicitly consider disability policies, some scholars and international organisations take it as a starting point for comparing disability policies (e.g. Tschanz & Staub, 2017). Prinz and Tompson (2009) consider a welfare regime type as an important factor that explains slower reforms in disability policies in some countries. As a result, several policy approaches or policy types may be distinguished that are based on Esping-Andersen's (1990) welfare regimes classification, and group the countries into clusters according to the differences in the policy measures, predominantly 'passive and active policies' (e.g. OECD, 2003; OECD, 2010, pp. 88-89; Tschanz & Staub, 2017; Waldschmidt, 2009). In addition, Burke (2002) suggests associating disability policy measures with corresponding welfare regimes: 'disability rights' with the 'liberal welfare approach'; quotas with 'conservative regimes', and 'active labour market orientation' with social-democratic states where equality is at the core of the state policy. However, Tschanz and Staub (2017) argue that attempts to reduce social inequalities for people with impairments do not imply any trade-offs between welfare and labour-market integration or between redistributive and rights-based policy approaches. Rather, a commitment to the development and maintenance of the three disability-policy dimensions is needed.

The disability policy classification developed by The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) clustered countries according the relationship between policy design and policy outcome, whilst also referring to Esping-Andersen's (1990) welfare regime types. Initially, the OECD Report (2003) presented the disability policy typology considering both the 'compensation' and the 'integration' dimensions of the policy measures. This typology attributed the strongest focus of benefit provisions and strong rehabilitation programmes to the Nordic countries (Norway, Sweden and Denmark) or a 'Scandinavian cluster' that ensure "full population coverage in the benefit scheme, with a strong focus on employment subsidies and strong rehabilitation programmes, yet having strict medical and vocational criteria for a full benefit" (p.129). Contrary to the expectation that a strong integration policy might lead to achieving high employment rates of disabled people in these countries, the OECD Report did not confirm this hypothesis. The Report (2003, p. 130) stated that "the lack of any correlation with employment outcomes may be caused partly by the countries' compensation policies, which tend to be strong in countries with a strong integration policy".

The OECD (2010) further modified its earlier classification by sub-dividing each policy cluster into the sub-groups of countries connected according to their common properties and/or

exceptions. Norway, Sweden, Finland and Germany are included under the “sub-group B” representing the ‘Social-democratic’ model. They are characterised as “the most generous in the OECD (providing full population coverage, high benefits, comprehensive employment and vocational rehabilitation programmes) and have the strongest employer obligations of all models” (*ibid*, p. 89). However, Denmark was included in sub-group A with the Netherlands and Switzerland, as less generous than Norway and Sweden on both policy dimensions (benefits and employment supports) but with better provision of work incentives.

Most recently, and complementary to the OECD (2010) disability policy typology, Tschanz and Staub (2017) conclude that Sweden, Finland and Denmark can be classified as the ‘social-democratic’ or ‘Nordic model of disability policy’ that are among the top European countries with regard to all three dimensions: social protection, labour market integration and civil rights. However, the position of Norway is not clarified in this classification.

Waldschmidt (2009), based on the Esping-Andersen’s typology, has confirmed that the social-democratic countries (Denmark, Norway and Sweden) grant the highest importance to the basic social care systems and guarantee the highest level of social protection and equal rights. Although, in contrast to the other two welfare regimes – the ‘liberal’ and ‘the conservative’, the measures of job market integration nevertheless appear weaker. Waldschmidt (2009) concludes that:

“While the civil rights and anti-discrimination policies are of middle relevance, on the one hand, they are compatible with the welfare regime’s orientation towards social solidarity, yet, on the other hand, the universalistic approach can foster the assumption that there is no need for civil rights given the high level of social rights (p. 20).”

Nevertheless, as argued by Kvist et al. (2012, p. 8), the Nordic welfare model is extremely oriented towards work and employment, and changing social inequality is a primary matter enabling all social groups to participate in the labour market.

3.2. Redistributive disability policy measures in Norway compared with two other Scandinavian countries

The beginnings of the modern Nordic welfare states can be traced back to the last decades of the 19th century characterised by growing industrialisation and urbanisation, and large-scale social insurance schemes. The three decades, from the early 1960s to the end of the 1980s, are considered ‘the golden age’ of the Nordic welfare state. From 1970 and 1985, most of the

employment growth in Scandinavia was a matter of public expansion (Alestalo et al., 2009).

According to Tøssebro (2016), Norway and Sweden can be regarded as a typical example within the Scandinavian countries of disability policy development. These two countries provided income maintenance for people without paid work, supplemented with cash benefits to compensate for extra costs and services to assist persons with disabilities (Halvorsen & Hvinden, 2007; Halvorsen et al., 2017; Hedlund, Landstad, & Svensson, 2009). Dramatic changes in disability policy in the Nordic countries started in the 1960s (Vedeler, 2009). Since then, the 'relational model' has defined disability as "relative/situational to the environment and focusing on different factors that contribute to a mis/match between personal capabilities and environmental demands" (Tøssebro, 2004, pp. 3-4). In Norway, the medical model of disability was officially replaced with the 'relational model of disability' in Report no. 23 1977-78 to Stortinget stating that "disability is no longer understood as a result of a medical condition but as arising from the interaction between a person and environment" (NOU, 2001, (22)). Both Sweden and Norway has reported a notable trend away from special provisions, such as by separate institutions, towards the inclusion in general provisions and services to support independent living of persons with disabilities (Tøssebro, 2016).

In the early 2000s, Scandinavian countries reported the highest level of spending (as percentage of GDP) among the OECD countries on overall disability protection and the highest rate of benefit recipients of the populations aged 20-64 years (Hvinden & Halvorsen, 2003). Income maintenance to persons with disabilities in Scandinavian countries, as well as the number of beneficiaries, was also higher than in other Western European countries (Hvinden, 2004b). At the same time, the employment rate of the disabled population was reported to be among the highest for the OECD countries. Yet, considering the variation in cross-national statistics, the researchers have argued that there is no commonly accepted disability measurement, and the definitions in the survey data of persons reporting to have a disability or impairment vary among the countries that may account for the share of persons with disabilities employed (Tøssebro & Hvinden, 2017). According to the Eurostat data, the employment level of the disabled population in all three Scandinavian countries in 2012, particularly Norway, appeared to be higher than the average European level (see Table 1). Yet, Halvorsen, Hvinden, and Schøyen (2015) argued that the employment opportunities for persons with disabilities had been less successful when comparing with the general population in Norway. Table 1 below notes three categories of employment status – employed, unemployed and economically inactive. The employed non-disabled population in all Scandinavian countries was still much

higher than for the disabled population. The level of the unemployed disabled population in Denmark significantly exceeded the EU level. Norway and Denmark reported the highest rate of persons with disabilities who were ‘economically inactive’, that was also much higher than the EU level.

Table 1. Share of people with disabilities, by employment status, % of the total population – disabled and not disabled, 2012

Country	Population					
	Employed		Unemployed		Economically Inactive	
	Disabled	Not disabled	Disabled	Not disabled	Disabled	Not disabled
EU-27	23	55	10	8	20	17
Denmark	28	56	15	4	29	19
Norway	42	66	3	1	35	16
Sweden	34	60	9	3	13	15

Source: Eurostat: EHSIS table [hlth_dpeh010], 15 and over); ‘people with disabilities’ are those who face barriers to participation in any of the life areas, associated inter alia with a health problem or basic activity limitation. ‘Economically inactive’ – other than retired, may include those who are neither employed nor unemployed or in search for employment. Note: The percentage is calculated by the author from the total numbers of disabled and non-disabled population in thousands.

Comparing precisely data on employment of persons with disabilities retrieved from the national ANED reports on the European semester (EU-SILC, 2014), the employment rates in all Scandinavian countries continued to be higher both for the disabled and, especially, for the non-disabled population than in the EU-28 (see Table 2). Overall, Sweden and Norway reported higher employment rates than Denmark for all groups, with Sweden - the higher employment rates for persons with moderate disability, and Norway - the highest employment rates for persons with severe disability.

Table 2. Employment rates of persons with disabilities, 20-64, %, based on EU-SILC UDB, 2014

Countries	No disability	Moderate disability	Severe disability	Disabled women	Disabled men
EU-28	72.5	56.7	28.3	45.7	52.3
Denmark	76.7	57.3	30.0	48.3	53.2
Norway	86.8	62.5	35.4	53.5	55.5
Sweden	82.5	63.6	33.6	55.4	58.7

Source: Retrieved from ANED Reports 2016/2017 for Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, data source: EUSILC UDB 2014 – version 2 of August 2016 (<http://www.disability-europe.net/country/>)

The differences in the employment rates in the Scandinavian countries may reflect the differences in public expenditure on the implementation of disability policy measures. Since the 1990s, the OECD and a number of experts have advised the Nordic countries to reform their systems of redistributive policies that have prevailed for so long. They argued that generous

sickness benefits in the Nordic countries have become a trap and encouraged absence from work, especially for people with mental health issues (Kvam, 2013). To various degrees, these countries have introduced subsequent reforms (Prinz & Tompson, 2009, p. 58). The Nordic governments shifted from ‘passive’ to ‘active measures’ with a commitment to promoting maximum participation in paid work through active labour market programmes (ALMP) (Hvinden, 2003; Johansson & Hvinden, 2007a). In Norway, the White Paper ‘Rehabilitation and Work for the Occupationally Disabled’ (1991-92) [St.no 39⁴] prioritised employment over social benefits by an explicit policy objective of integrating persons with disabilities into the open labour market. The ALMP measures have gradually intensified in Nordic countries to improve the job-seeking skills of the unemployed and to help them to acquire new qualifications through vocational training, guidance and information, wage subsidies and jobs placements (Duell, Singh, & Tergeist, 2009; Hvinden, Heikkilä, & Kankare, 2001; Johansson & Hvinden, 2007b). From the mid-20th century and onward, Sweden and Norway initiated active labour market programmes, directed at different segments of the population with the aim of integration or re-integration of the unemployed citizens into the labour market. Denmark, however, developed these policies at a later stage and with more varied overall impact (Johansson & Hvinden, 2007b). Over time, all three Scandinavian countries – Denmark, Sweden and Norway - gained “a reputation of being an active corner” in Europe (M. Bengtsson, 2012).

A considerable difference, however, exists among Scandinavian countries with regard to their levels of ‘active’ and ‘passive’ public spending. In 2000, as shown in Table 3, the highest expenditure on LMP (as defined by Eurostat, for all total public interventions to favour particular groups in the labour market) was reported by Denmark. It was higher than the EU level, but decreased in 2014. By contrast, in Sweden, the LMP expenditure slightly increased from 2000 to 2014, yet remained below that of Denmark. Norway reported the lowest LMP expenditure throughout all the years and that also decreased in 2014. Regarding public expenditure on disability schemes, all Scandinavian countries, apart from Sweden, represented a slight increase in 2014 compared to 2000, yet these were higher than LMP expenditures. Norway demonstrated the highest spending on disability benefits among Scandinavian countries in all the years, except in 2014, when it equaled Denmark. Overall, social protection benefits remained the highest in Denmark in 2010 and 2014, followed by Sweden.

⁴ ‘Attføring og arbeid for yrkeshemmede. Sykepenger og uførepensjon (attføringsmeldingen)’: <https://www.stortinget.no/nn/Saker-og-publikasjoner/Stortingsforhandlingar/Lesevisning/?p=1991-92&paid=3&wid=c&psid=DIVL249>

Table 3. Public expenditure on ‘active’ and ‘passive’ measures, % of GDP, 2000, 2010 and 2014

	2000			2010			2014		
	Total LMP measures (categories 1-9)	Social protection benefits (Total)	Disability benefits	Total LMP measures (categories 1-9)	Social protection benefits (Total)	Disability benefits	Total LMP measures (categories 1-9)	Social protection benefits (Total)	Disability benefits
EU-28	:	:	:	2.1	27.4	2.0	:	27.5	2.0
Denmark	3.6	27.4	3.3	3.6	31.4	4.2	3.4	31.6	4.1
Norway	1.1	23.5	3.8	1.1	24.6	4.3	0.9	25.5	4.1
Sweden	1.8	27.8	3.7	1.8	28.0	3.8	1.9	28.9	3.5

Source: Eurostat: [spr_exp_gdp]; [spr_exp_sun]; [lmp_expsumm]; [:] data are not available; categories 1-9 – Total expenditures on LMP measures targeted at groups of persons with difficulties in the labour market (Eurostat official definition). “Social protection is provided to households and individuals affected by a specific set of social risks and needs. The eight main risks and needs that are recognized are as follows: disability; sickness/health care; old age; survivors; family/children; unemployment; housing and social exclusion.”

Concerning specifically the total ALMP expenditure on transfers to individuals, to employers and to service providers, the results also vary (Table 4). The highest expenditures in all categories in 2010 and in 2014 were again reported by Denmark, where, although it decreased for transfers to individuals in 2014, it remained the highest to employers. Sweden demonstrated a similar trend, but reported an increase in transfers to employers and to service providers in 2014, with transfers to service providers being the highest among all three Scandinavian countries. Norway, in contrast, demonstrated a decrease in expenditures in all categories from 2010 to 2014, and reported the lowest total ALMP expenditures compared to the other two Scandinavian countries and the EU-28.

Table 4. Public expenditure on ALMP measures (categories 2-7), % of GDP, 2010 and 2014

	Total ALMP measures (categories 2-7)		Transfers to individuals		Transfers to employers		Transfers to service providers	
	2010	2014	2010	2014	2010	2014	2010	2014
EU-28	0.52	:	0.16	:	0.24	:	0.12	:
Denmark	1.37	1.43	0.66	0.59	0.72	0.81	:	0.04
Norway	0.49	0.38	0.32	0.24	0.08	0.07	0.09	0.06
Sweden	0.84	1.07	0.24	0.24	0.49	0.67	0.11	0.16

Source: Eurostat, DG EMPL, [lmp_expsumm]; [:] data are not available/not applicable; LMP measures (categories 2-7): activation measures for the unemployed and other target groups including the categories of training, job rotation and job sharing, employment incentives, supported employment and rehabilitation (Eurostat official definition)

The national differences in ALMP expenditures may result in higher employment rates of persons with disabilities due to better integration measures into the regular labour market and a stronger focus on special employment programmes. Indeed, Norway, despite its low

ALMP expenditures to employers and to service providers, demonstrated the highest employment rate of persons with disabilities, and for persons with severe disabilities (as shown in Tables 1 and 2). Denmark, that reported the highest ALMP expenditure, surprisingly showed the highest unemployment rate for the disabled population (Table 1), and lower employment rates for all categories of disabled persons than the other two Scandinavian countries (Table 2). However, in spite of the highest employment rates being reported by Norway for persons with severe disabilities (Table 2), the OECD Report (2013, pp. 23-24) concluded that Norway faces a unique situation in which generous welfare system co-exists with a large-scale labour market exclusion, especially of people with mental disorders. It also has the highest mental health-related unemployment gap than in neighbouring countries, particularly Denmark. Indeed, as argued by Johansson and Hvinden (2007b, pp. 337-338), the implementation measures may be more complex for citizens receiving social assistance, since they are almost by definition unable to fulfil the reciprocity requirements for past efforts, performance or contributions and have a strong obligation to participate in training courses and/or actively seeking for work.

The differences in public expenditure on ALMP reflect different policy priorities and traditions in the Scandinavian countries. Sweden, according to prior research (Drøpping, Hvinden, & Van Oorschot, 2000; Halvorsen & Hvinden, 2009; Hedlund et al., 2009; Johansson & Hvinden, 2007b; O'Brien & Dempsey, 2004), has demonstrated the strongest ALMP tradition and has applied the broadest repertoire of policy measures. Furthermore, in Sweden, a state-owned organisation '*Samhall*', established in 1980 as a result of these measures to combat exclusion of disabled persons through their rehabilitation and employment, is responsible for increasing employment of disabled people and selling goods and services produced by them to companies, government agencies, and municipalities (O'Brien & Dempsey, 2004; van der Torre & Fenger, 2014). Among these are well-known international partners like IKEA, Ericsson, and ABB, to mention a few (Holmqvist, 2010). From the early 1990s, Denmark has revised its generous unemployment insurance system and implemented stricter eligibility rules and a shorter duration of benefits (Johansson & Hvinden, 2007b). Denmark introduced the '*flexjobs*' scheme in 1998 to facilitate a return to work for those unemployed whose working capacity was reduced by at least 50% and to prevent further increases in the number of disability beneficiaries (Høgelund, 2003). Yet, expenditures on activation measures in Denmark were the lowest compared to other Scandinavian countries (Drøpping et al., 2000). The responsibility for the financing and administration of cash benefits and of integration measures in Denmark fell mainly on the local public authorities (Høgelund,

2003). They also operated a sheltered employment scheme for people with more severe disabilities (Etherington & Ingold, 2012). Norway spent considerable and increasing resources on benefits transfers. In Norway, a larger share of total public expenditures was allocated on active labour market programmes for people without paid work and their participation in the qualifying measures, especially through education and training. Norwegian state enterprises had priority to accept job applicants with disabilities (Halvorsen & Hvinden, 2014a). Persons with severe disabilities and mental illness in Norway were more likely to use the support of special service providers to facilitate their employment opportunities (Vedeler & Mossige, 2010). As argued by Tøssebro and Hvinden (2017), despite high general employment rates and labour market support, the current policy measures in Norway have had so far little effect. According to a recent report of Næsheim and Sundt (2016), Sweden has a higher employment rate of persons with disabilities than Norway, which the authors attribute to the differences in the governmental employment measures in these countries.

Despite the obvious difference in public expenditures, employment rates, the degree of disability and the types of impairment are particularly sensitive to the operationalisation of disability that may vary from country to country (Molden & Tøssebro, 2012). Hedlund and colleagues (2009) reported significant differences in the definition of disability within the Scandinavian countries. Hvinden and Tøssebro (2017) likewise argued that even though data on disability are available for the Nordic countries, there are still differences in the definitions of disability among these countries and the organisations responsible for operationalising them and collecting the data. Administrative data seldom covers information on participation rates of persons with disabilities. The prevalence data on disability is often collected through censuses and surveys for information on persons with disabilities.

Recently, Geiger, van der Wel, and Tøge (2017) have argued that the EU-SILC data may be considered less reliable for strong conclusions on disability employment and equality gaps, because the process of collecting the data is not as consistent as that performed by the European Social Survey ('ESS'). The authors concluded that among the countries' rankings in the disability employment gap (i.e., the difference in employment rates between disabled and non-disabled population) across the different surveys in 2011/12 (EU-SILC, EU LFS, ESS), Sweden and Finland are consistently highly-ranked, while Norway performs poorly with the a noticeably higher disability employment gap - 21.5%, which is, however less in ESS - 14.8%. Denmark is reported as being one of the best-performing countries in the ESS, but is mid-to-low ranked in the EU-SILC, and as one of the worst-performing in EU-LFS. While the

statistical data provides important comparative analysis among the countries, it should be used and compared with caution, especially for the employment of persons with disabilities. Thus, it is important to take into account the forms and scope of regulatory disability policy measures.

3.3. 'Old and new' regulatory policy measures in Norway compared with two other Scandinavian countries

In this section, I review the regulatory policy measures adopted in Norway and compare them with Denmark and Sweden with regard to anti-discrimination legislation, financial incentives, awareness raising measures and voluntary actions. These measures are summarised in Table 5 at the conclusion of this section.

Traditionally, the Scandinavian countries have emphasised labour legislation (or 'work environment act' - WEA) that regulates employers' responsibilities towards workers' health, safety and work-related injuries and sicknesses, including for disabled workers. Both Norway and Sweden adopted the Work Environment Act (*'Arbeidsmiljøloven'* in Norway and *'Arbetsmiljölagen'* in Sweden) in 1977. In Denmark, *'Lov om arbejdsmiljø'* (the Danish Act on Work Environment) has been in force since 1975 (Halvorsen & Hvinden, 2009; Liisberg, 2011). These early regulatory measures included, although to a different extent, legal provisions regulating employers' duties in relation to all their employees, including those with disabilities (Halvorsen & Hvinden, 2014a). While the general labour law may resemble the anti-discrimination legislation, it does not, however, regulate the inclusion of persons with disabilities into the labour market, since it prioritises current employees. In Sweden, the responsibility to ensure that work and conditions are adjusted to the needs of the employee is more far-reaching than in Denmark (Liisberg, 2011). Denmark has the weakest job security protection for workers and obligations for employers, and among the Nordic countries – has the weakest protection against workplace discrimination on the ground of disability (Halvorsen & Hvinden, 2014b; Liisberg, 2011). In Norway, the WEA amendments of 2015 introduced a broader scope for temporary employment and working hours on the grounds that this would provide more flexibility and increase the chances of persons with disabilities and other vulnerable groups to enter working life (Dahl & Lorentzen, 2017). Most recently, in Section 13-1, the WEA in Norway has a reference to the new Equality and Non-Discrimination Act of 2017⁵.

The rights-based approach to disability policies has intensified since the 1990s. This is

⁵ <https://lovdata.no/dokument/NLE/lov/2017-06-16-51>

based on the idea that the inability of disabled people to participate in society is not to be attributed solely to their limitations (Lawson, 2005). The US Disabilities Act (ADA, 1990) and the British Disability Discrimination Act (DDA, 1995) were the first comprehensive disability anti-discrimination laws. They have provided inspiration to many European countries (Barnes & Mercer, 2005; Lawson & Priestley, 2017; Quinn, 2009). The Nordic countries which have all introduced important changes into their domestic labour law and provided new directions for the disability policy following legal and political developments at the European and international levels (Halvorsen et al., 2017; Hvinden, 2004b). After the adoption of the Council Directive 2000/78/EC on equal treatment in employment and occupation ('Framework Equal Treatment Directive') (Lawson, 2005; Liisberg, 2011), the Scandinavian countries along with the other EU countries were required to adopt non-discrimination, accessibility, and equal opportunities for disabled people and their full participation in society (Hvinden, 2003), and to include these principles into their national legislation (Tymowski, 2016).

Denmark joined the EC in 1973 and remained the only Nordic member until Sweden and Finland joined the European Union (EU) in 1995. Denmark first introduced the anti-discrimination law in 1996 ("Act on prohibition against discrimination in respect of employment and occupation,"), which was not disability-specific. This law was amended in 2008 (LBK nr 1349 as of 16/12/2008⁶) to prohibit direct and indirect discrimination in the labour market based on race, skin colour, religion, sexual orientation, age, and disability. However, this Act did not refer to the provision of reasonable accommodation. In Denmark, the anti-discrimination legislation did not consist of a single piece of legislation, and protection against discrimination rests within civil and criminal legislation (P. Justesen, 2017). In 1999, Sweden enacted several measures against discrimination (Borchorst, Freidenvall, Kantola, Reisel, & Teigen, 2012), and was the first of the Scandinavian countries to introduce the stronger anti-discrimination legislation specific to disability and the work environment (The Anti-discrimination Act in 1999 (Lag 1999:132) om förbud mot diskriminering i arbetslivet på grund av funktionshinder) (Hvinden, 2004b). By 2008, Swedish domestic law contained seven acts prohibiting discrimination in different spheres of life. In 01 January 2009 these provisions were replaced with the Discrimination Act [Diskrimineringslag 2008:567], amended as of 2016 [Lag (2016:828)⁷] (Nordberg, 2017). This Act (Chapter 1, Section 4) prohibits direct and

⁶ <https://www.equalitylaw.eu/country/denmark>

⁷ https://www.lagboken.se/Lagboken/sfs/sfs/2016/800-899/d_2767552-sfs-2016_828-lag-om-andring-i-diskrimineringslagen-2008_567

indirect discrimination, and ‘inadequate accessibility’ where such measures are “reasonable on the basis of accessibility requirements in laws and other statutes⁸”. In addition to the anti-discrimination legislation, the Swedish Constitution contains general provisions regarding discrimination on the basis of a number of grounds including disability, although they are mostly symbolic (Borchorst et al., 2012).

Norway is not a member of the EU, but it is tied to the EU and follows many of its policies through the EEA Agreement (Borchorst et al., 2012). Inspired by Sweden, Norway adopted legal protection against discrimination in 2001 and introduced related shadow-legislation and bodies for awareness-raising, monitoring, supervision, and enforcement (Halvorsen & Hvinden, 2014a). In 2004, the Norwegian government incorporated the non-discrimination provisions into the WEA (Chapters 4 and 13 in WEA (2015) and WEA (2017)) in line with the EU Framework Equality Directive obliging employers to provide ‘reasonable accommodation’ and eliminate discrimination regarding persons with disabilities. This reinforced the employers’ obligation to support employees with reduced capability to work (Whittle & Halvorsen, 2007), and also aimed at protecting new disabled employees by prohibiting Norwegian employers from asking impairment-related questions in the hiring process, except for questions on workplace accommodation (Vedeler, 2014). How effective these changes in the legislation are with regard to the actual recruitment is uncertain, since it concerns primarily already existing employees who have acquired a disability and protecting them from discrimination. Additionally, a series of White Papers, e.g. St. meld. nr. 40 (2002-2003) and St.meld. nr. 9 (2006-2007), have promoted active participation in society and in work for ‘marginalised’ persons who were outside the labour market. However, the obligation of Norwegian state enterprises to prioritise job applicants with disabilities⁹ had been to a little extent implemented in practice (Halvorsen & Hvinden, 2014a). To date, Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, are compliant with the EU Framework Directive. These transformations demonstrate a ‘trend towards greater similarity in terms of general goals regarding equal treatment and non-discrimination’ (Hvinden, 2003, p. 621).

⁸ https://www.government.se/4a788f/contentassets/6732121a2cb54ee3b21da9c628b6bdc7/oversattning-diskrimineringslagen_eng.pdf

⁹ “Dersom det blant kvalifiserte søkere til en stilling er noen som oppgir å være funksjonshemmet/yrkeshemmet, og enten er eller blir uten arbeid, kan slik søker tilsettes selv om det finnes bedre kvalifiserte søkere til stillingen.” [Unofficial translation: “If, among qualified applicants for a job, someone is disabled [...], such applicants may be given preference even if there are better qualified applicants for the position]. (Forskrift til lov om statens tjenestemenn m.m., para. 9. Funksjonshemmet/yrkeshemmet søker. Retrieved from <https://lovdata.no/dokument/SF/forskrift/1983-11-11-1608>)

The adoption of the UN CRPD in 2006 has had another important implication for reforms in national disability policy. The UN CRPD is considered an important instrument with policy prescriptions on how the human rights of persons with disabilities and the inclusive policy for persons with disabilities have to be implemented (Harpur, 2012; Sherlaw & Hudebine, 2015). The CRPD obliges any country that has ratified it to submit a comprehensive report on the implemented measures. In 2017, 160 countries ratified the UN Convention worldwide. The EU itself has also ratified the UNCRPD (EC, 2014b), and is committed to ensure and promote the full realization of all human rights for all persons with disabilities through the adoption of new legislation, policies and programmes and the review of existing measures¹⁰. Regarding employment, Article 27 of the CRPD places an obligation on state parties (and consequently employers) to recognise the right of persons with disabilities to ‘work on equal basis with others [...] in a labour market and a work environment that is open, inclusive and accessible.’

The Scandinavian countries signed the UN CRPD in 2007, but they ratified it later in a different timeframe: Sweden in 2008, Denmark in 2009, and Norway in 2013.

While Sweden had already introduced anti-discrimination legislation, Norway was lagging behind. After discussion and learning from the experience of the United States and the UK and Sweden, the anti-discrimination legislation also came into force in Norway with the adoption of The Anti-Discrimination and Accessibility Act (ADAA) [*Diskriminerings- og tilgjengelighetsloven*] in 2009 (Halvorsen & Hvinden, 2009; Tøssebro, 2016). This law has arguably improved Norway’s alignment with the principles of the CRPD, and led to its ratification in 2013 (Strand, 2014). The Norwegian anti-discrimination law ensures the right of social participation to all persons regardless of their disability. Moreover, it imposes distinct obligations on public and private-sector employers with more than 50 employees regarding non-discrimination, equal treatment, and workplace accommodation. It also requires them to report on these duties regularly. The majority of small and medium-sized enterprises are exempt from this obligation (Svalund & Hansen, 2013). The ADAA has incorporated several articles regulating accessibility and provision of workplace adaptations (Sections 12,13,16,17 and 26, see amendment No. 61 of 2013/2014¹¹). The recent study for the European Commission has concluded that only Norway had ‘comprehensive anti-discrimination legislation, in line with

¹⁰ <http://www.edf-feph.org/eu-has-ratified-convention-what-does-mean>

¹¹ Act of 21 June 2013 No. 61 relating to a prohibition against discrimination on the basis of disability (the Anti-Discrimination and Accessibility Act): <http://app.uio.no/ub/ujur/oversatte-lover/data/lov-20130621-061-eng.pdf>

both the Employment Equality Directive and the Racial Equality Directive’ (Directorate General for Justice and Consumers, 2015). As of 1 January 2018, in Norway, the Gender Equality Act, the Ethnicity Anti-Discrimination Act, the Anti-Discrimination and Accessibility Act, and the Sexual Orientation Anti-Discrimination Act were combined into the new Equality and Anti-Discrimination Act¹². This new Act considers that ‘equality presupposes accessibility and accommodation’ and imposes the duty on employers to promote equality and prevent discrimination. It specifically obliges “public undertakings, and private undertakings that employ more than 50 persons, to issue a statement on equality measures implemented or planned” that implies “a statutory duty to prepare an annual report” (Sections 26 and 26a).

Denmark, as concluded by many scholars (Borchorst et al., 2012; Halvorsen & Hvinden, 2014a; Liisberg, 2011), has the most limited anti-discrimination legislation among the Scandinavian countries. However, the Danish Parliament has recently adopted a new Act prohibiting direct and indirect discrimination on the grounds of disability as of July 1, 2018. The act expands the protection against discrimination on the grounds of disability, which until now was only covered in the labour market, and applies to all public and private activities (Bill No. L 221 on Act on Prohibition of Discrimination because of Disability¹³). Nevertheless, the statutory definition of the duty to provide reasonable accommodation in Denmark has been vague (Chopin & Germaine, 2016). The new Act of 2018 also does not include any obligation to provide reasonable accommodation and accessibility.

In addition to the anti-discrimination legislation, other policy standards have also intensified in Scandinavian countries that regulate accessibility of the built environment and the infrastructure. These policy measures are more explicitly addressed by Norway with its Universal Design Policy (see Table 5), which has been selected by the Zero project¹⁴ as an example of the ‘Innovative policy measures in 2014’.

Regarding *financial incentives*, all Scandinavian countries provide wage subsidies for employees with disabilities, and ensure that there are financial incentives to compensate employers who accept persons with work-acquired disabilities and/or job seekers with psychological, physical, intellectual, or socio-medical disabilities, as well as to cover the associated workplace adaptation costs (Aakvik & Dahl, 2006; Jarhag, Nilsson, & Werning,

¹² Act relating to equality and a prohibition against discrimination (LOV-2017-06-16-51):

<https://lovdata.no/dokument/NLE/lov/2017-06-16-51>

¹³ <https://www.equalitylaw.eu/downloads/4623-denmark-adoption-of-a-new-act-on-disability-discrimination-pdf-93-kb> and <https://www.ft.dk/samling/20171/lovforslag/L221/index.htm>

¹⁴ <https://zeroproject.org/policy/norway/>

2009). Although Denmark and Sweden have both channelled more resources in the form of subsidies for employers (Halvorsen & Hvinden, 2014a), Sweden has adopted the broadest repertoire of disability policy measures including disability-specific public employment services (PES) and higher expenditures on employment incentives. In Sweden, employers may receive wage subsidies and special assistance to support a disabled employee. In Denmark, despite the existence of the ‘flexjob scheme’, employers play a less central role, and this programme is often criticized for its counter-effects (Gupta, Larsen, & Thomsen, 2015; Høgelund, 2003). According to the Act on compensation for disabled employees (Lov om kompensation til handicappede i erhverv m.v., LBK no 727 as of 07/07/2009), persons with disabilities in Denmark may get preferential access to public vacancies (chapter 2), personal assistance (chapter 3-4) and temporary wage subsidies (chapter 5). A wage subsidy is paid by the local authorities to the employer, who then pays the wage to the employees (S. Bengtsson, 2017).

Wage subsidies in Norway represent a relatively small labour market scheme that has been considerably more effective for non-OECD immigrants, youth, and women than for persons with disabilities (Duell et al., 2009). Employers mainly receive wage subsidies for employing persons registered at NAV for temporary work training measures. Furthermore, employers in both Norway and Sweden may receive (part of) the workplace adjustment cost when hiring a new employee with a disability (Hedlund et al., 2009; Liisberg, 2011). In addition, employees in Samhall enterprises in Sweden, where about 40% must have a severe disability, receive from the central government a salary equal to labor market norms that covers 85–90% of the wages paid to employees, as well as personal development support and training (O’Brien & Dempsey, 2004).

Regarding *awareness raising measures and voluntary actions*, among Scandinavian countries, only Norway has strong voluntary social regulation measures (Halvorsen & Hvinden, 2014b). This comes from a strong tradition of cooperative relationships between the Norwegian government and its social partners – trade unions and employers’ associations (Dahl & Lorentzen, 2017; Hansen et al., 2011). In 2001, a tripartite Agreement on Inclusive Working Life (*Inkluderende Arbeidsliv*, hereafter called ‘the IA Agreement’) was signed between the public and private employers, the Norwegian government represented by NAV, and the social partners. Employers who sign this Agreement are called ‘the IA employers or enterprises’ and commit to provide ‘an inclusive workplace’ by implementing three goals:

- 1) reduce sickness absenteeism;

- 2) prevent withdrawal from working life of their own employees with reduced capacity and to include people recommended by NAV to test their capacity to work; and
- 3) retain aging workers.

According to Olsen, Svendal, and Amundsen (2005), two and a half years after the adoption of the first IA Agreement in 2001, 6,540 enterprises in Norway have signed it. After the successful termination of the first contract (2001-2005), the IA Agreement was renewed in 2009, and in 2011, with the latest contract being for the period of 2014-2018. Ose, Brattlid, and Slettebak (2013) report that the majority of registered IA enterprises at the end of the third contract period (2010-2013) were medium and large businesses. Smaller businesses, as concluded by Svalund and Hansen (2013, p. 43), “were more sceptical about the work capacities of persons with disabilities than employers with 100+ employees who instead had established concrete targets within the IA Agreement to increase the recruitment (inclusion) of persons with disabilities” (unofficial translation).

The IA employers receive various types of support - financial, technical and informational - from the Working Life Centres administered by NAV to help integrate the long-term unemployed, including persons with disabilities (Mandal & Ose, 2015). Overall, the IA employers generally report having a higher proportion of employees with disabilities (Svalund & Hansen, 2013). Despite the available support, prior research criticised the IA enterprises and their HR management for not having written plans for recruitment, policies or CSR strategies that would explicitly target the inclusion of persons with disabilities (Halvorsen & Hvinden, 2009). Employers still gave preference to their own employees with acquired disabilities or after illnesses compared to employing persons with disabilities without prior work experience. Furthermore, the provision of workplace accommodation for persons with disabilities showed low results (Hansen & Haualand, 2012; Ose et al., 2009; Tøssebro, 2012). As reported by Ose et al. (2013, pp. 143-144), only 20% of the IA enterprises had the genuine intention to increase the presence of employees with disabilities/reduced functional abilities, whereas 55% did this to improve their public reputation and 65% to access available NAV services. In general, public-sector companies recruited more persons with disabilities than the private sector, where the majority of the recruited persons with disabilities did not come directly via NAV (Svalund & Hansen, 2013).

Additionally, within the IA policy in Norway, the Job Strategy (2011-2013) had been implemented with the special focus on bringing young people with disabilities into mainstream employment. The evaluation report on Job Strategy (Dyrstad, Mandal, & Ose, 2017, pp. 37-38)

reported that in 2012, 500 jobs were allocated for young people with disabilities. This report concluded that it was necessary to engage more large public and private companies in its implementation and to improve cooperation between all the parties involved. During the implementation of this programme, employers, however, gave preference to young persons with physical impairments, while a large group of young persons with mental disorders and social problems were neglected (unofficial translation, p. 231).

All Scandinavian countries, albeit to different extents, prioritised the implementation of disability action plans and strategies to promote employers' and the general public's awareness of disability-related issues. For instance, in Denmark, the government launched a campaign to enhance employers' social responsibility. Moral arguments were used to persuade employers to enhance the integration of disabled people in the labour market (Høgelund, 2003; Rosdahl, 2001). This campaign did not result in ongoing measures promoting the inclusion of vulnerable groups, contrary to the intentions of the IA Agreement in Norway. In 2017, the Danish Institute for Human Rights introduced the Gold Indicators to compare persons with and without disabilities in relation to ten key thematic areas of the UN CRPD¹⁵, among which is the right to employment. In Sweden, national disability programmes have been implemented (see Table 5). The Swedish PES adopted the National Disability Action Plan and the Disability Strategy (2011–2016) that prioritised increasing employment through labour market agencies and financial support to employers who hire individuals with disabilities. In 2017, the Swedish Parliament introduced a new disability proposal for disability policy (Regeringens proposition 2016/17:188¹⁶), which is currently under discussion.

In conclusion, it can be summarised that the anti-discrimination legislation adopted to date by all Scandinavian countries has imposed stricter obligations of non-discrimination and equality upon employers. While in some countries, e.g. Norway, this duty specifically targets large companies (with more than 50 employees), it has been very general and opened the possibility for businesses to implement only those activities that they considered more relevant (Hansen & Haualand, 2012).

The voluntary engagement of employers has been considered an important part of the socially-responsible business activities that may contribute to the inclusion of vulnerable groups in mainstream employment. So far, it has been promoted predominantly in Norway (Mandal &

¹⁵ Gold Indicators, Denmark: <https://www.humanrights.dk/activities/our-work-denmark/disability/gold-indicators-crpd>

¹⁶ https://www.regeringen.se/49aa12/contentassets/0571a7504d49428292a6ab114e4b0263/nationellt-mal-och-inriktning-for-funktionshinderspolitiken-prop-2016-17_188.pdf

Ose, 2015). Despite the general commonalities of the Nordic countries implied by their socio-democratic welfare traditions, and having common cultural values and labour market traditions, their national regulatory policy measures differ considerably. The similar tendency is observed for the active employment programmes and the employers' engagement towards including persons with disabilities in mainstream employment. As argued by Johansson and Hvinden (2007b, p. 344), "it is still too early to talk about a common Nordic model." Furthermore, whereas the evolving supranational and European equality and non-discrimination policies have challenged the underlying system of the Nordic disability protection and produced similar legislative measures, their implementation in practice differs. These new measures were even regarded as causing employers' concerns since, to some extent, they confront the tripartite and collaborative relations of the traditional Nordic model (Halvorsen & Hvinden, 2009).

These facts give a reason to explore in more detail the practices of large companies in Norway, since they have clear expectations to adopt inclusive strategies towards the inclusion of persons with disabilities and to demonstrate greater social responsibility. Despite the policy measures in place, the available research on large companies' practices in Norway regarding the inclusion of people with disabilities is scarce. The priority has been given to investigating the state-owned IT and telecommunication company Telenor which implements a Disability Training Programme [as an IA activity] that offers a two-year computer training course to persons with physical disabilities (Berg, Thorshaug, Garvik, Svendsen, & Øiaas, 2012; Kalef, Barrera M., & Heymann, 2014; Skøien, Hem, & Tyrmi, 2006). Yet, how other large private companies address the inclusion of persons with disabilities and which factors are more conducive to their corporate culture with regard to adopting inclusive values and practices requires a detailed investigation. So far, this has only been partially addressed in the IA and non-discrimination reports (Ose et al., 2009; Ose et al., 2013; Svalund & Hansen, 2013).

Table 5: Disability policy measures in Scandinavian countries: comparative analysis

Level / Guidelines (?)		Denmark	Norway	Sweden
Global	UN CRPD	<p>Signed: 30 March 2007 Ratified: 28 September 2009</p>	<p>Signed: 30 March 2007 Ratified: 03 June 2013</p>	<p>Signed: 30 March 2007 Ratified: 15 December 2008</p>
European / Supranational	EU Employment Framework Directive (2000/78/EC)	<p>EU member country: since 1 January 1973</p> <p>The Danish Act on Prohibition against Discrimination (1996), disability added in 2004. The Law on Equal treatment in the Labour Market (L.BK nr 1349 as of 16/12/2008)</p>	<p>Member of the European Economic Area Agreement (EEA)</p> <p>Legal protection against discrimination in 2001, amended in 2004 in the WEA (section 13-1(2))</p>	<p>EU member country: since 1 January 1995</p> <p>Non-discrimination in working life (1999; amended 2008)</p> <p>Included legal provision against discrimination in the Constitution (2002)</p>
	Labour legislation (WEA)	<p>The Danish Act on Work Environment (since 1975), amended in 2010, latest amendment 2015</p>	<p>The Work Environment Act (Arbeidsmiljøloven), since 1977, latest amendment 2015</p>	<p>The Swedish Work Environment Act (Arbetsmiljölöag), since 1977, latest amendment 2014</p>
National / local	Anti-discrimination legislation	<p>The Act on the Prohibition of Discrimination in the Labour market, first adopted in 1996 and amended in 2008 (LBK nr 1349 af 16/12/2008, amended 2014). This law prohibits direct and indirect disability, as well as other grounds. Kapitel §2 imposes a non-discrimination duty towards employees or applicants with disabilities in connection with recruitment, dismissal, transfer and promotion, pay and working conditions. It obliges employers to "make appropriate measures to the specific needs to give persons with disabilities access to employment, to be employed, etc., except when it imposes a disproportionate burden on employer. Multiple discrimination is not directly covered, and reasonable accommodation is not addressed. L 221 Forslag til lov om forbud mod forskelsbehandling på grund af handicap (May 31, 2018) – new legislation that prohibits direct or indirect discrimination.</p>	<p>The Anti-Discrimination and Accessibility Act (ADAA) adopted in 2008 and entered in force in 2009, amended in 2013 (in force since 2014 – 21.06.2013 No. 61).</p> <p>This law prohibits against direct and indirect discrimination on disability, covering physical, cognitive and mental disabilities (section 5). Sections 12, 13 and 26 impose the duty on employers to ensure both universal design (general accommodation) and 'reasonable accommodation' of persons/employees with disabilities. Section 24 (a and b): a duty to affirmative actions on public- and private-sector employers with more than 50 employees to promote equal opportunities and prevent discrimination against persons with disabilities. Section 25: Employer's reporting duty.</p> <p>The Equality and Anti-Discrimination Act (LOV:2017-06-16-51); Sections 26 and 26a.</p>	<p>The Anti-discrimination Act in 1999 (Lag (1999:132) om förbud mot diskriminering i arbetslivet på grund av funktionshinder) amended in 2009 to</p> <p>New Discrimination Act (Discrimination Act 2008:567), with further amendments in: 2014+958 and 2016:828. This law prohibits direct and indirect discrimination on the ground of disability (of permanent physical, mental or intellectual nature) alongside with other grounds, and obliges to ensure accessibility on a reasonable basis (section 4). Chapter 2, Sections 1-4 – prohibition of discrimination in working life against employees and applicants with disabilities. Prop.2015/16:135 (amendments to Discrimination Act 2008:567)</p>
	Regulatory policy measures			

		<p>No disability-specific employment service; The National Labour Office - the Special Function Job and Disability (SJH - Specialfunktionens Job & Handicap at The Danish Agency for Labour Market and Recruitment), established in 2007, supports the municipalities to help include the unemployed disabled into the labour market:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Employment measures for disabled persons concern access to personal assistance, wage subsidies for employers, preferential access into public companies (according to Act on Compensation for Disabled Persons in Employment) • Flexjob for persons with permanently reduced working capacities (special working conditions and subsidy to employers – partial wage subsidy unlimited in duration) 	<p>NAV (National Labour and Welfare Administration) since 2006 - not disability-specific employment service:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A subsidy ('inkluderingsstilskudd') that covers accommodation costs (e.g. for adapting the workplace; purchasing of special furniture, tools or aids; providing specialised personal equipment, ICT or software, etc.), shall not exceed NOK 118,400 (about EUR 12,500), paid over a period of 12 months. • Temporary wage subsidy ('midlertidig lønstilskudd') is provided to employers that employ participants of NAV schemes (registered at NAV) among which are also persons with disabilities/reduced work capacity. 	<p>The Swedish Public Employment Services (PES) (Arbetsförmedlingen) is responsible for labour market policies concerning people with disabilities (The Labour Market Policy Act 2000:628; Special Measures for Persons with Disabilities who have reduced working capacity 2017:462): support to job seekers with disabilities and employers:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • wage subsidies (in combination with supported employment) to public or private employers; • inclusion grant' towards adaptations and purchase of specialised equipment (including grant for a sign language interpreter), during the first 12 months of employment, not more than SEK 100,000 per year (about EUR 9800) - 2017:462. • a financial grant for allocating staff resources that support a disabled employee (personal assistance), as well as provision of follow-up support • Samhall sheltered employment - wage subsidy and support to employees 	<p>The National Disability Action Plan (2000-2010) Disability Strategy (2011-2016) New proposal for disability policy in Sweden (under discussion); Prop. 2016/17:188</p>
<p>Voluntary self-regulation and awareness raising activities</p>		<p>A new action plan for disability policy - The Disability Policy Action Plan - was launched on 4 October 2013 'Goals for Social Mobility 2016' 'Gold Indicators' of The Danish Institute for Human Rights</p>	<p>A More Inclusive Working Life Agreement (IA Agreement) since 2001, the latest period of 2014-2018 Jobs Strategy for People with Disabilities (2011-2013) Norway Universal Design Strategy 2025</p>	<p>The National Disability Action Plan (2000-2010) Disability Strategy (2011-2016) New proposal for disability policy in Sweden (under discussion); Prop. 2016/17:188</p>	

Note: accumulated from different sources: UN CRPD website; European Equality Law Network (<http://www.equalitylaw.eu/>); ANED DOTCOM Database (<https://www.disability-europe.net/dotcom>); National Ministries websites; National labour law profiles and policies (ILO: <http://www.ilo.org/tpdial/information-resources/national-labour-law-profiles/lang-en/index.htm>); Danish Agency: <https://star.dk/en/active-labour-market-policy-measures/for-placing-disabled-persons-in-employment/>; Norwegian Labour and Welfare Administration – NAV: <https://nav.no/en/Home>; The Swedish Public Employment Services (PES): <https://www.arbetsformedlingen.se/Globalmeny/Other-languages/About-us.html> "Stöd till hjälpmedel på arbetsplatsen" https://www.arbetsformedlingen.se/download/18_4ab2e7121379d5897aa80009049/1401114559762/broschyr-syn-eng.pdf, and samhall.se/In-Eng/ish/About-Samhall/)

3.4. Summary of disability policy profile of Norway in a Scandinavian and European context

Norway, Denmark and Sweden are characterised as the ‘most generous’ welfare states which provide ample opportunities for ensuring that disabled persons do not fall behind in living standards and that they can participate fully in all areas of the social life, including employment (Halvorsen et al., 2015; Mandal & Ose, 2015). In contrast to other European countries, the three Scandinavian countries did not impose an obligatory quota system on employers to increase the employment prospects of persons with disabilities (OECD, 2010), but instead gave priority to activation measures. While the Nordic disability policy rests on the general welfare policy traditions (of a more redistributive nature), the governments in these countries have been more reluctant to adopt and enforce social regulatory measures (Norden, 2010). The priority has been on rehabilitation, vocational training, job placement services (e.g. work training in regular workplaces) and, in some cases, publicly subsidised and sheltered jobs at private companies, as well as considerable public support was provided to employers and to persons with disabilities (Duell et al., 2009; Halvorsen & Hvinden, 2009).

Since the 1990s, new reforms have been introduced in the three Scandinavian countries. This occurred partly in line with the European and international policy changes with the widespread recognition of a social model of disability (Hvinden, 2009; Priestley, 2007), and partly due to an internal need to reduce spending on disability benefits and to increase participation in employment of vulnerable populations (Halvorsen & Hvinden, 2011). Other economic and social factors such as stronger market competition, fiscal pressures, demographic changes and the generosity of existing disability benefits have demanded that the Scandinavian welfare states tighten their redistributive provisions and introduce more active measures to promote the employment of persons with disabilities (Drøpping et al., 2000; Hvinden, 2009; OECD, 2010). Over the past two decades, ‘new’ regulatory policy measures - anti-discrimination legislation, financial incentives, and awareness raising or information campaigns have intensified (Halvorsen & Hvinden, 2014b). Therefore, Nordic countries, and especially Norway, provide an example to explore the changing balance between redistributive disability policies and new regulatory measures, and to analyse their effect on the responses of large employers to including persons with disabilities in their workforce.

4. Employers' responses to promoting the inclusion of persons with disabilities in mainstream employment

This section discusses employers' responses to the EU and national policies to promote the inclusion of persons with disabilities in mainstream employment. The emphasis is on the practices of large multinational corporations (MNCs) in this regard.

Contrary to governments' expectations in many European countries neither the introduction of new anti-discrimination legislation nor the UN CRPD has so far resulted in radical changes in removing discriminatory barriers in employment and in the workplace (Lawson & Priestley, 2017). Many scholars (Clayton et al., 2011; Kalef et al., 2014; Kaye et al., 2011; Perrini, 2005; Skøien et al., 2006) have concluded that anti-discrimination legislation alone is not capable of improving employers' hiring practices, but rather increases their concerns about financial and/or legal obligations. However, the authorities often fail to enforce the legislation effectively. Still, the anti-discrimination legislation cannot fully replace redistributive provisions. Hvinden (2004a) argued that to enhance employers' commitments to take on greater responsibility for the inclusion of persons with disabilities (to eliminate discrimination, provide safe working conditions, adopt the principles of universal design and provide arrangements in the workplace), only a "mix of legal obligations, financial incentives, communication, and persuasion strategies" or a "combination of sticks and carrots" could be more effective (p. 336). The inclusion of persons with disabilities also concerns elimination of discrimination in access to employment and in the workplace, safe working conditions, universal design and accommodation in the workplace. The OECD (2010, pp. 14-15), likewise, recommends considering employers as "part of a solution, providing them with necessary incentives to monitor their own employees and provide better support, such as appropriate workplace adjustments". Thus, to increase the participation of disabled people in the labour market, policy-makers have started encouraging employers by providing them with additional incentives, increasing their awareness and engagement and altering their organisational approaches. In this respect, Halvorsen and colleagues (2017, p. 19) argue that employers may themselves be important "decision makers who act complementary to public providers, either on a mandatory or a voluntary basis, and determine whether persons with disabilities will find and/or retain paid jobs and whether workplaces are accessible".

When considering the progress of industrial development, Barnes and Mercer (2005) argue that the emergence of post-industrial society has made the inclusion of disabled people

into working life even more problematic. Economic and organisational restructuring led to job instability and more demands for efficiency. Employers give preference to ‘flexible employees’ who produce the ‘best results as quickly as possible and require fewer repetitive tasks’ (J. Burke et al., 2013; Ekberg, Pransky, Besen, Fassier, Feuerstein, Munir, Blanck, et al., 2016; Sennett, 2006). These changes have reduced employment opportunities for employees with low qualifications, especially for persons with disabilities. In addition to this, the technological developments, the emergence of the service economy and the prevalence of less physical work are observed (Esping-Andersen, Gallie, Hemerijck, & Myles, 2002; Sennett, 2006). One may argue that these developments could have made jobs more accessible to persons with disabilities (Mont, 2004). At the same time, they place persons with disabilities in a more disadvantaged position compared to other employees because they historically had less access to technology and lower educational levels (Barnes & Mercer, 2013). The chances of employment for persons with ‘learning difficulties’ and ‘mental health’ problems have been reduced even more drastically, since in the 21st century an “able mind has become an important prerequisite for paid labour” (Barnes, 2012, p. 477).

The introduction of the anti-discrimination legislation has resulted in a decline of explicit direct discrimination, e.g. in recruitment. However, “subtle discriminative attitudes or aversive disablism” persist on the part of employers towards employees/job applicants with disabilities (Deal, 2007, p. 99). Evidence shows that many workplaces lack appropriate accommodations (Kaye et al., 2011; Nevala, Pehkonen, Koskela, Ruusuvaori, & Anttila, 2015), and persons with disabilities, even when employed, occupy semi-skilled and/or unskilled positions. They are often relegated to perform routine clerical and service work (Barnes, 2000; Barnes & Mercer, 2005; Oliver, 1990). Employers lack experience with [employing] persons with disabilities which, according to Riley (2006), results in their multiple prejudices against them. Even the expansion of part-time work for disabled people has not increased employment opportunities for persons with disabilities, contrary to the expectations of policy-makers (Barnes & Mercer, 2005).

The globalization of the world economy has created new opportunities in the labour market that are more favourable for persons with disabilities. In particular, the expansion of multinational corporations¹⁷ (‘multinationals’ or ‘MNCs’) across many countries worldwide

¹⁷ ‘Multinationals’ own a significant equity share – typically 50 per cent or more – of another company operating in a foreign country, and include modern corporations like IBM, General Motors, Intel and Nike, but also smaller firms which employ 250 workers or more (Venables, 2005).

represents the potential to increase economic activity and to affect employment outcomes in both the 'home' (parent) and 'host' (subsidiary) countries (Ekholm, 2004; Sundaram & Black, 1992; Trevino & Nelson, 2011). MNCs transfer policies and practices between the national business systems where they operate (Ferner, Almond, & Colling, 2005). There is also a growing belief that the resources and power of MNCs have the potential to make a major impact on society (Haugh & Talwar, 2010). The expansion of MNCs has also opened up new types of employment (e.g. long-distance work, telework, on-demand employment) which could increase employment opportunities for a more diverse labour market including persons with disabilities (Ekberg, Pransky, Besen, Fassier, Feuerstein, Munir, Blanck, et al., 2016). However, activities of MNCs in local contexts have received criticism for their negative impacts on the environment and labour, that focus mainly at maximizing profits (Forsgren, 2008). At the same time, many MNCs demonstrate higher responsibilities with respect to societal needs and human rights (Frey, 1997; Ruggie, 2007) and implement CSR initiatives that target different stakeholders, e.g. employees, suppliers and customers, and support local communities (Bohdanowicz & Zientara, 2008).

Lately, MNCs have also included disability in their CSR strategies and diversity management programmes alongside race, gender and sexual orientation (Point & Singh, 2003). Some scholars (e.g. Klarsfeld, Ng, & Tatli, 2012) consider that MNCs engage in socially responsible activities to create a certain competitive advantage: to project 'a good image' and to enhance corporate reputation. For instance, Ikea, Google, Starbucks, and other US corporations are examples of how to build disability outreach into their marketing and hiring programmes (Riley, 2006, p. v). Cole and Salimath (2013) and Halvorsen and colleagues (2017) argue that formal and informal norms, ethical guidelines, rules, laws and bodies at supranational, national and local levels may influence both public and non-public actors by creating, monitoring and enforcing duties. The OECD Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises, the United Nations Global Compact, and the United Nations Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights encourage MNCs to voluntarily adopt responsible business conduct (Matten & Moon, 2008). The ILO in its Code of Practice on Managing Disability in the Workplace (2002) promotes voluntary standards among MNCs on how to set a corporate disability management strategy. Many large corporations explicitly adopt 'Disability Management Strategies' (Buys & Randall, 2009; Harder & Scott, 2005) which principally target disability prevention, rehabilitation, and return to work of current employees. In 2014, the European Commission introduced a new definition of CSR that require companies to enhance the

visibility of CSR and to ensure the dissemination of good practices. At national levels, local actors and organisations, such as employers' associations or business coalitions that receive government support, encourage disability-inclusive employers' practices, e.g. the Business Disability Forum (BDF) in the UK (formerly, Employers Forum on Disability) are a 'strong motivator for action' for employers (e.g. Dibben, James, Cunningham, & Smyth, 2002; Matten & Moon, 2008).

The voluntary commitments of MNCs, however, have raised doubts about their capacity to eliminate the barriers to social exclusion (Brejning, 2012). Matten and Moon (2008) distinguish between the 'explicit CSR' or the corporations' policies and social responsibility strategies, and the 'implicit CSR' or responses to the institutional environment (including norms, rules and laws) that are not always articulated. Large companies may, indeed, not show data highlighting policies or responsibility for persons with disabilities in their CSR reports (Cordero et al., 2014). Thus, CSR reports or any other publicly available information disclosing the voluntary commitment of large companies may create an impression of inclusivity and the corporate public image, while failing to increase the presence of employees with disabilities in practice (Ball et al., 2005; Houtenville & Kalargyrou, 2012; Nota et al., 2014). However, the absence of the disability-inclusive statements in the CSR reports does not necessarily indicate irresponsibility or lack of inclusive practices (Cordero et al., 2014). Rather, the cultural differences in the institutional environments may play a role. For instance, the CSR plays more 'explicit' role in the US, but more 'implicit' in the European context (Doh & Guay, 2006; Matten & Moon, 2008). McDonald and Burton (2002) explain that the information on hiring, promoting, rewarding and dismissing employees is largely determined by the practices of the 'host country' and a value system peculiar to that country's culture. In their research on MNCs in India, Vohra and colleagues (2015, p. 356) note that "many organizations [may] hire persons with disabilities (PWDs) as part of fulfilling their CSR agenda and thus follow a piecemeal approach and hire only to meet some internal targets, whereas they do not look at the inclusion of PWDs in letter and spirit."

Despite these findings, prior research indicates that MNCs (or 'large companies') possess sufficient resources to significantly contribute to the inclusion of persons with disabilities into mainstream employment, namely:

- Extensive HR and recruitment staff and implementation of targeted programmes and strategies, e.g. internships or targeted recruitment (Gilbride, Stensrud, Vandergoot, & Golden, 2003; Henry et al., 2014; Kaye et al., 2011; Riley, 2006);

- Formal and well-developed disability management and diversity policies requiring non-discrimination and equality compliance (Mor Barak, 2000; Pless & Maak, 2004);
- Financial and technical resources that might help to provide necessary workplace adaptations and training for disabled employees (Erickson et al., 2014; Ju et al., 2013; R. L. Morgan & Melina, 2005; Sandler & Blanck, 2005);
- Higher awareness and experience with employees with disabilities (Graffam et al., 2002; Kalargyrou, 2012); and
- Top management commitment and ‘good examples’ or ‘best practices’ that are shared with other businesses (ILO, 2010; Riley, 2006).

Some large employers have already recognised employees with disabilities as ‘untapped potential’ (Lysaght, Ouellette-Kuntz, & Lin, 2012), who can bring a certain competitive advantage, value and numerous benefits to the company (Kalargyrou, 2012, 2014; Riley, 2006). For instance, companies that develop special products for disabled consumers engage disabled employees’ experience in this process (Klein, Schmeling, & Blanck, 2005; Sandler & Blanck, 2005). Some companies provide inclusive initiatives that set a benchmark for other companies (Kalargyrou, 2012), or actively recruit trainees with disabilities (BBC, 2017). The Walgreen corporation in the US actively recruit qualified new employees with a broad range of disabilities to create an “integrated work environment in which employees would work side by side, doing the same jobs for the same pay, and being held to the same standards” (Kaletta, Binks, & Robinson, 2012).

Even though large employers may report concerns about accommodation costs and legal liabilities (e.g. Henry et al., 2014), scholars have concluded that concerns about performance and the costs of employees with disabilities are more pertinent to small employers than to medium-sized or large companies (J. Burke et al., 2013; Erickson et al., 2014; Fraser et al., 2010; Graffam et al., 2002; Vornholt et al., 2013). Large companies overall demonstrate fewer concerns about getting financial incentives, such as wage subsidies, tax incentives, or compensation for accommodation costs for employees with disabilities (Fevre, Robinson, Lewis, & Jones, 2013; Fraser et al., 2010; Gustafsson, Peralta, & Danermark, 2014). Large companies actively recruit, have at least one employee with disability and provide workplace accommodation for employees with disabilities (Schur et al., 2014). Providing the necessary workplace adaptations benefits a company’s ability to retain a qualified employee and to improve the organisational culture and climate (Hartnett, Stuart, Thurman, Loy, & Batiste,

2011). A disability-inclusive perspective thus goes beyond just demonstrating a visible commitment in the CSR reports and strategies and having sufficient resources, but requires “undertaking the cultural transformation of a corporation”, as concluded by Riley (2006, p. xii). Likewise, Miller (1998) argues that “building an inclusive organisation requires a serious commitment to fundamental change in the structure, behaviour, operating procedures, HR systems, formal and informal reward systems, leadership practices, compensatory requirements and culture of the organization” (p. 152). Barclay, Markel, and Yugo (2012) suggest that only “an organisation that promotes and practises the use of virtue (in all organisational processes, e.g. recruitment, promotion, accommodation, etc.) will move beyond stigmatisation and develop a culture of inclusion for all employees including persons with disabilities” (p.335).

Therefore, an extensive shift in corporate attitudes needs to occur (Schur et al., 2005). Those companies whose corporate culture embraces inclusive corporate values and implements disability-inclusive strategies are more likely to eliminate obstacles to hiring employees with disabilities (Kaye et al., 2011; Schur, Kruse, & Blanck, 2013; Schur et al., 2009). Hence, to be conducive to persons with disabilities, MNCs (or large employers in general) should ensure a corporate culture that is open to a diverse workforce and incorporates the principles of inclusion, based on equal treatment, non-discrimination, and an accessible and supportive workplace (McMahon et al., 2008; Newton et al., 2007; Samant et al., 2009; Schur et al., 2005).

In sum, the literature provides solid evidence in changes observed in employers’ responses for including persons with disabilities among their workforce. This has been lately especially noticeable in the practices of MNCs. These conclusions are based predominantly on the literature and examples from across Anglosphere countries. There remains little knowledge about MNCs responses concerning persons with disabilities in Norway and other Scandinavian countries, except the contributions of Mandal and Ose (2015). Several studies (e.g. Gjørberg, 2010; Ihlen & Hoivik, 2015; Simcic-Bronn & Vidaver-Cohen, 2009) discuss the historic traits of the CSR in the Nordic countries, the adaptation of CSR to the ‘Nordic Model’ and corporate motives for engaging in social initiatives. These scholars, however, do not focus on CSR as related to the inclusion of persons with disabilities into the workforce, but explain that the term ‘CSR’ can be interpreted in different ways in different countries based on their historic context, where the size, age, and the legitimacy of businesses play a role (Gjørberg, 2010; Ihlen & Hoivik, 2015). As argued by Gjørberg (2010), the concept of CSR had initially been alien to Nordic political-economic systems, with their traditions of regulation, corporatist agreements, and active state involvement in the economy. At the same time, according to Mandal and Ose

(2015), in Scandinavia, and especially in Norway, social responsibility has gradually become associated with the willingness of companies to help solve problems of social inclusion. This willingness can be attributed to the recognition that employment problems and social problems cannot be solved solely by the public authorities and the welfare state.

5. Analytical framework

This section presents the analytical framework for this thesis based on three theoretical perspectives - 'corporate culture theory', 'the neo-institutional theory' and the 'impression management theory'. Together they will be used to explain the 'external' and 'internal' factors that contribute to the companies' corporate culture inclusive to persons with disabilities. The Norwegian case study and the comparisons with the Nordic and Baltic countries presented in the attached articles have not been handed down entirely from a single theory. The theoretical perspectives were not used as "a formal theory", but, in line with Yin's recommendations (2009, pp. 35-36), as 'a theoretical proposition' that helped me to understand "why acts, events, thoughts, etc. occur". Despite the qualitative nature of this thesis, I did not aim to develop the theories by inductive reasoning from the data analysis, as in other qualitative methods, such as 'ethnography' and 'grounded theory' (e.g. Creswell, 2007; Yin, 2009), which purposefully omit mentioning any theory in the beginning.

Following the research objectives defined in this thesis, my main target was to understand how large companies in Norway respond to the evolving international and European human rights regimes for the inclusion of persons with disabilities, and what factors or mechanisms foster or hamper their inclusive corporate culture. The theoretical perspectives provided a guidance in determining what data to collect and the strategies for analysing the data and comparing the findings (Yin, 2009, p. 36). Yet, the analytical framework in this section did not emerge solely from the identified theories, but rather resulted from going back and forth between data collection, inductive data analysis and reading of relevant literature to explain the discovered 'meaningful underlying patterns' in the interview data. This process is known as "abductive reasoning" in the theory of science (Pierce, C.S. cited by Clarke, 1974; Råholm, 2010), which I will explain in more detail in section 6. The emerged 'analytical framework' combined a set of interconnected factors that guided me throughout the research process. These are the factors that are likely to shape how employers relate to the inclusion of persons with disabilities (through recruitment, hiring, accommodation and/or retention) and that might contribute to an inclusive corporate culture inclusive to persons with disabilities as regular and potential employees.

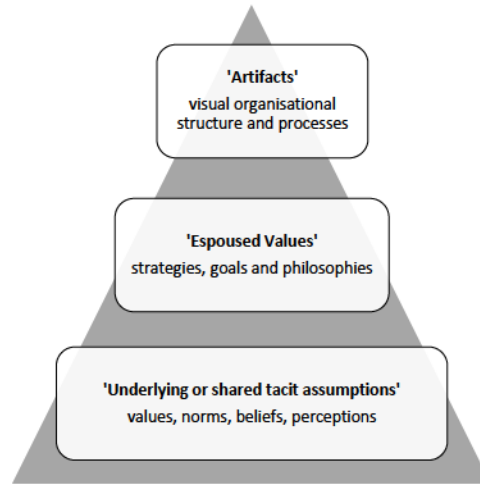
5.1. Corporate culture: 'visible' and 'invisible' levels

The concept of 'organisational culture' has its origin in cultural anthropology and represents

the collective customs and rituals of a society as well as the cultural characteristics or a certain way of living of individuals and groups (see Allaire & Firsirotu, 1984; E. Hall, 1966). The term 'culture' has been applied to 'illuminate organisational situations and to better understand the hidden and complex life in organisations and the forces that cause these types of behaviour' (Schein, 2004, pp. 3, 8). Several definitions of corporate culture exist in organisational studies, and most of them connect to some form of shared meaning, interpretations, values and norms (Allaire & Firsirotu, 1984; Alvesson & Sveningsson, 2016). In a more generic sense, an organisational culture is described as 'a glue that holds organisation together' (Schultz, 1994, p. 12). Some scholars (e.g. Flamholtz & Randle, 2011) consider the corporate or organisational culture as owned by management and manipulated for certain 'business-related' reasons, such as competitiveness, productivity and organisational performance. In contrast, Pfister (2009) defines corporate culture as a purposeful social system that is integrated through the interplay between the two levels: organisational and individual.

Instead of presenting a corporate culture as a single construct, Schein (1984, 1992) has proposed a more comprehensive three-level definition from the most visible or tangible to the most intangible (see Figure 1). According to this definition, the first level of 'artefacts' consists of visible organisational structure and processes, e.g. technology, symbols and rituals, architecture, and social environment which in this case means the organisation of physical space, the way people dress, and the members' overt behaviours. The second level is the 'espoused values' or stated strategies, goals and philosophies that explicitly guide organisational policies. These two levels are the most fundamental and are the easiest to observe. The third level is 'underlying' or 'shared tacit assumptions' such as values, norms, beliefs, perceptions, often unconscious or implicit. Schein (2009, pp. 26-27) calls them 'taken-for-granted beliefs' since they have been accepted by the group "as working well enough to solve problems of external adaptation and internal integration". 'Tacit assumptions' constitute the core of organisational culture and determine how group members perceive, think and feel; what beliefs and assumptions they have about themselves, customers, the nature of reality and the organisation; what norms guide their behaviour and how they interact with each other (Alvesson & Sveningsson, 2016). Even though organisational culture appears rather stable by definition, its levels may still influence each other, and new forms of behaviour or new norms can change the governing assumptions overtime.

Figure 1: Three Levels of Corporate Culture



Source: Adapted from Schein (2009).

Schein's interpretation of the corporate culture was referred to by Schultz (1994, p. 15) as a 'functionalist' understanding of organisational culture that views organisation as a 'biological organism' that performs vital functions in order to survive and to persist in its present form. Organisations are "systems with goals, purpose, needs, that exist in functional interaction with their environment" and cannot have a culture that is different from the ambient society (Allaire & Firsirotu, 1984, pp. 200-201). Nevertheless, different elements of organisations may still execute their own functions contributing for organisational survival (Schultz, 1994). In Schein's (1992, p. 51) interpretation, organisational survival depends on: (1) adaptation to the external environment; and (2) integration of internal processes to ensure the capacity to continue to survive and adapt. Therefore, a corporate culture is:

... the pattern of shared basic assumptions that a given group has invented, discovered or developed in learning to cope with the problems of external adaptation and internal integration, and that have worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems (Schein, 1984, p. 3).

A contrasting 'interpretative' or 'interpretivist' perspective (Burrell & Morgan, 1979, pp. 31-32; Frost, Moore, Louis, Lundberg, & Martin, 1985, p. 17) viewed organisational culture from 'an implicit perspective' and considered 'rituals, myths, stories, legends and interpreting events, ideas and experience' from the point of view of the involved actors, not necessarily managers.

Organisations and their departments could not have a concrete existence prior to the involvement of those actors who constructed the organisations (Collins, 1996). Schein (1992) criticised the interpretivist paradigm for not producing generalised or standardised findings across organisations, and thus being harder for managers to conceptualise, to understand and to use. However, Collins (1996, p. 17) argued that “Schein’s top-down view of organisations” also made it operate ostensibly within the bounds of interpretivism, even though “his own personal orientations and mission tend to drag his thinking to a rather basic functionalist agenda.”

Another strand of research emerged in the 1970s to study organisational culture to identify and promote best practices (Kummerow & Kirby, 2014) that gave way to ‘the shared values perspective’ in research on organisational culture. For instance, Peters and Waterman (1982) in their seminal book *In Search of Excellence* identified the key attributes of the cultures of highly successful US large companies by conducting interviews with senior company personnel and analysing company annual reports and press coverage. Peters and Waterman developed the ‘7-S model’ where the ‘Shared Value’ was the key element that sustained the company’s competitive advantage. This ‘framework’ is a useful tool to understand the process of change in large organisations that may lead to the greater success of other companies (Kummerow & Kirby, 2014). This approach was criticised for being a “simple solution in the contexts that may be very different in terms of cultural, social and economic circumstances” (Kummerow & Kirby, 2014, p. 32). Schein (1992, 2004) argued that there was ‘no single best culture’ for all organisations. A culture’s effectiveness, in his view, depends rather “on the extent to which the underlying assumptions are aligned with the realities of their environment, not only on the function of the leadership” (Schein, 2004, p. 11).

Schein’s model of corporate culture, as discussed by Kummerow and Kirby (2014), has practical and theoretical importance in validating changes in organisations. It has been widely applied in studying organisational behaviour in many areas. It permits analyse of deeper assumptions and beliefs which are interconnected to values and organisational symbolic and material artefacts (Alvesson & Sveningsson, 2016). Most recently, researchers applied this model to study organisational innovation and performance (S. Hogan & Coote, 2014), and a culture of inclusion for older workers (Appannah & Biggs, 2015). Some researchers applied Schein’s idea of the interconnectedness between the leadership role, organisational culture and organisational performance (e.g. Ogbonna & Harris, 2000). Prior research has argued that an [inclusive] corporate culture is more likely to increase the employment chances for persons with disabilities and their functioning in the workplace (Ali et al., 2011; Henry et al., 2014;

Kalargyrou, 2014; Kaye et al., 2011). An 'inclusive' culture has been referred to as the one that is free from any kind of harassment based upon respect for all individuals, and is more proactive in recruitment and retention of employees with disabilities (Schur et al., 2005, 2013; Stone & Colella, 1996). However, only a few studies have investigated the corporate culture of large companies in this respect (e.g. Klein et al., 2005; Sandler & Blanck, 2005; Schur et al., 2009). A great deal of research has instead focused on studying disability inclusion in the workplace from a diversity perspective that is more prevalent among US companies (e.g. Markel & Barclay, 2009; Pless & Maak, 2004; Vohra et al., 2015). Recently, a 'diversity management' perspective has been discussed in relation to the Nordic welfare model (Mik-Meyer, 2017; Selander, 2016). Yet, in analysing the 'disability inclusive culture' the 'best practice' perspective prevails. For instance, Riley (2006) presents the successful patterns of large US companies that are inclusive to employees with disabilities.

Schein's distinction between the explicit 'visible artefacts' and the 'implicit' actions of organisational members can therefore help to explore employers' responses to ensuring a culture that is inclusive to persons with disabilities. It might be assumed that the 'visible' commitment to hiring employees with disabilities expressed by employers may not be accepted at the 'invisible' level - the unstated and often unconscious assumptions of the organisational members - and has not become the 'taken-for-granted belief' of organisational actors. According to Schur et al. (2005), this may result in an inaccessible physical environment, unsuitable jobs for persons with disabilities, and unchanged co-workers' and supervisors' attitudes. Schein (2004, pp. 80-81) argues that only those 'norms' that produce the greatest success during their implementation may gradually turn into new assumptions that are shared within the organisation.

Hence, the Schein's model of the corporate culture is of central interest to this thesis in analysing corporate policies and the actual practices of employers for including persons with disabilities. It gives the reason to investigate those employers that have demonstrated 'visible' commitment and values for including persons with disabilities (as reported by many large corporations) and to identify those factors that have led to implementing or not implementing of these commitments in practice.

5.2. New-institutional theory: external institutional environment

The Schein's model of corporate culture (2009, p. 107) pays a lot of attention to explaining organisational adaptation to the external environment and considers the factors in the external

environment mainly as “threats of different kind – economic, political, legal, moral, etc.” To a lesser extent, this model addresses how one may understand changes or processes in the external environment as such. To clarify how organisations react or respond to public policy measures that promote greater inclusion of persons with disabilities, I have also addressed the ‘neo-institutional theory’ as a complementary perspective.

‘Institutional theory’ identifies and examines influences in the broader institutional settings that promote the survival and legitimacy of organisational practices, taking into consideration factors such as culture, social environment, regulation, tradition and history, incentives, as well as the available resources (see Doh & Guay, 2006; Glover, Champion, Daniels, & Dainty, 2014). This theoretical perspective focuses on how groups and organisations secure their positions and legitimacy by conforming to the rules and norms in their ‘external institutional environments’ (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Scott, 1987).

The ‘Leadership in Administration’ of Selznick (1957) is cited as the beginning of the ‘institutional theory’ or the ‘old institutionalism’ (Selznick, 1996). He presented organisational structures as an “adaptive vehicle shaped in reaction to the characteristics and commitments of participants as well as to influences and constraints from the external environment” (Scott, 1987, p. 494). Despite widely applying the Selznick’s theory in studying public sector organisations, his perspective, however, was criticised by Scott (1987, p. 495) as “definitional rather than explanatory”. Selznick (1957), as described by Scott (1987), distinguished between “organisations as technically devised instruments, as mechanical and disposable tools, designed as means to definite goals” (p. 494), but did not inform how the process of ‘institutionalisation’ occurs. In contrast, the ‘new-institutional theory’ (or ‘neo-institutional theory’), developed by Meyer and Rowan (1977, p. 343) and DiMaggio and Powell (1983), identified ‘mechanisms’ that cause institutionalisation. They introduced ‘legitimacy’ as a driving force for organisations in their adaptation process and drew attention to the ‘rational myths’ in the external environment.

The main argument of the neo-institutional theory is that only those norms, ideologies, practices and procedures that are rational in the institutional environment serve as ‘powerful myths’ or ‘prescriptions of appropriate conduct’ for organisations (Greenwood, 2007). Meyer and Rowan (1991) define two types of ‘myths’ that might influence organisations: (1) impersonal prescriptions that identify various social purposes; and (2) highly institutionalised assumptions, the legitimacy of which are taken for granted based on legal mandates. Organisations, however, do not conform to institutionalised beliefs only because they are taken

for granted, but because they may be rewarded for doing so [directly or indirectly] through increased legitimacy, resources, and/or survival capabilities (Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Scott, 1987). Another distinct characteristic of the 'new-institutionalism' is 'organisational isomorphism' (defined as structural similarity) that, according to DiMaggio and Powell (1983), emerges in organisations due to three types of 'drivers': (1) 'coercive', which stem from formal and informal pressure from other more powerful organisations such as government, customers, business partners, NGOs; (2) 'normative', which arise from special norms through increasing professionalization such as in hiring, or through awareness raising activities and specialised training); and (3) 'mimetic', which include standard responses to uncertainty such as modelling other organisations and copying their structures and/or processes.

Scott (2001) identified three 'pillars' of the institutional order - regulative, normative, and cultural/cognitive which contribute to making up or supporting institutions. *Regulative* elements include rule setting and sanctioning; *normative* systems include both values and norms that define goals and objectives; and *cultural/cognitive* factors include shared conceptions through which meaning is understood, such as symbols, words, signs or cultural rules. Each of these pillars offers a different rationale for organisational legitimacy, either legally sanctioned, morally authorized, or culturally supported.

Doh and Guay (2006) likewise refer to three types of institutional settings that are most likely to influence organisational isomorphism: 1) formal institutions represented by laws, policies and formal agreements; 2) informal institutions that are the behavioural norms and moral models of individuals; and 3) organisations that advance collective interests. Key institutions may include political, legal and social institutions at the supranational, national and sub-national levels. Consequently, it can be assumed that organisations adopt similar practices either because it is required by policies and rules prevailing in the external environment; it is an expected moral or ethical norm; or the recipients may personally value the change and therefore embrace it based on their personal values, beliefs and assumptions. According to Meyer and Rowan (1991, p. 43), work activities, nevertheless, may remain 'loosely coupled' with the formal organisational structures, in which "rules are violated, and decisions remain unimplemented". Especially, a 'decoupling' between the externally projected image and the actual internal behaviour may occur in situations where the adopted organisational concept is incompatible with the existing norms and traditions within the organisation.

Hasselbladh and Kallinikos (2000, pp. 700-701) have criticised the new-institutional theory for not sufficiently explaining why some ideas within organisations are more visible than

others. They considered it too idealistic and broad for empirical research. The same scholars argued that the social and organisational roles of the 'actors' involved might largely influence organisational responses. Therefore, organisational attempts to gain legitimacy, stability and survival may not be based on the 'logic of consequences', but rather on a 'logic of appropriateness', whereby actors behave according to what is considered legitimate in their institutional environments. March and Olsen (2008) argue that while 'actors' are seeking to fulfil obligations, they, nevertheless, may choose what is more appropriate to do for themselves in a specific situation and environment/circumstances. Therefore, although aligning with a prevailing institutional context might shape formal organisational structures, it does not necessarily lead to more efficient implementation (Lawrence & Shadnam, 2008).

The new-institutional theory has been extensively applied in international management literature to study the responses of MNCs (Kostova, Roth, & Dacin, 2008). For instance, Ferner and colleagues (2005) argued that a combination of multiple factors, not solely related to normative and cognitive frameworks presupposed by the new-institutionalism, but interactions of different institutional frameworks, e.g. differences between national business systems and the way market actors relate to each other, may create constraints or facilitate the transfer of a certain practice. Doh and Guay (2006) argue that MNCs often focus on the most visible, formal institutions and organisations that influence the strategies that corporations use. However, Ahmadjian (2016) argues that the response of multinational companies to institutional requirements is not only based on concerns about legitimacy, but also depends on strategic decisions as trade-offs between maintaining competitive advantage and the costs of illegitimacy. As such, Beckert (2010) considers it important not to focus solely on the homogeneity or heterogeneity of organisations, but on the conditions or causal mechanisms under which these tendencies are observed.

The application of the 'new-institutional theory', however, has been scarce in disability research. Ineland (2005, p. 753) considers that neo-institutional theory may "broaden the theoretical implications within the social dimensions of disability, and explain the link between governmental visions and the quality of life for people with disabilities". Another study by Berggren, Rowan, Bergbäck, and Blomberg (2016) confirms the influence of the institutional context on the equal participation of students with disabilities in higher education. Although not referring explicitly to the neo-institutional theory, other scholars have concluded that increased requirements in the institutional context, such as concerns about discrimination and equality, and new policies and norms like anti-discrimination legislation, accessibility

standards, etc., might influence the labour market actors regarding inclusion of persons with disabilities (Halvorsen & Hvinden, 2014a). Specifically, the legislation may promote the assumption that the actors are forced to comply with it; economic incentives assume that the actors choose the most economically advantageous or profitable solutions. Persuasion strategies assume that the actors will adhere to social standards that are morally and normatively right (Halvorsen & Hvinden, 2014a; Vedung, 2010 [1998]).

In conclusion, the neo-institutional theory provides an important theoretical background for this thesis. It considers both external and internal factors that may ensure 'inclusive responses' of employers for persons with disabilities. It may be assumed that, on the one hand, employers who undertake appropriate organisational changes become isomorphic to external institutional requirements. As a result, they adopt similar formal organisational structures that demonstrate inclusion to persons with disabilities. However, on the other hand, in doing this, employers may primarily seek to strengthen external belief in their legitimacy to attract additional resources and/or promote a positive image or reputation. However, the introduction of effective changes in practice, instead, may largely depend on the internal actions, initiatives and involvements of the managers and organisational leadership.

5.3. Goffman's impression management: internal responses to disability inclusion

Schein (2009, pp. 111-112) refers to the visible level of the corporate culture as usually making the 'first impression'. In contrast, the 'invisible' levels that reflect the underlying assumptions and behaviour of an organisation are difficult to identify immediately, and are more difficult to change. When an organisation has accepted new corporate values due to 'surveillance and/or a threat of punishment', as also reflected in the 'neo-institutional theory', the organisational members may continue to behave differently in own practice. Yet, there may be no change until their behaviour is congruent with external and internal expectations. To understand the individuals' behaviour inside organisations, I have consulted another theoretical perspective - the 'impression management theory'. The focus of this theory on the 'internal level' may be considered important in studying the responses of large employers, and particularly their managers, for ensuring inclusive employment practices.

The 'impression management' theory was developed by Erving Goffman (1959) who stated that "any social establishment could be studied from the point of view of impression management", where "individuals intentionally or unintentionally express themselves in a particular way to impress an audience with a well-staged performance on the front stage, while

carefully concealing the backstage activities” (pp. 14, 16-17, 203). Goffman (1959, p. 32) uses the metaphor of the ‘theatre’ and ‘performance’ to analyse the social life of members of society as ‘actors who play their roles on stage’. The main idea is the distinction between the ‘front’ and ‘back’ regions, where “the front region is the stage where the performance occurs”, and the “back region is the back stage that the audience does not see but that is crucial to a competent performance” (Goffman, 1959, pp. 110-115). Everything exposed visibly supplies a ‘special setting of the scenery’. However, ‘corrective practices’ may be employed to compensate for discrediting occurrences that allows individuals to control their impressions (Goffman, 1959, pp. 24, 33-34).

The idea of ‘impression management’ has been reflected in the neo-institutional theory which explains that organisations willing to appear credible act to conform to prevailing societal beliefs. Otherwise, they risk not obtaining sufficient resources because of a perceived lack of legitimacy (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Zott & Huy, 2007). In this respect, Goffman (1959, p. 44) describes that “a performance of a routine presents through its front abstract claims modified to fit into expectations of the society”. “Performers are aware of the standards required to be applied and the importance attributed to adhering to these standards” (Goffman, 1959, p. 63). White and Hanson (2002) use Goffman’s theory to analyse how an Australian-based multinational attempts to manage impressions in interacting with its various constituencies demonstrating self-serving attributes in its annual reports to maintain their corporate reputation among different stakeholders. However, some scholars (e.g. Allen & Caillouet, 1994) argue that despite the overall commonality between the impression management theory and the institutional theory, the latter overlooks actual communications, while the former identifies the numerous self-presentation strategies that individuals and organisations use to strategically control others’ perceptions, both positive and negative.

The ‘impression management’ theory has extensive application in sociology and social psychology. In social psychology, the concept of impression management refers to “how individuals present themselves to others in order to be perceived favourably by them” (Hooghiemstra, 2000, p. 60). Organisational researchers took up the concept in the 1980s to understand workplace behaviour in a variety of contexts, such as interviewing, performance appraisal, and leadership (Bolino, 1999). One strand of research has investigated the broad strategies that organisations use to manage the impression they make on external stakeholders by explicit and implicit communications (Ferris, King, Judge, & Kacmar, 1991). In this understanding, ‘impression management’ is a natural part of organisational life (Dubrin, 2011).

Organisations use broad similar impression management tactics (Bolino, Kacmar, Turnley, & Gilstrap, 2008) to behave coherently and morally responsibly (Zott & Huy, 2007). Prior research analysed the impression management of organisational reporting (Solomon, Solomon, Joseph, & Norton, 2013) or the web presence of large companies in terms of creating a positive impression on consumers (Heinze & Hu, 2006).

Another strand of research has studied the managers' behaviour and their reasons for engaging in impression-management behaviour (Russ, 1991). For instance, CEO's strong charisma, reputation, and power can have a positive effect on corporate reputation (Pollach & Kerbler, 2011). Likewise, Alvesson (2011) argues that managers tend to present a self-serving view disclosing more positive and less negative information. Especially, senior organisational members make positive statements about their policies and operations to give a good impression or to promote themselves. Most often, they tend to link poor performance to external factors outside their control, while attribute good performance to internal factors including their own good management practices (Bolino, Long, & Turnley, 2016; Brennan, Guillamon Saorin, & Pierce, 2009; Dubrin, 2011). At the same time, managers may use 'defensive impression management techniques', like justifications, excuses, apologies, blaming others, to protect their corporate image or justify a certain situational or personal behaviour (Dubrin, 2011). Still, the defensive techniques legitimizing negative aspects may serve, according to Talbot and Boiral (2015), as impression management strategies aimed at improving the company's reputation.

The deliberate attempts of managers to give a good impression of themselves and their organisations may indicate, in line with Goffman (1959), that behind a positive image inclusive to persons with disabilities, managers simultaneously 'stage their performance' to conceal negative facts. Referring to the inclusion of persons with disabilities in employment, prior research has indicated that when employers demonstrate inclusiveness on the 'front stage', their 'backstage' behaviour may reflect 'an unwelcoming corporate culture' that on the contrary prevents persons with disabilities from entering or retaining employment (Ali et al., 2011; Ball et al., 2005). Therefore, to preserve a 'positive impression', managers may use self-defensive or 'self-protecting' information techniques to justify certain situations or to provide explanations referring to the factors beyond their control (Bolino et al., 2016; Dubrin, 2011). In sum it can be assumed, that what corporations demonstrate on the 'surface' or 'visible levels' of their corporate culture does not always reflect managers' actual practices with regard to the inclusion of persons with disabilities. What is shown at the 'visible level' may be deliberately formulated to create a 'self-protective' impression and image.

5.4. Analytical framework: factors that contribute to a corporate culture inclusive to persons with disabilities

As previously discussed by Schur and colleagues (2005), for persons with disabilities to be accepted and incorporated into the workplace, there needs to be change towards a corporate culture that is non-discriminatory, inclusive and accessible, and where organisational members share these values. Likewise, Schein in the model of organisational culture (2009) indicates that to be successful, change should embrace internal elements of the corporate culture, not only the 'visible levels' of organisations.

Based on the theoretical perspectives discussed above, employers' attempts to act in a more inclusive direction towards persons with disabilities might be presented in a following analytical framework (Figure 2). This shows the interconnected factors most likely to contribute to employers' commitment to ensuring a 'disability inclusive corporate culture' through recruitment, hiring, accommodation and retention. The absence or weak presence of these factors may otherwise contribute to the exclusion of persons with disabilities from the workforce. These factors have emerged through the process of abductive reasoning that rests to a large extent on the theoretical background and requires the discovery of the missing or anomalous elements in both 'surface and deep structures of a phenomenon' (Råholm, 2010, p. 262; Timmermans & Tavory, 2012).

This analytical framework combines both 'external' factors in the institutional environment and 'internal' factors in the companies' culture which altogether are likely to contribute to the inclusion of persons with disabilities or their exclusion in the case of absence or non-compliance.

First, external factors such as evolving concerns about non-discrimination, human rights, equality and inclusion emergent in international, supranational (European) and national institutional environments may contribute to employers' engagement in including persons with disabilities into employment. As foreseen by the 'new-institutional theory' (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991), "a strong rational-legal order and normative sanctioning can increase the likelihood of the rules being adopted" (p.65). As such, anti-discrimination legislation, together with information and moral suasion, may influence employers to employ disabled people (Høgelund, 2003). MNCs may be more responsive to ensuring the inclusion of persons with disabilities due to prevailing 'rationalized myths' either of the international or supranational

policies and guidelines (such as the UN, OECD, ILO), as well as national legislation, policies, norms and standards in the countries where they operate (Box 1 of Figure 2).

Second, it is important to consider what MNCs demonstrate as part of their 'visible commitment' on the 'front stage', since this may not necessarily translate into their actual hiring of persons with disabilities. Instead, the companies may secure legitimacy regarding existing external rules and norms, as based on the 'neo-institutional theory'. In this regard, external factors at local levels may also be important to consider when exploring the companies' 'inclusive practices'. These may refer to non-discrimination obligations, as well as available financial incentives or other types of support, that encourage employers to hire and provide accommodation to persons with disabilities. It may also give companies a certain competitive advantage and contribute to their 'survival prospects' on the local levels (e.g. Henry et al., 2014; McDowell & Fossey, 2015) (Box 2 of Figure 2).

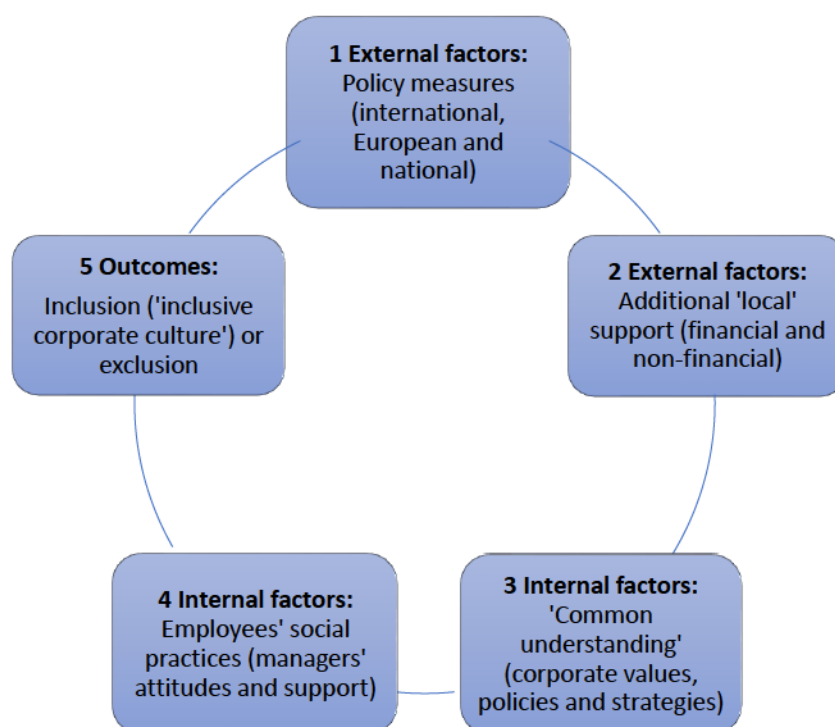
Third, according to Schein (2009), new values can be accepted only if they are adaptive both to the environment in which organisations function and to the existing internal norms and values. As such, common corporate 'internal' understanding on how to cope with the external environment, in other words how to ensure the inclusion of employees with disabilities, is an important factor that contributes to an inclusive corporate culture. Flexible organisations that value diversity, cooperation, and support are more likely to be inclusive than organisations whose values centre on competition, individualism, self-reliance and traditional human resources practices (Stone & Colella, 1996). In this respect, corporate values, CSR activities, corporate policies, strategies and programmes are important to consider since they demonstrate how employers contribute to the environments where they operate, and whether or not they implement disability-targeted programmes such as recruitment, training, accommodation and retention (Box 3 of Figure 2).

Fourth, employees' social practices need to be taken into account, as, according to Goffman (1959, pp. 114, 231), "individuals tend to present a well-staged performance on the front stage, while carefully concealing the backstage activities". This statement may refer to the managers who are directly responsible for inclusion of persons with disabilities as well as supervisors and team members/co-workers. Ferris and colleagues (1991) likewise confirm that HR managers may create an impression of adhering to organisational norms such as hiring standards, while, in practice, they predominantly select applicants who are more likely to enhance organisational performance. As such, Deal (2007) argues that attitudinal change may not have taken place, when prejudice or unfair treatment of persons with disabilities prevail in

employment. Thus, ensuring of a corporate culture that is inclusive to persons with disabilities needs to be supported by all organisational members - managers, supervisors and co-workers (Kaye et al., 2011; Schur et al., 2005, 2013; Schur et al., 2009) (Box 4 of Figure 2).

Fifth, the combination of all these external and internal factors or conditions in organisations can contribute to positive outcome for the inclusion of persons with disabilities in mainstream employment and demonstrate ‘an inclusive corporate culture’ (Box 5 of Figure 2). In such companies, the image of ‘an inclusive corporate culture’ is also supported by undertaking practical actions in recruitment, hiring, accommodation and retention of persons with disabilities. On the contrary, non-performance or non-compliance to these factors leads to exclusive practices.

Figure 2. Analytical framework of inclusive corporate culture



In sum, this analytical framework identifies factors that shape or influence how large companies respond to social regulatory public policy measures aimed to promote the labour market integration of persons with disabilities. Thus, how the combination of all these factors may

contribute to an inclusive corporate culture. The framework addresses the ‘external environment factors’ (e.g. disability policy measures and social practices represented on the companies’ ‘front stage’), and ‘internal factors’ or practices undertaken at the companies’ ‘back stage’ based on the employees and managers’ attitudes and initiatives, and the interconnections between them. In sections 8 and 9, I provide an extensive discussion on how the four journal articles, included as annexes, address the factors identified in Figure 2.

6. Research methodology

This section presents the research methodology I have applied in this thesis. I explain the reasons for the choices I have made in the data collection process and discuss the processes of selecting cases, conducting data collection and analysing the obtained data. The application of abductive logic throughout the research implementation is also explained in more detail.

6.1. Qualitative research methodology, logic and paradigm

The intention at the beginning of this research was to use qualitative research methodology for the following reasons. Qualitative methodology, as indicated by prior research, helps to:

- (1) understand phenomena in context-specific settings (Patton, 2002);
- (2) get as close as possible to participants being studied (Creswell, 2007);
- (3) study people's experiences, as well as the meaning and beliefs underlying their actions (Marschan-Piekkari & Welch, 2004; Punnett & Shenkar, 2007); and
- (4) collect information which is culture specific to explain the participants' behavior (Hartley & Muhit, 2003).

Qualitative research includes collecting and analysing data, developing and modifying theories, elaborating or refocusing on research questions, and identifying and addressing validity threats. All these processes usually take place more or less simultaneously, with each influencing the others (Maxwell, 2013). The logic of conducting qualitative research is inductive, arising from the ground up, rather than a strict sequence based entirely on a theory (Bazeley & Jackson, 2013; Creswell, 2007; Maxwell, 2013). As argued by Padgett (2017), "inductive reasoning or collecting empirical data without having to test a theory is the *sine qua non* of qualitative research" (pp. 12-14). Contrastingly, in deduction, a case in question is subordinated to an already known rule or theory (Råholm, 2010; Reichertz, 2014), which the researcher tests with new variables in the data (Padgett, 2017). Even though the inductive approach has been extensively applied in qualitative research, some scholars criticise it for being 'too loose' and/or overloaded with data (see Dubois & Gadde, 2002), and not being sufficiently helpful in generating new theories (Timmermans & Tavory, 2012). In cases that require a more profound understanding of a situation or process, as often observed in qualitative case studies, scholars recommend to start from a few details and to try with them to find a solution or a hypothesis, known as 'abduction' or 'abductive reasoning' (Dubois & Gadde, 2002; Eriksson & Lindström, 1997; Lipscomb, 2012; Padgett, 2017; Reichertz, 2014).

The logic of 'abduction' was elaborated by Charles Sanders Peirce (1839–1914), an

American philosopher, who maintained that “seeing is never (simply) seeing, but it is always related to a background, as seeing as” (Peirce, 1931-1958; Råholm, 2010). Abduction is not restricted to any particular methodology (Råholm, 2010), but emphasises the examinations of combinations of factors, which may lead to a new or a better suited explanation of the phenomenon under study (Reichertz, 2014, p. 304). However, abductively derived conclusions still need to be sustained by deductively and/or inductively obtained evidence (Lipscomb, 2012; Reichertz, 2014). As explained by Dubois and Gadde (2002, p. 555), the researcher is constantly going ‘back and forth’ from one type of research activity to another and between empirical observations and the theory. In other words, Timmermans and Tavory (2012, p. 179) state that “abduction is a recursive process of a double-fitting data and theories” that will result in discovering a (new) better suited order or a rule, or inventing a creative outcome by intellectual effort. However, ‘abductive logic’ often remains asserted rather than demonstrated. Hence, many researchers have subsumed abductive work under the category of induction (Lipscomb, 2012).

Scholar-s suggest that reality (or the context) in qualitative research is to a greater extent interpreted through a constructivist/interpretivist paradigm (L. Justesen & Mik-Meyer, 2012; Schwandt, 1998). It requires collecting qualitative data and exploring the underlying factors “relying on the participants’ views of the situation” (Creswell, 2007, p. 20). The assumptions concerning human meaning that characterise the interpretive paradigm are central to case study research (Bakker, 2010). However, critics of this approach (e.g. Easton, 2010, p. 118) argue that interpretivists place too much weight on “authentic ways of data capture and providing own interpretation that denies the possibility of knowing what is real”, and instead suggested to use a [critical] realist approach as being better suited to study clearly bounded, but complex, phenomena such as organisations.

To implement this research project it was necessary to approach and to understand companies’ practice and insiders’ perspectives on how social context affects their actions, but not focusing on their ‘everyday existence’, as in a phenomenological perspective (L. Justesen & Mik-Meyer, 2012, p. 108). It was likewise important to consider the contextual or institutional environment, in which the companies operate, and collect data from corporate documents, reports, policy analysis, etc., to explore how the ‘external reality’ affects the ‘internal’ organisational and managerial practices. Therefore, I collected qualitative data through documents/information analysis, and conducted qualitative interviews with the companies’ managers and employees to understand their experiences with the ‘phenomenon

under study'. For these purposes, I spent some time within selected companies and analysed their internal documents and practices of inclusion for persons with disabilities. However, I did not 'shadow the workers' during their everyday work, as in 'organisational ethnography study' (see Karjalainen, Niemistö, & Hearn, 2015). In contrast to the 'classical' interpretivist paradigm, I did not construct a theory from these data (Bakker, 2010). In this regard, L. Justesen and Mik-Meyer (2012) recommend that in studies that seek both to explain particular interrelationships and to understand a phenomenon (or context), it is more appropriate to combine the methods. Other scholars suggest that this type of research may also rely on abductive logic and result in the production of external artefacts, including scientific articles (see e.g. Dubois & Gadde, 2002; Råholm, 2010).

In brief, the constructivist/interpretivist paradigm that initially framed this research requiring collecting predominantly qualitative data and analysing it inductively, over time, shifted to additional research methods and data sources, both quantitative and qualitative. In following abductive logic, such an approach was necessary to find the most likely explanations to unanticipated empirical findings and to theoretical insights obtained during the research implementation process. My experience is that this process was more complex than the theory of science and research methodology literature may give the impression of, as it involved constant going back and forth between reading the theories, developing an analytic framework, collecting and analysing data.

6.2. Case study method

Qualitative studies often apply those research methods which are better-suited to describe the phenomenon in context and to provide greater interpretations of a phenomenon under study (L. Justesen & Mik-Meyer, 2012). From the multiple qualitative research methods (see e.g. Creswell, 2007), I chose the case study method since it involves an 'in-depth understanding of a real-life social phenomena' (Yin, 2009, p. 18). A case study is recommended as a typical research methodology for conducting institutional analysis (Scott, 1987). It can be applied in political science, sociology, organisational and management studies (Creswell, 2007; George & Bennett, 2005). Conducting an organisational case study provides a more in-depth analysis of the mechanisms of change within organisations (Gummesson, 2000), beyond the 'organisational formal structure' towards understanding the internal processes at different levels (Alvesson, 2013). A case study method, according to George and Bennett (2005), may identify specific outcomes and the mechanism under which the events occur within

organisations.

Important elements of the case study method, such as in-depth understanding of the phenomenon, collecting rich data and considering its context have also been applied in disability research to identify the “society’s treatment of or responses to a phenomenon and how this affects persons with disabilities” (Mazumdar & Geis, 2001, pp. 263, 266). Based upon these considerations, I decided to apply the case study method to explore the corporate culture of large companies on their inclusiveness of persons with disabilities as potential employees. I took into account both ‘external’ and ‘internal’ factors that might contribute to or prevent the companies’ inclusive practices.

Researchers have conducted both single- and multiple-case studies, where ‘cases’ can be an individual person (e.g. a leader or an employee), a country, an entity, an event, programme or an organisation (or change process inside organisation) (Yin, 1989, 2009). A single-case design is usually “justified under certain conditions” where the case is “an unusual or rare/unique case, a critical case, a typical or a representative case, a revelatory or a longitudinal case” (Yin, 2009, pp. 47-49, 52). Multiple-case design involves two or more cases that are selected based on prior knowledge derived from prior hypothesising of different types of conditions or outcomes (Yin, 2009). Often, a multiple-case study replicates the findings from a single case study, where each subsequent case may predict similar or contradictory results, which in turn is helpful for developing a rich theoretical framework. Furthermore, ‘extreme cases’ from good and bad examples might be deliberately selected and compared in multiple case studies. As argued by George and Bennett (2005), a case study method will most likely involve a “trade-off among the goals of attaining theoretical parsimony, establishing explanatory richness, and keeping the number of cases to be studied manageable” (p. 31).

Scholars’ opinions on the application of single- or multiple-cases diverge. Yin (2009) considers single-case designs more vulnerable than multiple-cases for generalising and replicating results. However, George and Bennett (2005, pp. 32-33, 81) argued that a single case could be quite useful in theory development and postulating new causal mechanisms. Business scholars have conducted multiple variations of single-case studies, including a parallel single-case study in which a number of single cases are selected at the same time and the same proposition is tested in each of them (Dul & Hak, 2008). Yet, in a single-case study it may be more difficult to test theories that involve complex causal relations (George & Bennett, 2005). In contrast, a multiple-case design can achieve more compelling and robust evidence, a wider exploration of research questions, and the possibility for replication (Yin, 2009, p. 53). Despite

the obvious advantages of using a large number of cases, according to Creswell (2007), it may dilute the 'depth of analysis' observed in a single case study. Nonetheless, a major criticism of the single-case study design is due to lack of [scientific] generalisability (Tracy, 2013; Yin, 2009). However, Flyvbjerg (2006) considers this "a misunderstanding" arguing that even "a purely descriptive, phenomenological case without any attempt to generalise can be of value". He suggests that "the [single] case study can be central to scientific development via analytic generalisation as a supplement or alternative to other methods" (pp. 227-228). A criticism of multiple-case study design generally concerns the resources involved and its duration or feasibility (Yin, 2009).

Initially, I aimed to select from one to two cases based on predefined criterion that these large companies will have an explicit commitment to including persons with disabilities, and operate in two different countries, as initially targeted, Norway and the UK. My focus on a limited number of cases was, above all, conditioned by the research requirements and limited timeframe. Accordingly, I did not aim to conduct a longitudinal case study, nor a survey at the initial sampling phase to select cases that would require a considerable amount of time. The main objective was not to conduct single interviews with HR or diversity managers at a large number of companies, but to establish a relationship of trust with the companies and their managers to produce an in-depth case study. Since, according to Yin (2009), both companies and countries could be viewed as 'cases', the solution for this research was to select two companies in different business sectors (a maximum of four companies in total within two main country cases) to analyse the variations within and between the cases and the countries. Furthermore, I intended to investigate different sub-units within each company, conducting interviews with the managers at different company levels, as well as other employees, and to analyse different processes concerning recruitment, retention and accommodation of employees with disability at each company.

However, due to complications encountered during the case selection process described below, the focus of this research has shifted to a single-country case study, with the data being collected predominantly in Norway. To achieve greater generalisability of the research results, I also compared the data about the two companies in Norway with the practices of two large companies in Sweden. In addition, I conducted comparative analysis of disability policy measures in Norway, Sweden and Denmark with the neighbouring Baltic countries (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania). Comparing within and across countries, in line with Goodrick (2014), has provided a broader understanding of the overall situation and helped to explain how

features within these contexts may influence the success of policy initiatives. These additional approaches, according to Yin (2009), also contributed to making analytic generalisations of the findings that go beyond the single case study of Norway.

6.3. Case selection

Selecting cases is crucial for a case study research method, and different approaches are recommended. According to George and Bennett (2005, p. 83), it is important 'to select the case(s) not because it/they are interesting, important or easily reached, but to achieve well-defined objectives of the study'. Selecting the unit of analysis or cases, as argued by Wahyuni (2012), must be determined by the research purpose, questions, propositions and theoretical context. For instance, to clarify the deeper causes behind a given problem and its consequences, Flyvbjerg (2006) recommends to select either 'most likely' or 'least likely' cases, or cases with similar characteristics or those that are more/least likely suitable for the theory or a hypothesis. The 'most-likely' or 'most similar' case study employs a minimum of two cases (Seawright & Gerring, 2008). However, when the topic under investigation is a sensitive one, the process of the cases selection, according to R. M. Lee (1993, pp. 6-7), may be difficult since the interviewees "fear that the researcher may reveal their deviant activities". Similarly, conducting research about the inclusion of persons with disabilities in employment may present the threat to employers of disclosing their 'deviant' practices.

In line with the research objectives and research questions outlined in this thesis and to build a more trustful relationship with the companies, I initially aimed to select 'successful or positive cases', or "the cases where the outcome of interest occurs" (Mahoney & Goertz, 2006, p. 239) that could fit the predefined selection criteria. Hence, the cases were expected to afford enough data to address the question of interest and be accessible, in contrast to 'negative cases'.

I have found two possible ways for selecting positive cases. First, by conducting statistical probability sampling over a large number of cases and selecting the 'most-likely' positive cases (Seawright & Gerring, 2008). Second, by applying any of the following non-probability sampling methods such as:

- Convenience sampling (selecting the most readily available respondents regardless of characteristics);
- Quota sampling (selecting units on the basis of pre-specified characteristics or fixed quota);
- Purposive sampling (selection of critical cases or cases of strategic interest on the

basis of theoretical assumptions or hypothesis); and a

- ‘Snowball’ or ‘chain-referral sampling’ (when each person interviewed may suggest additional people or organisations for interviewing) (Babbie, 2007; Curtis, Gesler, Smith, & Washburn, 2000; Tansy, 2007).

‘Snowball or chain-referral sampling’ can be particularly suitable to select cases to study sensitive issues, according to R. M. Lee (1993, pp. 61-72) who recommends using “networking or setting an initial contact(s) who then can pass the researcher on to other contacts”.

I considered the main criteria to apply when selecting large companies for my research project would be companies that operate in Norway and had experience with including persons with disabilities in their workforce either through recruitment, providing accommodation and/or retention practices, or from other activities. Generally, in business research, negotiating access to MNCs and identifying the right interviewees may be quite problematic (Ghauri, 2004; Wahyuni, 2012). The sensitivity of the information may make the firms reluctant to talk to a researcher; therefore, informal links should be chosen, preferably, via the ‘snowball’ or ‘networking method’ (Wahyuni, 2012). To facilitate the process of getting access to MNCs and selecting ‘successful or positive cases’, I decided to use an ‘endorsement from a higher authority approach’ (Flick, 2006, p. 116). Instead of sending out a survey/questionnaire to MNCs operating in Norway (about three per cent of approximately 100,000 companies, according to Ihlen and Hoivik (2015)), I met with the representatives of an employers’ organisation and a trade union in Norway. This approach seemed more manageable and focused, since a high proportion of businesses that have signed the IA Agreement and that have demonstrated an inclusive commitment are also members of these organisations (Hammer, 2007). The meetings were conducted in February - March 2012 to collect information about MNCs that operate in Norway.

Representatives of the employers’ association recommended those companies among their members that, in their view, would be more appropriate to contact. Even though the association representatives provided a supporting letter to be sent to the recommended companies, they refused to help disseminate the information about the project among their members nor did they agree to announce it on their website. In all, **eight companies** were recommended: two in the consulting sector; two in IT; two in telecommunications; one in the pharmaceutical sector; and one in research and development (R&D) sector. The trade union representatives, in contrast, distributed the information about this research project among their members to help identify the companies that have disability-inclusive policies and practices.

This resulted in **one company** expressing willingness to participate in this research project. Despite the fact that this company could be automatically selected as a ‘positive’ case, I needed their official confirmation. Thus, additional meetings were conducted with the company’s managers.

At the initial stage of this research, I met with the Business Disability Forum (BDF) in the UK (formerly the Employers’ Forum on Disability) seeking their recommendations. They recommended **six companies** for further contact: three in the banking sector; one in consulting; one pharmaceutical; and one in the IT sector. Unfortunately, it proved impossible to gain access to the enterprises they recommended, despite their support letter. The BDF representatives were not able to assist in disseminating the information about this research among their members. However, it is important to mention that the same enterprise in the consulting sector was recommended by the employers’ associations both in Norway and in the UK that was regarded as another ‘positive’ case requiring further contact and exploration.

The interviews with the representatives from public agencies in Norway (NAV) helped to accumulate additional information about the inclusive practices of MNCs. They likewise recommended several companies, mostly Norwegian enterprises. However, only **two companies** fulfilled the predefined selection criteria, one of which, however, had already been recommended by the Norwegian employers’ association, which left only **one company for further contact**. However, NAV representatives were not in a position to provide an official letter of support. Altogether, at the end of this process, I had **16 large companies** in different business sectors recommended in Norway and the UK.

The next step was to thoroughly analyse the information about these recommended companies prior to contacting them to see if they fit the predefined selection criteria. According to Yin (2009), analysing additional sources of evidence as documentary information may augment case study evidence. Therefore, the CSR reports and other relevant information openly presented on the companies’ corporate websites were analysed.

In my analysis of the CSR reports of all the recommended companies, I was looking for any information they published about the inclusion of persons with disabilities in relation to:

- (1) Organisational norms, values, mission statements;
- (2) Diversity policies;
- (3) Provision of accessible workplace and/or reasonable accommodation measures;
- (4) HR policies;
- (5) CSR programmes and/or Inclusion/Disability strategies; and

(6) Awards and/or other awareness raising campaigns regarding persons with disabilities.

This analysis revealed that none of the companies explicitly mentioned the inclusion of persons with disabilities in their mission statements and values. Instead, the companies demonstrated high concerns about including persons with disabilities as a part of the corporate diversity policies. A few companies received disability-related awards and had disability-oriented corporate strategies. Several companies specifically mentioned the implementation of disability-support projects in the countries where they operate or supported disability charities/organisations as part of their CSR activities. Companies in the IT, telecommunications and banking sectors expressed higher concerns about accessible services, products, and facilities than companies in other sectors. They also claimed having accessible websites and services/products for their customers. Overall, the companies with headquarters in the USA or UK had more explicit information on their corporate websites about disability inclusion. Companies headquartered in Norway or operating only in Norway presented less information about their inclusive policies and practices specifically regarding employees with disabilities or inclusion of persons with disabilities. Only a few companies explicitly mentioned on their websites that they recruit persons with disabilities and provide accessible application and reasonable accommodation during the recruitment process. Other companies, instead, mentioned contact details of their departments or responsible units where applicants with disabilities could apply for additional support. Regarding one company recommended by the employers' associations both in Norway and the UK, I analysed its inclusive activities in both countries.

As a result of this documentary analysis, two companies out of the 16 recommended were excluded from further contact since they did not exhibit sufficient information about disability inclusion. Of the remaining 14, five companies were excluded as being out of the scope of the present research due to the following reasons:

(1) three companies in the banking sector were represented only in the UK and not in Norway;
(2) one company in Norway was not a multinational corporation, but a research institute represented only in Scandinavia; and

(3) one public company in Norway was contacted in which I had several meetings with the company's representatives, but they had already participated in similar research initiatives.

Even though it could be possible to consider this company as a 'positive case' and compare it to other companies' practices, the initial criterion was to select and study companies in the

private sector only. However, the recommendations and additional information obtained from the managers of this company were very valuable for my understanding of the inclusion of persons with disabilities into the labour market in Norway.

In April 2012, I sent out invitation letters to the remaining nine companies, including the company recommended by the trade union. The invitation letters were prepared in English and in Norwegian (see Annex 2) and, accompanied by a support letter from the employers' associations, were sent to the top management (CEO and HR/Diversity Lead) both by email and regular mail. Six companies replied by phone or e-mail declining the invitation to participate. Their managers mentioned that they lacked time, were already involved in similar projects, and/or had no employees with disabilities. The managers from one company in the UK declined to participate explaining that they did not prioritise hiring persons with disabilities but were involved in other activities, such as providing work training to university graduates with disabilities. However, they did not consider it a mainstream employment activity. Even though the company's representatives were contacted again, and I suggested that their experience would nevertheless be valuable and interesting for this project, the company managers declined. The company in the consulting sector that was recommended both by the employers' associations in Norway and the UK, however, declined the invitation in the UK. One company in Norway recommended that I should contact another IT company and provided the manager's contact. This process has shown, in line with Karjalainen and colleagues (2015), that when researchers are negotiating access to the business sector, especially large companies, the companies and their managers may interpret research as 'threatening' to breach confidentiality of information and disclose processes within organisations that are closed to 'outsiders'.

From May until June 2012, I held personal meetings with the representatives of three companies that expressed interest in participation. These early conversations took place at the companies' premises. The primary goal, according to Tracy (2013), was to negotiate the research access and to explain project-related details. In the end, one corporation declined to participate, which left two that were finally selected as cases for this research project: a multinational consulting company with headquarters in the United States and also represented in Norway; and a Norwegian multinational engineering company present in approximately 20 countries worldwide and recommended by the trade union (hereafter, Company A and Company B). The HR managers at both companies became the 'key informants' (Yin, 1989), who during the introductory meetings expressed their willingness to be a part of this study since

they considered their companies 'open and inclusive IA enterprises'. Additionally, the HR manager of an IT company in Norway was contacted based on the recommendation received earlier from another company. Despite his interest in this research, however, the participation of this IT company was later cancelled due to encountered complications in contacting this manager and significant delays in scheduling interviews.

Attempts to access the same companies in the UK, despite support provided by the managers in the two selected companies in Norway, were unsuccessful. The HR manager from Company A in the UK explained that their company had already participated in a similar research project studying women's inclusion. She considered "the research findings were not relevant for the company to improve further in this area", so she did not want to spend time on doing more interviews. The managers at Company B in the UK did not decline directly, but it was complicated to schedule interviews with them from Norway. I managed to schedule a single phone interview with their HR manager. During this interview, the HR manager did not consider further participation in this research possible, since she could not remember any cases of hiring of employees with disabilities, neither in their local office nor in the corporate office in London, even though the company had non-discrimination and diversity policies in place. Three companies in the banking sector in the UK were contacted again, with the result being that one company did not respond, and the other two declined to participate due to time constraints as their managers thought that the project would require their employees to spend too much time on participating in this research. Altogether, I spent five months on the initial companies' selection; about five-six months on interviewing the companies; and afterwards, about four months on contacting additional companies again in Norway and the UK and negotiating their participation. My process of case selection and negotiating access to the companies, can be, in line with Karjalainen et al. (2015), described as abductive or iterative, where [case selection] and access constitute a continuing process that needs to be repeated throughout the research. While conducting the case selection, I kept a detailed research log of the interviews/requests and the companies' responses. The companies in the UK have not been addressed in the attached articles, since only the selection of the companies in Norway is considered relevant for this case study.

6.4. Data collection and analysis

According to Yin (2009, p. 32), the scope of data collection in a case study needs to consider both the data about the subject of the case study (or 'phenomenon') and the data external to the

case (the ‘context’). As such, a case study may require two sources of evidence: direct observation of the events being studied and interviews of the persons involved in the events, as well as a full variety of related evidence, such as documents, artefacts, interviews and ‘indirect’ observations (Yin, 2009, p. 11). Therefore, to approach the ‘invisible’ levels of the corporate culture and conduct qualitative interviews with the managers and employees at two selected companies, I summed up the ‘context’ including the companies’ ‘visible front stage’ collected from global and local data sources, presented in Table 6 below. For this purpose, Wahyuni (2012) recommended exploring (newspaper) articles, webpage publications, and industrial research to gather ideas about relevant practices that can also be included in the interview questions.

Table 6. The ‘visible levels’ of the companies selected for research

Company	Headquarter location	Business sector	Employees	Global disability-related activities	Local activities
Company A	USA	Management consulting, technology services and outsourcing	250 000 (globally); about 10 000 in all Norwegian offices; about 1 000 at the selected office	‘Open, inclusive and equitable environment’; Networking; Reasonable accommodation; Disability events, trainings; Personal stories of employees with disabilities; A Global Corporate Guide on Inclusive Workplace; Disability Awards; CSR programmes	IA-enterprise since 2001
Company B	NO	Engineering and technology services (onshore and offshore employees)	About 15 000 (globally); 2 500 employees at the corporate office; about 1 200 employees at the selected local office	UN Global Compact; CSR programmes; ‘a culture open to diversity and inclusion’; Corporate non-discrimination and equality policy: equality, non-discrimination and openness to diversity	IA-enterprise since 2001 (the corporate office is not an IA enterprise)

Source: companies’ websites and annual reports

The corporate [global] website of Company A had a section about diversity initiatives where it stated among other goals a commitment “to providing an inclusive, open, and equitable environment to persons with disabilities”. Employees with disabilities could get the necessary support, reasonable accommodations, and participated in different events and training together with other employees. Company A also presented videos relating the personal stories of employees with disabilities working at different company locations. Furthermore, disability-awareness training sessions were organised for company employees. The headquarters of

Company A disclosed information about obtained disability-related awards. In contrast, the company's corporate office in Norway mentioned only CSR-related activities, though not disability-specific ones.

The corporate office of Company B is located in Norway with separate legal entities at different locations, one of which participated in this study. Most of the company's workforce are engineers. 'Offshore employees' are generally hired among young people with certain age and health conditions, and are usually required to have regular medical check-ups to be able to work in these positions. 'Onshore employees' are mainly administration workers, lawyers and engineers. On its corporate website, Company B mentioned CSR engagement with a view to ensure 'a culture open to diversity and inclusion', and commitment to the principles of the UN Global Compact in human rights, labour, environment, and anti-corruption. Furthermore, Company B adopted an internal corporate policy that committed all offices to work against harassment and discrimination, ensure equal opportunities, and imposed special requirements to promote a corporate culture open to diversity.

Both companies that participated in this study in Norway (the corporate office of Company A and the local office of Company B) signed the IA Agreement in 2001 and, since then, cooperated with NAV in implementing 'inclusive activities'. The support provided by NAV was the main motivating factors for them to sign and to work within the IA Agreement. Furthermore, the encouragement of the leadership, the managers' involvement and positive examples of other companies played an important role. However, it appeared that neither company had policies aimed specifically at including persons with disabilities and had implemented limited practices in this respect. At Company A, while the headquarters adopted 'A Global Corporate Guide on an Inclusive Workplace for Persons with Disabilities', the HR interviewees in Norway did not use this guide in their local practice. The interviewees at Company B did not mention any specific policy promoting the inclusion of persons with disabilities, besides the corporate policy that required equal treatment and non-discrimination and the health, safety and environment (HSE) policy. What is more, the key interviewees at both companies refused to provide the researcher with any statistical data on their companies' employees concerning their recruitment, retention, accommodation, and/or sick leave or disability since they considered this information confidential.

The next step was to conduct personal interviews within the companies that represent the main source of information for this case study (Yin, 2009). Conducting qualitative interviews is recommended in studying the interactions between disability and the corporate

culture (Schur et al., 2005). In contrast to conducting questionnaires and/or focus groups that are more time-consuming, qualitative interviews present a rich source of data from the ‘insiders’ or organisational members (Schein, 2009), especially, from the ‘organisational elites’ or top management (Harley, 2010; Morris, 2009). In both companies, I conducted open-ended, semi-structured and in-depth interviews (Yin, 1989). The open-ended questions allow the interviewees to use ‘implicit knowledge’ and to provide an ‘authentic insight into their experiences’ (Flick, 2006; Silverman, 1993, p. 91). The semi-structured nature allow the researcher to be flexible and to modify the predetermined key themes and issues in accordance with the flow of the conversation, and the respondents’ positions (L. Justesen & Mik-Meyer, 2012). The in-depth structure is more effective than other interview-related methods when discussing sensitive hiring issues (Pager & Quillian, 2005).

I conducted the interviews with the senior- and middle-level managers and regular employees at two companies between August and December 2012. Because of their semi-structured nature, the interviews did not follow a strict framework but addressed several areas mentioned in the interview guide (see Annex 3). This approach aimed to stimulate discussion (Tracy, 2013) and to capture the interviewees’ points of view, opinions, and interpretations of events (Silverman, 2006). Having a ‘flexible interview guide’ is especially helpful to interview the companies’ top management (Harley, 2010). Company employees at different levels were interviewed, in line with Alvesson’s (2013) recommendation to obtain the complete picture of the organisational culture. The HR managers acted as ‘gatekeepers’ (Creswell, 2007; Tracy, 2013, p. 71), who granted access to a setting and to other interviewees - top leadership, department managers/supervisors, HSE managers and employees with disabilities. They helped to clarify specific information about the companies’ activities, values, projects, and HR policies. Overall, the interviews were conducted at:

- **Company A** with the ‘Country manager’ (CEO in Norway), HR leader, HR/diversity manager, HR senior analyst, supervisor, HR administrative manager, Project lead/coordinator, administrative assistant, and an employee with a disability;
- **Company B** with the diversity manager at the corporate office, and HR/inclusion manager, HR manager, HR administrative manager, department manager/supervisor, HSE manager, occupational therapist and a former trainee who is currently an HR employee – all of these at the local office.

Altogether, I conducted **17 interviews** with the companies’ managers and employees,

approximately of 20-25 hours. Pagdett (2017) argues that it is optimal in qualitative research to conduct at least two interviews per person, especially when it is necessary to fill in missing information from earlier interviews or to conduct ‘confirmatory’ interviews. Likewise, in this research, I had to conduct several interviews with the HR managers at both companies to understand the corporate policies and values. In addition, at Company A, the HR/diversity manager helped to organise a meeting with HR administrative manager, Project lead/coordinator and administrative assistant to discuss the employment/inclusion of persons with disabilities and their company’s corporate culture. During this meeting, however, the Project lead/coordinator was connected via Skype, since she was working on a project at a different location, and unfortunately the connection was poor. Therefore, an additional ‘confirmatory’ interview was scheduled with this employee to get clarification of the information and to hear about her experience in more detail. However, the data on the employees’ social practices remained limited to the perspective of the HR managers and two employees with disabilities (a retained employee with a disability at Company A and an employee/former trainee at Company B). It was not possible to get access to interview or observe other employees with disabilities in the enterprises, nor was it possible to conduct focus groups with regular employees, contrary to what had been initially planned and discussed with the managers.

Four interviews conducted with NAV representatives served as a supplementary source of information: one with the NAV advisor to Company B, one with the NAV advisor to Company A and two interviews with IA coordinators at NAV. All interviews were conducted in English and lasted about one hour each, besides the introductory interviews. The names of all interviewees and the companies are not disclosed (see section 7 for more detail).

The main challenge during the data collection process was the interviewees’ inclination to present only publicly acceptable information. The managers who were responsible for policy implementation at both companies tried to influence the conditions of an interview, as similarly discussed by Harley (2010), that could result in their efforts to control access to the data. The HR managers were present during some interviews and controlled or corrected the information presented by other interviewees. One HR manager explicitly stated that “the employees could say something wrong”. The responsible HR managers, who acted as ‘gatekeepers’, carefully protected access to their companies’ ‘backstage’ activities and information. Therefore, the interviewees’ selection in this thesis may be criticised as ‘purposeful’ by an external reader or evaluator, however, otherwise, it might not have been possible to access the companies’

representatives (employees) without having initial contacts with the so-called ‘gatekeepers’. My efforts to access the same companies in the UK, even with the help of the local Norwegian ‘gatekeepers’, were not successful. The number of the interviewed company employees, including employees with disabilities, was still too low to enable generalisation to other large companies in Norway. All these limitations are addressed in the attached articles and are discussed in more detail in section 10.

The analysis of the qualitative interviews was performed in two stages. First, during the initial ‘data-immersion’ process, I transcribed the interviews to gain an overall sense of the content and simultaneously applied ‘manual coding’ (Tracy, 2013, p. 186). **In total, the transcripts amounted to approximately 140 pages.** Afterwards, I combined the codes into common themes based on the analytical interpretation of these codes known as ‘inductive thematic analysis’ (Boyatzis, 1998, p. 4), which resulted in two files of approximately 30 pages each per company. In this analysis, among the identified themes, the ‘work training’ theme presented the largest category analysed for Article I. Another main theme generated ‘workplace adaptations and accessibility measures’ and is further elaborated on in Article IV. However, “lumping large swaths of data into big general categories may not lead to insightful interpretations contrary to fracturing the data into smaller slices, each with a more specific code” (Tracy, 2013, p. 190).

Second, I applied a more systematic approach to facilitate data reduction and coding, and to validate and systematise the data from the ‘manual coding’. For this purpose, I used the ‘computer-assisted coding’ in NVivo (Version 10). Each interview was registered in NVivo as a separate source and coded afterwards. In this way, I approached the data analysis from an inductive perspective to generate shorter categories from broader text units. The codes ranged from being purely descriptive to more interpretive or analytical concepts. They were registered under ‘nodes’ and afterwards located and/or retrieved the coded passages from the interviews (Bazeley & Jackson, 2013). **The NVivo analysis identified about 300 nodes.** At the second level of interpretation, I organised, synthesised, and categorised the obtained nodes into interpretive concepts. Following the recommendations of Bazeley and Jackson (2013, p. 95), I organised the nodes into subcategories and then joined them into a branching structure or ‘tree’ – a hierarchy in which the nodes were placed under higher-levels or ‘parent’ nodes. This approach to data analysis was applied in Article II (see Annex 6), where the data were simultaneously coded, revised, discussed, with the final themes being commonly agreed between the authors. Furthermore, the theme ‘workplace adaptations’ that initially appeared in

manual coding was further re-examined in NVivo to obtain more detailed information that was further used for Article IV (see Annex 7).

6.5. Case study validity: involving other researchers, extending sources of evidence, combining different methods

The most common criticism of a case study is that it provides little basis for statistical generalisation or to what degree the results can be generalised to a larger population, as well as about the validity of the findings. For instance, Tracy (2013, p. 231) considers “formal generalisations ill-suited for qualitative research because researchers conduct in-depth studies where contextualised knowledge, by definition, cannot generalise to other (often different) scenes in the future”. In contrast, Yin (2009, p. 15) argues that “case studies are generalizable to theoretical propositions and not to populations or universes, as in statistical generalisation”. To avoid possible criticism of generalising the case study results, Yin (2009) recommends combining evidence from multiple data sources, and applying different theories, methods or empirical evidence that might help to address a broad range of issues of the same phenomenon. Besides these techniques, Dubois and Gadde (2002) suggest following an abductive logic that allows one to systematically match reality and theoretical constructs. In this approach, “learning from a particular case conditioned by the environmental context becomes a strength rather than a weakness” (*ibid*, p.554).

Hence, the main objective in this research was not just to analyse superficial corporate practices and information, but to focus on informal or the so-called ‘unofficial’ corporate culture, difficult to discover from the ‘first impression’. To reveal unknown aspects of the research phenomenon, to find new dimensions on the research problem, and, at the same time, to contribute to the validity and generalisability of this case study, abductive reasoning helped to formulate explanation into which the observations, often unanticipated and surprising, would fall (Dubois & Gadde, 2002; Timmermans & Tavory, 2012). This involved the application of multiple sources of data collection and mixed research methods. Furthermore, it required an extensive familiarity with existing theories throughout every step of the project implementation (Timmermans & Tavory, 2012). The theoretical perspectives emerged from reading the literature and analysing the context and helped to generate an analytical framework (see Figure 2 in Section 5) that assisted in the follow-up process of data collection and analysis. Overall, the process of enhancing this case study validity is presented by the following steps while analysing the data and preparing the articles that compose an important part of this thesis.

First, the data collected from the interviews with the managers and employees at two large companies in Norway provided the background for a single-country case study and the findings resulted in the publishing of Article I. The data analysis was performed inductively and focused on exploring and understanding publicly available or 'visible' information (artefacts) and 'invisible back stage activities' of the companies' corporate culture. The distinctions between the 'visible' and 'invisible' levels emerged from the corporate culture theory of Schein (1992) and the 'impression management' theory of Erving Goffman (1959), used as a theoretical framework for this article. My main objective was not to test these theories, but to discover what the companies kept 'in the background' or 'back stage', and what practical initiatives they undertook for the inclusion of persons with disabilities based on the managers' accounts. However, for this article, and according to Yin's recommendation (2009, p. 52), I did not focus solely "on individual employees as subunits of analysis, because it would then become an employee and not an organisational study". Therefore, I considered the national policy context in Norway and the companies' 'visible information' as an important source of evidence and additional validity to the main data source. Nevertheless, the data about only one country and about two companies can be criticised for the absence of external validity and for not being able to control for "conditions surrounding the case selection like special access to key informants" (Yin, 2009, p. 61). Furthermore, my expectation of finding positive confirmation that large companies might be more inclusive to persons with disabilities was not confirmed by many examples in practice. This was a 'surprising discovery' which, in line with abductive logic, required continued search for a better-suited explanation of this finding (Reichertz, 2014). Therefore, to achieve greater scientific generalisation of the results obtained in Article I, it was necessary to compare the obtained results with the practices of companies in other countries and/or business sectors, thus getting a greater insight into 'back stage phenomena' of their corporate culture.

Second, in order to increase the scientific generalisation of a single case-study, Yin (2009) recommends to validate the findings among different evaluators and/or by conducting a cross-case examination. Timmermans and Tavory (2012, p. 179) considered collaborative research relationships helpful "to stimulate the recursive aspect of abductive analysis". In this process, a multiple-case study approach is more suitable to allow the researcher(s) to explore the same question(s) or the phenomenon in a number of cases and compare them with each other (Ghauri, 2004, p. 114). Since it turned out to be difficult to recruit the companies in the UK (see sub-sections 6.3. and 6.4.), I decided to establish collaboration with a researcher who

works in a similar field in another country (preferably in the UK). For this purpose, I requested collaboration of a colleague from the DREAM Project Network, who was based at the University of Leeds, UK, and who was doing research about the employment of persons with disabilities based on collecting (both quantitative and qualitative) data from several European countries. The initial idea was still to compare the companies in Norway and the UK. However, the data collected through qualitative interviews by the researcher in the UK was mainly about small and medium enterprises from 25 to 200 employees. Even though it would be possible to conduct the comparative policy analysis at the national levels, comparing data at the companies' level could be more problematic due to:

- (1) the different sizes of the companies (large companies in Norway vs. small and medium-sized companies in the UK); and
- (2) the limited number of large companies in Norway (compared to the number of large companies interviewed in the UK).

This could also contradict the main research objective, which is to select positive cases. The researcher in the UK, therefore, suggested her data on Sweden, since among the companies she interviewed, there were several large companies that fit in the selection criteria of my case study. The interview questions this researcher used were similar to those I used for my research in Norway. We finally agreed to compare four large companies in Norway and Sweden. As a result, I introduced into my analysis two more large companies in Sweden, published in Article II.

Article II focuses on analysing the institutional environments in Norway and Sweden and applies 'the new-institutional theory' to frame the comparison of the obtained data between these countries and within the companies. Stating the theory at the outset of the case study, Yin (2010) considers that it is helpful to increase its 'analytic generalisation'. The 'new-institutional theory' applied as a theoretical framework in Article II helped to explore the companies' responses to the social regulatory policy measures, an important external factor defined in the analytical framework (Figure 2). Comparing the companies' practices in Norway and Sweden and analysing the interview data inductively, I aimed to understand what works for the selected companies with regard to ensuring the inclusion of persons with disabilities in these companies (and countries). This analysis revealed a more proactive response from the companies in Sweden than those in Norway. These conclusions could still not be generalised to all large companies' practices in these two countries. Thus, the authors concluded with recommendations to conduct additional comparative research on different policy mechanisms

promoting disability employment in all Nordic countries, or in comparison with other European countries. This would give additional insight into the research problem. Comparing the interviews results between two researchers helped to increase the validity of this case study data.

Third, a case study's validity can be increased, according to Yin (2009), by bringing evidence from multiple sources or 'triangulating' different data sources. In this respect, case study design, according to Ghauri (2004), is flexible and can be changed, modified or revised during different stages of implementation with proper justification. Especially in a case study that applies abductive logic, certain discoveries or insights obtained during data collection and analysis may result in redirecting the study, further developing the analytical framework and/or bringing up new or additional interpretations of the revealed interdependencies (Dubois & Gadde, 2002). Even though the application of statistical analysis is often considered inappropriate to case study research since it requires a large sample of cases, case studies may go beyond simple qualitative research, and include quantitative evidence or a mix of quantitative and qualitative evidence (e.g. George & Bennett, 2005). Therefore, to increase the generalisation of the findings from the previous articles (Article I and II) obtained from the analysis predominantly of the qualitative interviews conducted at two companies in Norway, I decided to apply additional [quantitative] methods which had not been built into this research design "but made pragmatically on the strength of noticing abductively the need for this type of analysis" (D. L. Morgan, 2007, p. 71). This resulted in published Articles III and IV.

The application of statistical analysis, according to George and Bennett (2005), is more likely to lead toward collaborative work by scholars. Indeed, the remaining two articles (Article III and Article IV) were performed collaboratively with other researchers. For Article III, I continued collaboration with Betul Yalcin, a colleague from the DREAM Project Network based at the University of Leeds, UK, and her supervisor, Mark Priestley, Professor at the School of Sociology and Social Policy at the University of Leeds. For this article, we conducted a comparative cross-case analysis of six countries – three Nordic countries (Norway, Sweden and Denmark) and three Baltic countries (Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia) to analyse disability policies and equality for persons with disabilities in employment in these countries. The initial idea, however, was to make a comparative policy analysis of only three Nordic countries. Later, the decision was made to extend the comparative analysis to include the three Baltic countries. The reason was due to a good deal of literature that had already been written about disability policies in Nordic countries. However, there were few comparative studies on Baltic disability

policies, especially in comparing the disability policies in the Nordic and Baltic countries. Traditionally, the Nordic countries' rapid economic and social progress made it more appropriate to compare them with the United States, the UK, and other Western European countries. Since the end of 'the Cold War', new groups of countries have become relevant points of comparison for the Nordic region, among which were the Baltic states (Aylott, 2014).

According to Kitchenham (2010), in case study research that applies mixed methods, the qualitative method may be more useful for investigating programme processes, and the quantitative method - for examining programme outcomes. The data for Article III were collected from multiple sources and the mixed methods for data analysis were applied based on the OHCHR (2008) methodology, taking into consideration 'structure', 'processes' and 'outcomes' including both qualitative policy analysis and quantitative statistical analysis. As argued by Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004), mixed method research, besides inductive and deductive logic, uses abduction to uncover the best explanations for the obtained results. Indeed, conducting policy analysis on the Eurostat expenditure data and EU-SILC data presented in Article III, following George and Bennett (2005), helped to identify outliers and deviant cases, among which Lithuania and Norway reported wider disability equality gaps in employment. These unanticipated results required me to go back to my initial data about the case of Norway. Another finding of Article III that public support for reasonable accommodation at work is important, together with increasing the employers' responsibility for it, also confirmed the need to reexamine the companies' practices in Norway regarding the employment of persons with disabilities and the provision of workplace adaptations in bringing more analysis of data, perspectives and methods. In this way, according to Reichertz (2014, p. 308), abductive logic seeks for a new order which may better fit unanticipated facts.

Fourth, according to Yin (2009, p. 173), to increase generalisation and validity of the obtained results, a case-study can incorporate data from different methods, including surveys or quantitative analysis of other data. Qualitative and quantitative techniques can be combined within the context of one study, even at different stages of the research process (Creswell, 2007; Kroll, Neri, & Miller, 2005). Therefore, to understand the complexities of the national policies on the employment of persons with disabilities in Norway and the companies' responses to policy measures, this case study additionally adopted an inductive multi-method approach (Morse, 2003, p. 199). This resulted in combining two different data sources: in-depth qualitative interviews and a quantitative analysis of the Norwegian labour force survey (LFS), presented in Article IV. The two sets of data complemented each other and expanded the

previously obtained results of a single-country case study on Norway. For this article, I collaborated with another researcher who assisted me in analysing the statistical data. This approach has also contributed to increasing the data reliability by verifying the results of data analysis and the findings between the researchers.

In sum, a combination of multiple sources of evidence and different methodological approaches to data analysis, additional sources of information and theoretical approaches, as well as involving different investigators, have been used in the attached articles. These approaches, as recommended by Yin (2009, pp. 116-117), may serve as a “triangulation technique” to increase the case study validity and analytical generalisation of the research results. Combining varied sources of information and applying qualitative and quantitative data analyses in this thesis helped me to answer the research questions and provided additional insights for the analytical framework. While throughout this case study, abductive reasoning contributed to the process of data analysis and of research implementation, it should not be confused with an exact method for the generation of new theory, as argued by Reichertz (2014). This is, rather, “an attitude towards data and towards one’s own knowledge where the validity of previously developed knowledge is to be queried” (*ibid*, p. 308). Throughout this research, I did not aim to test hypotheses or determine which factors are more important but rather identify mechanisms and processes that are likely to foster or hamper an inclusive corporate culture according to the factors that emerged in the analytical framework. In addition, an internal validity has been addressed by presenting participants’ quotations from the interviews in the articles and the descriptions of the data analysis (Kapborg & Berterö, 2002).

7. Ethical Issues

This section clarifies important issues of research ethics addressed by this thesis. Research ethics is important for a case study, as well as for any other research method. Studying sensitive topics, especially, raises wide issues related to ethics (R. M. Lee, 1993).

Before organising case selection and data collection, I received approval from the Data Protection Office - the Norwegian Social Science Data Service (NSD¹⁸) to conduct this research (see Annex 1). In this thesis, the names of the companies and personal information of the respondents are kept confidential. By contrast, the 'best practices guides' (e.g. ILO, 2010; Riley, 2006) often disclose the names of the companies, which is supported by the main idea of these publications to show examples to other companies. However, in this research it was necessary to keep the companies' names confidential because some information was too personal or sensitive, especially in relation to employees with disabilities. To ensure data anonymity meant there was no need to obtain additional agreement from the companies or individual interviewees prior to research publication. This condition was discussed with each company-case during the selection process, and afterwards explained at individual interviews. In accordance with research guidelines, I observed the confidentiality of information of each individual participant and organisation, and treated each participant respectfully and equally regarding their participation in this research. Wahyuni (2012) recommends that a research information package should be provided in the introductory meeting or sent beforehand in an email, and a consent form should be signed off by the interviewee and the researcher, with a copy provided for each participant. These steps of ethical conduct and respect are highly important to develop a sense of trust with research participants as well as acknowledge their participation in research by respecting their time, insights and privacy.

In this research project, I carefully observed these principles. Initially, I sent the project description to each participating company before conducting introductory meetings, and afterwards to the interviewees (Annex 2). An individual interview with each participant was conducted according to the interview guide presented in Annex 3. Participation in the interviews was voluntary. Each interview started with the researcher introducing herself, presenting information about the research organisation (NOVA), and explaining the purpose of the research project and its planned outcomes. The consent form (see Annex 4) was signed with

¹⁸ <http://www.nsd.uib.no/nsd/english/index.html>

each individual interviewee before the interview began, and it was explained that the participation was voluntary. Further, confirmation was obtained that the interviewees comprehend the study, and they were informed that they could withdraw at any time. Permission to use a recording device during the interview was obtained prior to commencing the interview. The digital recordings and the transcripts of the interviews, as well as the results of the data analysis, were kept in a protected folder on the research organisation's internal digital filing system.

After the official termination of the project (the date for which was defined 31.12.2015 according to the NSD Confirmation), all personal data were anonymised. Moreover, to ensure confidentiality and to avoid possible "deductive disclosure of research participants" (Tracy, 2013, p. 91), I slightly modified and even sometimes omitted identifiable data or quotations taken from the interviews while writing the articles and this thesis. Since personal information was anonymous, there was no need to obtain approval by the interviewees prior to publication. All the data files from this research that contain personal information will be entirely deleted once the thesis has been defended.

The final approved version of this thesis will be sent to the 'key informants' at each participating company, as well as to the employers' association and the trade union in Norway that assisted in identifying the companies, in accordance with the prior agreement that the researcher will notify the participants about the research findings and results. In addition, each of the published articles, where the results of the individual interviews are used, acknowledges the participating companies and individual interviewees without disclosing their names. Additionally, in Article II, in agreement with the second author, the names and identifiable details of the respondents and the companies in Sweden are not disclosed and kept confidential. To follow the research ethics and in accordance with the NTNU requirements, the researcher signed a declaration of co-authorship with each co-author of the articles, which is enclosed together with this thesis.

8. Short summary of each article

This section presents the short summary of four articles the full versions of which are enclosed as attachments.

8.1. Article I

“An inclusive corporate culture: Examining the visible and invisible levels of disability inclusiveness in two large enterprises”

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Scandinavian Journal of Disability Research, 2016, 18:3, 179-190,

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This article presents a qualitative case study on Norway that is based on the results of interviews conducted at two large companies. The case study considers the information about the companies' public image collected from their corporate websites, annual and CSR reports, and information about the companies' corporate culture obtained from the interviews with managers and employees. This approach was adopted in line with Yin's recommendation (2009) to consider important contextual conditions and data from the 'insiders' for conducting a qualitative case study. The theoretical framework of Erving Goffman's (1959) 'impression management' with its visible 'front stage' and invisible 'back stage' concepts has framed the analysis of the emerged differences between the image two companies publicly demonstrated and the their invisible 'backstage practices' regarding the inclusion of persons with disabilities among the workforce.

The inductive thematic analysis of the interviews identified 'work training' theme as one of the 'global' (or overarching) themes in the interview data. This theme combined three sub-themes that emerged from the data based on the interviewees' responses and characterised 'work training' as 'a good intention', as a 'value creation', and as a 'meaningful task' (see Annex 5). The detailed description of each sub-theme is presented in Article I. The findings showed that despite positive impressions the managers at both companies demonstrated about their companies and inclusive corporate culture, providing work training was the sole 'back stage' activity these companies undertook to include persons with disabilities among their workforce. However, these cases were limited, despite the companies' collaboration in providing work training with NAV, and because of selection criteria the companies set for future employees and trainees. Neither company had accepted trainees or hired any employees with serious physical disability or intellectual impairment. The only successful case they presented was retaining an employee after an acquired disability. In this way, this study found

a major discrepancy between the companies' 'front stage' or public domain and 'back stage' activities concerning the inclusion of persons with disabilities.

An important finding is that while work training has contributed greatly to the companies' public image, as well as to the reputation of managers responsible for this activity, it is far from ensuring a corporate culture inclusive to persons with disabilities. This may demonstrate the managers' intentions to "present a well-staged performance on the front stage" (Goffman, 1959, pp. 114, 231) by targeting mainly successful outcomes to support their image of 'inclusive IA corporations'. As Mandal and Ose (2015) previously reported, having signed the IA agreement significantly influenced the likelihood that enterprises made efforts to include disabled individuals. However, in this study the selected companies and the managers responsible were 'carefully concealing the backstage activities' since cases other than positive ones were difficult to discuss or obtain access from these interviewees.

In conclusion, in keeping with Dubrin (2011), managers either made positive statements to give a good impression of their organisations or demonstrated 'defensive impression management techniques' to protect their corporate image or to justify negative situations as to why they did not employ persons with disabilities. They recruited, first of all, those applicants who were more likely to fit their organisational culture and/or capable of enhancing organisational performance. These findings to a certain extent confirmed the 'impression management' theoretical perspective of Goffman (1959, pp. 114, 231), disclosing the tendency of companies and managers to expressly accentuate certain facts on the 'front stage' while hiding other negative (or unappealing) facts and practices 'on the back stage'. However, these conclusions are mainly based on the managers' experiences. The work training cases were too limited to generalise about the practices of other large companies in Norway. The main objective was not to use these findings to challenge or to propose a new theory, but follow an abductive logic (Reichertz, 2014) to search for additional and new explanations of these findings. This could be done by conducting future research that will explore the companies in different business sectors in Norway and/or different countries, preferably using a wide number of data sources.

8.2. Article II

“Inclusion of persons with disabilities in mainstream employment: is it really all about the money? A case study of four large companies in Norway and Sweden”

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Disability & Society Journal, 2017, 32:2, pp. 233-253,

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Based on a comparative case study of four large companies in Norway and Sweden, this article has investigated how large companies respond to public policy measures to ensure the inclusion of persons with disabilities. According to Yin (2009, p. 142), “one of the goals of multiple-case studies is to build a general explanation that fits each individual case, even though the cases may vary in their details”. Norway and Sweden were selected as ‘most-similar cases’. Yet, despite the similarities in approaches to disability policy, the statistical data on Sweden reported a higher employment rate for persons with disabilities, including those with ‘severe disability’. Thus, the research objective was to explore the contextual background and the practices of companies in Norway and Sweden, to identify under which conditions the selected large companies were more likely to move beyond formal compliance to the legal requirement and to take positive measures to include persons with disabilities in their employment. Even though qualitative research may not require a theory (Creswell, 2007), for this article, we have applied the ‘new-institutional theory’ (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Meyer & Rowan, 1991) as the theoretical framework to identify contextual factors related to existing social regulatory policy measures such as legislation, financial and non-financial/advisory support that are more likely to lead to the inclusion of persons with disabilities in mainstream employment. This approach required extensive data collection from different sources that validated the research findings (see Yin, 2009). Besides the main interviews with the companies’ managers, the authors presented the opinions of the government (NAV) representatives in Norway, and disabled people’s organisations in Sweden as additional sources of evidence.

Three overarching themes emerged from the NVivo analysis of the interviews: (1) ‘legitimacy’, (2) ‘financial interests’ and (3) ‘non-financial support’ (see Annex 6). Due to an agreement with the second author not to disclose her interview analysis data in this thesis, Annex 6 shows only the data analysis chart without the detailed interview extracts. The results indicate a more proactive response from the Swedish companies, especially regarding persons with intellectual and learning difficulties. In comparison, the Norwegian companies reveal a high commitment to their own employees. Referring to the institutional context, the analysis

found differences in the policy approaches between the two countries. Norway gives preference to the voluntary IA Agreement, while Sweden focuses on wage subsidies and supported employment. As DiMaggio and Powell (1983) argue, existing institutional prescriptions may cause organisational similarity or 'isomorphism' based on three types of 'drivers' or mechanisms. These are 'coercive' or 'formal and informal pressures from powerful organisations'; 'normative' or special norms; and 'mimetic' or 'modelling other organisations' that are perceived to be more legitimate and/or successful. While organisational structures may seem isomorphic within a given domain, "the constraints posed by technical activities and by output controls may result in organisations demonstrating [just] ritualised controls of credentials and group solidarity" (p. 150). Furthermore, Meyer and Rowan (1991) argue that impersonal prescriptions and highly institutionalised assumptions serve as 'powerful myths' to 'appropriate conduct' for organisations, by following which organisations secure their legitimacy and strengthen their support and survival. In contrast to these assumptions, the findings of Article II revealed that neither strict legislative requirements nor financial support influenced to any great extent the inclusion of persons with disabilities in employment by the four companies under study. Instead, factors such as targeted corporate policies and programmes, advisory support from the government and non-governmental organisations, and the agency and value choices of the management appeared to have greater importance. The interviews with the representatives of governmental and non-governmental disabled persons' organisations were not always compatible with the managers' statements and provided additional insights that allowed us to look at the companies' inclusive practices from another perspective.

While these findings cannot be generalised to all possible cases (either companies or countries), the researchers concluded that, in more general terms, companies' practices regarding the inclusion of persons with disabilities cannot be explained solely by 'the new-institutional theory'. Therefore, we recommend for future research to explore other sources of information, related to the companies' internal factors and additional support, financial and non-financial. The involvement of a higher number of employees of varying responsibilities, including employees with disabilities, could also contribute to reaching more generalisable conclusions.

8.3. Article III

“Labour Market Integration and Equality for Disabled People: A Comparative Analysis of Nordic and Baltic Countries”

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Special issue: ‘Nordic and Baltic welfare states – close but different’

This article presents a comparative cross-case analysis of the employment of disabled people and disability policies in three Nordic (Denmark, Sweden, Norway) and three Baltic (Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania) countries. The article compares outcomes for disabled people in each country and in a binary comparison between the Nordic and Baltic regional blocks. The comparison between the Nordic and Baltic countries is framed by the differences suggested by Esping-Andersen’s welfare regime typology (Ebbinghaus, 2012; Esping-Andersen, 1990) and between the expenditure on labour market and disability policy measures in these countries. The research analysis relied on multiple data sources and combined quantitative and qualitative approaches: the Eurostat database (general indicators of employment and poverty), the Mutual Information System on Social Protection tables (MISSOC tables) and the information uploaded on the Disability Online Tool of the Commission (DOTCOM) by country experts, a disability policy database (ANED). Additional information was obtained from national policy documents, the UN CRPD treaty monitoring database, Eurostat expenditure data (investments in disability benefit schemes and active labour market policies [LMPs]) and employment indicators from Eurostat’s disability database (based on the 2011 European Labour Force Survey ad hoc module). The results are presented in accordance with the UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights methodology (OHCHR, 2008) – as ‘structure’, ‘processes’ and ‘outcomes’. According to this methodology, the ‘structural indicators’ help to describe the ratification and adoption of legal instruments, and the existence as well as the creation of basic institutional mechanisms for the promotion and protection of human rights. The ‘process indicators’ present the policies and specific measures by the duty bearer to implement its commitments and to monitor the progressive fulfilment of a right. And the ‘outcome indicators’ capture individual and collective attainments that reflect the state of enjoyment of human rights and the impact of various underlying processes.

First, as far as the ‘structure’ is concerned, the results of the policy analysis show that

there is more Nordic-Baltic convergence in regulatory than redistributive policies (i.e., non-discrimination principles are clearly established than common labour market measures). The Nordic countries demonstrate more established policy provisions, with a shift of expectations on employers. A similar emphasis is emerging in Baltic countries, where new disability policies are forming, with increased expectations on employers including efforts to remove barriers in the workplace. The researchers conclude that this regulatory convergence owes much to the influence of the EU's transnational policy in the employment field. It has particularly accelerated in response to the UN's influence.

Second, as a 'process', analysis of the 'social expenditure' showed that redistributive policies differed greatly among the countries with regard to investments in labour market policy measures, rehabilitation and occupational health services. The Baltic countries have invested much less than the Nordic countries. Among the Nordic countries, Norway appears to spend less than Denmark and Sweden on total labour market policy measures, but more on social security benefits. However, Norway has reported less equal disability outcomes than Denmark and Sweden and had the widest disability employment gap (alongside Lithuania). This finding presented 'an interesting anomaly' compared to the high employment rates both for persons with and without limitations reported by Norway (see section 3.2., Tables 1 and 2). In their article, Geiger and colleagues (2017) argued that a noticeably higher disability employment gap in Norway in the EU-SILC may reflect the higher level of employment both for non-disabled and disabled population in Norway. Although it appears lower in the ESS (European Social Survey) which shows the low reliability of the EU-SILC for strong conclusions. In Article III, the three Nordic countries have all demonstrated better employment outcomes for persons with disabilities compared to those of the Baltic countries.

Third, as an 'outcome', a multilevel logistic regression conducted on the EU-SILC data by the other two authors compared the countries' regional blocks and confirmed that disabled persons in the Baltics were worse off in terms of average employment outcomes, benefit coverage and their subjective financial situation than in the Nordic countries. While both Norway and Lithuania showed the highest employment rates for persons without limitations, within their regional blocks, this fact masks lower employment rates for disabled persons. The analysis of the effect of individual factors on employment outcomes, likewise, reveal significant differences in Nordic-Baltic countries for persons with severe impairments, older workers and men. From this analysis, however, it is hard to draw a more specific conclusion about Norway.

Overall, the comparative cross-country analysis presented in Article III provides an

important additional contextual policy background for a case study on Norway in comparison with other two Scandinavian and neighbouring Baltic countries. The researchers conclude that, despite the transnational policy influence of the EU, national policies make a difference. Relying solely on non-discrimination policies is not sufficient to change the situation regarding the inclusion of persons with disabilities in mainstream employment. Therefore, a focused mix of regulatory and redistributive measures is needed. The fact that Norway has appeared as a 'deviant case' in this analysis, according to George and Bennett (2005, p. 81), "gives a reason for further identification of the 'hidden' causal mechanisms". This led to a further exploration of disability policy measures in Norway as presented in Article IV.

8.4. Article IV

“Workplace Adaptations Promoting the Inclusion of Persons with Disabilities in Mainstream Employment: A Case-study on Employers’ Responses in Norway”

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Providing reasonable accommodation or adaptations at work is considered important to enable access, participation, and advancement in employment for persons with disabilities. It is an important indicator of an ‘inclusive corporate culture’ (Erickson et al., 2014; Schur et al., 2005). The duty to provide ‘reasonable accommodation’ in the workplace is required of employers by anti-discrimination legislation (Hvinden, 2013; Waddington, 1996, 2013). However, employers’ concerns about accommodation costs prevent them from hiring and/or retaining employees with disabilities despite the fact that part of these costs may be covered by the government (Erickson et al., 2014; Henry et al., 2014; Vornholt et al., 2013). Nevertheless, large companies are believed to more actively respond to ensuring an inclusive work environment for persons with disabilities since these companies have sufficient financial and human resources that allow them to provide the necessary workplace adaptations.

To explore these perspectives, this article presents a case study of Norway with the main goal being to investigate how policy measures implemented over the period 2006–2015 have impacted employers’ responses to ensure the inclusion of persons with disabilities in mainstream employment through adaptations at work. To understand the national policies on workplace adaptations, this case study adopts a qualitative multi-method approach (Morse, 2003; Vedeler & Schreuer, 2011). The article combines two different data sources gathered separately: in-depth qualitative interviews and a quantitative analysis performed on national statistical data (the Norwegian Labour Force Study LFS, [arbeidskraftundersøkelsen, AKU, in Norwegian]) to investigate the employers’ responses at the company and national levels. The qualitative data is based on the interviews conducted by the first author with the managers of two large companies in Norway in 2012. The inductive thematic analysis of the interviews has revealed ‘workplace adaptations’ to be one of the main overarching themes that contained four sub-themes: 1) ‘providing adaptations in response to policy measures’; 2) ‘changes of work

tasks'; 3) 'changes of working time'; and 4) 'physical adaptations'. These themes have been verified through NVivo (see Annex 7).

The qualitative component presents in-depth information collected at the companies about their practices for the inclusion of persons with disabilities based on the managers' experiences with providing adaptations at work, as well as their awareness of the disability policy measures. A quantitative component was sequentially added to support the core qualitative approach, and to compare the results obtained from analysis of the interviews with the general disability employment and provision of workplace adaptations in Norway. For this purpose, a shift-share analysis was conducted on the statistical data from the Norwegian Disabled People LFS to analyse the employment growth of persons with disabilities aged 15-66 by adaptations at work at the national level (SSB, 2016). An enhanced version of the shift-share method (Artige & van Neuss, 2014; Gialis & Tsampra, 2015) was applied, which allowed us to decompose the LFS data into 'subsets' and 'subgroups' to assess changes in the employment of persons with disabilities and workplace adaptation measures. LFS defines 'disability' in terms of 'a difficulty to perform any daily activity, due to a longstanding health problem', and is based on whether survey respondents perceive themselves as having a disability or a 'functional impairment' ([funksjonsnedsettelse] in Norwegian). The data for the quantitative analysis were collected and analysed by the second author in 2016.

The shift-share results demonstrate considerable growth in the employment of persons with disabilities and in the provision of adaptations at work at the national level from 2006–2010 to 2011–2015, which may confirm the positive influence of policy measures in place in regard to the employers' responses to include persons with disabilities in mainstream employment and provide workplace adaptations. In contrast, from the interviewees' responses at two large companies, there was no indication that workplace adaptations were made for persons with disabilities without prior work experience, since they neither had such job applicants nor trainees. Despite the high accessibility standards of the companies' buildings and facilities, corporate policies only broadly addressed non-discrimination and equality obligations. No workplace accommodations were reported to be provided during the recruitment process.

Regarding the types of adaptations provided, the shift-share analysis highlighted important changes for 'changes of working time', 'need for one or more adaptations' and 'changes of work tasks'. The qualitative interviews confirmed that 'changes of work tasks and working time' were those most often provided, though mainly for their own employees who

had acquired disabilities or returned to work after a long-term illness. The interviewees' responses have indicated the companies' conformity to the national labour law (WEA), to the IA Agreement, and to the corporate HSE policy – all requiring employers to improve working conditions for own employees. This, however, did not extend to the unemployed persons with disabilities or without prior work experience. The managers did not mention anti-discrimination legislation at all. The most significant increase reported by the shift-share analysis was for 'changes of working time' in 2011–2015, which may indicate the increased importance of 'flexibility'. Arguably, this might also indicate the prevalence of temporary employment, a sector in which many persons with disabilities are employed, according to Ekberg, Pransky, Besen, Fassier, Feuerstein, Munir, and Blanck (2016). Statistics Norway reports the prevalence of part-time work among persons with disabilities, which may have increased due to changes in the WEA in 2015 that gave more prevalence to 'flexible employment opportunities' (Dahl & Lorentzen, 2017). In contrast, the interviewees at both companies said they did not employ persons with disabilities for part-time work or on a reduced work schedule and, indeed, rejected the possibility of their being employed for part-time positions. With regard to 'physical adaptations', the shift-share result shows this to be lagging behind, in contrast to the responses of the interviewees who assumed their companies were fully accessible for persons with disabilities.

In summary, combining two methods allowed us to examine the company-level data and to compare these data with the national employment level data. While the national policy context demonstrated positive changes in the employment of persons with disabilities, as well as the number of provided adaptations at work from 2011 to 2015, analysis of the interviews shows that the companies provided mainly non-costly and non-extensive adaptations. The managers from two companies did not request financial support, and associated workplace adaptations with employees with physical disabilities, showing a lack of prior experience with adaptations for people with other types of impairments. Workplace adaptations for persons with disabilities without prior work experience were limited or almost non-existent. Despite the obligations of anti-discrimination legislation and the 'duty of reasonable accommodation' for employers, provision of workplace adaptations may depend more on the HR managers' or supervisors' attitudes and decisions, and on the companies' policies rather than on costs. Based on these data, it is not possible to draw generalised conclusions regarding type of industry and/or disability, and the practices of other large companies in Norway or other countries. Given the data limitations, the shift-share analysis does not claim any causal relationship between the

workplace adaptations provided and employment of persons with disabilities. Therefore, the authors recommend that future research should examine in more detail these causal relationships by conducting a large-scale survey that involves a random sample of a larger number of companies in different business sectors, public and private. Additionally, it would be important to consider the opinions of the employees with disabilities who have been employed and provided with the necessary workplace adaptations.

9. Discussion

This section reflects upon why the institutional contexts are important for the inclusion of persons with disabilities and what factors may facilitate or hamper large companies in adopting inclusive practices (regarding hiring, recruitment, retention and accommodation of persons with disabilities). These factors are identified based on the analytical framework, which I have presented in section 5, and consider ‘external factors’ that relate to the social regulatory policy measures, such as non-discrimination legislation, financial support and persuasion strategies among which are awareness raising and voluntary activities, as well as ‘internal factors’ referring to the corporate culture of large companies that participated in this study and the interviews.

9.1. The external factors: social regulatory policy measures

The first main objective of this thesis was to investigate how large companies respond to social regulatory policy measures that promote the principles of equality, non-discrimination and accessibility. In other words, how the evolving international, European and national disability policy regimes induce large companies in Norway to take greater responsibility for the inclusion of persons with disabilities and, if they do, how this inducement is reflected in their corporate culture. The analytical framework (Figure 2, box 1) identifies among external factors social regulatory policy measures, including anti-discrimination legislation and/or other rules/standards, norms, laws, policies, and programmes. Moreover, it is important to consider external factors such as the provision of financial and non-financial support (Figure 2, box 2), which may be important for the implementation of legislative obligations at the local level, such as wage subsidies for employees and/or employers, the availability of financial support for accommodations or workplace adaptations for employees with disabilities.

Article I demonstrated that the two large companies selected for the Norwegian case study only broadly addressed equality and non-discrimination in their global corporate policies. The managers associated these principles with the UN Global Compact that focuses on “protecting internationally proclaimed human rights” (Ruggie, 2007). The inclusion of persons with disabilities in both large companies in Norway was mainly regarded as part of their CSR strategies. As argued by Matten and Moon (2008), this tendency may reflect the companies’ attempts to demonstrate legitimacy before multiple stakeholders that require MNCs to promote these strategies and initiatives. However, the companies’ managers did not refer to the UN CRPD nor did they mention anti-discrimination laws in the interviews. Instead, the inclusion

of persons with disabilities was associated with the 'diversity policy' for employees of different ethnical backgrounds.

Based on the obtained results, Article I revealed a discrepancy between the companies' global commitments demonstrated on the corporate websites, and their local practices. On the local level, the Norwegian companies did not explicitly mention the inclusion of persons with disabilities nor a commitment to the Norwegian anti-discrimination laws. The managers demonstrated greater awareness of the general accessibility standards to buildings/facilities and expressed conformity to the national labour law (WEA) that contains requirements regarding work environment including health and safety measures and adaptations for employees with reduced capacity to work. Only the companies' participation in the IA Agreement was considered a significant contribution to ensuring 'an inclusive corporate culture'. This finding reflects the conclusions of Mandal and Ose (2015) who state that integrating efforts in relation to the IA Agreement may be positive with respect to employers' efforts towards persons with disabilities. The question, however, remains as to whether companies' commitments to the inclusion of persons with disabilities are genuine. Indeed, cases of hiring new employees with disabilities or accepting trainees with disabilities within the IA Agreement were limited or non-existent at both companies. These findings support Riley (2006, p. 96) who argued that "a good business profile is still a placebo". Other researchers in Norway (e.g. Halvorsen & Hvinden, 2014b) confirmed that few employers were aware of their 'affirmative action duty' and identified [disabled] candidates either through non-governmental organisations or the NAV. Neither company in a case study on Norway expressed commitment to direct recruitment of persons with disabilities, and, instead, related these activities to corporate social responsibility or the IA Agreement. Even though the managers said they 'were open and inclusive for employees in wheelchairs', they did not recruit these people, and Company B only mentioned a few cases of retaining 'engineers in wheelchairs'. Likewise, research in other countries, such as a recent study of Bellemare, Goussé, Lacroix, and Marchand (2018), confirm negative attitudes among employers toward hiring employees with physical disabilities despite having accommodation and non-discrimination policies in place.

When comparing the companies' responses to the national social regulatory policy measures in Norway compared to Sweden, the findings presented in Article II did not confirm any direct influence of the anti-discrimination legislation in these countries on the companies' involvement in including persons with disabilities. In Sweden, however, the companies' representatives showed a higher awareness of discrimination against persons with disabilities

in recruitment. Representatives of the disabled people's organisations criticised the current anti-discrimination legislation in Sweden for not being effective and creating barriers against hiring persons with disabilities. In Norway, the NAV representatives considered the Norwegian anti-discrimination legislation a strong factor in 'obliging employers to follow the rule'. However, this was not reflected in the companies' responses. Comparing the companies in Norway and Sweden regarding their responses to other types of social regulatory policy measures – financial incentives and non-financial support, Article II concluded that, contrary to initial expectations and the theoretical assumptions, the managers in both countries did not consider financial support a primary reason for their companies' engagement in promoting inclusive activities. The managers in Norway did not seek additional financial support for workplace adaptations, and they characterised this 'as a complicated bureaucratic process'. The companies in Sweden were more in line with economic imperatives to support the implementation of special disability-inclusion programmes. The managers in Swedish companies considered this support "helpful for the workplaces to survive, especially in a time of economic constraints."

In accordance with the findings of Article II, the provision of non-financial support from the government and non-governmental organisations emerged as the most significant factor for the inclusion of persons with disabilities and to ensuring the companies' inclusive corporate culture in both countries. In particular, this conclusion refers to the two Swedish companies that were using non-financial support from a variety of service providers that resulted in their employing of persons with a range of impairments, including those with severe disabilities and mental illnesses. In Norway, companies referred to support provided by NAV for implementing 'inclusive activities' under the IA Agreement. However, this support did not contribute to the increased presence of persons with disabilities, nor did it result in any special programmes targeting persons with other types of impairments other than persons after (work-related or occupational) burnout (a stress related illness). Some interviewees assumed that the NAV focus might change in the future. Even when disabled people's organisations and service providers suggested candidates with disabilities for employment, as happened at Company B in Norway, the HR managers did not employ them because of the prejudices and discriminatory attitudes of their perceived unsuitability for their type of work. Instead, the more targeted policy measures and support in Sweden resulted in the Swedish companies being more proactive in including persons with disabilities than the companies in Norway. In line with Halvorsen and colleagues (2017), it shows the important role of non-governmental organisations who complement public providers and legislative obligations.

A more detailed analysis of redistributive and social regulatory policies in Norway and other Scandinavian countries such as Denmark and Sweden, comparative with the neighbouring countries of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, presented in Article III, confirms the significant influence of the EU's transnational policy in the employment field, as well as the UN's disability strategy on all these countries' adoption of the anti-discrimination laws. The redistributive policies in public expenditure, however, varied among the countries. The public expenditure on LMP transfers to employers was lower in Norway than in Denmark and Sweden, and lower than in Latvia and Lithuania. Sweden demonstrated higher transfers to services providers than Norway and Denmark, which confirms prior research (Halvorsen & Hvinden, 2014b) that reported the wider array of targeted measures to support the inclusion of disabled persons provided in Sweden. However, Norway's expenditures on disability-related benefits were higher. The LMP transfers to employers were lowest in Estonia, while transfers to individuals were smaller in all the Baltic countries than in the Nordic countries. The article concludes that the adoption of the anti-discrimination laws has not coincided with systematic improvements in disability employment rates. These variations among the countries most likely depend on the invested public expenditure and the employers' engagement in this process. Norway, in this article, reports one of the highest disability employment gaps followed by Lithuania. The disability employment gap is a crucial indicator of disability equality, and is used as a measure of the right 'to the opportunity to earn a living by work', according to Geiger and colleagues (2017). However, this conclusion must be treated with caution, especially when different sources of data are involved in the analysis. The findings of Article III demonstrated that "simply placing responsibility onto employers will not be sufficient to deliver equitable working opportunities in open labour markets". It was concluded that a combination of supportive policies along with strong disability equality policies that go beyond the labour market is more likely to contribute to positive employment opportunities for disabled people. Further, providing public support for accommodations at work is considered more important than making employers solely responsible for its provision. The findings indicate that severely disabled people face additional employment barriers in Baltic labour markets (e.g. in the level of employment support, accommodation, or protection from discrimination) than in the Nordic countries.

With a focus on social regulatory policy measures implemented in 2006–2015 in Norway, Article IV examined the inclusion of persons with disabilities into mainstream employment by providing workplace adaptations. It demonstrated an overall increase in the

employment of employees with disabilities and of the provision of adaptations at the workplace in 2011-2015 when all policy measures such as the anti-discrimination legislation (ADAA), national labour law (WEA), the IA Agreement and other policies and strategies were in place. However, the results varied regarding the specific types of work adaptations provided. The anti-discrimination legislation did not result in better employment outcomes for persons with disabilities nor in the provision of necessary adaptations, as shown in Article IV. This finding is in line with prior research (e.g. Clayton et al., 2011; Lawson & Priestley, 2017). The practical experience of managers for providing adaptations at work in Norway mainly concerned flexible working arrangements. Even though prior research confirms that flexibility might be an important provision for persons with disabilities (Padkapayeva et al., 2016), the managers provided these arrangements primarily to their own employees after long-term sickness leave or acquired disability but not to the newly hired employees. These results show that despite the availability of public support for adaptations as well as existing legislative obligations, the managers did not employ persons with disabilities without prior work experience, nor accepted trainees with disabilities that would require substantial and/or costly workplace adaptations. The managers considered obtaining public financial support a “cumbersome and bureaucratic process” and never requested this support from NAV. Likewise, Ose and colleagues (2013) and Dahl and Lorentzen (2017) argue that even though employers in Norway are eligible for financial support for reasonable accommodation, recruiting persons with disabilities has been given lower priority than reducing sick-leave absence and early retirement from working life of their own employees.

In sum, the findings of the four articles demonstrate that the evolving international, European and national disability policies represent important external factors that may contribute to the inclusion of persons with disabilities into mainstream employment. The articles demonstrate the evolving awareness of non-discrimination, inclusion, accessibility and equality. It did not, however, suggest a commitment to the inclusion of persons with disabilities. While the companies demonstrate conformity to non-discrimination and equality principles, they do not refer to the UN CRPD nor mention anti-discrimination laws in their local practices. Instead, the disability-related initiatives most often appear either in the CSR reports or in diversity policies. According to Cordero et al. (2014, p. 2), CSR reports show “an outdated vision of CSR linked with voluntarism that has not yet integrated the human rights perspective and indicates the lack of expertise on disability and knowledge on how to manage disability”. However, Mandal and Ose (2015, p. 169) argued that “the social dimension of CSR, which

concerns the willingness of enterprises to incorporate social concerns into their business activities and operations”, may contribute to the inclusion of persons with disabilities into employment.

It might be expected that financial incentives would play a more significant role as, too, would the provision of additional support, such as assistance to recruiting, hiring and accommodating persons with disabilities, or provision of relevant assistance after their employment. Yet, this does not appear to be the case. Financial incentives did contribute to targeted employment programmes for persons with disabilities at the companies in Sweden, as confirmed by Article II. However, the findings of the articles show that the companies in Norway have so far prioritised local policies (including the national labour law, accessibility standards and the IA Agreement), despite the intentions of social regulatory policies to influence employers to be more responsive towards including persons with disabilities. These policies did not lead to the inclusion of persons with disabilities, but regulated the retention of their own employees or prevention of their long-term sickness leave, as reported in Articles I, II and IV. Beyond policy measures, external factors such as support from the government and non-governmental organisations (the disabled people’s organisations and service providers) appear important in helping companies to recruit, select, and accommodate persons with a wide range of disabilities, especially those who require substantial adaptations and/or assistance in the workplace. This was predominantly shown in Sweden in Article II. However, the two companies in Norway used this support to a limited extent.

Overall, social regulatory policy measures appear an important factor as well as public support to employers, service providers and/or persons with disabilities in their access the labour market. As concluded by Article III, and based on prior research (e.g. Clayton et al., 2011; Halvorsen & Hvinden, 2014a; Hernandez et al., 2008), the evolving international and EU directives have influenced the countries’ adoption of the anti-discrimination legislation. However, the legislative measures are unable on their own to improve the employment outcomes for persons with disabilities. A combination of support from government and non-governmental organisations with disability equality and non-discrimination policies are the important factors that contribute to employers including persons with disabilities and their inclusive corporate culture. As discussed in the following sub-section, the ‘internal organisational factors’ should not be neglected in this process.

9.2. The internal factors: the ‘visible’ and ‘invisible’ levels of the corporate culture

The second objective of this thesis is to explore how broader global and societal processes translate into companies’ considerations, motivations and the willingness to establish ‘an inclusive corporate culture’ or a corporate culture with values, norms and practices inclusive to employees with disabilities. In this process, several important findings emerged and were discussed in the attached articles. These findings refer to both ‘visible’ and ‘invisible’ levels of corporate culture in line with the analytical framework identified in section 5 (Figure 2, box 3 and box 4).

9.2.1. The ‘visible front stage’ of the corporate culture: common understanding

An important factor that emerged in this thesis is mentioned in the analytical framework (Figure 2, box 3) on how the companies address and represent disability inclusion on their ‘visible front stage’. This can be represented in the companies’ annual and CSR reports or other publicly available documents and/or in corporate values and norms; special disability strategies or programmes; and accessible buildings/facilities for potential and current employees with disabilities.

Article I demonstrates that the companies in Norway did not explicitly address the inclusion of persons with disabilities in their corporate policies. The managers at both companies considered disability primarily as an ‘important aspect of diversity’. As reported in prior research (Gilbride et al., 2003; Miller, 1998; Samant et al., 2009), employers’ experience with an ethnically diverse workforce may positively contribute to their hiring of persons with disabilities. Nevertheless, the needs of persons with disabilities may differ from ethnic minorities without disabilities, especially in terms of accommodations (e.g. Halvorsen & Hvinden, 2014a). However, these factors have not been acknowledged by the companies’ managers in Norway. Most likely, as argued by prior research (Singh & Point, 2004), the disclosure of diversity statements by large corporations is undertaken on a voluntary basis, not subject to any legislative requirements. It depends on the organisational decision-makers (Klarsfeld et al., 2012), which has also been confirmed in this research.

A more positive effect could be expected from implementing corporate policies or programmes that specifically target the inclusion of persons with disabilities, as indicated by prior research (Kaye et al., 2011; Schur et al., 2013). The findings of Article II for the Swedish companies confirm this observation. In comparison, none of the companies in Norway reported having a programme or strategy that addressed specifically the inclusion of persons with

disabilities. Their CSR activities did not promote the inclusion of persons with disabilities into employment; and diversity policies prioritised an ethnically diverse workforce and hiring of female employees rather than employing persons with disability. As shown in Articles I and II, despite their acknowledgement of the importance of diversity inclusion, the Norwegian companies did not include persons with disabilities, and their diversity managers mentioned that it was “not possible to regard disability as diversity”. As also concluded by prior research on Norway (Halvorsen & Hvinden, 2014a), young people from an ethnic minority background were less likely to be called for a job interview (or being employed at all), regardless of their qualifications and academic background.

A common understanding of policies in MNCs may nevertheless differ in global and local circumstances. This may result where the companies’ headquarters promote formal policies while the local subsidiaries demonstrate ritual conformity to these policies and prioritise local needs and available resources (Ferner et al., 2005). The findings of Articles I, II and IV showed that the headquarters of Company A located in the USA disclosed more disability-inclusive information and demonstrated conformity to national laws and cultural traditions in eliminating non-discrimination in the US (Point & Singh, 2003). The headquarters of Company A adopted ‘The global corporate guide on providing an inclusive and accessible workplace for employees with disabilities’. However, the HR managers in Norway did not consider it applicable to their practices, instead, giving priority to the laws and policies in Norway. The headquarters of Company B located in Norway identified less explicitly a commitment to the non-discrimination, equal treatment and inclusion of people with disabilities on their corporate website and reports and did not have any corporate policy targeting specifically the inclusion of persons with disabilities. This may reflect the common belief in Norway that the inclusion of persons with disabilities into employment is primarily the responsibility of the national authorities rather than employers (Berg et al., 2012). Yet, according to R. M. Lee (1993, pp. 6-7), the companies also purposefully conceal ‘sensitive’ information from the wider audience. Thus, companies may project a desired image to stakeholders and devote considerable resources to protect their positive reputation (Brennan et al., 2009), which is a part of ‘impression management’ strategies, as discussed in Article I.

Even though the corporate values promoted by the headquarters represent an important driving force in everyday business activities, corporate values such as productivity, quality, and professionalism are given priority by the local staff, since a primary goal of MNCs is to generate a sufficient revenue (McDonald & Burton, 2002). The two companies in Norway did not

explicitly mention inclusion among their corporate values, but nevertheless implied that such values as ‘people, teams, respect, etc.’ might contribute to the image of an ‘inclusive culture’, as mentioned by the interviewees. The companies framed their work in including persons with disabilities more as a matter of implementing the Inclusive Working Life (IA) Agreement. As argued by Mandal and Ose (2015) many companies in Norway joined the IA Agreement ‘out of a sincere intention to make a contribution’. However, the IA Agreement is not explicitly referred to in the companies’ values. As discussed in Article II, the IA Agreement and the requirements of NAV may have created “isomorphic organisational practices” as defined by Meyer and Rowan (1991, p. 52). This resulted in similar activities at the IA enterprises such as appointing ‘inclusion or IA managers’ in the HR departments responsible for ‘inclusive activities’ and maintaining regular contact with NAV advisors; creating IA groups comprising the company employees; and defining annual IA-goals on how many people can be accepted for work training. Despite these structural changes, including persons with disabilities without prior attachment to the companies or prior work experience were few or non-existent. In practice, as shown in the examples of the two companies in Articles I and II, only ‘best cases’ benefited the companies (and the managers) and contributed to their positive reputation and, thus, were considered important. In this regard, it may be relevant, in line with Clayton et al. (2011, p. 6), that the existing policy measures favoured ‘more advantaged disabled people, or those closer to the labour market’, while many disabled people with more serious impairments remain outside employment. Likewise, Halvorsen and Hvinden (2014a) argued that the deeply engrained norms of equality in Norway (and Nordic countries in general) might affect the willingness of employers to express negative opinions about persons with disabilities and instead present more socially acceptable accounts.

In addition, an accessible work environment and provision of necessary workplace adaptations is considered by prior research to be an important dimension of an ‘inclusive corporate culture’ that can also be reflected in the corporate policies or values (e.g. Gilbride et al., 2003; Schur et al., 2005). While some accessibility signs or modifications may be visible to the public and persons with disabilities, other cultural values can be discovered only through an immersion in the corporate organisational environment. In this respect, both companies in Norway, as shown in Articles I and IV, demonstrated high conformity to accessibility standards and reported having accessible buildings and facilities. As recommended by Barclay and colleagues (2012), organisations that support ‘the universal design philosophy’ are more likely to respect accommodation requests of persons with disabilities. As concluded in Article IV, the

adaptations provided by two large companies in Norway mostly concerned employees with mobility or sensory impairments, or employees who returned to work after serious illnesses. These employees mainly needed flexible working arrangements such as modifications in tasks and/or working hours. No substantial accommodation measures were mentioned for employees or trainees with disabilities. This finding confirms earlier research by Gustafsson et al. (2014) who argue that employers give preference to more simple forms of accommodation, while the need to implement complex technical or physical adjustments affect the decisions for hiring or retaining persons with disabilities. Employers may be more resistant to providing workplace adaptations for persons with psychosocial disabilities and mental illnesses, as shown by McDowell and Fossey (2015). The HR managers at both companies, likewise, openly stated their preference for hiring persons with physical disabilities rather than persons with psychosocial disabilities, who, in their opinion, would require “substantive on-going support”.

Following the recommendation of Markel and Barclay (2009, p. 307), it can be summarised that to establish an inclusive corporate culture, “organisations should move beyond the legal requirements of equal treatment and non-discrimination, and pursue and support the human capital of persons with disabilities”. The companies need to explicitly address a genuine commitment to including persons with disabilities on their ‘front stage’, as well as in their corporate policies, CSR strategies, and through providing accessible building and facilities to future and current employees with disabilities. Different activities could be promoted alongside diversity initiatives that target person with disabilities among the workforce, such as targeted and accessible recruitment campaigns, information on including persons with disabilities in recruitment material, cooperation with disabled persons’ organisations and service providers as well as specialised recruiting agencies, as also mentioned by prior research (e.g. Barclay et al., 2012; Davis, 2005; Houtenville & Kalargyrou, 2012; Riley, 2006).

9.2.2. The ‘invisible backstage’ of the corporate culture: employees’ social practices

Along with policies and strategies, knowledge and attitudes are important factors affecting the inclusive environments for persons with disabilities (WHO, 2011). Likewise, in a workplace, positive attitudes, awareness, support, a manager’s commitment, and consideration of employees’ needs are essential characteristics of a disability-inclusive corporate culture (Barclay et al., 2012; Davis, 2005; Schur et al., 2005, 2013). While the corporate policies apply across the entire company, their implementation may be interpreted differently by managers

and supervisors (Schur et al., 2009). In this study, the ‘internal factors’ mentioned in the analytical framework (Figure 2, box 4) refer to personal attitudes of the leadership, supervisors and HR managers to the recruitment, accommodation and retention of persons with disabilities, as well as their awareness, initiatives, commitment, and support.

Regarding personal engagement of managers and supervisors when it comes to including persons with disabilities into mainstream employment, prior research (Henry et al., 2014; Kaye et al., 2011; Schur et al., 2013) indicates the importance of disability-awareness. Fraser et al. (2010) argue that the awareness about ‘vocational rehabilitation agencies’ that assist qualified workers with disabilities and about available public incentives is generally higher among larger companies. Yet, the findings of Articles I, II and IV reveal that the managers at both companies in Norway demonstrate low awareness of hiring persons with disabilities and of available policies/incentives. They associate the ‘inclusive corporate culture’ primarily with the IA Agreement that is supported by NAV. Neither companies recruited persons with disabilities, and never had such job applicants. The managers presented only two ‘success stories’ on retaining an employee after an acquired disability at Company A; and accepting a person for work training after a long-term sickness leave and afterwards hiring her for a permanent position at Company B. These cases, however, instead of indicating awareness, demonstrate the ‘impression management’ behaviour of the responsible managers, who try to create ‘a desired image in front of the audience’ (Bolino et al., 2016; Russ, 1991), as discussed in Article I. As shown in Articles I, II and IV, the managers mentioned negative experiences with employees with low social skills and/or intellectual impairments, but they refused to disclose much information about those cases. The interviewees referred to persons with physical disabilities (calling them “persons in wheelchairs”) when talking about an ‘inclusive corporate culture’. However, they never recruited such employees, and only at Company B the diversity manager mentioned “engineers in wheelchairs”. Yet, they already had retired at the time of conducting the interview, according to the interviewee, therefore, it was impossible to get additional information about these employees.

Some managers explicitly stated that they “do not know how to do this in a proper way”, revealing a low awareness in dealing with employees with disabilities. They were also afraid of “doing something wrong” when having these employees at the workplace. Despite the support available from NAV, none of the companies had requested disability-awareness training. The only event the managers from the companies participated in to increase their awareness was round-tables (or ‘forums’) by NAV for sharing inclusive activities of the IA

companies. Despite the positive examples demonstrated by other companies, the exposure to persons with disabilities and awareness on how to recruit and accommodate persons with different impairments remain low at both companies in this case study. The HR managers reported that corporate HR policies did not allow them to change standard recruitment application forms. This finding, however, is in contrast to the new-institutional theory that suggests that the ‘mimetic drivers’ or ‘modelling from another organisation’ (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983) may cause organisations to adopt similar practices. This shows that inclusive practices may be contrary to corporate policies and strategies, and depend on the different needs of organisations in their local environments, as well as on available support, both financial and non-financial, as concluded in Article II.

Another important ‘internal factor’ is the engagement and support of the CEO and top management. As argued by prior research (Gilbride et al., 2003; Henry et al., 2014; Nishii & Bruyere, 2014; Schur et al., 2005), the level of CEO commitment coupled with inclusive policies and practices may foster a culture change and contribute to inclusion of persons with disabilities. However, the involvement of the corporate decision-makers, as discussed by Houtenville and Kalargyrou (2015), may be framed by their personal beliefs, stereotypes and attitudes to persons with disabilities. The results of Articles I and II show that only the interviewees at Company A explicitly mention the support of the company leadership. The top Country manager (or CEO in Norway) at Company A confirmed the importance of promoting an ‘inclusive corporate culture’ open to diversity and to persons with disabilities among the workforce. However, he mentioned problems with engaging middle management in this process. In his view, employing persons with disabilities could be more feasible through distance work and/or for virtual consulting, which had not so far been established at their company. At Company B, no top management/leadership participated in the interviews, besides the Diversity Manager from the Corporate office, who recognised the importance of equal treatment and the inclusion of persons with disabilities. However, this manager expressed concerns about the academic qualifications and professional skills of persons with disabilities, as well as concerns about safety norms.

These findings support prior research that identified the most important stereotypes that the managers have about employees with disabilities are often associated with their educational background, skills and work performance (Schur et al., 2013). Other research in the hospitality, leisure and service industry shows that employers may fear that their customers/clients will not work with employees with disabilities (Gröschl, 2007; Kaye et al., 2011). Likewise, both

companies in Norway exhibited similar concerns, as mentioned in Articles I, II and IV. The interviewees, especially at Company A, expressed concerns about potential conflicts with their clients if they hired persons with disabilities, and feared that employees with disabilities would be less productive. They were concerned that such employees would require assistance and accommodation at the clients' premises, which provision they would not be able to guarantee. This finding may demonstrate that the relationship with the customers/clients is an important factor that may influence employers' decisions when hiring persons with disabilities (see Houtenville & Kalargyrou, 2015), and that the possibility of their being hired or retained may be limited to certain positions and/or locations. From 'the impression management' perspective, these managers' responses can be characterised 'as defensive techniques', serving as 'blaming others' to protect corporate image or to justify a certain situation (Brennan et al., 2009; Dubrin, 2011), as addressed in Article I.

Besides commitment, support, and positive attitudes of the leadership, the commitment of the HR managers and supervisors or department managers appears to be an important factor for a corporate culture that is inclusive of persons with disabilities. This conclusion supports the findings of prior research (Henry et al., 2014; Schur et al., 2005), and is especially relevant with new employees with disabilities and efforts at creating a more supportive workplace. The findings of Articles I, II and IV demonstrate that 'inclusive activities' at both companies fell mainly under the responsibility of the HR departments. The HR managers reported that it was more difficult to engage the department managers and supervisors in this process. The department managers and supervisors, especially at Company B, did not want to be responsible for supervising persons with disabilities who would "require extensive support and guidance", as shown in Articles I, II and IV. The HR managers had no specific guidelines on how to hire and accommodate jobseekers with disabilities. Priority was given to retaining and/or retraining their own employees who acquired disabilities or after a long-term illness (whether work-related or not). Furthermore, in line with the IA Agreement, the HR managers and department managers prioritised following up current employees who were on sick leave or engaged in activities preventing their employees from getting burned out, as discussed in Articles I and II. This appeared to be especially evident in Company A where the HR/Diversity manager and supervisor actively engaged in raising employees' awareness about burnout and stress. They regularly checked on employees who demonstrated signs of burnout. In this respect, the HR managers from Company B also showed similar interest and mentioned lectures from NAV about preventing burnout among employees. They did not, however, engage as actively as the

managers at Company A in preventing burnout. The sole 'inclusive activity' the managers at Company B reported was accepting a person after burnout for work training. In contrast, HR managers at Company A accepted unemployed seniors for work training who had prior work experience and certain qualifications, e.g. in IT.

Although the HR managers and supervisors at both companies in Norway reported providing the necessary workplace adaptations, they did so predominantly for their current employees, as discussed in Article IV. In case of work-related disabilities, there was a strict requirement, in line with the national labour law (WEA) and corporate HSE policy, to provide necessary compensation, accommodation and re-qualify employees to enable continued employment. The difference in managers' attitudes to employees who have work-related disabilities over those who are already disabled (have congenital disabilities or disabilities from birth) has been likewise reported by prior research on Norway (e.g. Halvorsen & Hvinden, 2014b; Tøssebro, 2016). In this case study, the supervisors/department managers at Company B, explicitly mentioned that they did not want their company to be "a kindergarten" for such people. These attitudes may be referred to as 'aversive disabling attitudes' towards persons with disabilities, in line with Deal (2007). In this way, the managers also expressed concerns about profitability and product delivery, and confirms prior research that likewise indicated the reluctance to invest much time on supervising and guiding employees with disabilities (Padkapayeva et al., 2016; Schur et al., 2009).

In sum, the responses of the interviewees at both companies in Norway demonstrated in Articles I, II and IV confirm the importance of support and positive attitudes of the corporate leadership, HR managers, department managers and supervisors to establish a corporate culture inclusive towards employees with disabilities, as indicated in the analytical framework (Figure 2, box 4). Yet, the lack of experience with employing persons with disabilities, about their performance, productivity and evaluation, as well as interaction with clients, did not result in their actual employment. In this respect, Barclay et al. (2012, p. 342) argue that 'adopting a virtue framework making sure each individual is supported results in additional benefits for the organisation, persons with disabilities and the [inclusive] corporate culture". However, as argued in prior research (Fraser et al., 2010; Gilbride et al., 2003; Henry et al., 2014; Kaye et al., 2011), company leadership and managers may need additional support from the disability community. In this case study on Norway, this may refer to the public employment services or NAV – the Norwegian Welfare and Labour Directorate. Contrary to the prevailing idea that large companies usually need less support than small or medium-sized enterprises (Erickson et

al., 2014), Article II demonstrates that large enterprises may require additional support, both financial and non-financial. This support from governmental and non-governmental organisations, such as disabled people's organisations and/or service providers, is needed for large companies to develop and implement disability-inclusive strategies and to recruit, select and accommodate employees with disabilities.

9.3. The experience of employees with disabilities

In addition to the above-mentioned 'internal' factors that contribute to a corporate culture inclusive to persons with disabilities, it is necessary to consider the experience of employees with disabilities as an important factor that might improve the overall inclusive corporate culture (Figure 2, Box 4). The data obtained from two companies in Norway covers interviews with three employees: one employee at Company A retained after an acquired disability; the current HR manager at Company A who was on long-term sick leave; and a former trainee at Company B who is a current HR employee. The experiences of the three interviewees are only partly addressed in the attached articles. However, these data may contribute to understanding which factors influenced these employees' processes of returning to work.

In the case of the employee with disability at Company A, that was briefly mentioned in Articles I, II and IV, this employee was willing to come back to work despite his acquired disabilities. This finding confirms prior research that often indicates that persons with disabilities are willing to work (Schur et al., 2013). This employee mentioned the support he received from the HR managers and the supervisor on his return to work, in arranging special working conditions, finding clients and providing the necessary workplace adaptations. Initially, he worked on a reduced time work schedule and performed less demanding work. He was placed with a team of regular employees who supported him whenever needed. He did not want to receive 'special treatment' and asked his managers to evaluate his work on an equal basis with other team members. Regarding workplace adaptations, he was provided with a 'work environment without noise and disturbance'. The company also provided him with special reading glasses. However, this was not regarded as a costly adaptation, and the company did not receive any financial support from NAV for it, as discussed in Article IV. At the time of the interview, this employee was working alone for a client-company, which provided him with the necessary working conditions. Transportation was the major problem, but he received a monthly subsidy from NAV, which he requested himself, that partially covered the cost of a taxi to get him to work and back. In conclusion, this employee considered it possible for the

company to employ more persons with disabilities saying that “if the company already employed someone like me, they could probably employ others as well if they have the qualifications and abilities [...] despite the fact that the consulting work environment is not a place for special people.” This statement may reflect the earlier identified attitudes of managers that only persons with disabilities who have the requisite educational background and professional experience can be employed, and that not all persons with disabilities can sustain working in such a ‘fast-paced and demanding work environment’.

At Company A, it is worth mentioning the personal story of an HR manager who had long-term sick leave (for one year and a half), but then came back to work, as also briefly addressed in Articles I and II. At the time, the company did not have any special policy on retaining employees with disabilities. This employee herself had been very insistent about returning to work again. Although she could work only part-time, she spent a lot of effort convincing the managers of her capacity to work. This personal experience led to her engagement in promoting burnout prevention activities. She considered that this contributed towards an ‘inclusive company culture’. These activities were also supported by other HR managers, supervisors and the corporate leadership.

In the case of Company B, the HR managers mentioned the inclusion of a person recommended by NAV initially for a six-month work training period, after which she was hired for a permanent position in the HR department. Prior to being employed, this person had been on sick leave for approximately one and a half years due to burnout. As discussed in Articles I and II, this employee did not have prior work experience, and she received support from NAV for preparatory training [*‘Vilje Viser Vei’*¹⁹] and advisory support from her advisor at NAV who helped to define and access potential employers and to organise meetings with their HR managers. She wanted to work for a large international company, because, she thought “bigger companies had better policies in terms of recruiting, inclusion, sick leave, etc.”. After being accepted for work training, this person was working on reduced time schedule - three days a week. NAV compensated her salary. But, in her view, it was not the money that motivated her, but “having a job, being seen by people, and getting normal human respect” – something which depends on the company’s corporate culture and the co-workers’ attitudes. As discussed in Article II, the HR managers at Company B did not consider financial support a significant criterion for accepting this trainee at their company. Moreover, she did not require any special

¹⁹<https://www.nav.no/no/Person/Arbeid/Oppfolging+og+tiltak+for+a+komme+i+jobb/Relatert+informasjon/vilje-viser-vei-tiltakene>

workplace adaptations. This employee considered that the most important factor that led to her getting a permanent position was “openness about her challenges with the supervisors and co-workers” since managers might have prejudices about capacities and skills of employees after illness or injury/disability. Even though she said that the company was quite open and inclusive, she considered that to include more persons with disabilities as potential employees, the company need to have targeted recruitment campaigns and corporate policies.

In sum, an important finding is that at companies in Norway the employees after illness and disability were willing to return to work. Among the factors that helped these employees to start working again, the following is critical: positive attitudes and support from the HR managers, supervisors, and co-workers; support in finding clients and informing clients about the workers’ situation and abilities; and providing the necessary workplace adaptations (both at the company and at the clients’ site). Furthermore, NAV advisory and financial support has been important, especially in case of an employee at Company B. The personal experience of the HR manager at Company A resulted mainly in promoting burnout-related preventive activities for that company’s employees. Overall, these findings confirm that both ‘external’ factors related to financial and non-financial public support, and ‘internal’ factors related to co-workers and managers’ support may be important for the inclusion of employees with disabilities into employment, as demonstrated in the analytical framework presented in section 5.

9.4. The outcome: a corporate culture inclusive to persons with disabilities

The findings of this case study demonstrate that a corporate culture inclusive to persons with disabilities depends on the external institutional contexts and internal companies’ structure, policies, corporate strategies and values, as well as the managers’ attitudes and support. A combination of external and internal factors is likely to contribute to the companies’ commitment to the inclusion of persons with disabilities in their workforce.

Among the ‘external factors’, the articles demonstrate that not so much the international and the European disability strategies and anti-discrimination laws at the national levels, but rather the national labour law and accessibility standards are more significant with regard to companies’ engagement in including persons with disabilities. This finding may indicate, in line with prior research (Halvorsen et al., 2017), that while social regulatory policies seek to influence the market actors by setting certain legal or accessibility standards, it is the employers who nevertheless remain the important decision-makers and largely determine whether persons

with disabilities are able to find and retain paid jobs, and whether the workplaces are accessible and accommodated to their needs. Employers need not only to be aware of the importance of non-discrimination and equal treatment policies in general terms, but adopt corporate policies, strategies and programmes that specifically target inclusion of persons with disabilities. This may include disability management programmes that aim to prioritise the entry of persons with disabilities into the workforce (e.g. Buys & Randall, 2009; Harder & Scott, 2005; Selander, 2016).

With regard to the social regulatory policies in Norway, especially the anti-discrimination legislation, it can be concluded that the selected companies have not increased the inclusion of persons with disabilities because of these obligations. The Norwegian anti-discrimination legislation appears not to have had a direct influence on the selected companies in Norway. Indeed, the managers referred to the importance of the national labour law (WEA) and the voluntary IA Agreement. Even though WEA in Chapter 13 (Section 13-1(6)) states that “in the case of discrimination on the basis of disability, the Anti-Discrimination and Accessibility Act shall apply”, this was not explicitly mentioned by the HR or HSE managers. Even though NAV representatives admitted the importance of anti-discrimination legislation, no special initiative was mentioned that could increase employers’ awareness about their responsibilities and obligations towards the inclusion of persons with disabilities. These findings show that more awareness is necessary, and that reward and support measures should be intensified in addition to the already existing coercive measures. As argued by Halvorsen and Hvinden (2014a, p. 62), the implementation and the outcome of social regulatory policies may depend on the extent to which the government systematically and thoroughly ensures that relevant actors are aware of the rights and duties involved, and puts in place appropriate arrangements for supervision and enforcement, such as simple and accessible channels for filing complaints. It is important there is additional financial and non-financial support available to employers, including raising employers’ awareness of the existing legal standards and available solutions. Furthermore, a question may be raised on the effectiveness of the current anti-discrimination legislation in Norway and the existing sanctions. Tøssebro (2016) has argued that the current legislation is only efficient in cases of simple and inexpensive accommodations at the workplace, and considered it appropriate to establish more binding regulations and standards. Furthermore, Hansen and Hauland (2012, p. 71) were not optimistic about the effectiveness of the reporting obligations to promote equality for persons with disabilities in working life, as only two out of 30 businesses reported such activities. In sum, the question

arises as to whether employers would have been more eager to comply with the legislation if it had been enforced more effectively, the affirmative action duties were clearer and it was easier for persons who believed they were discriminated against to submit complaints.

Concerning the ‘internal factors’, in line with prior research (Schur et al., 2013; Schur et al., 2009), inclusive values, HR strategies and corporate norms can help to eliminate the obstacles to hiring employees with disabilities. Yet, prior research (Ball et al., 2005; Erickson et al., 2014; Luecking, 2008) has shown that, in practice, few employers recruit persons with disabilities despite having a formal policy. Neither company in Norway had special disability-inclusive (recruitment) policies or strategies. While they presented a positive image as inclusive [IA] corporations, there was a layer of managers’ reservations and concerns about the ‘vulnerability’, ‘suitability’ and ‘performance’ of persons with disabilities. They also held a scepticism towards people with other than mobility disabilities, especially persons without prior work experience, academic qualifications and with intellectual impairments.

Overall, on the one hand, targeted corporate strategies or programmes, internal policies regarding recruitment, accommodation and retention of employees with disabilities may significantly contribute to the success of a corporate culture that is inclusive to persons with disabilities. On the other hand, without leadership support, engagement of HR managers, support of supervisors, department managers and co-workers, and close cooperation with vocational rehabilitation providers the company is unlikely to achieve higher employment outcomes for persons with disabilities. Despite the ‘inclusive public image’ the companies in this case study demonstrated, many of the interviewees referred to their organisational culture in negative terms, characterising it as “brutal, demanding, devastating, and tough for persons with disabilities”. Even the employed persons with disabilities, as mentioned in sub-section 9.3. at both companies in Norway, expressed similar concerns about the companies’ culture in relation to including ‘new’ employees with disabilities. In contrast, the companies exhibited a greater preference for retaining their own employees after long-term sickness or disability, and for providing work training to external candidates as a part of their IA Agreement activities. Hiring persons with disabilities and implementing targeted programmes has not been their main priority. Although managers did express willingness to recruit and accommodate employees with disabilities, but only those with adequate qualifications.

To conclude, despite that the selected large companies were recommended as inclusive employers in Norway who signed and implemented the IA Agreement, they failed, in practice, to apply more proactive measures to hire and accommodate persons with disabilities, and by *de*

facto gave priority to retaining persons who were already employees in the company. The managers' attempts to safeguard the companies' positive reputation as emerged in this study illustrated the limitations of their companies' corporate culture and disclosed factors that prevented them from including persons with disabilities. These factors referred to demonstrating low awareness of disability inclusion policies, stereotypes and prejudices about the working capacities of persons with disabilities, lack of disability-inclusive strategies or programmes, low engagement of supervisors and department managers, and a lack of cooperation with public authorities and/or disability organisations.

A positive outcome or inclusive corporate culture will most likely be achieved if both external and internal factors are seriously considered by the companies and more targeted measures are provided from the public authorities. Likewise, these factors may be important to other large companies. However, the most important findings in this case study were shown to be those related to external financial and non-financial support from government and non-governmental organisations for disabled people. As evident from the comparative analysis of disability policy measures in Nordic and Baltic countries, presented in Article III, despite the convergence in regulatory policies that intensified due to the influence of the EU and the UN policies and strategies, redistributive policies and social expenditures at the country level may determine the wider/or the narrower array of targeted measures to support the inclusion of disabled persons. Equally important is the personal engagement of the HR managers and supervisors and the overall awareness by leadership, managers and employees about the anti-discrimination legislation with an understanding of its importance for inclusion of persons with disabilities.

10. Limitations and recommendations for future research

This final section discusses important limitations of this thesis, such as company selection process, the qualitative methodology and approaches to data collection, and provides recommendations for future research.

First, my approach to company selection had certain substantial limitations. Initially, I focused on selecting 'most likely positive cases' by using a targeted selection method. However, this process resulted in selecting only those companies that were willing to demonstrate their inclusive image, which could be criticized as a certain "selection bias" (George & Bennett, 2005, pp. 22-25). Therefore, one recommendation for future research could be to use a different strategy during the initial stage of company selection. However, it may depend on the objectives of the study and the researcher's preferences or the research paradigm chosen. For instance, a researcher may start with a survey of a 'reasonably large population' with a set of standardized and general questions (George & Bennett, 2005) that will demonstrate for further selection those companies that express the highest positive or negative results. In this process, it can also be recommended to gather negative cases instead of focusing on positive cases to progressively redefine the phenomenon to be explained (Timmermans & Tavory, 2012). As suggested by Tracy (2013, p. 71), in early interactions with the companies, it is important to provide a broad overview of research interests instead of presenting detailed descriptions since the managers do not have time to read a lot of information. Based on personal experience of selecting companies-cases for this case study, it is important to mention that recommendations and letters of support obtained from the employers' association and a trade union in Norway served as very helpful access facilitators. Nevertheless, more collaboration with these organisations, and possibly engaging them into the research implementation process, would be desirable. Furthermore, access and selection of potential companies-cases could also be performed through business social networks, e.g. *LinkedIn*, to "facilitate access to elite members" (Harley, 2010, p. 10), which, however, was not applied in this thesis.

Another recommendation for future research to improve access to potential companies could be to perform a business-oriented study that would involve establishing a more trusting relationship with the companies (see e.g. Marschan-Piekkari & Welch, 2004). However, for this purpose different access strategies may be applied by a researcher (or a researchers' team) (see Karjalainen et al., 2015). Even though it might be time-consuming, such a study could result in a thorough analysis of a company culture and involve companies' managers and

employees in a discussion of research results. For this purpose, a longitudinal study would be a better option for comparing the analysis of the situation at the beginning of the research and after a certain period of time, e.g. after one or two years, to understand what has changed (e.g. Mason, 2002; Tracy, 2013). This approach may require a limited number of cases, and could be limited to a single-case study, especially relevant for those companies that are willing to make certain changes in their corporate culture and improve their activities regarding the inclusion of persons with disabilities. As a variation, this may involve a follow-up study of an investigation undertaken some years earlier by other researchers (e.g. Dubois & Gadde, 2002). Employers may express more interest in participating in such research since it would result in more practical solutions. This may include direct observations during meetings and other related events or processes, for instance, targeted recruitment or supporting persons with disabilities during work training, allowing a researcher to make new ‘discoveries’ from the phenomenon under study (Dubois & Gadde, 2002). As also recommended by Karjalainen and colleagues (2015) in business research, participants need to feel that they can contribute to the study, which implies a feedback session with benchmarking. However, such a perspective would imply that the researcher acts rather as ‘a management consultant’ intervening in the processes of organisational decision-making, policy implementation and change (Gummeson, 2000). Furthermore, this type of research is applied more often in management or business studies than in sociology (see Ghauri, 2004). Many academic researchers might lack experience of consultancy or applied consultant strategies (Gummeson, 2000). Yet, such an approach does not guarantee that the researcher would act independently without the interventions, suggestions and/or recommendations of the managers responsible.

The second limitation is the qualitative nature of this study, which means it may contribute to analytic but not statistical generalisation (Yin, 2009). As argued by Flyvbjerg (2006, p. 10), “the fact that knowledge cannot be formally generalised does not mean that it cannot enter into the collective process of knowledge accumulation in a given field or in a society.” Therefore, a case study can be used for analytic generalising because of its in-depth approach. Observations or findings in a case study may have general significance and stimulate further investigations and theory-building (*ibid*, p. 11). In relation to my case study, I initially expected to find companies in Norway with a substantial number of employees with disabilities. It turned out, however, that the cases of employed persons with disabilities were limited or absent. These unexpected ‘discoveries’ were helpful in following an ‘abductive logic’ (Dubois & Gadde, 2002; Eriksson & Lindström, 1997; Lipscomb, 2012; Padgett, 2017; Reichertz, 2014)

to look at the phenomenon from different perspectives and mobilise additional data collection and methods application in this research for a broader picture of ‘what is happening’ and to find better explanations.

Granted, a small number of participating companies and a limited number of interviewed employees with disabilities can be criticised for lack of statistical generalisation and external validity. Indeed, the obtained results may have differed or have provided a broader perspective had non-responding companies participated (especially those in the UK). I tried to compensate for this limitation in Articles II, III, and IV, as discussed in sections 6.5. and 9. In these articles, I analysed multiple data sources (interviews, policy documents and statistical data) thus providing some kind of ‘triangulation’ to minimise any biases. Alternatively, as a recommendation for future research, one suggestion could be to select and to compare the practices of ‘positive’ and ‘negative’ cases, as discussed by Yin (2009) and George and Bennett (2005). However, in this thesis, this was not the primary objective. Comparing companies’ practices in different countries, therefore, would provide additional research generalisation and validity. In this thesis, the data does not permit a comparative analysis of the companies’ practices in the three Scandinavian countries, except for the companies in Norway and Sweden. Nevertheless, another recommendation could be to focus on a small number of companies and to conduct an investigation on only one country. This would result, for instance, in a case study on Norway comparing the practices of the corporate offices of one or a maximum two companies with the practices in its several local offices or subsidiaries. In the present case study, some differences were observed in the case of Company B between their corporate office and the local office, however, the obtained data was not sufficient to make significant conclusions.

The third important limitation is the prevalence of the data collection from the managers responsible, and not regular employees, including employees with disabilities. As such, the data on the experiences of employees with disabilities and their relationship to their colleagues is a factor that should be addressed more specifically by future research. For this purpose, one possibility could be to establish cooperation with service providers, disabled peoples’ organisations and/or employees with disabilities who are already employed or are currently looking for employment. A ‘collaborative or participatory action research model’ may be more applicable, in which a researcher joins forces with people facing a problem within their community (Maxwell, 2013, p. 92). Initially, this was the intention of this research, when I was trying to establish cooperation with employers’ associations and to involve them in this project. However, it appeared that none of the associations demonstrated a great willingness to be the

'gatekeepers' to enter the companies. They only recommended the companies and provided letters of support. Therefore, future research should consider these pitfalls at the beginning of the study and develop a strategy on how to find possible research partners beforehand.

In addition to these limitations, it is important to mention the status of the researcher herself while conducting this case study. Language is considered "critical to understand the qualitative research interview" (Kapborg & Berterö, 2002), and is very important to engage with interviewees and establish an atmosphere of rapport and trust that will allow interviewees to produce genuine and open responses (Welch & Piekkari, 2006). At the time of conducting interviews, my knowledge of Norwegian was limited, nor am I a native English-speaker. Due to my limited knowledge of Norwegian language, participation in business meetings and analysis of company documents was complicated. However, as argued by Welch and Piekkari (2006), learning the language might not be enough as researchers need to familiarise themselves with the communicative norms and culture of that particular society. Nevertheless, in the international business environment English is used predominantly. Therefore, English was chosen as my major communication language in this case study, and the interviews were conducted in English. Still, some interviewees had little knowledge of English. For instance, one interview with an HR manager at Company A was cancelled because this person could not speak English, even though I suggested the help of an interpreter. At Company B, the HSE manager could not communicate well through English and it was difficult sometimes for him to express himself. Albeit the researcher might use the help of an interpreter, the presence of a 'third party' may produce errors or discomfort to the interviewees, as well as some situations which require additional explanations (Kapborg & Berterö, 2002). In this process, I want to indicate the genuine support of my supervisors who contributed their time during the initial phase of negotiating access with the companies. Therefore, obtaining the help of the co-workers or collaborators, or supervisors, as happened in my case, who are 'insiders' in a given culture and who may have a more 'informed and influential standpoint' (see Kanuha, 2000), might be a helpful approach for future research.

To summarise, the findings provide a starting point for conducting more comprehensive future studies. For instance, a more detailed analysis of the employed persons with disabilities as a result of work training measures in Norway or in comparison with other individuals who undergo such training (e.g. persons with diverse cultural backgrounds and/or older workers) would be desirable. Future research may consider personal interviews with the participants with disabilities in 'work training programmes' who were employed at different companies, as well

as with the managers at these companies. In addition, a quantitative survey of large employers in Norway or in comparison with other Nordic countries would be desirable, preferably in different business sectors or company sizes (e.g. large vs. small and medium companies), or only with a focus on a certain business industry, for a broader perspective on large employers' understanding of 'an inclusive corporate culture' towards persons with disabilities in a Nordic context.

11. Conclusion: practical relevance of the thesis

This thesis has identified how large companies try to present and control their ‘front stage’ thus showing their ‘visible’ commitment and conformity with national legislation and policies to promote labour market inclusion of persons with disabilities. However, this ‘visible commitment’ does not necessarily imply that internal corporate practices comply with or follow up this official company policy, especially on the local or national levels, and lead to establishing an ‘inclusive corporate culture’ on all organisational levels. The ‘backstage’ practices may differ and depend on a number of factors, such as legislation, norms, standards, and corporate policies, as well as factors related to company commitments, the managers’ and co-workers’ attitudes, support and awareness. However, it is important to note that internal companies’ practices cannot be identical and institutional requirements may differ across the countries and contexts. Likewise, the internal corporate policies and the attitudes of the responsible managers may depend on country differences or corporate cultures, as well as on their personal experiences (that may refer to having family members with disability; experiencing similar problems; having prior experience of working with colleagues with disabilities, etc.). Even though it is complicated to make more generalised conclusions from the obtained findings due to the predominant qualitative nature of this case study and a small number of involved company-cases, several implications are possible.

First, from a *business perspective*, the findings presented in this thesis may have practical implications for the business case of including persons with disabilities into mainstream employment. The findings can be of importance to the participating companies to improve their disability-inclusive practices in the future. While the present results cannot be used as a ‘success case’ that foster similar experiences, they can be shared with the larger business community. The experiences of these large companies in Norway might be useful and interesting to other large companies in Norway, or in other countries that aim to promote a corporate culture inclusive to persons with disabilities. As discussed in section 9, the external factors referring to the social regulatory policy measures may differ across the countries. The results may also be of interest to the employers’ organisation and the trade union in Norway that initially recommended employers to participate in this study as well as to disabled people’s organisations and service providers to increase their awareness about the employers’ practices.

Second, from a *public policy perspective*, the findings might have implications for the public policy in Norway that promotes the inclusion of persons with disabilities in mainstream

employment, such as the anti-discrimination legislation and the IA Agreement. The qualitative and quantitative results presented in the attached articles can provide additional information to policymakers in Norway and other countries, and inform them about factors that influence the implementation of the anti-discrimination legislation and other national policies as well as compliance with the UN CRPD principle to provide an 'open, inclusive and accessible work environment' (Article 27). The results could be especially relevant to the public employment services (NAV) since the participating companies in Norway disclosed many drawbacks in their contact with the NAV that might require further consideration. My suggestion is to establish better cooperation with the NAV to provide awareness trainings to the companies to reduce stigmatisation, perhaps in partnership with higher educational institutions, specialised recruitment agencies and disability service providers and organisations of and for persons with disabilities. This could be helpful in identifying potential candidates and graduates with disabilities for further training or employment possibilities.

Third, even though this thesis did not involve social workers the results should be of *interest to social workers and employment agencies* since it examines factors that influence how large companies relate to public expectations to include persons with disabilities into employment. As argued by Taylor (2006), social work needs underpinning evidence and knowledge from different areas of 'what works?' in legislation, policies and practices among employers. As such, it may be useful for employees with disabilities who are already employed or to persons with disabilities looking for employment to be aware of their rights and the policy measures in Norway, as well as to provide additional information about policy measures in Denmark and Sweden.

To conclude, the inclusion of persons with disabilities among the workforce in large companies may depend on a number of factors, despite the demonstrated publicly visible commitments and a prevailing belief that large companies have sufficient resources that may help them to be more inclusive to persons with disabilities. As argued by Schein (2009), one cannot create a cultural change in one day, and "if the founders' values and assumptions are out of line with what the environment of the organisation allows or affords, the organisation fails and never develops a culture in the first place" (p. 25). However, as argued by Lee and colleagues (2017), when policymakers and service providers assume simplistically that [more] inclusion is better than exclusion and seek to 'mainstream' as many people with disabilities as possible, it is important to articulate what inclusion should mean to determine success of disability policies. As became evident from this case study, neither non-discrimination and

equality obligations nor financial incentives have significantly contributed to the inclusion of persons with disabilities among the workforce at the selected large companies. However, it does not signify that these measures are less important. Indeed, and also in line with Lee and colleagues (2017), the creation of a variety of schemes and programmes to facilitate the entrance and maintenance of persons with disabilities in the labour market and at the workplace, including supportive measures, legislation and reasonable accommodation/universal design may together be more effective. Therefore, to establish a corporate culture inclusive to persons with disabilities, as emerged in this research, more efforts are required from the company leadership and the responsible managers as well as from the policy makers to support employers and persons with disabilities in this process.

12. References

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13. Appendix

Annex 1. NSD: Research confirmation

Annex 3. Topic guide for interviews

Annex 4. Individual consent form

Annex 5. Thematic analysis for Article I

Annex 6. Themes resulting from NVivo Analysis for Article II.

Annex 7. Extracts from NVivo Analysis for Article IV.

13.1. Annex 1. The Norwegian Data Protection Official for Research (NSD): Research confirmation

Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste AS
NORWEGIAN SOCIAL SCIENCE DATA SERVICES



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Yuliya Kuznetsova
Norsk institutt for forskning om oppvekst, velferd og aldring (NOVA)
Postboks 3223 Elisenberg
0208 OSLO

Vår dato: 21.09.2012

Vår ref:31487 / 3 / MAS

Deres dato:

Deres ref:

TILBAKEMELDING PÅ MELDING OM BEHANDLING AV PERSONOPPLYSNINGER

Vi viser til melding om behandling av personopplysninger, mottatt 14.09.2012. Meldingen gjelder prosjektet:

31487	<i>Toward Economic Independence of Persons with Disabilities: Corporate Culture and Inclusion into the Workforce. A Comparative Case Study of Multinational Enterprises in Norway and the UK</i>
Behandlingsansvarlig	<i>Norsk institutt for forskning om oppvekst, velferd og aldring (NOVA), ved institusjonens øverste leder</i>
Daglig ansvarlig	<i>Yuliya Kuznetsova</i>

Personvernombudet har vurdert prosjektet, og finner at behandlingen av personopplysninger vil være regulert av § 7-27 i personopplysningsforskriften. Personvernombudet tilrår at prosjektet gjennomføres.

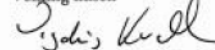
Personvernombudets tilråding forutsetter at prosjektet gjennomføres i tråd med opplysningene gitt i meldeskjemaet, korrespondanse med ombudet, eventuelle kommentarer samt personopplysningsloven og helseregisterloven med forskrifter. Behandlingen av personopplysninger kan settes i gang.

Det gjøres oppmerksom på at det skal gis ny melding dersom behandlingen endres i forhold til de opplysninger som ligger til grunn for personvernombudets vurdering. Endringsmeldinger gis via et eget skjema, http://www.nsd.uib.no/personvern/forsk_stud/skjema.html. Det skal også gis melding etter tre år dersom prosjektet fortsatt pågår. Meldinger skal skje skriftlig til ombudet.

Personvernombudet har lagt ut opplysninger om prosjektet i en offentlig database, <http://pvo.nsd.no/prosjekt>.

Personvernombudet vil ved prosjektets avslutning, 31.12.2015, rette en henvendelse angående status for behandlingen av personopplysninger.

Vennlig hilsen


Vigdis Namtvedt Kvalheim


Mads Solberg

Kontaktperson: Mads Solberg tlf: 55 58 89 28
Vedlegg: Prosjektvurdering

Avdelingskontorer / District Offices:
OSLO NSD, Universitetet i Oslo, Postboks 1055 Blindern, 0316 Oslo. Tel: +47-22 85 52 11 nsd@isio.no
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TROMSØ NSD, SVE, Universitetet i Tromsø, 9037 Tromsø. Tel: +47-77 64 43 36 nsd@iuhvuit.no

Personvernombudet for forskning



Prosjektvurdering - Kommentar

Prosjektnr: 31487

The project will generate knowledge about conditions where corporate culture in multinational enterprises contributes to labour market inclusion of people with disabilities.

The sample consists of employees from all levels in three multinational enterprises.

According to the notification form the project will collect verbal and written consent based on verbal and written information about the project. The official finds the letter of information satisfactory.

The project will register sensitive personal data concerning health, according the personal data act § 2 number 8 c).

When the project finishes (31.12.2015), all personal data will be deleted or anonymized according to the notification form. The only exception are cases where the participants have given their consent that they may be recognizable in the final publication. In order for the data to be fully anonymized, all direct identifying data (including the coding key) and audio recordings must be deleted, and indirectly identifiable information in the remaining data must be deleted or changed.

13.2. Annex 2. Research invitation letter

[Logo]

Re: Invitation to participate in NOVA international research project

NOVA - Norwegian Social Research Institute is about to start an international research project on employers' experiences with the employment of persons with disabilities. We are contacting you on recommendation from the [EMPLOYERS' ORGANISATION IN THE UK] because of your long standing commitment to best practice in talent management and in the employment and inclusion of persons with disabilities in the workplace.

The project aims to understand the practical experiences of hiring, accommodating, advancement, full inclusion and retention of employees with disabilities and creating an inclusive corporate culture. It also aims to better understand the experiences of employers with non-discrimination provisions and other relevant legislation regarding employment of persons with disabilities in Norway and the UK. For this purpose we have selected enterprises that have already adopted corporate policies and have been recognised for their efforts in hiring employees with disabilities and providing an inclusive working environment. The project will contribute to increased awareness of employers' perspectives and experiences, and consider how national and international authorities can help to ease this work for enterprises. In this respect, we hope you would like to share your experiences with us.

The project will consider the experiences of multinational enterprises with the inclusion of employees with disabilities into their workforce in two countries - Norway and the UK. Both Norway and the UK have different traditions for inclusion of persons with disabilities in employment, though the recent adoption of non-discrimination legislation will introduce new duties for employers in both countries. However, different factors might influence employers in these countries to be more inclusive towards persons with disabilities.

Comparing the units and policies of the same company in the two countries, the project will ask:

- What is considered the most fruitful measures to recruit, promote and retain employees with disabilities?
- What internal and external factors impede and/or facilitate employers' decisions to deliver best practice (inclusive corporate policies towards employees with disabilities)?
- What is the role of corporate culture in employment and inclusion of persons with disabilities in the workplace?
- How and to what extent do different public policy instruments (laws, financial support and counselling services, etc.) affect the employers' ability to employ persons with disabilities?

To answer these questions, we would like to interview representatives of the top and middle management, HR managers, supervisors and employees of your enterprise. We would also need access to relevant strategic and planning documents and self-evaluations, and if possible, would attend internal meetings at which experiences and measures to promote inclusion are discussed. The project team plans to have preliminary meetings with selected enterprises by September 2012 and collect the data during the 4th quarter of 2012 or 1st quarter of 2013. How much time and what kind of data you would be willing to share with us are topics we would like to discuss in further detail.

The number of enterprises to be included in the study will depend on the final results of the negotiations with the selected enterprises. At this time we would invite [COMPANY TITLE] to participate as the single and exclusive enterprise in the project.

The research findings will be published in a PhD thesis, and other academic and popular science publications. Additionally, we may present the study and the findings to your staff, as appropriate. Participating in the project, [COMPANY TITLE] will be able to achieve systematic comparisons of the work your company is doing (to promote inclusion of employees with disabilities) in Norway and the UK. The research results will contribute to the development of best practice in other enterprises and policies to promote an inclusive corporate culture, both in Norway and the UK, as well as other European countries.

The project staff and NOVA has a duty to maintain confidentiality in all matters regarding personal information and all business internal affairs and will only use the information about the work force and corporate culture agreed upon with the enterprise. Head of Research at NOVA, Professor Bjorn Hvinden is the leader of the National Research Ethics Committee for Social Sciences and Humanities and will ensure compliance with the national research ethics guidelines for the social sciences. NOVA is a state administrative agency with special powers under auspices of the Ministry of Education and complies with the Public Administration Act and the Personal Data Act.

The attached project description provides more detailed information about the research project and the project goals. We hope [COMPANY TITLE] may be interested in participating in this research project. We would be grateful if we could arrange a meeting to provide you with more information and discuss the possibilities of your participation in the project in more detail. Please inform us about your availability.

We look forward to hearing from you.

Yours sincerely,

Bjørn Hvinden, Head of Research, Professor
bjorn.hvinden@nova.no

Yuliya Kuznetsova, PhD student
yuliya.kuznetsova@nova.no

Enclosures:
Letter of support from [Employers' organisation, UK]
Letter of confirmation from NUI Galway
Brief Project description

Research invitation letter (Norwegian version)

Innbydelse til å delta i internasjonalt forskningsprosjekt om inkluderende arbeidsliv

NOVA – Norsk institutt for forskning om oppvekst, velferd og aldring er i ferd med å starte opp et internasjonalt forskningsprosjekt om arbeidsgiveres erfaringer med inkludering av ansatte med nedsatt funksjonsevne i virksomheten. Deres bedrift skiller seg positivt ut med en aktiv profilering av sosialt ansvar i forhold til mange andre bedrifter.

Belysning av god praksis kan være en inspirasjon for andre bedrifter i deres bestrebelser på å oppnå en god bedriftskultur. Gjennom deltakelse i prosjektet vil virksomheten kunne oppnå systematiske sammenligninger av arbeidet med inkluderende arbeidsliv i Norge og Storbritannia. Prosjektet vil også bidra til økt bevissthet om arbeidsgiveres perspektiv og erfaringer, og hvordan nasjonale og internasjonale myndigheter kan bidra til å lette dette arbeidet for virksomhetene. Vi håper derfor vi dere kan tenke dere å dele deres erfaringer med oss.

Å rekruttere, utvikle og beholde kompetanse og medarbeidere i kunnskapsbedrifter er helt avgjørende for å lykkes. Gjennom 'Intensjonsavtalen om et mer inkluderende arbeidsliv' forplikter partene i arbeidslivet seg til en større innsats for å nå målet om å forebygge og redusere sykefravær, styrke jobbnærvær og bedre arbeidsmiljø, samt hindre utstøting og frafall fra arbeidslivet. De konkrete virkemidlene for å oppnå disse målene må avklares i den enkelte virksomhet. Statistikk og rapporter gir oversikt, men i tillegg trenger en den innsikt som virksomhetenes erfaringer med hensiktsmessig tilrettelegging og praktisk fokus på godt arbeidsmiljø kan gi.

NOVA- prosjektet vil kartlegge erfaringene til virksomheter med erfaring med inkludering av personer med nedsatt funksjonsevne i Norge og Storbritannia. Ved å sammenligne enheter tilhørende de samme selskapene i de to landene vil prosjektet belyse

- Hva som oppfattes som de mest fruktbare tiltakene for å fremme inkludering av ansatte med funksjonsnedsettelse
- Hvilke indre og ytre faktorer som henholdsvis hemmer eller fremmer inkludering
- Hvilken rolle bedriftskulturen (for eksempel bred tilslutning til de samme overordnede verdier og mål) kan ha i å fremme inkludering
- Hvordan ulike offentlige virkemidler (lover, støtteordninger, veiledningstjenester og andre tilbud om styrket kunnskap, osv) virker inn på virksomhetens inkludering av personer med funksjonsnedsettelse.

Prosjektmedarbeiderne ønsker å kunne intervjuere representanter for ledelse og ansatte og få tilgang til relevante strategi- og plandokumenter og egevalueringer, og om det lar seg praktisk gjennomføre, kunne være tilstede på interne møter hvor erfaringer og tiltak for å fremme inkludering blir drøftet.

Prosjektmedarbeiderne og NOVA har taushetsplikt om situasjonen til enkeltpersoner og alle virksomhetsinterne forhold og vil bare bruke den informasjonen om inkludering som de mottar etter nærmere avtale med virksomheten. Forskningsjef ved NOVA, Professor Bjørn Hvinden er leder av Den nasjonale forskningsetiske komité for samfunnsvitenskap og

humaniora og vil påse at Forskningsetiske retningslinjer for samfunnsvitenskap følges. NOVA er et statlig forvaltningsorgan med særskilte fullmakter under Kunnskapsdepartementet og følger Forvaltningsloven og Personvernloven.

Forskningsfunnene vil bli bearbeidet for publisering i PhD avhandling, annen vitenskapelig og populærvitenskapelig publisering. Forskningsresultatene vil kunne bidra til utvikling av god praksis i andre virksomheter og politikk for å fremme et inkluderende arbeidsliv både i Norge og Storbritannia, og i andre europeiske land.

Den vedlagte prosjektbeskrivelsen gir mer inngående informasjon om forskningsprosjektet og prosjektmålene.

Vi håper [COMPANY NAME] kan være interessert i å delta i forskningsprosjektet. Vi ville være takknemlige om vi kunne avtale et møte med Accenture Norge for å diskutere en mulig deltakelse i prosjektet mer inngående.

Vi ser fram til å høre fra dere.

Med vennlig hilsen,

Bjørn Hvinden
Forskningsjef, Professor
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13.3. Annex 3. Topic guide for interviews

This guide covers a minimum of topics that will be covered, though the interviewer/researcher may first pursue questions that are more important to cover based on the context and each individual situation. Each main topic contains possible follow-up questions (“probing”).

Interviewees:

1. **External level:** meetings with employers’ organizations manager(s) to identify companies that can become possible cases (participants) for the project.
2. **Internal level (or enterprise level):**
 - The requests are directed to the persons responsible – top management, diversity manager or HR manager - those who can recommends further contacts for interviews
 - Open-ended personal interviews with ‘Top management’: Country manager/director; Diversity manager; HR manager
 - Open ended personal interviews with ‘Middle management’: HR specialists, Department managers/supervisors, etc.
 - Focus groups or individual interviews with ‘regular employees’: employees with disabilities; team members or other regular employees

1. Topics for interviews with manager(s) responsible at employers’ organizations

- 1) Project presentation
- 2) Opinion about employment situation of persons with disabilities:
 - Challenges
 - Which factors might support the inclusion of persons with disabilities in mainstream employment?
- 3) What are employers doing in practice?
- 4) Legislation and policies
- 5) Recommendations of the companies that might be useful for further contact and investigation

2. Topics for interviews with selected companies’ managers and employees

Since the initial requests are going to be addressed to company top management - Country manager/director; Diversity manager; HR manager or CSR manager - we anticipate starting by talking to these staff members that will provide us with a useful first step. The interviews will be structured as open-ended with an intention to get a broader picture of the company policies and corporate culture – both in general and specifically in relation to employment and including persons with disabilities.

2.1. Open-ended personal interviews with ‘Top management’: Country manager/director; Diversity manager; and HR manager

- 1) Brief project presentation
- 2) Personal experience with the company and in the position
- 3) Company presentation (CSR strategy, Diversity management strategy, Inclusive work environment – IA Agreement)
- 4) Establishing inclusive corporate culture (values, norms, beliefs and attitudes):
 - Company’s values

- Company's corporate policies: understanding 'disability' (who is employed and who is aimed to be employed)
 - Company's practices: internal changes (working environment, process, attitudes etc.)
- 5) Recruitment and HR policies addressing diversity in the workforce, non-discrimination and inclusion of persons with disabilities:
 - Experience with employment of persons with disabilities (recruitment, interviewing, hiring, promotion and retention stages, professional support)
 - Accommodation of employees with disabilities at the workplace
 - Creating an inclusive and supportive environment
 - 6) Experience with legislation: the IA Agreement, Non-discrimination and accessibility act in Norway, anti-discrimination legislation in the UK - awareness and response to
 - 7) Company's experience with social regulation measures and public authorities: participating in special programmes, receiving assistance from public authorities for employment of persons with disabilities
 - 8) Future plans
 - 9) Discussion of further meetings and research plan

2.2. Open ended interviews with 'Middle management': HR specialists

Briefing note: *Additional interviews with HR specialist will be hold in case they are working precisely with the policies about employment and inclusion of persons with disabilities or can provide additional information about the topic from their own experiences (either personal or practical). The interviews will be structured as open-ended and will last approximately 1-1.30 hours. The following topics will be discussed.*

- 1) Recruitment and HR policy:
 - General information, characteristics
 - How do the HR managers address non-discrimination and equality in their HR policies?
 - Opportunities (chances) for persons with disabilities during employment "life-cycle": recruiting/interviewing, hiring/inclusion and accommodation, promotion, retention or leave (experience and examples)
 - Awareness of: legislation, voluntary agreements, assistance and guidance, wage subsidy schemes (experience and examples)
- 2) Accommodation at the workplace:
 - General information
 - Positive and negative experience (examples)
 - Personal opinions
- 3) Recommendation of regular employees who to interview further

2.3. Group or individual interviews with 'regular employees': employees with reduced capacities (disabilities); supporting team members or other regular employees

Briefing note: *Interviews with regular employees will help understanding what aspects of the company corporate culture are the most important for these people to be employed and included into the organization. These personal interviews are of the optional character and an additional element for analyzing the interviews with top and middle management. The interviews will be*

structured as open-ended and will last approximately 1-1.30 hours. In case support for the interview is needed it will be discussed with the interviewee and the employer. The following topics will be discussed.

1. Individual interviews with regular employees (optional and if any):

- Experience at the last and current workplace
- Hiring and employment story
- Accommodation
- If any cases of promotion and/or retention
- Company support
- Other employees support
- Trainings
- Personal feelings and attitudes of being included, awareness of existing policies
- Recommendations for the company/other employees

2.4. Wrap up

- **Catch-all questions:** “Is there anything else that you have not told and want to add?” or “What question did I not ask that you think I should have asked?”
- **Identity-enhancing questions:** “What advice would you give?” or “What did you feel was the most important thing we talked about today, and why?” [in case remaining time permits]
- **Closing remarks:** further contacts

13.4. Annex 4. Individual consent form



Dear Interviewee,

I am a PhD student working at NOVA and conducting a research project on the theme “Toward Economic Independence of Persons with Disabilities: Corporate Culture and Inclusion into the Workforce. A comparative case study of multinational enterprises in Norway and the UK”.

I am interested in finding out which factors affect multinational enterprises to adopt inclusive corporate culture opening for employing and including persons with disabilities into the workforce and how it is performed at different company levels.

The questions during the interview will be about your personal and professional experiences, your views, perceptions and ideas regarding existing company policies to promote diversity and non-discrimination, supportive work environment, HR policies, accommodation at the workplace, corporate culture etc. It will be also good if you could provide any specific examples.

I will use the voice recorder and/or take notes while we talk. The interview will take about an hour – an hour and a half the most, and we will agree on a time and place in advance. It is voluntary to join and you have the option to withdraw at any time, without explaining this further. If you withdraw, any data collected about you will be deleted. The information will be kept confidential and no individuals will be recognized in the final written publication. Access to the data will be restricted and only for genuine research purposes. The information is anonymized and all recordings and transcripts will be deleted when the research is completed.

No individuals will be recognisable in the publications from the project. NOVA is a public research institute and work in compliance with the Public Administration Act and the Personal Protection Act. The research team will comply with the Norwegian Act on Ethics and Integrity

in Research and existing national guidelines for research in law and social sciences issued by the National Committee for Research Ethics in the Social Sciences and the Humanities.

If you have any questions please call me at +47 925 65 368, or send an e-mail to yuliya.kuznetsova@nova.no. You can also contact my supervisors Bjørn Hvinden or Rune Halvorsen at NOVA – Norwegian Social Research Institute, Oslo, at the telephone number +47 22 54 12 00 or e-mail rune.halvorsen@nova.no. The Norwegian Social Science Data Services (NSD) in Bergen, Norway, has been notified about the study.

Consent form:

By signing this form, I confirm that I have received written information and that I give my consent to participate in the research project “Toward Economic Independence of Persons with Disabilities: Corporate Culture and Inclusion into the Workforce. A comparative case study of multinational enterprises in Norway and the UK”.

Signature Telephone

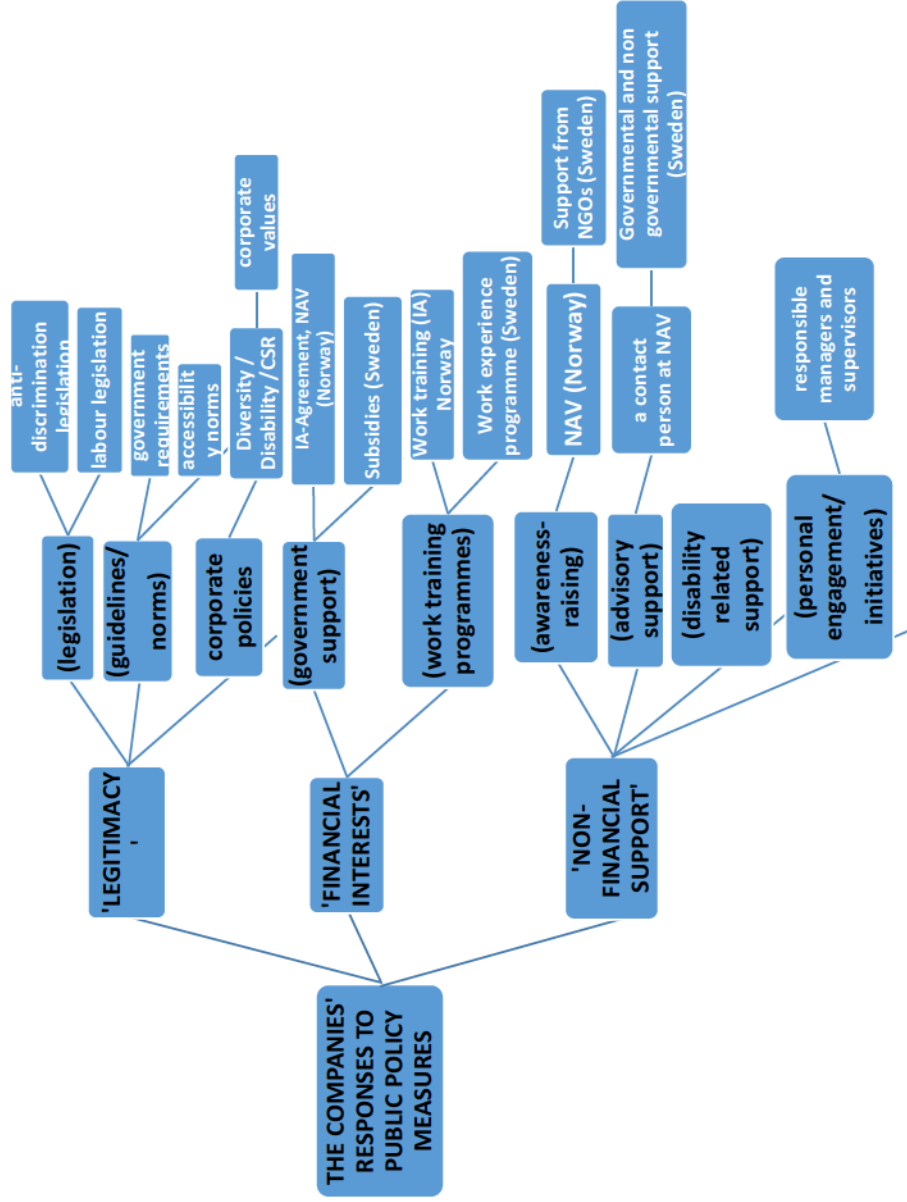
Date and place:

13.5. Annex 5. Thematic analysis for Article I

MAIN (GLOBAL) THEME	'GIVEN NAME'	EMERGED THEMES	SUBTHEMES	Examples / quotes
WORK TRAINING (OPEN AND INCLUSIVE CORPORATE CULTURE)	'GOOD INTENTION'	OPEN AND INCLUSIVE [work environment and corporate policies and practices]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ IA Agreement ➤ corporate policies encouraged by NAV ➤ reducing sick leave due to burnout (mental health policy at the workplace) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ideally, of course, we would like to be open ... that is why we have this agreement with NAV • We are open and inclusive on many ways. It includes all kinds of backgrounds and issues • NAV support: candidates' selection; advisory and financial support, an advisor – contact person
	GOOD WILL		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ willingness to help ➤ corporate social responsibility ➤ Leadership support ➤ engagement of responsible managers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We do not do it because of the money • We do good things • Voluntary activities
	EMPLOYER BRANDING		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ good PR ➤ status (corporate reputation) ➤ business strategy ➤ asset 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is kind of a status to be an inclusive workplace • It is good to show that it is possible to our employees (and outside)
	GUIDING VALUES		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ contribution ➤ respect and integrity ➤ the way of work ➤ we can make a difference ➤ loyalty ➤ respect 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • These values are integrated in everything we do • We have a programme when we demonstrate when someone does something valuable and good • Values define our culture; they help us make decision • The values are very important when a company has employees with disabilities. Company values guide employees... and make us loyal to anything related to cultural background, or disability.
	'VALUE CREATION'	GOOD REPUTATION	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ corporate image (external and internal) ➤ people-oriented ➤ loyalty (of own employees) ➤ attracting new employees 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Our company has a good reputation in a market place • We are people-oriented. We want to show our employees that it is possible • NAV: candidates' selection; support - advisory and financial • In many surveys, students mention CSR as one of the important criteria they look for job in a company.

	<p>'MEANINGFUL TASK'</p>	<p>GOOD EXAMPLES</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ input feedback (from NAV and employees) ➤ supporting own employees ➤ successful examples ➤ burnout cases – employing people after being burned out 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We do not do it because of the money • We do it in a way that it works • We are interested to receive good feedback • We want it to be successful • The feedback was really good [...]. • We felt it was safe. Now she works 100% permanent.
		<p>GOOD MATCH work training cases]</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ positive experience ➤ possibility for these people ➤ valuable background ➤ responsibility 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We are interested it to be a good match. if not, then it will not work so well. And we will never try again. • They a valuable background for us • It is not like to employ someone to sort out the paper clips. • The success depends a lot on what NAV provides: good people (it is important to have a good match). • It is also a good possibility for them, because they really work. But there are no job opportunities for them afterwards [...]. • It is a huge responsibility. We look at competence profile.
		<p>GOOD WAY</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Good and proper way ➤ HR engagement 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In HR we try to do it in a good way • We want to do it in a right way. We cannot open doors to as much as possible and people have nothing to do, but we want to do it in a proper way. • We cannot accept people who have nothing to do • We do it properly, and it means that we cannot take many.

13.6. Annex 6. Themes resulting from NVivo Analysis for Article II.



13.7. Annex 7. Extracts from NVivo Analysis for Article IV.

THEMES	POLICY MEASURES			COMPANIES' WORKPLACE ADAPTATIONS		
	International/global policies	Anti-discrimination legislation (local [inclusion] policy measures)	Accessibility standards/policies	Changes of Work Tasks	Changes of Working Time	Physical Adaptations of Workplace
COMPANY 1	global [corporate] policy on disability and diversity	sick leave/disability protection at the workplace (labour law (WEA) and health, safety and environment (HSE) policy	accessible [corporate] building and facilities for wheelchair users	Selecting candidates for work training based on their prior experience to perform certain work tasks	Employees have "flexibility to work from anywhere"	This corporate building is accessible
	'the same policy around the world'	no specific policy regarding recruiting at the Norwegian level	Government requirements for new buildings to be accessible	Job applicants may not disclose "hidden or invisible" impairments - as well as their needs for adaptations	Employees after retention could work on reduced time schedule	It would not be a problem if we had an applicant in a wheelchair
		nothing special is mentioned about non-discrimination of persons with disabilities	Inaccessible clients' workplaces (as reported by the interviewees)	It is required by the WEA and corporate HSE policy (in relation to own employees who return after illness or disability)	Difficult to sell consultants on a reduced work schedule less than 80%	It would be difficult to accommodate at clients' places since they may not be accessible
		IA Agreement since 2001	No adaptations provided during recruitment	We provided a team supporting the employee with a disability		We provided necessary equipment for employee with disability

COMPANY 2						
Corporate policy in all locations	We have guidelines on how to behave and to treat the employees					
There are non-discrimination and equality guidelines	IA Agreement since 2001	It is impossible to hire employees with disabilities for offshore positions				
All necessary building accessibility [requirements]	We had no job applicants in wheelchairs	It is impossible to hire employees with disabilities for offshore positions				
It is difficult to arrange work tasks for persons with mental illnesses	It is easier if a person is disabled in some physical way	“Our company is not a kindergarten”				
We are extremely flexible, especially, if somebody got injured	Our employees who were on sick leave could have remote access to work from home	We always try to take care of own employees and provide them with flexibility				
We have all necessary accessible facilities	Our premises are easily accessible	The building we are located in has adapted elevators and toilets				
						The corporate building is accessible

14. Articles I-IV

14.1. Article I



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An inclusive corporate culture: Examining the visible and invisible levels of disability inclusiveness in two large enterprises


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An inclusive corporate culture: Examining the visible and invisible levels of disability inclusiveness in two large enterprises

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ABSTRACT

This study used Erving Goffman's analytical framework of the visible frontstage versus the invisible backstage aspects of impression management to compare employers' public statements concerning the inclusion of persons with disabilities with actual practice. Information on frontstage image was obtained from the websites and annual reports of two large private companies in Norway, while their backstage practices were revealed through inductive thematic analysis of interviews with companies' employees. Although both companies emphasized their commitment to the inclusion of persons with disabilities in the public domain, the sole 'backstage' activity they undertook was providing work training to people seeking to enter the workforce. Interviewees regarded work training as a good intention, as creating value, and as providing meaningful tasks. However, cases were limited, and trainees had no physical or intellectual disabilities. Thus, the study found a major discrepancy between the companies' frontstage and backstage activities concerning the inclusion of persons with disabilities.

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Corporate culture; work training; persons with disabilities; Norway; IA Agreement

Introduction

In recent decades, the employment of persons with disabilities has received increasing attention. European and international disability policies, notably the EU Equality Directive (2000/78/EC) and the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UN 2007), require employers to eliminate discrimination and to provide equal treatment in all forms of employment in an inclusive and accessible work environment. In response to this development, employers publicly pronounce their commitment to workplace inclusiveness, and publications of 'best practices' multiply internationally (Fembek et al. 2013; ILO 2010). Nevertheless, expressed willingness to comply with public expectations often exceeds actual hiring of employees with disabilities. Earlier research suggested a weak relationship between publicized commitments and their practical implementation (Ball et al. 2005; Hernandez, Keys, and Balcazar 2000). The discrepancy between publicly stated values and the internal priorities of the enterprises gives reason to re-examine the relationship between the official self-presentations and internal company practices towards persons with disabilities.

Although employers publicly state commitment, it is apparently more difficult to change the priorities and preferences of human resource (HR) management and other employees (Bruyère, Erickson, and VanLooy 2000; Kaye, Jans, and Jones 2011; Schur, Kruse, and Blanck 2005). Previous research has argued that the experience of employing persons with disabilities in the workplace can significantly change employers' attitudes, promote future hiring and retention of such employees and, consequently, create an inclusive corporate culture (see e.g. Schur, Kruse, and Blanck 2005; Smith et al. 2004). Moreover, research has found that public policies and special programmes that increase

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employers' awareness of employees with disabilities are important in stimulating employers to hire them (Kaye, Jans, and Jones 2011; Smith et al. 2004).

In the Nordic countries, public authorities have taken an active role in facilitating the employment of persons with disabilities and in achieving high labour market participation rates (Halvorsen and Hvinden 2014). Regarding persons with disabilities, the Norwegian government prioritizes active labour market policy measures, such as rehabilitation, vocational training, and job placement at regular workplaces (Halvorsen and Hvinden 2014; Olsen, Svendal, and Amundsen 2005; Vedeler and Mossige 2010). This prioritization reflects a relational model of disability, recognizing disability as a mismatch between personal capabilities and the functional demands of the social environment (Hansen, Andreassen, and Meager 2011; Tøssebro 2004). The emphasis was on making persons with disabilities more attractive to the labour market. During the last 15 years, the Norwegian authorities, however, have focused more on the demand side of the labour market; new policy measures have been adopted to provide incentives and persuade employers to hire and retain persons with disabilities.

Taking into account the increasing legal and moral obligations of employers towards persons with disabilities in the ordinary labour market, this article aims to explore how two large private companies in Norway presented their work to promote a corporate culture that is inclusive towards employees with disabilities and to what extent they supported this inclusive image in practice. The article compares the 'visible' level (or the 'frontstage' presentation) of the corporate culture and the 'invisible' levels (or the 'backstage' activities) of what is actually implemented by the companies.

Theoretical framework

Schein (2004, 2009) presents corporate culture as a complex concept that embraces three levels: visible artefacts, espoused values, and underlying assumptions. The 'visible artefacts' level refers to architecture, technology, office layout, dress code, visible behaviour, public documents, norms, and products. The second level, 'espoused values', is communicated through, for example, documents, leaflets, and ethics policies. Both artefacts and espoused values are 'visible' or easy to observe. The third level is defined as 'shared tacit assumptions' and is essentially 'invisible'. This invisible level represents the beliefs, perceptions, thoughts, and feelings of the employees. When there is repeated success in implementing certain values, they become shared assumptions, while other values remain only future aspirations. 'Shared assumptions' are the essence of corporate culture, however, it is difficult to identify them, and employees may not even realize why they behave in a certain way (Schein 2009).

The distinction between the three levels of the corporate culture resembles the analytical framework of 'impression management' developed by Goffman (1959). He argues that, when an activity occurs in the presence of others, some facts are expressively accentuated and appear in a 'front region or frontstage', while other aspects are suppressed and appear in a 'back region or backstage'. The willingness to express a certain action may be fabricated on the frontstage, while on the backstage 'the performer can relax and step out of his character'. Everything exposed visibly supplies a 'special setting of the scenery' for a certain performance to make an impression on others (Goffman 1959, 33–34, 114). Similarly, when employers may demonstrate inclusiveness on the 'frontstage', their 'backstage' behaviour may in fact reflect an unwelcoming corporate culture that prevents persons with disabilities from entering or retaining employment (Ali, Schur, and Blanck 2011; Ball et al. 2005). Not only the 'perfect front', but also positive attitudes, support, and commitment need to be developed on the 'backstage' to create a disability-inclusive culture (Davis 2005; Schur, Kruse, and Blanck 2005).

According to Schein (2004), presupposed beliefs and values can be changed mainly by learning new ways of doing things or behaving. Thus, gaining experience with disabled employees can promote a change in employers' attitudes and, consequently, generate an inclusive corporate culture (Robinson 2000; Schur, Kruse, and Blanck 2005). Such experiences can be initiated through

different programmes and policy measures, including work placement, vocational training, supported-employment and/or work-experience programmes (Boone and van Ours 2004; Hernandez, Keys, and Balcazar 2000; Kaye, Jans, and Jones 2011; Samant et al. 2009). Vocational training and supported-employment programmes can increase employment chances of persons with intellectual and learning disabilities, mild behavioural disorders, and mental illnesses (Crowther et al. 2001; Hernandez, Keys, and Balcazar 2000; Lövgren and Hamreby 2011; Wehman 2003). Earlier research has found that employers come to regard these employees as reliable, productive, capable of interacting with others, and demonstrating above-average attendance (Hernandez, Keys, and Balcazar 2000; Samant et al. 2009; Unger 2002). A critical factor is whether employers move beyond demonstrating inclusive culture on the 'frontstage' to also undertaking practical initiatives that become part of such a culture.

National policy context

Attaining workplace inclusion has been a central goal of Norwegian labour market policy since at least 1977, with the enactment of the *Working Environment Act* (WEA) (Regjeringen 2012), to regulate employer obligations to ensuring proper employment conditions and employment protection. The WEA also includes provisions or adjustments for employees with reduced working. In 2001, A *More Inclusive Working Life Agreement* (IA Agreement) was introduced as a tripartite voluntary agreement between the employers' federations, trade unions, and the Norwegian government (Norwegian Labour and Welfare Administration (NAV)) to promote the inclusion of vulnerable groups into the workforce (Mandal and Ose 2013; Olsen, Svendal, and Arundsen 2005). The IA Agreement was renewed in 2006, 2010, and 2014 and addresses three goals: (1) reducing sickness absenteeism, (2) increasing the employment of 'persons with reduced functional abilities', and (3) retaining ageing workers (Hansen, Andreassen, and Meager 2011; Olsen 2004; Solheim 2010). For the period 2014–2018, the IA Agreement targets the inclusion of young persons with disabilities (Idebanken 2014). To implement the second goal, employers must seek to bring long-term unemployed persons or those with a reduced work capacity or with disabilities into the mainstream labour market (Duell, Singh, and Tergeist 2009). More than 6500 enterprises, including many large enterprises, have signed this agreement in Norway since 2001 (Jakobsen 2009). Nevertheless, enterprises prefer including own impaired workers over persons with pre-existing disabilities (Solheim 2010).

Supplementary to the IA Agreement, the Norwegian government introduced the *Jobs Strategy for People with Disabilities* (2011–13) to increase the employability of young persons with disabilities through work-experience programmes. Finally, the *Anti-Discrimination and Accessibility Act* (2008) imposes on public- and private-sector employers duties to take affirmative action and to report annually on their actions to promote equal opportunities in the workplace, to prevent discrimination, and to provide accessible facilities and working conditions.

Data, methodology and analytical framework

Company selection and research methodology

The present study applied a case study methodology involving open-ended, semi-structured, and in-depth interviews with company employees (Justesen and Mik-Meyer 2012; Yin [1984] 1989), because this approach offered the greatest likelihood to move beyond the companies' public 'frontstage'. The target population included employers with stated commitments to the inclusion of persons with disabilities. Within this group, the study focused on large private companies because of their assumed capacity to include employees with disabilities, consistently with earlier research (see e.g. Graffam et al. 2002; Rabby 1983; Unger 2002). Employers organizations and trade unions in Norway, which include a large proportion of IA-enterprises among their members (Hammer 2007), recommended eight large companies as potential cases. Two of these agreed to participate in this study: a

multinational consulting company represented in Norway and a Norwegian multinational engineering company, hereafter referred to as Company A and Company B. Other recommended companies declined the invitation on the grounds of shortage of time, involvement in similar projects, or giving preference to activities other than hiring persons with disabilities.

Data collection and analysis

To obtain a complete picture of two participating companies, it was necessary to consider both the 'visible' and 'invisible' levels of their corporate culture. Data about the 'visible' levels were collected through corporate websites, annual and Corporate Social Responsibility reports, and introductory meetings with HR managers. Interviews with 'insiders' seeking their perspectives and accounts of their organizations provided data about 'tacit assumptions' or the 'invisible' level. Based on the agreements with the selected companies, the interviews were conducted during August–December 2012 at each company with the following employees:

- *Company A*: HR/Diversity Manager; HR Lead; Top Country Manager; and Supervisor;
- *Company B*: HR/Inclusion Manager; HR manager; HR Administrative Manager; Diversity Manager, Corporate Office; and Department Manager.

The HR managers at both companies became the initial key contacts, who participated in the introductory meetings and provided general information about their companies' activities. They also acted as 'gatekeepers' who granted access to other interviewees, mainly top leadership and department managers. In some cases, they were also present during interviews and controlled or corrected the information presented by other interviewees. One HR manager explicitly stated that 'the employees could say something wrong'.

The interviews were conducted in English and addressed questions concerning the initiatives undertaken by the companies to ensure the inclusion of persons with disabilities, and the experiences of the interviewees with these initiatives. The interview data were transcribed and analysed using inductive thematic analysis or 'encoding qualitative information' (Boyatzis 1998, 4). The interviewees' responses were reduced to a manageable size and afterwards encoded on the basis of similar meanings and causally related qualifications, which further resulted in common themes based on the analytical interpretation of these codes.

The Norwegian Social Science Data Service approved this study. According to the agreement with the selected companies and individual consents signed with each interviewee, this study keeps the companies' names and personal data confidential.

Findings

The visible frontstage

Global inclusive initiatives

Company A is a global management consulting company represented in more than 50 countries worldwide. The corporate website of Company A has a section about diversity initiatives mentioning the commitment to providing an inclusive, open, and equitable environment to persons with disabilities. To support employees with disabilities, the company encourages networking and information sharing, states that it provides reasonable accommodations, and organizes disability events and training. The website also features the personal stories of employees with disabilities working at different company locations.

Company B is a Norwegian technology-based company represented in more than 30 countries worldwide. The corporate office of Company B is located in Norway and spans separate legal entities in different locations, one of which participated in this study. The information available from the corporate website presents Company B as committed to corporate responsibility, and as implementing the principles of the UN Global Compact in the areas of human rights, labour, environment, and

anti-corruption. Principle Six of the Compact requires participating companies to commit to the elimination of discrimination in respect of employment and occupation, including discrimination on the grounds of disability. Furthermore, the corporate policy commits all company offices to work against harassment and discrimination, ensure equal opportunities, and imposes special diversity requirements supporting a culture open to diversity.

Inclusive activities in Norway

Information about the companies' inclusive activities in Norway was neither published on companies' websites nor in publicly available documents, and was therefore obtained from company representatives. During the introductory meetings with the two companies, the key interviewees expressed a willingness to participate in the study, since they considered their companies open and inclusive IA-enterprises. However, in response to the detailed questions about inclusive activities, it appeared that neither company had specific policies aimed at including persons with disabilities, in contrast to the information presented publicly. The Top Country Manager of Company A presented The global corporate guide on providing inclusive and accessible workplace for employees with disabilities', although the HR interviewees did not use this Guide in local practice. The interviewees from Company B did not mention any specific policy promoting the inclusion of persons with disabilities but emphasized that the corporate policy already complied with equal treatment and non-discrimination principles. Both companies signed the IA Agreement in 2001 and conducted activities primarily aimed at reintegrating those of their own employees who had acquired an illness or disability during their employment.

In both companies, interviewees talked about work training as the main IA-activity provided to promote employment opportunities for persons with disabilities seeking to enter the workforce. Company A started providing work training in 2012 to people who had been unemployed for several years due to illness. Company B mentioned a few cases since 2005. The corporate office did not offer work training, but mentioned cases of reintegrating their own employees after disablement or illness. None of the interviewees could provide detailed data about all work training cases or employees with disabilities, as they considered such information confidential.

The invisible backstage

In both companies, the 'backstage' with respect to creating an inclusive culture was the provision of work training. An inductive thematic analysis of the interviews identified three main themes in relation to work training as the activity companies engaged in to promote a corporate culture inclusive to persons with disabilities or reduced functional abilities: (1) work training as a good intention; (2) work training as value creation; and (3) work training as a meaningful task. The first theme – 'good intention' – refers to the companies' statements of their good intentions in providing work training. The second theme – 'value creation' – connects work training with company and personal values. The third theme – 'a meaningful task' – refers to how the companies justified or emphasized that work training was an important activity that supported their official statements.

Work training as a good intention

The interviewees associated providing work training with the inclusive workplace policy (the IA Agreement) and with increasing employment opportunities for persons with disabilities seeking to enter into the workforce.

Company A:

We do it because it is a good part of being the IA [enterprise]. We want it and we have a great focus on corporate social responsibility. (HR Lead)

Inclusion is an important part of corporate social responsibility, and we offer support. (HR/Diversity Manager)

Our message is not to treat people badly. It is important to develop and to demonstrate corporate social responsibility activities. (Top Country Manager)

Company B:

Including people is a part of company social responsibility [...]. (Diversity Manager, Corporate Office)
 We follow three IA-goals ... one is to include people that have problems to find a job. We want to be open and to include people with challenges – who have been on rehabilitation, on sick leave, or never been in work. (HR/Inclusion Manager)

The provision of work training was encouraged by NAV, whose support the interviewees considered very important. In August 2012, Company A accepted two NAV-recommended trainees, both over 60 years old, for six months of work training; one at the HR department, and another to perform basic IT services. The interviewees from Company B mentioned a few work training cases in 2006–2007 when they included people recommended by NAV who had either been out of work for a long time or never worked before. In 2011, NAV asked Company B 'to facilitate the workplace for people with mental health challenges'. Eventually, Company B accepted one trainee who was on long-term sick leave due to 'burnout' or a stress-related illness. Even though Company B had a target to include a specific number of people per year, the actual number varied according to the company's capacity. Interviewees from both companies recognized the need to include persons with disabilities, but believed they did not get a sufficient number of relevant candidates from NAV.

Company A:

We started cooperation with NAV [to include people out of paid work] due to illnesses or being unemployed [...]. NAV motivates and challenges us to work with senior people who come for training, but we never discussed accepting persons with disabilities ... (HR/Diversity Manager)
 We had two people recently. They are [enrolled in] NAV programme to get back to work and get money from NAV ... (HR Lead)
 If our company accepts a person with a disability, NAV can pay some of his expenditures to the company. (Supervisor)

Company B:

According to IA-policy, we have to accept a certain number of cases in our organization. We have a dialogue with NAV, and we are looking at different ways to do it. We do not get diagnoses, just information about people's working capacity ... Our focus for 2012 – what NAV told us – is to facilitate a workplace inclusive to people with mental challenges or stress-related illnesses. (HR/Inclusion Manager)
 NAV says there should be at least two people per year. We wanted to include ten, but [...] right now we are full. (HR Manager)

Besides NAV support and recommendations, the personal involvement of responsible managers and supervisors, as well as the support of the companies' leadership were important factors that promoted a continued interest in work training. The HR managers at both companies took on major responsibilities for IA activities. The HR/Diversity Manager at Company A demonstrated engagement in providing work training and considered support from the company leadership and colleagues very helpful. The HR/Inclusion Manager at Company B, who started in 2011, previously worked at NAV and had relevant experience with the IA Agreement. Nevertheless, the decisions of the HR managers at Company B to accept trainees strongly depended on the agreement of department managers. The interviewees from Company B did not mention top management support, besides the participation of the HR Vice Presidents, Health, Safety and Environment managers, and trade union representatives in semi-annual meetings of the IA-group to discuss achieved results and future plans. Despite overall positive intentions, none of the companies had policies on how to manage work training, especially for trainees with disabilities.

Company A:

I am very proud to become a part of that – it has been my 'baby'. It is challenging [...] and everything we achieved so far is the result of Top Country Manager, HR Lead and HR managers ... (HR/Diversity Manager)
 I think we are very good at trying to do what we can. We want it to be successful ... but we do not have plans or goals on how many we will take. We just had the first ones ... (HR Lead)
 We have IA Agreement, and [work] training is a part of it. HR is responsible for IA. (Supervisor)

Company B:

The new HR manager comes from NAV that is very valuable for our department. He has the network and he knows more than the rest of us. (HR Manager)

Company decided to include all kind of people into working life, but the responsibility lies on functional managers ... If we have a candidate from NAV, we ask personal managers – can you accept this candidate? We cannot force managers to do what we want. (HR/Inclusion Manager)
 We have some people who have been here from NAV ... [The HR Inclusion Manager] knows all the rules and all the conditions, he is an expert on that ... he contacts NAV. (HR Administrative Manager)

Work training as value creation

While interviewees in both companies mentioned the importance of NAV's financial support, they did not consider this to be the main reason why the companies provided work training. The interviewees viewed work training as a good opportunity to promote the reputation of 'open and inclusive corporations' that care for people and give people necessary work experience.

Company A:

It has been an asset in our work ... We want to create people-oriented culture. (HR/Diversity Manager)
 We do not do it because of the money. It shows that we try to be open ... (HR Lead)

Company B:

Monetary compensation is not the main thing for us. It is about employer branding. We want to show to NAV and to our employees that we have an open environment, we understand these things, and what kind of company we are ... that we are inclusive in many ways. (HR/Inclusion Manager)
 We are quite big and we can make a difference [...]. I think that [is] what gives us more money at the end. (Department Manager)

Providing work training opportunities contributed to the realization of corporate values at both companies, especially 'people' and 'responsibility' values that guided companies to become open, inclusive, and non-discriminative. It was important to demonstrate 'inside and outside' that accepted trainees could be 'a valuable work resource' that also strengthened the companies' image as loyal and inclusive corporations. Moreover, providing work training contributed to the personal values of the responsible employees. In Company A, which regularly assessed employees based on their performance and achievements, one of the evaluation criteria was 'people developer'. Accordingly, engagement in inclusive activities contributed to positive evaluation results. Company B considered that company values guided their employees' behaviour, especially towards persons with disabilities, and that this was also reflected in providing work training.

Company A:

We are people oriented. We want to show our employees that we do things like that. It gives value. (HR Lead)
 It is an open culture ... It is about making other people good at work. If you do not grow employees, you will not make a value. (Supervisor)

Company B:

The values are very important when you have employees with disabilities. (Diversity Manager, Corporate Office)
 Company values guide our employees in certain situations, and make us loyal to anything related to cultural backgrounds, disability, someone who struggles, etc ... (HR Manager)

Work training as a meaningful task

Interviewees from both companies considered work training beneficial to their companies and to accepted trainees. The HR managers from Company A did not provide permanent employment afterwards, though believed that work experience and skills their trainees acquired during the work training would help them in finding future employment. Interviewees from Company B were more positive about hiring trainees, especially if they demonstrated good results. The Corporate office mentioned the possibility of internal hiring for former trainees. The interviewees from Company B considered post-training employment of one trainee who had previously been on long-term sick leave following burnout to be particularly successful. These interviewees also noticed positive changes in their trainees: the trainee with low social skills 'improved and started communicating more', and the trainee after burnout 'got more confidence and motivation'. Demonstrating successful results was necessary for both companies to justify an inclusive corporate culture. The HR

interviewees from Company A carefully selected trainees and tried to engage them in 'meaningful work'. However, trainees with low social skills and limited work and education experience proved quite challenging to work with. Consequently, when discussing the possibility of taking on persons with disabilities as potential trainees, the HR interviewees from both companies expressed concerns about their types of impairments, skills, and competencies.

Company A:

When we take someone, it is a good possibility for this person. It is to give a person practice to be in a better position ... We need people able to participate in the tasks and to work in a team. (HR Lead)

We offer opportunities for people to come and work here. They test their working capacity, but there are no job options afterwards. (HR/Diversity Manager)

Company B:

It is easier if a person [...] is disabled in some physical way, than a person with social problems. (HR Administrative Manager)

It is a huge responsibility. If we do not have enough work, it will be a problem. We look at competence profile. If they do good work, we can offer permanent employment ... A person we took for work training after burnout had a specific background valuable for us ... The main concern is when we take people with disabilities – we want people who participate in the work environment and have social skills ... (HR Manager)

It is not a kindergarten; we have high expectations of people ... It has to be someone with right educational background, who can do the job. (Department Manager)

As for people who have been on some training at our departments, we have a big focus on hiring internally. (Diversity Manager, Corporate Office)

Interviewees from both companies justified their limited number of work training cases on the grounds of the considerable responsibility it imposed on the company. The HR interviewees from Company A considered 'a good match' highly important. They selected the 'right candidates' and tried 'to do it properly', since positive examples could influence their future engagement in this activity. The interviewees from Company B were also interested in obtaining positive experiences and focused on the 'long-term goals'.

Company A:

We cannot take anyone and find something to do. They cannot just sit and do something. Examples show it has to be successful. If it does not work well, we will never try again. We do that properly, and it means that we cannot take many. (HR Lead)

Company B:

We cannot do much more than this. It is a challenge, and we want to do it in a right way. We cannot open doors to as much as possible and people having nothing to do. (HR/Inclusion Manager)

We really look for long-term goals and for success stories that we can hire somebody at the end of training. (HR Manager)

That has been very successful ... At least two people have been hired afterwards. (HR Administrative Manager)

Interviewees from both companies considered work training a very demanding task. 'We do not plan to take more people because it is not that easy', said the HR Lead of Company A. In contrast, Company B expressed a willingness to continue, although after relocation of the HR/Inclusion Manager to another company office in 2013, it was unclear who would carry out the main responsibilities.

Discussion

This study compared the public image presented by two large companies with their actual practice with respect to the adoption of a culture inclusive towards persons with disabilities. In line with Goffman (1959), the findings show a considerable discrepancy between public commitments to inclusivity and their local implementation. In their public 'frontstage', the companies presented themselves as inclusive and highlighted their disability and inclusion strategies. However, interviews with employees in both companies revealed that at the 'backstage' these commitments translated solely into the provision of work training. Furthermore, in practice, both companies offered such training only to limited number of individuals including older people, persons experiencing long-term unemployment, employees returning from long-term sick leave, or those who have been out of work due

to stress-related illnesses or 'burnout'. Neither company offered work training to persons with physical or intellectual disabilities.

The thematic analysis of the interviews identified three main themes concerning work training as a 'good intention', as 'value creation', and as a 'meaningful task'. As 'a good intention', interviewees associated work training with the 'inclusive workplace' image implied by the IA Agreement and by the companies' social responsibility strategies. According to Goffman (1959, 44), 'a performance of a routine presents through its front abstract claims modified to fit into expectations of the society in which it is presented'. As IA enterprises, both selected companies engaged in different activities to maintain an image of being 'inclusive and socially responsible corporations'. Interviewees presented work training as an 'inclusive' activity to demonstrate the companies' good intentions, although, in practice, work training appeared to be of limited scope and 'hidden from the eyes of an external observer'. The work training had not become an overall company strategy, and depended mainly on the initiatives of the responsible HR managers. The companies thus delegated 'dramatic function' to specialists, who demonstrated an effective show before 'the audience', yet engaged in such activities to increase their own professional reputation (Goffman 1959). Non-HR interviewees could provide little information about work training, although they recognized this activity as an important part of a disability-inclusive corporate culture. Despite the companies' goals, NAV support and requests received from organizations seeking employment for persons with disabilities, the selected companies had not accepted trainees with disabilities and lacked a clear strategy for working with them. Similarly to prior research (e.g. Kaye, Jans, and Jones 2011; Smith et al. 2004), the interviewees' concerns were the work performance and abilities of trainees with disabilities, and the additional responsibilities employing them would impose. Therefore, in order to sustain the image of inclusive corporate culture, the 'performers' preferred to demonstrate work training as 'a good intention' while concealing detailed facts behind this front.

Defined as 'value creation', work training signified an important IA initiative contributing to the realization of corporate values. As argued by Schein (2009), values create the corporate image and influence decision-making and employee behaviour. When individuals present themselves before others, their performances incorporate and exemplify the officially accredited values (Goffman 1959). Interviewees in both companies considered that the work training initiative contributed externally and internally to such company values as non-discrimination, equal treatment, and respect for individuals. In Company A, where commitment to values was an important performance evaluation criterion, the engagement of responsible employees into work training seemed more efficient. As Goffman (1959) describes, performers are aware of the standards required to be applied; and the results depend on the importance attributed to adhering to these standards. Nevertheless, if values, according to Schein (2004), are not based on prior learning, they only reflect 'espoused theories' and are not synchronized with what people actually do. Therefore, while the interviewees demonstrated that their activities reflected certain standards or referred to work training within the context of certain company values, they only fostered an impression of having ideal motives for the roles they were performing. However, in practice, the work training cases did not include trainees with disabilities.

Characterizing work training as 'a meaningful task', interviewees recognized the potential benefits of this activity to the companies and accepted trainees, however, cases were few and mainly recommended by NAV. Although the interviewees admitted the possibility of accepting trainees with disabilities, they stated it was not their main focus. Furthermore, they did not have a clear strategy on how to promote this activity, and expressed concerns that persons with disabilities may be unable to participate fully in work tasks and lack necessary social skills. Moreover, work training was limited only to the HR departments at both companies. According to Schur et al. (2009), only a broad distribution of employees with disabilities throughout a company is likely to lead to the development of an inclusive corporate culture. The interviewees from both companies presented the success stories as 'finished, polished, and packaged end products' (Goffman 1959, 52). However, the interviewees were not so enthusiastic to talk about less successful cases, and it was

impossible to access the trainees involved. Possibly the responsible interviewees did not present those cases so as not to ruin their own and the companies' perfect 'front' (Goffman 1959, 110). The absence of trainees with disabilities reflected prejudice, lack of awareness, and an unwillingness to take on additional responsibilities, similarly to the findings of Hernandez, Keys, and Balcazar (2000) and Kaye, Jans, and Jones (2011). Presenting work training as 'a meaningful task' and demonstrating successful results, the interviewees protected their companies' 'inclusive image' from being 'punished for deviations from the standards' (Goffman 1959, 87). The focus of the HR interviewees on selecting the 'right candidates' and finding 'a good match' raised the likelihood of successful results to support the companies' public image of an inclusive corporate culture, however, it prevented them from including trainees with disabilities.

Presented as a 'good intention', as 'value creation' and as a 'meaningful task', work training 'as an inclusive activity' supported the public image both companies projected as inclusive corporations. Nevertheless, discrepancies existed between this image and (the absence of) practical activities undertaken to include persons with disabilities. Companies protected their 'ideal reputation' and demonstrated mainly the 'successful cases' that supported the 'perfect front' while concealing those that did not. Both companies revealed limited experience with work training, and especially trainees with disabilities. Consequently, this activity was not shared by all company employees. Work training remained an occasional 'backstage' activity that supported the companies' inclusive public image but that did not demonstrate a stable intention to increase the inclusion of persons with disabilities into the workplace.

Conclusion

In the two large companies studied, efforts to follow the goals of IA Agreement and legal requirements to create a culture inclusive towards persons with disabilities were limited to the provision of work training to persons without physical or intellectual disabilities. The responsible HR managers carefully protected their companies' 'backstage' activities and access to information. The interviewees saw work training as a good intention, as an activity that created value, and as a meaningful task. They also considered it to contribute to the companies' image and values, and to the reputation of the responsible managers. However, the low number of trainees, lack of local company inclusion strategies, and low level of engagement of different employees and departments 'backstage' revealed that actual practice was still limited in both companies. Focusing mainly on successful outcomes, companies supported only their positive 'frontstage' image, while 'backstage' practices remained hidden from the audience, limited, and difficult to discuss.

Several important limitations need to be acknowledged. The findings represent the experiences of only two companies during a limited time period. Future research should therefore target additional companies and business sectors. The main challenge for data collection was the different responsibilities of interviewees, as well as the interviewees' intentions to demonstrate the 'perfect front' by presenting only publicly acceptable information. Greater insight into 'backstage' phenomena might be obtained through observing informal situations and collecting data at different time points, but is unlikely to be feasible because of the expected lack of employer cooperation and the large amount of field work required. Finally, the number of work training cases was too limited to enable generalization to other large companies, however, the tendency to expressively accentuate certain facts on the 'frontstage', especially as it relates to a disability-inclusive culture, should be further examined in future research. Further research involving thorough exploration of the companies in different business sectors in Norway or different countries that include persons with disabilities for work training opportunities can supply a greater accuracy on this matter and provide a better understanding of the companies' inclusive practices.

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14.2. Article II



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Inclusion of persons with disabilities in mainstream employment: is it really all about the money? A case study of four large companies in Norway and Sweden

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14.3. Article III

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Labour Market Integration and Equality for Disabled People: A Comparative Analysis of Nordic and Baltic Countries

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Abstract

This article considers the employment situation of disabled people, and disability policies, in three Nordic and three Baltic countries (Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania). The analysis is framed by a changing paradigm for disability policy-making, from compensation towards human rights and in a context of multi-level governance involving the EU and UN as significant policy actors. The analysis draws on policy analysis and European social survey data to compare outcomes for disabled people in each country and in binary comparison between Nordic and Baltic countries. This enables interactions between individual and regional block factors to be modelled. We conclude that national policies make a difference, that non-discrimination policies are not enough and that a focused mix of regulatory and redistributive measures is needed. The findings highlight better employment and social protection outcomes for disabled people in the Nordic countries, but point to policy challenges in both blocks. National processes of (de)commodification and stratification affect disabled people differently and this may disrupt our assumptions about welfare state comparisons.

Keywords

Nordic and Baltic countries; Disability policies; Employment of disabled people; Labour Force Survey; Public employment services; Non-discrimination

Introduction

This article compares the employment situation and employment policies for disabled people in six Nordic and Baltic countries. It uses a disability equality lens to shed new light on welfare state assumptions and to highlight the influence of transnational governance. This perspective is framed by Article

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27 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UN CRPD), a comprehensive global human rights treaty. It requires state parties to 'recognize the right of persons with disabilities to work, on an equal basis with others... in a labour market and work environment that is open, inclusive and accessible'. We are interested in how welfare state concepts and disability rights concepts intersect in employment policies. We consider the challenges facing Nordic and Baltic countries, their efforts to tackle them, the outcomes for disabled people, and the extent to which a Nordic-Baltic distinction is meaningful in this context.

Re-framing Social Policies as Disability Equality

The historic re-framing of disability employment policies, from rehabilitation and compensation towards non-discrimination and equality is well documented (e.g. Waddington *et al.* 2016b). Much postwar policy in Europe was framed by an individualized model of disability, often characterized by medicalization and the administrative segmentation of disability schemes from mainstream employment policy. Social policies, welfare institutions and professions became viewed by disability rights advocates as part of the problem rather than the solution (Barnes and Mercer 2003). Although rehabilitation measures sought labour market re-integration, access to ordinary jobs for persons with significant impairments remained hindered by discriminatory attitudes, by exclusion from educational opportunity, and by inaccessibility workplaces, technologies and transport systems.

The new paradigm was framed by rhetorical adoption of a 'social model' of disability (Oliver 1990) and by discourses of human rights, accessibility, universal design and policy mainstreaming (Quinn *et al.* 2002). At its heart was recognition of the full range of social, physical and financial barriers to inclusion. Much prior research has indicated disability discrimination is the main reason preventing equal participation in the mainstream employment (e.g. Ali *et al.* 2011; Brohan *et al.* 2010; Luecking 2008; Nota *et al.* 2014; Shier *et al.* 2009; Vornholt *et al.* 2013). More specifically, inequalities based on gender (Jones *et al.* 2006); type of impairment (Wik and Tøssebro 2013; Unger 2002); education level and skills (Ali *et al.* 2011; Boman *et al.* 2014; Henry and Lucca 2004; Shier *et al.* 2009); and age (Ali *et al.* 2011; Henry and Lucca 2004; Vornholt *et al.* 2013) are evident.

The direction of travel at both national and international levels was towards legislative non-discrimination measures (Waddington 1994, 1996; Thornton and Lunt 1997). Yet, progress reviews of landmark legislation, such as the USA's Americans with Disabilities Act 1990 or the UK's Disability Discrimination Act 1995 remain inconclusive concerning better employment outcomes (Bell and Heitmueller 2009; Ferri and Lawson 2016; Russell 2002; Waddington and Diller 2002). The idea that disability policies should pursue equal opportunity in the open labour market was prefigured as far back as 1955, in Recommendation 99 of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) on Vocational Rehabilitation (Disabled). At the EU level, Directive 2000/78 establishing a general framework for equal treatment in employment and occupation set down

the challenge to eliminate discrimination in employment. In 2006, the UN CRPD consolidated this shift in global policy, embedding concepts of disability employment rights within a comprehensive framework, covering all domains of life.

While the social democratic welfare state tradition sought to balance integration measures with adequate social protections for disabled persons outside the labour market (Mont 2004) its regressive financing had failed to deliver on egalitarian aims (Wilensky 1975). Across Europe there has been a long-term upward trend in persons receiving out-of-work, incapacity-related benefits (Clayton *et al.* 2011), further fuelled by rising retirement ages. This, in turn, presents a fiscal sustainability challenge to European welfare states – intensifying during the period of economic crisis after 2008. The historic reframing of disability policy as equal rights and non-discrimination thus coincided with an ideological re-framing of out-of-work disability benefits as unaffordable, undeserved or as disincentives to work (Aarts *et al.* 1998; Burkhauser *et al.* 2014). The shared ground between these contrary policy discourses is a sharpening of policy focus towards getting more disabled persons into jobs.

A reputation for generous and comprehensive welfare support for disabled persons in the Nordic countries, with equality-oriented active labour market measures led them to be seen as ‘examples from which to learn’ (Halvorsen *et al.* 2015), but retrenchment and liberalization have also called this assumption into question (Roulstone 2013). The global human rights framework of the UN CRPD emphasizes that both higher and lower income countries must pursue ‘progressive realization’ and ‘constant improvement’ in living conditions for disabled persons (e.g. Bickenbach and Bickenbach 2009). The bar is set high but we should ‘not take for granted that the Nordic countries are always forerunners’ (Halvorsen *et al.* 2015).

A good deal has been written about disability policies in Nordic countries, but there is very little on Baltic policies (prior analyses make only passing reference to protection from disability risk in relation to social security and pensions). Disability research has been conducted on relevant individual countries (e.g. Boman *et al.* 2014; Wik and Tøssebro 2013), but with few comparative studies (Halvorsen and Hvinden 2009; Holland *et al.* 2011). We examine the labour market situation and policies in Nordic and Baltic countries, considering individual, country level and transnational factors that shed light on the issues raised so far.

Of East and West

Esping-Andersen (1990) characterized the Nordic countries (the archetypal social-democratic welfare states) by their solidarity and equality, based on full participation and universality. Central and Eastern European states, including the Baltic countries, have been inadequately embedded in most welfare classifications due to their unsettled situation ‘as transition countries’ (Ebbinghaus 2012). As Toots and Bachmann (2010) argue, Baltic welfare transition has been viewed from an occidental perspective, in which policy challenges are framed as ‘catching up’ with the Nordic welfare model.

Soviet-Russian welfare was acknowledged in early welfare modelling (Titmuss 1974; Wilensky 1975), but the communist countries were rather overlooked in subsequent developments, both theoretically and empirically (Fenger 2007; Aidukaite 2009a; Deacon 1992).

Norgaard and Johannsen (1999) identified three key dimensions of Baltic transition after 1991 – towards pluralist democracy, market economies and independent statehood. They also pointed to the EU's influence in national policy choices. Economic and political reforms ushered in changes to national welfare systems. Aidukaite (2003, 2004, 2006, 2009b) charts the diversification of post-Soviet social security systems in the Baltic states, noting optimistic assumptions that economic liberalization might solve social as well as economic challenges. She shows how the three states all became 'less comprehensive and universal' while diverging in the extent of private provision and means-testing.

Baltic disability policies are also framed by Soviet welfare histories in which moral obligation to work was a core value and full employment an assumed norm. Social security and social services, insofar as they were deemed necessary, were administered largely through the trade unions. A universal and non-means tested social security system covered disability risks, with residual pensions for those not 'able to work' but with a general lack of social services to support the integration of disabled people into the labour market or society more widely (Metz 2008; Rasell and Iarskaia-Smirnova 2013).

Following EU accession, and through the economic crisis, migration and unemployment impacted on the Baltic states with declining work intensity, wages and per capita GDP. Structural unemployment, largely invisible under the Soviet system, increased. Rapid economic growth was not matched by welfare investment and stringent cuts followed the onset of the crisis, with missed opportunities to adapt education, employment and social protection policies to new social risks (Toots and Bachmann 2010; Ebeke and Everaert 2014). Bohle and Greskovits (2007) distinguish emergent capitalism in the Baltic states as more characteristically neo-liberal than in the Visegrád states (the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia) despite their common inheritances from state socialism. Thus, the Baltic states were viewed as leading in market liberalization, but lagging in social inclusion, more readily exposing vulnerable social groups to market pressures.

With EU membership came obligations to adopt new policies, notably to frame domestic employment legislation compliant with the EU Framework Directive, and to participate in the Open Method of Co-ordination (Heidenreich and Zeitlin 2009; Priestley 2012). The emergence of a global disability rights framework, including the EU's accession to the UN CRPD in 2010, strengthened the EU's hand on disability issues and shifted the frame of reference for disability rights from 'Western' or 'Nordic' role models towards 'European' and 'global' governance, which may support Deacon's (2000) view that global political actors as well as economic globalization have been drivers of policy change in the post-Soviet era.

To summarize, the literature points towards strong disability equality and protection systems in the Nordic countries and weaker ones in the Baltic countries. It highlights the impact of neo-liberalization on universal welfare

protection, and on marginalized groups in particular. It suggests that the re-framing of disability policies as non-discrimination and equal opportunity coincided with an increased influence for transnational policy actors at the EU and UN levels. In this context, we consider disability policies and outcomes in Nordic-Baltic welfare comparison.

Data Sources and Methods

We focus on the three Baltic states (Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania) plus three Nordic states (Denmark, Sweden and Norway). This selection was based on state participation in the forms of transnational governance identified earlier. Norway is not an EU Member State but, along with Iceland, participates in the EU's high level forums on disability and mirrors policy adoption in this area (notably EU single market policies). Neither Finland nor Iceland had ratified the UN CRPD at the time of drafting this article (although both have since ratified during 2016).

We consider non-discrimination and redistributive policy approaches, labour market and social protection spending, and employment outcomes for disabled persons. As Toots and Bachmann (2010: 34) note:

Low social security expenditure in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania suggests that their protective potential is weak, but it does not say much about their capacity to enhance labour market activity, which is regarded as the key for welfare state sustainability in the era of population ageing. Therefore, one cannot rely on cost-related variables only to estimate whether Baltic countries have a potential to build up a welfare model that works efficiently in the era of post-modernity.

They examined general indicators of employment and poverty using the Eurostat database and assessed policy provisions from the Mutual Information System on Social Protection tables (MISSOC). We extend this approach from a disability perspective by drawing policy evidence from both the generic MISSOC tables and the Disability Online Tool of the Commission (DOTCOM), a disability policy database maintained by the Academic Network of European Disability experts (ANED) (Priestley and Lawson 2015). Additional information was obtained from national policy documents, from the UN CRPD treaty monitoring database, Eurostat expenditure data (investments in disability benefit schemes and labour market policies [LMPs]) and employment indicators from Eurostat's disability database (based on the 2011 European Labour Force Survey ad hoc module).

We then developed a statistical model for Nordic-Baltic comparison using 2011 EU-SILC microdata (in order to include Norway). The sample included disabled persons aged 15–64, resulting in 6,653 cases from the six countries (unweighted microdata). We used multilevel logistic regression to assess the significance of individual and regional level factors, their interaction effects, and to control for estimation biases. Explanatory models were generated for three dependent variables – employment, benefit take-up and household financial status. For the individual factors, we used Gender,

Age Cohort, Educational Attainment Level, Limitation Level and Marital Status (Eurostat definitions) and Regional Block as a country level factor (based on Country of Residence).

In line with other researchers, and Eurostat, we use the auto-evaluation concept of 'limitation' as a proxy for functional impairment and, by implication, disability status. The EU-SILC asks if a person has 'any chronic (long-standing) physical or mental health problem, illness or disability' (for at least six months) and whether this 'limits' their 'daily activities' (Q43–44). We consider all those who declare they feel 'limited' or 'strongly limited'. The wording is not ideal from a social model of disability perspective, as it suggests direct causality between a health condition and a limitation of activity (which might be otherwise due to physical or social barriers). However, the aggregate extent to which persons declaring impairments ('limitations') also experience unequal social outcomes, compared to other persons, remains indicative of 'disability' in this theoretical frame.

There are some limitations of data comparison. First, self-assessment questions return varying disability prevalence rates in different countries due to language, culture and policy definition (Grönvik 2009). Such variations are reduced for estimates of the working age population, and for persons declaring more severe levels of impairment, but still the EU-SILC 2011 prevalence estimate for persons aged 16–64 in Denmark (above 24 per cent) is much higher than Sweden or Lithuania (below 14 per cent). Second, estimations of disability employment rates are particularly affected by definitional changes, although less so by variations in prevalence (Molden and Tøssebro 2012: 341). For comparable age groups, the EU-SILC definition (limitation in daily activities) returns a higher disability employment rate than the narrower EU-LFS definition (limitation in work activities). The two definitions correlate fairly well, but caution is needed and we seek to provide a more contextualized and mixed methods policy analysis. Lastly, disabled persons living in institutions are generally excluded from household surveys (and from the open labour market as well). This might lead to a small over-estimation of disability employment in countries with larger populations of institutionalized persons.

The UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (UN OHCHR) adopts an indicator methodology based on 'structure' (human rights in law), 'process' (policy efforts to realize them) and 'outcomes' (OHCHR 2008, 2012; Lawson and Priestley 2013). In terms of the legal 'structure', Article 27 of the UN CRPD obliges states to prohibit discrimination in employment, to ensure that reasonable accommodation is provided in the workplace and to enable vocational guidance and support. We show how these obligations are met in national disability policies before estimating and modelling employment outcomes in Nordic-Baltic comparison.

Non-discrimination and Support: Policy 'Structure'

The transnational influence of the EU has been considerable in employment non-discrimination law, which falls within its competence. As noted earlier,

Framework Directive 2000/78 EC required all EU Member States to have measures outlawing discrimination on the ground of disability (and other grounds). Norway, Sweden and Denmark adopted or adapted their laws almost at the same moment. The Norwegian legislation was disability specific – the Discrimination and Accessibility Act 2008 (amended 2013). In Denmark, it covered multiple grounds – the Consolidation Act on Prohibition against Discrimination in the Labour Market 2008 (supplemented by a specific Act on compensation for disabled employees in 2009). In Sweden, legislation protecting disabled people has a longer history, and predating the EU Framework since 1999 (Tøssebro 2016) but non-discrimination laws on various grounds were consolidated into the Discrimination Act in 2008 (amended 2014), which is both holistic and covers all grounds.

The Baltic countries all have Constitutional provisions on non-discrimination in general and non-discrimination legislation has intensified following EU Directives and UN CRPD ratification. In Lithuania, the Law on Equal Treatment 2005, implementing the EU Framework Directive, did not refer to disability specifically. In Latvia, the Labour Law 2002 covers all grounds of discrimination in employment, but there is no holistic non-discrimination law. New Guidelines on Inclusive Employment followed UN CRPD ratification, but without legal obligations on employers. In Estonia, the Equal Treatment Act of 2008 (amended 2014) includes protection from disability discrimination in employment, and employers' obligations were reiterated in the Employment Contracts Act 2008 (amended 2012).

In the structure of public employment services (PES) for disabled persons, Sweden has the most clearly established system, providing specialist guidance, vocational rehabilitation and support. Denmark has no disability-specific employment service, which is mainstreamed into municipal job centres linked to the National Labour Office (Specialfunktionen Job & Handicap, SJH). Norway has also mainstreamed disability services within the Norwegian Labour and Welfare Administration (NAV). In Estonia, county departments administer PES for the Unemployment Insurance Fund (Eesti Töötukassa), but expanded their disability services only from 2016. In Latvia, disability support is mainstreamed. In Lithuania, it is more fragmented among a range of agencies, according to the Law on Support for Employment 2006 (amended 2015), the Law on Social Enterprises 2004 and the Law on Social Integration of the Disabled 2005.

A failure to provide accessibility was explicitly defined as discrimination in Sweden in 2015 and there is now an expectation that employers take reasonable measures but PES may help towards the costs. In Norway, NAV may provide employers with an 'inclusion grant' towards adaptation and equipment costs, as well as 'prevention and adaptation' grants to companies that sign up to a national inclusive workplace agreement, though it is not disability specific. Danish job centres offer some support for workplace adaptation and assistive devices, if they are essential (and not 'advantageous' to the employee). Workplace adaptation in the Baltic countries was more contingent. In Latvia, it is a duty on the employer and PES offers some financial support, but primarily for those in subsidized employment posts. In Estonia, the Occupational Health and Safety Act 1999 (amended 2015)

requires adaptation of workplaces for disabled persons. The Insurance Fund supports employer costs if they offer an open-ended employment contract (on penalty of repayment if employment ends within three years). Subsidized workplace adaptation in Lithuania is similarly limited to a three-year job guarantee.

The three Nordic PES all provide funding towards personal assistance for disabled employees in the open labour market, but this is less established in the Baltic states. In Latvia, it is possible only within the programme for subsidized employment. In Lithuania, there is some funding for NGOs to provide personal assistance or interpreting at work. In Estonia, personal assistance is managed holistically as a social service (for all areas of life).

Overall, and despite some differences of approach, there has been more Nordic-Baltic convergence in regulatory than redistributive policies (i.e. a shared baseline of non-discrimination principles is more clearly established than a common floor of labour market measures). This regulatory convergence owes much to the transnational policy influence of the EU in the employment field and has accelerated in response to the UN's influence in the disability field.

Social Expenditure: Investments in 'Process'

All six countries operated some kind of wage subsidy scheme targeted towards disabled persons (a common but not ubiquitous policy measure in Europe). Wage subsidy has been used extensively in Sweden as transitional support into open labour market jobs, for a maximum of four years. In the Danish Flex Jobs scheme, the municipality may supplement wage costs for up to five years. Norway offers both temporary and permanent wage subsidy schemes (and some recipients of long-term incapacity benefit who enter work may retain it for up to five years). In Baltic countries, there are also some sustained subsidy schemes. Jobs in the open labour market may be subsidized in Lithuania, and in both Estonia and Latvia a full disability pension may continue to be paid after entering employment (to assist with additional work-related expenses).

There are differences in the expenditure on LMP transfers between employers and individuals (see table 1). These include, but are not limited to, disability-specific schemes. While Denmark and Sweden transferred a large proportion to employers, Norway did not. LMP transfers to individuals in the three Baltic countries were minimal, smaller by a factor of six or more than in any of the three Nordic countries. This was particularly evident for the schemes most relevant to employment of disabled persons – i.e. employment incentive transfers and supported employment and rehabilitation measures (where Denmark and Sweden spent markedly more). In Sweden, almost a quarter of LMP participants looking for work were reported to be in employment incentive schemes, while Denmark had the highest participation in supported employment and rehabilitation. By contrast, the three Baltic countries reported negligible numbers of participants in any such schemes, but Estonia and Latvia made the largest transfers to service providers.

Table 1

LMP expenditure by type of action – Categories 2–7, % GDP in 2012

Countries	Total LMP measures (categories 2–7)	Transfers to individuals	Transfers to employers	Transfers to service providers
Denmark	1.31	0.57	0.74	–
Estonia	0.18	0.04	0.03	0.11
Latvia	0.19	0.01	0.10	0.08
Lithuania	0.18	0.03	0.14	0.02
Norway	0.41	0.26	0.07	0.07
Sweden	1.01	0.25	0.63	0.12

Source: DG EMPL [lmp_expsumm].

Official data also confirms large differences in expenditures on social benefits, with the three Nordic countries spending around double the proportion of GDP than the three Baltic countries overall (see table 2). This is also true for disability benefit schemes, with Denmark and Norway spending above 4 per cent of GDP, but all three Baltic countries spending below 2 per cent. If we compare the relative value of these benefits (in Purchasing Power Standards per head [PPS]), the Nordic disability schemes are all more generous than those in Baltic countries. However, Denmark exhibited far higher expenditure on means-tested disability schemes (including almost all its cash benefits) with means-testing near zero for disability schemes in the other five countries. The value of non-means tested disability benefits was much greater in Norway, and in Sweden, than elsewhere.

In summary, the evidence of policy 'structure' and 'process' suggests that there has been more policy convergence among the Nordic and Baltic

Table 2

Social benefit schemes in PPS per head and % GDP in 2012

Countries	All schemes		Disability schemes		Disability (non-means tested)		Disability (means-tested)	
	PPS	%GDP	PPS	%GDP	PPS	%GDP	PPS	%GDP
Denmark	9,987	31.1	1,342	4.2	545	1.7	3,570	2.5
Estonia	2,948	14.8	347	1.7	347	1.7	25	0.0
Latvia	2,285	14.0	198	1.2	198	1.2	65	0.0
Lithuania	2,960	15.5	288	1.5	287	1.5	173	0.0
Sweden	9,436	28.7	1,183	3.6	1,180	3.6	256	0.0
Norway	10,949	24.0	1,871	4.1	1,836	4.0	436	0.1

Source: Eurostat tables by functions, aggregated benefits and grouped schemes [spr_exp_ppsh].

countries in non-discrimination law than in redistributive social policies and this reflects an increased transnational policy influence in this area (Hvinden 2003; Priestley 2007; Waldschmidt 2009). The Baltic countries did not lag behind their Nordic neighbours in transposing the international obligations of liberal employment rights into domestic law, but did so in the relative value of social protection.

There were differences in national PES arrangements, including the disability-specific provision of personal assistance, workplace accessibility and wage subsidy. Differential investment and participation in disability benefit and support schemes are perhaps the most marked policy feature of Nordic and Baltic comparison. Since previous studies indicate that the 'structural' adoption of non-discrimination laws has not coincided with systematic improvements in disability employment rates, greater interest might be directed towards the influence of 'process' in making employment rights a reality (Waddington *et al.* 2016a). With this in mind, we turn to employment outcomes.

Individual and Regional Factors: Modelling Employment 'Outcomes'

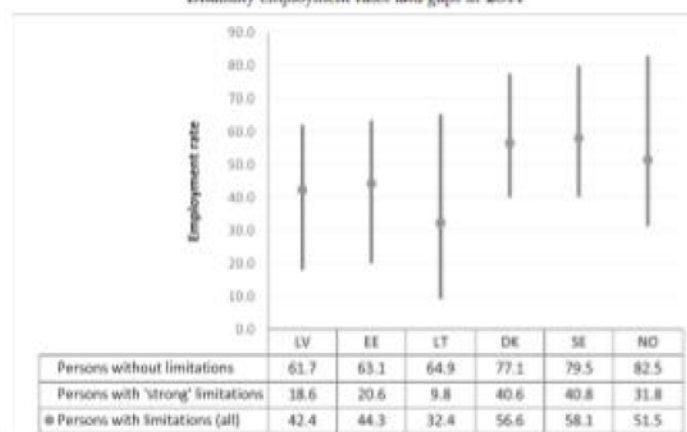
The desired 'outcome' of the transnational rights expressed in Article 27 of the UN CRPD is greater equality of employment opportunity for disabled persons. This can be indicated by comparing the chances of employment for disabled persons with those for other persons in the population. Being in paid employment is the dependent variable of most interest in modelling outcomes between Nordic and Baltic countries but the analysis of policy 'structures' and 'processes' confirmed large differences in social protection, notably, in the relative generosity of disability benefit schemes (including means testing and time limiting). Consequently, we chose to model social benefits take-up and household financial situation as additional dependent variables.

As noted earlier, the Eurostat disability database estimates employment outcomes using the 2011 (and 2001) ad hoc module to the European Labour Force Survey (LFS AHM), although this does not include Norway. On those estimates, for the age group 15–64, Sweden reported the highest employment rate in the EU28, while the Baltic countries all reported lower rates than Nordic countries. Comparing the EU-SILC data for the same year (which includes Norway) a similar pattern was evident. The smallest disability employment gaps were in Estonia and Latvia with the widest gaps in Lithuania and Norway (see table 3). This presents an interesting anomaly. While both Norway and Lithuania showed the highest employment rates for persons without limitations, within their Regional Block, this masked lower employment rates for disabled persons, and wider equality gaps, than their Nordic or Baltic neighbours, respectively.

Considering the variation in self-reported prevalence of 'limitations' (noted earlier), it is useful to compare outcomes for the subset of persons who declared a 'strong' level of limitation (more severe impairment). This group reflects more closely the population targeted by disability policies, including

Table 3

Disability employment rates and gaps in 2011



Source: EU-SILC 2011

disability benefits (e.g. Grammenos 2013; Sainsbury *et al.* 2016). The three Nordic countries all showed better employment outcomes here too, as they did for their general populations. Table 3 is arranged in rank order of employment rate for non-disabled persons in order to highlight the discrepancies in disability employment rates and the equality gaps (estimation for those declaring 'strong' limitations in Lithuania should be treated with some caution due to the sample size, but the pattern is consistent with weighted estimations for other years).

The odds ratios for the three statistical models are shown in table 4. Across the six countries, the level of reported 'limitation' had a significant effect on all three dependent variables. The odds of being in employment were twice as high for those declaring moderate rather than 'strong' limitation. Gender was a significant predictor of employment among disabled persons, as for the general population, with an advantage for disabled men over disabled women. Age Cohort was also significant, with disabled respondents aged 25–54 almost three times as likely to be in the paid work as those aged 15–24, and the oldest cohort (55–64) less likely to feel at ease financially. Increased educational level was strongly associated with better odds of being in employment, and with reduced odds of difficulty in 'making ends meet'. It was less strongly associated with the odds of benefit take-up (noting that some disability benefits are non-means tested and may be retained in employment).

As expected, significant differences were evident when comparing the Nordic and Baltic countries as two regional groups. For the model targeting

Table 4
Odds ratios for the three statistical models

Characteristics	Employment		Benefit take-up		Financial situation	
	M3	M4	M3	M4	M3	M4
Regional Block						
Employment Status (workless is the reference)	-.457***	-.243***	6.44	2.47***	53.2***	34.6**
Benefit take-up (not taking up is the reference)	--	NA	.272***	.031***	.954	1.200
Educational Attainment (low educational attainment level reference)	--	1.672**	--	.698*	-.938	.981
Age cohort (respondents aged between 15-24 are reference)						
25-34	2.265***		9.39		1.44***	9.32
35-44	2.245***	3.195***	2.377***	1.880***	--	--
45-54	3.021***	4.044***	2.200***	1.247	1.237	1.414*
55-64	2.283***	3.993***	2.441***	.995	.940	1.239
Gender (Males are reference)	1.156	2.100*	3.831***	1.109	.650***	1.001
Marital status (divorced is the reference group)	1.036	1.841**	.763***	.686	1.056	.761
Single	1.662***	1.356*	1.038	1.270	1.002	1.158
Married	1.198**	.784	1.237**	1.942	1.004	1.385
Limitation level	3.243***	2.226***	-.473***	.851	1.215**	1.910
Employment status*Regional block		NA		3.285***		880
Benefit take-up status*Regional block		NA		.795**		879
Limitation level*Regional block		1.373**		.876		1.170
Marital Status*Regional block		1.126		1.070		.910
Gender *Regional block		.719**		1.206**		1.202
Age cohort*Regional block		.913*		1.201*		.916
Educational attainment*Regional block		1.201*		1.186*		1.300**

Notes: ***significant at 1%; **significant at 5%; *significant at 10%.

employment status, the Regional Block ratio suggested that the chance of disabled persons being in employment was 76 per cent lower in the Baltic Block than in the Nordic Block, after controlling for the other factors. The benefit take-up model showed similar odds, suggesting a much lower chance of benefits take-up in the Baltic Block. The likelihood of difficulty in making ends meet was 65 per cent greater. These findings confirm that, in binary comparison, disabled persons living in the Baltic Block were worse off in terms of average employment outcomes, social protection coverage and subjective financial situation. This is not surprising but it underlines the implied categorical differences between Nordic and Baltic Blocks as macro-economic contexts.

The severity of declared 'limitation' made a greater difference to employment outcomes in Baltic countries than in Nordic countries. The relative employment advantage for persons declaring a moderate level of limitation, compared to those declaring a severe level, was 37 per cent greater in the Baltic Block than in the Nordic Block when other factors were controlled. This is not a large effect in practice but indicates that severely disabled people may face additional employment barriers in Baltic labour markets (e.g. in the level of employment support, reasonable accommodation, or protection from discrimination).

Although benefit take-up among disabled persons of working age was significantly lower overall in the Baltic Block, advancing age increased its likelihood more rapidly than in the Nordic countries. This, along with the employment data, suggests barriers to the retention of older disabled workers (which also might be connected with the availability employment supports, or with early exit routes to disability pensions). Again, the effect is not large but is indicative.

The gender employment advantage of disabled men over disabled women was reduced by 29 per cent in the Baltic Block compared to the Nordic Block. This might suggest that the regional employment disadvantage is born more by disabled men in Baltic countries than by women (e.g. a higher proportion of older male workers making early exit from the labour force), or that there is less gender inequality in the employment of disabled persons (the gender employment gap in general is rather low in both Nordic and Baltic countries). Last but not least, increased educational attainment level made a bigger difference to household financial situation in the Baltic Block than in the Nordic Block (although less than it did for employment or benefit take-up).

The findings convey an uneven patterning of disability equality outcomes and interaction effects between Nordic and Baltic countries. Employment rates for disabled persons have been lower in the Baltic countries, as they have been for the general population, but the latter does not directly predict the former at the country level. A Nordic-Baltic regional comparison reveals significant differences in the effect of individual factors on outcomes, notably for persons with more severe impairments, for older workers and for men. But there are also anomalies. Norway and Lithuania, in particular, report wider disability equality gaps in employment than might be expected.

Discussion

In this article we have examined how six Nordic and Baltic countries address the employment situation of disabled persons, using individual-, country- and regional-level comparisons. The topic of employment was chosen for its intersection with multi-scalar governance frameworks at European and global levels. Data was generated from policy analysis, social expenditure reports and European social survey data. The findings were arranged in accordance with the UN OHCHR typology of policy 'structure', 'process' and 'outcomes'.

A shared policy discourse?

The EU has well-established legal competence on non-discrimination in employment, including on the ground of disability (which applies also to Norway's single market access) and employment is a key pillar in the European Disability Strategy 2010–2020. The UN CRPD acquired legal status as the global benchmark for disability rights, to which all of the countries acceded. The provisions of Article 27 of the UN CRPD echo the non-discrimination principle of the European Framework Directive, but add policy substance, declaring the need for vocational guidance, rehabilitation, job retention and return-to-work programmes, placement services and reasonable accommodation at work (which may be understood as a right to appropriate assistance and accessibility in the workplace).

All six countries were compliant with the EU Framework Directive, having some non-discrimination provision on the ground of disability but they varied in the extent to which this protection was holistic (extending beyond employment) or comprehensive (extending beyond the ground of disability). For example, one study for the European Commission concluded that only Norway had 'comprehensive anti-discrimination legislation, in line with both the Employment Equality Directive and the Racial Equality Directive' (Directorate General for Justice and Consumers 2015). However, Norway shows wide disability employment gaps.

The rights-based paradigm for disability policies does have a longer history in the Nordic countries, but its realization has come under strain in recent years (Tøssebro 2004; Hvinden 2004). Neither has it progressed at an even pace among the Nordic countries. Swedish legislation has passed through several refinements, but Denmark arrived relatively late to anti-discrimination laws based on group rights (responding, as the Baltic countries did, to the EU Framework Directive). While both Nordic and Baltic countries have evolved their non-discrimination policies, those in Nordic countries place a more specific focus on disability discrimination, and extend this beyond the employment sphere. These differences in the legislative 'structure' of liberal rights are not insignificant but, on their own, cannot account for, or resolve, marked differences in employment outcomes.

Investing in social and economic rights?

The Nordic countries have invested extensively in ALMPs, rehabilitation and occupational health services and appear to show better employment outcomes

respectively (Holland *et al.* 2011). The Baltic countries have invested less, although PES provisions have intensified more recently. The key features of the rights-based approach concern the removal of employment barriers through reasonable accommodation – notably in support for accessibility and assistance in the work place. On these specific policy measures there were differences, as well as the degree of mainstreaming or segmentation in disability employment services.

Disability support schemes in the Baltic states were limited under Sovietism, with social protection strongly embedded in labour market relations. New disability policies are developing though (more quickly in some respects than others), and the global framework of the UN CRPD has focused attention, with increased expectations on employers and more efforts to remove barriers in the workplace. There are some established provisions in the Nordic countries, with a shifting emphasis towards expectation on employers, and a similar emphasis is emerging in Baltic countries where co-funding has been historically more limited and segmented. We conclude that the adequacy and responsiveness of public support for reasonable accommodation at work is more important than the organizational arrangements for its provision, but simply placing responsibility onto employers will not be sufficient to deliver equitable working opportunities in open labour markets.

A disruptive pattern of outcomes?

There is no doubt that employment and social protection outcomes are, on average, better for the general population in Nordic and Baltic countries, but the trend is not so clear cut in relative outcomes for disabled and non-disabled people. The pattern of employment outcomes for disabled persons in the Nordic countries does not mirror employment patterns for other persons. Neither was high general employment predictive of closing the disability equality gap. In both the Nordic and Baltic groups, the country with the highest employment rate for non-disabled people had the lowest rate for disabled people (i.e. Lithuania and Norway had the least equal disability outcomes).

It is important to consider the limitations of data accuracy and comparability (notably, variations in national prevalence of self-reported 'limitation'). Intuitively, we might expect countries with high prevalence to exhibit a high disability employment rate, and narrow equality gaps (as a consequence of more persons with rather mild levels of impairment declaring themselves in that category). Conversely, a sample of disabled persons in countries with low prevalence might include a higher proportion of persons with severe impairments (with lower chances of employment and wider equality gaps). Our findings contest these assumptions. Denmark exhibited the highest disability prevalence and Sweden the lowest, but they returned very similar disability employment rates. Norway exhibited higher disability prevalence than Sweden, but wider disability employment gaps. Sweden and Lithuania had the lowest disability prevalence rates, but their disability employment rates and equality gaps were at opposite ends of the scale. We

cannot conclude that variation in prevalence had no effect, but we can say that it was not predictive of outcomes and that other factors were more important.

The multilevel logistic regression confirmed that disabled persons in the Baltic bloc were worse off in terms of average employment outcomes, benefit coverage and subjective financial situation. This is consistent with the regional economic situation and other research (Ebeke and Everaert 2014). National wealth and macro-economic conditions are important, and countries with high general employment rates often have higher rates of employment for disabled persons, but this does not account adequately for the disparities or relative disability equality gaps. Promoting and protecting employment for all can do no harm to the employment chances of disabled persons, but the association is not nearly consistent enough to rely on a general co-ordination of growth and prosperity. Effective disability policies are needed as well.

Disability equality and decommodification?

Classic welfare regime theory characterized the Nordic countries by their high degree of decommodification, de-coupling the welfare of citizens from labour market dependency. By comparison, the liberalization of Baltic welfare has been portrayed as a re-commodifying process. Toots and Bachmann (2010: 40) argue that 'monetary well-being in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania is less dependent on the welfare state than it is typically in the Western European countries' and 'it can be assumed that the main roots of well-being are located in the labour market'. Despite low employment rates, this effect is not so evident for disabled persons of working age. Leaving aside the low value of social transfers, the data on financial hardship suggests that social protection for disabled persons in the Baltic welfare states might have a greater decommodifying effect than for the population as a whole (e.g. due to retention of long-term disability pensions), although more analysis would be needed (see Sainsbury *et al.* 2016).

Reported rates of 'struggling to make ends meet' in the Nordic countries are among the lowest in Europe. They are more varied across the Baltic countries, with the average risk in Estonia falling just above the EU average, Lithuania at the upper quartile and Latvia among the highest. However, the Baltic countries exhibit proportionately narrower financial hardship gaps for disabled persons than the Nordic countries (Eurostat 2015). Subjective assessments of 'making ends meet' are culturally relative, and might be more acutely felt in richer countries, but it is notable that disabled persons of working age in the Baltic countries do not report markedly worse household financial hardship than other persons while those in the more affluent Nordic countries do.

Our findings may also support those of Holland *et al.* (2011) which found no clear evidence of a disincentive effect of more generous welfare benefits on the tendency of chronically ill and disabled persons to be out of the workforce, in particular for those with low education and low incomes. Across the EU there is a close correlation between the generosity of disability benefit

schemes, especially non-means tested cash schemes, and reduction in risk of poverty (Sainsbury *et al.* 2016), but among the group of countries considered here, those with more generous compensation also had higher levels of disability employment.

Conclusion

To sum up, there are differences in the structure of domestic non-discrimination law pertaining to disability and employment rights (with a more **disability-focused approach in the Nordic countries**), but this is unlikely to account, on its own, for significant shifts in employment outcomes. More likely is that a strong combination of supportive investment policies and flexible labour market opportunities is needed, **along with strong disability equality policies beyond the labour market** too (e.g. in support for de-institutionalized and independent community living, inclusive education systems, accessible transport, etc.). For example, and in addition to its long-standing non-discrimination legislation, Sweden has well established enforcement mechanisms and has undertaken a wide array of targeted measures to support the social inclusion of disabled persons. More qualitative research with employers, employees and (un)employed persons would be useful in examining the combinations of national policy levers affecting recruitment and retention of disabled workers.

There is a Nordic-Baltic dimension to the comparison of disability employment rights and outcomes, **but it blurs at the country level**. National wealth and general employment conditions are important, but this does not explain variations in disability equality gaps (e.g. Norway's high employment rate hides a wide equality gap). We conclude that social policies, as well as environmental and socio-economic factors, make a difference and that the transnational governance of disability rights plays an increasing role in policy transfer and convergence.

The welfare literature has sometimes portrayed the direction of policy travel for Baltic states as a journey 'from East to West', as an escape from Sovietism fuelled by lesson learning from the gold standard of Nordic welfare. A disability rights perspective disrupts this view. From the Baltic perspective, Nordic or 'Western' welfare benchmarks are being replaced by European and 'global' frameworks for disability rights. Just like a gendered analysis, the disability perspective casts a different light on the typification of welfare policy mixes. Processes of (de)commodification and stratification affect disabled people differently, and this may also disrupt our generalized assumptions about welfare state comparisons.

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14.4. Article IV



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Article

Workplace Adaptations Promoting the Inclusion of Persons with Disabilities in Mainstream Employment: A Case-Study on Employers' Responses in Norway

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Abstract

This case-study conducted in Norway investigates employers' responses to policy measures implemented throughout 2006–2015 and aimed at promoting the inclusion of persons with disabilities (PwDs) into mainstream employment by providing workplace adaptations. For this purpose, we apply a multi-method approach by combining in-depth qualitative interviews conducted with the managers at two large private companies in Norway and quantitative shift-share analysis performed on the Norwegian Disabled People LFS data. While the shift-share analysis has demonstrated positive effects in the employment of PwDs at the national level and in providing adaptations at work during 2011–2015 for 'changes of working time', 'need for one or more adaptations' and 'changes of work tasks', 'physical adaptations' remain negative. The qualitative interviews report that 'flexibility' or 'changes of working time' is the main workplace adaptation the managers at both companies provide to own employees who return to work after acquiring a disability or having a long-term illness. Both companies demonstrate high conformity to accessibility standards, however, the provision of workplace adaptations to PwDs without prior work experience remains limited or absent despite the disability policy measures in Norway in that period and the companies' commitment to inclusion.

Keywords

accessibility; anti-discrimination; company; disability; employment; legislation; workplace adaptations

Issue

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1. Introduction

Persons with disabilities (PwDs) have long been excluded from mainstream employment due to multiple discriminatory barriers (Hogan, Kyaw-Myint, Harris, & Denronde, 2012; Vornholt, Uitdewilligen, & Nijhuis, 2013). The 'social model' of disability since its adoption in the 1970s has framed a new disability policy paradigm aimed at removing disabling societal barriers by promoting non-discrimination, equal treatment, and accessible environments (Lawson & Priestley, 2017). The EU Employment Equality Framework Direc-

tive (Council Directive 2000/78/EC, 2000) and the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UN CRPD) impose on employers the duty to provide 'reasonable accommodation' or 'appropriate modification, adaptations and/or adjustments' to enable PwDs 'to have access to, participate in, or advance in employment...and in work environment that is open, inclusive and accessible'. This duty is required to be transposed into national law and is considered a 'substantive equality measure having the potential to result in fundamental structural transformations' (Kayess & French, 2008, p. 9).

First adopted in the US and the UK, the anti-discrimination legislation has gradually evolved in the majority of European countries (Waddington, 2013). Nevertheless, alongside the anti-discrimination legislation, many EU countries continue to operate the quota system that puts employers of a certain size and in both the private and public sectors, under a strict obligation to employ a fixed percentage of PwDs. Compliance, however, remains relatively low (Fuchs, 2014; Moody et al., 2016; OECD, 2003). Instead, the 'reasonable accommodation duty' introduced by anti-discrimination legislation does not specify or limit the range of accommodations (Balsler, 2007) and is believed to ensure PwDs equal access to mainstream employment (Hvinden, 2013; Schur et al., 2014). Furthermore, employers are expected to take action only if 'accommodation' does not lead to excessive costs or turns into 'a disproportionate burden' (Waddington, 2008).

Nevertheless, employers often express concerns about adaptation costs preventing them from hiring and/or retaining PwDs (Erickson, Schrader, Bruyère, Van-Looy, & Matteson, 2014; Henry, Petkauskos, Stanislawzyk, & Vogt, 2014; Hernandez et al., 2009; Vornholt et al., 2013). Indeed, provision of workplace adaptations depends on PwDs' needs, and may vary from alterations/adaptations of buildings and facilities to purchase of necessary assistive technology/equipment and/or require modifications of work tasks/schedules (Balsler, 2007; Hernandez et al., 2009; Nevala, Pehkonen, Koskela, Ruusuvoori, & Anttila, 2015). In practice, workplace adaptations may involve limited costs and are beneficial both to employers and PwDs (Hartnett, Stuart, Thurman, Loy, & Batiste, 2011; Nevala et al., 2015; Scharzt, Hendricks, & Blanck, 2006; Schur et al., 2014). In particular, providing workplace flexibility by modifying job tasks, work scheduling and/or location appears not to be costly, though it does require on-going effort (Padkayeva et al., 2016). Public financial support is available to cover a part of adaptation costs for employers (Hvinden, 2013). Still, employers may demonstrate prejudices and stereotypes against persons with certain types of disabilities, in particular, psychiatric disabilities, learning disabilities and/or mental illnesses, who would require greater supervision and attention (Ju, Roberts, & Zhang, 2013; McDowell & Fossey, 2015; Zissi, Rontos, Papageorgiou, Pierrakou, & Chtouris, 2007).

Prior research has argued that concerns about costs are mainly expressed by small and medium-sized companies, whereas large companies have sufficient financial and human resources and policies in place, as well as an inclusive organisational culture, that allow them to provide the necessary workplace adaptations (Erickson et al., 2014; Hernandez et al., 2009; Ju et al., 2013; Morgan & Melina, 2005; Scharzt et al., 2006). Other researchers, on the contrary, have argued that large companies' public commitments to non-discrimination, equality and accessibility standards, positive attitudes and explicit global inclusive strategies may not always

translate into positive hiring decisions for PwDs (Ball, Monaco, Schmeling, Helen, & Blanck, 2005; Ju et al., 2013). Still, despite their size, large companies may also express concerns about costs and state their need for additional support to include PwDs (Henry et al., 2014; Hernandez et al., 2009; Kaye, Jans, & Jones, 2011). Despite best practices of disability inclusion (e.g., ILO, 2010), and limited case-studies on accessibility (e.g., Sandler & Blanck, 2005), how large companies respond to disability policy measures and ensure the inclusion and adaptations for PwDs, remains under researched.

Unlike the rest of Europe, the Nordic countries have traditionally been portrayed as generous welfare states, where high employment rates, equality standards, and employers' corporate social responsibility and contribution to social inclusion are well-established (Halvorsen, Hvinden, & Schøyen, 2015; Mandal & Ose, 2015; OECD, 2017). In Nordic countries, a 'relational model of disability' that views disability as 'relative to the environment' has been prevalent in public policy since the 1970s (Tøssebro, 2004, p. 4). This understanding has been less radical in removing existing societal barriers than a 'social model' of disability (Halvorsen & Hvinden, 2009; Tøssebro, 2016). Nordic countries have not implemented quotas in mainstream employment, but have prioritised rehabilitation, vocational training, job placement services (e.g. work training in regular workplaces) and, in some cases, publicly subsidised and sheltered jobs at private companies, and provided considerable public support to employers and to PwDs (Duell, Singh, & Tergeist, 2009; Halvorsen & Hvinden, 2009). However, despite visible similarities, practical responses and newly adopted social regulatory policy measures to achieve the highest employment rates and make employers responsible differ at the national levels (Halvorsen et al., 2015). Therefore, Tøssebro (2016) appoints to the need for more research on the effects that current disability social regulation policies in Nordic countries, particularly in Norway, have on the workplace adaptations provided to PwDs.

Given this background, the present case-study has been conducted in Norway to explore how policy measures implemented over the period 2006–2015 have impacted employers' responses to ensuring the inclusion of PwDs in mainstream employment by providing adaptations at work.

2. Policy Measures Promoting Employers' Responsibility to PwDs in Norway

In Norway, the employers' obligation to ensure proper working conditions for employees has been primarily regulated by The Work Environment Act (*Arbeidsmiljøloven*) since 1977 (WEA, last amended in 2015). However, the WEA did not provide any protection for PwDs against discrimination until 2004, when, following the EU Directive (2000/78/EC), it incorporated stricter measures to oblige employers to adapt the workplace for PwDs. These were

mainly aimed at their own employees (Hvinden, 2004; Vedeler, 2014). The most recent WEA amendments of 2015 concerned temporary employment and working hours that were argued to ensure more flexibility and increase the chances for PwDs to enter working life (Dahl & Lorentzen, 2017).

Furthermore, based on its corporative tradition, Norway has given high priority to promoting employers' voluntary commitment. A *More Inclusive Working Life Agreement* (hereafter, 'IA Agreement'), in effect since 2001, aims to increase employers' responsibility (both in the public and private sectors) for own employees and for the unemployed vulnerable groups (Dahl & Lorentzen, 2017; Mandal & Ose, 2015). This is a voluntary tripartite agreement signed between the three social partners: the government (Norwegian Welfare Directorate—NAV), the employers' organisations and the social partners (trade/labour unions). The IA Agreement commits employers to implementing three goals: 1) reducing sickness absence and facilitate working conditions for [own] employees with special needs, 2) promoting employment of people with reduced functional abilities recommended by NAV, and 3) retaining ageing workers. The regional NAV Working Life Centres provide various types of support including financial assistance that covers workplace adaptation costs, advisory support, follow up, etc. (Mandal & Ose, 2015). The IA Agreement has been renewed several times, the latest for the period of 2014–2018, with the majority of medium and large private companies having signed it (Olsen, Svendal, & Amundsen, 2005; Ose, Brattlid, & Slettebak, 2013). While the number of PwDs reported by the IA enterprises has increased, slightly more in the public sector than in the private, challenges have been reported with regard to facilitating the workplace for PwDs with chronic illnesses, musculoskeletal disorders and mental disorders (Hansen & Haualand, 2012; Svalund & Hansen, 2013). Additionally, the Jobs Strategy for PwDs (2011–13) accompanies the IA Agreement and aims to promote work-experience programmes specifically for young PwDs, mainly in the public sector.

Influenced by the international and European anti-discrimination and equality laws, Norway also adopted The Anti-Discrimination and Accessibility Act (ADAA) in 2009 (amended in 2013) (Halvorsen & Hvinden, 2009; Tøssebro, 2016). The aim of the ADAA is to intensify the duty on public employers and private-sector employers with more than 50 employees to ensure non-discrimination and to provide reasonable accommodation for PwDs outside the workplace, and to introduce 'the universal design' standards. Small enterprises remain exempt from this obligation (Svalund & Hansen, 2013). The ADAA prepared the ground for Norway's ratification of the UNCRPD in 2013 (Strand, 2014). However, simple and inexpensive workplace adaptations prevail (Tøssebro, 2016), and some scholars argue that enforcement of the 'accommodation' duty in Norway remains relatively weak (Halvorsen & Hvinden, 2014).

3. Methods

The case-study method allows to study 'events within their real-life context' (Yin, 2009). However, to understand the full complexities of national policies on workplace adaptations, Vedeler and Schreuer (2011) recommend applying a multi-method approach. This case-study adopts an inductive qualitative approach (Morse, 2003, p. 199) and uses two different data sources gathered separately: in-depth qualitative interviews and a quantitative analysis performed on national statistical data. The qualitative component allowed us to collect in-depth information on companies' practices regarding the inclusion of PwDs. A quantitative component was sequentially added to support the core qualitative approach, and to compare the results obtained from the analysis of the companies.

For collecting qualitative data, the objective was to select 'successful or positive cases' where the outcome of interest occurs (Mahoney & Goertz, 2006). The main selection criteria, therefore, concerned large private companies (with 250+ employees) that operate in Norway and have a commitment to include PwDs among their workforce. To simplify access to potential companies, the first author asked for an 'endorsement from a higher authority' (Flick, 2006, p. 116)—recommendations from the employers' association and a trade union in Norway. In total, out of the 11 large companies recommended, eight corresponding to the selection criteria were selected for further contact. Only two, however, agreed to participate: one multinational consulting company represented in Norway and headquartered in the US (C1), and one Norwegian multinational engineering company represented in approximately 20 countries worldwide (C2). The other companies declined for different reasons, such as already taking part in similar research, insufficient time to participate in an in-depth study or having no PwDs among their employees.

The open-ended and semi-structured interviews (with an average duration of 60 minutes) were conducted in English by the first author between August and November 2012 with the senior and middle-level managers at the premises of the two companies. The HR managers became the 'key contacts' who provided information and access to other interviewees. Each interviewee signed the individual consent form which stipulated that the names of the companies and personal data of the interviewees would not be disclosed. For this study, 12 interviews are presented:

- Country manager, HR leader, HR/diversity manager, HR senior analyst, supervisor, Consultant/Project leader at C1; and
- Diversity manager, HR/inclusion manager, HR manager, HR administrative manager, HSE manager, Department manager/Supervisor at C2.

The interviews were analysed using the inductive thematic analysis with the help of the qualitative software Nvivo (Bazeley & Jackson, 2013). The main goal was to study the ‘phenomenon’ through the personal experiences of ‘insiders’ and not to collect data based on a pre-defined hypothesis (Yin, 2009).

The data for the quantitative analysis were collected and analysed by the second author in 2016 from the Norwegian Disabled People Labour Force Survey (LFS) for the period 2006–2015. These data cover PwDs aged 15–66, their labour force status, and work adaptations before and after job start (SSB, 2016). LFS defines ‘disability’ in terms of ‘a difficulty to perform any daily activity, due to a longstanding health problem’, and is based on whether survey respondents perceive themselves as having a disability (or a ‘functional impairment’ in Norwegian translation). To perform the shift-share analysis, the data set was divided into 5-year intervals taking into account policy measures that promote the inclusion of PwDs in each period: 1) 2006–2010 covering the IA Agreement and the WEA provisions; and 2) 2011–2015 including the ADAA together with other ongoing policy measures. The results were verified and discussed between the authors, and then compared to the results of the qualitative interviews.

4. Results

4.1. Results of the Interview Analysis

The results of the qualitative interviews demonstrate the experiences of the responsible managers at two large companies in Norway with ensuring the inclusion of PwDs in mainstream employment, providing adaptations at work, as well as their awareness of the evolving disability policy measures. The thematic analysis of the interviews revealed ‘workplace adaptations’ to be one of the main overarching theme consisting of four sub-themes: ‘providing adaptations in response to policy measures’; ‘changes of work tasks’; ‘changes of working time’; and ‘physical adaptations’.

4.1.1. Providing Adaptations in Response to Policy Measures

The interviewees at both companies demonstrated general awareness about non-discrimination, equality and accessibility standards. However, they associated it with neither the UN CRPD nor with the anti-discrimination law. Neither company had a corporate policy to specifically address non-discrimination, equal treatment and/or accommodation of PwDs since their global corporate policies already included these principles. The Country manager at C1 mentioned “The Global Corporate Guide on inclusive and accessible workplace”, but the HR managers in the Norwegian office did not consider it applicable in their local practices. The interviewees from C2 mentioned corporate HSE policy

as the main policy regulating workplace adaptations for employees.

The interviewees at both companies expressed high awareness of accessibility norms in relation to buildings/facilities, though they did not relate these explicitly to anti-discrimination legislation:

Every building [constructed] after 2010 should have an entrance adapted for wheelchair users. (HR senior analyst, C1)

There are requirements from the government for new buildings. (HR/diversity manager, C1)

We meet all necessary building accessibility [requirements] and have no problem in having PwDs. (HR manager, C2)

Instead, the interviewees at C1 expressed concerns about the accessibility of their clients’ premises, especially if employees with disabilities were supposed to work on projects:

There will be no problem in our building if you are on a wheelchair, though it might be heavy to work at a client’s site. (Consultant/Project leader)

In that [client’s] place it may not be possible to come in a wheelchair. (HR leader)

At the local office of C2, the interviewees reported problems connected with local transportation. However, the corporate office provided a “free bus to take employees to work and back home” (Diversity manager).

The interviewees at both companies, however, had not experienced recruiting PwDs who would require substantial workplace adaptations. The HR managers at both companies reported that they “never had job applicants in wheelchairs” and did not specifically set out to recruit PwDs. Consequently, they mentioned that no adaptations were provided during recruitment, however, assured to provide it, whenever required, in accordance with non-discrimination and equality standards. The interviewees at C2 considered it would be impossible to hire PwDs for offshore posts, contrary to office-related positions, because of their strict health requirements.

Furthermore, both companies joined the IA Agreement in 2001 (with the exception of the C2’s corporate office). The interviewees, however, did not report providing PwDs with work training opportunities at their companies. Instead, they favoured mainly older employees and those returning after long-term sicknesses/illnesses, who did not require workplace adaptations. Mandal and Ose (2015), Vedeler and Schreuer (2011) and Ose, Brattlid and Slettebak (2013) argued that the public sector in Norway made higher commitments to adapting working conditions and recruiting PwDs than the private sector, therefore PwDs mainly applied for positions in the pub-

lic sector. The interviewees themselves mentioned that other companies (also in the public sector) “are doing better than them” in including PwDs.

4.1.2. Changes of Work Tasks

According to Nevala et al. (2015) and Vedeler and Schreuer (2011), modifying duties for employees who cannot perform former job functions because of disability is important. The interviewees at both companies, however, did not report making significant changes in work tasks for PwDs. At C1, the supervisor told of one employee who they retained after acquiring a disability (not work-related) and who performed the same work tasks because he “was a really good specialist”. At C2, the HR managers reported that they could facilitate “different kinds of things for PwDs—even substitute some work tasks”, however, all work adaptations needed to be discussed with managers/supervisors responsible. The interviewees also mentioned that PwDs might have “hidden or invisible” impairments they could not disclose, as well as their needs for adaptations, when applying for jobs. Prior research confirmed that PwDs did not disclose their disabilities and concealed invisible impairments because of existing prejudices and fear of discrimination (Foster & Wass, 2012).

The managers at both companies reported higher chances of changing work tasks for their own employees after sicknesses or long-term illnesses/disabilities, as required by the WEA and corporate HSE policy. For instance, at C2, offshore employees who got injured and could not continue working offshore were relocated, re-qualified and given other office-related duties. However, the interviewees considered to adapt the work tasks for “new PwDs”, especially those with intellectual impairments, very challenging:

We select candidates for work training based on their prior experience to perform certain work tasks. (HR/diversity manager; HR leader, C1)

It is difficult to arrange work tasks for persons with mental illnesses, that goes beyond just providing a new chair or hoping a person gets better. (HR/inclusion manager, C2)

It is easier if a person is disabled in some physical way, like having an arm that does not work, because we work in teams and it would be a problem if somebody cannot interact with others. (HR administrative manager, C2)

Our company is not a kindergarten [that has] to arrange the work tasks specifically for these people. (Department manager/Supervisor, C2)

These findings show the importance of the managers and supervisors’ attitudes towards PwDs and how this affects

their handling of accommodation requests, which is in line with the findings of Hogan et al. (2012), and Schur et al. (2014). Still, at both companies, the main responsibility for the inclusion of PwDs was principally on the HR managers, with the supervisors showing reluctance to engage.

4.1.3. Changes of Working Time

Prior research has found that changes in work schedules is the most common workplace adaptation measure provided by employers (Padkapayeva et al., 2016; Schur et al., 2014). Likewise, the interviewees in this study confirmed that the most frequently provided workplace adaptation was changes of working time—flexible or reduced working hours, working from home and part-time positions. “I was given flexibility to work from anywhere....If I had to work full-time, I would never make it”, reported HR/diversity manager at C1 who experienced coming back to work after long-term sick leave. The supervisor at C1 who likewise came back after a long-term sick leave also initially worked only a 50% schedule. He also mentioned that an employee with acquired disability after retention “worked on reduced time schedule, did not work overtime, and did not perform demanding work”. The Consultant/Project lead remembered working on a project with a person with a hearing difficulty, who “was given flexibility and could have longer breaks and/or did not work in the afternoons”. The HR interviewees from C2 mentioned that they “were extremely flexible, especially, if somebody got injured”. The HR managers mentioned that employees on sick leave could have remote access to work from home. The Department manager added that employees were generally allowed to stay at home if they had children or for some other valid reason, because he considered important “taking care of own employees and providing them with flexibility”.

All these measures, however, were targeting own employees, who got sick or returned to work after sick leave. Nothing was mentioned regarding newly hired PwDs and especially those with congenital disabilities. The interviewees at C1 mentioned that it might be more difficult to “sell consultants on a reduced work schedule less than 80%” or “substitute a person for a long time”. These findings confirm prior research (Halvorsen & Hvin-den, 2009, 2014) that considered employers in Norway more likely to arrange the necessary provision for their own employees than for PwDs without any employment experience. Despite McDowell and Fossey (2015) showing that flexible scheduling/reduced hours could also be an important type of workplace adjustment for employees with mental illnesses, the interviewees did not report any accommodations provided for them, instead showing prejudices against their being hired or accepted for work training.

4.1.4. Physical Adaptations of Workplace

Padkapayeva et al. (2016) argued that modifying workstations to meet the needs of PwDs is also an important workplace adaptation measure besides arranging accessibility of the building/facilities. Regarding accessibility of buildings/facilities, the interviewees considered their companies having all necessary conditions for disabled employees:

If we had an applicant in a wheelchair, it would not be a problem as this building is accessible. (HR leader, C1)

We have all necessary accessible facilities, especially for employees in wheelchairs and/or with audio-visual disabilities. (HR manager, C2)

Easily accessible premises. (Diversity manager, C2)

Adapted elevators and toilets. (HSE manager, C2)

Renovated building and accessible parking spaces. (HR/inclusion manager, C2)

However, the interviewees at both companies regarded the corporate building/office as more suitable for PwDs due to its more accessible working conditions and the prevalence of office-related positions.

Regarding workplace modifications, the interviewees at both companies mentioned changing computer desks, providing special chairs or changing the workplace location for own employees. At C1, the HR interviewees provided “special phones for an employee with a hearing disability” and “reading glasses for an employee who had acquired disability”. The Consultant/Project leader also reported accommodating an employee with a hearing difficulty by changing her table position. The supervisor mentioned providing “a predictable working environment with less noise” for an employee with acquired disability “to work without disturbances”. However, these adaptations neither involved high costs to the companies nor financial support from NAV. Only one employee with acquired disability received a subsidy from NAV that partially covered his travel costs to and from work, which he had requested himself.

The interviewees at C2 did not experience providing as many workplace adaptations as at C1. Both corporate and local offices of C2 had occupational physiotherapists, who regularly evaluated employees’ adaptation needs, and HSE managers, who supervised employees’ working conditions, as required by the HSE and WEA regulations. However, the interviewees at C2 stressed that it would still be easier for them to accommodate “a person who is disabled in some physical way than a person with social or intellectual problems”. The interviewees from C2 did not request any financial support from NAV for providing physical adaptations at the workplace since they considered it “a time-consuming and

bureaucratic process”. These findings are in accordance with Vedeler and Schreuer (2011) who confirmed that the process of getting public support and funding was complicated, and argued that providing workplace adaptations instead greatly depended on managers’ willingness and initiatives.

4.2. Results of Shift-Share Analysis

The quantitative analysis has targeted to explore the national employment growth of PwDs and adaptations provided in Norway between 2006–2010 and 2011–2015. For this purpose, an enhanced version of the shift-share method (Artige & van Neuss, 2014; Gialis & Tsampra, 2015) was applied that allowed to decompose data into ‘subsets’ and ‘subgroups’ to assess changes in employment of PwDs and workplace adaptation measures. The ‘subsets’ cover PwDs ‘whose jobs have not been adapted’ and those ‘whose jobs have been adapted’. The ‘subgroups’ contain the types of adaptations defined by Statistics Norway (see Table 1). This method computes a combination of three shift-share effects. The first comprises the ‘national growth effect’ (NE) that explains how much of the adaptations subgroup’s growth in employment of PwDs may be attributed to the overall growth of employment of PwDs at the national level. The second is the ‘subset growth effect’ (SE) that represents the adaptations subgroup’s growth in employment of PwDs that is due to the employment growth in one of the two subsets at the national level. The third is the ‘subgroup growth effect’ in a subset, which is also known as the ‘competitive effect’ (CE). This indicates how much change in a subset may be explained by particular advantages that the subgroup possesses. A positive CE for an adaptation subgroup in a subset indicates that the subgroup is outperforming national trends. A negative CE effect indicates that a subgroup in a subset is underperforming compared to national trends. This method requires that the sum of all the shift-share components for any given subgroup must equal the total growth rate of PwDs employment for the same subgroup in each period.

Positive changes are reported by NE in both periods. The total growth rate of PwDs was higher in 2011–2015 than in 2006–2010, 18.8% and 4.3% respectively (see Table 1). The growth rate of SE in the subgroup ‘need for one or more adaptations’ switched from a negative value to a positive one between the two periods, arguably demonstrating the increase of employed PwD and of provided adaptations. Positive growth rates of CE were observed in the second period for ‘need for one or more adaptations’, ‘changes of work tasks’ and ‘changes of working time’. The CE effect for subgroup ‘physical adaptations of workplace’ remains with a negative growth rate, although it was smaller in magnitude compared to the first period. The remaining two subgroups, ‘no need for adaptation’ and ‘changes of work tasks’, show decreasing growth rates of CE from the first period to the second. The subgroup ‘changes of working time’ shows

Table 1. Results of shift-share analysis.

	Subsets										Growth rates (%)								
	Employees with disability whose jobs have not been adapted (%)		Employees with disability whose jobs have been adapted (%)		Employees with disabilities, total (%)		2006–2010		2011–2015		2006–2010		2011–2015		Total				
	2006–2010	2011–2015	2006–2010	2011–2015	2006–2010	2011–2015	2006–2010	2011–2015	2006–2010	2011–2015	NE	SE	CE	Total	NE	SE	CE	Total	
Types of adaptation																			
No need for adaptation	17.7	21.4	12.5	13.5	14.8	17.0	4.3	-0.3	10.8	14.8	18.8	-0.7	-1.1	17.0					
Need for one or more adaptations	-16.7	13.3	-8.7	31.6	-12.8	23.5	4.3	-0.2	-16.9	-12.8	18.8	0.9	3.8	23.5					
Changes of work tasks	0.1	0.0	37.5	42.9	12.0	16.7	4.3	-6.8	14.5	12.0	18.8	-4.9	2.8	16.7					
Changes of working time	-8.3	33.3	-22.2	66.7	-14.3	50.0	4.3	1.1	-19.7	-14.3	18.8	-0.2	31.4	50.0					
Physical adaptations of workplace	-8.3	-12.5	-27.3	22.2	-17.4	5.9	4.3	0.4	-22.1	-17.4	18.8	0.8	-13.7	5.9					
Total	3.9	16.4	4.6	20.8	4.3	18.8													

Note: Calculations performed on Statistics Norway data (SSB, 2016).

the highest positive growth rate of CE between 2006–2010 and 2011–2015, while ‘physical adaptations of workplace’ presents the highest negative value. The above-mentioned growth effects are presented graphically in Figure 1. In conclusion, the shift-share analysis reveals that CE demonstrates stronger effects than the other effects (NE and SE). This is particularly visible in the second period showing that ‘changes of working time’, ‘need for one or more adaptations’ and ‘changes of work tasks’ have been given more importance by the Norwegian employers. The CE of ‘no need for adaptation’ decreased from the first to the second period, compared to ‘need for one or more adaptations’, suggesting employers’ greater responsiveness towards PwDs who need adaptations.

5. Concluding Discussion

This case-study has applied a multi-method approach based on qualitative interviews at two large companies

and quantitative shift-share analysis on the LFS data on Norway to explore employers’ responses to policy measures in ensuring the inclusion of PwDs in mainstream employment by providing adaptations at work.

The shift-share results demonstrated considerable growth in employment of PwDs and in provision of adaptations at work at the national level from the first period (2006–2010) to the second (2011–2015). From these findings, we may infer that during the last period, when all policy measures—the anti-discrimination legislation, the IA Agreement and the labour law (WEA), are in place, employers have become more responsive to including PwDs in mainstream employment and providing workplace adaptations. In contrast, from the interviewees’ responses at two large companies, there was no indication that workplace adaptations were made for PwDs without prior work experience, because there were no such job applicants or trainees. Despite the high accessibility standards of the companies’ buildings and facili-



Figure 1. Graph of shift-share analysis.

ties, the corporate policies only broadly addressed non-discrimination and equality obligations; they did not refer specifically to anti-discrimination legislation, and accessibility standards were not applied during the recruitment process. Likewise, Halvorsen and Hvinden (2014), argued that Norwegian employers were often willing to accommodate the needs of employees yet claimed that they did not receive applications from persons who explicitly state that they are disabled.

Regarding specific types of provided adaptations, the shift-share analysis highlighted important changes for 'changes of working time', 'need for one or more adaptations' and 'changes of work tasks'. The qualitative interviews, likewise, demonstrated that workplace adaptations such as changes of work tasks and working time were those most often provided, though mainly to own employees who acquired disabilities or returned to work after long-term illnesses. These responses also referred to the companies' conformity to the national labour legislation—WEA, to the IA Agreement, and to the corporate HSE policy—all requiring employers to improve working conditions for own employees. This finding, however, is not new, as prior research has indicated the prevalence of retaining current employees and reducing their sick leave rather than increasing the employment prospects of PwDs outside the labour market (Dahl & Lorentzen, 2017; Halvorsen & Hvinden, 2014).

The result of the shift-share analysis for 'changes of working time' in 2011–2015 may indicate the increased importance of 'flexibility'. This may be associated with temporary employment, where many PwDs are employed, according to Ekberg et al. (2016). This finding may likewise reflect the prevalence of part-time work among PwDs in Norway, which might have also increased due to recent changes in WEA, as reported by Dahl and Lorentzen (2017). However, the interviewees did not report any PwDs employed part-time or on a reduced work schedule and, in fact, rejected the possibility of their being employed for part-time positions. The flexible arrangements provided, mainly concerned own employees, though this did not bring more PwDs into mainstream employment, especially those with mental (or more severe) impairments, who would require flexible scheduling and support (McDowell & Fossey, 2015). With regard to 'physical adaptations', the shift-share result shows this to be lagging behind. Both companies reported ensuring accessible buildings and/or facilities but did not provide more substantial workplace adaptations because there were no PwDs who would require these adaptations. As argued by Erickson et al. (2014), job applicants may be unaware that they can request accommodations. However, the prevalence of workplace adaptations provided mainly for persons with physical disabilities arguably indicates a lack of prior experience in providing adaptations for employees with other types of impairments and reveals the prejudices the managers might have against PwDs with more severe disabilities.

While we could not draw any conclusions from the shift-share analysis regarding costs involved in workplace adaptations, the qualitative interviews revealed that the responsible managers did not request financial support from NAV. This was because many of provided adaptations were not costly and the interviewees did not report having PwDs among their trainees (or employees) who would require substantial workplace adaptations that might result in excessive costs. This finding is in line with Ose et al. (2013) and Dahl and Lorentzen (2017) who argued that even though employers were eligible for financial support for reasonable accommodation, recruiting PwDs had been given lower priority than reducing sick-leave absence and early retirement from working life of own employees in Norway. Halvorsen and Hvinden (2014) confirmed that the burdens for co-workers appeared to be of larger concern than the costs to accommodate PwDs in the workplace. In line with prior research (Ose et al., 2013; Svalund & Hansen, 2013), the major funding was therefore provided to public companies in Norway that demonstrated greater awareness and involvement in including PwDs.

In conclusion, it can be stated that despite the anti-discrimination legislation obligations and the 'reasonable accommodation duty' aimed at promoting the inclusion of PwDs in mainstream employment, provided adaptations may, in practice, depend more on the HR managers' or supervisors' attitudes and decisions, and on the companies' policies than on associated costs. While the managers do not disregard the importance of the non-discrimination, equal treatment and accessibility standards mentioned in the corporate policies, this has so far not resulted in their active inclusion of PwDs among the workforce. And, whereas the responsible managers may associate providing workplace adaptations mainly with employees with mobility or sensory disabilities, the provision of more substantial adaptations to persons with other types of impairments is still limited, as also demonstrated by the two companies in this case-study. The results obtained, therefore, reveal a discrepancy between the employment changes in the shift-share data of PwDs and the responses from the interviews that show the companies' practices in this respect.

This case-study has significant limitations. From these findings, it is not possible to make generalised conclusions regarding type of industry and/or disability, and the practices of other large companies in Norway or any other countries. The interviews were conducted predominantly with managers responsible for policy implementation, which could potentially result in them controlling the obtained data and reflect their own perspectives. Moreover, given the data limitations, the shift-share analysis, applied here to provide additional insights into the research question, does not claim any causal relationship between the adaptations provided and employment of PwDs. With this in mind, future research may consider examining in more detail such causal relationships by conducting a large-scale survey that involves a

random sample of a larger number of companies in different business sectors (both public and private). Additionally, the first-hand experience of PwDs, who are either already employed at the companies and have received adaptations at work or are job applicants who need adaptations, could be considered. Furthermore, issues that may require greater attention in future research would be flexible working arrangements and part-time employment, which emerged as important workplace adaptations from this study.

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Conflict of interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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