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Great Leadership Disasters: Social Construction of Leadership in the Popular Press

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# Great Leadership Disasters: Social Construction of Leadership in the Popular Press

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#### **Abstract**

This paper dives deeper into the phenomena of social construction of leadership, with the aim of identifying underlying mechanisms behind the topic of great leadership disasters and the large number of leaders who are forced to leave their position. The construction of leadership is a result of experiences and interactions with other people, and the concept of leadership and leadership downfalls needs to be understood in terms of social interactions. Our focus has been on the popular press in constructing leadership, as they have the ability to influence their readers' perceptions. Additionally, many leadership downfalls are also extensively covered, intensified, or even initiated, by the popular press. We have used a combination of a qualitative and quantitative research strategy, and a multiple case study design. Our case objects were Tore Tønne, Trond Giske and Christine Meyer, with the aim of identifying tendencies beyond the cases.

Firstly, we examined social construction of leadership in light of the three cases. Overall, our findings indicate that the popular press has the power to construct a romanticized leader image during the leaders' growth and successful years, as well as to reconstruct their leader-image negatively during their downfall. Secondly, we questioned how such romanticized media attention could affect the leaders' self-perception. Our findings indicate that it does affect the leaders themselves, and they can become trapped in something bigger than themselves and more inclined to perform illegal or unethical behavior. Thirdly, we discussed our findings in light of the question of repeatability, and we found a tendency for the pursuit of positive media coverage. Though, this has potential downsides, as the leaders may be sold for more than they are worth, and are likely to lose control over their own leader identity.

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#### 1.0 Introduction to Thesis

There is a considerable amount of leaders who are forced to leave their position. After an in-depth study of CEO changes within non-financial corporations listed on Oslo Stock Exchange between 1989 and 2001, Bøhren, Sharma & Vegarud (2005) found the percentage to be as high as 57%. Their findings also suggested that conflict with the board of directors and weak profitability is the two dominant explanations for why leaders must go. Though, as they argued, they may be triggered by other factors, such as the popular press. This can for example be grounded in the popular press' role as watchdogs of the public interest, and such critical journalism is an important part of a well-functioning democratic society (Duckert & Karlsen, 2017).

The purpose of this research paper was to study great leadership disasters in light of the popular press' contribution to social construction of leadership. Social construction of leadership is important because it illustrates the complexity of the concept of leadership, and it highlights the process and outcomes of the interactions among social actors (Fairhurst & Grant, 2010). This approach is particularly interesting since the popular press has a great amount of power, and they have the ability to influence individuals' perceptions both implicitly and explicitly (Chen & Meindl, 1991). There are conducted several studies of social construction of leadership, and a few also takes the practical view of combining social construction and leadership failure. For example, Chen and Meindl's (1991) study *The Construction of Leadership Images in the Popular Press: The Case of Donald Burr and People Express*, used this perspective.

This paper presents an in-depth analysis of three Norwegian cases of leadership disasters: Tore Tønne, Trond Giske and Christine Meyer. While the case of Tønne is several years old, the cases of Giske and Meyer are relatively recent. This let us investigate two recent leadership downfalls together with the cold case of Tønne, which represents a solid and well-known example of the power of the popular press in social construction of leadership. In our approach, we studied how the popular press contributes in constructing their leader images throughout their careers, as well as how these constructed images have an impact on the leaders' own identity. More specifically, we investigated whether there is a possibility that

the case objects became trapped in something bigger than themselves in light of the theoretical foundations of romance of leadership and positive identity spirals. Further, we searched for repeatable tendencies between the three instrumental cases, which could shed light on the concept of social construction of leadership, as well as to assist our understanding of leadership downfalls that takes place in the popular press.

#### 2.0 Literature Review

#### 2.1 Leadership

Leadership is a popular topic and there have been many studies of leadership over the last century. This is grounded in the assumption that leadership is causally related to organizational performance, and people believe that leader behavior influences organizational performance and effectiveness (Pfeffer, 1977). However, as Yukl (2013) argues, the concept of leadership and its definitions remain unclear. Though, factors such as directing, influence, motivation, vision and purpose, as well as synergies and collective goal achievement are commonly expressed when explaining leadership. This ambiguity can partially be explained by the fact that the term leadership is originally taken from the everyday language, and adopted into the scientific field without a proper redefining. As a result, it now exists a great number of different definitions of leadership. Other closely related, though different, terms such as management, supervision and administration, also contribute to even more perplexity about the concept and its definitions (Yukl, 2013).

#### 2.1.1 The Evolving View of Leadership and Followership

The ambiguity of leadership may also originate from the lack of a shared understanding of the components and underlying mechanisms of leadership, as well as the impact of followership. The concept of followership refers to the skills and qualities of non-leaders (Forsyth, 2014, p. 249). In their systematic review of leadership and followership research, Uhl-Bien, Riggio, Lowe & Carsten (2013) structured earlier research within three different approaches to leadership research: leader-centric approach, follower-centric approach and relational views. We will in this assignment focus on the follower-centric approach, which flourished in response to the leader-centric approach. Before, research had mainly been focusing on the leader alone, centered on what the leader is (i.e. trait

theories), what the leader does (i.e. behavior approaches) and the leader's adaptability to situational factors (i.e. contingency theories). From a follower-centric point of view, it was argued that followers also play an important role when constructing leaders, and that we need to understand followership to understand the concept of leadership. More specifically, the follower-centric approach views leadership as a socially constructed phenomenon and the emergence of leadership as "generated in the cognitive, attributional, and social identity processes of followers" (Uhl-Bien et al., 2013, p. 86). Thus, social construction of leadership takes this approach, and includes theories such as romance of leadership, implicit leadership theories and social identity theory of leadership (Uhl-Bien et al., 2013).

#### 2.1.2 Defining Leadership

We chose Forsyth's (2014) follower-centric influenced definition of leadership: "the process by which an individual guides others in their collective pursuits, often by organizing, directing, coordinating, supporting, and motivating their efforts" (Forsyth, 2014, p. 249). This definition highlights the importance of an interpersonal process, illustrating that leadership is a complex concept that needs to be understood and interpreted in a collective context rather than based on individuality, which is the core of social construction of leadership. Moreover, he promotes five processes that are particularly important for understanding leadership. Firstly, within leadership, the process is reciprocal, meaning that there is a mutual relationship between the leader and the followers. Secondly, leadership is viewed as a transactional process where the leader works together with the followers to achieve common success. It is viewed as a social exchange process where followers exchange inputs, such as time, skills and energy, for outputs such as transactional rewards. Thirdly, leadership goes beyond the transactional aspect, with a transformational process where the leader builds motivation, confidence and satisfaction, as well as promotes the organization's values and beliefs. Fourthly, leadership is a cooperative process where power and influence goes beyond legitimate power given by the leadership position. Thus, leadership also needs to be voluntarily given by the followers. Lastly, Forsyth views leadership as an adaptive and goal seeking process, where both organizational and individual goals are set to motivate and steer each members' effort (Forsyth, 2014).

#### 2.2 Social Constructionism

The term social constructivism emphasizes that the world around us is created and shaped by human beings (Bryman & Bell, 2015). In the book Social Construction of Reality, Berger and Luckmann (1966) argued that reality and knowledge are a result of social interaction and the development of shared mental models among social actors. While we in everyday life are satisfied with what seems real to us, philosophers often aim to identify a valid and reliable reality. However, this is difficult in sociology as it is a result of social relativity, meaning that there is no universal standard of what is to be considered true. Thus, sociology of knowledge is not able to discard assumptions and understandings based on lack of validity or reliability. From this point of view, everything that is socially viewed as true in a society is to be accepted as knowledge (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). Several realities may also exist, and contestation is also possible. Stable social structures of reality are created through negotiation and consensus, though, these structures are simultaneously open to change as the interaction and the social understanding might evolve over time (Fairhurst & Grant, 2010). However, this does not necessarily mean that new realities are produced. Rather, realities are often reproduced (Sandberg, 2001).

Unfortunately, a common weakness among research is a superficial definition of social constructionism and its underlying assumptions (Sandberg, 2001). This can potentially lead to misunderstandings, and we therefore find it appropriate to present these assumptions in further detail. First, social constructionism views the object and the subject of research as inseparable. However, it should be mentioned that some tension has occurred between researchers on this matter. Though, it is widely assumed that as a social researcher, one is part of the social world that is being studied and factors such as experience, culture and historical time will mediate how reality is defined. As a result, our perception and understanding of reality cannot be objective, but is socially constructed. This also highlights the second underlying assumption, which is the rejection of an objective reality. Further, the concept takes a social, instead of an individualistic, epistemological perspective. Hence, reality and knowledge are defined and created through interaction of multiple individuals, instead of within each individual's own mind. Lastly, while research commonly uses language to express the objective reality, it

does originate from the researcher. Therefore, from a social constructionism perspective, language cannot be objective (Sandberg, 2001).

#### 2.3 Social Construction of Leadership

Leadership is one aspect of the social reality that has received a great amount of attention (Sandberg, 2001). Social construction of leadership takes a social constructionist view, emphasizing leadership as a co-constructed reality (Fairhurst & Grant, 2010). Thus, the attention is on the interaction between the leader and the followers, and how the components of leadership are produced and reproduced. In that sense, how we define leadership, both in terms of personal characteristics as well as appropriate behavior, is a result of experiences and interactions with other people. Subsequently, collective perceptions and understandings of organization and leadership are created (Chen & Meindl, 1991).

#### 2.3.1 The study of Chen and Meindl

As Chen and Meindl's (1991) study lays a foundation of this research paper, we find it necessary to present their work in further detail. They explored social construction of leadership in the popular press and identified changing perceptions of People Express Airlines Inc's founder and chairman, Donald Burr, through the company's dramatic changes of performance. During the company's successful years, the media constructed a positive image of Burr. The media coverage was prominent, and Burr was perceived both as a celebrity and a model of humanistic management for business school academics. He was also featured as Man of the Year by *Time* in 1985. However, when the company's performance suddenly turned and the results weakened, the popular press reconstructed the image of Donald Burr more unfavorably. Thus, the study shows the impact of the popular press in constructing leadership images. In their study, Chein and Meindl had a central focus on words, and more specifically, what words the respondents used for describing Burr after reading the news articles (Chen & Meindl, 1991).

#### 2.3.2 Romance of Leadership

Meindl, Ehrlich and Dukerich (1985) describe how observers and participants in organizations have developed a view of leadership that is highly romanticized and heroic. This is what they refer to as romance of leadership. More specifically, it describes a tendency to overestimate the leaders' behaviors and their impact, resulting in a view of leadership as the leading force responsible for organizational events and activities. Thus, the romance of leadership de-

emphasizes the influence of other factors and overestimates the role of leadership (Felfe, 2005; Meindl et al., 1985). Observers and participants assume that leaders make all the difference, and give leaders the credit for organizational success (Blight, Kohles & Pillai, 2011). This is strongly associated with celebrity leadership, as it "consists of a public manifestation of the heroic illusion of leadership" (Arnulf & Gottschalk, 2013, p. 102). Oppositely, leaders are also often held responsible for organizational failure, even though leaders cannot control every factor that determines the outcomes (Salancik & Meindl, 1984). This is also supported by Pfeffer (1997), who argues that organizational success or failure may be dependent on circumstances unique to the organization. This systematic bias toward leadership appears as a result of people's subjective perceptions of what is considered as relevant information (Meindl et al., 1985; Meindl & Ehrlich, 1987).

#### 2.3.3 Implicit Leadership Theories

Meindl et al. (1985) suggest that the romanticized conception of leadership has certain similarities to implicit leadership theories (ILTs). ILTs are underlying cognitive structures that each follower hold, and consist of assumptions, beliefs and expectations of the causes, nature and consequences of leadership. In other words, it illustrates each follower's unique mind-set. These ILTs have an influence on how followers perceive and evaluate leaders (Meindl et al., 1985). As Felfe (2005) argues, the romance of leadership is a specific ILT as people tend to evaluate high performance and success as a result of the leader's behavior. Personality also plays an important role in this regard, as followers who share common traits with their leaders view them as more powerful and influential (Felfe, 2005).

#### 2.4. Identity, Individual Identification and Social Validation

Another aspect of the social reality that is interesting in light of social constructivism and leadership is identity. Identity refers to how individuals define themselves or their social groups. The term identification refers to the extent to which an individual perceives the identity as part of their self-definition and important for their self-worth (Ashforth & Schinoff, 2016). As identity and identification are fundamental parts of human functioning, it is not surprising that identification is positively associated with several favorable outcomes such as leadership effectiveness (Ashforth & Schinoff, 2016).

Taking a social constructivist approach of leadership, the way the concept of leadership is socially defined is likely to influence a leader's identity and own perception of self (Ashforth & Schinoff, 2016). However, leader identity is quite an ambiguous concept as it is composed of multiple attributes and is unclear, contextual contingent, and socially constructed (DeRue, Ashford & Cotton, 2009). To understand the process of leader identity development, the concepts of leader identity claiming and leader identity granting needs to be explained. Claiming refers to how the individual who hold the leader role adjust their own behavior with their perceptions or understandings of leadership. Similarly, granting refers to how other people compare the leader's traits, skills and behavior to their own perceptions of leadership (i.e. ILTs), and based on this either grant or do not grant the individual the leader identity. Then again, whether or not the identity is granted will affect the individual's own perception of his or her own leader identity. This results in both positive and negative spirals of identity development. A positive spiral illustrates how an individual who originally claims and is granted the leader identity is likely to claim the identity even more and become more strongly granted with the leader identity. In contrast, a negative spiral has the opposite effect (DeRue et al., 2009). This illustrates that the construction of an individual's identity is a dynamic process that goes beyond an intrapersonal and cognitive act of the individual, and is highly influenced by social interaction and validation. It is important for an individual to be perceived positively by others and in line with their own identity, and other people's perceptions also have an impact on their self-perception (Ashforth & Schinoff, 2016).

However, positive leadership identity spirals may have a dangerous side. As Arnulf (2015) claims, people tend to have exaggerated and unrealistic understandings of what leadership is and what leaders are capable of accomplish, which is the bias of a romanticized and heroic view of leadership. Further, he argues that we tend to associate good leadership with heroic illusions, which is an example of an ILT. Therefore, when leaders experience positive leadership identity spirals, they may also get exaggerated and unrealistic views of themselves and their own leadership capabilities.

#### 2.5 Dark Side of Leadership and White-Collar Crime

The theory of dark side of leadership highlights the potentially destructive nature of leadership. More specifically, it emphasizes how leaders' behavior might be harmful to the organization, as well as to the followers and colleges around them, despite that they may be perceived as flawless or infallible (Arnulf & Gottschalk, 2013). According to Conger (1990), this can occur when the leader behavior becomes exaggerated, lose touch with reality or become vehicles for personal gain. He also highlights three underlying causes for the occurrence of dark side of leadership: a strategic vision that is not in line with the one of the organization, misuse of excellent communication skills, and insufficient management practices.

Arnulf & Gottschalk (2013) refers to white-collar criminals as successful, resourceful and highly educated people, who are willing to commit criminal behavior and cheat, lie or manipulate the truth. They are powerful and wealthy, and often given a heroic status, which make them prone to commit intentional criminal behavior without being easily detected. They seem to enjoy public recognition, and they use their legitimate position, respect and authority to violate the law. It is important to emphasize that these crimes are non-violent and financial related, such as fraud, theft or corruption. White-collar criminals tend to have narcissistic personality traits, such as self-centeredness and exploitativeness. Moreover, these crimes are business related, however, they usually aim for a personal gain but not necessarily an organizational gain (Arnulf & Gottschalk, 2013). This is not surprising, as research suggests that narcissistic personality traits are positively related to counterproductive work behavior (O'Boyle Jr, Forsyth, Banks & McDaniel, 2012).

#### 3.0 Development of Hypotheses

The first part of this research paper aims at studying the impact the popular press has on social construction of leadership. According to Fairclough (2001) language is power, and the choices made by the producer (i.e. the popular press) will affect how the readers perceive the text and the content. As the theoretical foundation suggests, it is essential to understand leadership in light of interpersonal processes between leaders and followers, as well as the concept of social constructivism. Though, the concept of followership will in this assignment need to be understood quite broad, as our leaders are public figures and representing the whole society.

Based on our theoretical framework and the findings of Chein and Meindl (1991), we predict that the popular press has romanticized the three case objects during their growth as leaders and their successful years. Similarly, after their downfalls are initiated, we predict that the popular press reconstructed their leader image in unfavorable ways. Thus, our first hypothesis is as follows:

Hypothesis 1: The popular press contributes to social construction of leadership by creating a romanticized leader identity in good times, while reconstructing the leader identity during tough times.

Considering the biases of romance of leadership and the tendency to view successful leaders in heroic ways, we find it interesting to study what impact this has on the leaders' self-image. As the theory suggests, leaders will claim the romanticized leadership image that the followers are granting them through positive identity spirals. Further, these positive identity spirals create a platform for the leaders to develop unrealistic and exaggerated opinions about themselves, which can easily make them trapped in something bigger than themselves and willing to undertake and justify questionable behavior. Based on this, our second hypothesis is:

Hypothesis 2: The romanticized leader identity constructed by the popular press makes the leaders trapped in something bigger than themselves, by positive identity spirals as a mediator.

As already stated, there is a considerable number of leaders that is forced to leave their position, and many great leadership disasters are closely scrutinized or even initiated by the popular press (Bøhren, Sharma & Vegarud, 2005). Obviously, there may be many explanations for why leaders have to go, but we are interested in studying whether social construction of leadership and its subsequent effects can provoke such downfalls. We predict that the above argumentation and hypothesizes can illustrate a repeatable process that can help us understand leadership disasters that occurs in the popular press, and our third hypothesis is as followed:

Hypothesis 3: Romance of leadership created by the popular press, positive identity spirals and the phenomena of becoming trapped can make leadership disasters a repeatable process.

#### 4.0 Research Methodology

Since the aim of this paper was to get an in-depth understanding of great leadership disasters in relation to social construction of leadership in the popular press, we employed a qualitative research strategy. Though, we also supplemented this approach with a quantitative research strategy to investigate frequency related aspects of the media coverage. While the qualitative analysis made it possible to understand the deeper meaning of the media content, the quantitative analysis gave us the opportunity to produce reliable findings (Macnamara, 2005). To effectively address our hypotheses, we chose to employ a multiple case study design where we investigated three leadership disasters. The case study is also instrumental, which means that the purpose is not to treat each case unit as unique, but rather to see and identify tendencies beyond the three cases (Kohlbacher, 2006).

#### 4.1. Introduction of Cases

#### Case 1: Tore Tønne

We chose the case of Tore Tønne as it represents an historical and tragic reminder of the impact of the popular press. The Norwegian Press Association took self-criticism for how the they chased the story, and acknowledged that several factors should have been handled differently (Hjeltnes, Brurås & Syse, 2003). Overall, the case became a well-known reference story for social construction of leadership in the Norwegian popular press. We defined Tønne's growth as a leader starting January 1st, 1972, as he was given a Foreign Service Trainee position, and later a diplomat position, within The Royal Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs sometime during this year (Stortinget, 2018a). Despite an inaccuracy of exact date, this will not have implications on our findings, as there are no published articles of Tønne this year. This phase lasted until March 15th, 1988, and during this time, Tønne also worked within the Norwegian export council, and he was Assistant Director, and later Director General, of the Ministry of Petroleum and Energy (Haugnes, Haakaas & Haraldsen, 2008; Stortinget, 2018a). March 16th, 1988 marks the beginning of his successful years, when he

was given a seat at Equinor's (at the time Statoil) Board of Directors (Dahl, 1988). Later within the same phase, he was appointed as Managing Director of the National Industries and District Development Fund (SND), Director and Chairman of the private company Saga Securities, as well as CEO of the private company Norway Seafoods where the powerful businessman, Kjell Inge Røkke, was the main shareholder (Stortinget, 2018a; Bryhn, 2011). Additionally, he was also a member of the Norwegian government as the Norwegian Minister of Health and Social Affairs. His downfall as a respected politician and leader began December 4th, 2002, when Dagbladet revealed that Tønne received severance pay unlawfully from the government (Haugstad, Lorentzen & Ramnefjell, 2002a;2002b). Tønne was prosecuted and later charged for grossly negligent fraud (Hultgreen, Lorentzen & Ramnefjell, 2002; Haugstad, 2002b), and he took his life on December 20th, 2002 (Hansen, Ramnefjell, Haugstad & Hultgreen, 2002). Table 1 summarizes the defined phases within Tønne's career.

	Start date	End date
Growth phase	01.01.1972	15.03.1988
Successful phase	16.03.1988	03.12.2002
Downfall phase	04.12.2002	20.12.2002

Table 1: The defined phases of Tore Tønne.

#### Case 2: Trond Giske

The case of Trond Giske was chosen as it is relatively newly exposed, and it is interesting as it surfaced due to the global me-too campaign, despite that several have argued that his behavior was nothing new. We chose to mark Giske's growth from March 21st, 1988, as he was elected as Deputy Member in his hometown for the Workers' Youth League, which is the Norwegian Labour Party's youth party (Adresseavisen, 1988). He was already the youth party's Deputy Chairman within the same year (Isdal & Hoel, 1988), and he was their national leader from 1992 until 1996 (Aftenposten, 1992). This phase lasted until October 7th, 1997, as Giske was elected to the Norwegian Parliament the following day, which we define as the start of his successful years (Stortinget, 2018b). This period lasted until December 7th, 2017, and within these years, Giske was elected to the Norwegian Parliament four more times, and he had three different Minister roles: Minister of Church, Education and Research, Minister of Culture and Church Affairs, as well as Minister of Trade and Industry. He was also one of two Deputy

Chairmen of The Labour Party from 2015 (Stortinget, 2018b). We define December 8th, 2017, as the start of his downfall, as this was the date that the first media articles about inappropriate behavior within the party was published (Gjerstad & Skard, 2017a). This phase ended on January 7th, 2018, when Giske officially withdrew from his position after several accusations from women regarding sexual harassment and improper behavior (Mogen, Eriksen & Blindheim, 2018). Table 2 summarizes the defined phases within Giske's career.

	Start date	End date	
Growth phase	21.03.1988	07.10.1997	
Successful phase	08.10.1997	07.12.2017	
Downfall phase	08.12.2017	07.01.2018	

Table 2: The defined phases of Trond Giske.

#### Case 3: Christine Meyer

The case of Meyer was also chosen as it is relatively newly exposed. Additionally, we included Meyer to investigate whether a female leader is portrayed differently than the other two cases. Christine Meyer was elected as the State Secretary on November 1st, 2001, and we chose to mark this date as the beginning of her growth as a leader (Regjeringen, 2018). This phase lasted until March 31st, 2011, and within this phase, Meyer was also Commissioner for Finance, Competition and Government Reform in the city government of Bergen, followed by a position of Commissioner for Health and Inclusion within the same city government (Tvedt & Garvik, 2017). From April 1st, 2011, Meyer was the head of the Norwegian Competition Authority (Konkurransetilsynet, 2015), and this marks the beginning of her successful years. Four years later, she was appointed as CEO of Statistics Norway (Statistisk Sentralbyrå, 2015), and her successful phase lasted until January 20th, 2017. The following day, Dagens Næringsliv introduced Meyer's controversial reorganization of the company's research department, which illustrates the beginning of her downfall (Dagens Næringsliv, 2017). Though, the case escalated heavily in October, and on November 12th, 2017, Meyer was officially released as the CEO of Statistics Norway, which marks the end of the downfall phase (Spence, 2017). Table 3 summarizes the defined phases within Meyer's career.

	Start date	End date	
Growth phase	01.11.2001	31.03.2011	
Successful phase	01.04.2011	20.01.2017	
Downfall phase	21.01.2017	10.11.2017	

*Table 3: The defined phases of Christine Meyer.* 

#### **4.2 Data Sources**

We used archival records of media coverage from the National Library of Norway's online archives as our data source, as this gave us rich information about how the cases were constructed in the popular press. It could also have been interesting to employ questionnaires to see how the articles would influence the respondents' perception, as was done in Chen and Meindl's (1991) research. However, as our cases are relatively new, there was a risk that the respondents would recognize the cases, which could potentially jeopardize the reliability of the findings. Therefore, we based our research solely on archival records. This gave us a broad coverage of the phenomena, detailed and precise evidence, as well as the opportunity to review the evidence over again if necessary (Yin, 1994). Also, as we were studying reporting bias and what was presented by the popular press, the archival records did not have to be grounded on facts.

#### 4.3 Sampling of Records

The study's population consisted of the entire number of articles within the three leaders' predefined phases that was published in Aftenposten (A), Dagens Næringsliv (DN) and Dagbladet (DB). Aftenposten is the largest newspaper in Norway, if counting the number of printed newspapers Dagens Næringsliv is one of Norway's largest financial newspapers, while Dagbladet is a daily newspaper and perceived as a tabloid paper that is also well established in the Norwegian press. The reason why we have included Dagbladet instead of the paper Verdens Gang, despite that it has more readers, is due to Dagbladet's active engagement in the disclosure of Tore Tønne and his grossly negligent fraud (MedieNorge, 2018).

Whether we used sampling, and what sampling approach we employed, varied depending on the amount of media coverage. For the case of Christine Meyer, we did not employ sampling at all, but rather included all the relevant media coverage in order to ensure an appropriate amount of articles to study. The same was done for Tore Tønne's growth and downfall and Trond Giske's downfall, as these

phases also included relatively few papers and articles. In Tønne's successful phase and Giske's growth and successful phase, we employed a systematic sampling approach depending on the amount of data (Bryman & Bell, 2015). For Tønne's successful years, we systematically sampled one of eighth papers in our samples. Similarly, we sampled one out of six papers in Giske's growth phase and one out of eighty in the successful phase. In contrast to the quantitative analysis, we used purposive sampling method for the qualitative analysis. This is a non-probability sampling form, and the samples are therefore not random. This gave us the opportunity to sample the data that was relevant to our research project and each case (Bryman & Bell, 2015).

It should be mentioned that we for all leaders sampled the daily papers and not each article, as there was no function in the National Library that allowed us to easily sample articles. In cases where several articles were published in the same paper, they were all included. Also, it was not possible to search in three newspapers simultaneously in the archives, and we therefore had to systematically go through one newspaper at a time. With regards to our investigation of the overall frequency of the media coverage, this was simply done through the National Library's search engine, which made it possible to include all relevant data. Though, it should be mentioned that the library had sometimes posted different versions of the same paper, which entails some inaccuracy within a particular time period. Additionally, the National Library's electronic archive of newspapers was still under development at the time of this study, and was not fully finalized. Though, they had prioritized the largest newspapers, and the archives of Dagbladet, Aftenposten and Dagens Næringsliv are therefore to a smaller extent affected by the incompletion.

#### 4.4 Data Analysis

We used content analysis as the main approach for the data analysis due to its appropriateness "for making replicable and valid inferences from texts to the context of their use" (Krippendorff, 2013, p. 24). Additionally, it is a systematic, yet flexible, approach that helped us ensure methodological quality (Schreier, 2012). In fact, the traditional quantitative content analysis was developed through the growth of mass media, though, the approach is appropriate for all forms of content or text that is written, visual or spoken (Bengtsson, 2016; Macnamara, 2005). A combination of case studies and content analysis is widespread, though

some researchers are still critical to the use of qualitative content analysis. On the contrary, Kohlbacher (2006) argues in favor of the use of qualitative content analysis in case studies. Similarly, Shoemaker and Reese claim that "reducing large amounts of text to quantitative data (...) does not provide a complete picture of meaning and contextual codes (cited in Macnamara, 2005, p. 4).

#### **4.4.1 Quantitative Approach**

Through the quantitative approach, we investigated the overall frequency of the media coverage, as well as a quantitative content analysis with a few predefined categories. The first category was *angulation*, in which we counted the number of positive, negative and neutral articles. The second category was *scope*, which reflects the length and size of the article. To differentiate between what kind of media attention we were dealing with, the third category *type of article* was included. The fourth category, *type of attention*, distinguishes between main and secondary theme of attention, while the last one, *front page*, captures whether the article was important enough for front page attention. To ensure a consistent coding process, we made a quantitative coding schedule (appendix A) that we employed for each phase of each leader's career. We also made a quantitative coding manual (appendix B), which shows how the data was to be classified within these categories (i.e. codes).

#### 4.4.2 Qualitative Approach

Our qualitative content analysis is less governed by methodological rules, despite that it is still systematic (Bryman & Bell, 2015). In our approach, we screened sentences, headings and general content from our samples while paying attention to how the popular press presented the overall content of the articles, as well as their choice of words and language. We also included elements from critical discourse analysis as it provided information on how language gives meaning to social life as well as assisted us in uncovering power structures that is embedded within the use of language (Mengibar, 2015). This way of combining elements of discourse analysis with content analysis is supported by Macnamara (2005), who argues that qualitative methods for message analysis, such as discourse analysis, is applicable to analyzing media content.

#### 5.0 Findings and Analysis

#### 5.1. Tore Tønne

#### 5.1.1. Frequency of Media Coverage

As seen in table 4, Tore Tønne's name was exposed in the selected newspapers in a total of 919 times within the defined time period. More specifically, 16 of the papers were published in the growth phase, 860 during his successful years and 43 within the downfall phase. Tønne's media coverage got intensified from 1992, and the media attention increased extensively in 2000 and 2001. To compare the newspapers in study, Aftenposten gave him the most attention with a total of 446 papers mentioning his name. Dagens Næringsliv mentioned his name in 306 papers and Dagbladet gave him the least of attention with a total of 167 papers. Due to great differences in the length of the three phases, we have also calculated the average days of exposure within each phase as illustrated in figure 1. Please note that our population only included three papers, which gives a maximum exposure of three papers per day. As shown, the average media exposure was very low in the growth phase, while quite low, but increasing, in the successful phase. The media exposure was extremely high during his downfall, and was on average above 2,5 papers per day.

hase	Time	DB	A	DN	Total	Times exposed in the media
1	01.01.1972-31.12.1972	0	0	0	0	Dagbladet: 167
	01.01.1973-31.12.1973	0	0	0	0	Aftenposten: 446
	01.01.1974-31.12.1974	1	0	0	1	Dagens Næringsliv: 306
	01.01.1975-31.12.1975	0	0	0	0	Total: 919
	01.01.1976-31.12.1976	0	0	0	0	
	01.01.1977-31.12.1977	0	1	0	1	
	01.01.1978-31.12.1978	0	0	0	0	Times exposed in each phase
	01.01.1979-31.12.1979	0	1	0	1	Growth: 16
	01.01.1980-31.12.1980	0	0	0	0	Successful years: 860
	01.01.1981-31.12.1981	0	1	0	1	Downfall: 43
	01.01.1982-31.12.1982	0	2	0	2	Total: 919
	01.01.1983-31.12.1983	0	0	0	0	
	01.01.1984-31.12.1984	0	0	0	0	
	01.01.1985-31.12.1985	1	2	0	3	
	01.01.1986-31.12.1986	0	1	0	1	
	01.01.1987-31.12.1987	1	3	2	6	
	01.01.1988-15.03.1988	0	1	2	3	
2	16.03.1988-31.12.1988	1	8	7	16	
	01.01.1989-31.12.1989	0	5	2	7	
	01.01.1990-31.12.1990	1	0	2	3	
	01.01.1991-31.12.1991	0	3	9	12	
	01.01.1992-31.12.1992	2	14	9	25	
	01.01.1993-31.12.1993	2	18	22	42	
	01.01.1994-31.12.1994	1	8	16	25	
	01.01.1995-31.12.1995	2	11	17	30	
	01.01.1996-31.12.1996	3	12	25	40	
	01.01.1997-31.12.1997	0	12	21	33	
	01.01.1998-31.12.1998	2	13	28	43	
	01.01.1999-31.12.1999	1	8	15	24	
	01.01.2000-31.12.2000	59	135	53	247	
	01.01.2001-31.12.2001	63	157	46	265	
	01.01.2002-03.12.2002	10	15	18	43	
3	04.12.2002-20.12.2002	17	15	11	43	

Table 4: Frequency of media coverage of Tore Tønne (last updated on June 4th, 2018).

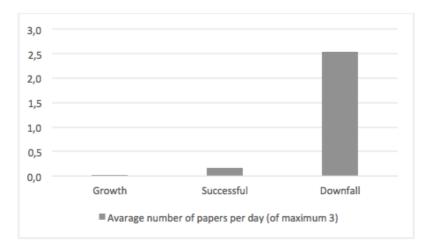


Figure 1: Average Media Exposure of Tore Tønne.

#### 5.1.2. Quantitative Content Analysis of Media Coverage

Table 5 illustrates the percentage of the media coverage of Tore Tønne within the different categories and codes. Appendix C presents a more detailed overview. As angulation was particularly important in the light of our research, figure 2 includes a pie chart to visualize these findings. As shown, the media's angulation changed during the three phases. At first the articles were primarily neutral, together with some positive articles. As Tønne entered his successful years, the portion of neutral articles stayed approximately the same, while some negative articles emerged. Though, these findings can be seen in relation to the large percentage of secondary theme articles. Not surprisingly, within the downfall phase, the majority was now negative, while only a very small amount was positive. From the other categories, most of the articles were news articles except in the growth phase, and the majority was less than a page of scope. During his downfall phase, the articles were also more commonly front page material.

Categories	Codes	Growth	Success	Downfall
i. Angulation	Positive:	37,50	30,00	12,10
	Negative:	0,00	12,10	52,40
	Neutral:	62,50	57,70	35,50
ii. Scope	Less than a page:	93,75	96,15	78,23
	1-2 pages:	6,25	3,85	19,35
	3 or more pages:	0,00	0,00	2,42
iii. Type of article	News article:	31,25	76,15	62,90
	Opinion/comment/debate:	0,00	0,77	10,48
	Other:	62,50	23,08	26,61
Iv. Type of attention	Main theme:	31,25	18,46	60,48
	Secondary theme:	68,75	81,54	39,52
v. Front page	Front page:	0,00	7,69	41,13
	Not front page:	100,00	92,31	58,87

*Table 5: Quantitative content analysis of the media coverage of Tore Tønne in %.* 

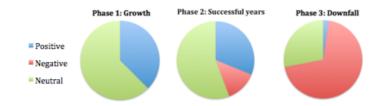


Figure 2: Angulation of the media coverage of Tore Tønne.

#### 5.1.3 Qualitative Content Analysis of Tønne's Growth as a Leader

#### *Tønne as a participator*

Tønne was several times given neutral attention in relation to job advertisements (Dagbladet, 1985; Aftenposten, 1987; Dagens Næringsliv, 1987) and attendance at meetings (Finstad et al., 1987). Though, his participation in a meeting with the current Minister of Petroleum and Energy, Erik Himle, which lasted until one-two o'clock in the morning, gives the article a more positive angulation as Tønne appears hard-working and dedicated (Christiansen, 1987).

#### Introductions of Tønne

Within the growth phase, a few articles were plain introductions, in which Tønne's name, age, job position and previous experience were neutrally presented (Aftenposten, 1977; 1979). An example of a more extensive and positive introduction is the one published in Aftenposten, which included a picture of him, and stated his economic and law education, as well as a great amount of past job experiences in Norway, Brussels and Washington. This article made Tønne appear insightful, experienced and well-travelled (Aftenposten, 1981).

#### A heroic presentation of Tønne

Aftenposten published an article with a notably positive angulation on November 12th, 1987, in which Tønne was presented as smart, knowledgeable, hardworking, goal-oriented, and with high self-discipline. The article described a bet related to how fast Tønne would finish his law education, in which he won. He graduated early by reading a few hours during the crack of dawn, while he was a full-time employee at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and an expatriate in Brussels. Moreover, the article stated that 3-4 hours of sleep was sufficient for Tønne over a longer period of time, and that he could last a few days without any sleep at all. The following quote from one of his colleagues was also included: "I

do not know anyone who can work as much as he can" (Dahl, 1987, p. 41, own translation).

#### 5.1.4 Content Analysis of Tønne's Successful Years

*Tønne as a political wonderman* 

Within the successful phase, Tore Tønne appears as a sociable man who was interested in learning and understanding both the society and the business life. For example, Dagens Næringsliv stated that Tønne enjoyed being out of his office to meet new people and customers, and to understand the circumstances different companies work under (Normannsen, 1993). As a person, he was also presented as sympathetic and open (Borud, 2000). Additionally, Tønne was presented as a hard-working and dedicated man, who enjoyed tough challenges. This can be illustrated with nicknames such as "Krutt-Tønne" (i.e. a barrel of gunpowder, alluding that Tønne's surname means gunpowder) (Alstadhem, 2000, p. 12) and "Turbo-Tønne" (Lorentzen, 2001, p. 24). Also, Dagens Næringsliv wrote that "Tore Tønne managed to do what few thought was possible", referring to the restructuring of SND (Strandhagen, 1997, p. 2). Further, the paper stated that SND, under Tønne's leadership, was given an exceptionally good grade in an evaluation report, while also highlighting Tønne's popularity internally. Additionally, it was made clear that he impressed the Minister of Finance, Jens Stoltenberg. Despite Tønne's lack of both a health and political background, Stoltenberg wanted him as his Ministry of Health where restructuring were one of the key tasks. In the article "From Røkke to the public office" published in Dagbladet, Tønne's sense of humor and his low need of sleep was again highlighted (Gjerstad, 2000, p. 14).

A determined, solution oriented and responsible Tønne

After Tønne, as the Health Minister, introduced a new reform of general practice, Aftenposten described how the doctors opposed this change. With the heading "Tønne does not give up", the paper promotes an image of Tønne as a dedicated and persevering man, while at the same time stating that he was open for dialog with the doctors (Bjørknes, 2000, p. 4, own translation). A few days later, Aftenposten confirmed that the dialog was ongoing, and that they were close to an agreement. Thus, Tønne appears as a solution-oriented man who were both willing to listen and to negotiate (Hafstad, 2000a). Additionally, Tønne was several times presented as a man who acknowledged deficiencies within his area

of responsibility and took responsibility for it. For instance, an article in Aftenposten claimed that Tønne would leave his position as the Health Minister if he could not keep his promises (Aftenposten, 2001). This makes him look honest, dedicated and trustful. Similarly, Tønne said as the CEO of Norway Seafoods that it was okay that SND wanted the Norwegian Stock Exchange to investigate Kjell Inge Røkke and Aker RGI (including Norway Seafoods) for differential treatment of shareholders (Aabø, 1999). This makes him appear interested in ensuring that everything was done by the book, and it can also be argued that this reflects high integrity.

#### *The politician Tønne had supporters and detractors*

However, as Tønne stated, a lot of criticism came with his SND job, though, he also made it clear that he was not complaining (Normannsen, 1993). This makes him look strong and tough. As an example, not everyone was happy that the trade union for the Norwegian fishing fleet, Fiskebåtrederne (now Fiskebåt), became SND's responsibility, and the fishermen were quite skeptical towards Tønne. Further, the article stated that Tønne had already received a great amount of criticism before. For instance, due to his active support of Kjell Inge Røkke, he had already been accused of "Røkkefying" (i.e. giving Røkke to much influence of) the fish industry (Nilsen, 1997, p. 2, own translation). Similarly, the same tendencies were found during his time as the Ministry of Health. For example, not everyone agreed that hospitals should be publicly owned and managed, and Tønne was in Aftenposten accused of "moving backwards into the future" (Hougen, 2000, p. 18, own translation).

#### Journalists' negative presentations of Tønne

Occasionally, journalists that initially wrote negative angulated articles about a company or the health system also presented Tønne as a person in a negative light. An example is Dagens Næringsliv December 15th, 1998, with the heading "New bottom for Tønne" (Steen & Aabø, 1998, p. 20, own translation). The article discussed Norway Seafoods' stock fall, and Tønne's statements were rather neutral. Yet, the heading gives the article a negative angulation. Similarly, in Dagbladet February 22th, 2001, the low staffing situation in the Norwegian hospitals was discussed. Here, Tønne was presented in a negative light, as he never responded to Dagbladet's inquiry of questions (Hagen, 2001). Moreover,

despite that Tønne was positively presented for taking responsibility for health issues and improvements, he was also criticized for lacking actual action. For example, while Tønne acknowledged the importance of giving cancer patients the optimal treatment, this was in the popular press said to be a poor comfort for those who were still in a queue for treatment or for those who were not even on the waiting list (Hafstad, 2000b).

#### 5.1.5 Content Analysis of Tønne's Downfall as a Leader

Presented as a man who has something to hide

Tore Tønne's downfall started on December 4th, 2002, when Dagbladet revealed that the former minister received 1,5 million Norwegian kroner from Kjell Inge Røkke for helping him acquiring Kværner. He was presented as "unwilling to explain his engagement" and they also stated that he initially denied any involvement at all (Haugstad et al., 2002a, p. 4, own translation; 2002b). First after being confronted with the documentation, he acknowledged sending an invoice of his work (Haugstad et al., 2002b). This makes him look untruthful, dishonest and guilty, as if he has something to hide. Within Tønne's downfall, most the articles had a negative angulation in which Tønne's integrity and trustworthiness were publicly questioned. For instance, on December 5th, 2002, Dagbladet also revealed that "Tønne violated the rules of the Parliament" (Haugstad et al., 2002c, p. 4, own translation) when he applied for, and received, three months severance pay due to lack of income, while receiving this payment from Røkke. His transition to private consultant was described as "inappropriate" and his violation of the severance pay conditions was described as "gross" (Haugstad et al., 2002c, p. 5, own translation). Similarly, his actions were also described as untidy and unwise (Eriksen, 2002). Thus, while his private consultant work was not technically illegal, it was still presented as unethical. Moreover, Tønne would not make a statement initially, but he said he would repay if he had misinterpreted the rules of the Parliament (Haugstad et al., 2002d). Here, it is apparent that he tried to make up for his actions, yet, the reader may still question whether he is sorry, or just sorry to be caught. On December 6th, 2002, Dagbladet also printed evidence of strong connections to Røkke both before and during his period as minister, arguing that it "may weaken his credibility and integrity", and again, Tønne avoided making a statement (Eriksen, 2002, p. 7, own translation; Haugstad et al., 2002e). Though, Røkke's lawyers in BA-HR confirmed the note,

but denied the loan stating an inaccuracy of its date (Haugstad et al., 2002d; Haugstad, 2002c).

#### Loss of credibility

Following the first three days of public scrutiny, Tore Tønne was on December 7th, 2002, described as "politically dead" and greedy in Dagbladet (Osvold, 2002, p. 2, own translation). Thus, it can be argued that he had now lost most of his credibility, and that his greediness made him a low fit for a job in public sector. Until Tønne's death, December 20th, 2002, his name was printed in at least one of the newspaper every single day. However, several of the articles were also targeting BA-HR and Røkke. For instance, it was made apparent that Tønne, Røkke and the BA-HR lawyers had an "inadequate understanding of what must be the driving rules in the relationship between politics and business to avoid conflict of interest and hability issues" (Eriksen, 2002, p. 7, own translation). Similarly, Dagbladet made links to corruption, while stating that Tønne was bought and paid by Røkke (Dagbladet, 2002, p. 2). However, a few articles were also positive, such as an article in Dagbladet where Røkke described Tønne as an "honorable", "honest" and "resourceful" man who did things "by the book" (Haugstad, 2002a, p. 7, own translation). Two days before Tønne's death, Røkke also told Dagbladet that he wanted to clear his name (Haugstad et al., 2002f; 2002g). However, we argue that this positive attention may not have a lot of impact coming from Røkke, who had lost a great amount of credibility himself.

Despite that Dagbladet was the paper in lead, Aftenposten followed up on the news quickly (Aftenposten, 2002). Yet, they also called the case "a tempest in a teapot" (Valderhaug, 2002, p. 18, own translation). Dagens Næringsliv did not follow up on the story until a few days later, and they had a more balanced approach also focusing on BA-HR and Kjell Inge Røkke. Though, when Økokrim became involved, Tønne received much more personal attention, and the paper printed the case on their front page four days in a row prior to his death (Dagens Næringsliv, 2002a; 2002b; 2002c; 2002d).

#### 5.1.6 An Analytical Summary of Qualitative Findings

Table 6 summarizes the constructed media image of Tore Tønne during the three phases. The adjectives and descriptions presented in the table are formulated by the researchers based on the overall findings. As the table illustrates, Tønne was

constructed in a highly positive way during his growth as a leader. Similarly, the constructed leader image was also very favorable during the successful years. Though, a couple of the descriptions were also unfavorable, but the overall image puts Tønne in a very positive light. However, during the downfall phase, the leader image that was now constructed was solely negative.

Phase 1: Growth as a leader	Phase 2: Successful years	Phase 3: Downfall
	•	•
Favorable	Favorable	Unfavorable
Hard-working	Strong	Untruthful
Dedicated	Sociable	Dishonest
Insightful	Interested	Guilty
Experienced	Sympathetic	Low integrity
Well travelled	Open	Low trustworthiness
Smart	Hard-working	Unethical
Knowledgeable	Great leader	Loss of credibility
Goal-oriented	Sense of humor	Greedy
High self-discipline	Energetic leader	Irresponsible
	Dedicated	Inappropriate
	Challenge enjoyer	Manipulative
	Persevering	Fraud
	Good listener	
	Great negotiator	
	Responsible	
	Honest	
	Trustful	
	High integrity	
	Tough	
	Unfavorable	
	Low action orientation	
	Avoidance of press	
	Unreliable	
	Passive	
	Old-fashion	

Table 6: The constructed media image of Tore Tønne.

#### 5.2. Trond Giske

#### **5.2.1 Frequency of Media Coverage**

As shown in table 7, Trond Giske's name was exposed in the selected newspapers in a total of 8663 times within the defined time period. More specifically, 501 of the papers were published in the growth phase, 8120 during his successful years, and 42 within his downfall phase. To compare the newspapers in study, Aftenposten was the one that gave him most media attention with a total of 4626 papers mentioning his name. Dagbladet mentioned his name in 2339 papers and Dagens Næringsliv gave him least attention with a total of 1698 days exposed. Figure 3 illustrates the average days of exposure, which was increasing for each phase. Interestingly, the average days of exposure was already quite high in the

successful phase, and while it increased during his downfall, the change was not as dramatic as with Tønne. Though, it should be mentioned that within Giske's successful phase, the National Library published multiple versions of some of the Aftenposten papers, which do jeopardize the accuracy of our findings in this phase. Yet, despite that the amount may be somewhat lower than our findings suggest, the amount of media attention is still considerably high.

hase	Time	DB	A	DN	Total	Times exposed in the media
nase	21.03.1988-31.12.1988	0 0	0 0	0	0	Dagbladet: 2339
1		-	-	•		
- 1	01.01.1989-31.12.1989	0	0	0	0	Aftenposten: 4626
- 1	01.01.1990-31.12.1990	0	0	0	0	Dagens Næringsliv: 1698
- 1	01.01.1991-31.12.1991	0	0	0	0	Total: 8663
- 1	01.01.1992-31.12.1992	23	24	3	50	
- 1	01.01.1993-31.12.1993	42	58	9	109	
- 1	01.01.1994-31.12.1994	65	48	14	127	Times exposed in each phase
- 1	01.01.1995-31.12.1995	40	37	6	83	Growth: 501
- 1	01.01.1996-31.12.1996	54	56	12	122	Successful years: 8120
- 1	01.01.1997-07.10.1997	6	3	1	10	Downfall: 42
2	08.10.1997-31.12.1997	1	7	1	9	Total: 8663
- 1	01.01.1998-31.12.1998	24	28	7	59	
- 1	01.01.1999-31.12.1999	13	24	3	40	
	01.01.2000-31.12.2000	99	151	31	281	
- 1	01.01.2001-31.12.2001	154	250	34	438	
	01.01.2002-31.12.2002	121	131	34	286	
- 1	01.01.2003-31.12.2003	65	121	28	214	
	01.01.2004-31.12.2004	93	79	17	189	
- 1	01.01.2005-31.12.2005	102	142	94	338	
- 1	01.01.2006-31.12.2006	207	331	143	681	
- 1	01.01.2007-31.12.2007	216	526	133	875	
	01.01.2008-31.12.2008	231	588	128	947	
- 1	01.01.2009-31.12.2009	194	597	176	967	
- 1	01.01.2010-31.12.2010	103	363	176	642	
- 1	01.01.2011-31.12.2011	83	261	157	501	
- 1	01.01.2012-31.12.2012	119	323	164	606	
- 1	01.01.2013-31.12.2013	74	209	122	405	
- 1	01.01.2014-31.12.2014	41	94	54	189	
- 1	01.01.2015-31.12.2015	43	69	48	160	
- 1	01.01.2016-31.12.2016	49	44	29	122	
- 1	01.01.2017-07.12.2017	67	47	57	171	
3	08.12.2017-31.12.2017	5	9	13	27	
- 1	01.01.2018-07.01.2018	5	6	4	15	

Table 7: Frequency of media coverage of Trond Giske (last updated on June 4th, 2018).

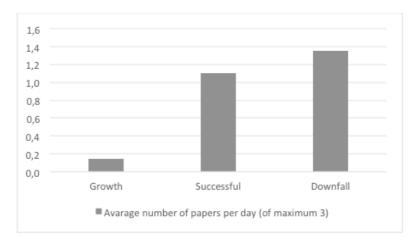


Figure 3: Average Media Exposure of Trond Giske.

#### 5.2.2 Quantitative Content Analysis of Media Coverage

Table 8 illustrates the percentage of the media coverage of Trond Giske in light of the defined categories and codes, and a more detailed overview can be found in appendix D. Figure 4 shows a visual representation of the category angulation. As seen, we found positive, negative and neutral articles within all phases. Though, within his successful phase, there were more positive angulated articles than negative and neutral ones. This changed dramatically and the number of negative articles increased extensively during his downfall. The most common type of article was the news article, and the majority were less than a page during his growth and successful phase. In contrast, the scope of the articles increased during his downfall. He was also secondary theme in the majority of the articles in the two first phases, and within a considerable amount of articles during his downfall. This can be seen in regards to the amount of neutral media coverage.

Categories	Codes	Growth	Success	Downfall
i. Angulation	Positive:	41,49	43,20	5,33
	Negative:	15,96	26,04	66,67
	Neutral:	42,55	30,77	28,22
ii. Scope	Less than a page:	95,74	59,76	34,67
	1-2 pages:	4,26	38,46	56,00
	3 or more pages:	0,00	1,78	9,33
iii. Type of article	News article:	71,28	63,31	57,33
	Opinion/comment/debate:	7,45	23,08	26,67
	Other:	21,28	13,61	16,00
Iv. Type of attention	Main theme:	24,47	21,89	53,33
	Secondary theme:	75,53	78,11	46,67
v. Front page	Front page:	4,26	2,37	45,33
	Not front page:	95,74	97,63	54,67

Table 8: Quantitative content analysis of the media coverage of Trond Giske in %.

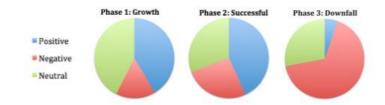


Figure 4: Angulation of the media coverage of Trond Giske.

#### 5.2.3 Content Analysis of Giske's Growth as a Leader

A young and ambitious leader

From our findings, it was made apparent that Giske's name became relatively well known right after he was elected as the leader of the Workers Youth League by unanimous consent (Aftenposten, 1992). His active involvement in the debate

regarding the Norwegian membership in EU also resulted in a great amount of media attention in the beginning of the growth phase. In this debate, Giske fought hard to prevent a Norwegian membership, despite that the Labour Party's Prime Minister, Gro Harlem Brundtland, made it clear that she supported a EU membership (Ellingsen & Vogt-Kielland, 1993). Though, Giske was also several times mentioned in neutral articles in this regard, for instance just as a member of the no-side (Ellingsen & Vogt-Kielland, 1993) or in relation to his involvement with the organization Social Democrats Against the EU (Strandhagen, 1993). Moreover, it should be mentioned that some of the articles that we classified as neutral might be perceived as either positive or negative depending on the readers' political opinions. This can be exemplified with articles were Giske's statements towards the immigration debate are rather neutrally presented (Andersen, 1996; Vogt-Kielland & Austenå, 1996).

#### A self-confident, direct and challenging young man

According to our findings, Giske was repeatedly presented as a tough and assertive young man who was not afraid to speak up for himself. This can for example be illustrated with the media phrasings "self-appointed tormentor" (Dagbladet, 1992, p. 8, own translation) and Giske's "rebuke of the government's learning-effort" (Nilsen, 1994, p. 4, own translation). In addition, his challenging statements such as "AP is old-fashioned" (Ellingsen, 1993, p. 8, own translation) and "Jens Stoltenberg lacks courage" (Hurum, 1994, p. 10, own translation) exemplifies the same. Moreover, he was also presented as responsible (Aftenposten, 1994, Dagbladet, 1995), as well as a clear and precise communicator (Austenå, 1995). When speaking on the behalf of the youth, he had no problems with demanding actions and measures from the party's higher powers (Spence, 1993; Vogt-Kielland & Karlsen, 1994; Alstadhem, 1995). Also, it was made clear that he had a relatively strong political position, as he was several times pictured or mentioned together with the Prime Minister (Ramberg, 1993).

Giske also received criticism for his independent decisions and for challenging his mother party. For example, he accepted to hold the main speech at Youngstorget May 1st, 1993, despite that Jagland had withdrawal from the speech for political reasons. Giske was accused of "spitting Jagland in the face" and it was made

apparent that the "criticism hailed" over Giske (Solhaug, 1993, p. 6, own translation). Similarly, Giske and AUF were accused of breaking with the campaign and all the prerequisites of the party (Gamnes, 1993). Dagbladet wrote that the Prime Minister "took a hold of Giske" trying to "end the arguing with the mother party" (Eriksen, 1995, p. 10, own translation). Yet, despite this, Giske was also presented as a person who had great respect for Brundtland and the rest of the party (Eriksen, 1995).

#### 5.2.4. Content Analysis of Giske's Successful Years

Giske as a political wonderman

After diving deeper into the media coverage within Giske's successful years, it was clear that the press used highly positive angulated words and sentences when mentioning his name. Examples include "he did a comet-career" (Ellingsen, 2001, p. 34, own translation), "role model" (Aftenposten, 2008, p. 64, own translation), "responsible minister" (Kullerud, 2006, p. 3, own translation), "ambitious" (Lund, 2009, p. 4, own translation; Åmås, 2008, p. 2, own translation) and "celebrity" (Andersen, 2007, p. 2, own translation). He was also presented as a facilitator and a man who had a high ability to act (Åmås, 2008; Bøe & Maamoen, 2013; Ramnefjell, 2015).

A charismatic and hard-working man with a large network

From our findings, Giske appears as a skilled man, who speaks his own opinions and has the strength and will to get things done. An article in Dagbladet exemplifies the latter, by crediting Giske for his cultural financial commitment and for leading "a cultural revolution within the Labour party" (Ramnefjell, 2015, p. 2, own translation). Dagbladet also presented him as an important role model for his influence and improvements during his period as Cultural Minister (Thomassen, 2007). Additionally, he has been characterized as a hard-working and dedicated man, who puts his work first. For instance, he chose to interrupt his holiday to prevent Telenor from losing billions of kroners (Linderud & Skard, 2012). Moreover, the evidence suggests that Giske is a comfortable public speaker who enjoys being the center of attention. As an example, Dagens Næringsliv posted a public invite to Oslo Shipping Talks, in which Giske had the opening session (Dagens Næringsliv, 2010). He was several times pictured together with well-known politicians and celebrities such as the Prime Minister, different CEO's at large companies and members of the royal family (Andersen, 2007;

Møllerop, 2008; Aftenposten, 2010). This makes him appear as a sociable man with a huge network, who likes to surround himself with influential people. Similarly, he was often seen at important social, political and cultural events, and has been labeled "Minister of Sound" due to his attendance and commitment at music festivals (Selsjord, 2006, p. 45).

#### A political party man not without detractors

As seen, Giske also received some negative media coverage during this phase. For instance, he was publicly accused for tearing down small and medium sized family companies, decreasing their work satisfaction and ability to create workplaces within the society (Simarud, 2010). Despite the positive media coverage of his attendance at important events, he was also negatively presented and mocked in regards to several social happenings. He appears to be a Minister who likes to party until late at night, and Aftenposten jokingly suggested that Giske should write a biography with the title "life is a party, can I attend yours?" (Kristiansen & Gulbrandsen, 2006, p. 9, own translation). Similarly, when mentioning a pub in Oslo, Dagbladet suggested that it was worth a visit "especially if your name is Trond Giske and you like afterparties" (Dagbladet, 2012, p. 11, own translation).

#### 5.2.5 Content Analysis of Giske's Downfall as a Leader

#### Accusations of sexual harassment

Dagens Næringsliv (Gjerstad & Skard, 2017a) was the first to publish that the management in the Norwegian Labour Party had received several notifications of Trond Giske's inappropriate behavior, on December 14th, 2017. One involved text messages with a younger woman in which the content was perceived as unproblematic, but concerns were expressed due to Giske's central role in the party. Other notifications involved Giske's visit to a dressing room and his indecent behavior at his state secretary's birthday party (Gjerstad & Skard, 2017a). After these notifications were made public, other women came forwards with similar stories (Gjerstad & Skard, 2017b). One of them was at the time a 19-year-old woman who performed in a symphony, in which the 40-year-old Minister of Culture, Giske, gave her unwanted attention by stating "I was just watching you the whole time" (Gjerstad & Skard, 2017b, p. 10, own translation).

*Tension regarding the degree of inappropriateness of his behavior* Giske's behavior was often used against him personally, but it also created a political tension in which several also supported him. It should be mentioned that despite that most the articles were negative during his downfall, many presented a somewhat balanced view in which his supporters' opinions were also stated. Dagens Næringsliv wrote that the leader of the party's women's network, Anniken Huitfeldt, warned that such rumors should not be used for internal power struggle (Gjerstad & Skard, 2017b). The media also described a cold relationship between the two deputy leaders, and it was made apparent that the party had two internal political wings (Spence, Ask, Bentzrød & Kagge, 2018a). Tajik publicly stated her opinions regarding Giske's abuse of power, and was for many seen as a supporter of the women who told their stories (Ask & Spence, 2018). Others meant that she betrayed Giske, and that she was politically taking advantage of his media scrinuity (Ask & Spence, 2018). However, Dagens Næringsliv wrote that whether someone else would benefit of Giske's downfall should be of secondary interest. The main priority should be that those holding top positions are fully aware that the young and promising in the organization should be protected against abuse of power (Grinde, 2017b). Moreover, one of Tajik criticizers also stated that "it's not disqualifying for a deputy leader to flirt with someone who does not want to be flirted with" (Spence, Ask & Aasheim, 2018, p. 5, own translation). Another stated that the MeToo campaign and the extent of sexual harassment in our society is strongly exaggerated, while he also expressed concerned for Giske and the extent of negative media coverage (Voss, 2018). While Dagbladet made it apparent that the overall case made Giske unsuitable for AP's deputy leadership position, they also highlighted that he was not "politically dead" (Lahlum, 2018, p. 62, own translation).

#### Giske's claim of innocence

In the beginning, Giske denied the episodes arguing that they were fake accusations and he also refused to give a comment (Gjerstad & Skard, 2017c). Moreover, he claimed that Dagens Næringsliv violated good press conduct by spreading serious allegations based on unknown sources (Gjerstad & Skard, 2017a). Though, as stated by Dagens Næringsliv, it is easy to use this "fake rumour-card" when powerful people are threatened (Grinde, 2017a, p. 11, own translation). While Dagbladet described this case as "a murder of character in the

popular press", they also wrote that adults know when they cross a line, and people holding powerful position must be extra diligent and aware of their behavior (Karlsen, Suvatne, Jacobsen, Kristiansen & Eriksen, 2017, p. 6, own translation). Later, Giske took some self-criticism, and stated that he was deeply sorry for his behavior (Halvorsen, 2017).

#### A case that negatively affected the whole party

The case resulted in an internal crisis for the whole Labour Party, as it was made apparent that Giske's critique worthy behavior was well known within the party (Karlsen et al., 2017). In particular, the leader of the party, Jonas Gahr Støre, received a great amount of critique for his lack of leadership and ability to reprimand inappropriate behavior (Halse, 2018). For example, Aftenposten stated that Giske has believed that his behavior has been acceptable, after all, no one told him otherwise (Eilertsen, 2017). According to Eva Grinde, it can be hard to respond to rumors and suspicions, and if the person at the same time delivers good organizational results, a degree of unwillingness or ignorance may also interfere with how one chooses to handle the situation. Moreover, she stated that despite that the public pressure on Giske is extensive, this needs to be taken publically as leaders have a great impact on people's lives. If the debate on leadership behavior cannot be taken public unless there are criminal violations detected, this can be dangerous, she stated, and continued, "if we are too afraid of touching cases within the greyzone, we contribute to this inappropriate culture of behavior to grow" (Grinde, 2017a, p. 11, own translation).

#### Negativity beyond the case

Other negative characteristics of Giske were presented, despite that they did not have anything to do with the actual core of the case. For instance, with the heading "fear-based leadership", the Labour Party's internal report was published, which identified a terrible working environment and a lack of communication channels where the employees could stand up against the leaders (Spence et al., 2018b, p. 7, own translation). The report also made it clear that the employees felt that Giske was hard to communicate with, that he ignored professional advice and that professional objections were unwanted. Additionally, he expected the political counselors to work around the clock seven days a week.

#### 5.2.6 An Analytical Summary of Qualitative Findings

Table 9 summarizes the constructed media image of Trond Giske in light of the three phases, and the adjectives and descriptions are in the same way as for Tønne formulated by the researchers. Giske's constructed leader image was very positive in the growth phase, and the majority of the descriptions also show a very favorable constructed image during the successful phase. Though, a few negative descriptions were identified. The opposite tendencies were found in the downfall phase, as most the articles were now very unfavorable.

Phase 1: Growth as a leader	Phase 2: Successful years	Phase 3: Downfall
Favorable	Favorable	Favorable
Ambitious	Ambitious	Responsible
Hard-working	Dedicated	Unafraid
Engaged	Intelligent	Secure
Intelligent	Engaged	Confident
Not afraid to speak up/unafraid	Strengthful	Sense of self-awareness
Tough	High ability to act	
Assertive	Responsible	Unfavorable
Determined	Powerful	Abusive
High self-esteem	Important	Betrayer
Clear and precise communicator	Hard-working	Untruthful
Strong political position	Comfortable public speaker	Inappropriate
Independent	High self-esteem	Irresponsible
Challenger	Expert leader	Indecent
Respectful	Insightful	Unsuitable leader
•	Social	Dishonest
	Likeable	Senseless
	Resourceful	Stupid
	Role model	Naive
	Unfavorable	
	Unfair	
	Careless	
	Selfish	
	Party man	

Table 9: The constructed media image of Trond Giske.

#### **5.3 Christine Meyer**

#### **5.3.1 Frequency of Media Coverage**

Within the defined time period, Christine Meyer was exposed in the selected newspapers in a total of 223 times. More specific, 51 of the newspapers were published in her growth phase, 141 within her successful years, and 31 during her downfall phase. Table 10 presents an overview of the frequency of the media coverage of Meyer. To compare the newspapers in study, Dagens Næringsliv gave her most attention with a total of 137 papers mentioning her name. Aftenposten

mentioned her name in 70 papers and Dagbladet gave her least attention with a total of only 16 days exposed. As with the case of Giske, the accuracy of our findings may be jeopardized due to the existence of multiple versions of some Aftenposten papers. Yet, this does not have a great impact, as the number of articles is already quite low. As can be seen in Figure 5, the average media exposure was remarkably low during all three phases compared to Tønne and Giske. Though, the average attention did increase for each phase.

Phase	Time	DB	A	DN	Total	Times exposed in the media
1	01.11.2001-31.12.2001	0	1	1	2	Dagbladet: 16
	01.01.2002-31.12.2002	1	5	3	9	Aftenposten: 70
	01.01.2003-31.12.2003	2	0	1	3	Dagens Næringsliv: 137
	01.01.2004-31.12.2004	1	0	2	3	Total: 223
	01.01.2005-31.12.2005	2	2	1	5	
	01.01.2006-31.12.2006	1	0	2	3	
	01.01.2007-31.12.2007	0	2	1	3	Times exposed in each phase
	01.01.2008-31.12.2008	0	2	1	3	Growth: 51
	01.01.2009-31.12.2009	0	2	3	5	Successful years: 141
	01.01.2010-31.12.2010	0	0	13	13	Downfall: 31
	01.01.2011-31.03.2011	0	0	2	2	Total: 223
2	01.04.2011-31.12.2011	0	6	11	17	
	01.01.2012-31.12.2012	1	11	15	27	
	01.01.2013-31.12.2013	0	6	14	20	
	01.01.2014-31.12.2014	1	10	20	31	
	01.01.2015-31.12.2015	1	10	23	34	
	01.01.2016-31.12.2016	2	4	6	12	
	01.01.2017-20.01.2017	0	0	0	0	
3	21.01.2017-10.11.2017	4	9	18	31	

Table 10: Frequency of media coverage of Christine Meyer (last updated June 4th, 2018).

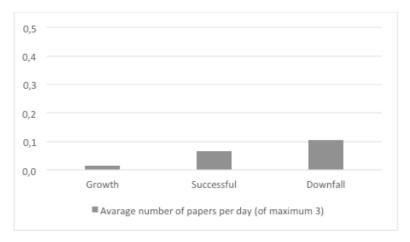


Figure 5: Average Media Exposure of Christine Meyer.

#### **5.3.2** Quantitative Content Analysis of Media Coverage

Table 11 presents the findings in regards to the codes and categories, and appendix E contains a more detailed overview. Figure 6 also presents a visualized overview of the angulation of the media coverage. As shown, there were positive, negative and neutral articles within all phases, though, there were more positive

articles in her growth phase than negative ones. Within her successful phase, there were most neutral articles, and almost the same amount of positive angulated articles as negative ones. Within the downfall phase, there were a majority of negative angulated articles. While news articles were the most common type of article, Meyer received more attention in opinion columns, comments and debates compared to Tønne and Giske. Surprisingly, despite an increase of main attention coverage in the downfall phase, most the article gave her secondary attention. Also, she was not exposed notably on the front page through her career, despite a small increase during her downfall as a leader.

Categories	Codes	Growth	Success	Downfall
i. Angulation	Positive:	50,00	27,64	11,90
	Negative:	22,92	28,46	73,81
	Neutral:	27,08	43,90	14,29
ii. Scope	Less than a page:	60,42	58,54	30,95
	1-2 pages:	37,50	40,65	66,67
	3 or more pages:	2,08	0,81	2,38
iii. Type of article	News article:	60,42	49,59	50,00
	Opinion/comment/debate:	25,00	31,71	38,10
	Other:	14,58	18,70	11,90
Iv. Type of attention	Main theme:	43,75	19,51	45,24
	Secondary theme:	56,25	80,49	54,76
v. Front page	Front page:	2,08	0,81	4,76
	Not front page:	97,92	99,19	95,24

Table 11: Quantitative content analysis of the media coverage of Christine Meyer in %.

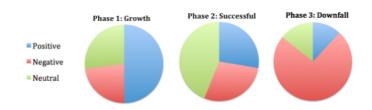


Figure 6: Angulation of the media coverage of Christine Meyer.

#### 5.3.3 Content Analysis of Meyer's Growth as a Leader

#### A rough start

We characterize the beginning of Meyer's growth phase as rough. While working at the State Secretary, she entered a relationship with her current spouse Victor Norman who was Meyer's manager at the time. This resulted in Meyer leaving her job, and she received some unfavorable media coverage in this regard where her behavior appears as inappropriate and unethical (Gjerstad, 2003; Ellingsen et al., 2003).

#### A dedicated and competent woman

The evidence suggests that Meyer was presented as engaged and interested, as she several times posted her own comments in the selected newspapers (Meyer, 2002; 2009). Dagens Næringsliv promotes Meyer as an expert in financial institutions and an Associate Professor, which is an example of positive angulated article in favor of Meyer's competencies (Grande, 2004). Due to her background as a researcher within strategy and leadership, she had reasonable comments and contributions in areas such as change management (Gimmestad, 2006; Valvik, 2005; Lynum, 2007). This also made her look skilled and competent. Additionally, she appears as a responsible and dedicated woman, and she was given board member positions in NRK and Statnett (Johannessen & Selsjord, 2004; Dagens Næringsliv, 2005).

#### Well criticized, yet heading forward

During her position as Commissioner for Health and Inclusion in Bergen, Dagens Næringsliv (Henriksen, 2010) published a negative angulated article where Meyer was criticized for not being action oriented when it comes to organizing and taking responsibility for part-time and full-time employees. Based on Meyer's political view, she was criticized for promoting the wealthiest' right to pay for private healthcare, and she was presented as selfish and irresponsible (Strøm-Erichsen, 2010). However, she appears to be self-confident as she applied for the position as CEO for the Norwegian Competition Authority, after she was encouraged to do so (Haugli, 2010). After it was made public that she was going to be the new CEO in the Norwegian Competition Authority, she got a whole page in Dagens Næringsliv with the title "The first female CEO in the Norwegian Competition Authority does not think there are impossible cases" (Jelstad, 2011, p. 56, own translation).

#### 5.3.4 Content Analysis of Meyer's Successful Years

Meyer as a powerful woman and a symbol of diversity

Meyer was appointed as CEO in the Norwegian Competition Authority April 1st, 2011. In this regard, a journalist in Dagens Næringsliv wrote that Christine Meyer as the first female CEO "should be given more power so that she can learn the gentlemen in the Ministry of Finance about diversity and competition" (Mathiassen, 2011, p. 17, own translation). On September 7th, 2011, Aftenposten published a two-paged news article where they announced that the most important

and powerful Norwegian top business leaders have studied at Bergen Business School, and Meyer was pictured as one of the few female leaders (Lynum & Jørgensen, 2011). Such positive attention makes Meyer appear powerful, determined, hard-working and ambitious.

#### A woman with a tough and unafraid attitude

Meyer was as the CEO of the Norwegian Competition Authority perceived as a strong-willed top-leader who were not afraid of communicate her own opinions (Sæter, 2011; Tryti, 2012). For example, through 2013 and 2014, Meyer wrote four chronicles in Dagens Næringsliv where she expressed her own opinions regarding the competition in the Norwegian industry (Meyer, 2013a;2013b), white collar crime (Meyer, 2014a) and open office landscapes (Meyer, 2014b; Sjøberg, 2014). She also followed up on a reply from CEO in Color Line, who had criticized her based on one of her chronicles (Meyer, 2013b). Meyer also participated in giving the Nordic Construction Company (NCC) the biggest fee in Norwegian history, after they secretly cooperated with the largest Norwegian construction and engineering company, Veidekke (Grande, 2013). Within her successful years, the popular press has also interviewed her so as the readers could get to know her better as a person (Bjørgum, 2015). She has attended and spoken at different seminars, such as Oslo Compliance forum (Dagens Næringsliv, 2015a), and a seminar for power and supplier industry where she was the only female speaker (Dagens Næringsliv, 2015b). Such media coverage makes her appear strong, respected and powerful.

#### A heavily criticized leader

Meyer received critique for several of the proposals she forwarded as the CEO of the Norwegian Competition Authority, and both readers and participators demonstrated dissatisfaction and irritation regarding the competition in the Norwegian industry, and for the time consuming and delayed decision-making (Kleppe, 2014). For example, Aftenposten published an article claiming that the Norwegian Competition Authority, and in particular Meyer, "have a big mouth but lacks action orientation", which promotes a picture of a dishonest CEO who were unable to put words into action (Kvalshaug, 2012, p. 3, own translation). Similarly, Dagens Næringsliv criticized the Norwegian Competition Authority and Meyer for driving lopsided competition, which makes her appear unfair

(Stenvaag, 2012). Aftenposten also suggested that the Minister of the Norwegian Competition Authority should listen to Meyer's spouse rather than Meyer herself, which puts Meyer and her competencies in a negative light (Aftenposten, 2012). Regarding Coop's acquiring of ICA Norge, Meyer also received unfavorable attention. The former CEO of ICA Norge was terribly dissatisfied with Meyer's work, and suggested that she could not be trusted. Several participators agreed, and again, Meyer appears as an unreasonable leader who acts selfishly (Grande & Laugen, 2013). She was further criticized by an economist in The Norwegian Confederation of Trade Unions (LO) for not promoting competition and efficiency in the society, which promotes an image of Meyer as unskilled, one-sided and incompetent of driving competition (Gjelsvik, 2015).

On June 13th, 2015, it was revealed that Meyer was the new CEO of Statistics Norway (Aftenposten, 2015). Though, already the same day, Dagens Næringsliv pointed out that Meyer's education was not in line with the one of the former CEOs (Gjerstad, 2015). Similarly, the former head of economics in LO, Stein Reegård, claimed that Meyer's background was too narrow for the position, and the process of assigning Meyer the position was accused of being a political decision (Gjerstad, 2015). Such attention makes Meyer appear incompetent and unskilled. However, Meyer also received some support. For instance, the Norwegian Finance Minister, Siv Jensen, said it was unfortunate that Meyer's background was criticized in this way, while also stating that she was competent and skilled for the position (Gjerstad, 2015). People were also suspicious of Meyer's positive and strong view on immigration, arguing that it weakened the trust towards the bureau (Ørjasæter, 2015; Nesvik, 2016; Rolness, 2016a; Bjerkholt, 2015). Headings such as "can we trust the Statistics Norway" (Ørjasæter, 2015, p. 2, own translation) and "in 2015, we learned that facts do not help - not for the CEO of Statistics Norway either" (Rolness, 2016b, p. 43, own translation), also illustrates this, and negatively influences the perception of Meyer as a leader.

#### 5.3.5 Content Analysis of Meyer's Downfall as a Leader

The pursuit of own political opinions in a politically independent organization Christine Meyer's downfall as a leader started in January 2017, when she moved several researchers out of the research department against their own will as part of a reorganizing process (Halvorsen, 2017). One of them was Erling Holmøy, who

had published unfavorable statistics on immigration that did not support Meyer's liberal view (Halvorsen, 2017). Meyer was accused of having "conspiracy reasons" and promoting immigration statistics that supported her own political view (Hansen, 2017a, p. 2, own translation), which was alarming as Statistics Norway should deliver facts and not be influenced by political considerations. Further, she was also accused of following her own manipulative leadership style influenced by the article she wrote in 2009 with the heading "making radical change happen through selective inclusion and exclusion of stakeholders" (Langved, Haugli & Takla, 2017, p. 10, own translation).

The case grew into a conflict with the conservative politician and Minister of Finance, Siv Jensen, who publicly stated that she no longer trusted Meyer who repeatedly ignored her concerns and warnings (Sætran, Husøy & Spence, 2017). The Norwegian Confederation of Trade Unions (LO), which is the largest and most influential workers' organization in Norway, as well as the The Confederation of Norwegian Enterprise (NHO), which is the leading voice of business and industry in Norway, also displayed a huge dissatisfaction with the reorganization (Halvorsen, 2017). On November 8th, 2017, Aftenposten published an article stating that Meyer acts self-reliant based on her own political preferences, and that "a leadership change is required in the Statistics Norway" (Hansen, 2017b, p. 2, own translation). Also, Meyer's colleagues expressed concerns regarding the reorganization and relocation within the agency (Takla, 2017). The overall media coverage of the case made Meyer appear as an untruthful leader who acted upon her own interests.

#### 5.3.6 An analytical Summary of Qualitative Findings

Table 12 summarizes the leader image that the popular press constructed of Christine Meyer during the three defined phases, and is created based on the researchers' perceptions of Meyer after reading the associated findings. As shown, Meyer's growth and successful phase is characterized with a balanced amount of positive and negative descriptions, while the descriptions during her downfall were mainly negative.

Phase 1: Growth as a leader	Phase 2: Successful years	Phase 3: Downfall
Favorable:	Favorable:	Favorable:
Inclusive	Powerful	Strong
Engaged	Respected	
Competent	Skilled	Unfavorable:
Caring	Goal oriented	Failure
Interested	Competent	Weak
Skilled	Hard-working	Self-centered
Ambitious	Ambitious	Careless
Dedicated	Strong-willed	Manipulative
Responsible	Tough	Bossy
Suitable leader	Committed	Misleading
Achiever	Strong	Contradictory
Self-confident		Challenger
Determined	Unfavorable:	Unskilled
	Loss of credibility	Dishonest
Unfavorable:	Unafraid	Unreliable
Unethical	Not action oriented	
Inappropriate	Dishonest	
Selfish	Unfair	
Not action oriented	Loss of credibility	
Irresponsible	Untruthful	
	Incompetent	
	Unreasonable	
	Selfish	
	One-sided	
	Unskilled	

Table 12: The constructed media image of Christine Meyer.

#### 6.0 Discussion

#### 6.1 Social Construction of our Case Objects in the Popular Press

The case of Tønne

Already in Tønne's growth phase, we can see tendencies of positive construction of leadership. The popular press promoted an image of him as a hard-working and dedicated man on his way up in the Norwegian Business environment. Within his successful years, the media continued to construct him positively, for example with nicknames such as "Krutt-Tønne" and "Turbo-Tønne". Moreover, it was made apparent that he managed to succeed with tasks few thought was possible, that he impressed important Norwegian politicians, and was popular internally. Hence, the popular press repeatability constructed Tønne as a wonderman and a highly romanticized view was promoted, which gave him a larger-than-life-role, as Chen and Meindl (1991) argues. His behavior and accomplishments were given a great amount of favorable attention, and imaginary words describing the perfect leader who was trustful, open, sympathetic and dedicated, were used. As seen, romance of leadership surrounded Tønne on his way up in his career, however, only until something went remarkably wrong. During his downfall, the evidence

suggests that this romanticized and heroic image was suddenly reconstructed, and Tønne's intentions were quickly questioned by the public. He was then described as someone who violated the rules, as well as inappropriate and unwilling to explain himself. His behavior was also described as untidy and unwise, and the popular press constructed him as a man with low integrity, credibility and trustworthiness. Thus, the case of Tønne supports our first hypothesis.

#### The case of Giske

Likewise, Giske was positively constructed in the two first phases, and he was relatively early given a romanticized illusion by the popular press. He was constructed as ambitious, assertive and tough, and he quickly became an idealized representation of a sociable, talented and resourceful man who was hard-working and capable of handling tough political tasks. The popular press also used highly positive words when exposing Giske, such as "comet career", "strong" and "responsible minister". Additionally, being pictured with highly known politicians and well-known individuals such as the Prime minister, members of the Royal family and other central leaders, provided Giske this larger-than-life role. The evidence suggests that this romanticized illusion protected Giske. For instance, despite that he was well criticized for pushing the unwritten boundaries of what was socially acceptable, he was always accepted and respected in his roles. Moreover, it has been argued that the Labour Party's leaders ignored Giske's inappropriate behavior because he delivered good organizational results. Thus, it is likely that his success at work heightened the romanticized illusion even further. Interestingly, Giske's inappropriate behavior was not only internally known, but the press also admitted they knew. This indicates that the press also protected Giske as an individual, and a global MeToo campaign was needed to challenge this protection of leadership fascination. However, during his downfall, the popular press reconstructed his leader image. He was now presented as an unsuitable and irresponsible leader who abused his power. Interestingly, he was criticized beyond the core of the actual case, which illustrates an attempt of character assassination. Thus, the case of Giske also supports the first hypothesis. Yet, many expect him to make some kind of comeback in the future. While Tønne was described as "politically dead", Giske was described as "not necessarily politically dead". Based on this, we find it reasonable to assume that leadership

fascination may to some degree still protect Giske, and that the reconstruction of Giske's leader identity was not as brutal as the one of Tønne.

#### The case of Meyer

Our findings indicate that a romanticized leadership illusion is not as applicable in the case of Meyer, as the popular press contributed in constructing a relatively rigid image of Meyer already during her growth and successful years. For example, she was early presented as unethical, inappropriate, selfish and irresponsible, and when she was in charge of Statistics Norway, the popular press recommended a leadership change. It should be emphasized that Meyer received a substantial lower amount of media coverage compared to Tønne and Giske, which limits the extent to which romance of leadership could flourish. Additionally, the evidence suggests that the case of Meyer may exemplifies how organizational matters (i.e. instability) may be used to determine the quality of leadership, despite that a causal connection is not determined (Chen & Meindl, 1991).

Furthermore, we argue that implicit leadership theories could be a central explanation of why Meyer was not surrounded by a romanticized view. The constructed image of the leader is mainly a process of matching their personal characteristics and behavior with the society's expectations towards the leadership role, and our findings indicate a poor match in the case of Meyer (Meindl et al., 1985). Through her career, she was criticized for the proposals she forwarded, as well as for being self-centered, manipulative and dishonest. She was also notably criticized for her educational background, for example as being too narrowed or not in line with the education of the former CEOs. Moreover, it has been claimed that she was given the CEO positions due to a political decision of hiring a female. Thus, she has been indirectly accused of being given strong preferential treatments in the selection process, and that the position was not earned. For this reason, we question if Meyer received an extensive amount of criticism due to her female gender role. We draw parallels to the concept of a glass-ceiling, which illustrates how women aiming for leadership positions face barriers of prejudice and discrimination (Harrison, Kravitz, Mayer, Leslie & Lev-Arey, 2006). Eagly and Karau (2002) identified a general role congruity between society's perception of the female gender role and the leadership role, which supports our argument of Meyer not being accepted as a leader in the same way as Tønne and Giske.

Empirical evidence shows that when enacted by a man, leadership behavior is more positively perceived, which enhances this argument even further (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Hence, the evidence suggests that we have biases in our judgments, which create implicit leadership theories that make it much harder for women to reach leadership success, and Meyer exemplifies this struggle. Based on these findings, our first hypothesis was rejected in the case of Meyer.

#### The power of the popular press in leadership construction

Based on our findings, it is apparent that the popular press is a powerful entity as they have a great impact on social construction of leadership. Since the popular press has sole producing rights, they exercise power over the readers as they determine what, and how, content is presented. And even though they give their readers' the opportunity to comment on ongoing cases, the editors choose which material that gets published. While the press needs to carefully consider how they contribute to social construction of reality, they also have a responsibility to inform and uncover unethical and illegal situations. This responsibility becomes incredibly important when the leaders' organization chooses to ignore their behavior as they deliver great results. To elaborate, the Labour Party did not manage to uncover the fact that Tønne did have an income during his severance period, and they chose to ignore his strong connections to Røkke - or at least consider it as unimportant. Similarly, the Labour Party did not reprove Giske's inappropriate behavior before it was of the media's attention. Thus, it is likely to assume that Tønne may have gotten away with economic deception, and that Giske would still exploit his power position and harass women, if the popular press had not uncovered these serious actions.

#### **6.2** Becoming Trapped in Something Bigger than Themselves

#### The case of Tønne

Our research suggests that romance of leadership created a platform for positive identity spirals in the case of Tønne, as it was clear that Tønne was granted the leadership role publically. Moreover, due to the power of the popular press, this granting was likely to go further than within the journalists themselves as they have the power to influence the perception of the whole society, leading to a considerable large granting group. In accordance to the theory, the empirical evidence also suggests that Tønne did claim this role, as he soon progressed into a

high-profiled leader with great self-confident and self-esteem. This process is illustrated in figure 7.



Figure 7: Positive spirals of leadership development.

Our findings indicate that the positive identity spirals had subsequent impact on Tønne's self-image. For example, the fact that Tønne rejected most of the media accusations, and argued that his connections to Røkke did not affect any of his decisions in the parliament, illustrates this alone. Also, according to Hippie (2003), there was nothing in Tønne's history that would suggests that he could be bought and an intentionally subject to corruption. Though, what we find awakening, is that Tønne could not see how his relationship with Røkke could be problematic, as this for most people are obvious. Having strong relations, and possibly also owing money, to one of the most influential businessmen in the private sector, while working in the Norwegian parliament, is clearly a conflict of interest. In this regard, we draw parallels to dark side of leadership as Tønne primarily followed his own personal visions, which were encouraged by his selfactualization and desire to succeed in both private and public sector. We claim that if Tønne was speaking the truth, the fact that he did not see how his actions could be seen in the context of corruption, strengthens the argument that he was trapped in something bigger than himself.

Moreover, Tønne can be viewed as a white-collar criminal. To take it to the extreme, he stole from the taxpayers' money when he received severance pay from the government that he was not entitled to. And, it should be mentioned that he most definitely fitted the general profile of a white-collar criminal, as he was successful, resourceful and highly educated (Arnulf & Gottschalk, 2013). Tønne himself viewed the severance pay incident as a simple misunderstanding. Based on close research of the Tønne case, Hippe argues that despite some economic problems, much evidence suggests that the incident arose because of Tønne's

negligence and not deliberate illegal acts (Hippe, 2003). Whether his actions were intentionally or not, is not within the scope of this assignment, and it is probably something that can never be said with certainty. But again, because Tønne was simply not able to see that his actions were wrong, this indicates that he could have been trapped in something bigger than himself. We claim that due to Tønne's romanticized perception of himself, which flourished due to positive identity spirals, he overestimated what is to be considered as acceptable leadership behavior and it inhibited his ability to identify unethical behavior. Hence, hypothesis 2 is supported in the case of Tønne.

#### The case of Giske

Due to some negative articles within the growth and successful phase, the granting of Giske's leadership identity is not as clear as with Tønne. As already debated, a romanticized view of Giske did flourish, which alone illustrates a granting process of the leadership role. In the same way as Tønne, we argue that Giske claimed this role. He received a great amount of media attention early in his career, and he showed great self-esteem in all three phases. He also made sure to surround himself with powerful and important people, as well as other high-profile leaders and celebrities. Moreover, Giske is the case-object that in total received the largest amount of attention, and we claim that this amount alone is a sufficient foundation for questioning whether the media exposure could heighten his self-perception. Thus, the process illustrated in figure 7 also relates to the case of Giske.

Further, our findings suggest that Giske was trapped in something bigger than himself already at a relatively young age. Giske's behavior during his downfall can be seen in regards to dark side of leadership, as he pursued his own self-interest despite it being destructive for the organization. He was always a very charismatic and outgoing man, and it is apparent that he was tempted to misuse his good communication skills for this personal desire, as Conger (1990) argues is a characteristic of dark side of leadership. While Giske showed poor judgment when abusing his position and taking advantage of subordinates, he could in the same way as Tønne not see how he did anything wrong. This was made clear at an early stage of the case exposure, in which he claimed that the stories were only rumors, and that the anonymous sources were unreliable. He did give a general

apologize after a few days, but we do question the sincerity of it. We find it reasonable to question if this apology was given following a recommendation from one of the Labour Party's communication consultants due to the large amount of negative press. It should be emphasized that the majority of the cases concerns flirty comments and unwanted attention, and this is not technically a crime. However, due to Giske's powerful leadership position, he should have seen how his behavior could be perceived as highly inappropriate. Thus, the evidence suggests that he was also trapped in something bigger than himself. Due to the romanticized perception of himself, which flourished due to positive identity spirals following the favorable press attention, he was not able to distinguish the inappropriateness of his behavior. This indicates that hypothesis 2 is also supported by the case of Giske.

#### The case of Meyer

On the contrary, as our evidence suggests that Meyer was not romanticized, the popular press did not create a platform for the development of positive identity spirals, as the journalists did not grant her the leadership role. We argue that the balanced media coverage had little effect on her as a leader. As a romanticized leader identity constructed by the popular press was a prerequisite for studying hypothesis 2, the case of Meyer does neither support nor reject this hypothesis.

However, as the first female leader at two of Norway's largest public organizations, we find it reasonable to assume that she to some degree was granted the leadership role outside the public eye, initiating positive identity spirals. This suggests that romance of leadership and positive identity spirals may have been created outside the popular press. Our evidence suggests that Meyer could be trapped, and we can see tendencies of dark side of leadership. To specify, she constructed an organizational vision for Statistics Norway that was a tribute to herself and not in line with the organizational goals. While the majority disagreed in her approach to the restructuring (i.e. influenced by political views on immigration), she was unable to see how this could be problematic. Her decisions were simply poor and one-sided, as she followed her own manipulative leadership style influenced by her own political considerations. If this is the case, all leaders may potentially be trapped in something bigger than themselves if they receive a lot of favorable attention and is given powerful and important positions (e.g. at

work). Though, the extent to which they can be trapped is likely to reflect the amount of positive attention. From our findings, it is apparent that both Tønne and Giske were more trapped than Meyer, as the actions that led to their downfalls were much more severe.

#### 6.2.1 A Visual Representation of our Most Important Findings

Figure 8 summarizes how Giske and Tønne became trapped in something bigger than themselves due to favorable media attention and the arising of leadership fascination and positive identity spirals. As shown, this made them more inclined to illegal or unethical behavior, which was no longer in line with the implicit leadership theories of the public. This is in line with Conger's (1990) theoretical framework, which suggests that leaders may become unable to see the consequences of their actions due to past success and an illusion of invincibility. Subsequently, positive identity spirals and becoming trapped in something bigger than themselves have the potential of awakening dark sides of leadership and white-collar crime. Based on our findings, we argue that the identified process facilitated their leadership disasters.



Figure 8: The process of Tønne and Giske's leadership disasters initiated by social construction of leadership in the popular press.

#### 6.3 Repeatability of Leadership Disasters

Based on our previous findings of Tore Tønne and Trond Giske, we see that the popular press had a great amount of power over their social constructed leader images, which had an impact on their self-perception creating an exaggerated and unrealistic self-image. Whether this process can be identified as a repeatable process is interesting to discuss further as repeatability of this process can help explain why great leadership disasters occur.

The early pursuit of positive media coverage

Being present in the popular press is often the leaders' own choice, and it was for Tønne and Giske something they in their early careers decided to be. They both

managed to employ the romanticized and heroic media attention as a powerful tool as it was not only flattering, but also very benefitting in their leadership positions. As politicians, they needed votes from the public and a positive social construction by the popular press could therefore help them pursue their political goals. This is supported by Duckert & Karlsen (2017), who claims that politicians need to reach out to a large part of the society to perform their job, and that this needs to be done through active media participation. It is simply too expensive for the party to buy advertising space, and it would still be hard to reach out to the same amount of people, which illustrates how our political system is dependent and adapted to media's scrutiny. Influencing others' opinions is done by sharing inputs and responses in the media, and the journalists and editors have the role of organizers and debate leaders. Political media involvement goes beyond spreading formalized decisions and goals, and is also about symbolic actions and verbal statements. Therefore, all parties must exploit the media's interest for making news, and coping with media relations today is simply a necessity in order to achieve political success (Duckert & Karlsen, 2017). This suggests that if you have something to gain by giving the media the power to socially construct you (e.g. within the political context), the first two steps of letting the popular press contribute in constructing you in a romantic way, is a repeatable process.

Moving out of the political context, not everyone benefits from, and chooses to, initiate this pursuit of positive media coverage. This can for example be seen in some corporate communication policies, in which companies have made it a policy to stay out of the media's attention. A central point is that an organization or an individual should only be present in the popular press if they have something to gain from it. Research shows that leaders who receive awards and positive attention are likely to increase their personal gain, while the organizations they lead are likely to get reduced market value over time (Arnulf, 2015). Hence, the power of the popular press and the possible impact it can have on leaders' self-image is not only widely acknowledged among researchers, but also within the business life. By avoiding the pursuit of positive media coverage, one can avoid being victim of the media's social construction and the consequences of leadership fascination. Thus, being socially constructed in the popular press is to a great extent the leaders' own choice. The people who would like to benefit from

exposure in the popular press can pursue the media's attention, while leaders who have nothing to gain should keep their distance.

#### Being sold for more than you are worth

When it comes to social construction and the romanticized and heroic view of leadership, it is not just the construction of the person as a celebrity that is dangerous, but also the construction of the person as a highly effective leader. If the leader is assigned as highly effective, the leader may be sold for more than he/she can deliver. This is strongly related to what Khurana (2002, p. 60) refers to as "the curse of the CEO superstar". While his focus is the role of charisma, the message is the same - namely that unrealistic expectations towards the leadership role put a curse on the leader. As Khurana puts it, the charismatic leader is "supposed to have the power to perform miracles" and this belief is fostered by "tales of white knights, lone rangers, and other heroic figures who rescue us from danger" (Khurana, 2002, p. 62). What is interesting is that charisma is not only a personal characteristic of the leader, but also "conferred by the social milieu" (Khurana, 2002, p. 64). CEOs are given a charismatic illusion by factors such as large offices, expensive suits and corporate power, and a larger-than-life appearance is created in the eyes of others (Khurana, 2002). We argue that if leaders are sold for more than they are worth by the popular press, a leadership disaster is likely to occur, as they cannot fulfill these expectations in the long run. Though, as our findings suggests, the leader can fulfill these expectations for a shorter period of time, which is still a sufficient time frame for the creation of positive identity spirals. The extremely high expectations will then according to both our findings and theoretical foundation affect the leader's self-image, and the leader can easily be caught by the heroic illusion himself/herself. Then, as long as the romanticized and heroic leadership fascination lasts, the leader will be presented as brilliant and perfect. However, when the leader becomes trapped and prone to illegal or unethical behavior, the image will be reconstructed.

#### The risk of letting someone else define you

When leaders have decided to let the popular press contribute in creating their own identity, they are clearly in an exposed position. By letting someone else to define you, you lose control. It is not possible to decide what is written in the popular press, and it is not possible to suddenly reverse one's past desire of the

press' attention. If a leader becomes trapped in something bigger than him/herself and inclines to white collar crime, inappropriate or unethical behavior, or other actions that results in negative media exposure, the content and angulation of this media cover cannot be controlled. It is then extremely hard to prevent the popular press in reconstructing one's identity. This can be illustrated by the follow quote: "If you expose yourself during successful times, then you have to be prepared for hell during bad times" (Duckert & Karlsen, 2017, p. 166, own translation). It is simply impossible to silence the popular press if they believe they have a great story. And if they have made it their mission to tear a leader down, such as Tønne and Giske, they have the power to do so and to make a leadership failure into an extreme disaster.

Moreover, the staging by the media and the positive construction might be used against the leader for the media's own interest. For the popular press, it is usually the construction of the leader and the assigned identity that catch the readers' attention. And more importantly, this is the source of income for the popular press themselves. Therefore, we argue that social construction of leadership is something the popular press benefits from, and they have the power to focus on the construction that sells and not necessarily the construction that is correct. For example, during Tønne's downfall, it was clear that Dagbladet's disclosures were profitable and that they were rather unbalanced. As Duckert & Karslen (2017) argues, the competition for the attention of the public is tough, and together with the chase of being first to publish a great story in a fast-paced online publishing environment, the likelihood of sloppiness, factual errors, biases and a superficial hunt for stories increases. To summarize, when the leader gives the media the power over his/her leadership construction, any illegal or unethical behavior that occurs, will be extremely monitored and publicly revealed. This shows how vulnerable the leader becomes when they give the media the power of constructing their image, as media will pursue any cases that sell. Thus, this supports the statement of a repeatable process.

#### 6.3.1 A Conceptual Model of the Research Paper

The evidence suggests that the process identified in the case of Tønne and Giske is a repeatable process, however, a prerequisite for the occurrence of the identified process is the leader's own pursuit for positive media coverage. When this pursuit results in favorable media exposure and leadership fascination (i.e. romanticized

and heroic view), it initiates a granting-claiming process of the leader identity role where positive identity spirals occurs. These three steps illustrate the direct power of the popular press. However, the power of the popular press also has indirect effects, which can be summarized by the leaders' own exaggerated self-image. Due to positive identity spirals, leaders become trapped in something bigger than themselves, and more inclined to perform illegal or unethical behavior that launches a leadership disaster. Moreover, we argue that the stronger the leadership fascination is, the more exaggerated and unrealistic is the leader's self-perception, which again leads to a greater severity of questionable actions that is likely to initiate a leadership disaster. Based on these findings, we have made a conceptual model of leadership disasters initiated by social construction of leadership in the popular press as shown in figure 9.

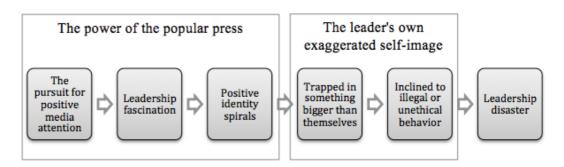


Figure 9: A conceptual model of leadership disasters initiated by social construction of leadership in the popular press.

The conceptual model shows how the theories of romance of leadership, heroic leadership, positive identity spirals and identity and identification can assist our understanding of leadership downfalls that takes place in the media. Thus, social construction of leadership in the popular press appears to be a real phenomenon that has the power to initiate leadership disasters. And when it occurs, it tends to follow our conceptual model that highlights our main findings, as well as the theoretical frameworks that laid the foundations of this assignment. For a long time, it can be very beneficial to be positively constructed publically. Though, the potential downside is huge as leaders lose control over their own image when the power of their defined leader identity is given to the popular press.

#### 7.0 Conclusion

This research paper has dived deeper into the topic of great leadership disasters in light of social construction of leadership in the popular press. The evidence suggests that the popular press has the power to socially construct leaders, though, the power is often given to the press due to the leaders' own pursuit of positive media attention. As with the case of Tønne and Giske, the media created a romanticized and heroic leadership illusion in their growth and successful years, but their leader image was radically reconstructed during their downfall. Meyer on the other hand, was to a lesser extent constructed in such an extreme way.

Our findings also suggest that favorable construction of leader identity in the popular press initiates spirals of positive identity development, in which leaders are granted and claims the romanticized leader image. These results in an exaggerated and unrealistic self-image, in which they can easily become trapped in something bigger than themselves and more inclined to perform questionable behavior. Based on the case of Meyer, we also argued that this could be applicable outside the popular press, and that positive identity spirals can trap a leader due to leadership fascination created by positive attention and promotions in general. Though, we argued that the extent to which the leader is trapped reflects the amount of leadership fascination. This makes a romanticized and socially constructed image by the popular press especially consequential.

Further, the evidence indicates that these findings may be a repeatable process, as people often pursue media attention when they have something to gain. Though, they may be sold for more than they are worth, and are likely to lose control over the construction of their leader identity. Thus, the paper highlights how the theories of romance of leadership, heroic leadership, positive identity spirals as well as identity and identification, can assist our understanding of leadership downfalls that takes place in the popular press.

#### 8.0 Limitations and Recommendations for Future Research

The most prominent methodological limitation of this research paper is the inaccuracy of the digital system in the National Library of Norway. The online library in which we collected our archival records had within a certain time period

posted several versions of the same newspaper, which made it problematic and unmanageable to achieve the exact number of articles for some of our case objects or the defined phases. However, this only affected the frequency of the media coverage. Additionally, due to the incompletion of the National Library's electronic archive of newspapers, there may be a few variations in the number of papers depending on the time of study. Therefore, we recommend that this topic should be studied in further detail when the archive is fully completed. Moreover, the fact that this research paper only investigated three political leaders is also a methodological limitation, and it would for further research be interesting to study the question of repeatability of the defined process with a greater number of leaders, as well as different types of leaders.

The most prominent limitation related to us as researchers is subjectivity. Despite full access to all relevant archival records within this study, it was still challenging to collect all relevant data as well as to objectively and rationally evaluate. Therefore, there is a possibility that the angulation of the articles and how we chose to analyze our findings was influenced by, and dependent on, our own perceptions. Likewise, how we defined the three phases was also to some degree based on subjectivity. The issue of subjectivity is impossible for researchers to completely overcome in social science, as we are part of the social world that is being studied (Bryman & Bell, 2015). This may have implications for the findings and the patterns discovered in this study, and it would be valuable to study this further with other researchers in control. Though, the fact that we were two researchers and that we did not have any strong prior personal opinions about the leaders helped to reduce this bias to some degree.

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# Appendices

**Appendix A: Quantitative Coding Schedule** 

	Coding Schedule								
Date Paper i. ii. iii. Type of iv. Type of v. Fron Angulation Scope article attention page									

# Appendix B: Quantitative Coding Manual

# **Coding Manual**

# i. Angulation of heading

Positive (1); Negative (2); Neutral (3)

# ii. The scope of the article

Less than a page (1), 1-2 pages (2); 3 or more pages (3)

## iii. Type of article

News article (1), opinion/comment/debate (2), other (3);

## iv. Type of attention

Main theme (1); Secondary theme (2)

# v. Front page

No (1); Yes (2)

Appendix C: Quantitative Coding Schedule for Tore Tønne

Coding Schedule							
Tore Tønne's growth phase							
Date	Paper	i. Angulation	ii. Scope	iii. Type of article	iv. Type of attention	v. Front page	
31.01.74	DB	3	1	3	2	1	
18.07.77	A	1	1	3	1	1	
02.10.79	A	3	1	3	2	1	
20.01.81	A	1	1	3	1	1	
14.05.82	A	1	1	3	1	1	
15.05.82	A	1	1	3	1	1	
05.03.85	DB	3	1	3	2	1	
23.05.85	A	3	1	1	2	1	
16.10.85	A	3	1	3	2	1	
24.06.86	A	3	1	1	2	1	
29.09.87	DN	3	2	3	2	1	
12.11.87	A	1	1	1	1	1	
12.11.87	DB	1	1	1	2	1	
13.11.87	A	3	1	1	2	1	
22.12.87	A	3	1	3	2	1	
22.12.87	DN	3	1	3	2	1	
		1 = 6	1 = 15	1 = 5	1 = 5	1 = 16	
		2 = 0	2 = 1	2 = 0	2 = 11	2 = 0	
		3 = 10	3 = 0	3 = 11			

Tore Tønne's successful phase							
Date	Paper	i. Angulation	ii. Scope	iii. Type of article	iv. Type of attention	v. Front page	
05.09.88	A	3	1	1	2	1	
05.09.88	DN	3	1	1	2	1	
10.04.91	DN	3	1	1	2	1	
15.05.91	A	3	1	1	2	1	
06.03.92	DN	3	1	1	2	1	
28.04.92	A	3	1	3	2	1	
11.01.93	DN	3	1	1	2	1	
13.01.93	A	1	1	1	2	1	
24.03.93	DN	3	1	1	2	1	
30.07.93	A	3	1	1	2	1	
16.11.93	DN	1	1	1	1	1	
07.12.93	A	1	1	1	2	1	
05.07.94	DN	1	1	1	2	2	
05.07.94	DN	1	1	1	1	2	
05.07.94	DN	3	1	1	1	2	
07.11.94	A	1	1	1	2	1	
07.11.94	DN	1	1	1	2	1	
01.06.95	A	3	1	3	2	1	
30.01.95	DN	2	1	1	2	1	
30.01.95	DN	3	1	1	1	1	
26.08.95	DN	3	1	1	2	1	
24.02.96	DN	3	1	1	1	1	
17.03.95	DB	3	1	1	2	1	
24.05.96	A	2	1	1	1	2	
30.12.96	A	3	1	1	2	1	

20000	DM	1 2	l ,	2	2	
26.06.96	DN	3	1	3	2	1
27.09.96	DN	3	1	3	2	1
06.01.97	DN	2	1	3	2	1
24.02.97	DN	1	1	3	1	1
18.03.97	A	3	1	1	2	1
02.09.97	DN	1	1	1	2	1
04.03.98	DN	3	1	1	2	1
28.03.98	A	3	1	1	2	1
31.07.98	DN	3	1	1	2	2
28.09.98	DN	3	1	1	2	1
15.12.98	DN	2	1	3	2	1
16.12.98	A	1	1	1	2	1
06.05.99	DN	1	1	1	2	1
02.11.99	A	3	1	1	2	1
22.01.00	DB	3	1	1	2	1
22.03.00	A	3	1	1	1	1
18.03.00	DB	1	1	3	1	1
18.03.00	DN	1	1	3	2	1
18.03.00	DN	1	1	1	2	1
18.03.00	DN	3	1	1	2	1
18.03.00	DN	1	1	1	2	1
30.03.00	DN	2	1	1	2	1
01.04.00	DB	3	1	3	2	1
03.04.00	A	3	1	1	2	1
03.04.00	A	3	1	1	2	1
03.04.00	A	3	1	1	2	1
16.04.00	A	1	1	1	2	1
16.04.00	A	3	1	3	2	1
11.05.00	A	3	1	1	2	1
15.05.00	DN	1	1	1	2	1
29.05.00	A	3	1	1	2	1
07.06.00	DB	2	1	3	2	1
22.06.00	A	1	1	1	2	1
06.07.00	DN	3	1	3	2	1
07.07.00	A	3	1	1	2	1
13.07.00	DB	3	1	1	1	1
25.07.00	A	3	1	1	2	1
09.08.00	DB	3	1	3	2	1
09.08.00	A	3	1	1	2	1
09.08.00	A	2	1	3	2	1
15.08.00	DN	3	1	1	2	1
15.08.00	DN	3	1	1	2	1
25.08.00	A	3	1	1	2	1
05.09.00	A	1	1	1	1	1
09.09.00	DB	3	1	3	2	1
14.09.00	A	1	1	1	1	1
27.09.00	A	3	1	1	1	1
12.10.00	DN	3	1	1	2	1
25.10.00	A	2	1	1	2	1
26.10.00	DB	1	1	1	2	1
09.11.00	A	3	1	1	2	1
10.11.00	DN	3	1	1	2	1
14.12.00	A	3	1	1	2	1
20.12.00	DB	1	1	1	2	1
31.12.00	A	1	1	3	1	2
11.01.01	DB	1	1	1	2	1
18.01.01	DN	1	1	1	2	1
18.01.01	DN	3	1	1	2	1

19.01.01	A	1	1	1	2	1
31.01.01	A	3	1	1	2	1
14.02.01	A	3	1	3	2	1
22.02.01	DB	2	1	1	2	1
08.03.01	DN	3	1	1	1	1
08.03.01	DN	3	1	1	2	1
10.03.01	A	3	1	1	2	1
10.03.01	A	3	1	1	1	1
19.03.01	A	3	1	1	2	1
27.03.01	DB	1	1	3	1	1
29.03.01	A	3	1	1	2	1
29.03.01	A	1	1	1	1	1
29.03.01	A	3	1	1	2	1
03.04.01	DN	3	1	3	2	1
25.04.01	A	1	1	1	1	1
09.05.01	A	2	1	1	2	1
19.05.01	DB	2	1	3	2	1
19.05.01	DB	2	1	1	2	1
25.05.01	DN	2	1	3	2	1
02.06.01	A	3	1	2	2	1
19.06.01	A	3	1	1	2	1
19.06.01	A	1	1	1	1	1
19.06.01	A	3	1	1	2	1
12.07.01	DB	3	2	3	2	1
17.07.01	A	1	1	1	2	1
20.07.01	DN	3	1	1	2	1
09.08.01	A	1	1	1	2	1
09.08.01	A	1	1	1	2	2
23.08.01	A	1	1	1	1	1
25.08.01	DB	3	2	3	2	1
06.09.01	A	3	1	3	2	1
28.09.01	A	3	1	1	2	1
11.10.01	A	1	1	1	2	2
23.10.01	A	3	1	1	2	2
23.10.01	A	1	1	1	1	2
05.11.01			1		_	1
11.11.01	A DB	3	1	3	2 2	1
01.12.01	A	1	1	3	2	1
01.12.01	A	2	1	1	1	1
01.12.01	A	3	1	1	2	1
	DN	3	1	1	2	1
04.12.01 16.12.01	DB	1	2	3	1	1
16.12.01	A	3	1	3	2	1
05.02.02	DN	3	2	1	2	1
24.05.02	DN	1	1	1	2	1
		3	2	3	2	1
29.06.02	DB	2	1	1	2	1
01.08.02	A		1 = 125			1 = 120
		1 = 39 2 = 16	1 = 125 $2 = 5$	1 = 99 $2 = 1$	1 = 24 $2 = 106$	1 = 120 $2 = 10$
		2 = 10 $3 = 75$	2 = 3 $3 = 0$	2 = 1 $3 = 30$	2 - 100	2 – 10
		3 – 13	3 - 0	3 – 30		

	Tore Tønne's downfall phase								
	_	i.	ii.	iii. Type	iv. Type of	v. Front			
Date	Paper	Angulation	Scope	of article	attention	page			
04.12.02	DB	2	2	1	1	2			
04.12.02	A	3	1	1	1	1			
05.12.02	DB	2	2	1	1	2			
05.12.02	A	2	1	1	1	1			
06.12.02	DB	2	2	1	1	2			
06.12.02	DB	3	2	1	1	2			
06.12.02	DB	1	1	1	1	2			
06.12.02	DB	2	1	2	1	2			
06.12.02	A	3	1	1	1	2			
06.12.02	A	2	1	2	1	1			
07.12.02	DB	2	2	2	1	2			
07.12.02	DB	2	1	1	1	1			
07.12.02	DB	2	1	1	1	1			
07.12.02	A	2	1	1	1	1			
07.12.02	A	3	1	3	2	1			
08.12.02	DB	2	1	2	2	1			
08.12.02	DB	3	1	3	1	1			
08.12.02	DB	2	1	3	1	1			
09.12.02	DB	3	1	1	2	1			
09.12.02	DB	2	1	3	1	1			
09.12.02	DN	2	1	2	1	1			
10.12.02	DB	2	1	1	1	1			
10.12.02	DB	2	1	3	2	1			
10.12.02	A	3	1	1	1	1			
10.12.02	A	2	1	1	2	1			
10.12.02	DN	2	2	1	2	2			
10.12.02	DN	2	1	1	1	1			
11.12.02	DB	2	3	1	1	2			
11.12.02	DB	2	1	2	2	2			
11.12.02	A	3	1	1	1	1			
11.12.02	DN	2	1	1	1	1			
12.12.02	DB	2 2	2	1 2	1	2			
12.12.02	A		1		1	2			
12.12.02 12.12.02	A	2 2	1	1	2	2			
12.12.02	A DN	2	1	1	1				
		2	1	1	2	1			
12.12.02 13.12.02	DN DB	2	2	1	1	1			
13.12.02	DB	2	1	1	1	1			
13.12.02	A A	2	1	1	1	2			
13.12.02	DN	3	1	1	2	1			
13.12.02	DN	2	1	1	2	1			
14.12.02	DB	2	1	3	1	2			
14.12.02	DB	2	3	3	1	2			
14.12.02	DB	2	1	3	1	1			
14.12.02	A	2	1	3	1	1			
14.12.02	A	2	1	1	1	2			
14.12.02	DN	2	1	1	1	1			
14.12.02	DN	2	1	1	2	1			
15.12.02	DB	2	2	2	1	1			
15.12.02	DB	2	1	3	1	1			
15.12.02	A	2	1	1	2	1			
15.12.02	A	3	1	1	2	1			
16.12.02	DB	2	2	1	1	1			
10.12.02				<u> </u>	· •				

16 12 02	٨	1 2	l 1	2	1	1 1
16.12.02 16.12.02	A A	3	1	3	1	2
16.12.02	DN	2	1	2	1	1
16.12.02	DN	2	2	1	1	2
16.12.02	DN	2	1	1	2	2
16.12.02	DN	3	1	1	1	2
16.12.02	DN	3	1	1	1	2
17.12.02	DB	2	3	3	1	2
17.12.02	A A	3	1	1	1	1
17.12.02	A	3	1	1	2	1
17.12.02	DN	2	1	1	1	2
17.12.02	DN	3	1	1	2	2
17.12.02	DN	2	1	1	1	2
18.12.02	DB	2	1	3	2	1
18.12.02	DB	3	2	1	1	2
18.12.02	DB	2	1	2	2	1
18.12.02	DB	2	1	2	1	1
18.12.02	DB	2	1	3	2	1
18.12.02	A	3	1	1	2	2
18.12.02	A	3	1	1	2	2
18.12.02	A	2	1	2	2	2
18.12.02	A	3	1	3	2	1
18.12.02	DN	2	2	1	1	2
18.12.02	DN	3	1	1	1	2
18.12.02	DN	3	1	2	2	2
19.12.02	DB	2	2	1	2	1
19.12.02	DN	2	1	1	2	2
19.12.02	DN	2	1	1	2	2
19.12.02	DN	2	1	3	1	1
20.12.02	DB	1	2	1	2	1
20.12.02	DB	3	2	3	2	1
20.12.02	A	3	1	3	2	1
20.12.02	A	3	1	1	1	1
20.12.02	DN	2	1	3	2	1
21.12.02	DN	2	1	3	2	1
21.12.02	DN	2	1	1	2	1
21.12.02	DN	2	1	3	2	1
22.12.02	DB	3	2	1	1	2
22.12.02	A	1	1	1	1	2
22.12.02	A	3	1	1	1	2
23.12.02	DB	2	2	1	1	2
23.12.02	DB	3	1	1	1	2
23.12.02	DB	3	1	1	2	2
23.12.02	DB	1	2	1	1	1
23.12.02	DB	3	2	1	2	1
23.12.02	DB	1	1	3	1	1
23.12.02	A	3	1	1	2	2
23.12.02	A	3	1	1	2	1
23.12.02	A	3	1	1	2	1
23.12.02	<u>A</u>	1	1	3	1	1
23.12.02	<u>A</u>	3	1	1	2	1
23.12.02	A	1	1	3	1	1
23.12.02	DN	1	2	3	1	2
23.12.02	DN	3	2	1	2	2
23.12.02	DN	3	1	1	1	2
23.12.02	DN	1	2	1	1	2
23.12.02	DN	3	1	1	2	2
23.12.02	DN	3	1	1	1	2

23.12.02	DN	3	1	1	2	2
23.12.02	DN	1	1	1	1	2
24.12.02	DB	3	1	3	2	1
24.12.02	DN	3	1	1	2	1
24.12.02	DN	3	1	1	2	1
24.12.02	A	1	1	3	1	1
27.12.02	DB	3	1	3	1	1
27.12.02	A	1	1	3	1	1
27.12.02	DN	3	1	3	2	1
28.12.02	DB	1	2	3	1	1
29.12.02	DB	1	1	3	2	1
30.12.02	A	1	1	3	1	1
	•	1 = 15	1 = 97	1 = 78	1 = 75	1 = 73
		2 = 65	2 = 24	2 = 13	2 = 49	2 = 51
		3 = 44	3 = 3	3 = 33		

Appendix D: Quantitative Coding Schedule for Trond Giske

Coding Schedule									
	Trond Giske's growth phase								
Date	Paper	i.	ii.	iii. Type	iv. Type of	v. Front			
	Tuper	Angulation	Scope	of article	attention	page			
01.09.92	A	1	1	1	1	1			
05.10.92	DB	1	1	1	1	1			
05.10.92	DB	1	1	1	1	1			
05.10.92	A	3	1	1	2	1			
05.10.92	A	1	1	3	1	1			
04.11.92	DB	1	1	1	2	1			
06.11.92	A	1	1	1	2	1			
14.11.92	DB	3	1	1	2	1			
22.12.92	A	3	1	1	2	1			
11.01.93	DB	1	1	1	2	1			
21.01.93	A	1	1	1	2	1			
04.03.93	DB	2	1	3	2	1			
23.03.93	A	1	1	1	2	1			
24.03.93	DN	1	1	1	1	1			
30.03.93	DB	2	1	2	1	1			
05.04.93	A	2	1	1	2	1			
30.04.93	A	2	1	1	2	1			
06.05.93	DB	3	1	2	1	1			
14.07.93	DB	1	1	1	1	1			
16.07.93	A	1	1	1	2	1			
12.08.93	A	3	1	1	2	1			
27.08.93	A	3	1	1	2	1			
15.09.93	DB	3	1	1	1	1			
15.09.93	A	3	1	1	2	1			
01.10.93	A	1	1	1	2	1			
27.10.93	DB	3	2	1	2	1			
28.10.93	DN	3	1	1	2	1			
11.01.94	DB	3	1	3	1	1			
24.01.94	A	3	1	3	2	1			
14.03.94	DB	1	1	1	2	1			
11.04.94	DB	1	1	1	2	1			
19.04.94	A	2	1	2	2	1			
03.05.94	DB	2	1	1	2	1			
30.05.94	A	1	1	1	2	1			
20.06.94	DB	3	1	3	2	1			
20.06.94	DB	1	2	1	1	1			
20.06.94	A	1	1	1	2	1			
20.06.94	A	2	1	1	2	1			
25.06.94	DN	1	1	3	1	1			
20.07.94	DB	3	1	3	1	1			
20.07.94	DB	2	1	3	2	1			
30.07.94	DB	3	1	3	2	1			
11.09.94	A	1	1	1	2	2			
07.10.94	DB	1	1	1	1	1			
27.10.94	A	3	1	3	2	1			
31.10.94	DB	3	1	1	2	1			
06.11.94	DB	3	1	1	2	1			
15.11.94	A	1	1	3	1	1			
21.11.94	DN	1	1	3	1	1			

23.11.94	DB	3	1	2	2	1 1
29.11.94	A	1	1	1	2	1
29.11.94	A	1	1	1	2	1
13.01.95	A	1	1	1	1	2
09.02.95	DB	1	1	1	2	1
18.02.95	A	3	1	1	2	1
18.02.95	A	2	1	3	2	1
12.03.95	DB	1	1	2	2	1
08.04.95	DB DB	1	1	1	2	1
		3		1	2	1
09.05.95	A	3	1			
13.07.95	A	2	1	3	2	1
14.07.95	DB		1	1	2	1
14.07.95	DB	1	1	1	2	1
28.07.95	A	1	1	1	2	1
21.08.95	DB	1	2	1	2	1
29.08.95	DN	3	1	1	2	1
18.09.95	A	2	1	3	2	1
19.09.95	DB	3	1	3	2	1
19.09.95	DB	2	1	2	1	1
09.11.95	DB	1	1	1	1	1
28.11.95	A	1	1	1	2	1
31.01.96	DB	2	1	1	2	1
06.02.96	A	3	2	3	2	1
14.02.96	A	3	1	1	2	1
18.03.96	DB	1	1	1	2	1
25.03.96	A	1	1	1	1	1
25.03.96	A	3	1	1	2	1
16.04.96	A	3	1	1	2	1
16.04.96	DN	3	1	1	2	1
18.04.96	DB	1	1	3	2	1
18.04.96	DB	3	1	1	2	1
22.05.96	DB	1	1	1	1	1
24.06.96	A	3	1	1	2	1
03.07.96	DB	2	1	3	1	1
03.08.96	A	3	1	1	2	1
03.08.96	A	3	1	1	2	1
04.08.96	DB	3	1	1	2	1
08.08.96	A	3	1	1	2	1
14.08.96	DB	3	1	1	2	1
05.09.96	DB	1	1	1	1	1
16.09.96	A	2	1	2	2	1
11.10.96	DN	3	1	3	2	1
14.10.96	A	3	1	1	2	2
10.11.96	DB	3	1	1	2	1
31.08.97	DB	3	1	1	2	1
21.00.77	2.5	1 = 39	1 = 90	1 = 67	1 = 23	1 = 90
		2 = 15	2=4	2 = 7	2 = 71	2 = 4
		3 = 40	3 = 0	3 = 20		

Trond Giske's successful years							
Date	Paper	i. Angulation	ii. Scope	iii. Type of article	iv. Type of attention	v. Front page	
24.10.97	A	3	1	1	1	1	
16.12.97	A	3	1	1	1	1	
02.03.98	DN	3	1	3	2	1	
03.03.98	DB	3	1	3	1	1	

25.04.09	٨	1 2	l 1	1 1	2	1 1
25.04.98	A DB	3	1	3	2 2	1
12.05.98		3	1	3	2	1
20.08.98	DB	3	1		2	1
25.08.98	A		1	1		1
27.09.98	A	3	1	3	2	1
23.11.98	<u>A</u>	3	1	1	2	1
23.11.98	<u>A</u>	3	1	1	2	1
23.11.98	A	3	1	3	2	1
02.12.98	DB	2	1	3	2	1
19.01.99	<u>A</u>	3	1	3	2	1
18.02.99	A	3	1	1	2	1
06.03.99	DB	3	1	3	2	1
17.04.99	DN	3	1	1	2	1
28.04.99	A	3	1	3	2	1
01.09.99	DB	3	2	1	2	1
08.10.99	A	3	1	1	2	1
31.07.00	<u>A</u>	1	1	1	2	1
23.01.01	A	3	1	2	2	1
23.01.01	A	3	1	1	2	1
02.05.01	DB	1	2	2	2	1
02.05.01	DB	1	2	3	2	1
31.05.01 24.08.01	A	1	1	3	2	1
	A	1	1	1	2	1
24.08.01 17.11.01	A DB	1 1	3	3	1 2	1
20.12.01		3	1	1	2	1
20.12.01	A	1	1	1	2	1
01.03.02	A DN	3	1	1	2	1
01.03.02	DB	1	2	1	1	1
28.07.02	DB	2	1	3	2	1
28.07.02	DB	2	1	1	2	1
06.08.02	A	1	1	1	2	1
15.04.03	A	3	1	1	2	1
18.05.03	DB	1	1	1	2	1
18.05.03	DB	1	1	1	1	1
18.05.03	DB	1	2	1	1	1
04.12.03	A	3	1	1	2	1
03.06.04	DB	1	2	1	1	1
04.11.04	A	1	1	2	2	1
05.04.05	DN	3	2	1	2	1
05.04.05	DN	1	2	1	1	1
26.04.05	DB	2	2	1	2	1
02.09.05	A	3	2	1	2	1
06.01.06	DB	3	3	3	2	1
09.01.06	A	1	2	1	2	1
09.01.06	A	1	1	1	1	1
17.01.06	DN	1	2	1	2	1
20.04.06	A	3	2	1	2	1
08.06.06	DB	1	2	1	2	1
09.08.06	DN	1	2	1	1	1
21.08.06	A	1	1	1	1	1
03.11.06	DB	1	1	2	1	1
18.11.06	A	1	1	1	2	1
18.11.06	A	1	2	2	2	1
18.11.06	A	1	2	1	2	1
29.12.06	A	1	2	1	1	1
29.12.06	A	2	2	1	2	1
05.02.07	DN	1	2	1	2	1
05.02.07	DI	1	<u> </u>	1	<u>~</u>	1

22.02.07		1 1	l 1		1 2	
23.02.07	A	1	1	1	2	1
08.03.07	DB	1	2	1	1	1
12.04.07	A	1	1	1	2	1
29.05.07	A	2	2	1	2	1
19.07.07	A	1	2	1	2	1
24.07.07	DB	1	1	3	2	1
24.07.07	DB	1	1	1	1	1
23.08.07	DN	3	2	1	2	1
22.09.07	A	2	2	2	2	1
17.11.07	A	2	2	2	2	1
17.11.07	A	2	2	1	1	1
17.11.07	A	3	1	1	2	1
29.11.07	DB	1	2	1	2	1
29.11.07	DB	3	2	1	2 2	1
27.01.08	A	1	1	1		1
15.03.08	A	3 2	1	1	2	1
15.03.08	A		1	2	2 2	1
13.04.08	DB	1 2	2	1		1
30.04.08	A	3	1	1	1	2
30.04.08	A	2	1	1	1	
30.04.08	A A	1	1	2 2	1 1	1 1
		1	2		1	1
30.04.08 06.06.08	A DN	2	2	1	2	1
06.06.08	DN	3	1	1	2	1
16.06.08		1	1	2	2	1
16.06.08	A A	2	2	1	1	2
02.08.08	DB	2	1	3	2	1
02.08.08	DB	3	1	1	2	1
08.08.08	A	1	1	1	2	1
28.09.08	A	2	1	1	2	1
19.11.08	A	1	2	1	2	1
19.11.08	A	2	1	2	2	1
19.11.08	A	1	1	1	2	1
12.12.08	DB	3	1	3	2	1
13.12.08	DN	1	3	3	2	1
31.12.08	A	1	2	1	2	1
05.02.09	A	1	1	1	2	1
05.02.09	A	3	1	2	2	1
24.03.09	A	2	1	2	2	1
18.04.09	DB	2	1	1	2	1
09.05.09	A	2	1	1	1	2
09.05.09	A	2	2	1	1	1
09.05.09	A	2	1	2	2	1
09.05.09	A	2	2	1	2	1
20.06.09	A	3	1	1	2	1
20.06.09	A	2	1	2	2	1
20.06.09	A	2	1	1	2	1
30.06.09	DN	2	1	2	1	1
15.08.09	A	1	2	2	2	1
15.08.09	A	1	1	1	2	1
24.09.09	A	2	2	2	2	1
24.09.09	A	1	1	1	1	1
28.09.09	DB	1	2	1	2	1
20.11.09	DN	3	2	1	2	1
29.11.09	A	1	1	1	2	1
04.02.10	A	3	1	2	2	1
11.04.10	A	1	1	1	1	1
						ii

		2 = 44	2 = 65	2 = 39	2 = 132	2 = 4
		1 = 73	1 = 101	1 = 107	1 = 37	1 = 165
08.10.17	A	1	2	1	2	1
11.09.17	DN	3	1	1	2	1
31.03.17	DB	3	1	2	2	1
08.01.16	A	1	1	1	2	1
08.01.16	A	3	2	1	2	1
19.08.15	DN	3	1	2	2	1
27.04.15	DB	3	2	1	2	1
27.04.15	DB	1	2	2	2	1
07.11.14	A	1	1	3	2	1
14.01.14	A	2	1	2	2	1
07.01.14	DN	1	2	1	2	1
26.07.13	A	1	2	1	1	1
26.07.13	DB	3	2	1	2	1
10.04.13	DN	2	2	1	2	1
12.03.13	A	1	1	2	2	1
26.10.12	A	1	1	1	2	1
28.10.12	DB	2	2	2	1	1
28.10.12	DN DB	2	1	2	2	1
25.09.12 19.10.12	A	2	2	1	1	1
20.05.12	A	1	1	1	2 2	1
10.04.12	DN	1	2	1	1	2
27.02.12	A	3	2	1	2	1
20.01.12	DB	2	2	3	2	1
20.01.12	DB	2	1	2	2	1
20.01.12	DB	2	2	1	1	1
20.01.12	DB	3	1	2	2	1
20.01.12	DB	2	1	2	1	1
02.12.11	A	1	1	2	2	1
15.10.11	DN	2	1	2	2	1
11.07.11	A	3	1	1	2	1
02.04.11	DN	1	2	3	2	1
02.04.11	DN	2	2	1	2	1
02.04.11	DN	1	2	1	2	1
02.04.11	DN	2	1	2	2	1
02.04.11	DN	2	1	2	2	1
25.03.11	A	2	1	1	2	1
14.02.11	DB	1	1	2	2	1
28.12.10	A	2	1	2	2	1
06.10.10	DN	1	2	1	2	1
06.10.10	DN	3	1	1	2	1
05.10.10	A	1	1	1	2	1
05.10.10	A	2	1	2	1	1
18.07.10	A	1	2	1	2	1
03.05.10	DN	2	2	1	2	1
03.05.10	DN	2	1	2	2	1
03.05.10	DN	1	2	3	1	1
03.05.10	DN	1	2	1	1	1
24.04.10	DB	3	2	2	2	1

	Trond Giske's downfall									
		i.	ii.	iii. Type	iv. Type of	v. Front				
Date	Paper	Angulation	Scope	of article	attention	page				
08.12.17	DN	3	2	1	2	1				
09.12.17	DN	3	2	3	2	1				
11.12.17	DN	3	2	1	2	1				
14.12.17	DN	2	2	1	1	2				
15.12.17	DN	2	2	1	2	1				
16.12.17	DB	3	2	1	2	1				
16.12.17	DN	2	1	2	2	1				
18.12.17	A	3	2	3	2	1				
18.12.17	DN	2	2	1	1	2				
20.12.17	DN	2	2	1	1	1				
21.12.17	A	2	2	1	1	2				
21.12.17	DN	2	2	1	1	2				
21.12.17	DN	2	1	2	2	1				
22.12.17	DB	2	2	1	1	2				
22.12.17	A	2	2	2	2	2				
22.12.17	A	2	2	1	1	2				
22.12.17	DN	2	2	1	1	2				
22.12.17	DN	1	1	1	2	2				
22.12.17	DN	2	2	2	2	2				
23.12.17	DB	2	1	3	1	1				
23.12.17	DB	2	1	3	1	1				
23.12.17	DB	2	3	1	1	2				
23.12.17	A	2	2	2	2	2				
23.12.17	A	2	2	1	1	2				
23.12.17	A	2	1	1	1	2				
23.12.17	DN	2	2	1	1	2				
23.12.17	DN	2	2	1	1	2				
23.12.17	DN	2	1	2	1	2				
24.12.17	A	2	1	1	1	1				
27.12.17	A	2	1	2	1	1				
27.12.17	DN	2	2	1	1	1				
27.12.17	DN	2	1	2	2	2				
28.12.17	A	1	2	2	1	1				
28.12.17	DN	2	1	2	1	2				
28.12.17	DN	2	2	1	1	2				
29.12.17	DB	2	3	1	2	2				
29.12.17	DB	2	1	2	2	1				
29.12.17	A	2	1	1	1	2				
30.12.07	DB	2	2	1	1	1				
30.12.07	DB	2	3	1	2	1				
30.12.17	A	3	2	1	2	2				
30.12.17	A	2	3	1	2	1				
30.12.17	A	3	3	3	2	1				
02.01.18	DB	3	2	1	1	2				
02.01.18	A	1	2	1	1	2				
02.01.18	DN	2	2	1	1	2				
03.01.18	DB	3	1	2	2	1				
03.01.18	DB	2	3	1	1	2				
03.01.18	A	3	1	2	2	1				
03.01.18	A	2	2	1	1	2				
03.01.18	DN	2	2	1	1	2				
04.01.18	DB	2	1	3	1	1				
04.01.18	DB	2	2	1	1	1				
04.01.18	A	3	2	1	2	2				

04.01.18	A	1	1	1	1	2
04.01.18	A	2	1	1	1	2
04.01.18	A	3	2	3	2	1
04.01.18	A	2	2	3	1	1
05.01.18	DB	3	2	2	2	1
05.01.18	A	3	1	3	2	1
05.01.18	A	3	2	1	2	1
05.01.18	A	3	1	3	2	1
05.01.18	A	3	1	2	1	1
05.01.18	DN	2	2	1	2	1
06.01.18	DB	2	1	1	1	1
06.01.18	DB	2	1	2	2	1
06.01.18	DB	2	2	2	1	1
06.01.18	A	2	2	1	1	2
06.01.18	A	3	1	2	2	1
06.01.18	A	3	2	1	2	1
06.01.18	A	3	2	3	2	1
06.01.18	DN	2	1	2	2	1
06.01.18	DN	2	2	1	1	2
06.01.18	DN	3	3	3	2	1
07.01.18	A	2	1	2	2	1
		1 = 4	1 = 26	1 = 43	1 = 40	1 = 41
		2 = 50	2 = 42	2 = 20	2 = 35	2 = 34
		3 = 21	3 = 7	3 = 12		

Appendix E: Quantitative Coding Schedule for Christine Meyer

Coding Schedule									
Christine Meyer's growth phase									
Date	Paper	i.	ii.	iii. Type	iv. Type of	v. Front			
10 11 01		Angulation	Scope	of article	attention	page			
19.11.01	DN	1	1	1	1	1			
20.12.01	A	3	1	1	2	1			
06.01.02	DB	1	2	1	2	1			
05.02.02	A	1	1	1	2	1			
20.02.02	DN	3	1	2	1	1			
10.04.02	A	1	2	1	2	1			
24.09.02	A A	3	1	1	2	1			
26.09.02	DN	3	1	1		1			
26.09.02			1	1	2	1			
27.09.02	DN	3	1	2	1	1			
25.11.02	A	3	1	1	2	1			
05.02.03	DN	2	2	1	2	1			
24.10.03	DB	2	2	1	2	1			
05.11.03	DB	2	2	1	2	1			
15.06.04	DN	1	1	1	2	1			
21.08.04	DN	1	2	1	2	1			
16.11.04	DB	2	1	2	2	1			
18.02.05	DB	1	2	1	2	1			
12.03.05	A	1	2	1	1	2			
21.08.05	A	1	1	1	1	1			
22.08.05	DN	1	1	3	2	1			
27.10.05	DB	2	1	1	2	1			
20.02.06	DN	1	1	3	1	1			
30.06.06	DN	1	2	1	2	1			
08.08.06	DB	1	2	1	2	1			
27.01.07	DN	1	1	3	1	1			
16.06.07	A	1	1	1	1	1			
24.10.08	A	1	2	3	2	1			
12.12.08	DN	1	2	1	1	1			
06.01.09	DN	3	2	1	1	1			
07.01.09	DN	3	1	2	1	1			
27.08.09	DN	3	1	2	1	1			
20.11.09	A	2	3	3	2	1			
12.03.10	DN	3	1	2	1	1			
15.03.10	DN	2	1	1	1	1			
23.03.10	DN	1	2	1	2	1			
30.03.10	DN	2	1	2	1	1			
07.04.10	DN	2	1	2	1	1			
07.05.10	DN	2	1	2	1	1			
18.06.10	DN	3	2	1	2	1			
05.07.10	DN	3	1	1	2	1			
07.07.10	DN	3	1	2	1	1			
15.09.10	DN	1	2	1	2	1			
01.12.10	DN	1	1	3	1	1			
08.12.10	DN	2	1	2	2	1			
17.12.10	DN	1	1	1	2	1			
05.03.11	DN	1	2	2	2	1			
19.03.11	DN	1 24	2	3	1 21	1 47			
		1 = 24 $2 = 11$	1 = 29 $2 = 18$	1 = 29 2 = 12	1 = 21 $2 = 27$	1 = 47 $2 = 1$			

2 42		a =	
3-13	3 – 1	3 - 7	

Christine Meyers' successful phase							
		i.	ii.	iii. Type	iv. Type of	v. Front	
Date	Paper	Angulation	Scope	of article	attention		
06.04.11	DN	1	1	2	2	<b>page</b>	
17.04.11	A	2	2	2	2	1	
13.05.11	DN	1	2	1	1	1	
23.05.11	DN	3	2	1	2	1	
18.06.11	DN	1	1	3	1	1	
24.06.11	DN	3	1	1	2	1	
11.07.11	DN	2	1	3	2	1	
04.08.11	DN	3	2	1	2	1	
07.09.11	A	1	1	3	1	1	
12.10.11	DN	3	2	3	2	1	
07.12.11	DN	3	1	1	2	1	
08.12.11	DN	3	1	1	2	1	
13.12.11	DN	3	2	1	2	1	
04.01.12	DN	2	2	1	2	1	
05.01.12	DN	3	1	3	2	1	
06.01.12	DN	2	1	3	2	1	
07.02.12	DN	3	1	1	2	1	
08.02.12	A	2	1	2	2	1	
09.02.12	DN	2	1	3	2	1	
08.03.12	DN	1	2	3	2	1	
06.03.12	DB	3	1	2	2	1	
13.04.12	DN	2	2	1	1	1	
26.04.12	A	3	1	1	2	1	
08.05.12	DN	1	2	1	2	1	
22.08.12	A	3	1	1	2	1	
30.08.12	DN	2	1	2	2	1	
06.09.12	A	3	1	2	2	1	
14.09.12	DN	2	2	1	2	1	
03.10.12	A	3	1	2	2	2	
04.10.12	DN	3	1	2	2	1	
09.10.12	DN	3	1	2	2	1	
11.10.12	A	2	1	2	2	1	
13.10.12	DN	3	2	1	2	1	
18.10.12	DN	1	2	1	2	1	
29.11.12	DN	3	1	1	2	1	
15.01.13	DN	3	2	1	2	1	
27.02.13	DN	3	1	1	2	1	
28.02.13	DN	2	2	1	2	1	
01.03.13	DN	2	2	2	2	1	
06.03.13	DN	3	2	1	2	1	
20.04.13	A	2	1	1	2	1	
27.04.13	DN	1	2	3	1	1	
23.05.13	A	3	1	1	2	1	
27.05.13	DN	2	1	2	2	1	
17.07.13	DN	1	1	3	1	1	
13.08.13	DN	1	1	3	1	1	
02.09.13	A	3	2	1	2	1	
01.10.13	DN	3	2	1	2	1	
10.12.13	DN	3	1	1	1	1	
14.12.13	DN	3	1	1	2	1	
17.12.13	DN	2	2	1	2	1	
12.13	~.,		. –	1 *	1 -	1 -	

20.10.10	DV	ا ۔ ا	اما	اما	l a	
23.12.13	DN	1	2	2	1	1
10.01.14	DN	2	2	1	1	1
14.01.14	DN	3	1	2	2	1
24.01.14	DN	2	2	1	2	1
05.02.14	DN	1	2	3	1	1
09.02.14	DB	1	1	2	2	1
14.02.14	DN	1	1	2	2	1
14.02.14	A	3	2	1	2	1
17.02.14	DN	1	2	3	1	1
14.03.14	DN	3	1	1	2	1
10.04.14	A	3	2	1	2	1
13.05.14	DN	3	2	1	2	1
21.07.14	DN	1	2	3	1	1
06.08.14	DN	3	2	1	2	1
01.09.14	DN	2	1	2	2	1
04.09.14	DN	1	1	2	2	1
09.09.14	DN	3	1	2	2	1
03.10.14	DN	3	1	1	2	1
03.10.14	A	3	1	1	2	1
07.10.14	DN	3	2	1	2	1
08.10.14	DN	1	1	2	2	1
14.10.14	DN	1	1	1	2	1
22.10.14	DN	3	1	1	2	1
02.11.14	A	1	3	1	1	1
02.12.14	DN	2	1	1	2	1
02.12.14	A	3	1	1	2	1
19.12.14	DN	2	1	2	2	1
10.01.15	DN	3	2	1	2	1
06.02.15	DN	1	1	2	2	1
07.02.15	DN	2	1	2	2	1
10.02.15	DN	1	1	1	2	1
10.02.15	DN	2	1	2	2	1
11.02.15	DN	1	1	1	2	1
11.02.15	A	2	1	2	2	1
16.02.15	DN	3	1	1	2	1
05.03.15	DN	3	2	1	2	1
10.03.15	DN	1	1	3	2	1
21.03.15	DN	3	2	3	2	1
30.03.15	DN	2	2	2	2	1
10.04.15	A	1	2	1	2	1
11.04.15	DN	3	2	1	1	1
11.04.15	DN	3	1	2	2	1
16.04.15	DN	1	1	3	1	1
30.04.15	DN	3	2	1	2	1
13.06.15	A	1	1	1	1	1
13.06.15	DB	1	1	1	1	1
13.06.15	DN	2	2	1	1	1
13.06.15	DN	1	1	1	1	1
16.06.15	DN	2	1	1	2	1
17.06.15	DN	1	1	3	2	1
09.07.15	DN	1	2	3	1	1
13.08.15	A	3	1	1	2	1
15.08.15	DN	2	1	2	2	1
01.09.15	DN	2	2	2	2	1
14.11.15	DN	3	2	1	2	1
01.12.15	DN	3	2	3	2	1
04.12.15	DN	3	2	1	2	1
05.12.15	DN	2	1	2	2	1

05.12.15	DN	1	1	3	1	1
11.12.15	A	2	1	2	1	1
02.01.16	DB	2	2	2	2	1
29.01.16	A	3	1	2	2	1
30.01.16	DB	2	2	2	2	1
11.03.16	A	3	2	1	2	1
11.03.16	DN	2	2	1	2	1
25.04.16	A	3	1	2	2	1
28.04.16	A	2	1	2	2	1
12.05.16	DN	2	1	2	2	1
05.07.16	DN	1	2	3	1	1
06.08.16	DN	1	1	3	2	1
29.08.16	DN	3	1	2	2	1
01.11.16	DN	3	1	2	2	1
	•	1 = 34	1 = 72	1 = 61	1 = 24	1 = 122
		2 = 35	2 = 50	2 = 39	2 = 99	2 = 1
		3 = 54	3 = 1	3 = 23		

Christine Meyer's downfall phase							
Date	Paper	i. Angulation	ii. Scope	iii. Type of article	iv. Type of attention	v. Front page	
21.01.17	DN	2	1	2	2	1	
27.01.17	DN	2	1	2	2	1	
01.02.17	DN	2	2	1	2	1	
24.02.17	DN	1	2	3	1	1	
17.03.17	DN	1	1	3	1	1	
24.03.17	DN	1	2	1	1	1	
07.04.17	DN	2	2	1	1	1	
13.06.17	DN	2	2	1	2	1	
19.07.17	DN	1	2	3	1	1	
28.10.17	DN	2	1	2	2	1	
28.10.17	DN	2	2	1	1	1	
29.10.17	A	2	2	1	1	2	
30.10.17	DN	2	2	1	2	1	
30.10.17	A	2	2	2	2	1	
31.10.17	A	2	2	1	1	1	
31.10.17	DB	2	2	1	1	1	
31.10.17	DN	2	2	1	1	1	
31.10.17	DN	2	1	2	1	1	
01.11.17	DN	1	2	1	2	1	
01.11.17	DB	2	2	2	2	1	
02.11.17	A	2	2	2	2	1	
02.11.17	DN	3	2	1	2	1	
03.11.17	A	2	2	2	2	1	
04.11.17	DB	2	1	2	2	1	
04.11.17	DN	2	2	1	2	1	
04.11.17	DN	2	1	1	1	1	
04.11.17	DN	2	1	2	2	1	
04.11.17	DN	3	2	2	2	1	
04.11.17	DN	3	1	2	2	1	
04.11.17	DN	3	3	3	1	1	
06.11.17	DN	2	2	1	2	1	
07.11.17	A	2	2	1	1	1	
08.11.17	A	2	2	2	2	1	
09.11.17	A	2	2	1	2	1	
09.11.17	DB	2	1	3	2	1	

09.11.17	DB	3	1	1	1	1
09.11.17	DN	2	1	2	2	1
09.11.17	DN	2	2	1	1	1
10.11.17	DN	2	2	1	1	1
10.11.17	DN	2	2	2	1	1
10.11.17	A	2	2	1	1	2
10.11.17	DN	3	1	2	2	1
		1 = 5	1 = 13	1 = 21	1 = 19	1 = 40
		2 = 31	2 = 28	2 = 16	2 = 23	2 = 2
		3 = 6	3 = 1	3 = 5		