LEADERSHIP IN SYMPHONY ORCHESTRAS

DISCURSIVE AND AESTHETIC PRACTICES

BY

NIINA KOIVUNEN

ACADEMIC DISSERTATION
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For Laura-Sofia, Daylane and Vilja

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It must have been in the cornfields of southern Illinois, US, when I first became interested in art and business. Strangely enough, that was the very place. I spent a year there as an exchange student in 1991-92. A fellow exchange student from Uruguay shared my interest for the arts and we both had a background in business studies. Together we were determined to make art and business our future profession. We had to travel that far to discover our mission, and then return to our respective countries at the opposite ends of the world. In my case, this determination was accomplished several years later, in the form of doctoral studies.

I was fortunate to find other like-minded people at my home university. My advisor Arja Ropo liked the idea of studying leadership in art organizations and has been very encouraging during the whole process. She has been one of my mentors in the academic world and I am very grateful for all of her support. Marja Eriksson also shares an interest for art organizations and has initiated many inspirational discussions about the topic. Throughout the study, Minna Halme has been an important mentor, as well as a friend, when it comes to conducting research and learning the procedures of the academic world. I likewise appreciate Päivi Eriksson's support and guidance during the first years of the study. Jaana Parviainen has taught me a great deal about philosophy and the philosophical way of thinking, which we have diligently practiced during our extensive lunch discussions.

The doctoral courses offered by KATAJA (The Finnish Doctoral Program in Business Studies) have been beneficial at least in two ways. First, the courses are excellent and second, one gets to know other doctoral students in Finland. I would like to name two series of courses that have had a great influence on my research. First, there are the courses organized by Iiris Aaltio and Claes Gustafsson around the theme 'Culture, meaning and understanding in organizational analysis'. These eventful courses have significantly influenced my ability to

think and write. Second, the courses on qualitative research methods given by Pertti Alasuutari have taught me a great deal. After three of his courses I finally started to see the light, or at least some of it. In addition, he was kind enough to take the time and discuss methodological questions when I needed help. Furthermore, conferences have served as important milestones in completing doctoral studies and developing scholarly skills. The Nordic Conference on Business Studies has become my favorite among conferences.

My 1,5-year visit to the Business School of Stockholm University has been crucial for this study. I would like to thank Pierre Guillet de Monthoux, who was kind enough to host my visit and invite me to participate in the research group ECAM (European Centre of Art and Management). Pierre also introduced me to aesthetics. Fellow doctoral students of ECAM provided enjoyable company. I would especially like to thank Ann-Sofie Köping, who also studies symphony orchestras: she introduced me to relational perspective and invited me to tend her garden when life was hard. Marja Soila-Wadman encouraged me to read about auditive culture and shared the struggle to complete her manuscript around the same time. Katja Lindqvist initiated interesting discussions and cooked amazing food. Further, I thank Miriam Salzer-Mörling for her support during my stay in Stockholm.

I have had the great pleasure of talking with many musicians and orchestra professionals in Finland and in the United States. Being a very curious person, I have enjoyed these dialogues immensely. Both symphony orchestras, Tampere Philharmonic Orchestra and The Philadelphia Orchestra, have been very supportive of my research, for which I am very grateful. I sincerely thank all musicians and managers who participated in the interviews and discussions. In Tampere, Maritta Hirvonen has been very enthusiastic about the study and willingly commented my texts during the years. Jaana Haanterä has shared her experiences of music life and musicianship in numerous discussions. In Philadelphia, Joe Kluger showed an interest in the project and openly welcomed me to study the orchestra. Anthony Orlando kindly organized the interview schedule with the musicians, no small task, and helped with practical questions during my stay in Philadelphia. Tero-Pekka

Henell read my texts and was compassionate enough to point out that my rather romantic ideas about symphony orchestras needed serious rethinking.

My reviewers Iiris Aaltio and Dian Marie Hosking have read the manuscript and provided insightful comments that have greatly improved the text. I wish to express my gratitude for their efforts.

Two fellow doctoral students have shared the joys and sorrows during this long journey. I wish to thank Emma Vironmäki for courage and wisdom, and Alf Rehn for compassion and encouragement. Kyösti Koskela has been a true friend during all these years. Ximena Varela was the person in the cornfields of southern Illinois, and her example and spirit encouraged me to pursue a career in art and business. She also suggested that I should study The Philadelphia Orchestra, and helped me to get in contact with them. Dear friends, your role has been very important.

The School of Business Administration helped me get started and has provided me an academic home, for which I am grateful. The Finnish Center for Service and Relationship Management has funded my study for three years. The Foundation for Economic Education and Finnish Cultural Foundation have also generously supported the study. A number of other foundations have provided additional funding: Konkordialiitto, Tampereen kauppakamari, Tampereen kaupungin tiederahasto, Tampereen liikesivistyssäätiö, Markus Wallenbergin säätiö and Jenny ja Antti Wihurin säätiö. I am truly grateful for all this support.

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Tampere, December 2002
Niina Koivunen

CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1.

PRELUDE

This is a study about leadership in symphony orchestras. It has been conducted during a time when the arts and commerce have increasingly sought out one another's company. A most interesting dialogue has been taking place in the field of research as well as in practice; art and commerce have found each other. Traditionally, the arts have been associated with creativity, beauty, freedom, imagination and intuition while business has been connected with the opposite: commerce, control, effectiveness, structure and rationality. Not exactly a match made in heaven, one could argue.

Despite their differences, these unlikely partners have enjoyed their companionship. Business scholars have found the art sector inspiring and the art organizations have found business skills and knowledge useful. A lively exchange of concepts and ideas has been taking place between these two worlds. For instance, some scholars argue that business managers resemble artists and management should be considered an art. Books with titles such as "Leadership is an Art" or "The Leadership Jazz" (De Pree 1989, 1992) have been published in recent years. At the same time, the art world fluently applies business vocabulary and experiments with the latest management trends. Books like "From Maestro to Manager" (Fitzgibbon and Kelly, 1997) appear on bookshop shelves. The traditional positions are shifting, and sometimes in a most peculiar way.

As a result of this rising interest, an entirely new research field has emerged within business studies, that of arts management. Arts management deals with the challenging interplay between art and business and attempts to shed light on the specific

conditions of art organizations. Typical questions within the field are whether art products differ from ordinary products, does art allow itself to be managed and how are artists managed? The special management structure in art organizations also attracts attention: many art organizations have a dual management structure that is comprised of an artistic manager and an administrative manager. The researchers in this field most often draw on business studies, the fine arts or aesthetics, or a combination of these disciplines.

Subject of the study

Leadership is a hugely popular yet controversial topic that easily evokes passions, opinions and arguments. The topic has been investigated by thousands of studies, both in academia and the more pragmatic fields. Leadership is about people, about human behavior and interaction in organizations which is always interesting. Leadership is the specific subject of this study as well. My study focuses on leadership in symphony orchestras and thus provides insights about the phenomenon in a particular context. However, most of my findings about leadership touch on such widely discussed topics that they certainly have relevance in other organizations as well.

Symphony orchestras are particularly interesting arenas for studying leadership because they host many different kinds of leadership behavior. First, the continuous tightrope walk between artistic matters and administration creates a basic tension within the organization. Second, the figure of the conductor has received a great deal of attention in leadership literature, even to an extreme extent. In this literature, the conductor is often used as a metaphor for excellent leadership. On the one hand, conductors can be seen as total dictators who control everything, exploit the musicians and force their view upon the orchestra. On the other hand, conductors are depicted as the ideal type of a future leader who orchestrates everything, pays attention to every individual at the same time, while

achieving great results in teamwork and inspiring subordinates to excel in their performance. Third, there are leadership positions within the orchestra: each instrument section has a leader and a vice leader. They have somewhat invisible but very significant roles in the orchestra.

In my view, leadership literature is clearly characterized by the image of a strong, individual leader who alone applies different styles and techniques to her subordinates. This is very instrumental; leadership skills are something that can be learned and then used on employees. The relationship is strikingly a subject/object relationship where the leader wants to gain control. Perhaps the popularity of the conductor metaphor is partly explained by this statement, the conductor is perceived as a person who has absolute power over the musicians. The musicians are passive followers who have to comply. It is the conductor's supernatural talent and charisma that leads to excellent performances for which the conductor alone receives almost all of the credit. Leadership is portrayed lonely and heroic. I disagree with this line of thinking and suggest that we should pay more attention to the *relationship* itself between the leader and subordinates.

This study builds on a *relational constructionist* view of reality (Dachler and Hosking, 1995; Hosking, 1999, 2000). Relational constructionism, one variant of social constructionism, views knowledge as socially constructed and socially distributed. Reality is no longer viewed as a singular fact of nature but as multiple and socially constructed. Whether the social process is leadership or negotiating, knowing is an ongoing process of relating. Leadership is thus an ongoing process, it is constantly on the move. Leadership is constructed during rehearsals and coffee breaks, by daily work, gossip, arguments and interaction. This construction, however, is not an exclusively linguistic or cognitive process but derives from the knowledge-creating faculties of all of the human senses. These aesthetic factors, our five senses, emotions and feelings have a great impact on leadership construction.

In art organizations, as certainly in other organizations as well, many different meanings for leadership exist simultaneously. People hold various opinions on leadership as well as hopes, demands and prejudice about it. These different meanings compete with each other, they shift during time, they emerge and die. My aim is to understand and describe this diverse realm of leadership in symphony orchestras by addressing the following research question:

How is leadership constructed in symphony orchestras?

I apply two perspectives to study this question, a discursive perspective and an aesthetic perspective. The discursive perspective approaches the research question by studying the language practices through which people construct leadership. The aesthetic perspective addresses sensuous perception, hearing in particular, in combination with leadership. Leadership research has traditionally totally disregarded these aesthetic aspects. Together these two perspectives bring a more in-depth and holistic understanding of leadership in organizations.

In order to better understand symphony orchestras and their leadership, I have studied leadership literature and collected data at two symphony orchestras through interviews and observations. My extensive fieldwork at the Tampere Philharmonic Orchestra and The Philadelphia Orchestra provides a rich source of material about leadership practices and organization culture in these orchestras. The study is based on this material.

Composition of the study

The study includes two lengthy essays about leadership in symphony orchestras. These separate essays provide an independent description of leadership, each from different angles. These essays are supported by chapters that address

methodology, theoretical assumptions about leadership and the nature of symphony orchestras.

The theoretical and empirical sections are intertwined in this study. Thus, there are no separate chapters on theory or empirical findings. For example, chapters 4, 5 and 6 all include both theory and empirical notions. Chapter 3 consists of a combination of theory and methodology. This structure reflects the qualitative nature of the study and is hopefully more interesting for the reader. Extensive literature reviews without a clear connection to the empirical results are seldom insightful. Instead, a dialogue between the data and the theory is often more fruitful and it is precisely this which is made possible by presenting data and theory in the same chapters.

The book has the following order: This present chapter is an introduction to the topic which defines the subject of the study, formulates the research question, and explains the composition of the study.

The conventional methodology chapter has been replaced by a natural history chapter which explains the story of my research process in a more self-reflective manner. Chapter 2 demonstrates the various problems and highlights of the study, illuminates my learning process and explains the data collection and analysis.

Chapter 3 presents the theoretical concepts and perspectives that will be used in the study. This chapter provides a brief overview of the traditional leadership research and moves forward to describe social constructionism in relation to leadership research. Furthermore, this chapter presents the two perspectives that I have applied to study leadership: a discursive perspective and an aesthetic perspective.

To make the reader familiar with the organization under study, symphony orchestras are discussed. Symphony orchestras are such unique institutions with a long history that their character, operation and traditions require special attention. Chapter 4 portrays the orchestra organization and presents the professionals in the field: the conductors and musicians. It also introduces the two case orchestras.

Chapters 5 and 6 present the main results of the study. These chapters provide two diverse interpretations of leadership, each drawing on different data and applying a different theoretical background. In other words, the aesthetic perspective does not build on the discursive perspective, even though the structure of the book may suggest this. The discursive approach focuses on the whole orchestra organization and explains how musicians and managers construct leadership in their talk. Leadership can be characterized by four leadership discourses that are described in detail. These discourses are applied by both musicians and managers, thus they provide a comprehensive idea of how leadership is constructed in symphony orchestras.

The aesthetic perspective on the other hand has addressed leadership within symphony orchestra itself, focusing more specifically on the interaction between musicians, conductors and soloists. In other words, the unique process of playing, listening and responding in a symphony orchestra is under scrutiny. This process is analyzed from the aesthetic perspective, focusing on sensuous perception. Of all senses, hearing is of particular interest. Finally, chapter 7 summarizes the conclusions of the study.

CHAPTER II.

CONDUCTING RESEARCH: A NATURAL HISTORY

David Silverman (2000: 233-38) has introduced the concept of the natural history chapter and recommends that doctoral students write their methodology chapters accordingly. He objects to blindly quoting a huge amount of methodology books without reflecting on any personal experience of a certain method. Instead, he encourages students to write in their own words the history of their research, describing its various turns, problems and discoveries. I have followed his advice and written the history of my research. I will describe my first steps in the field, how the research process went, the data analysis, and problems and difficulties during the process. The more specific description of the theoretical perspectives and epistemology used to study leadership follows in chapter 3, which is entitled "Studying leadership".

Those mystical art organizations

When I started studying symphony orchestras, I was clearly entering a new culture, a different and unknown territory. I liked to view myself as an anthropologist or an ethnographer, bravely striving to gain some understanding of this strange place called the field. This I could call the early romantic period as a researcher, to borrow terminology from art history. In addition to being romantic, I certainly had a strong structural and normative approach. I assumed that art organizations almost completely lacked business sense. As a helpful person, I was to bring some order to the chaos (which I expected to rule the daily life of all art organizations) with my boxes, charts and

logical reasoning. It was only a matter of getting that mission statement straight, right? These things I had learned very well in my business studies.

By the term "early romantic period" I simply mean that I had all kinds of romanticized ideas about musicians, conductors and symphony orchestras. After having studied ship-building and other heavy engineering industries, the production of classical music did indeed seem very exotic and mystical. It took a while to digest the jump from ice-breakers to the subtleties of interpreting Mozart. In addition to my ideas about the mystical nature of art organizations, my preunderstanding perfectly reflected some of the most common myths about symphony orchestras. This state of affairs was to a large extent produced by the public discussion in the media, and by miscellaneous pieces of information I had collected throughout the years.

Let me start with the character most visible to the public eye, the conductor. I was truly curious to find out why this profession received so much publicity, why did Finland have so many world-class conductors and what was actually happening in a concert situation. Colorful legends of famous conductors (Lebrecht, 1991) and the rituals in concerts only added to my curiosity. Aware that the conductor is a common metaphor in management literature, I realized that this was certainly something to investigate. Second, the issue of creativity is also worth mentioning. I thought that art organizations and their members, since they dealt with this art-thing all day long, would automatically be very creative themselves. I expected to find some completely new ways of organizing and exceptionally creative individual talents. I also had vague ideas about the bohemian lifestyles all of the musicians must be leading. I had no clue what this would mean in practice, but I knew it must be like that, very bohemian.

If I had mystified the art organizations and musicians, by the same token, the musicians, I soon realized, had mystified management. This was truly intriguing. Some group interviews with the musicians included moments where deep respect and admiration for one another's profession was mutually displayed

in a subtle way, by both the interviewees and the researcher. What a unique situation! I was fascinated by the high spirits of the musicians, their lifelong education and efforts to stay on the cutting edge with their talent, and their commitment and sincerity in performing their jobs. The musicians, on their part, stated that the administrative management of the orchestra organization is indeed a very demanding task. Managing them is among the most difficult jobs in the world, it is so impossible that almost no human being can do it. Consequently, management is difficult and includes mystical and intangible elements. And this is where we arrive at interesting reasoning: why are these constructions created in people's minds, why do we need these heroes, why do we put all our expectations on the shoulders of one single person, rather why not find out what they do in practice? In other words, what purposes are served when we want to mystify the other?

It appears that art and the art field are often constructed mystical. According to Czarniawska (1997), research has approached this subject from two opposite perspectives. The first trivializes art and treats it as any kind of a product or production and then studies the production costs, sales efforts and customer satisfaction. The alternative possibility is to mystify art and treat it as something so intangible that it cannot be discussed, let alone studied. It is something that only a very few exceptionally talented people can understand.

I had obviously constructed the artists and art organizations mystical, and that can be seen in my earlier texts. This comes close to a situation in which a researcher falls in love with her research object, be it an organization, a group of people or a phenomenon, and treats it as something absolutely unique.

After a few years my romanticism gradually disappeared – if not completely, at least to a great extent. One professional of the music field was honest enough to tell me, after having read my texts, that I had hopelessly romantic ideas about orchestras. He suggested that I should get rid of them right away and reconstruct my view of symphony orchestras to acknowledge that it is a work place like any other and people do normal work

there. My romantic period was followed by a severe period of realism, exactly as in 19th century art history. Realism in art history was especially keen on portraying the grinding labor of working class and peasants. Laborious was my research process, which will be described in the next subchapter.

The research process

> *"Rather than viewing the research process as what mediates between theory and data it can be treated as interesting in its own right – both as a vehicle and that which is to be understood." (Hosking 2000:155)*

I really agree with this statement, one could certainly write another study about the research process itself. My research process has been inductive in nature. I have done a lot of fieldwork and the data have very much guided my writing. The process itself has developed intuitively and I kept options open for quite a long time before I knew what I wanted to study. Or more correctly, I was convinced I wanted to study leadership in symphony orchestras from the very beginning but did not quite know how. Enduring uncertainty can be unpleasant but it usually pays off. There have been nice surprises and sudden turns in the process, like the selection of the second case orchestra which happened by chance in favorable circumstances.

Naturally occurring data. Without even realizing it, I had collected a lot of data about symphony orchestras as early as five years before the study began. I had been an enthusiastic guest at classical music concerts ever since the opening of Tampere Hall in 1990. I continued going to concerts during this study. I estimate that during the five-year period of 1995-2000 I have been to around 50 concerts, mostly in Tampere, but also in Stockholm, Philadelphia, New York, Brussels, London and Riga.

That is clearly naturally occurring data. These data are freely available to everybody, not that they have the same meaning for everybody. But everyone can go to a concert and experience how symphony orchestras present themselves to the general public. It is not written material or documents of any kind, it is the symphony orchestra concert experience. This experience one can enjoy by listening, watching and feeling the music.

These concerts have taught me a lot about music, the classical music tradition, the different instruments of a symphony orchestra, conductors and soloists. Gradually, I was able to differentiate between good concerts and excellent concerts, sometimes even bad concerts. In the beginning everything sounded equally good. After some training, and it took a few years, the ability to listen also developed. This knowledge of music has been very helpful in the research process. It has enabled me to discuss music with musicians and orchestra professionals, and also to better understand what happens on stage. The fact that I have played piano for 10 years and graduated from a music institute was certainly also beneficial. I believe these factors have been of central importance to the successful interaction with the interviewees.

In addition to listening to music, I remember having wondered what is happening behind the scene, how is all this made possible and who does all of the invisible work. I was very curious. Everything seemed so under control, well organized and smooth. For me that meant that a lot of preliminary work had to be done in order to produce such a beautiful concert. The seeds for my future interest were in no doubt planted then.

Ethnographic influences. In the beginning of the project, I was greatly inspired by the ethnographic approach. This is very much how I felt, entering a new and strange culture as an outsider and trying to understand what was going on. An ethnographical study (Schwartzman 1993, Van Maanen 1988) traditionally requires the researcher to spend one year in the field, observing the foreign culture, taking notes, and familiarizing oneself with the way of life in all possible ways.

A pure ethnography like that was rather difficult for me to accomplish. First, my time was limited and second, it was not that easy to gain access to the musicians as a group. I was a little disappointed and decided to start with interviews instead.

As my research made progress it obtained some characteristics of ethnography when I became more familiar with the musicians and made friends with some of them. I then had the opportunity to discuss with them in a bar after the concerts, ask questions and listen to their comments on the concert. They were all aware that I was writing about their orchestra but that never became a major issue. Some were curious about what I did and what I thought about certain things, but most of the musicians did not refer to the matter. They were usually more interested in knowing how I liked the concert. These unofficial talks contributed greatly to my understanding of musicians' work. My research approach could thus be seen as ethnographically inspired interviewing. This ethnographic turn and the loss of safe scientific distance had its disadvantages since some musicians started asking all too often when I was planning to finish my study and wondering how it could take so long.

Interviews

I conducted three rounds of interviews, in 1996, 1998 and 1999 (see Appendix 1.). The first two rounds were at the Tampere Philharmonic Orchestra in Finland and the third round at The Philadelphia Orchestra in the United States. Gaining access to the Tampere orchestra was very smooth. I contacted the general manager of the orchestra who was genuinely interested in and supportive of the project. She helped me get started with the interviews of the orchestra by providing names of possible interviewees and also arranged for a short introduction of my project in one of the orchestra meetings. The meeting took place in the concert hall before a rehearsal and I was asked to step up to the podium – probably for the first and the last time ever. Throughout the project, she has read and commented on

my texts and been helpful in many ways. It has been a very fluent cooperation.

The first interviews at the Tampere Philharmonic Orchestra (see Appendix 2. for interview questions) were aimed at understanding the administration and managerial work at a symphony orchestra. I conducted 9 interviews and talked to the administrative personnel of the orchestra, the chief conductor and a few musicians who were familiar with the administrative work done at the orchestra. The main purpose was to understand the structure of the organization, identify the important actors and their interaction with each other. A great deal of time and effort was also spent on gaining information about the nature of the musicians' work in a symphony orchestra and the tradition of that particular art form. One of the crucial questions was how to define the artistic and administrative management. Which one did I want to study? At this point of the study my approach was close to scientific realism or the fact perspective (Alasuutari, 1995: 47-62); my purpose was to describe the data carefully and in detail.

If the first interviews focused on the administrative management, the next interview sessions (9 interviews) aimed at seeing things from the musicians' perspective (see Appendix 2.). All too often organizational studies have concentrated on talking to and observing the managers in their work while their subordinates have had no voice (Czarniawska, 1995:26). I particularly wanted to hear the musicians' view. Besides, I thought the musicians could help me get rid of the division between the artistic and administrative management, which at that point was stuck in my brain and prevented me from seeing other possibilities. I decided to have group discussions in order to create a more relaxed atmosphere and have the musicians talk to each other instead of merely answering my questions. I told them I was interested in leadership in their orchestra and asked them to tell their views on it.

These group discussions I then analyzed with the help of discourse analysis, or rather let's say that I was learning to do that (Alasuutari, 1995; Jokinen, Juhila and Suoninen, 1993;

Silverman, 1997). My understanding of discourse analysis builds on the view that our world is socially constructed (see Chapter 3., subchapter "A discursive perspective" for a more thorough description of discourse analysis). The basic idea is that our daily activities produce reality where talk is also considered an activity. Talk is more than just a means of communication that reflects reality, talk amounts to action, it produces states of affairs, positions and identities. Thus, it becomes possible to study empirically a concept as abstract as leadership by analyzing the talk that constructs that concept. This approach agrees with the idea that social world can be seen as conversation. What I attempted to study is how people in another community, that is the musicians, construct their world by conversing about it (Czarniawska, 1997:71).

An important step for me in understanding qualitative research more deeply was to differentiate between the fact and specimen perspectives (Alasuutari 1995). According to these perspectives, describing mere facts is not that interesting. In the fact perspective the researcher is focused on finding out "the one and the only truth" which she then describes in her report. In the specimen perspective, the researcher analyzes and categorizes the data in order to produce various interpretations. In the latter perspective it is not interesting how well or how poorly the interviewees' accounts reflect reality. It is more interesting to analyze why the interviewees are saying what they are saying, what is their frame of reference, and what constructions are produced by this talk.

The third data collection took place in Philadelphia where I spent an intensive three-week period in 1999 (see Appendix 2.). Before that there was a similarly intensive time when I arranged for the possibility to do the study at the orchestra. I got a really good start by having the excellent opportunity to meet with the president of the orchestra. This was made possible through fortunate contacts; the professor of my friend and the president of the orchestra had studied together at the same university in New York. In the spring of 1998 I was visiting my friend who lives in Philadelphia when she suggested that I should contact

The Philadelphia Orchestra. I had not planned this myself. The appointment with the president went well, he was interested in my project and promised that I could do interviews with people in management and administration. As for the musicians, he could not promise anything. He would help me contact the musicians but there was no way he could order them to participate in the study.

I returned to Finland and tried to obtain the musicians' consent by e-mail which turned out to be the wrong medium. I had to meet them in person. Finally, I went to Philadelphia again in October 1998 and sought to find a way to meet with the musicians. Getting in touch with the musicians' representative was difficult due to time constraints and a few misunderstandings but when the appointment finally took place, there were no difficulties at all. This musicians' representative was very friendly and agreed to help me in selecting musicians for interviews. The only problem was finding a suitable time for the visit. Contract negotiations would keep him very busy all spring so the fall of 1999 seemed like the next possible choice. It seemed like a long time, but in November 1999 I returned to Philadelphia to collect material about my second case orchestra.

The world-famous Philadelphia Orchestra was very warm and kind to a researcher from overseas. I was interested in leadership practices in their orchestra and wanted musicians' and managers' perspectives on the matter. Again, the interviewees could freely talk about what, in their view, was relevant in leadership. Sometimes I had additional questions. I interviewed 11 musicians, 1 conductor and 5 staff members and managers.

In addition, I sat in rehearsals and went to concerts. It was fascinating to follow a concert project from the first rehearsal to the final concert. I decided to continue the ethnographic efforts I carried out in Tampere and started taking notes. It was a spontaneous decision and I had no specific plans of how to carry it out. I tried to write down observations during rehearsals but it turned out to be very difficult, I could

not really follow what was happening in the orchestra. The fieldwork included plenty of unofficial material in the sense that I spent a lot of time in the concert hall and back stage before and after the rehearsals or concerts. This enabled me to engage in many unofficial talks with musicians and observe what was happening behind the scene. This greatly contributed to my understanding of that orchestra.

After Philadelphia I became more and more interested in the interaction between the musicians and the conductor. This was partly because there was a lot of material about this in the Philadelphia data and partly because I had studied aesthetics and found it increasingly useful for this study. Aesthetics can be understood in many ways, as a philosophy for example, but I was more interested in aesthetics as focusing on sensuous perception and tacit knowledge, as opposed to the rational thinking and cognitive models. Auditive aspects and listening naturally became my focus, since listening has such a central role in music and musicians' work. I chose to focus on listening and not to study body language or the role of other senses because I wanted to explore the role of listening in human interaction. A symphony orchestra as a large collective organization provided a good possibility to do that.

When I had constructed my understanding of aesthetics and auditive aspects a little further, I wanted to discuss these ideas with musicians. I carried out two conversations with musicians and one with a composer to test my ideas and ask for their insights about the role of listening in symphony orchestras. They were fruitful discussions; my understanding deepened and I was able to further construct my idea of leadership and listening in orchestras.

Data collection and data analysis naturally happened simultaneously, it was definitely not a linear process. However, for the sake of clarity, I will discuss them in separate subchapters. Now it is time to say a few words about the process of analyzing data.

Digging deep: data analysis

This chapter begins with a short description of the data. It proceeds by using an example of how the discourse analysis was carried out and how the analysis of aesthetic aspects occurred. Finally, the advantages and limitations of my implementation of data analysis are discussed.

Data

The data are composed of two parts: interviews and an ethnography. There are altogether 41 interviews from two symphony orchestras, 24 from the Tampere Philharmonic Orchestra and 17 from The Philadelphia Orchestra. These interviews were conducted with musicians, conductors, managers and staff members. 33 of these interviews were tape recorded, others were documented by taking notes. 27 interviews have been used for the specific analysis for the study (14 from Tampere, 13 from Philadelphia). These 27 interviews resulted in a total of 358 transcribed pages. All these transcribed interviews and the interview tapes are available from the author by request. Appendix 3. provides short extracts from some interviews to illustrate how the discussions proceeded.

The earlier ethnographic efforts with the Tampere Philharmonic Orchestra produced very little written material. It could be characterized as taking my way to the new world and trying to figure out what was going on there (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw, 1995: 15) I mingled with the musicians, trying to understand their ways of conduct, musicianship, art world and such matters. I went to many concerts and discussed the music with musicians after the concert. It greatly contributed to my understanding of symphony orchestras. The ethnography that I collected in Philadelphia is more systematic in a sense that I took more notes and also made observations at orchestra rehearsals and concerts. I took notes at several rehearsals in Philadelphia. As an illustration, there are two excerpts from

rehearsals at The Philadelphia Orchestra in the beginning of Chapter 6. "Aesthetic leadership practices".

The study does not intend to make comparisons between these two orchestras, even though they are situated in different countries. My purpose is not to analyze the cross-cultural differences between these orchestras. Instead of looking for differences, the aim is more to focus on the similarities and evaluate whether this historical institution with strict traditions follows a similar logic all over the world. I have two specimens (Alasuutari, 1999) which I will describe and analyze. They originate from orchestras in separate countries that have a different cultures, differences in musical life, orchestra culture and structure. Naturally these differences have an influence on the interviewees' talk. However, the similarities were considerable and I was able to identify leadership discourses that were applied in both orchestras.

Analyzing discourses

A researcher goes through and analyzes her data at many phases of the study, it is an ongoing process. I first analyzed the Tampere data in 1998 to write a conference paper where I practiced the social constructionist view and text analysis. Later on I focused on the Philadelphia data for a thorough analysis, and then returned again to the data from Tampere. In this chapter I try to illustrate how my analysis developed. In particular, I aim at describing how I moved from data to themes and from themes to discourses, in other words, from a concrete to a conceptual level. Let me do this by giving one very important example of analyzing the Philadelphia data. It is important to notice that the research process itself is interesting, it is the very process where the researcher actively constructs and shapes her ideas and arguments.

The Philadelphia data chosen for analysis includes 13 interviews, 4 with management and 8 with musicians and one with a conductor. The first analysis was based on 4 interviews; 3 musicians and 1 manager. The intention was to practice

with a smaller part of the data first. I read the first interview, marked the parts where people were talking about leadership with different colors. In other words, I identified parts of that talk that in my mind represented leadership, or more precisely, included certain consistent ways of talking about leadership. I also formulated preliminary labels for those pieces of data, trying to capture the essence of a possible future discourse. My own tacit knowledge evaluated whether a discourse was strong enough to deserve to be called a discourse. It seemed that by following my intuition the analysis proceeded quite nicely. What felt good, seemed appropriate and made sense to me and followed a certain logic in relation to other discourses have been my guidelines. However, if I started problematizing the concept of discourse and worrying about whether I used it correctly or nor, I was nearly paralyzed.

I moved on to the second interview and tried how this coding would work there. It seemed to work pretty well. In a similar manner, I analyzed the other two interviews. After that I listed all the leadership discourses I had found in the interviews, a total of 10 discourses. I also pondered how the 10 discourses related to one another since some discourses were very close to each other, even partly overlapping. Some discourses, nonetheless, contradicted each other.

After 8 months, I continued the analysis with a different part of the data. I chose the 4 interviews with managers, one of which I had analyzed earlier. I proceeded in a similar way. I had help from the discourses from the previous analysis, but I also found new discourses in these interviews. There were 7 new discourses and 7 old ones that also appeared in the managers' interviews, 14 discourses in total. I then analyzed the remaining 10 interviews in a similar manner and wrote a short description about these discourses explaining what they meant, what the basic arguments within a respective discourse were and also included a few quotes from the interviews. My aim was to formulate a metanarrative of all these discourses and construe how they all relate together and form an comprehensible entity.

The analysis thus far had been very labor intensive but not too difficult. I had identified 17 discourses and was quite happy with them. Many were really clever in my opinion and the rest were quite good as well. However, I was in doubt as what to do next and contacted Professor Pertti Alasuutari for advice. He kindly pointed out that my discourses were more likely to be themes rather than discourses. 17 themes in a set of data is very possible but 17 discourses is highly unlikely. I was not exactly happy with this information but was given advice how to identify the more abstract discourses in my data. What followed was by far the most torturous and demanding three weeks of my research career.

How to find these discourses in the data? Where were they lurking? I had the necessary information in my hands, the themes were helpful in formulating the discourses, as Alasuutari had said. I also followed his other advice by meticulously analyzing a small part of the data again to identify every aspect assigned to leadership that was used, but that did not help. I read research reports that had applied discourse analysis, I read books about discourse analysis and social construction. I stared at the list of leadership themes both at work and at home, and read the interviews again. I did all of this to the point when I became desperate and nearly dropped the whole discourse analysis, it seemed pretty useless anyway. I talked to my colleagues and harassed them with my dilemma, I talked to anybody who would listen. It was really extremely difficult to withdraw from the practical level of leadership themes into something more abstract. I was completely absorbed in the data, I knew it well, it was difficult to take any distance from it.

It was a Monday, after two weeks of research agony, that I decided that by the following Friday the problem would be solved and I would have my discourses. I gave my brain and subconscious five days to solve the problem. And it worked, on Thursday afternoon the sudden insight arrived. I was reading a book by Edward Arian (1971) about the bureaucratization of The Philadelphia Orchestra, where he talks about the alienation of musicians from the management. It made me think about

the problematic relationship to authority that many musicians have, on which I had collected previous information already. I discovered that such a discourse neatly explains some themes in the data, such as why musicians' attitudes toward the management tend to be so negative. I solemnly named the first discourse 'Dislike of authority'.

This realization made me satisfied and peaceful again. The next week I was able to define three more discourses in the data. These discourses came into being much easier, they were created by calm and relaxed reasoning. 'Art against business', 'Heroic leadership' and 'Shared leadership' together with the first discourse created a purposeful entity. These discourses seemed to capture the essential leadership issues in symphony orchestras. Then I moved on to Tampere data and conducted the same procedure there. All of the discourses and most of the themes can be identified in that data as well.

In summary, it was difficult to jump from the data directly to the abstract level of discourses. In fact, there were several steps in the middle. My natural way of working was to first identify as many themes (which I mistook for discourses) as possible to construct a preliminary understanding. Through a severe and complex thinking process the necessary conceptualization ultimately became clear.

Later on it became obvious that I was also struggling with epistemological problems here. I thought I followed a social constructionist view but at times my approach was closer to scientific realism, which naturally caused confusion. For example, when I tried to "find" the discourses in the data, it was like trying to find the only truth, like identifying the only true version of the discourses. In this setting, the pressure is likely to become very high, almost paralyzing. What if one finds the wrong truth? When I finally gave myself an order to solve this problem and find the discourses, the process moved toward a healthy direction in a natural way. I realized that I can have a more active role in "finding" the discourses, in fact, I should be the person to construct the discourses based on my extensive fieldwork and experience as a researcher.

Analyzing aesthetic practices

The data used for the aesthetic perspective were collected through an ethnographic method during several years of this study. Similarly, my understanding of the dynamics of symphony orchestras grew gradually. In effect, I had a strong preunderstanding of symphony orchestras before I even studied aesthetics. When I started studying the literature of aesthetics, I found feasible concepts that corresponded to my preunderstanding and helped me to describe the phenomenon.

From this rather vast field of aesthetics I chose to concentrate on sensuous perception and the role of our senses. In particular, I was interested in listening and auditive culture. By reading about the nature of listening and the qualities of auditive culture, I was able to analyze my ethnographic findings from the symphony orchestras from a new perspective. I had my findings and I wanted to have a dialogue between the literature and my ideas of symphony orchestras. For this reason, the analysis moves on quite a theoretical or conceptual level, at least when compared to the discursive perspective.

It was also important to investigate how leadership literature relates to ideas of auditive culture. I read and analyzed leadership research from this perspective and noticed that mainstream leadership literature is strongly oriented to the visual mode. Very few aspects of auditive culture could be found in this literature. This state of affairs encouraged me to develop a few ideas about what an auditive leadership culture might be like. I present these ideas by depicting the leadership practices of symphony orchestras.

Advantages and limitations of data analysis

The fact that I had such a large amount of data was both an advantage and a limitation. Conducting interviews and collecting the ethnographic data enabled me to build a solid understanding of the world of symphony orchestras. The data were so plentiful that it would have been possible to write several studies about them. And herein lies the danger as well:

it is unbearable if not totally impossible to part with any of the data collected with such labor and emotion. I am well aware that it is possible and even recommended to focus on a number of interviews and leave the rest aside, however, I was never able to explicitly draw that line. There were interviews that more clearly revealed the existence of the discourses and I tended to study those more carefully. Still, I have gone through every interview several times. Discourse analysis is quite often performed on a relatively small data with the intention of rigorous analysis. Perhaps I would have also reached different results with such an approach.

I certainly felt very limited when taking ethnographical notes during orchestra rehearsals. This was a very challenging situation. It was possible to track certain issues and events but I did not always know their meaning. My music education and experience from concerts certainly was an advantage here, as it was throughout the whole project, but still I could not always grasp what went on in the orchestra. For a better understanding of a rehearsal, a combination of observations and interviews might have produced a better result. In other words, the possibility to discuss with a musician or a conductor after each rehearsal could have increased the comprehension.

My decision to use two theoretical perspectives, discursive and aesthetic, to study leadership was an advantage that also produced problems. Had I remained with discourse analysis this study would not only have been finished quite some time ago but it would have a more simple structure. However, I was convinced that the aesthetic perspective would bring new ideas to leadership research so I insisted on pursuing it. Unfortunately, this brought me to the tricky situation where I not only had to justify its relevance but also build the connection to the discursive perspective. This epistemological jungle I would have rather avoided.

Trouble and solutions

Epistemological turmoil

Developing my view of epistemology was a long and complicated process. In the beginning of my study, I was strongly influenced by scientific realism which dominated research at the Finnish business schools. Such research was often carried out by case study method where the researcher collects meticulous data about the case organization and reports it in the similar, meticulous fashion. The aim here is to describe the case as accurately and carefully as possible. I did all this in the first orchestra, only to find out relatively soon that this would not make a doctoral dissertation. Other methods had to be discovered, and I had to discover them.

I started reading about qualitative research in sociology, especially the books by Alasuutari (1994, 1995, 1996) and Jokinen, Juhila and Suoninen (1993, 1999). I also participated in three doctoral courses where professor Alasuutari was lecturing. This helped me to understand qualitative research more deeply and also brought social constructionism into the picture. At this point I had but a vague understanding of it. My learning accumulated mostly through studying and practicing discourse analysis, which I found a concrete method to work on my data, than by pondering the big epistemological questions.

Adapting the social constructionist view, or more correctly, the process of moving from scientific realism toward social construction, was difficult. It takes time to digest such large fundamental questions. The most confusing stage was the stage in between, when the old model still prevailed and the new had just started to enter. During this stage I tried to answer the questions from both views simultaneously and that naturally resulted in great confusion. For example, I used to think that the structures are "really important" and attempted to define artistic management and administrative management. I even pondered which one I should focus on. Later on, I analyzed the different meanings of management and still kept the division of

artistic and administrative management. Finally I was able to solve this dilemma by concentrating on the talk only, by simply observing how the interviewees talk about leadership.

In May 1998, I received an article that would have a great impact on my epistemological view and would by the same token require a very long time to digest. The article was "The Primacy of Relations in Socially Constructing Organizational Realities" and was written by Peter Dachler and Dian Marie Hosking in 1995. They propose a *relational constructionist* perspective which means that the reality is socially constructed in *relations* with other people. This emphasis on relations provides a very useful tool to study a big collective like a symphony orchestra. This article became the cornerstone of my research. I tried to practice the principles and ideas it provided, which turned out to be very difficult. I easily slid into scientific realism anew and pondered questions that were relevant in that realm but not within relational constructionism. I guess I am still learning.

Data analysis

The construction of the discourses was the most difficult part of the data analysis, if not of the whole study. This process I have already described in the previous subchapter "Digging deep: Data analysis".

Listening difficulties

Paradoxically enough, it was around the same time in the spring of 2000 that I became theoretically interested in auditive aspects and listening, when I started having problems with listening to the interview tapes from Philadelphia. Before that I had transcribed three tapes quite fluently. The fourth tape was, however, almost impossible to listen to. The quality of that tape was poor, the interviewee's voice was really weak and the volume very low. In other words, I could not hear what was being said. I was able to recognize words here and there, but

failed to understand how those words were connected. This really frightened me since I had struggled so hard to be able to do these interviews and now it seemed that I had made a crucial mistake with the tape recorder. The fourth interview was not finished when I decided to leave the transcription aside and continued reading about auditive culture and the characteristics of the sense of hearing.

After the summer, I decided to face the tape problem again with fresh energy. I had talked with a few musicians about my problem and we had discussed the possibility of saving my tapes on CDs and editing them to make the sound quality better, which would have been relatively expensive to do. I then contacted the recording laboratory at the university to ask for their help. The technician monitored two of the tapes with different equipment and concluded that the quality indeed was very poor and that nothing could be done about it. I had had a normal tape recorder with an extremely poor microphone that is best suited for dictation, not interviewing. I should have used an additional microphone. I was devastated. I had nine more interviews to transcribe and my tapes were lousy.

My suffering continued for a couple of more months. I transcribed two more interviews and it was awful. I had to rewind four or five times to hear what was being said, and quite often still could not hear anything. My disgust toward transcribing grew to surprising proportions, it became the most unpleasant task I had ever had. I then had a conversation about this problem with a senior colleague where I was able to pour out of all my frustrations about those tapes. She suggested that I should follow a bit more relaxed way of transcribing and accept that I could not hear every word. Instead of focusing on those parts that I might miss and feeling paralyzed about that, I should be delighted about those parts I was able to hear. This piece of advice demolished my "transcriber's block" and I was able to proceed. It took me 2.5 months to transcribe the 8 interviews and I actually enjoyed doing it. No technical tricks were done to the tapes, but something had changed in my ability to listen and to receive. Even the fourth interview that was left

half-finished in the spring was very easy to follow. The fact that the first few pages of the transcription were full of question marks and empty spaces and the rest is almost without them reveals that listening is no simple matter.

My experience supports the idea of how listening is not just a technical or a physiological matter. A lot depends on the ability and willingness to receive what is being said, the openness to the other. I was very willing to listen to what the interviewees said, but I had made this task so demanding to myself that I lost the sensitivity required for successful listening. In other words, natural and effortless listening had not been my state of mind when first transcribing the tapes.

This chapter has made an attempt to describe the natural history of my research. I have highlighted several incidents and milestones that have been central to my learning process and also reflected on them. The next chapter will describe in more detail the theoretical approaches I have applied to study and to make sense of leadership.

CHAPTER III.

STUDYING LEADERSHIP

How to study an abstract phenomenon called leadership? Traditionally, leadership research has solved the problem by studying individual leaders. Leaders have literally been the objects of study: they have been measured, interviewed, observed and analyzed in different ways. For example, in organization studies focusing on management, the data are usually collected from managers themselves (Czarniawska-Joerges, 1995:26). Subordinates seldom have their voice heard in such studies. In other words, according to this approach the fundamental idea of leadership is connected to the leader as an individual. The leader's traits, qualifications or behavior have been under scrutiny. An alternative approach sees leadership more as a social process or interaction between the leader and other members of the organization. The focus is on the interaction process between people, not on the qualifications of the participants (Dachler and Hosking, 1995).

The purpose of this research is to study leadership in symphony orchestras. I am interested in how the members of the symphony orchestra organization construct the notion of leadership and what meanings they attach to it. In addition, I am also interested in how the interaction process can be described with the help of the aesthetics literature. In this chapter I present my theoretical approach to leadership and also explain the two particular perspectives that are used later on in this book.

The history of leadership research

Leadership research is largely situated among social scientists, particularly psychologists. Probably the largest field for leadership research is in North America. In Europe, the notion of leadership is not used to such an extent, rather concepts such as "ways of organizing" or "organization behavior" are preferred. In Scandinavia, leadership is quite an established concept and research area. The American leadership research field is very traditional in terms of methodology; large quantitative surveys are used while qualitative methods are seldom applied. In Europe, the field of organization studies that has focused on leadership has also applied more explorative approaches to the topic.

Leadership research has a long history and it is relevant to take a look at its development. Alan Bryman (1996) has categorized the extensive body of leadership research into four main stages. The *trait approach* dominated up to the late 1940s, the *style approach* was strong from then until the late 1960s, the heyday of the *contingency approach* was from the late 1960s to the early 1980s, and the *New Leadership approach* has been the major influence on leadership research since the early 1980s.

The trait approach sought to determine the personal qualities and characteristics of leaders. This orientation implied the belief that leaders are born rather than made. This research tended to be concerned with the qualities that distinguished real leaders from non-leaders or followers. This approach was eventually found to be unsatisfactory and the trend shifted to scrutinize leadership style. The style approach was interested in leader behavior and thus believed that leaders could change their behavior. The focus shifted from selecting leaders to training them. One of the best-known examples of leadership style research was the stream of investigations at Ohio State University. The contingency approach placed situational factors at the center of any understanding of leadership. It sought to specify the situational variables that moderate the effectiveness of different leadership approaches. Fiedler's contingency model

of leadership effectiveness is probably the best-known example of this approach (Bryman, 1996).

Bryman (1996) uses the term "New Leadership" to describe various approaches to leadership which emerged in the 1980s and seemed to have at least some elements in common. These researchers talked about transformational leadership (Bass, 1985), charismatic leadership (House, 1977) or visionary leadership (Westley and Mintzberg, 1989). These labels revealed the notion of the leader as someone who defines organizational reality through the articulation of a *vision* that is a reflection of how the leader defines an organization's mission and the values that support it. Vision and visionary leadership really became the buzzwords of leadership textbooks and practice in the 1990s. No other task or skill seemed important as long as leaders could provide visions to their people (Koivunen and Ropo, 2001). Thus, in such a process the leaders also become the *managers of meaning* as Smircich and Morgan (1982) cleverly pointed out. Hence leaders were now in fact defining the reality for their followers in a meaningful way.

The New Leadership approach exhibited three tendencies that have been criticized: it focused on heroic leaders, was preoccupied with leadership at the highest echelons and focused on individuals rather than teams. A separate tradition that focused on *dispersed leadership* emerged to compensate for these tendencies. Dispersed leadership research emphasized the empowerment and liberation of followers and teamwork where members take responsibility for the outcome while the leader acts as a facilitator. Another expression of the shared leadership tradition can be seen in the approach that pays attention to leadership processes. Leadership is viewed as a sequence of multidirectional, reciprocal influence processes among many individuals at different levels, in different units and teams (Yukl, 1994:459). For instance, Hosking (1988) prefers to talk about leadership in terms of 'organizing' activity. Furthermore, she identifies networking as a particularly essential organizing skill among leaders (Bryman, 1996).

This was naturally a very limited review of the large field of leadership research. I have chosen to further discuss different aspects of leadership in their context, namely, together with empirical findings in chapters five and six. In the following, I will describe the approach to leadership that has inspired me in this study and formed my understanding. It is called the *relational perspective* and has been developed by Dachler and Hosking (1995). This perspective draws on social constructionism and I begin by discussing social constructionism and leadership.

The social construction of leadership

Social constructionism states that knowledge about reality is constructed in social processes. The idea of social construction was first presented by Berger and Luckmann (1967) and since then has been discussed and developed by sociologists, social psychologists, linguists and philosophers. Jokinen (Jokinen et al, 1999:51) suggests that in addition to the original version by Berger and Luckmann, the social psychology approach to social constructionism (Gergen, 1994; Shotter, 1993) and the post-structuralist social constructionism by Foucault (1986) are among the important approaches to social constructionism. Social constructionism does not believe in one objective truth but explains that every matter, even the most concrete, is socially constructed. Our talk not only reflects or describes reality, it actively creates and forms it.

Hosking (1999; 2002) explains that there are a variety of social constructionisms. They all share an emphasis on language as communication, rather than representation, and explain how reality is constructed through communication. Constructionisms differ in their focus on socially constructed products or processes, and in their emphasis on individuals or collective construction processes. They also hold differing views of how researchers are related to their work. According to Hosking, the so called 'first order' social constructionism is a cognitive approach where sensemaking takes place in each

individual's head. It focuses on independently existing things and treats them as separate entities. It also focuses on products more than processes. This variant views reality as universal and stable. Researchers typically leave themselves outside of the narrative and report their findings as accurately as possible.

The 'second order' social constructionism offers a more critical and reflective approach. In this variant, self and other are constructed as co-genetic, not as separate entities. For example, person and organization are viewed as co-constructed. Language is assumed to construct social realities, not only reflect them. The focus is more on the process than on the product of construction. In terms of research, the researcher is an active, co-constructing participant in the study (Hosking, 1999; 2002). The relational perspective by Dachler and Hosking (1995) falls into this second category. I will discuss their approach in more detail later on. Before that, I first introduce some general ideas about leadership and social construction, some of which may come closer to the first order social constructionism.

Social constructionism means that people create reality through their own actions and talk with other people. This creation of reality is a collective, ongoing process. Winroth (1999: 28) describes how people's actions gradually form behavioral patterns. There is no natural way to understand and interpret these actions, people learn it by observing other people and by acting together with them. These behavioral patterns make life understandable and easier. These patterns are not finished versions of reality, people have to continually recreate their interpretations. These interpretation patterns develop in specific local cultures and thus, by implication, are different in other local cultures. For instance, if we travel abroad or visit an unfamiliar social group we soon notice that we do not recognize every action or understand how people behave.

According to Winroth (ibid., 29), these shared behavioral patterns make daily life easier. People are expected to behave in a certain way, following a pattern that is shared by all. Patterns make co-operation possible in workplaces. In addition, people

can form categories for other people in order to understand each other and to create expectations. For example, secretaries, kitchen personnel and top managers in business enterprises are met with different expectations. These categories soon become so natural that they are totally taken for granted. And thus a social order is produced.

Lehtonen (1996) suggests that the essential issue in social constructionism is the process by which people create meaning and understanding for things that take place. People have a need for a meaningful existence and as a result they attach meaning to actions and things. Winroth (1999: 30) continues by saying that if other people attach the same meaning to the same things, it is possible to work or live together. However, these meanings are not fixed but change all the time. Moreover, they are flexible in the sense that individual variations are allowed. Shared interpretation patterns enable us to function together. They also fulfill our need for security and stability.

Everyday rituals, talk, routines, traditions, coffee breaks, all such matters create and maintain shared understandings about reality in an organization. The individual, be it a leader or a subordinate, therefore never acts alone or in a void, but always in relation to others in a social interaction process. People create their reality through these social actions. Aaltonen and Kovalainen (2001: 22-24) explain that this does not mean that everybody is constantly creating something new, rather that they are continuously recreating reality. Social constructionism holds that thoughts, ideas and emotions are born and nurtured in the interaction between individuals. Consequently, leadership can also be defined as a social relation, not solely as an individual trait or skill. This does not mean that we should immediately abandon organizational structures and leadership procedures but we could move the focus to interaction between individuals and structures.

Every member in organization constructs the daily reality in relations to other people. Aaltonen and Kovalainen (2001: 52) point out that leaders have a special role in interpreting and explaining the meaning of many activities and incidents that

occur in the environment. Leaders create the organizational reality more in daily activities with organization members than in seminar presentations or official speeches. Every day they help people grasp abstract issues, understand complex processes or commit to changing circumstances. Leaders do not have control over the environment any longer, if indeed they ever did, but they do have a significant power over how various events are interpreted and understood. Leaders possess this influence over their organizations by using language and symbolic skills.

Winroth (1999: 32) argues that symbolic expressions, such as body language, gestures and facial expressions, are essential to create and strengthen interpretations of social reality. Language is the most important means of communication. Through language we can explain and describe situations. By explaining we create meaning for the events that just took place, and by explaining we can also share this meaning with other people. Language also has the possibility to depict some abstract phenomenon that cannot be seen, touched or heard. We can discuss leadership although we have never seen it or heard it. But if we assume that leadership exists, it makes it much easier for us to discuss certain issues that take place in organizations.

The next subchapter presents the relational constructionism by Dachler and Hosking (1995). It is one variant of social constructionism that emphasizes relational processes in reality construction. My epistemology builds on their approach to social constructionism.

The relational constructionism

Many fields, such as philosophy, sociology and psychology, have discussed the view that knowledge is in some sense relational. Dachler and Hosking (1995: 1) point out how such a relational view has gone largely unnoticed in the literatures of management and organization. These literatures are largely dominated by a perspective that can be characterized as 'entitative', 'possessive individualism' or a 'realist ontology'.

According to Dachler and Hosking, the central issue in relational approaches is epistemological.

The underlying epistemological assumptions of the relational perspective are best understood in contrast to entitative or possessive individualism. Therefore, Dachler and Hosking (ibid.) give a brief overview of the epistemology inherent in entitative perspective before moving on to discuss the same principles in a relational perspective.

According to Dachler and Hosking, possessive individualism has two central epistemological themes. The first is the assumption of a knowing individual, who is understood as an entity. These individuals have an access to their minds, and these mind contents and knowledge are viewed as entities, as individual possessions. In other words, individuals possess properties such as expert knowledge, mind maps and personality characteristics. This individualism can also be seen in the way groups and organizations are treated as having individual characteristics. The second assumption follows from the first one: individual possessions are the ultimate origins of the design and control of other people and groups. The personal characteristics of the knowing individual allow her to control other people. These epistemological assumptions only allow a subject/object understanding of relationships where the subject is active and knowledgeable and the object passive. Social relations offer a way to achieve knowledge and influence over other people, the relations are very *instrumental* in nature (ibid.).

The relational perspective views knowledge as socially constructed and socially distributed, not as mind stuff accumulated and stored by individuals. Whether the social process is leadership, management or negotiating, knowing is always an ongoing process of relating. Language has a central role in these relating processes. Dachler and Hosking (ibid.) talk about *multilogue* to refer to the processes in which meanings are made in mutual relating of many people. In relational perspective, reality is no longer viewed as a singular fact but as multiple. Multiple realities, multiple meanings or knowledge

claims are part of this approach. However, it does not mean that just anything goes. There are socio-cultural limits to what is allowed as real or true, right or wrong, desirable or undesirable. These limits are produced in multiloguing.

After having explained the epistemological assumptions, Dachler and Hosking (ibid.) illustrate how these arguments work with the concept of leadership. They first describe how most theories of leadership emphasize individualism and offer a leader's characteristics as an explanation for various organizational actions. Leaders are seen as the originators of all action, they define the rules and order and provide guidance and orientation. People become leaders because of their superior knowledge and other possessions, such as charisma. In contrast, subordinates are treated as objects of this leadership, being less active and less knowledgeable than the leader. The central concern is always how the leader gets the followers to think and act in ways that correspond his perspective. This notion of leadership in management and organization literature also borrows meaning from a socio-historical narrative called the dominance model. The dominance model includes:

> *"a self-concept that depends on differentiation and social-emotional separation from others, self-determination based on criteria of personal achievement and success, mastery of world structuring, and emphasizing rules, rationality and general, value-free principles." (Dachler and Hosking, 1995: 12).*

A less individualistic model is presented by researchers who talk about the management of meaning. When organizations are seen as systems of shared values and common goals, "leadership becomes a process of interpreting and socially constructing organizational reality to provide meaningful definitions for employees" (Dachler and Hosking, 1995: 12). Leadership thus takes on an additional function, that of providing meaning to employees. Individuals, their cognitions and behavior are nevertheless still emphasized as central factors.

The fundamental setting of someone in charge and someone as follower remains unchanged.

The relational perspective offers very different narratives of leadership. Within this perspective, one cannot specify the contents of leadership, such as certain attributes of leaders. Instead of asking what (content), one focuses on how (process) certain communally held knowledge is created and given meaning. This means that the central question becomes how the 'social' in the social construction of reality is to be understood. Dachler and Hosking suggest a partnership model in which identity is constructed from *being in relationships, being connected,* in contrast to the dominance model where identity construction occurs through separation and competition. The main concern is to understand how certain meanings of leadership come about and how they are given a privileged ontology. The question therefore no longer concerns the correct narrative or version of leadership.

To support their argument for the relational perspective, Dachler and Hosking refer to recent strategic reorganizational techniques of companies, such as reducing hierarchy, emphasizing teamwork and cooperation instead of competition. Many projects have, however, failed because the dominant logic is not questioned and the social processes affecting leadership are usually ignored. The narrative of leadership becomes a question of coordinated social processes in which the appointed leader is one voice among many. Leaders share responsibility with others for the construction of particular understanding of relationships and their enactment.

> *"It is only through multiloguing about the taken for granted assumptions about self, other and relationship that it is possible to construct a common understanding of the relational context." (Dachler and Hosking, 1995: 16)*

Two perspectives to study leadership

The rest of this chapter presents two theoretical perspectives that I have applied to make leadership in symphony orchestras understandable to the reader. My view of epistemology builds on relational constructionism (Dachler and Hosking, 1995), which is one variant of social constructionism. The discursive perspective is well in line with relational constructionism, since discourse analysis very often builds on social constructionism. Discourse analysis focuses on language, on those accounts by which people make their world understandable to themselves and others.

The second perspective of this study follows the principles of social construction as well. The data for this part were gathered through an ethnographical study, and I followed social constructionist principles in my ethnography (Jokinen et al., 1999: 41-43). There is a reason why I have named the second approach the aesthetic perspective and not the ethnographical perspective. The ideas and findings that emerge from the ethnography are such that they closely relate to aesthetics. Thus, I have chosen to discuss the ideas with aesthetic literature.

At first it may seem a little difficult to understand how relational constructionism and aesthetics relate to each other. However, aesthetics can be defined as one large discourse through which sensuous inputs are made understandable. Human beings can see and hear things, and when they start describing these sensations, they enter the world of discourses. In other words, sensuous perception is socially constructed. Moreover, when people construct meaning for their sensations, they do that in relation to other people. Relational constructionism namely points out that sensemaking does not happen in the individual level but together with other people. Human beings are no separate entities but exist in relation to others.

The following two subchapters will describe both the discursive perspective and the aesthetic perspective in detail.

A discursive perspective

Discourse analysis is part of the linguistic turn that took place in the humanities and social sciences a few decades ago that based on the central role of language in the construction of social reality. Discourse analysis embodies a theory of language and concrete research methodology that is directed by the notions of language, reality, knowledge and consciousness. Discourse analysis is by no means a new approach, being closely related to rhetoric, it is by contrast very traditional (Talja, 1998:18-37).

Defining the term discourse is no easy task. Language, talk, stories and conversations are the essential stuff of organizational interaction and discourse is a feature of social life in general. The definitions are heavily influenced by the multi-disciplinary roots of discourse analysis, which is both a strength and a weakness. On the other hand, the array of sociological, psychological, anthropological, linguistic, philosophical and literary approaches have given discourse analysis credibility and status (Grant, Keenoy and Oswick, 1998:2).

The strict view of discourse confines it to spoken dialogue only. More conventionally, it refers to the combination of both spoken and written text, and one widely accepted definition of discourse is all forms of spoken interaction, formal and informal, and written texts of all kinds (Potter and Wetherell, 1987). On a more general level, some regard discourse not simply as a linguistic mechanism, but as a mode of thinking. Such an interpretation implies discourse in the social construction of reality. Everyday attitudes and behavior are shaped and influenced by the discursive practices and interaction we engage in and are exposed to (Berger and Luckmann, 1967). The more influential approaches to discourse analysis are those which situate discourse within a social context (Fairclough, 1992; van Dijk, 1997). In addition to the consideration of language and its interpretation, an analysis then requires also an examination of the social event (Grant et al., 2-3).

Discourse analysis found its way into the field of management and organization in the beginning of 1980s and is now becoming increasingly popular. Journals regularly publish articles that apply discourse analysis and have also published special issues on the theme (e.g. *Organization* vol. 7, no 3, *Human Relations* vol. 53, no 9). Since 1994, a conference on *Organizational Discourse* has been held biannually at King's College, London. According to the conference organizers Grant, Keenoy and Oswick (1998: 4), organizational discourse encompasses a wide range of research topics, for example *metaphor* (Morgan, 1996; Tsoukas, 1991), *stories and narratives* (Czarniawska, 1997), *rhetoric* (Legge, 1995), *language games* (Mauws and Phillips, 1995) *texts* (Czarniawska-Joerges, 1992; O'Connor, 1995), *emotion* (Fineman, 1993) and *sensemaking* (Weick, 1995).

Discourse analysis does not treat the actors, such as interviewees, as informants who will reveal their attitudes, opinions and values to a researcher who can then simply put this information to her report. The researcher is interested in how the actors make things understandable by using language. The starting point is that it is possible to make the same phenomenon understandable in many different ways (Jokinen et al., 1999: 18). The texts are not analyzed in relation to how well or how poorly they represent reality but to demonstrate the reality that is constructed in these texts and to evaluate the consequences of this constructed reality (Talja, 1998). However, discourses should not be understood only as reports or accounts of organizational reality. They have a far more active role; they shape and direct organizational behavior and generate meaning (Grant et al., 12-13).

Talja (1998:20-21, 33) explains how each discourse builds on a few widespread claims. These claims are not necessarily true or untrue, but they are commonly shared. The claims are also selective. Two contradictory discourses can exist at the same time. Many contradictory discourses can exist simultaneously in an organization for example. They may compete with each other, in order words, fight for the status of the best and the most truthful interpretation of social knowledge. A discourse

has a strong inner logic but can be contradictory and alternative in its relation to other discourses. The existence of different discourses is usually revealed for two reasons. First, a person expresses several views of the same issue which contradict each other. He can smoothly jump from one discourse to another because these discourses have an independent inner logic that allows one person to use more than one discourse. Second, many different persons apply a particular discourse. This proves that the discourse indeed exists.

Suoninen (Jokinen et al., 1999:27) demonstrates how the actors usually begin explaining something with the easiest and the most familiar meanings that are often widely known and accepted. This happens particularly in such situations when we do not know the other person or group. People do this not just because these meanings are considered to be the best but more for practical reasons: it is distressing to meticulously go into the fine details of meaning construction. It is more comfortable to first offer a simple yet relatively sensible account for a certain situation. This probably explains why the interviewees often provide quite taken for granted answers to questions.

The field of discourse analysis is wide and heterogeneous and it is difficult to say that I systematically followed one or the other approach. My understanding of discourse analysis has been influenced by many sources. Perhaps my interpretation comes closest to the second alternative in the classification by Grant et al. (1998). In other words, I believe that discourse is also a mode of thinking that constructs the daily reality in organizations. Because my study builds on relational constructionism, I also believe that discourses are constructed in special historical and cultural contexts. The text (or a discourse) and context are always inseparable, as Dachler and Hosking suggest (1995: 5).

An aesthetic perspective

When reading through the interview data over and over again, there is one thing that bothered me a lot. The interviews (see Appendix 2. for interview questions) included plenty of talk about managers, conductors, leadership practices and organizational procedures, but where was the music? Perhaps the interviewees have told me what they expected would interest me, namely matters and ideas related to my background in business studies. There is some talk about music and musicianship, but very little talk about the interaction involved in playing; namely listening, receiving and responding. Sometimes I have asked about this interaction but it seems to be a difficult area to explain to an outsider. Maybe it is so taken for granted that the musicians do not consider it worth mentioning. However, whenever somebody did say something about this interaction, it was always very interesting and made me want to hear more. I find this part very important and think that interaction and listening are the central elements in symphony orchestras and they are almost totally missing in the interview data. I am convinced that they form the missing part of leadership that should be lifted up and made understandable.

The large interview material that I have analyzed with the help of discourse analysis does not provide much help in this question. Neither do the discourses identified in the data deal with playing music or interaction. Consequently, other methods have to be relied on and this is where my ethnography comes into the picture. Throughout the years of this study I have been going to concerts a lot. I listened to the music and observed what happened on stage, marveled at the unique interaction of the musicians, soloists and conductor. When conducting interviews I sometimes asked musicians about this interplay and they described certain things about it. Very few could explain it in detail, it seemed to be a matter that was taken for granted. I also attended rehearsals several times in Philadelphia with a notebook in order to take notes about the situation. It

turned out to be very difficult, I did not always know what was happening. Often the conductor spoke very little, he only showed with gestures what was wanted.

Despite the obvious difficulties in taking field notes in rehearsals I have gathered ethnographical data about the performance of symphony orchestras. This approach differs from discourse analysis in the sense that I, as a researcher, write the notes and make the interpretations when taking those notes. In other words, I am creating an interpretation of a phenomenon by analyzing my observations (Jokinen, 1999:42). This ethnographical study includes discussions with musicians where I sought to gain an understanding of group playing for instance. These discussions are informal or additional interviews, and thus I do not rely on the same interviews here as in the first approach.

Another dilemma in my research has been the question of language. Discourse analysis and social constructionism by their very nature rely heavily on language. As Hosking (2000: 156) puts it: "Social constructionism too often gets absorbed with words, with grammars, with linguistically expressed metaphors and written narratives". She suggests alternative ways of knowing than through the conceptual language, for example ecological ways of knowing which include ways that are embodied, enchanted, sensual, analogical. And in the orchestra there is very little talking, in concerts absolutely no talking and hardly any in rehearsals either. Obviously the reality in symphony orchestras is constructed by means other than using language. How could I possibly study an organization that uses no words with a method that focuses on language? Naturally, when the musicians explained their work to me they had to use words. Still, I had the feeling that in order to understand leadership in symphony orchestras I would have to go beyond language and find other means to describe the phenomenon.

Most of the interaction in organizations is certainly discursive in nature; we use language both in written and verbal form. There are, however, feelings and experiences that

are not accessible to our minds through language. Ramírez (1996:235-37) states that in addition to this discursive symbol system we need another kind of symbol system. He suggests a presentational symbol system that includes music, paintings, poetry and other art forms that do not follow the one-to-one signifier/signified semiotic of discursive systems. In presentational symbol systems there is no meaning in a single note in a symphony nor a color in a painting, it is the whole experience that makes sense or conveys meaning.

The observations at orchestra rehearsals have convinced me about the significance of auditive elements and listening in leadership. These elements form an essential part of knowledge construction in orchestras. The whole interaction process in orchestras is based on gathering auditive impulses and responding to them. I found the literature on aesthetics to be a useful tool to further develop my ideas of auditive elements in leadership.

Naturally, aesthetics is a very broad discipline. I am interested in such an interpretation of aesthetics that emphasizes the importance of our senses in knowledge formation. The writings by Ramírez (1991), Strati (1999) and Welsch (1997) have been most helpful to understand the nature of sensuous perception and to implement it in my research. Leadership and aesthetics may seem like an unusual combination, but there already exists such a cross-disciplinary research field. The following subchapter provides a short overview of aesthetics in organization theory.

Aesthetics in organization theory

Baumgarten (1750; Strati, 2000:14) can be regarded as the founder of the discipline of aesthetics. His framework is derived from the philosophers of Ancient Greece, such as Plato and Aristotle (Ramírez, 1991:46). Aesthetics first addressed poetics and rhetoric, but ultimately concerned all of the arts. According to Baumgarten, aesthetics consists of the theory of the beautiful and of the arts, which investigates sense knowledge.

Baumgarten considered aesthetics a specific mode of knowing distinct from intellectual and rational knowledge. Since its origins, the discipline has been characteristically heuristic in nature. Even today, philosophical aesthetics largely concerns itself with beauty and the arts. However, some contemporary aestheticians have begun to stress the role of sensory experience and sensory knowledge (Shusterman, 2000). This approach emphasizes a special form of human knowledge that is generated by the perceptive faculties of hearing, sight, touch, smell and taste, and the capacity for aesthetic judgment based on this sensuous information.

Throughout history, the term aesthetics has been defined in many different ways, as Welsch (1997: 8-17) points out. It has sometimes concerned the sensuous, sometimes the beautiful, sometimes nature, sometimes art, sometimes perception, sometimes judgment and sometimes knowledge. This ambiguity can be problematic if one requires a single meaning for the concept. Significant differences exist through overlaps and cross-connections amongst the diverse meanings of aesthetics. However, these meanings form a loose coherence of the expression 'aesthetic' as a whole which makes the use of the concept possible.

Aesthetics and organization theory are not necessarily the most likely partners. However, such an unusual combination can generate interesting results and discussions that often occur at the crossroads of two disciplines or fields. One of the first indications of a possible union of the two can be traced back as far as the 1930s. Chester Barnard (Barnard, 1938, in Ottensmeyer, 1996) in effect described the executive process of management as follows:

> *"The terms pertinent to it are 'feeling', judgement', 'sense', 'proportion', 'balance', 'appropriateness'. It is a matter of art rather than science, and is aesthetic rather than logical."*

Barnard was way ahead of his time to suggest that managerial work was more than logical thinking and rational decision making. Despite Barnard's wisdom, management developed more in the direction of science than art, and organization theorists have been more interested in issues of power and control than in aesthetic values.

The study of aesthetics in organizations originated in the mid-1980s, largely as a protest against the positivist and rational paradigm that dominated organization theory. Aesthetics provided an alternative epistemology to this rational-logical paradigm. In 1985, a conference with the theme 'corporate image' was organized in Antibes, France, by the Standing Conference on Organizational Symbolism (SCOS) which was an important step in the development of this field. The early articles were published in the SCOS journal, Dragon. The new field called itself 'organizational aesthetics' (Strati, 1989, 1999:5-8). The field has produced research on culture and symbolism in the context of organizations' image, logo, publicity material and architecture (Buie, 1996; Gagliardi, 1990, 1996; Ramírez 1991).

Another theme of research in the field has been that of art and organization. These studies have, for example, focused on creativity, the management of art organizations and organizational practices to produce art (Björkegren, 1993; Guillet de Monthoux, 1993, 2000; Jacobson, 1996; Ropo and Eriksson, 1997; Rusted, 1988). Ottensmeyer (1996:190-191) describes some of the typical research questions as follows:

> *"The key questions seem to be: How might we bring art, artistry and beauty more explicitly into organization theories and management practices? For if we see people holding aesthetic values, organizations embodying aesthetic properties, and managerial work including an element of artistry, can we choose not to pay attention?"*

Emma Stenström (2000) states that the worlds of art and business have indeed come closer to each other, at least on the level of discourse. In her extensive study of the arts and

the business world in Sweden Stenström demonstrates how business is discussed in aesthetic terms, how art organizations have adapted business language and how leadership is perceived as a romantic venture. It seems that the long forgotten dimensions of leadership, such as feelings, intuition and aesthetic judgments are once again being noticed.

Strati (1996:210) also points out that aesthetics is an undeniable part of organizational experience and organizational reality. Management and leadership theories are explicitly more similar to the discourse of control, profit, and effectiveness than with aesthetics. However, an aesthetic dimension is always present in management and leadership practices as long as human beings are involved in social processes to accomplish something.

The field of organizational aesthetics has become established to the extent that several journals have published special issues on the theme. For example, *Organization* published a special issue on aesthetics in 1996, *Consumption, Markets and Culture* published an issue dedicated to aesthetics in 2002, and *Human Relations* also came out with a special issue in 2002. In addition, various courses and seminars have been organized with the theme aesthetics in organizations, and all major conferences have a special track dedicated to the theme.

Toward auditive leadership

If sensuous perception has importance in the development of human knowledge, then it follows by extension that our bodies are not insignificant either. However, as many scholars (e.g. Linstead and Höpfl, 2000; Ropo and Parviainen, 2001; Strati, 1999) have pointed out, bodies are almost completely absent in organization studies. As Strati (1999:2) puts it, most research in management and organization studies describes the following bizarre phenomenon:

> *"as soon as a human being crosses the virtual or physical threshold of an organization, s/he is purged*

of corporeality, so that only his or her mind remains. Once a person has crossed this threshold, therefore, s/he is stripped of both clothing and body and consists of pure thought, which the organization equips with work instruments and thus reclothes."

The body can then be regained when people return home.

Research in organizations tends to reduce people to minds and cognitions that produce ideas and thoughts. Human beings are mostly described as rational creatures with a logical way of thinking. Bodies may exist, but they have no conceptual meaning to the understanding of organizational life. This view is most striking in Weberian bureaucratic models where human beings are seen merely as contingencies, something that are difficult to foresee and control but necessary to deal with. Mainstream leadership thinking seems to treat people as merely cognitive objects that are guided by functional, purposeful actions from outside. This interaction is cognitive in nature, a mindful activity where people influence each other. Leaders and followers are to represent their positions; they are acquired and trained to exercise different roles according to situational demands, in order to achieve controlled and coordinated activity for the benefit of the organization. Any problematic elements, such as bodies, emotions and sensuous information are largely brushed aside, explained away as residual, or ignored (Ropo, Parviainen and Koivunen, 2002).

However, plenty of knowledge dwells in our bodies. Bodily knowledge refers more specifically to knowing in and through the body, to a kind of knowledge that is directly connected with bodily awareness and perception (Ropo and Parviainen, 2001). In relation to leadership, recognizing bodily knowledge means that human experience, reflection and negotiation become important in the workplace. Such negligence of the body would be very problematic in symphony orchestras where the musicians perform their jobs with their bodies; by using their hands and arms to play the strings, facial muscles to blow wind instruments, and ears to listen to the music. It would be a major

oversight not to discuss the body and knowledge formation through the senses.

Based on my observations of symphony orchestras, I argue that interaction is of central importance. Leadership literature discusses interaction at great length but uses a somewhat different perspective. Interaction is clearly depicted as cognitive action. In addition, the nature of interaction between the leader and followers reflects the traditional hierarchical logic where the leader is communicating a message and the followers merely receive it. It is a typical subject/object relationship as Dachler and Hosking (1995) also point out. In orchestras it is more like an ongoing process of relating where the players communicate with each other and with the conductor, where the conductor is responsive to the players and evaluates the sound all the time. This mutual interaction requires great sensitivity and the ability to form aesthetic judgments about the playing – by listening.

I find bodily knowledge very important in studying leadership. Since this is a study on leadership in symphony orchestras, I suggest that listening as one form of bodily knowledge is an interesting, new aspect that is worth studying. In other words, I discuss the role of listening in leadership and interaction processes. There are certainly other important bodily aspects, such as the gestures of the conductor, but I do not discuss them in depth. When discussing listening I also describe the nature of sound and auditive dimensions to provide a background for my arguments. I argue that an emphasis on auditive elements in all organizations would pave the way to a different understanding of leadership knowledge. I will discuss the topic in more detail in chapter six, "Aesthetic leadership practices".

Before I move on to discuss leadership from these two perspectives, I will first explain the nature of a symphony orchestra as a historical organization.

CHAPTER IV.

SYMPHONY ORCHESTRAS

This chapter portrays the orchestra organization and presents the professionals of the field, namely musicians and conductors. It also describes the character, operation and tradition of this historical organization. The nature of musicianship is described and the concept of emotional labor is introduced. Finally, I introduce the two symphony orchestras I have studied.

The history of symphony orchestras

The word "music" originates from Greek and means the art of the muses. The muses were goddesses and companions of Apollo in Ancient Greece, where music was one of the seven art forms. Presumably, the notion of a musician comes from the same origin. Music was considered important in cultivating the soul. Socrates stated that music has an important role in education since rhythm and harmony penetrate the soul, have a strong influence on the soul, create beauty and refine the person who listens to music (Nordström, 1997:8-9).

There are many kinds of orchestras, a symphony orchestra being the most complex. A symphony orchestra consists of many instrument sections and the balance between different instruments has been carefully assessed. The word "orchestra" comes from the Greek - orkhestra - which means a place for dancing. In other words, in ancient theatres the place for the choir, called the orkestra, was in front of the stage. When opera was born in the 17th century, it adapted the concept. Because the musicians were now in front of the stage, they were therefore called an orchestra. A century later musical groups

with no connection to the opera were also called an orchestra (Nordström, 1997: 99).

The classical symphony orchestra took shape around 1750. Mozart, Haydn and Beethoven composed for such a combination of instruments that was later called the classical orchestra. The composition of this orchestra is outlined in the figure below (Kerman, 1987: 165).

STRINGS	WOODWINDS	BRASS	PERCUSSION
First violins	2 Flutes	2 French horns	2 Timpani
Second violins	2 Oboes	2 Trumpets	
Violas	2 Clarinets		
Cellos	2 Bassoons		
Double basses			

Figure 1. The instruments of the classical orchestra

Several additional instruments, such as the piccolo, trombone, harp, and different kinds of percussion, were needed for opera performances. In general, Mozart and Haydn composed for relatively small orchestras. Haydn's court orchestra was constituted of 25 musicians and Mozart is known to have had 38 musicians in the orchestra that performed his compositions. Sometimes the composition was much larger, 85 musicians played Mozart's 34th symphony and as many as 96 produced Beethoven's music. Gradually, the increasingly active concert life and big concert halls required larger orchestras, and the romantic expression of the time period further enhanced the growth of the orchestra (Nordström, 1997: 100-102).

Today, a full-scale symphony orchestra consists of 96 - 100 musicians. The balance between different instrument sections is very important. Strings comprise 3/4 of all instruments. The quantity of instruments in each section is carefully evaluated and determined because their relations are very important. Symphony orchestras usually follow a similar seating plan, but there are many variations as well. Galkin (1986: 151-177) exhibits as many

as 40 seating plans that various orchestras and conductors have applied over the past 200 years. The following picture shows one traditional seating plan (Nordström, 1997: 103).

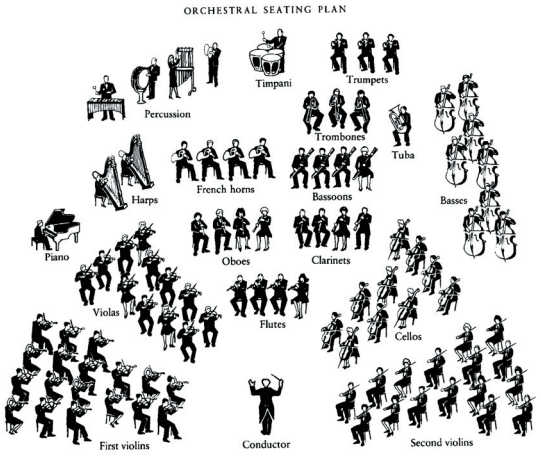

Figure 2. Seating plan of the orchestra

When the orchestra plays a piece of music, each musician has the part of her respective instrument. The part shows what the musician is going to play. Musicians do not know about the parts of other instruments. There is one person in the orchestra that has every notation: the conductor. He has the score which includes the parts of every instrument section in a particular order. The score had been used on and off in the history of music, but became necessary in the beginning of the 19th century. At that time, orchestras grew in size and compositions became increasingly complex, hence there was a need for a professional conductor and a score for her purposes. By studying the score, the conductor has to build an understanding of the structure and character of the piece of music. The conductor has to hear the score and imagine how the instruments sound in relation to each other (Nordström, 1997: 104-105).

The roots of the definition of the task of a conductor or choir leader extend far back into history. The Latin word 'conducere'

means 'to lead or to guide' (Galkin, 1986:187). In other words, the conductor's task is to guide the musicians. In early history, the most important task was to keep rhythm, "tactus". In Ancient Greece the choir leader showed rhythm by stamping on the floor with a shoe that was equipped with wooden or iron sole. During the Baroque period, the leader tapped a stick against the floor or was sitting at a cembalo. Often these methods made much more noise than the music itself! The 18th century brought a double conductorship where the composer often played cembalo and conducted together with the concert master. As mentioned earlier, 19th century Romanticism finally brought the conducting profession into its present form (Nordström, 1997: 108-109).

While conductors have their unique way of conducting the orchestra, there are certain universal principles in the profession. The right hand, the one also holding the baton, shows tempo and dynamics. It helps the musicians keep the tempo in difficult parts and expresses nuances in dynamics. If the right hand keeps order, the left hand shows artistic interpretation. The left hand shows entrances to different instruments, articulation and phrasing. While each hand has a different function, it can be very challenging to coordinate them. Indeed, a conductor can express many things with hands alone. Conductors do indeed use their entire body to convey their ideas to the orchestras. In particular, the face transmits many expressions. One look can show an entrance for an instrument or encourage the musician starting a demanding solo part, or it can reveal that there is a problem somewhere. The best conductors warn the orchestra a little before something is going to happen in the music, thus making the musicians feel more secure when playing (Kruckenberg, 1996: 105-107).

Conductors

Hans von Bülow was probably one of the first great conductors, a forerunner of modern conducting. He specialized

in Wagner and established the reputation of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra as the leading symphony orchestra in the world. The 20th century witnessed the emergence of "demonic conductors" and the myth of star conductors began to evolve. Gustav Mahler, Richard Strauss, Felix von Weingartner, Arturo Toscanini, Wilhelm Furtwängler, Bruno Walter, Otto Klemperer, Karl Böhm, Herbert von Karajan, Pierre Montoux, Leopold Stokowski and Eugene Ormandy attracted attention to conductors as unique individuals as well as to their performance and interpretation of music (Nordström, 1997: 109-110).

Radio broadcasting and recordings had a central role in constructing the celebrity conductor, they further advanced the conductors' reputation. Today the role of the conductor is even greater as movies, television and CDs have reinforced conductorship. Most productions are promoted by the conductor's reputation; music and the orchestra seem to have a secondary role. Music critics and other writers have also contributed significantly to the construction of the Great Conductor cult, not only by adapting this term to regular language but by tailoring the collective attitude and even their vocabulary to strengthen the mythology (Lebrecht, 1991: 9).

Lebrecht (1991: 8) lists a few characteristics that outstanding conductors have had in common, including:

> *"an acute ear, the charisma to inspire musicians on first acquaintance, the will to get their own way, high organizational ability, physical and mental fitness, relentless ambition, a powerful intelligence and a natural sense of order which enables them to cut through thousands of scattered notes to the artistic core".*

This ability to obtain an overview of the score and convey it to others is the essence of musical interpretation. Not every conductor possesses all of the requisite traits. Many are not well read and have average intelligence, some are hopelessly disorganized or lacking in all ambition but have other characteristics that cause them to succeed. Many of the

outstanding conductors have been radically different and their success can not be explained in scientific terms. They have shared an inexplicable mystique that ultimately reinforced a collective myth.

Most great conductors are elderly gentlemen with extensive experience in the profession. There are extremely few women in the profession. There is, however, one country that has witnessed the emergence of young, highly talented conductors in the 1990s. This country is Finland, the homeland of the Sibelius Academy where Jorma Panula held his extraordinary conducting class. This school has trained, for example, Esa-Pekka Salonen, Jukka-Pekka Saraste, Sakari Oramo and Mikko Franck all of whom today enjoy wide international recognition and respect (Nordström, 1997: 110). Their secret may lie in the style of inviting the musicians to participate in the creation of music rather than merely giving orders to the players. They have musical authority, a unique understanding of music and an exceptional talent to communicate this to the orchestra.

Conductors may be among the most undemocratic leaders in the world. Moreover, nearly all conductors are male. My interviewees in Finland argue that even the army – which these days also allows women to join – is more democratic than a symphony orchestra. In their opinion, a female army general is a more likely figure than a female conductor. The job description of a conductor is indeed quite extraordinary: conductors are totalitarian leaders. They do not discuss tempo, phrasings or articulation with the orchestra or with individual players. They decide if the orchestra is going to play louder or quieter, whether the tempo is too slow, or whether a particular instrument is too dominant. Nobody is in a position to question their orders. If a musician speaks with a conductor in rehearsal, it is only to ask further advice. If the orchestra wishes to address the conductor, it is the concert master's duty to do so. Conductors decide everything down to the smallest detail in rehearsals and concerts. They decide which parts need extra rehearsing (Nordström, 1997: 110).

Many conductors lead a very international life and may travel six months out of the year. Under these circumstances, being a music director on a full-time contract in one of the big orchestras translates into as few as 20 concerts a year, a maximum. In many American orchestras, the music director is present as little as ten weeks. In other words, most of the time the music director does not perform with his own orchestra. Consequently, artistic leadership is increasingly being reassigned to the management. Guest conductors take up the slack with the remaining concerts while the music director pursues an international career with other orchestras. Many conductors have two orchestras of their own in addition to performing as guest conductors (Nordström, 1997: 110).

Musicians: discipline and subordination

It is appropriate and even necessary to give some thought to the issue of musicianship: namely, what does it means to be a musician in a symphony orchestra. I describe the nature of the work of a professional musician and further analyze one particular aspect of the job: subordination. I draw on literature and my data to illustrate this issue.

Erin Lehman was the lead field researcher in the Harvard University cross-national study of "Leadership and Mobility in Symphony Orchestras" that started in 1989. Based on her extensive experience in the field, Lehman (1995) describes the nature of work in a symphony orchestra as presenting a dichotomous experience for musicians: at times it is extremely exciting, challenging and satisfying; at other times, full of stress, disappointment, and boredom. Some performances are transcendent in their brilliance, some conductors inspirational; other times, the workload and stress of ensemble playing leads to numbness, and creativity is stifled. To play in an orchestra is to experience an alternating cycle of highs and lows, compounded by an organizational setting that is complex and competitive. Orchestral musicians are highly skilled specialists

who have trained from an early age for careers that inevitably twist and turn and possibly take them from one end of the country to the other. Once in an orchestra, musicians must contend with the social dynamics of a 100-person group that is an amalgamation of diverse individuals.

Robert Faulkner, an American sociologist, has also studied symphony orchestras. What Faulkner described in 1973 (1973 b.: 335) still holds and suits well with my empirical findings:

> *"Musicians in any orchestra differ widely in their career outlooks, motivations, and horizons as well as their paths into their present organization. Some are just starting while others are near the end of their careers. Some have moved into their present position by working up the ranks, some fresh from music school land principal positions that will last a lifetime. They may be playing next to a colleague who started his career as a section player in one of the big five (the five most important orchestras in the United States), and who then came to this orchestra in order to occupy the more prestigious position as leader of a section. Some have grown accustomed to the easy comforts and securities of the setting while others are thoroughly disenchanted and desire to move into the upper ranks of the orchestral world. Not all are equally ambitious or motivated, nor are they on the same level musically, technically or emotionally. They may despise and envy one another, disagree about music and the merits of conductors, and even be in open competition with their colleagues for prestigious or better positions within their respective orchestral sections."*

Indeed, a symphony orchestra constrains in its membership in a balance between the mobile and the settled, the restless and the complacent, the novice and the veteran.

The working conditions of a symphony orchestra are exceptional in many ways. First, almost the entire workforce carries out its work in public. Second, the musicians are

exposed to succession of new bosses because of the high number of guest conductors that come one after the other (Atik, 1994:22). Musicians must be flexible and face a different leader every week. Although there are some universal rules to the art of conducting, the conductors differ greatly in personal qualities and in musical orientation. The musicians have to adapt to different interpretations of the same symphony and tolerate these variations.

There are additional stress factors inherent in the work procedures of the traditional symphonic format. One concerns the necessary method of rehearsal. For instance, continuous starting and stopping for corrections requires a huge expenditure of energy from the player to maintain her involvement. In such a large group the conductor is most often addressing one individual or section while the others must remain quiet and be ready to resume playing instantly (Arian, 1971:90-91). Furthermore, Arian describes how an orchestra's concerts involve many physiological stress factors. According to research by the Max Planck Institute (ibid.: 91), in no other profession are people subjected to as much collective time pressure and to as many stress factors as in an orchestra. Conductors are not affected by stress in a similar manner. Their pulse rate is increased by the prospect of exhilaration, not stress. Besides, conductors receive their reward from the audience whereas the musicians do not necessarily receive any feedback for their performance.

Playing an instrument itself in a top orchestra is a demanding task. First, a wind player and then another musician describe their work as musicians:

> *"If you just think about what we have to do physically, to breathe, use arms, take care of vibration, fingering, rhythm, intonation, sound; all these elements have to fall into places. Everything must be precisely coordinated with everything else. And then the expression, it's very difficult." (Musician, Philadelphia)*

> *"It takes so much energy to be on top of your playing and do what you need to do in rehearsals and study the music and actually play the concerts alert enough, rested enough, together enough to play well every night. That's a concentrated effort." (Musician, Philadelphia)*

The above quotations reveal that the attention and concentration required to perform at a peak level is very high. It is, however, the job of musicians and what they are trained to do. It can take several years to develop the ability to withstand this intensified concentration and pressure.

Köping (1993) has identified three major tensions that characterize the working conditions of symphony orchestras. Her data originate from one Swedish symphony orchestra and resemble my own findings very closely. First, a musician's work includes a great deal of individual tension. For instance, stage fright and nervousness are very common. According to a recent international study on musicians from 56 orchestras, 16% suffer from such difficult stage fright that they have to take beta blockers before concerts (Korva, 2002). Musicians seem to have more pressure in their work than other professionals. Furthermore, it is also physically very demanding to play an instrument. Still, the hardest part of all is the emotional pressure, engaging with the music with all one's heart and soul.

Second, there are social conflicts in the team setting. A symphony orchestra is naturally a very large team, but it does, nevertheless, possess certain characteristics of group work. The basic tension in the organization level is being a soloist and an ensemblist at the same time. The aim is to be as invisible or inaudible as possible as an individual player, but to play with exactly the same articulation and vibration as fellow players. There is a certain voluntary self control in the section: nobody wants to be the one who is out of tune, playing badly. The section has to play consistently, neither the best nor worst players should stick out. One musician compared these circumstances to a marriage, where one has to constantly say "yes, my dear", year after year, from one concert to the next,

sacrificing the individual for the sake of the group. No wonder human relations can be extraordinarily difficult in an orchestra (Köping, 1993).

Third, Köping identified the tension between the players and the conductor. This relationship can be described as a love/hate relationship, since so many emotions and feelings are indeed involved. The interaction between these two parties is a very delicate matter, most of the interaction happens on an intuitive level. The conductor has to face many frustrations, disappointments and disagreements from the musicians which requires a lot of strength. In the words of one elderly conductor whom I interviewed:

> "*The conductor has to live with the fact that the orchestra hates him. If he can't deal with it, he is gone.*"

The interviews reveal that many older musicians had little previous experience in group playing when they first joined the orchestra. This is changing little by little, the younger musicians have had more training in ensemble playing. Higher music education tends to prepare them to become soloists, not orchestra musicians. This tradition seems to hold both in Finland and the United States, where the history of symphony orchestras is relatively young. The orientation to a solo career is especially striking among string players. Several musicians both in Finland and in the United States explain how music training targets at solo career while other options are hardly mentioned. In addition and for this particular reason, very few interpersonal skills or group dynamics are taught during music education. A new professional musician has to learn a lot by doing and also to encounter many confusing situations where mere playing is not enough. Flexibility, intuition and adaptation are the new skills to be learned.

Musicianship requires great personal and emotional dedication to the work. Musicians have to endure the creative process, be completely involved in the playing and disregard other things. It is sometimes difficult to get any distance from

work. The playing takes place in the emotional core of each musician. In addition, the musician has to produce professional know-how, playing skill and all of the concomitant emotional material and place it in the hands of the conductor who uses this material while molding it according to his own preferences. The musicians must be completely compliant to another's will in a matter that is of great personal significance to everyone. This absolute compliance is regarded to be the most difficult issue for musicians.

One interesting indication of the lively human relations in the Finnish orchestra is the high number of married couples or couples in general. This is a common feature in other orchestras as well. This phenomenon is typical in other professional groups that require intense group work and have special working hours, such as other art organizations like ballet, opera and theatre. Another typical situation, not necessarily related to the previous matter, is that there are long-lasting and passionate grudges in the orchestra. I have heard many vivid stories of players who sit next to each other have not exchanged a word for many years. Many milder versions are likely to be found as well. This unique group structure also produces opposite reactions. When the orchestra is, for example, on tour and everything goes well, a certain sense of special togetherness starts to build up. When the players together produce a particularly magnificent concert it often results in a special unity that closes out everything and everyone.

Musicians have to deal with a lot of emotional pressure. The more developed and individual a vision one has about music and its interpretation, the more difficult it becomes to understand and tolerate different opinions. It is such a threat to one's personality and self-esteem, which are constructed with care and persistence, that it is hard to bear. Similarly, it is difficult to face criticism of any kind, people tend to grow extremely sensitive about it. As one musician said:

"It is frightening how the tolerance for everything else suddenly disappears. If I drop a glass of water, it is a personal disaster." (Musician, Tampere)

Emotional labor

Feelings and emotions are an essential part of human behavior in all interactions between people. It has been said that emotions have an especially central role in art organizations. Artistic work requires strong emotions, artists are expected to be able to use their emotions in order to produce art. However, a misleading picture can easily be created. When emphasizing the critical role of emotions in art organizations in comparison to other organizations, it is sometimes argued that people in other organizations hardly have any emotions at all. This is clearly not true. This perception only contributes to another misunderstanding: art organizations are mystical places where people have no control of their emotions and feelings.

A more accurate description of the situation is that the *discourse* on emotions varies greatly in different organizations. In art organizations it is natural to talk about one's emotions. It is also natural to show emotions instead of trying to hide them. And this is where the crucial difference can be found. In business organizations it is still often considered embarrassing to show emotions, as it is interpreted as a loss of control. In addition, people do not talk very much about their emotions. This state of affairs may easily lead to the conclusion that business organizations are emotion-free zones.

Furthermore, it is incorrect to argue that artists are more emotional than other people. As a matter of fact, emotions in art organizations can be seen as tools to get the daily work done. In this sense, being an artist, such as a musician in a symphony orchestra, can be considered to be emotional labor. The term emotional labor was introduced by Arlie Hochschildt (1983:147, see also Fineman 1993, 1996) who wrote about the work of flight attendants, insurance clerks and secretaries. In these professions

the employees have to smile, be nice and helpful all the time. It is an intrinsic part of their job and they are expected to perform flawlessly. Hochschildt discusses the stress and pressure this can cause employees. It is demanding to engage emotions and feelings in work to such an extent. Similarly, musicians have to use their emotional capacity in order to concentrate on their work and to interpret the music the way the conductor asks. In conclusion, emotions are not merely an interesting and mystical phenomenon that simply permeates art organizations, they are an essential tool to get the hard work done.

A few interviewees said that musicians as a whole do react with very strong emotions which may seem totally irrational to an outsider. Announcing a minor change in the rehearsal schedule may trigger huge resistance, even if the change is beneficial to the musicians. As individuals the musicians can think and act as rationally as anybody else, but as a community its reactions can be unexpected and intense. A symphony orchestra as an artistic community is very sensitive and emotional. It also seems to be typical that strong individuals have the tendency to dominate more easily than in other organizations, which also intensifies these reactions. The fact that the reality of the musicians differs from the reality of the administration does not make the situation any easier.

This emotional intensity can result in irritable behavior, over-reactions and even aggression. Walter Ong (1967) has written about this phenomena in his research on illiterate cultures. His findings suggest that the need to be constantly alert to voices easily results in disorganized anxiety, fear and hostility.

> *"In other words, when they are under emotional pressure, individuals in these cultures tend far more than do literates to break out in frenzied rages which often leads to indiscriminate slaughter." (Ong 1967:132)*

This provides evidence of how sounds and auditive irritation in stressful situations can effectively cause remarkable amount of emotional instability.

What about the connection between emotions and *creativity:* are people who are engaged in emotional labor by definition creative? Is the work in symphony orchestras creative? Chiapello (1994) argues that a symphony orchestra's task to interpret music is actually not very creative. In the interviews, several musicians state that they do not find their job creative. Some musicians construct the work as re-creative, in other words, the musicians are recreating the composer's piece of music. However, it is not creative in the sense that it creates something totally new. Many musicians find their work rewarding and challenging, but only a very few consider it creative. DiMaggio (1987), however, relativizes the assumption of quality and innovation-driven artists: "Although many artists and curators, especially those in the major professional organizations, strive for perfection, it seems reasonable to assume that others, like mortals in other occupations, seek simply to get by". Some of the artists are certainly very creative, but many others are "just doing their jobs".

Stephen Couch (1983), an American sociologist interested in occupations and professionalization, directly argues that the professional symphony orchestra is a music factory in many respects. Run by a wealthy lay board of directors, employing bureaucratic management, hiring musicians who were tightly controlled in the workplace and had no say in the running of the organization, the orchestra turns out a standardized product over which the musicians have no control beyond the performance of their individual parts.

While musicians tend to consider themselves gifted professional artists, an examination of their actual working conditions shows these to be much more akin to the conditions of factory laborers than to the conditions in which professionals work. Couch explains this resemblance to factories with two factors. First, the management of the orchestra wants to maximize control over its operations. For them, the wage labor bureaucratic structure is the best and the most efficient way to get the job done. The other factor is the music itself. During the 19th century, orchestral music became more difficult, making

it harder for amateur musicians to give decent performances. Hence the professionalization of orchestra musicians was thus encouraged (ibid.).

Two cases, two orchestras

This subchapter introduces the two symphony orchestras that I have studied. It provides the reader with basic background information about the history and organization of these orchestras and helps her to understand the nature of the music business. Chapters 5. and 6. build on interviews and observations that I conducted at these orchestras.

The Tampere Philharmonic Orchestra

History. There were various kinds of musical activity in Tampere in the late 19th century. The first symphonic concert was held in 1881 by an ensemble that met the criteria for an orchestra. The Music Association was founded around that time in order to pursue the development of a permanent orchestra in Tampere. In 1893, this orchestra had 20 musicians. The orchestra labored on and off through the difficult times of the late 19th and the early 20th century, with its situation dependent on the political and financial situation at the moment. Finally, in 1930 the Orchestra Association was founded to support the orchestra that had been playing for some time already. Hence this is considered the founding date of the Tampere Philharmonic Orchestra. In 1947, the City of Tampere took over the orchestra. This was a courageous act in the midst of the harsh financial conditions immediately after the Second World War. The 38 musicians of the orchestra thus became civil servants. In the early years, the orchestra frequently played in theatres assisting the theatre ensemble in addition to symphonic concerts (Laakso, 1986).

As earlier mentioned, the orchestra was founded in 1930 and welcomed Eero Kosonen as its conductor two years later.

Kosonen remained with the orchestra when it was taken over by the City of Tampere in 1947 and continued his work right up to 1969, with a total of 37 years of service. Eero Kosonen was a firm advocate of Finnish music. He gave Finnish music an important place and did not confine himself merely to the Sibelius symphonies. He selected symphonies of Madetoja and Melartin and music by Palmgren for the repertoire. Englund's most famous symphonies were immediately performed by the orchestra in Tampere. Kosonen took pride in performing music by contemporary Finnish composers. Kosonen was succeeded in 1969 by Juhani Raiskinen, a man with a reputation as a pianist and as a theatre and opera conductor (Tuomisto, 1998: 17-21).

In 1974 the orchestra was taken over by Paavo Rautio, who continued Kosonen's work as a flag-bearer for Finnish music. Rautio was meticulous in his study of new works and the new techniques they required and produced a band of players not easily frightened by a modern score. By and large, Rautio may be termed a radical, for his choice of repertoire did not always win him the full approval of the orchestra or the audiences (Tuomisto, 1998: 18-19).

Rautio was succeeded by Atso Almila in 1987, and after that the contract periods for chief conductors have been considerably shorter. Ari Rasilainen conducted the next season in 1988-1989. The Russian Leonid Grin became artistic director in 1989. Regular recording got under way during his period in 1990-1994. The young Finnish conductor Tuomas Ollila was chosen to follow Grin in 1994-1998. Bold and pioneering program designs were his trademark. Since August of 1998 the Tampere Philharmonic Orchestra has had the Estonian Eri Klas as its chief conductor and artistic director. Klas has an established international conducting career with extensive experience in opera (Tuomisto, 1998:19, http://www.tampere.fi/or/).

Organization. The artistic personnel consist of 83 musicians (in 1998) and 1 artistic director (chief conductor). The administration is made up of 7 persons: the general manager, the vice general manager, the marketing and PR manager,

2 office personnel and 2 stage managers. There is a dual leadership structure: the general manager and the artistic director work together. The general manager is in charge of finances and organizational processes while the artistic director deals with programming, soloists, visiting conductors, artistic development of the orchestra and recordings. In practice, many tasks are handled in a cooperative manner. However, a great deal of responsibility has shifted to the general manager because the artistic director is present only 8-10 weeks a year. Musicians are represented by a musicians' committee that can influence the programming and other decisions. Musicians are also present in auditions and can influence the recruitment of new musicians.

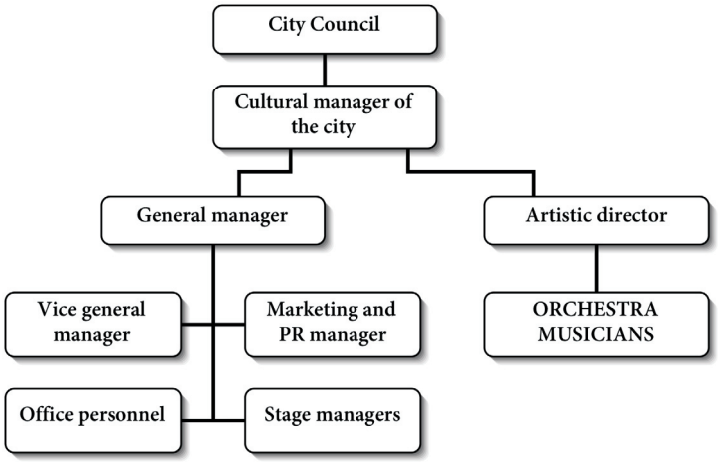

Figure 3. The organization chart of Tampere Philharmonic Orchestra in 1998

With the completion of Tampere Hall, an outstanding concert hall and congress center, in 1990 , the orchestra literally moved into brave new world. Vastly improved premises, including a concert hall with a seating capacity of 1,800 gave scope for the orchestra's further artistic development. Each

winter season there is a series of Friday symphony concerts and a chamber music series on Sunday afternoons monthly, a grand total of approximately 60 concerts a year. The normal week for the musicians includes 4 rehearsals and 1 concert. The orchestra has made international concert tours to the United States, Scandinavia, Estonia, The Netherlands and Spain. The discography contains about 30 recordings.

The orchestra is a public organization and belongs to the City of Tampere. The annual budget in 1998 was 5 million euros. The City of Tampere provided 69% of the budget, the national government 21% and 10% came from earned income. The city government accepts the budget and officially has the highest decision-making power. In practice, most of the decision making power has been delegated to the orchestra organization; the management can independently decide on programming, recruitment and management policies. However, the orchestra has to stay within budget and sell a certain amount of tickets. In other words, the orchestra is responsible for providing the kind of concerts that attract an audience, even when the financial situation is not directly dependent on ticket sales.

The Philadelphia Orchestra

History. The present Philadelphia Orchestra was founded in 1900 with considerable difficulty, and the prospects for its survival were not encouraging. Opera enjoyed much greater public support than symphonic music at the time. Previous symphonic ensembles in Philadelphia had existed on a limited and conditional basis without having drawn any significant economic support from the community. During the first years from 1900 to 1912, under the conductorship of Fritz Scheel and Karl Pohlig, the orchestra struggled for existence. The local critics approved the musical quality but neither Scheel or Pohlig were glamorous figures with public appeal and their programming was not very innovative. The history of the early years is one of increasing deficits, recurrent financial crises and poor attendance (Ardoin, 1999:28; Arian, 1971: 3-5).

Leopold Stokowski was appointed conductor in 1912 and quickly began leading the orchestra toward new visions of musical excellence and exciting innovations. His ideas were successful and immediately captivated public interest. His first concert was completely sold out. From that point on, large audiences were fascinated by Stokowski's personality as well as curious about his concerts, and continued to flock to his concerts. According to Arian (1971:5), Stokowski had two traits necessary to a charismatic leader: the ability to command a following by the force of his personality and an imagination that rises above tradition and routine. This experimentation and Stokowski's charisma resulted in a revolution in the status and fortunes of the orchestra and the musical life of the city. Stokowski conducted many major world and U.S. premieres and recordings. Additionally, he instituted many of the orchestra's traditions, such as children's concerts and tours. The soundtrack for Walt Disney's *Fantasia* in 1940 brought symphonic music to millions of people who had never been to a concert (ibid. 5-9).

Eugene Ormandy assumed the music directorship in 1936 and maintained the position for the total of 44 years. Under Ormandy the orchestra refined its famed 'Philadelphia Sound' and traveled widely, touring North America, Europe, Latin America, Japan, Korea and China. Ormandy's most lasting legacy is a discography of nearly 400 recordings. Riccardo Muti succeeded Ormandy in 1980. This Italian-born conductor introduced new and unfamiliar music from all periods and also revived orchestra's operatic tradition. Wolfgang Sawallisch became the next music director in 1993. He is a widely acclaimed expert on the Germanic music tradition and opera. In the fall of 2003 Christoph Eschenbach will become the orchestra's seventh music director (http://www.philorch.org/).

Organization. The orchestra organization follows a leadership triumvirate: the board, the management and the musicians. The board of directors has 55 members (figures from 1998). The administration has 80 members in the areas of

artistic administration, communications, development, finance and administration, human resources, marketing and patron services and orchestra management. The artistic personnel comprises 103 musicians, 1 music director, 1 assistant conductor, 1 conductor in residence, 3 librarians and 3 stage personnel. The board of directors sets the policy and raises money. They delegate all of the artistic and music responsibility to the music director and to the president all business, organizational and financial responsibilities. The music director and the president must implement these policies. They work in partnership because every artistic decision has a financial implication. Musicians have a musicians' committee that represents them to the management. Recently two musicians were selected to sit on the board as well.

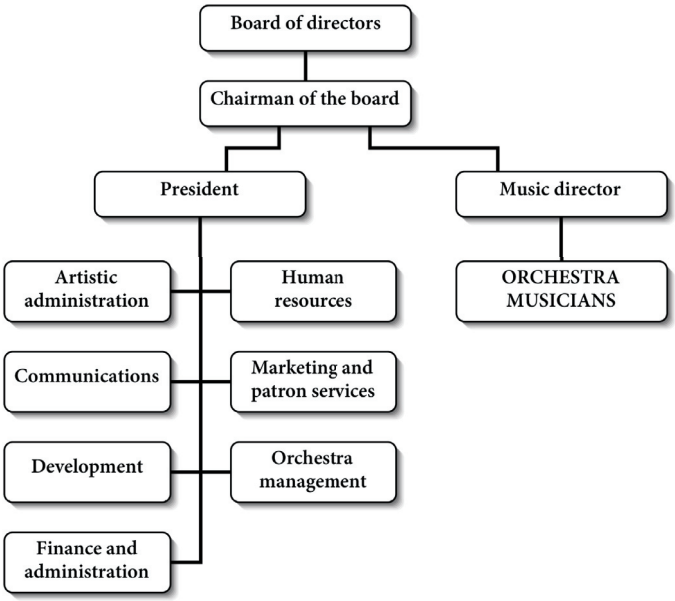

Figure 4. The organization chart of The Philadelphia Orchestra in 1998

The orchestra performs more than 300 concerts and other presentations each year. The musicians have eight services a week, either concerts or rehearsals. Usually there are four rehearsals and four concerts a week but the schedule can vary. Most concerts take place at The Academy of Music. The hall was originally constructed in 1855 to house opera productions and was modeled after the famous La Scala Opera House of Milan, Italy, but it has served very well for classical music as well. However, in December 2001 the orchestra has moved to its new home at the Kimmel Center for Performing Arts which was designed especially for The Philadelphia Orchestra. The center includes two performance spaces, the 2,500-seat Verizon Hall and the 650-seat Perelman Theatre for chamber music concerts (http://www.philorch.org/).

The annual budget of the orchestra is 30 million euros (in 1998). 60% of the budget comes from the earned income, 27% from annual grants and 13% from endowment funding.

After the reader has now gained some understanding of symphony orchestras, the next chapter will illustrate discourses that construct leadership in these orchestras.

CHAPTER V.

DISCURSIVE LEADERSHIP PRACTICES

This book discusses leadership from two perspectives. The discursive perspective presented in this chapter approaches leadership by studying the language practices by which people construct leadership. The aesthetic perspective addresses sensuous perception, hearing in particular, in combination with leadership. This perspective is introduced in Chapter 6. "Aesthetic leadership practices".

Leadership discourses

Everyday rituals, talk, routines, traditions, coffee breaks, all of these things create and maintain shared understandings about reality in organizations. Organization members never act alone in a void, but are always in relation to others in a social interaction process. Discourses are born in these interactive situations. Each discourse builds on a few widespread claims that are commonly shared, and many discourses can exist in an organization simultaneously. A discourse has a strong inner logic but can be contradictory in relation to other discourses. They always have an active role, they shape and direct organizational behavior and generate meaning.

In this study, discourse refers to spoken discourses as these were constructed from interview material. To be more precise, this construction was an ongoing process and, as a researcher, I was performing an active role in it. Some interviews were group interviews because I wanted to create an atmosphere where the musicians were having a conversation with each other instead of merely answering my questions. Through this,

I hoped they would use their own words and own vocabulary. Furthermore, I had only prepared a few themes for them to discuss (see Appendix 2.), as I wanted them to define the topics for discussion. After some general discussion I usually asked interviewees to tell me something about leadership in their orchestra. If they found it difficult, I helped them with a more specific question.

The process of constructing these discourses started in 1998 when I conducted the interviews at the Tampere Philharmonic Orchestra and continued with me conducting interviews at The Philadelphia Orchestra in 1999. When studying the Tampere interviews, certain themes already appeared in the text. For example, *bad management, let's blame the executive director* and *strong leader* are themes that I began to see in the data. Naturally, these themes constructed and further directed my understanding of leadership in symphony orchestras. When I interviewed in Philadelphia later on, it was very easy to identify the same themes there as well. After these two rounds of interviews, I continued to analyze the interviews. With the help of the already existing themes, I constructed more themes from the interviews. The interviewees said a great many things and I organized these stories according to my best understanding. I finished with 18 themes of leadership.

The shift from these themes to discourses meant moving from the concrete level to a more conceptual level. I have already explained earlier how this process went about and what difficulties I faced in completing the task (see Chapter 2., subchapter "Digging deep: Data analysis"). It is important to notice that these discourses were not somehow inscribed in the data, and neither did they emerge from it. I had an active role in constructing them from the data. Interview material was the main source of data, but also my general understanding of symphony orchestras collected through the research years facilitated the construction of these four discourses. In addition, my professional background as a researcher in a business school and in the field of organization studies and leadership certainly contributed to the end result. For example,

I named the discourses using typical language and concepts from my research field.

The four discourses are as follows:

1. **Art agaist business**
2. **Dislike of authority**
3. **Heroic leadership**
4. **Shared leadership**

All of these discourses consist of many themes, which are depicted in Table 1. below. Table 2. charts the themes particularly popular in the talk of management and musicians in The Philadelphia Orchestra. Table 3. presents the same distribution in the Tampere Philharmonic Orchestra. The four discourses are discussed in detail after these three tables.

A total of 27 interviews have been analyzed: 13 from The Philadelphia Orchestra and 14 from the Tampere Philharmonic Orchestra. The Philadelphia data include 8 interviews with musicians, 1 with a conductor and 4 interviews with managers. While the conductor falls in the gray area between the musicians and the management, I have chosen to group him with the musicians because his job is closer to the musicians' job and he also himself identified with the musicians. The Tampere data contain 8 interviews with musicians and 6 interviews with members of the administration or management (for the sake of simplicity I call all of them managers). The artistic director is grouped with the management since his job includes managerial tasks such as planning the repertoire. This is the basis of the division between musicians and management made in Tables 2. and 3.

These classifications are used in citations. The text includes many direct quotes from the data. I have indicated from which orchestra the quote originates as well as whether it comes from managers or musicians. The identity of the person quoted is therefore not revealed. Furthermore, I have decided to call the highest ranking leader of both orchestra organizations an executive director, although the official titles are president and

general manager. Using one concept was more practical for the purposes of this study.

Each subchapter introduces one of the four discourses. In the beginning, the logic of the discourse is explained. Then the evidence in the data to support the logic is presented to the reader. Each subchapter concludes with a short theoretical discussion on matters brought up by the specific discourse. Finally, after all four discourses are presented, a concluding subchapter discusses the findings.

THEMES	Art against business	Dislike of authority	Heroic leadership	Shared leadership
Bad management		X		
Let's blame the executive director		X	X	
Strong leader			X	
Involvement				X
Understanding				X
Separation	X			
Mistrust	X			
Who decides?		X		
Art appreciation	X			X
Authority		X		
Star conductor			X	
Conductor with musical focus				X
The Great Philadelphia Orchestra / Trad.			X	
Public organization		X		
Chaos		X		
Business	X			
Changing markets	X			
Customer orientation	X			

Table 1. Leadership discourses and themes

For the sake of clarity, I group the themes according to each discourse. One theme can be present in many discourses and thus perform a different meaning in another context. In this data, the themes usually are particularly strong in one specific discourse. There are two exceptions, the themes *let's blame the executive director* and *art appreciation* appear in two discourses.

Art against business discourse

– Separation
– Mistrust
– Art appreciation
– Business
– Changing markets
– Customer orientation

Dislike of authority discourse

– Bad management
– Let's blame the executive director
– Who decides?
– Authority
– Public organization
– Chaos

Heroic leadership discourse

– Let's blame the executive director
– Strong leader
– Star conductor
– The Great Philadelphia Orchestra / Tradition

Shared leadership discourse

– Involvement
– Understanding
– Art appreciation
– Conductor with musical focus

Table 2. The division of themes in The Philadelphia Orchestra

THEMES, PHILADELPHIA	Musicians	Management
Bad management	X	
Let's blame the executive director	X	
Strong leader	X	
Involvement	X	X
Understanding	X	X
Separation	X	X
Mistrust	X	X
Who decides?		X
Art appreciation		X
Authority	X	
Star conductor	X	
Conductor with musical focus	X	
The Great Philadelphia Orchestra	X	X
Public organization		
Chaos	X	X
Business	X	X
Changing markets		X
Customer orientation		X

Table 3. The division of themes in Tampere Philharmonic Orchestra

THEMES, TAMPERE	Musicians	Management
Bad management	X	
Let's blame the executive director	X	
Strong leader	X	
Involvement	X	X
Understanding	X	X
Separation	X	X
Mistrust	X	X
Who decides?		
Art appreciation		X
Authority	X	
Star conductor	X	
Conductor with musical focus	X	
Tradition	X	X
Public organization	X	X
Chaos	X	X
Business	X	X
Changing markets	X	X
Customer orientation		X

Leitmotif: art against business

According to this discourse, musicians and management are from different tribes. The nature of their work is different, the main objectives of their work are different, even their philosophies and values seem different. There is a wide gap between these two groups, both physically and psychologically. There is very limited interaction between the groups, they rarely meet one another or even see each other. They have relatively little knowledge of one another's work but demonstrate mistrust and prejudice toward each other. This seems to be an especially salient point in the musicians' group which has a distinctly "us and them" atmosphere.

The *art against business* discourse is constructed by the fundamental tension present in symphony orchestras: how to do business with art and how to manage art? How to shape an art form into a successful business or at least an activity that supports itself? This question extends into the very core of the existence of a symphony orchestra organization. It applies to other art organizations as well. In an orchestra organization this tension is present at two levels. First, the whole existence of the orchestra depends on this dilemma, the main objective is to resolve and withstand this dilemma. Second, the employees of a symphony orchestra are divided into positions by this tension; with musicians representing art and management representing business.

This discourse implies that musicians can have the very idealistic view that art and music are so wonderful and important that they should have no limitations, or should never be compromised. Art is an expression of one's mind, it is not for profit and not for sale. Expressing oneself as a musician and expressing music that was created by remarkable composers is what matters. Even the audience is not that important. Musicians handle their instruments with such integrity and spend all those years practicing, day after day. And yet, the management has to step in and make all kinds of compromises to design a program that will attract a large enough audience.

The very fact that not all music is popular with audiences can have a disappointing influence on musicians' idealism.

This discourse characterizes the fundamental situation of leadership in symphony orchestras. The juxtaposition of art and business is very strong and affects the daily reality in orchestras in various ways.

This discourse consists of six themes. *Separation* and *mistrust* are the central themes in this discourse, used by both musicians and management. The nature of *business, changing markets, customer orientation* and *art appreciation* are themes that often present themselves in management's talk. In the following subchapter I discuss these themes in detail and provide examples from both orchestras. A general discussion on art and business follows the illustrations.

Separation. In the Philadelphia data, the *separation* theme emphasizes the gap between the three groups (management, musicians and board) due to territorial thinking and an "us and them" attitude. These groups know very little of other groups' daily life and tasks, and this ignorance only makes the gap deeper. The groups hardly ever see each other and there is very little interaction between management and musicians, with the exception of committees in which some musicians participate. In the Tampere data the *separation* theme is clearly present as well. However, the gap may not be as deep as it is in Philadelphia. Two comments illuminate the situation:

> *"It's like a stool with three legs, we are three groups who never or rarely interact." (Manager, Philadelphia)*

> *"I have never been to the office." (Musician, Tampere)*

This is due to differences in work as well as the physical setting of the offices and the concert hall. Musicians are present at rehearsals and concerts, otherwise they are not around. Rehearsals and concerts have a pretty tight schedule which demands a high level of concentration from musicians,

therefore they seldom have time and energy for any extra activities. Managers and staff follow an office routine that seldom requires them to meet musicians. There is no natural way of getting to know one another. If there is a project, people from the two groups can work together very well, but lacking such a project, there is no reason to work together. In Philadelphia, the administrative office and the concert hall including the musicians' lounge are situated in different buildings so people's paths seldom cross. There is no cafeteria or other facilities where people could conveniently run into each other. In Tampere musicians and management share a cafeteria but they quite often eat with their closest colleagues and do not cross the borders.

This theme depicts reality as a very territorial space where people fall into inflexible patterns of interaction. The borders are difficult to cross or negotiate. The attitude from the musicians' side is that we play and you get the money. For example, if a musician works for the management, it is almost considered to be like working for the enemy. Because of this line of thinking, people who work closely with both groups often feel that they are traitors to one side or the other. It is not a natural position since these two sides are so polarized. In Philadelphia, the existence of the gap was often justified by explaining that it is very common in other symphony orchestras in the United States as well. It is like an institutionally legitimate behavioral pattern. Everybody knows that it is a strange and unhealthy way of looking at things but nonetheless conforms to this behavior because it is the way things are at symphony orchestras. This division of labor is illustrated by the following comment:

> *"My duty is to do my job well. I should not have to worry about whether we get an audience or not, that's the management's job. If I have to worry about the audience and ticket sales, the management is not doing their job properly and I can't trust them any longer." (Musician, Tampere)*

Musicians are artists, others are common mortals. Musicians have dedicated their life to music, they have chosen this because they love to play and want to make great music. Music is very internalized and personal for them. Managers have not dedicated their lives to music in the same way the musicians have. Neither have they dedicated their lives to their profession in a similar fashion. This puts them on a different side of the fence. From the managers' perspective, musicians' concentration on music is so complete that all other information seems irrelevant to them. Musicians are not aware of the commercial problems that orchestras are facing. Neither do they know how demanding it is to run an entire symphony orchestra.

Managers in Tampere described the interaction with the orchestra as challenging. Musicians are very agreeable individuals, but as a collective the orchestra reacts very strongly. Furthermore, in this sensitive artistic community, strong individuals can dominate in such an extreme way. A few people can upset the whole orchestra and affect the atmosphere negatively. As a manager says:

> *"The orchestra as a collective unit is very emotional and sensitive. Its reactions are unpredictable and impulsive." (Manager, Tampere)*

Mistrust. This theme is very close to and partly overlaps the *separation* theme. The theme depicts the general mistrust and suspicion toward others. This mistrust is often based on a general lack of confidence in the other group. The *mistrust* theme sets people against each other instead of toward each other.

This lack of trust between the three constituencies, musicians, management and board, was once again proven in a recent survey at The Philadelphia Orchestra. The results are illuminating:

> *"Musicians think that management is incompetent and the board doesn't raise enough money. The board thinks*

> *the staff is incompetent and the musicians are lazy. The management thinks that the board wastes our time and the musicians are uncooperative. Yes, and the staff thinks that the board wastes our time and the musicians are uncooperative and stupid. And all firmly believe they are right." (Manager, Philadelphia)*

From the management's perspective, their own work is undermined by musicians and the board who don't trust them. Again, this state of affairs appears to be supported by evidence from other orchestras in the United States: it is a common feature in them as well, so the Philadelphia Orchestra is by no means exceptional. The board often tries to micromanage everything, in other words, to be involved in the daily operation of the orchestra organization which is not their task. This is interpreted by managers as a sign of mistrust, in short, that the board does not trust their ability to manage certain tasks or projects. Musicians, on the other hand, have a history of very powerful unions (Arian, 1971). Contract negotiations can be a very long and demanding process.

The *mistrust* theme reveals that musicians have a general lack of confidence in overall orchestra management. This is the case in Tampere and Philadelphia. Musicians point out how management has not kept its promises, how their decisions are questionable or how they were not sincere in contract negotiations. This is the reason why it is difficult to trust them in any situation. In addition, musicians feel that management does not appreciate their work. The following quotations illustrate musicians' attitudes toward increased participation in orchestra governance and the general lack of respect:

> *"I would argue that the management does not really appreciate and respect musicians' work. They may respect the concert master and the principal players but not the others." (Musician, Tampere)*

"I have mixed feelings about this involvement, the efficacy of putting musicians in these committees and what they truly can contribute in the long run. Or are we there to share the responsibility or blame?" (Musician, Philadelphia)

"Management will listen to you and do whatever they like. That's their idea of cooperation. They make the decisions, they have the power. They just want your ideas." (Musician, Philadelphia)

In Philadelphia the main arena for mistrust to develop has been the contract negotiation that takes place every three years. The latest contract in 1999, however, was made for five years, which was considered to be a very positive sign. In these negotiations the musicians and management are negotiating a new contract for the musicians. The contract itself is extremely detailed in terms of rehearsal times, breaks and tours. The negotiations take a huge amount of time, and musicians usually take up to a year to prepare for them. In other words, almost 1/3 of the contract period is used to prepare for the next contract negotiations despite the fact that changes in the contract are not that significant. Mistrust affects the way of working, and sometimes political issues take more time than issues of substance.

Contract negotiations have failed a few times in the orchestra's history and musicians have gone on strike. The most recent strike was in 1996 and lasted for 9 weeks, causing a lot of turmoil in the organization. The primary reason for the strike was the termination of the orchestra's recording and broadcasting contracts. The strike attracted a great deal of media attention, both locally and nationwide. The year 1996 was an unusually stormy year for the orchestras nationwide, as musicians in Atlanta (see Glynn, 2000) and San Francisco went on strike as well.

The themes of *business, changing market* and *customer orientation* are clearly present in management's interviews. They constitute and justify the daily reality of the management in an art organization. Management's interviews include a great deal of basic business literature vocabulary that is generally used very fluently. In Philadelphia the theme contains concepts such as: clearly defined mission, identity in the market place, quality product, to articulate a vision, running the organization efficiently, maximizing revenues, the public as a shareholder, and the fight for market share. Although both orchestras are non-profit organizations, they operate in a very professional and business-like manner. Managers comment on the situation:

> *"We work, if not with the same resources, but with the same principles than any big symphony orchestra in Great Britain or the United States." (Manager, Tampere)*

> *"Those art organizations that say they are exempt from the rules of business will not survive." (Manager, Philadelphia)*

> *"We are working in a pretty strict international reality in the orchestra business, and there are lots of challenges." (Manager, Philadelphia)*

In both orchestras the *changing market* theme describes the great change in the industry: namely, how competition is becoming more difficult not only with other orchestras but with other art organizations, sports and movies. Orchestras have to fight for a market share and customer behavior is changing. It used to be enough to have the right kind of concert with popular music and either a famous conductor or a soloist to sell a subscription package. Today, people just buy single tickets. In Philadelphia the orchestra management has to deal with the question of whether or not they are in the entertainment business. There is a certain tension between high artistic values

and the needs of the market. In the data, this theme calls for a change in attitudes and demonstrates the desire to adapt to changes in the environment. Customer orientation is one possibility to handle this change. A manager notes:

> *"Part of the staff is not enough focused on that this is a customer service organization. And people are not trained to think that way." (Manager, Philadelphia)*

Some musicians in the Philadelphia data also mention that the business environment has changed and competition has become harder. They realize that it is difficult and time-consuming to find funding and sponsors for the orchestra. However, in the musicians' interviews talk about business and competition is relatively rare, it is not a major issue to them when discussing leadership. In the Tampere data, the musicians that have been involved in the orchestra governance are more aware of the market situation and the nature of the business. They point out that the orchestra has been very fortunate to receive public funding which has enabled the purchase and performance of modern music and experimentation with new methods. In other words, the programming and the amount of audience are not as crucial as in orchestras that depend more on ticket sales.

Art appreciation. The management of symphony orchestras, operating in somewhat harsh business conditions, has to provide to the audience high quality classical music that is financially profitable. Being devoted music lovers themselves, in the midst of financial pressures and a changing business environment, managers have to occasionally remind themselves that art and music are indeed the most important things. The *art appreciation* theme reflects this concern and demonstrates the importance of art. Managers describe the importance of art in various ways, as if almost trying to convince themselves about the matter. This is mainly a managerial theme of discussion

because for musicians the love for music is so self-evident that they do not have to justify it. Among the insights by managers:

> *"I think it is important that the people in administration are also creative personalities who love music." (Manager, Tampere)*

> *"I think the key ingredient in terms of managing an orchestra is the management to understand and appreciate the musicians' role and specifically their artistic role." (Manager, Philadelphia)*

> *"You cannot run an orchestra organization without artistic awareness." (Manager, Philadelphia)*

> *"My constant battle is to persuade our marketing department and our board members that we should not only sell to our audience the experience of playing music which is comfortable and familiar but also sell the experience of the exciting and different and stimulating." (Manager, Philadelphia)*

It is a difficult task to balance artistic ideals and business reality. Good quality art should be produced in a way that is financially viable because every artistic decision has a financial implication. This theme emphasizes the importance of art as such and the role of musicians as artists who create art by playing music. It also states that managers should understand and know music in order to be good symphony orchestra leaders. They should at least have a high appreciation of music, if not be musicians themselves. It was also stated that many members of the staff do not know much about music, are not interested in it nor do they want to go to concerts. That naturally affects their ability to understand certain aspects of orchestral life.

A few musicians also talked about music as art and its meaning to themselves personally and to human beings in general:

"The essence of what we do is the music we make and I have a very firm, almost devout belief in the significance and the importance of the music we make for the community. And I think that what I do is very important. It has great value." (Musician, Philadelphia)

"I feel lucky to be taking part in it (a symphony orchestra) for as long as it will work. I have a strong commitment to making it work, both economically and culturally." (Musician, Philadelphia)

Discussion on art and management

It is evident that musicians and management have different identities. As organizational actors they view the world through a particular identity lens, be it artistic or commercial (Glynn, 2000). Their organizational position shapes their definitions of values and practices. There is growing interest in the topic of art and business, and below I outline a few main points of the research in the field.

Art and business. The challenging interplay between art and business is a constant theme when studying art organizations. Traditionally, management strategies have ignored art but art has also ignored management. Art has been expected to distance itself from the ordinary, it was not to be involved with the market. Art has had a rather romantic image. Stenström (2000:280) describes the relation between art and business:

"Arts have been associated with creativity, chaos, aesthetics, subjectivity, uniqueness, change, beauty, luxury, body, freedom, femininity, form, mysteries, unpredictability, genius, multi-rationality or irrationality, imagination, feelings, intuition, etc. Business, on the other hand, has been associated with almost the opposite: commerce, control, effectiveness, repetition, practicality, structure, clarity, predictability, calculation, reason, rationality, etc."

Certainly many positive things can emerge from the interaction between art and business. However, the discussion largely circulates around the various difficulties resulting from the situation. Björkegren (1993) explains how the cultural industry has developed two strategies to cope with the uncertainties of the market: commercial business strategy and cultural business strategy. The first implies art on the market's terms, the second implies art on the artist's terms and takes a long-term perspective. Additionally, all art production is becoming more media-oriented. Art itself is not enough, it must also be a media event. Björkegren has studied self-supporting art organizations such as publishing houses, record companies and film companies when identifying difficulties in serving the needs of both art and the market.

The contrast between art and business is present in symphony orchestras as well. Castañer (1997) conducted a study at the Barcelona Symphony Orchestra and points out the tension between artists and management. This tension reflects the fundamental conflict between artistic and organizational goals. He suggests that the clash seems to lie in the creative/commercial dichotomy, indicating that the nature of musicians' work differs greatly from management's work. Similarly, Ropo and Eriksson (1997) studied one theatre production in Finland and indicated how artistic and business objectives seriously contradicted one another. It was not even a question of disagreements between artistic managers and administrative managers, the nature of these objectives was simply too different.

One example of art meeting business is the introduction of business language and methods into art organizations. Art organizations, their managers in particular, were keen to adopt business vocabulary. In the 1980s the public sector in general began to import concepts and vocabulary from business enterprises, with art organizations being among the group (Alasuutari, 1996: 153). This concept innovation aimed at making public organizations more efficient and their results more concrete and measurable. Stenström (2000:139, 282)

has similar findings and points out how the language used to describe art is becoming increasingly similar to business language. Today one might use concepts such as marketing, strategies, brands, customer satisfaction and total quality management in describing art organizations. This tendency can clearly be noticed in the Tampere data where managers and even musicians apply business vocabulary surprisingly fluently.

Maitlis and Lawrence (1998) provide an illuminating example of this by describing the construction of an artistic strategy in one British symphony orchestra. They offer a glimpse into a situation where concepts and tools from the business world are desperately adopted by art organizations, sometimes with sad results. Over a long period of time, the managers and stakeholders of the orchestra try to develop an artistic strategy for the orchestra by using business strategy methods. This is thought to be necessary because the orchestra faces some difficulties and the artistic strategy is regarded as a means to solve these problems. After a while, as the process continues, even the musicians know that the current problems are due to the lack of an artistic strategy. Artistic strategy thus becomes a magic word. During the process, old managers are forced to leave and new ones step in. After a year, still no artistic strategy can be formulated. The situation is completely blown out of proportion when everybody becomes obsessed by the artistic strategy. All possible and impossible problems can now be attributed to the failure of creating this strategy. By the end of Maitlis and Lawrence's paper, the strategy has still not been completed.

Art management. A new field of study and practice has emerged called arts management. Art management can have many faces. It can imply a manager's ability to make prudent decisions, the management of an art organization or consumption in the light of aesthetics (Wetteström, 1997). Most often it means one-way traffic, namely, transferring business ideas to art organizations. For example, a book that very

skillfully covers research on arts management was published entitled: "From Maestro to Manager. Critical Issues in Arts and Culture Management" (Fitzgibbon and Kelly, 1997). The title itself very clearly suggests that the development from maestros to managers has already taken place, or rather that it should take place.

Management ideology may certainly have helped many organizations, but the expansion of this ideology is not entirely without problems (Stenström 2000: 151). Among the dangers are the possibility that art is utilized solely for commercial purposes, or that art organizations lose their identity by focusing on management instead of art. After all, there are fundamental differences between art management and ordinary business administration. The risk seems to be greater in the art field than in ordinary business activity and the nature of the transaction is different. "Arts administration is concerned with fashioning a contract not making a sale… and the nature of the contract is an aesthetic one at the centre" (Pick, 1980 in Clancy, 1994:1).

Even within the arts management sector there can be resistance toward the ideas of management because some art managers believe that art thrives on chaos. Sometimes there is a belief that the mission of an art organization can best be expressed in an informal environment that reflects individuality and freedom from constraint. However, greater demands by the government, funding bodies and the public have forced the art managers to develop an interest in traditional management skills (Fitzgibbon and Kelly, 1997).

The people working in the field of arts management can be called art managers. They are a group of professionals who balance between the worlds of art and management, trying to understand the essential issues of both fields. Arts managers are often regarded as middlemen between the state, the artist and the audience. Priorities and values are also different in the cultural sector. Working there is said to be a vocation rather than a career and "emotional commitment" to the artistic endeavor is a key attribute of the cultural manager (Clancy, 1994:1).

The next subchapter introduces the second leadership discourse. The *dislike of authority* discourse reveals the problematic relationship to authority.

A dislike of authority

Throughout the data a certain discomfort with power can be detected. Musicians do not like management. They like certain conductors, but not all of them. They hardly discuss the power structure within the orchestra. Certain authority figures are very openly disliked while others are tolerated a little more. Some authority positions are rarely discussed as if they were too delicate to handle.

This discourse implies that leadership is very strongly constructed as a relationship to authority and as an ability to deal with authority. In the case of symphony orchestras, this relationship is characterized by a strong dislike of authority in general and of persons in authoritarian positions. Why is authority in a symphony orchestra disliked to this extent? What might cause such anxiety and explain it?

I have identified certain themes in the data that construct this discourse. It consists of six main themes which I have termed *authority, bad management, let's blame the executive director, chaos, who decides?* and *public organization.* These themes illustrate why authority is such a problematic issue in orchestras and why people, particularly musicians, detest it so much. This discourse almost completely belongs to musicians. This subchapter discusses the six themes that construct the discourse by providing illustrations from the data. It then offers possible explanations to understand this dislike of authority.

Authority. In this theme the musicians discussed different aspects of authority in a symphony orchestra. First, the musicians acknowledge that there is a certain hierarchy in a symphony orchestra, it is the way an orchestra works. Each instrument section has a principal player and a vice principal

player who, in turn, lead the section. Other players in the section have to follow them. The orchestra is not hierarchical in a problematic sense because the system is almost taken for granted. Many people called the system a healthy hierarchy where people have different tasks and responsibilities. If a person is hired as a principal player or as a tutti player, she knows what the job is like and hopefully accepts it. Another aspect is the personality of the player within the orchestra. Some people are more relaxed about things while some principal players can be very intense and demanding. Their style affects the way the section behaves and responds to the principal player.

The conductor has a central role in orchestras. The musicians have to obey the conductor and in this sense they are dependent on the conductor. On the other hand, the conductor is also dependent on musicians' opinions. If the orchestra does not like the conductor, he will not necessarily be invited back.

However, it is not always that smooth. Musicians said that the most difficult thing in their profession is subordination. In other words, they have to submit to someone else's will and orders in a matter that is of great importance to them: music. They have to obey the conductor without complaint, and without being able to have an impact on the interpretation. This sometimes causes frustration. Yet this is the way an orchestra works. One musician referred to playing chamber music and explained how too much discussion leads to flat and boring results. A good artistic outcome is created by someone's personal insight. Moreover, if 90 musicians start to negotiate about the interpretation, it is not going to work. If conductors start to discuss with the orchestra, they very quickly lose authority.

The inner hierarchy of a symphony orchestra remains a somewhat mystical area in my data. It is either a very unproblematic matter or the musicians avoid talking about it. I suspect the latter. Perhaps musicians avoid criticizing their fellow musicians. It is common that people within a professional group do not criticize their colleagues to outsiders.

It is an acquired way of behavior. One musician talked about competition within the orchestra. She explained how she is sometimes tempted to show that she can play better than others and exploit her position to elevate herself. She has to fight against the temptation, however, because such an attitude would only harm the group playing and the sound.

The conductor is on the opposite side of the musicians and in that sense a feasible target for more criticism than fellow musicians. In other words, the conductor quite often represents "the boss" to the orchestra, someone who commands them and tells them what to do. In this sense, the conductor is neither one of the musicians nor part of the band. Sometimes this can be the case but not very often. The Philadelphia musicians were very nice in their accounts of conductors, there were very few negative or harsh comments in the data.

Musicians in Tampere, on the contrary, do criticize conductors a great deal. There is a lot of talk about bad conductors or bad conducting, accounts of what once happened, stories of negative experiences. Musicians do admit that it is very easy to criticize conductors and be really hard on them. They also admit that if there happens to be problems, they tend to blame the conductor. More self-reflection from musicians' part would be good, the musicians say themselves. This issue is so sensitive partly because it involves so many emotions. The conductor seems to be the target of emotions. Musicians work with their hands and emotions and seem to react very emotionally as well. Atik (1994: 25) has studied several British orchestras and noticed the same tendency. In his words: "In fact, the strength of the cynicism and wariness of many players toward the conducting profession was unexpected". Perhaps it is a relatively universal phenomenon.

This theme explains why conductors must have authority in front of the orchestra. Atik (1994:27) also established that despite the musicians' negative attitudes toward authoritarian leadership, a great many of them continue to long for a strong and forceful figure that could tell them precisely what to do in the minimum amount of time. Authority is bad but necessary.

Furthermore, the theme implies that conductors should know more about the music than anybody else on stage. They need to establish a trustworthy relationship and an open dialogue with the musicians. They also need a lot of self-confidence and a healthy ego. One musician crystallized it as follows:

> *"With still maintaining respect, I mean, there is tremendous ego involved. You know, standing up there in front of one hundred people, to be confident enough to declare your idea regarding the piece as being valid and valuable and worthwhile enough to rehearse and perform for 3000 people. You sort of almost need that sort of an ego, but it is kind of a fine line." (Musician, Philadelphia)*

Too much egoism can naturally cause problems. The older generation of conductors were sometimes extremely authoritarian, and quite often it did not really work with the orchestra. In the 1930s and 1940s it was relatively common for conductors to force their ideas on orchestras in a rather inhuman way. A lot has changed since those days, nowadays the relationship is much more respectful. Every once in awhile, it is still possible to see different ways of sublimating the ego, or conductors that consider themselves to be more important than the music. One musician described such a situation:

> *"I still remember the authoritarian attitude that the conductors used to have in the old days. This new generation does not put themselves on a pedestal. They come to coffee breaks with us and we can talk with them like colleagues. That creates another challenge, because they still have to have the authority." (Musician, Tampere)*

Indeed, another challenge is created by the sociable behavior of the new generation of conductors. Authority is partly created or at least sustained by a certain distance between the

conductor and the musicians. When these borders are suddenly crossed, it can cause a little confusion. Musicians stated that a conductor can not be their friend.

> *"I am old-fashioned in the sense that I think that the conductors must have authority, they can't be your friend. Conducting is a very lonely profession, you can't be friends with the orchestra." (Musician, Tampere)*

> *"It is quite paradoxical. If the conductor socializes with the orchestra the musicians think it is weird. If the conductor goes to her room alone we think she is arrogant. It is difficult, the conductor must find the right way to interact with the orchestra." (Musician, Tampere)*

Bad management. The most apparent illustration of disliking authority appears in the theme I have termed *bad management*. This theme assumes that management is intrinsically a negative thing and every aspect that can be attached to management, managers or managing is consequently also negative and bad. Musicians' interviews included plenty of such talk that could be called bad management talk. This theme implies that musicians criticize management in various ways. Often they were really hard on the management.

In Tampere, the musicians stated that management's decisions are often poor or hasty. They felt that there is a lack of planning, the musicians' perspective is ignored in planning, there is too little control and leadership is not very well developed in the organization. To characterize this, the theme includes various stories about situations where something went wrong.

In Philadelphia, the most common accusations were that the management didn't have a clear plan for the future, the coordination between different departments was poor, and that the management was reactive instead of being proactive in anticipating the future problems. There were also so many people in management that the question arose of what they

were all actually doing? The loss of the recording contract that led to the 1996 strike was management's fault because they were not working hard enough to secure the contract. Management does not understand the nature of musicians' work and how demanding it is and often shows no sensitivity toward musicians. Managers do not fully appreciate the current music director. Management's suggestion for more musician involvement was considered a ruse to put more responsibility and workload on the shoulders of musicians.

Interestingly enough, in Philadelphia one line of reasoning kept recurring in the discussions. The musicians expressed their wish that the management should be as good in their job as they were in theirs. I quote two musicians:

> *"I'm amazed by what I hear from my colleagues in the orchestra and things that happen in the concerts and I just think that the same could be true of the management." (Musician, Philadelphia)*

> *"We are a world class orchestra so where is the corresponding ability in other areas as well?" (Musician, Philadelphia)*

These musicians felt that the leadership of their orchestra should be unique and be a trailblazer in the field, not merely reactive and following in the footsteps of other people. More innovation and daring would be needed to shift the leadership style in the direction of the ideal situation.

In the Tampere data, an ideal picture of management can be constructed in the musicians' interviews. According to this data, ideal management is an invisible management. It should not be seen anywhere so the musicians could completely concentrate on playing and the music, disregarding the fact that a management exists somewhere. As soon as the management becomes visible, it usually means that there are problems. Management is taken for granted, unless there are problems.

The managers of these two orchestras did not criticize managerial practices as much as the musicians did. The managers provided very specific insights into the problems of the organization and its leadership. They can be very critical but, at the same time, understanding. They understand the difficult business situation and its implications for the orchestra.

Let's blame the executive director. This theme indicates that management as such is bad. The person in charge of all managers is certainly a bad person, holding an unpleasantly high authoritarian position in the orchestra hierarchy. The *let's blame the executive director* theme closely resembles the bad management theme and reveals a few specific thought patterns. The logic goes as follows: the executive director is to blame for whatever problems occur in the management or throughout the entire organization. This pattern applies to both orchestras. All kinds of problems tend to be personified in the executive director. The theme could also be called the scapegoat theme since the executive director is the official scapegoat for all negative issues. When something is perceived as being wrong, it would actually be her responsibility to see to it and make sure that everything is running smoothly. When the whole field of management is a bit of a gray area to musicians, the executive director provides a good target for all criticism.

This is predominantly a theme for musicians. The musicians use the executive director as a scapegoat for everything negative that happens in the organization. This suggests that they know very little of the general operation of the administration and management, the division of labor and responsibilities of different members of the management and staff. Management is a gray area to most musicians. They are not indifferent, they do recognize the importance of smooth administration, but they are simply quite ignorant about it. It is not a matter of shame, as many musicians willingly admit to such ignorance and even wish to stress the point. The following statements illustrate the situation:

> *"We always blame the executive director for everything, even if it might be someone else's responsibility. If the lights in the concert hall are too dim or too bright so that we can't see the notes, it is the executive director's fault." (Musician, Tampere)*

> *"I don't understand how the executive director makes decisions, or how she justifies them. But I don't have any suggestions of how she should do it because I have no idea of what is going on over there." (Musician, Tampere)*

In Philadelphia, the managers were very well aware of this tendency to blame the executive director for everything and to dislike him. They even brought the topic up themselves and suspected that the musicians had told me how much they hated the executive director. They further explained how this state of affairs is very common in every orchestra in the United States. It seems to come with the territory. In fact, the musicians did not tell me that they hated the executive director although the managers expected that. Again, this tendency seems to follow a large and deep institutional pattern in the field of symphony orchestras. It is normal to hate the executive director. In Tampere the executive director was familiar with the pattern and accepted it as part of the job.

Chaos. This theme is a small subtheme in the data that discusses the unpleasantness of chaos. The underlying assumption in the chaos talk is that it is partly inflicted by management's inadequate actions. The theme describes the management of the orchestra as very chaotic due to the nature of the business as well as the way things are organized. The theme appears in both orchestras in the musicians' data and in some management interviews as well. Chaos means that things happen at the last minute, unexpected things happen, there is not enough planning, particularly long term planning, to prepare for things. The management style or culture is more

reactive than proactive in nature. It could almost be called crisis management for the most part. Many find this style stressful. One manager put it as follows:

> *"That's how I would characterize it, it is a very nervous management." (Manager, Philadelphia)*

Part of the chaos could be explained by the fact that non-profit organizations often are not run with business standards. There can be a lack of centralized systems or a lack of procedures to do things. Furthermore, a lack of standards in terms of the quality of the work can be a problem. People often submit low-quality documents and do not respect deadlines. There is no professional education or degree that many people would have, such as doctors or lawyers, but people come from many different educational backgrounds. This can be a great advantage in some areas but it makes it difficult to create a shared practice or procedure, in short, a consistent way to do things.

In Philadelphia, the musicians sense that management seems to be in turmoil. There has been a lot of turnover and many changes in the organization because of this turmoil. Musicians find it confusing and do not always know what is happening in the orchestra. They dislike the sense of urgency that seems all too often to characterize management's actions and feel that this easily contributes to a bad atmosphere. They feel that management is very reactive: it waits until situations reach a crisis point, then they react and try to fix it. As one musician expressed:

> *"The style as far as creating an atmosphere where things are done in a timely way, there are no rushes, you don't feel that everything is an emergency, that everything has to be done right now because we don't have any more time because time is running out. The sense of urgency that I believe contributes to the bad atmosphere in the*

organization is something that the management has to be, should be responsible for." (Musician, Philadelphia)

Who decides? Authority can also cause problems in the form of unclear responsibilities. If musicians have difficulties with management, management faces problems of its own with the management structure of the orchestra organization. This theme is unique to the management which tries to find ways to cope with the somewhat unusual organization chart. (For a detailed description of the organization structures, see Chapter 4. and "Two cases, two orchestras".)

In Philadelphia, the triumvirate structure (management, board and musicians) produces a very strange complex brew of who is actually in charge. There is a clear authority dilemma. Many art organizations have a dual management structure, namely the artistic management and the administrative management, but they all report to the executive director who then reports to the board. In an orchestra, however, the musicians do not report to the executive director, they report to the music director. The music director technically reports to the board - though a world famous maestro does not really report to anybody. In conclusion, the executive director has no authority over the musicians but has to negotiate with them, sometimes through their lawyer. As one manager put it:

"All orchestra management in this country has spent a lot of their time dealing with this very strange complexity of who is in charge. We have that probably as much if not more than others." (Manager, Philadelphia)

Furthermore, it is unclear how the musicians and the board relate to one another or how the music director and executive director relate to each other. There are many unclear relations and authority questions that cause irritation and confusion in the organization. This probably also contributes to mistrust, because certain responsibilities are not clear and the risk of speculation and power games is thus higher.

In Tampere, the artistic director is in charge of the artistic management and the executive director handles the administrative management. In practice, it is often difficult to know where the border lies and this often needs to be continuously negotiated. The artistic director plans the program and negotiates with the executive director about financial matters, usually whether the orchestra can afford certain productions. However, it appears that the ambiguity of decision making is not as big of a problem in Tampere as it is in Philadelphia. One additional aspect is the relation to the city government. The manager of the city's cultural affairs is in charge of all cultural organizations in the city. The orchestra has a great deal of autonomy, but certain issues must be accepted by the manager. The annual budget is voted on by the city council.

Public organization. This theme often appears in the Tampere data. The Tampere Philharmonic Orchestra is a public organization that receives approximately 70 % of its funding from the City of Tampere and 20 % from the state. The orchestra has a solid position and secure, though controlled, financial foundation. All musicians and members of the administration are civil servants on a monthly salary. This theme resonates with this state of affairs and its implications. Musicians, for example, feel that the orchestra constantly needs to justify its existence to the city government and politicians. It can not be taken for granted. They are also frustrated to realize the degree of ignorance about the orchestra when discussing with politicians.

> *"It is really difficult to justify or explain the significance of art and music to somebody (politicians) who already has a very negative attitude." (Musician, Tampere)*

The musicians also experience that their orchestra is an odd bird among the other city departments, such as schools, convalescent homes or electricity plants. According to legend, in the past difficult city employees from other departments

were transferred to the orchestra. There is an assumption that art organizations specialize in dealing with problematic people. It is therefore difficult to create a solid identity for the orchestra. It is also complicated to justify the need for more money in budget negotiations when public opinion calls for more funding for hospitals and day care centers. Furthermore, some musicians question the budgeting principles as the following quote illustrates:

> *"The concert hall was considered an investment, but the musicians' salaries are an expense." (Musician, Tampere)*

The city government is an even grayer area to the musicians than the orchestra administration. It is complicated, it sometimes involves politics, it is difficult to understand unless it is actively followed. It is, nevertheless, an authority figure that must be lived with.

Contradictions

These themes illustrate that the relationship to authority is quite negative in symphony orchestras. Moreover, the understanding of authority seems very elusive. Musicians' understandings of authority varies in different contexts. Playing in the orchestra forms a different context than dealing with administration or managers, therefore different principles apply. A certain behavior which is perfectly acceptable from the conductor is outrageously improper coming from the management. When people from different leadership cultures meet in a committee, for instance, their ideas of leadership and authority clash violently. The president of The Philadelphia Orchestra describes this as follows:

> *"That's a very interesting issue that we are struggling with right now. Because on the one hand, we are promoting the concept of inclusive decision making, consulting*

decision making. And in that regard I view my role as a leader to make sure that everyone's point of view is heard. And there is buy-in and the decision. On the other hand, we are doing that with the people who are used to having a conductor standing in front of them and saying "this is how it's going to get done now follow me!" But I can tell you that if I run a meeting that way, I will find great resistance and no buy-in and people will walk out very angry. … But because somehow leaders are expected in an orchestra to provide that, so when I don't do it, when I try to structure things in a way that allows for consensus decision making then I'm viewed as weak." (Manager, Philadelphia)

The two tribes of management and musicians follow their respective codes and behavioral patterns in their daily activities. Their understanding of leadership, decision making, control and authority differs remarkably. Challenges materialize when the members of these cultures meet and are supposed to work together.

Discussion on authority

This discourse is closely related to the dominance model or the possessive individualism suggested by Dachler and Hosking (1995). It constructs an understanding of leadership where leaders are the architects of order and control. Leaders have a right to define reality for others. They can do this since they possess superior knowledge and personal characteristics. Subordinates are treated as objects of leadership, they are less active and less knowledgeable. Smircich and Morgan (1982) offer a valid description of such leadership narrative and also refer to the concept of authority.

Smircich and Morgan (1982) state that in every organization there is a formal organization that is premised upon shared meanings that define roles and authority relationships that institutionalize the pattern of leadership. Rules institutionalize

the interactions and definitions that share the reality of organizational life. Rules, conventions and work practices present ready-made typifications through which experience is to be rendered sensible. Authority relationships legitimize the pattern of dependency relations that characterize the process of leadership; specifying who is to define organizational reality. Leaders have a right, indeed an obligation to define reality for others. So strong is this obligation that leaders are held responsible to lead effectively.

According to Smircich and Morgan (1982), the followers often rationalize their own inaction or ineffectiveness by scapegoating through statements such as "she is a poor manager" or "he is messing things up". In other words, subordinates blame leaders for any possible problems. Presumably, the same pattern exists in orchestra organizations. The themes *let's blame the executive director* and *bad management* suggest that employees have high expectations of their leaders and also that those leaders are easily held responsible for not being good enough or efficient enough.

Another possible explanation to the frustration experienced by the subordinates is that within this leadership narrative, subordinates have no other way of expressing themselves. As Dachler and Hosking (1995: 11) also point out, subordinates cannot be understood as self-developed or as self-responsible as is the leader. In other words, subordinates cannot be active themselves. Their role is to be a passive follower who complains and is frustrated. The discourse constructs a fundamental dislike of a situation where some people have the power and others have to obey. It reflects a leadership narrative where subordinates and even some leaders find themselves uncomfortable in a system that is based on these assumptions and grow hostile toward authority and persons in authority positions.

This discourse constructs a need to have a leader, a person in charge. Should there be any doubt about who is in charge and who makes the decisions, the members of such an organization experience anxiety and confusion. Since they

have no possibility to take action themselves, they have to rely on leaders. Clear authority relations are needed. If they do not exist, the organization easily becomes chaotic.

Musicians and authority

In the following I discuss musicians and their special relationship to authority which is affected by musical training and professional life.

This discourse reveals that musicians have a very contradictory relationship to authority, and sometimes even a traumatic one. They have started their music education at a very early age, often at 3-5 years of age. The teacher often becomes an important authority in a child's life, both in a positive and negative sense. The child may dislike the teacher and yet respect and depend on her. The education is very demanding and as an authority figure the teacher always tells the pupil what to do. As Atik (1994) points out, music training is geared to the performance of highly skilled tasks requiring the combination of very physical dexterity with extremely sophisticated mental activities. One conductor I interviewed described the educational process of a young musician as very traumatic. He suggested that I read Alice Miller's (1994) book "The Drama of the Gifted Child", a book that describes the childhood dramas of very talented children. In his view, the book depicts the musical journeys of musicians very accurately as well.

In addition, music education is still to a large extent directed toward a solo career. According to the data, music schools both in Finland and the United States seem to follow this principle. This culture provides students with a strongly self-centered training that prepares them to rehearse and perform independently. It does not prepare them for subordination in a group or team. Since not everyone can become a soloist, many young students are seriously disappointed when they do not qualify as a soloist. After such a disappointment, a position in the orchestra may seem like a second choice. When put together with limited group work skills, a job in the orchestra can indeed

be strenuous. This culture seems to be changing gradually and orchestra positions are once again being regarded as valuable. But what happens if students find employment in a symphony orchestra, who shall give them orders there?

A symphony orchestra is a historical institution that operates in a certain way. There is a clear division of labor and a conductor is in charge to make all necessary decisions. In this sense it is clearly a hierarchy, but something that might be called a purposeful hierarchy. Every member of the orchestra knows these rules and needs to accept them in order to play well. The conductor is the absolute authority and musicians have to obey her. This authority position is understood and tolerated, but not always appreciated. In other words, musicians acknowledge the conductor's important role but sometimes find it hard to bear. It is frustrating to have no say in a matter that is very important personally, that is, music, and always have someone to say exactly what to do and how. However, this is the daily reality in symphony orchestras and musicians have to adjust to it.

The sociologist Robert Faulkner (1973a) has established that authority has a central role in symphony orchestras. This special world of concerted action reveals many relevant features of authority. Faulkner studied interaction in symphony orchestras, particularly communication and authority. He focuses on musicians' perceptions of making music and their interaction with conductors. Although the conductor has a central role in the ensemble's efforts, musicians do not show absolute obedience toward the conductor. The conductor not only exercises a type of inspiration but also persuasiveness in demonstrating to the musicians that the interpretation is correct. Musicians do not automatically accept the conductor's interpretations. They may also disagree on musical interpretations, tempo and phrasing. Sometimes the conductor challenges musicians' ways of thinking and playing music. Like all professionals, musicians jealously guard their own prerogatives from outside interference.

Consequently, Faulkner suggests that the system of authority in orchestras is more than a rigid hierarchy or a pattern of static roles and statuses. "It is a network of interacting human beings, each transmitting information to the other, sifting their transactions through an evaluative screen of beliefs and standards, and appraising the meaning and credibility of conductor directives (Faulkner 1973a)". The authority position of the conductor is thus not taken for granted, the conductors must earn it.

Faulkner identifies three ideas about organizational authority that are central to symphony orchestras. First, an organization can be seen as a system of social control in which communication and shared meanings of exemplary performances are the conditions in which the conductor legitimizes her authority. Second, musicians, like all professionals, resist illegitimate intrusions into their sphere of competence and feel displeased when facing incompetence. Conductors are accepted to that extent that they help members achieve their goals. Finally, Faulkner argues that the authority in organizations is not only situationally approved, but socially created and maintained.

Because the musicians have to comply with orchestra rules, they may find it difficult or sometimes impossible to put up with any other authority. The conductor is not a very inviting target for hostility since she is such a central figure and has a lot of power in matters of great importance. It is a lot safer to object to someone further away, and project all frustrations and hatred against some distant and impersonal figure, such as the management. Edward Arian (1971: 93) has an explanation for this behavior. He was a performing member of The Philadelphia Orchestra for many years before becoming a university professor. Arian explains how for some musicians self-esteem is maintained by an uncompromisingly militant attitude toward the management. This may explain why there is relatively lot of talk about bad management practices and descriptions of such occasions. The executive director is often the main target for all criticism, he is a suitable scapegoat for all complaints.

The relationship of musicians to conductors is complex because musicians are dependent on them. As a collective unit they cannot perform without a conductor. They have to accept this fact in order to play well in the orchestra. There are exceptions to the rule as there are orchestras that perform without a conductor. For example, the Orpheus Chamber Orchestra in the United States (Lebrecht, 1991:276) is precisely such an orchestra that has cultivated its performance skills as an ensemble to a very high level. In their website (http://www.orpheusnyc.com), the orchestra describes itself as combining "a symphonic range of repertoire with the intimacy of a chamber orchestra". Further, the orchestra "builds upon the chamber music principles of individual participation, collaboration and self-governance". According to one Tampere musician, some orchestras in the old Soviet Union also played without a conductor, mainly for ideological reasons, but that usually resulted in very flat and lifeless performances. The playing was technically correct but lacked interpretation and personality. The result was a compromise of too many opinions.

This problematic relationship to authority is very typical of other expert organizations as well (Løwendahl, 1997: 53). Experts usually value their independence very highly and find it difficult to take orders from anyone. They consider themselves to have superior knowledge of their field and consequently do not need interference in their work.

The next subchapter presents the third leadership discourse which focuses on heroic leadership.

The need for heroic leadership

> *"Every age invents heroes. The warrior, the lover and the saintly martyr captivated medieval minds. Romantics worshipped the poet and the explorer; industrial and political upheavals set the scientist and social reformer on a pedestal. The advent of mass media enabled idols to be custom-made for separate consumer groups: pop stars for adolescents, screen goddesses for the lovelorn, cardboard soup-opera characters for couch potatoes, sport champions for the more energetic, terrorist hijackers for the oppressed, pop-philosophers for the chattering classes." (Lebrecht, 1991:1)*

The *heroic leadership* discourse emphasizes the importance of individuals and individual talent. It describes how good leadership is formed by a leader's personal attributes. Individual leaders can make a difference, and they have the power to change things, to make things better. They can solve all problems and have very few weaknesses; they are heroes. It is only a matter of finding such talented individuals for our organization. Should problems nevertheless occur, the leader can always be replaced by a better leader.

The discourse implies that the leader is easily detachable from the rest of the organization, that his relations to and interaction with other organization members have little significance. In general, the meaning of relationships and cooperation is underrated in this discourse. The *heroic leadership* discourse overemphasizes the role of managers. Individuals are praised at the cost of collective values.

In a symphony orchestra, the focus on individual talent reaches extreme proportions. Musicians' expectations of administrative managers are incredibly high: they should be excellent in every sense to meet all of the requirements that are

placed upon them. The *heroic leadership* discourse demands that people in a management position fulfill these criteria.

Perhaps one of the most essential phenomenon is a need for a strong leader. A strong leader is almost synonymous to an ideal leader. According to the data, a strong leader is a person who has a clear vision about the future and an equally clear plan of how to get there. Strong leaders can convince others to follow them with pleasure. They provide security and comfort for the employees and reduce the uncertainty of the outer world. They sometimes resemble a mother or father with whom a child can entrust everything. Despite the strong dislike of authority there is an apparent need for strong leaders. This may seem paradoxical.

In this discourse, conductors are depicted as glamorous megastars, or heroes. In addition to superior musical skills, conductors' looks, flashiness and popular charisma are very important. It is also considered favorable that the conductor has an interesting personality that is advantageous in public relations, attracting media attention and promoting record sales. When the orchestra performs, such a star conductor will get all the attention, not the orchestra or music itself. This theme comes close to the idea of celebrity culture (Lebrecht, 1991).

This subchapter first discusses the four themes that construct the *heroic leadership* discourse: *strong leader, let's blame the executive director, star conductor* and *The Great Philadelphia Orchestra / tradition*. The *strong leader* theme deals with the longing for a strong leader, which is very often clearly present in the data. The *let's blame the executive director* theme depicts the powerful role that is ascribed to the top leader. The *star conductor* theme is probably the most suitable theme to illustrate heroic leadership. *The Great Philadelphia Orchestra* theme follows the same logic and praises the legendary history of the orchestra. This discourse is dominated by the musicians' views. After illustrations from the data a general discussion on heroism and leadership will follow.

Strong leader. In musicians' interviews, the *bad management* theme was usually accompanied by the *strong leader* theme. The strong leader was offered as a cure to bad management and depicts an ideal leader in musicians' opinion. The strong leader is a prototype of an ideal leader, something the musicians were hoping for. It was something that, in their opinion, did not exist in the organization at the moment.

This theme included plenty of normative talk, people expressed their views and ideas on how things should be done and what would be the best way to solve the problems. The strong leader would have qualities such as charisma, creativity, courage and vision. He should be good at dealing with the board and sponsors, be responsive toward the musicians and have the ability to pull people together. One wish was mentioned frequently; a strong leader should understand how it is to play in an orchestra, how much energy and concentration it takes to perform the concerts and rehearsals. The musicians felt that the nature of their work was not fully understood and appreciated by the management.

The ideal leader was construed as a person who has a strong artistic background and solid business understanding. However, this is a very rare combination and such persons are rare. Therefore, one sign of a strong leader is the ability to recognize one's weaknesses and hire people who fill in the gaps. One person cannot be great in everything, but can be surrounded with right people who complement one's weaknesses.

Musicians have high expectations of the managers. Particularly, the executive director should have enormous experience and knowledge. The data include long lists of qualifications for the job. In addition, the executive director should have the right personality and leadership skills. All of these requirements focus on individual qualifications and personal attributes, in other words, leadership is about individuals and finding the best individual for this job. The conductors get their share of these requirements as well. The following comments depict musicians' line of thinking.

"We all look to the managers." (Musician, Philadelphia)

"I wish our management had a little more, a lot more leadership." (Musician, Philadelphia)

"You still need a strong leader as a conductor." (Musician, Philadelphia)

This theme applies to the musicians as well in the sense that individual efforts are considered heroic. The Philadelphia data include a few incidents where a single musician has initiated a project that she then carried out independently. It required a strong vision, a determination to implement the project and finding ways to do it. It has also often required crossing borders from musicians' side partly into the territories of management and staff. This can be considered heroic behavior. These incidents were largely individual activities. Collective activities were not mentioned.

Let's blame the executive director. This theme describes how a great deal of the musicians' criticism is directed toward the executive director. If there are problems in the management, it is the executive director's fault. This is again one sign of the strong emphasis on individuals and their influence. If one heroic individual can accomplish miracles, he should do it. If no miracles present themselves, if there seems to be difficulties or problems, the individual is not a hero but a disappointingly bad person who can be criticized. With a little exaggeration this seems to be the basic logic in the *heroic leadership* discourse.

The star conductor. First, the theme implies how conductors have a very central role in a symphony orchestra. The music director in particular has an extremely important role. According to the musicians, The Philadelphia Orchestra has been blessed with great conductors. Stokowski was a genius who created the foundation for the orchestra. Ormandy is automatically referred to as a legend who led the orchestra for

46 years. Muti was an interesting and intense music director and many speak of Sawallisch as the best musician of them all. The musicians are used to the best conductors. They are also accustomed to the fact that the conductors have a dominating role in the orchestra operations.

Second, the theme indicates how conductors have become megastars in our society. The spotlight is clearly on the conductor, not on the music or on the orchestra. The personal attributes of conductors are an important part of the theme. As one musician described:

> *"Muti, since he was such a star, had great hair, would shake around, and that frankly generated interest both in recording and television." (Musician, Philadelphia)*

Sex appeal is very important, the conductor has to look good. It is a serious pop culture handicap if the conductor is not good-looking or does not dance on the podium. This theme does not mean that these good-looking star conductors are necessarily bad artists. It only states that there are factors that are unrelated to music which have a huge influence on a conductor's success. The musicians explain that both management and the audience to a large extent seem to follow this megastar culture. The importance of a single individual is high in this theme. For example, if ticket sales are decreasing, the management may think that a new music director could change the situation.

Megastars are very beneficial for at least two groups. The management needs a glamorous music director with whom they can sell the tickets, boost the marketing and PR efforts, attract media attention and bring in sponsors and recording opportunities. The media wants stars and is eager to help create them. Conductors have become media celebrities in society, being some kind of symbol for the modern hero. Their interviews can be found in all kinds of magazines, newspapers and television. Finland has witnessed an outgrowth of exceptionally many fine conductors who have graduated from Jorma Panula's conducting class at the Sibelius Academy. A

few of these conductors have been considerably young which sometimes raises misgivings from the musicians.

> *"The next promising conductor will probably be discovered already in the kindergarten." (Musician, Tampere)*

Another characteristic of the megastar culture is the conductor's behavior on stage. Some conductors exaggerate their movements and gestures, wishing to make an artistic impression. Musicians do not like this kind of behavior because it is not sincere. Musicians talk about faking or faking the emotions instead of showing real emotions. Or they describe a situation in which the conductor conducts the audience instead of the orchestra. This means that the conductor neglects sending information to the orchestra and focuses on performing to the audience through dramatic movements and gestures. This again illustrates some conductors' desire to have the spotlight on them, and not on the orchestra or music. One musician says:

> *"We had this conductor whose stage performance was directly out of Hollywood. Everything was so over-theatrical, the slow parts were really slow and the fast parts extremely fast. Sometimes he himself couldn't even keep a straight face. But the audience liked it." (Musician, Tampere)*

According to this theme the conductor is the acting subject, the musicians are passive objects. The musicians are portrayed as passive followers, or as one big instrument that the conductor can operate. The conductor's role as a leader is really overemphasized while musicians are treated as a mass in this theme. In Tampere, the musicians explained how this applies to the media as well. If the concert is good, the conductor gets the credit. If the concert is bad, it is the orchestra that played badly.

The *star conductor* theme reflects a long history of legendary conductors or conductors that have been constructed into legends. In his book "The Maestro Myth. Great Conductors in Pursuit of Power", Norman Lebrecht (1991) describes the history and development of this profession.

The Great Philadelphia Orchestra theme describes the history and tradition of The Philadelphia Orchestra. This theme on the one hand appreciates the advantages that the musicians enjoy, and on the other hand, looks back to the good old days and the glorious past of the orchestra with melancholic longing. Two musicians and one manager characterize the orchestra as follows:

> *"The Philadelphia Orchestra, it's wonderful to be part of the organization which is always finding ways and trying to do things with a certain preeminence, like setting the standard." (Musician, Philadelphia)*

> *"It's harder here, much more difficult, lots of pressure. And the musicians are better too. One thing I noticed when I first came here was that if I make a mistake, I might be the only one. No one wants mistakes, that's why the pressure is so high." (Musician, Philadelphia)*

> *"I have a really passionate need that we continue to be an interesting and adventurous organization." (Manager, Philadelphia)*

One important part of the tradition is the famous Philadelphia sound, a big and full symphony orchestra sound that is especially created by the string sections. The listener could always recognize this orchestra by its unique sound. These days orchestras are becoming increasingly similar in their interpretations and sound. The musicians and the audience are proud of the Philadelphia sound, it is something special. Ormandy built it over 46 years, and Stokowski worked on it

before him. One musician explained how at the beginning of his tenure the former music director, the Italian Riccardo Muti, really upset the musicians and audiences by announcing that there is no such thing as the Philadelphia sound. Muti stated that there is only the Beethoven sound and the Brahms sound but no Philadelphia sound. He had to retract his statement later on after realizing the deep significance of the sound to the orchestra and the audience.

This theme tends to glorify the past and praise the legendary conductors who have been at the orchestra. The musicians' interviews in particular include a lot of talk about old music directors in a highly admiring tone. These conductors are portrayed as heroes, unique and preeminent individuals.

Many things are legitimized or taken for granted because of the great history of the orchestra. For example, it is important to maintain a high artistic quality, recruit the best musicians and contract the best soloists and guest conductors. This naturally costs money, and the theme is applied to explain why it is worthwhile to raise more money. All groups use this theme: musicians, management and the board. Musicians refer to the tradition aspect when justifying their needs to the management. Management uses the discourse in marketing, public relations and fund raising as well as in discussions with the board.

This discourse clings to the past in a good and a bad sense. It is naturally important to be proud of the great history, legendary musicians and conductors, but this fondness for the past can result in inflexibility toward changes in organization culture and the music business at large. In particular, many elderly musicians want to speak a lot about the past and about how great everything was then.

> *"I always wanted to join this orchestra. Philadelphia was one of the mega orchestras. Ormandy was a legend to me." (Musician, Philadelphia)*

Unfortunately, the situation has changed and the orchestra no longer enjoys the same famous position it used to do

a few decades ago. The theme notes this with sadness. No longer do people all over the world know the orchestra nor do musicians flock to audition for the orchestra just because it is The Philadelphia Orchestra. The orchestra used to be the most traveled orchestra in the world, and now there is a struggle for the basic running costs. The honor and pride of the musicians is threatened and it is difficult to accept these changes.

Tradition. The Tampere data also includes talk about the history of the orchestra and various stories about famous conductors, soloists and funny situations. The history is not glorious in the same manner as in Philadelphia. It is more of the survival story of an orchestra with money problems, long work days and poor facilities. The first document about the orchestra dates back to 1893. The owners of local textile factories encouraged the workers to cultivate themselves through various cultural forms, such as music, and founded choirs and a brass band for this purpose. This significantly paved the way for an amateur orchestra to start up. The orchestra was officially founded in 1930 and the City of Tampere made it part of city organization in 1947, which was a courageous investment in culture in the lean years immediately after the Second World War. The first concert hall designed especially for the orchestra was inaugurated in 1990. Before that the concerts were performed in various buildings that were not designed for classical music. The orchestra used to play in theatres as well, which resulted in quite many concerts and programs, sometimes as many as 300 concerts a year.

The musicians describe how hard it was sometimes in the old days, but describe with pride how they have succeeded to keep on going. Conductors were really authoritarian which created problems. Moreover, music teachers were very strict and demanding. The music director was the absolute authority. He lived in the city and conducted almost all concerts; at that time there were very few guest conductors. The music director took care of almost all administration.

Discussion on heroic leadership

What could be a better example of heroic leadership than the conductor of a symphony orchestra? The Great Conductor has maintained this heroic position for one entire century and appears set to triumph in the future as well. Let's hear how a 1927 review in London's *Daily Mail* describes one particular concert:

> "*What a scene in the vast crowded hall where thousands sat thick upon their chairs, so close and mingled and motionless as the music held them that they looked like painted frescoes. What wonderful silence, the silence of that throng, whence no rustle nor cough nor murmur came to taint the beauty of the song nor mar the orchestra's luminous flow!*
> *What a moment… when Sir Thomas Beecham, while the audience broke into applause, came smiling to his place, bowing to his public, bowing to his orchestra, a dean of dignity, a marvel of mien, a figure straight from the Prado, specially released by Velazquez for the occasion. What a man! What a master of music! Till you have seen him conduct you do not know what movement can be." (Galkin, 1986: xxv)*

The review continues in a similar fashion, praising the conductor in the most dramatic manner. The *star conductor* theme in my data concerns this very matter, though perhaps not quite to the extent presented in the review. Norman Lebrecht (1991) has written an entire book about the maestro myth and the powerful position of the conductors. Lebrecht (1991: 1-11) states that such heroes are literally mythical in the sense that they are either insubstantial or wholly fictitious. Cultural gods are no different. 'The Great Conductor' is a mythical hero of this kind, artificially created for a non-musical purpose and sustained by commercial necessity. The conductor exists because mankind demands a visible hero or, at the very least,

an identifiable figurehead. His musical purpose is altogether secondary to the function.

In Lebrecht's opinion, the conductor plays no instrument, produces no noise, yet conveys an image of music-making that is credible enough to let her take the rewards of applause away from those who actually created the sound. A bad conductor ruins the musicians' day and a good conductor does not have a much better effect either. The reason for this dislike might be the following:

> *"He [the conductor] gives orders that are redundant and offensive, demands a level of obedience unknown outside the army and can earn at a concert as much as his entire orchestra is paid". (Lebrecht, 1991: 2)*

Yet, it is the musicians themselves who elect conductors and invent them. The maestro myth begins with their mute submission.

The *heroic leadership* discourse clearly illustrates how leadership is perceived as an individual act. There is a leader who possesses suitable characteristics and qualifications and who provides acts of leadership to the subordinates. The subordinates passively receive these acts of leadership and decide whether the leader is good or bad. Many scholars have also pointed out that the nature of leadership is very individualistic. For example, Gustafsson (1994:51) states that the entire field of business studies focuses very strongly on individuals. The object of study is without exception an individual unit: a business manager, an entrepreneur or a decision-maker. According to Dachler and Hosking (1995:1-24), this perspective is characterized as 'entitative', as 'possessive individualism' or as 'realist ontology'. In other words, an individual is understood as an entity whose individual possessions are the ultimate origin of design and control of other people.

Leadership literature must be the extreme verification of Gustafsson's observations, since the purpose of this entire field is to study leaders' behavior, skills and efficiency. Leaders are

important individuals, their personal characteristics, traits and talents are under scrutiny. Their opinions are vital and their decisions have massive consequences to business enterprises. Dachler and Hosking (1995:12) describe how most theories of leadership emphasize individualism and offer the leader's characteristics as an explanation for various organizational actions. Leaders are seen as the originators of all action, they define the rules and order and provide guidance and orientation. People become leaders because of their superior knowledge and other qualities, such as charisma for instance. In contrast, subordinates are treated as objects of this leadership, being less active and less knowledgeable than the leader. The central concern is always how the leader gets the followers to think and act in ways that correspond to his perspective.

This notion of leadership in management and organization literature also borrows meaning from a socio-historical narrative called the dominance model. The dominance model includes "a self-concept that depends on differentiation and social-emotional separation from others, self-determination based on criteria of personal achievement and success, mastery or world structuring, and emphasizing rules, rationality and general, value-free principles" (Dachler and Hosking, 1995: 12). Within such a cultural context it is taken for granted that leader relationships are "…artificial not natural; instrumental not self-developing; short-lived, not long-term and involving" (ibid.:12).

The focus may be on individuals, but these individuals do not resemble human beings very much. In contrast, they are like rational machines (Gustafsson, 1994). These rational leaders are interested in reason, planning, control, order and structure.

A great many expectations are placed upon leaders and managers, some of which border on the impossible. Subordinates, customers, investors and boards of directors all demand excellent performance from leaders. "In Search of Excellence", the best-selling book by Peters and Waterman (1982) clearly indicates what the message is to anyone holding a managerial position. Leaders must be excellent, anything less

is not good enough. A visionary hero was the ideal image of a leader in the 1980s (Bryman, 1994:283). Sjöstrand (1997:8) also recognizes this phenomenon but argues that today the idea of an omnipotent leader has probably largely disappeared from people's minds. Only in a crisis situation do they still longingly speak of robust leadership and even the hope for strong leaders.

Sjöstrand may be right, but at least in my orchestra data the *heroic leadership* discourse is very strong and reflects the high expectations placed on leaders. More specifically, the theme *strong leader* reveals very powerful normative thinking about leadership. The interviewees gave a long list of characteristics, skills, and general qualifications that a leader should fulfill. Gustafsson (1994:52-53) has also noted that business studies are very normative in nature. This normative nature is closely connected to instrumentality: an underlying need to find solutions to practical questions. Practical solutions are important because the business enterprises want to become better and more efficient.

Yukl (1998: 410) provides a few explanations regarding the need for a heroic leader. Organizations today are fairly complex systems of patterned interactions among people. In their effort to understand the causes, dynamics and outcomes of these organizational processes, people tend to interpret events in simple, human terms. Stereotypes, implicit theories and simplified assumptions about causality help people to make sense of events that would otherwise be incomprehensible. One especially strong explanation for these events is the attribution of power to individual leaders which makes them heroic. Leaders are thus depicted as heroic figures who are capable of determining the fate of their organization. There is a mystical, romantic quality associated with leadership, similar to that of other stereotyped heroes such as lone cowboys and secret agents. This emphasis on leadership reflects the common belief that human beings act rationally and through this rational behavior leaders can affect the organizational events and fulfill the needs of employees.

On the other hand, even if leaders live in the harsh business world and face high expectations, the image of their position is at the same time very romantic. Stenström (2000: 98) demonstrates how creativity, chaos, charisma, intuition, imagination, even feelings, are qualities often attached to leadership. It is not enough that leaders are rational and productive, they should also be "funny, funky, creative and crazy", Stenström (2000: 281) notes.

Indeed, there is an area in leadership research which is engaged in analyzing charismatic leadership (see Yukl, 1994: 317-349). According to this charismatic theory, some leaders are extraordinary individuals who have an exceptional influence on subordinates. Leader attributes such as self-confidence, strong convictions, poise, speaking ability and a dramatic style seem to be essential, but more important is the context that makes the leader's attributes and vision especially relevant to the needs of followers. Emotions have an important role in this process, and leaders appeal to the needs, values and feelings of the subordinates. The leader's symbolic behavior also has an important role in making events meaningful to followers.

Atik (1994:27) suggests that much of the appeal of charismatic leaders also rests on the fact that by assuming ultimate responsibility for success or failure, they remove any vestiges of uncertainty within their followers. As long as they succeed, they continue to win the admiration of their followers. When they fail, as they ultimately must, the followers can then proceed to seek out another heroic figure. As Vaara and Tienari (2002) point out, this individualism easily falls into a simplistic labeling of key persons as winners and losers. One is either a big hero or a scapegoat who receives all the blame. No neutral position seems to exist.

The stereotype of the heroic leader undermines effective leadership by leaders, as Bradford and Cohen (1984, in Yukl, 1994:459) point out. The heroic leader is expected to be wiser and more courageous than anyone else in the organization and know everything that happens in it. These expectations are unrealistic and leaders are seldom able to live up to them.

The subordinates are unlikely to take initiative as long as they expect the leader to take full responsibility for the fate of the organization.

Charisma also has its dark side (Yukl, 1994:333, 340). The critics point out several reasons why it is not always so feasible to have charismatic leaders occupy important positions in organizations. Charismatic leadership is risky. It can have a huge influence on an organization, but the consequences are not always beneficial. It is impossible to know the results when an individual leader is given too much power in hope that she achieves a vision of a better future. Power is often misused while the vision remains an empty dream. Charismatic leadership often implies a radical change in the organizational culture, whether necessary or not. Competing charismatic leaders within one organization can easily tear the whole organization apart. Charisma is a rare and complex phenomenon that is difficult to control.

Lebrecht is very precise in pointing out that conducting, like most forms of heroism, rests on the use and abuse of power for personal benefit. Whether such heroism is desirable in music or a necessary evil, remains open to debate. Lebrecht (1991:11) quotes Brecht's *Life of Galileo* where Andrea says "Unhappy is the land that has no heroes". And the astronomer replies: "No, unhappy is the land that *needs* heroes".

From the land of heroes we shall now move on to the next leadership discourse: *shared leadership*.

Toward shared leadership

One discourse that I constructed from the data is called *shared leadership*. It is practiced by both musicians and management. This discourse brings evidence of a new way of thinking about leadership. The juxtaposition of management and musicians is weakening, there is a better understanding of one another as well as appreciation of the other's skills. Cooperation becomes important. Management is more considerate of musicians'

needs and the musicians are more flexible toward business demands. The gap becomes narrower. Musicians are involved in the governance, they participate in different committees. This new situation requires constant reflection from the musicians' part, since its consequences are still unknown.

A more cooperative approach to leadership can also be seen in conductors. There are conductors who have a less selfish attitude to conducting, who invite musicians' musicality and do not impose their idea of music upon musicians. The conductor's role shifts toward being part of the orchestra. This approach is relational in nature, in other words, the interaction between musicians and the conductor is the most important thing. Music is created in this interaction process. This discourse stresses collective values and aims to reduce the overemphasis on individual skills. Consequently, the discourse also aspires to reduce conductor worship and create a more participative model of conducting.

This subchapter first discusses how the *shared leadership* discourse is constructed by four main themes: *involvement, understanding, art appreciation* and *conductor with musical focus*. The *involvement* theme demonstrates attitudes to participation. The *understanding* theme explicates the increasingly positive approach toward other groups. The *conductor with musical focus* theme describes a manner of conducting that is not based on the conductor's personal characteristics but more on music. After the descriptions of these themes, the notion of shared leadership is discussed in more detail.

Involvement. There is plenty of discussion about involvement or participation in the Philadelphia data, indeed it is a very strong theme. The majority of people talk about involvement in a very positive way, for example, they listed the advantages of it. This theme depicts how the organizational climate improved when musicians, board members and staff have been increasingly involved in collaborative decision making. As a result of this, people are more satisfied and decisions are better. Within this theme there was a great deal of negotiation about

what involvement means in practice and occasionally different parties understood it differently. The idea of involvement is still new and its meaning was being constructed in the data.

In Tampere, involvement is not really an issue and remained a rather weak theme. Some people mention teamwork or cooperation, but it does not have the same meaning as in Philadelphia. The executive director sometimes relies on musicians' expertise in artistic matters. She is not a professional musician and the artistic director is rarely present. Consequently, it is natural to apply the knowledge of musicians.

Management in Philadelphia states that musicians are not expected to participate in the actual administration or perform any managerial tasks. They are involved in the governance, they bring their knowledge about music and musicianship to various committees which is the greatest benefit from the involvement. The second benefit is that collaboration and sitting on same committees builds understanding and trust. Probably the most important way to enhance involvement in the organization is precisely through various committees. There are many committees and most have musicians as members. In effect, there are more committees than people willing to serve on them. Moreover, walking around is an important way for management to meet people. Communicating every step to the musicians and getting them involved in the planning process is crucial.

Many musicians have an attitude toward involvement that can be summarized as: "it's their job, they should do it". This attitude is changing, however, and many musicians think it is about time for more active involvement. Everyone agreed that involvement would lessen the separation between musicians and management as well as increase appreciation for others on everybody's part. The following comments illustrate the musicians' way of thinking:

> *"It's been good for me to be in their shoes for awhile." (Musician, Philadelphia)*

"We can reach out as well." (Musician, Philadelphia)

The *involvement* theme included descriptions of certain disadvantages. This democratic way of working, for example, can be very inefficient, time consuming and extremely slow. The musicians wondered to what extent they should be involved in different committees. They are trained to be musicians, not administrators. The next comment specifies the concerns of many musicians:

> *"I'm not trained to do that, and I'd rather be at home practicing than studying these financial data." (Musician, Philadelphia)*

Committee work can also be frustrating in that sense that the results of the work are slow to be seen. Sometimes it feels that nothing really changes. Many musicians do not attend orchestra meetings, and the interviewees admit that the problems in communication with the management are their fault as well.

The orchestra organization in Philadelphia has hired a special consultant to help with interpersonal skills and teamwork. This consultant teaches teamwork skills to the members of the orchestra organization. It is quite paradoxical that people who function as a perfect ensemble and team on stage should need help with teamwork regarding other matters.

Understanding. This theme of *understanding* is clearly present in both management's and musicians' interviews in both orchestras. This theme contains talk about how important it is to understand the other side and to know what they are doing and to know them as persons. Furthermore, it is important to understand their point of view, where they are coming from. Instead of nurturing mistrust and separation, this theme talks about understanding and reconciliation. Within this theme, some tentative steps are taken toward we-talk, a 'we approach' instead of an 'us and them' setting.

This theme suggests that the gap between management and musicians should diminish if not vanish totally. People should understand that everybody is in the same boat and that there are not just two sides. Some people see this development as a prerequisite for surviving in the future competition. Orchestra managements should understand better that they exist to ensure that the orchestra can play well, not only to raise money. Musicians should understand that their jobs will cease to exist unless they start to be more creative. As one musician says:

> *"I think we are starting to realize that the more energy we burn blaming each other, the less energy we have to deal with the problems outside of us." (Musician, Philadelphia)*

According to this theme, musicians show understanding toward the executive director and the management in general. They acknowledge that their job is demanding, there are so many difficult issues to manage. One gets the impression from interviews that not only is the executive director's job difficult, it is the most difficult profession on earth. In Finland, one cannot study the profession in any school but has to get on-the-job training. This job is very important because everybody values smooth administration. Furthermore, the business situation has changed dramatically and it is increasingly difficult to find funding and attract audience as well. This is a problem for everybody, not only for the management. So difficult is orchestra management that even I as an interviewer was given personal advice about it:

> *"Never consider becoming a symphony orchestra's manager, it is the most awful profession in the world." (Musician, Tampere)*

This theme recently emerged in the Philadelphia Orchestra organization, perhaps after the strike in 1996. Hence the contract negotiations in 1999 were held in much more

cooperative manner. Musicians also noticed that since the strike the management has really been trying to build trust. Musicians accept part of the blame with regard to the problems in communication. The eternally demanding area of interpersonal skills should provide help in this dilemma. Some of the thoughts of musicians on the theme include:

> *"If I am really honest I think the problem of communication between the orchestra and management is a great fault of the orchestra too." (Musician, Philadelphia)*

> *"A little more appreciation on everybody's part. In group dynamics it is learning how to appreciate each other's strengths. That is hard to do, hard to get out of yourself. A human dilemma is that it's selfish." (Musician, Philadelphia)*

The art appreciation theme is a managerial theme and it has been described earlier within the *art against management* discourse. It depicts how the managers are interested in music, one of the reasons being the wish to understand the musicians' reality a little better. Art appreciation brings forth more understanding toward the musicians and an increased sense of unity that is created by having the same object of affection. Together the musicians and the management can work for this art form they both love so dearly.

The conductor with musical focus theme deals with music rather than the character of conductors. The talk includes the notions of musical charisma and musical integrity. It means that the conductor should have a good knowledge of music and a conviction on how to interpret it. The creation of music should occur in a trusting and open relationship with the orchestra musicians. This theme suggests that people should stop listening with their eyes and start listening with their ears instead. Music really becomes the center of everything. The conductor is present but she is not on the spotlight. The

conductor has a humble yet strong quiet conviction about the music. The conductor is responsive to how the orchestra is playing, respects that and lets that musicality out without imposing her own musicality upon the orchestra.

Conductors conduct with their musical talent and knowledge. Music should really glow from the conductor, musicians should be able to sense that. Musicians described that there are certain young conductors who truly radiate sincere, pure emotion and love for music which, in turn, is transmitted to the orchestra and engages everyone in the playing. In such a situation other factors become irrelevant. These conductors have a humble attitude to their work, they do not allow the ego to dominate. Conductors need to work together with the orchestra, not against it. They should be a link that receives all the energy and knowledge from the musicians.

This theme also tries to get away from conductor worship and move toward a more selfless approach to conducting. The conductor is not everything, everybody has an important role in the orchestra. It suggests that people are ready to move from charisma toward substance. Music should be the most important thing. One musician illustrated it as follows:

> *"Let's take the musical experience beyond the admiration for someone's looks or charisma. The world is ready to get beyond charisma, beyond personal and go for substance." (Musician, Philadelphia)*

There is even a famous orchestra that performs without a conductor, namely the Orpheus Chamber Orchestra. According to its website (http://www.orpheusnyc.com), the orchestra is "renowned for its eloquent and exuberant performances as well as the discipline, precision and quality of its interpretations." Instead of working with a conductor, the members draw on each other, the audience and the music itself for artistic inspiration. Orpheus wants to achieve excellence through a democratic process of artistic collaboration. The orchestra uses sharing and rotating leadership roles. Every week the members

determine the concertmaster and the principal players for each section. The website explains how "this unique atmosphere unleashes the talent, vision, creativity and leadership of each human being".

Discussion on shared leadership

The *shared leadership* discourse embodies an aspiration toward a more participative leadership style. It is still a weak discourse in terms of the entire data but likely to gain more strength in the future. A development toward shared leadership practices can be noticed in leadership research as well. Bryman (1996:283-84) discusses the dispersed leadership approach that has emerged in the 1990s. These researchers criticize in particular the following three tendencies that previous leadership research exhibited: a focus on heroic leaders, a preoccupation with leadership at the highest echelons and a focus on individuals rather than teams. The new dispersed leadership research emphasized, for example, empowerment and the liberation of followers and teamwork where members take responsibility for the outcome and the leader is more like a facilitator.

Another expression of an emergent shared leadership tradition is the approach that pays attention to leadership processes. Leadership is viewed as a sequence of multi-directional, reciprocal influence processes among many individuals at different levels, in different units and teams (Yukl, 1994:459). For example, Hosking (1988) prefers to talk about leadership in terms of an 'organizing' activity. Furthermore, she identifies networking as a particularly essential organizing skill among leaders. Later on, she suggests together with Dachler (1995) a relational perspective on leadership where knowledge is created in a relational process and requires active participation by both sides.

This relational perspective that Dachler and Hosking (1995) present is very much in contrast to possessive individualism. The relational perspective views knowledge as socially

constructed and socially distributed, not as mind stuff constructed and stored by individuals. Whether the social process is leadership, networking or negotiating, knowing is an ongoing process of relating. The relational perspective invites questions about the social processes by which certain understandings come about and represent the social reality. A relational perspective of leadership cannot ask questions about 'what' (content) without asking 'how' (process) certain communally held knowledge is created. We may, for example, ask how a certain enactment of leadership has been socially constructed (Dachler and Hosking, 1995).

In this partnership model the identity is constructed from *being in relationships, being connected,* as contrasted with the individualistic construction of identity through separation and competition. The relationships are understood as caring. This means sharing responsibility for oneself and others and respecting other standpoints, giving a central voice to the issues of teamwork and cooperation in a sense of all interacting actors sharing responsibility. The appointed leader is only one voice among many. Since subordinates also have responsibility for the cooperation, they are also responsible for the kind of relationship they construct together with the leader. One could say that the involved actors are participants in 'co-constructing the choreography' in which joint action 'enlarges the world' (Dachler and Hosking, 1995:14-16).

Dachler and Hosking (1995:16-24) discuss networking and negotiating to further illustrate their point. Traditionally, networking and negotiating are understood as acts performed by an individual, usually an appointed manager. This networking manager alone is understood as active; making contacts and building contact networks. The other has a fundamentally passive role which is taken for granted. The relation is clearly instrumental, a typical subject/object relationship.

Networking is generally understood as collecting live information from the real world. Only factual knowledge is considered relevant. As a result, all other kinds of data are considered subjective, fictional or imagination. In contrast,

the relational perspective emphasizes the ongoing process of meaning making, multiloguing and multiple realities. Here, the networking managers seek to understand the meanings of the others' conversational contributions. Meaning making is regarded as a joint activity. When negotiating is viewed as a process of multiloguing, trading away differences is no longer important. Negotiating becomes a process in which a manager and others may come to know each other's perspectives and construct shared understandings about their relations (ibid.).

In a shared leadership culture, trust and respect for others are crucial. Sharing knowledge in a hostile, authoritarian environment is highly unlikely. Creating warm and caring relationships between the members of an organization enables them to tap into their creativity to the fullest.

Some conclusions

This subchapter sums up the major findings of leadership discourses. First, an alternative presentation of the discourses is offered in a form of a metanarrative. The central properties of the discourses are discussed next as well as the occurrence of contradicting discourses. The differences between the two case orchestras are then analyzed. To conclude, I address the role and the consequences of the leadership discourses.

Metanarrative of leadership

Folktales quite often follow a similar pattern of events and roles. Vladimir Propp (1928) has analyzed Russian folktales and found that they follow a particular logic. In the beginning, there is usually a big problem or a contradiction that is difficult to solve. As a result, the hero has to leave home and depart on a journey. In the meanwhile, things get worse at home and a villain starts to cause problems. Various events take place - Propp meticulously describes them in detail – and usually there

is a lot of suffering as well as challenging incidents. Finally, the hero comes home and things change for the better.

If I improvise a little bit with the idea of folktales, I can compose a nice narrative of these four discourses. The result resembles a metanarrative of leadership in symphony orchestras. It goes like this. Once upon a time art was happily living in this symphonic village, life was good and prosperous. One day, a villain appeared and tried to disturb this happy and harmonious village. This villain was called management, and it was evil, very evil. This management tried to restrict arts' freedom by rules, regulations, schedules and contracts. The management represented the order and authority that art truly detests. Art could hardly breathe with so much authority around. Art suffered terribly from such brutal treatment and began to look for help.

Art placed all hope in the emerging heroic figure, the heroic leader. This heroic leader was so wonderful that she could resist the negative authority offered by management and rise above such petty principles. The heroic leader was a strong, if not omnipotent, figure who could solve all problems and make things nice and cool again. Art did not have to worry any longer, the heroic leader took all responsibility. Art could concentrate on art alone.

This would make a perfectly happy end to the story if the heroic leader was not a fictional figure. Unfortunately, many heroes fail and fall back into the category of common mortals, even managers. In such a situation, art can either start waiting for another hero to appear or look for an alternative solution. Art could consider, perhaps even together with management, the possibility of working together and sharing responsibility for the organization of the village affairs. Such shared leadership would narrow the gap between art and management, enhance mutual understanding and decrease the need for heroes. Art and management could live happily ever after, in this wonderful symphonic village. Or is this too good to be true?

Summary of the discourses

There are four main leadership discourses in the data. These discourses were present in both orchestras. It was actually surprising to see how similarly leadership was constructed and understood in both orchestras. I expected to find more differences. The variations I identified are more on the level of nuances than significant differences. I will discuss these differences a little later.

The fundamental discourse in the data is the *art against business*. Like Propp's example of folktales, it reveals that there is a permanent contradiction in symphony orchestras. According to this discourse, art and management are by nature incompatible and this fact results in many difficulties. This large discourse is very strong, both in musicians' and the management's talk.

The *dislike of authority* and *heroic leadership* discourses are predominantly applied by the musicians. Both are very strong discourses. Management rarely exercises these discourses. In the table below I indicate that management sometimes used this *dislike of authority* discourse in a very weak intensity. This can be largely explained by the ambiguity in decision making. For management, authority is for the most part an inconvenience in certain situations whereas musicians truly detest authority. *Heroic leadership* is probably the most powerful discourse in the entire data. Artists value independence and individuality in their own profession and in the managerial profession as well.

The *shared leadership* discourse is applied by both musicians and the management. It is a very distinct discourse yet still relatively weak when compared to the dominating discourse that praises heroic, strong leaders. The *shared leadership* discourse may increase in popularity in the future, it appeared to be capable of meeting the challenges for future. As symphony orchestras are very traditional in terms of hierarchy and authority, there is definitely room for a certain adjustment in attitudes. Should this discourse gain in momentum, it would probably imply that the *heroic leadership* discourse and *art*

against business discourse would diminish in intensity. At the moment, the attachment to individual leaders and their superior characteristics still wins over the idea of participation and collective efforts.

It may appear that a typical discourse for management is lacking in the data, a discourse that would address rationality, planning, order or other such values. An independent managerial discourse is indeed missing, but *art against business* discourse in fact comprises managerial topics such as control, planning and order. Traditional managerial talk is included in this larger discourse of *art against business*. However, it is true that I have interviewed more musicians than managers, and have also shown more interest in the musicians. To me, their accounts of leadership have been fresh and inspiring while the managers' interviews manifested a more familiar pattern. It is sometimes easier to study the unknown than the familiar. This might have affected my interpretation.

I have collected these four discourses in Table 4. This table displays the situation in both orchestras and indicates the volume of each discourse among musicians and managers.

DISCOURSES	Musicians	Management
Art against business	strong	strong
Dislike of authority	strong	very weak
Heroic leadership	strong	--
Shared leadership	weak	weak

Table 4. The intensity of discourses among musicians and management

Contradicting discourses

A discourse has a strong inner logic but can be contradictory and alternative in its relation to other discourses. Many contradictory discourses can exist in an organization

simultaneously. They may compete with each other for the status of the best and most truthful interpretation of social knowledge. In this study, many different discourses about leadership exist simultaneously in symphony orchestras. Some of them contradict each other.

The *heroic leadership* and *shared leadership* discourses, for example, may appear contradictory. If a person believes in strong individual leaders, the basic idea of participation and collaboration that is implied in the *shared leadership* discourse is not likely to appeal. Thus it would seem unlikely that this person could use both discourses. However, human beings do not act completely consistently but may reason differently in different situations. It is possible that a musician holds on to the tradition and hopes for legendary conductors but simultaneously wants more involvement in the orchestra administration. In this manner, one person can apply contradicting discourses in different situations because these discourses are relevant in different contexts.

The *art against business* and *shared leadership* discourses also contradict each other. The *art against business* discourse constructs a deep gap between these groups of management and musicians. Cooperation in this setting is not very feasible. The juxtaposition of art and management actively prevents the possibilities of collaboration between these two groups. In other words, as long as the *art against business* discourse remains powerful, the *shared leadership* discourse has very little opportunity to becoming a major discourse.

The *heroic leadership* and *dislike of authority* discourses are contradictory in the most interesting way. Both discourses strongly emphasize individuality and individual values. However, this individuality can have totally opposing meanings in different contexts, either very positive or extremely negative. These two discourses are mainly applied by the musicians and are both very intense. As a result, one discourse praises heroes while the other detests authority and persons in authoritarian positions. Obviously, there is a point where favorable heroes become irritating authorities.

Differences between the orchestras

As already mentioned, according to the interviews there are no remarkable differences between the Tampere Philharmonic Orchestra and The Philadelphia Orchestra when it comes to leadership constructions. The four discourses can be found in both orchestras. However, there are certain variations in the intensity of these discourses.

The *art against business* discourse was strong in both orchestras. Its content was different in that sense that the gap between the musicians and the management was wider in Philadelphia. There was a greater ignorance about the other group's work descriptions and procedures in Philadelphia than in Tampere. The gap is narrower in Tampere and the culture is more informal. Still, the separation exists and is constructed actively by this discourse.

Another difference in the *art against business* discourse concerns knowledge of the business environment. In Tampere the musicians were more aware of the economic situation of the orchestra, about the cultural policy of both the City of Tampere and the government. They were also better informed about the difficulties in attracting audience. The Philadelphia musicians appeared less informed about these business matters and more concentrated on their musical career.

The *dislike of authority* discourse includes a variation in the relationship to conductors. Musicians in Tampere display a much stronger dislike for the role of the conductor and conductors as persons too. They tell many stories of unpleasant conductors and describe the characteristics of bad conductors. The Philadelphia musicians mention that some conductors can be too egoistic, but in general they are very gentle in their evaluation of conductors.

The *shared leadership* discourse is slightly weaker in Tampere. This may be caused by the fact that the gap between management and musicians is narrower in Tampere and a certain cooperation has been part of the organization culture. In Philadelphia, the participation and involvement of

musicians in different committees seemed to be a new idea that was currently under active discussion in the organization.

Discourses generate meaning

Discourses do not only reflect the reality of symphony orchestras, they actively shape and direct organizational behavior and generate meaning. These discourses affect and shape people's understanding of leadership, they generate meaning. People have a need for a meaningful existence and as a result they attach meaning to things and actions. If other people share these meanings, it is possible to work and live together. These shared interaction patterns enable us to function together.

In my orchestra data, for example, a very individualistic leadership discourse dominates. The *heroic leadership* and *dislike of authority* discourses demonstrate that leadership is perceived as an individual act. If such a focus on individualism is the underlying logic, it is quite difficult to develop the organization toward more participation by using external methods. People may learn some new group work techniques but the underlying values and opinions stay unchanged.

These discourses are not finished versions of reality, since people continually reconstruct their knowledge in relational processes. The meanings attached to leadership are not fixed, they change all the time. The meanings are open, have no ultimate origin or ultimate truth, as Dachler and Hosking (1995: 8) also point out. They might not change fast or dramatically, but rather gradually and in small moves. These meanings are also flexible in a sense that individual variations are allowed. More importantly, thoughts and ideas are born and negotiated in the interaction between people. People actively create and maintain their ideas of leadership by talking about these issues with others and acting accordingly.

Now we will leave the discourses and linguistic practices behind and turn to aesthetics and auditive culture. The next chapter will introduce aesthetics and explain what that has to do with leadership.

CHAPTER VI.

AESTHETIC LEADERSHIP PRACTICES

The previous chapter included a rich description of various leadership discourses in symphony orchestras. However, these discourses fail to cover a very essential part of working in a symphony orchestra: the playing and interacting with other musicians. The interviews included some talk about music and musicianship in a large orchestra, and this talk encouraged me to study the artistic interaction processes further. I begin to study these relational processes in which relating happens through body language and sensuous perception, listening in particular. Symphony orchestras had one advantage, they provide a good opportunity to study leadership practices in a large collective. I decided to make sense of this collective interaction process with the help of the relational constructionism (Dachler and Hosking, 1995) and the aesthetic literature.

Aesthetics can be defined as one large discourse through which sensuous inputs are made sense of. Human beings hear and see things, and when they start making sense of these sensations, they enter the world of discourses. The aesthetics literature has developed a theory or several theories through which these sensations can be worked on and made understandable. Relational constructionism does not believe that this sensemaking happens only on the individual level. On the contrary, it suggests that the constructions are affected by what we say and do, they are relational in nature. In other words, we co-construct our perception in relations with others.

This chapter sheds light on the notion of aesthetic leadership and contains the following order. The essential concepts used to consider this subject are sensuous perception, audition in particular, the body and bodily knowledge. First, an example of

an aesthetic process is provided by exploring field notes from orchestra rehearsals. After this introduction to the world of aesthetic practices, the theoretical issues of the body, sensuous perception and auditive culture are explained in order to provide the basic conceptualizations for the reader. Inspired by the qualities of auditive culture, the nature of listening in organizations is discussed. Next, the concept of leadership and the leadership literature is evaluated in relation to visual and auditive culture. Finally, an example of auditive leadership culture is provided by analyzing a symphony orchestra organization.

These last two subchapters also draw on the discourses presented in Chapter 6. Thus, the discursive and the aesthetic perspectives to study leadership are brought together.

An orchestra rehearsal

To understand the operation of a symphony orchestra I sat in rehearsals and took notes on what I saw and heard. I was interested in the interaction between the players and the conductor as well as between the players. As you may notice, it is quite difficult to describe a symphony orchestra in action with mere words, an organization whose main activity is to produce sounds and music. It would be a lot easier to record the rehearsal and then play the tape to illustrate what was going on. However, producing sounds and music is precisely the task of a symphony orchestra, and for this purpose specific skills are required from the people in these organizations. Such an organization, whose operation is based on auditive elements and on the skill of listening, is very interesting from many perspectives, not least from the perspective of leadership.

The rehearsal is an aesthetic process in itself, full of knowledge and judgments of an aesthetic nature. The knowledge is constructed through sensuous perception, through the five senses. Auditive knowledge is the specialty in orchestras but visual perception is important as well. Auditive

knowledge is a highly developed art of bodily knowledge that musicians have gathered over the years.

The following extract presents some of my field notes at The Philadelphia Orchestra. The field notes are from two orchestra rehearsals that had a different program and a different conductor.

Orchestra rehearsal Wednesday 3.11.1999

The Philadelphia Orchestra, Conductor Riccardo Chailly, Two soloists, Contralto Ewa Podles and Tenor Donald Litaker, Music Mahler: Das Lied von der Erde.

Rehearsal 2-4 PM. There will be 4 concerts: on Thursday, Friday, Saturday and Tuesday.

2.00 The rehearsal starts on time, all musicians and the two soloists are on stage. Chailly comes in, takes off his jacket and starts the rehearsal. They are rehearsing Mahler. I do not know which movement.

2.05 Chailly stops the playing.

2.08 He stops again.

2.09 …and again. He talks with the soloist. He also discusses with someone in the audience. It must be the assistant conductor André Raphel Smith who is sitting at the rehearsal. Schailly is speaking English but uses plenty of Italian music terminology. He asks the cellos to play their part separately. The flute is also asked to play alone. Chailly listens to the sound and asks the cellos to play alone again.

So far the rehearsal has been very intense. I am getting exhausted by only observing the scene. I am wondering how the musicians can have the patience to repeat a part so many

times or how they in general can concentrate so well. Chailly and the orchestra are rehearsing in a very disciplined manner. He stops the music many times and wants a certain part to be played again. He listens to the sound and signals how he wants it developed further.

Schailly speaks a lot, I suppose he must be Italian. Usually conductors do not speak much.

He also instructs the soloist and interrupts her right at the beginning.

When the part is finished, Chailly thanks the musicians by saying "Very good!". The musicians look pleased and talk to each other a little bit in a quiet voice.

2.42 The musicians leave. Also the conductor takes his jacket and leaves for a break. A few musicians stay on stage, practicing or chatting.

3.00 The rehearsal continues. It is the tenor's turn to sing. This time the conductor allows for longer periods without interrupting. Until 3.15 he does not stop the music.

3.15 I leave the rehearsal for a meeting.

Orchestra rehearsal Tuesday 9.11.1999

The Philadelphia Orchestra, Conductor David Zinman, Violinist Pamela Frank, Music Kernis: Lament and Prayer for violin and orchestra, Bartók: Concerto for Orchestra.

12.30 The rehearsal starts, Zinman walks in and says "Good afternoon. Nice to see you again. Let's play the Bartók." It is the first rehearsal for a concert that will be held on Friday, Saturday and Tuesday. The overture for the concert is Sibelius' Finlandia which gives me a deep nostalgic feeling.

André Raphel Smith sits in the audience again with the score. He later told me that he uses every opportunity to listen to new repertoire and follow other conductors working with the orchestra.

The orchestra plays the whole Bartók concerto without interruption.

1.10 They finish playing the Bartók. Zinman talks and emphasizes certain points in the music. He also sings to explain what he means. The musicians write something in their score. The concert master is preparing bowings for the first violins. They start playing again and the conductor stops the playing right away.

I leave the hall to get some lunch and make phone calls to arrange the interviews. When I return, they are rehearsing Kernis' violin concerto with the soloist Pamela Frank. The composer Kernis is also present in the rehearsal. It is the first Philadelphia Orchestra performance for this composition.

The concerto reaches its extremely beautiful end and the orchestra applauds to the soloist.

They play the piece again and now there is a problem with the oboe. The oboe was playing behind the stage but is now moved to the edge of the stage. It was probably not heard properly from that distance. The composer and the conductor discuss the situation in order to create a proper sound.

The music is indeed very beautiful and exhilarating. They play it again and the rehearsal is over. "Thank you very much", says the conductor. Many violinists gather around the soloist and wish to speak with her. Later on, I end up doing the same. I meet Pamela Frank shortly on backstage on her way to the dressing room and thank her for the beautiful music. She looks delighted and says that she likes it very much herself and "it's always nice when someone else thinks that also".

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This is how an orchestra rehearsal appears to me as a non-participant observer. The experience was very intense for me as well as, I think, for the musicians. The disciplined rehearsing of a hundred professional musicians on stage simultaneously brings out a lot of energy. In rehearsals the conductor listens to the sound, evaluates it through his aesthetic knowledge and decides how he wishes to develop the sound further. He then communicates his idea to the musicians by gestures and other body movements. The musicians use their own aesthetic judgment to understand what the conductor means, a skill that they have developed over the years in their professional community, and know how to produce a sound that was requested. Rehearsing is a relational process in which the musicians and conductors construct the necessary skills and practices together.

This illustration of a symphony orchestra rehearsal leads the reader into the world of auditive culture, a place where hearing has a very important role. Before we can discuss hearing in particular, it is necessary to say something about all of the senses as well. The next subchapter will begin this journey by exploring the nature of sensuous perception, body and bodily knowledge.

Body, bodily knowledge and sensuous perception

Leadership literature does not pay much attention to the body or bodily knowledge as already discussed in Chapter 3. Mainstream leadership research in organization studies treats leadership mainly as a cognitive activity. People are treated as 'human resources' or pure minds abstracted from their concrete bodies that sense, feel and experience. Since harmony and balance are the eventual targets of these leadership theories, any annoying and unpredictable elements – such as emotions and bodies – are brushed aside. The rationality model wants to control everything, thus also

bodies are subject to discipline and control in the work place. Ropo, Parviainen and Koivunen (2002) have called such a structuralistic paradigm of leadership 'the beauty of geometry'. The visual image of this paradigm is an organization chart or a flow chart with boxes and arrows that reflect the desire to have everything under control, including bodies.

Traditional leadership literature clearly mirrors the Cartesian dualism that still lives strongly even today. Ever since Descartes stressed the separation between body and mind in the 17th century, the dichotomy has persisted remarkably long. In this model, the mind is the home of the intellect, and the superior of the two, while the body consists of emotions and feelings that can be unpredictable and unpleasant, and is therefore inferior in nature. The mind gives orders to the body which then implements the orders. We can control our minds but our bodies are unfortunately uncontrollable. Since the managerial profession is ultimately a fight against uncertainty, as Sjöstrand (1997:10-13) points out, it is more comfortable to disregard the body and thus not increase the complexity or uncertainty of the job any further.

This prevailing model that praises the mind and despises the body has made us harsh, even cruel to our bodies. The attention we give to our bodies tends to be negative, with regard to issues such as discipline, punishment or mechanistic exercise. We voluntarily wish to control our bodies and almost wish they would be invisible and silent. At the very least, the body should achieve a state that is 'normal behavior', 'stable', 'clean' and 'healthy' (Parviainen, 1998:23). This body control also reaches the institutional level. Foucault (1977) describes how the body is shaped by disciplinary technologies. He calls this *body politics,* which refers to how the body is controlled and suppressed by the authority of institutions. The body is treated as a passive, docile object. In the workplace, for example, people are advised to control their bodies by sitting for long hours, by controlling their emotions in every situation and by remaining physically fit. The aim of these technologies is to forge a body

that can be subjected, used, transformed and improved, almost like a machine (Parviainen, 1998: 25-26).

Such a narrow conceptualization of the body as a passive object is not sufficient. The body is never just an object but the very medium of our being. When the body is understood as a physiological entity, the aspects of the body involving cognition and intentionality are commonly relegated to a substance called "mind". To create a different understanding of the body, Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1962) has often utilized the distinction between the physical body ("Körper") and the living body ("Leib"). He points out that it is our living body that first perceives objects, knows its way around in the room kinesthetically and senses the sadness in someone's face. To overcome the body/mind dichotomy requires an inseparable unity of spirit and flesh, understanding the human body as conscious in itself. Therefore the starting point should be one undivided unity: the living body. This living body has an extraordinary capacity for imagination, abstract thinking and memorizing. The living body, the body of felt experience, is an active body endowed with intelligence and sensibility, a body of skills, competencies and capacities, a body capable of critical thinking, learning and self-development (Levin, 1989:93; Parviainen, 1998: 34-35). Ropo et al. (2002) call this paradigm 'the beauty of the living body'.

People in art organizations, such as orchestras, theatres and dance companies, know their work very thoroughly on a sensuous, bodily level. This does not mean to underestimate the cognitive aspects of these professions. In these artistic professions the body cannot be treated as a passive object, but the living body becomes the center of subjectivity, knowledge and social relationships. Musicians, dancers and actors work on their self to reach results and the knowledge dwells in their bodies (Ropo et al., 2002). Also people in leadership positions of art organizations, such as film directors, rely on all of the senses in human body when making judgements (Soila-Wadman, 2002). It is appropriate to discuss the nature of this

bodily knowledge further. I begin by addressing the concept of *tacit knowledge.*

Polanyi (1962) discusses the nature of knowledge by pointing out that *we know more than we can tell.* This kind of knowledge that is difficult to express he calls *tacit knowledge.* It is common to emphasize that much of the knowledge that resides in organizations is tacit (Nonaka and Takeuchi, 1995). Indeed, the concept has become so popular that a wide range of phenomena are grouped under the term tacit knowledge with the result that all vague and indefinite aspects of knowing are put into the black box of tacit knowledge (Ropo et al., 2002: 30). Perception and bodily awareness have a central role in tacit knowledge. Tacit knowledge is a broader concept than bodily knowledge, used for all kinds of knowing through know-how. Bodily knowledge refers more specifically to knowing in and through the body which has a direct connection to bodily awareness and perception. Parviainen (1998: 49-51) suggests that bodily knowledge can be identified as one subtype of tacit knowledge. Polanyi (1962) stresses that tacit knowing achieves comprehension through indwelling. When we learn new skills, like playing the violin, we incorporate it in our body.

Bodily knowledge comprises all kinds of movement skills which we have acquired in everyday life or by active study. A violinist knows how to hold her instrument and move the bow to produce a sound. She knows how different postures and bodily movements influence the sound of her playing. Her ear is trained to evaluate the purity of the sound in such precision that is totally unknown to the rest of us. When playing in an ensemble, she knows how to adjust her playing to the fellow players' sound. In a similar manner, dancers learn various techniques and kinaesthetic knowledge to move their bodies through practicing, as Parviainen (ibid., 52) explains.

If we now understand our bodies to be where such knowledge resides, it implies that experience, the history of the body becomes very important. Quite often people who are in the leadership positions of art organizations have bodily knowledge and experience from the respective artistic

job (Ropo et al., 2002). Many conductors, for example, are trained in one or even several instruments before becoming a conductor. Many of them had careers as orchestra musicians which implies that they know the orchestra from inside out. They know how the sound is produced and understand the technical details of playing, the interpretation and articulations. It is almost a prerequisite for a leader in art organization to have been engaged in the specific bodily practice herself – it is a matter of credibility.

Sensuous perception has been mentioned often in this subchapter. To conclude this section, I discuss the nature of **sensuous perception** and our senses and also explain what is meant by aesthetic judgment.

According to Merleau-Ponty's (1962) phenomenology the body perception is neither a passive registering nor an active acquisition of sensations in the world. We are bound to be connected to the world through the senses, we cannot refuse the world although we may fail to understand it. Merleau-Ponty notes that the sensations do not reach the personal self which has opinions and makes decisions, but rather the living body. Before we have had opinions we have been bodies, and we have been in possession of sensory fields. Perception thus entails an anonymous field that proceeds personal will (Parviainen, 1998: 37).

As mentioned previously, it is our living body that first senses and experiences new things. We are connected to the world through our senses. Levin, a philosopher, describes how there are many different ways for us to relate to people and be in situations in our lives. There are many different ways of experiencing: different channels (auditory, visual, tactile, intellectual, emotional, bodily); different styles (aggressive, relaxed, manipulative, skeptical, indifferent); different orientations (idle curiosity, scientific); different perspectives (looking backwards, glancing sideways), different postures and positions (near, far, frontal, peripheral). There are also different degrees of intensity and attentiveness (focused, diffuse, touching lightly, listening eagerly, staring, sniffing

deeply) and different degrees of self-awareness. Sometimes we are with people in situations, in a mode of intense participation and heightened attention, but sometimes our connection is distant, forgetful or absent-minded (Levin, 1989: 18-19).

All of our five senses interact so that the contribution of each becomes indistinguishable in the total configuration of perception. Thus, perception concerns the whole sensing body. The unification of the senses comes about through their ongoing integration into a synergic system. This *synaesthetic* system rules our body, but we are unaware of it because we believe in the mechanistic view that we perceive things through the separated channels of perception: seeing by eyes, hearing by ears, and so on. For example, if we lose our sight, the other senses in the synaesthetic structure form a unity of perception and try to replace sight by becoming more sensitive themselves. For example, blind people often develop very sensitive hearing or touch (Parviainen, 1998: 38-39; Levin, 1989: 83).

This synaesthetic body is closely linked to an individual lived life and sensuous memories. Every individual has unique synaesthetic experiences because of her particular situation in the world. The synaesthetic body is connected to the personal memory: hearing a familiar melody can inspire a vivid memory of a certain place almost as if one were factually at that place. It is also possible that people can hear colors or see sounds, which is also a occurrence of synaesthetics (Parviainen, 1998: 39-40).

Let us take an example of sensuous perception and think more specifically about hearing. Levin (1989: 83-84) explains in his vivid style how perception begins with a preparatory phase in which the perceiving subject favorably positions herself in readiness to perceive. She prepares herself to hear what is to be heard by listening for it. This *listening-for* is a kind of openness to the field as a whole, it is alert, vigilant, receptive, attuned. In the second phase the process is completed, the perception is either fulfilled or annulled. Thus, the listener is satisfied, she hears whatever it was that she was listening for. It is also possible to reach a third phase in the process. In this third phase, there is a skillful cultivation of our perceptual capacities – practices

that bring out the inherent skillfulness of our perception and increase our knowledge and understanding of the world. Thus, for example, if our imaginary listener hears a bird in a tree, she may stop to listen to it. This *listening-to* is a concentrated attention, silent, patient, willing to take the time to listen carefully. It is a listening that requires some discipline – to avoid being distracted, to fine-tune one's hearing, to stay with what is sounding long enough to achieve a real familiarity.

Sensuous perception and the aesthetic are in my reading very close concepts. Listening is an aesthetic skill. As Levin (1989: 48) puts it, the aesthetic is precisely the cultivation of sensibility, a deepening of our capacity for sensuous and affective appreciation. **Aesthetic judgment** is thus an opinion or a belief that is based on sensuous perception.

Statements such as "How does it feel", "It feels good" or "It does not feel right" are typical expressions of aesthetic judgment. When individuals interpret organizational life, they employ their perceptive faculties and aesthetic sensibilities to decide whether something is ugly, grotesque, or whether it is pleasant or beautiful. By doing so they express an aesthetic judgment which other members of the organization then either accept, reject or dispute. All individuals are able to formulate aesthetic judgments, everyone who belongs to an organization is able to construct aesthetic knowledge about it and about work performed in it. Aesthetic understanding in organizations includes also the ability to 'read' the aesthetic understanding of others (Strati, 1999:49, 112).

Soila-Wadman (2002) illustrates the formulation of aesthetic judgements in film-making. She states that the ability of the leader to act and make decisions builds on aesthetic, emotional and cognitive knowledge which is situated in the body. The artistic expression is negotiated in an aesthetical play on the art creating field. This play includes continuous listening, attuning, thinking, feeling, small talk but also bodily movements, when the director and actors search for expressions, and the photographer and director try to find optimal camera

angles. Through this process, this aesthetical play, the artistic expressions are created.

This subchapter has explained the important role that our body and the senses have when we relate to other people and to the world. In terms of a symphony orchestra rehearsing, much of the relating happens through other means than conceptual language. For example, body language and sensuous perception have a central role. From this vast arena of non-verbal communication, I have chosen to study the nature of listening since it has an essential role in playing music. The following subchapter will characterize auditive culture and the nature of hearing as one of our five senses.

Auditive culture

Remember the story of Narcissus? Narcissus was a handsome yet arrogant young man who was deeply admired by his fellow young people. One day he was wandering in the woods and saw his image being reflected from a little pond. So wonderful was that vision that Narcissus fell in love with the image and stayed next to the water until he finally starved to death at the very same place. The issue that has almost totally escaped people's attention is the following part of the story: there was another person involved who actually tried to warn Narcissus. A little nymph named Echo, the mythical incarnation of pure tone, tried to warn him but in vain. The only thing left of Echo was her voice so that she could not be seen or touched, but only heard, if one paid attention and listened carefully. Thus mythology demonstrates to us in the story of Narcissus how vision's privilege and hearing's despisal can have deadly consequences (Bellingham, 1989:102-103; Welsch, 1997:157).

This story is one piece of evidence demonstrating the dominant position of vision over hearing. Indeed, the world has been and still is primarily determined by vision. This does not mean that we only use our eyes and no other senses, it means that vision is the dominating sense. This state of affairs

directs the way we relate to the world, observe other people and interact with one another. Hearing and listening seem to be greatly neglected in our society. This has interesting implications on human interaction, for example leadership, as I will illustrate later on in this chapter.

Joachim-Ernst Berendt (1992), Mary Lynn Kittelson (1996), David Michael Levin (1989) and Wolfgang Welsch (1997) all argue for the advantages of hearing and highlight those qualities in contrast to vision and visuality. In other words, their main criticism is directed toward the dominance of vision. As Berendt (ibid., 28) points out, there is a serious imbalance in our sensuous perception which cannot be healthy for us. He calls for a 'democracy of the senses', a situation where all our senses would be used in an ideal way. Gemma Corradi di Fiumara (1990) discusses listening in relation to speaking, and criticizes the dominance of producing words over receiving and listening to those words. Walter Ong (1967, 1982) describes auditive cultures in contrast to literate cultures, and demonstrates the consequences that literacy has had on auditive practices. I have been influenced by all of these perspectives and lean toward those texts that treat hearing in relation to seeing.

Berendt (1992) was among the first to value hearing over vision and call for a transition from a visual to an auditive culture. His original work "Das Dritte Ohr" was published in 1985. He has lived in cultures all over the world and studied their music and attitudes toward listening. He provides evidence that suggests that the dominance of the ear is directly linked to compassion and peacefulness, while reliance on the eye produces divisiveness and aggression. An equal treatment of hearing and seeing could bring an intensification of receptivity, gentleness, femininity, understanding, discretion, openness and tolerance. In conclusion, Berendt states that at the core of every culture lie the knowledge and wisdom gathered by listening.

Welsch (1997:150), a philosopher and an aesthetician, argues strongly for more sensitivity to auditive culture. He states that a person who hears is a better person, one who

can enter into something different and respect it instead of merely dominating it. Furthermore, he sees the future existence of the human species and even planet earth as being saved by taking hearing as a basic model. Hearing has a receptive, communicative and semiotic relationship to the world that truly provides an alternative. At the level of organizations, old forms of organizations were "visual orders", the new ones will be "auditive organisms".

Auditive culture or the auditive mode can be approached in at least two ways. Welsch (1997:151-152) talks about auditive culture in a double sense. It can have a large, metaphysically encompassing sense that aims for a complete readjustment of our culture with hearing as a new basic model of self-conduct and behavior. Or it can have a smaller, more modest and more pragmatic sense that aims for the cultivation of the auditive sphere alone, in our listening practices for example. The importance of our senses has always reached far beyond their narrow realm and that's why the metaphysical level is also often reached. The purely sensuous meaning of seeing and hearing is always accompanied by the far-reaching dimensions of meaning. It means that hearing and seeing can be defined in two ways; as a sense and in a metaphysical way, having an impact on language, for instance. Welsch suggests, for example, that the typology of vision is engraved in our cognition and behavioral terms; we use concepts such as 'insight' and 'idea'. In a similar manner, a hidden acoustics is inscribed in our thinking and logic. Supporting this acoustics would bring forth more receptive, attentive and accommodating ways of conduct toward other people. How we humans deal with our senses affects our self-esteem, well-being and worldly conduct as a whole.

The purpose of this present section is to familiarize the reader with the basic ideas about auditive culture. I discuss the historical background of auditivity, the qualities of hearing and the relationship between emotions and sound. Furthermore, I describe natural, effortless listening and openness and tolerance which are inherent in that kind of listening. Finally, I discuss

music as a special form of sound. This rather lengthy section helps the reader understand the nature of auditive culture which is later on combined with the study of leadership.

Although I focus on hearing and auditive culture and often compare them to seeing and vision, I would like to remind that the senses work in unison, not as separate entities. The concept of auditive culture is purely my construction.

History of auditivity

Welsch and Ong construct interesting theories about how the role of hearing has changed over the years. Again, hearing is discussed in relation to vision.

According to Walter Ong (1982:119), vision has not always dominated. This professor of humanities suggests that hearing rather than sight dominated the older intellectual world in significant ways, even long after writing was deeply interiorized. Ambrose of Milan (in Ong, 1982:119) even concluded that "Sight is often deceived, hearing serves as guarantee". Greek society was initially determined by hearing. In the western world up through the Renaissance, the oration was the most commonly taught of verbal productions and remained the basic paradigm for all discourse, both oral and written. Written material was subordinate to hearing in a way that is totally strange to us. The purpose of writing was mainly to recycle knowledge back to the oral world. As late as the twelfth century in England, even checking written financial accounts was still done aurally, by having them read aloud. This practice still registers in our vocabulary, even today we speak of auditing, that is hearing account books.

Welsch (1997: 153) explains how the primacy of vision first emerged at the turn of the fifth century B.C., principally in the fields of philosophy, science and art. The visual model completely prevailed in Plato. From that point on, clever thoughts were called *ideas* that built *theory.* Aristotelian Metaphysics praised vision and its model character for insight and cognition, while medieval light metaphysics was a singular

ontology of visibility. Leonardo da Vinci called vision divine and the Enlightenment literally called for light and visibility, even modernity knows no value higher than transparency. Levin (1989:33) explains how the Enlightenment brought the visual paradigm to its dominating role. The glorious vision of the Enlightenment was a vision that was generally accepted. There were few who saw the need to question the legitimacy of a universal 'Reason'. It therefore imagined the emancipation and humanization of man through the progressive rationalization of life. The horrid consequences of the process, such as violence and the subtle repression of difference and otherness, only became apparent centuries later.

Welsch (1997: 154) continues his argument by pointing out that despite these problems, vision has become our most noble sense. This visual primacy nests in countless details of our everyday orientation. Welsch also suggests that 'knowing' is synonymous with 'having seen', and most of our cognitive expressions – 'insight', 'evidence', 'idea', 'theory', 'reflection' - are visually tailored. This is an interesting conclusion, although the argument is clearly constructed in one cultural and professional context. However, this kind of cognitive knowledge is limited in nature as Levin (1989:31) points out. The knowledge attached to vision is a knowledge that the Greeks called *episteme*. *Episteme* can be compared with *sophia,* which means a wisdom that understands. This word comes from *epi,* meaning 'in front of', and *sta,* meaning 'set down', 'posited', 'standing'. In other words, according to Levin's interpretation, *episteme* means knowledge that can be seen, is situated in front of us, standing still, unchanging. As Levin (ibid., 31) puts it:

> "*This is the metaphysics of vision; a metaphysics that tends to overvalue constancy, uniformity, permanence, unity, totality, clarity and distinctness.*"

Levin also argues that this is the situation that makes people believe in one absolute truth, the one that can be seen by all. Instead, he suggests that we should develop our capacity to

listen and give more weight in our paradigm of knowledge to the very different knowledge that is deeply intrinsic to listening.

Qualities of hearing

Welsch (1997) has formulated four categories, which I have slightly altered, to illustrate the differences between the visual and the auditory world. The categories are not to be understood as absolute or as constructing dualism, they aim at pointing out the typical characteristics of these senses. In other words, hearing is mostly a temporal, disappearing phenomenon but can sometimes include enduring aspects. The reason I discuss these qualities is that they help me construct my arguments about leadership in the last subchapters. It is thus necessary to shortly discuss the basic qualities of hearing and seeing here.

1. Endurance – disappearance

Vision refers primarily to the spatial, hearing to temporal phenomena. Sound is temporal, it exists only when it is going out of existence. We can only imagine what would happen if all our words would not fade away. It is impossible to capture sound or to try to stop it. If you stop it, it disappears. Although I believe that many musicians have developed a skill to hear music "inside themselves", when for example looking at the score. Welsch (1997:157) describes this aspect further:

> *"The mode of being of the visible and the audible is fundamentally different. The visible persists in time, the audible, however, vanishes in time. Vision is concerned with constant, enduring being, audition, on the other hand, with the fleeting, transient, the event-like. Hence whereas rechecking, control and assurance belong to seeing, hearing demands acute attention to the moment, becoming aware of the one-off, the openness to the event. To vision belongs an ontology*

> *of being, to audition, on the other hand, a life born of the event. That is why vision also has an affinity to cognition and science, audition, on the other hand, to belief and religion."*

2. Distance – incorporation

Another characteristic of hearing is the relationship to interiority when compared to other senses. Ong (1982:71-72) states that this relationship is important because human consciousness and human communication are interior in nature. No sense works as directly as hearing. Sight is best adapted to register surfaces. The eye does not perceive an interior strictly as an interior: inside a room, the walls are still surfaces, outsides. Taste and smell do not really register interiority either. Smell does, but it tends to destroy interiority when perceiving it. Hearing is the only sense that can register interiority without violating it. Ong explains how sounds register the interior structures of whatever it is that produces them. For example, a violin filled with concrete does not sound like a normal violin. A saxophone sounds differently from a flute, it is structured differently inside. And above all, the human voice comes from inside the human organism which provides the voice's resonances.

Furthermore, according to Ong (1982), sight isolates and sound incorporates. When sight situates the observer outside of what she sees, at a distance, sound pours into the hearer. From this it can be understood that vision was able to become the dominating sense. It orders, distances and masters the world. Berendt (1992: 54) explains how seeing is not possible without the separation into subject and object. Hearing, however, disperses this separation. Ong (1982: 72) describes hearing:

> *"When I hear, however, I gather sound simultaneously from every direction at once: I am the center of my auditory world, which envelopes me, establishing me at a kind of core of sensation and existence. … You can immerse yourself in hearing, in sound."*

In the English language the words *eye* and *I* sound absolutely similar, and can only be distinguished according to context. Such is the situation in many other languages, that the words for eye and I are directly related. The listener does not put the emphasis on herself or even the other person. She does not insist on the separation between subject and object. The ear establishes a more correct relationship between ourselves and others. It implies unity rather than division (Berendt, 1992: 28).

3. Inaffectuality – exposure

It is easier for us to shut our eyes than close our ears, we have eyelids but no earlids. It is easier for us to remain untouched and unmoved by what we see than by what we hear; what we see is kept at a distance, but what we hear penetrates our entire body. In seeing we are affected least of all bodily, we can keep the world at a distance. Levin (1989:32) explains that sounds do not stop at the boundaries of our egocentric body; but the body of vision can usually maintain its boundaries (inner and outer, here and there, ego and other) more easily. Hearing is intimate, participatory, communicative; we are always affected by what we are given to hear. Hearing does not keep the world at a distance, but admits it. Such exposure and vulnerability are characteristics of hearing. In hearing we are unprotected. Vision, by contrast, is endistancing, detached, spatially separate from what gives itself to be seen (Welsch, 1997:158).

4. Individuality – collectivity

Ong (1982:72) suggests that hearing is a unifying sense. When a typical visual ideal is clarity and distinctiveness, a taking apart, the auditory ideal is harmony, a putting together. Similarly, music provides unity and wholeness for the listener. Interestingly enough, knowledge is ultimately not a fractioning but a unifying phenomena, striving for harmony. Welsch (1997: 158-159) extends this aspect to societies. He points out how

vision is a sense of individuality and hearing is one of society. Hearing is linked with people, with our social existence. We must hear to be receptive to language, and to be able to speak ourselves.

Reflecting on these four qualities of hearing, I argue that they bear a close resemblance to relational constructionism suggested by Dachler and Hosking (1995). For example, the relational perspective does not focus on individuals but emphasizes collectives. It also emphasizes processes, not products, just like auditive culture encompasses temporal phenomena and not permanent ones. Dachler and Hosking suggest that knowledge is in fact constructed in these relational processes, through multilogue of the participants. Furthermore, the quality of incorporation in auditive culture does not insist on subject/object relations but establishes equal relationships – just like the partnership model. I argue that listening has an important role in these relational processes. I return to this more closely in the last two subchapters.

Emotions

Sounds have a direct impact on our emotions. According to Dewey (1934:237), the ear itself is the emotional sense. Sounds have the power of direct emotional expression. Generally speaking, what is seen stirs emotion indirectly, mainly through interpretation. Sound agitates directly, as a disorder in the organism itself. As Dewey (1934: 238) puts it: "A sound is threatening, whining, soothing, depressing, fierce, soporific, in its own quality". Because of this immediacy of emotional effect, music has been classed as both the lowest and the highest of the arts. Music and sounds can have a powerful effect on people and this is sometimes considered harmful.

Ong (1967: 130-131) explains that sounds have an important role in warning us. Sounds convey what is happening as an indicator of what is likely to happen. In this impending there is always an aura of uncertainty and indeterminateness – all conditions favorable to intense emotional stir. While vision

arouses emotions in the form of interest, it is sounds that make us jump. In a secure situation as well, sounds bring information about changes in the environment. There are particular auditive environments that can make people very sensitive and subject to unusual neurotic behavior. In early oral cultures, the environment was dominated by sound impressions and individuals had to endure constant unpredictability. Sound means that something is happening and one has to be alert all the time (Dewey, 1934).

Berendt (1992:12-13) discusses the behavior of deaf and blind people and points out that the loss of one's hearing has far greater psychological and emotional consequences than blindness. Even Aristotle (ibid., 12) had observed that "the blind are more understanding than the deaf because hearing exerts a direct influence on the formation of moral character". The eye is directed outwards and only comprehends the external person while the ear lets the outer world enter the human soul. Berendt argues that blind people are usually more inwardly sensitive, focused and spiritual than those who can see. They are not easily deceived since they can concentrate on the essential rather than being distracted by visual impulses. The deaf are often more distrustful, unemotional and isolated. The deaf person sees everything but has great difficulties in building a relationship to the world. In Berendt's view, in communication hearing is greatly superior to vision, mainly because hearing picks up language. Naturally the deaf can also develop a language, sign language, as Oliver Sacks (1990) describes in his book called "Seeing voices". The book discusses the most challenging level of deafness: the children who are born deaf, and their efforts to find a way to communicate with the world.

Natural, effortless listening

Varto (1990: 28), a philosopher, argues that listening is difficult because seeing interferes and takes so much energy. In order to enhance listening abilities, we have to avoid seeing.

Listening deals with the invisible which means that no images nor preconceptions are needed. On the contrary, these visions are considered to prevent us from discovering new possibilities. Even the slightest image orientates the mind to the visible and thus to seeing. The same is true for experiences and expecting. If we are listening to music, for example, we are usually prepared for a certain experience. We are expecting something. This expectant attitude in its extreme form can cause a situation where we are unable to receive anything other but that we are so intensely waiting for. A chance for spontaneous experience is lost. Our expectation will chase away the possibility of the unexpected. Furthermore, when we are anticipating something, it is naturally something already familiar to us. One cannot expect something one does not know anything about.

The ability to wait and listen seems to be one of the most difficult skills for human beings. For animals it is completely natural to wait or be aware, but human beings seem to be lost when waiting and encountering unpredictable interaction with the world. Many philosophers, especially those in the Zen tradition have discussed this principle of waiting. One central theme has always been to abandon the stereotypes and to open the mind to something new, something different from oneself. In other words, good waiting requires abandoning the vision and practicing the hearing.

Asian cultures appreciate spontaneity and naturalness (Nishitani, 1982:184-189, Watts, 1957:133-150). Sincere action is not studied or planned in advance. Alan Watts (1957:133) describes this spontaneity by saying that "For a man rings like a cracked bell when he thinks and acts with a split mind". According to him, the illusion of the split comes from the mind's attempt to be both itself and its idea of itself. To stop this illusion the mind must stop trying to act upon itself from the standpoint of the idea of itself which we call the ego. The *ego* must not disturb sincere action. Watts expresses this complicated thought in other words in a poem:

"Sitting quietly, doing nothing,
spring comes, and the grass grows by itself."

Watts (1957:137) explains how this "by itself" is the mind's and the world's natural way of action, as when the eyes see by themselves and the ears hear by themselves. The emphasis is upon naturalness and spontaneous action. However, this can be difficult for us. If a human being is so self-conscious, so self-controlled that she cannot let go of herself, she dithers amongst alternatives. Or if the mind cannot let go of itself. As Watts puts it: "It feels that it should not do what it is doing, and that it should do what it is not doing. It feels that it should not be what it is, and be what it isn't". That sounds like a valid description of the human dilemma.

Sitting quietly, doing nothing or *wu-wei* suggests that listening should also be very natural and happen by itself. One should focus on listening but not too much in order to remain fresh and spontaneous. One should not let the outer world interfere with listening nor observe oneself as a listener and allow the ego's influence. In the process of listening, second thoughts are only harmful (Watts, 1957:148).

Others have also found this natural and effortless quality important in listening. Levin (1989:233) talks about how 'just listening' is often a playful listening, a listening that enjoys itself and which ultimate purpose is to be without purpose. Just listening aims at cutting loose from the incessant reproduction of rational life and the demands of the ego. Just listening is a joyful listening that wanders and drifts. 'Poetic listening', a term suggested by Kittelson (1996:53), bears a close resemblance to Levin's concept of 'just listening'. Poetic listening means listening in wonder, like a child. The listener is capable of being in uncertainty and doubt, without a need for fact and reason. Listening poetically means not being set, not being agitated by expectations for certain pre-known ideas or feelings.

This subchapter connected listening with good waiting, with being prepared and alert. Those are such qualities which the symphony orchestra musicians need in their profession.

Openness and tolerance

Gadamer (in Corradi Fiumara, 1990: 28) argues that: "Anyone who listens is fundamentally open. Without this kind of openness to one another there can be no genuine human relationship. Belonging together always means being able to listen to another". This is nevertheless no easy task. We sometimes encounter people and things and enter into situations, with great openness, eager to enjoy a fresh experience, while at other times we tend to enter into situations with closed minds and deaf ears – anxious, tense or defensive. Levin (1989:19) argues how we often have our minds already set, our course of action fixed, and our experience predetermined. We sometimes begin an encounter absolutely certain of our knowledge and understanding, absolutely convinced that we have nothing to learn from the encounter itself: we enter the situation totally under the spell of our stereotype, our preconceptions. We can hear only what we want to hear, or what we already know and believe; we can hear nothing different, nothing new. There are some things we can hear only with great difficulty, only with great pain. There are some things we need to hear, but probably never will. There are things we would like to hear, but we are also too afraid to listen.

Varto (1990: 36-43) describes how we are sometimes so defensive, so threatened or vulnerable, that we encounter people in a way that defers any genuine experience, any real encounter. We are like shells, living in our little worlds that represent totality to us. We are aware of other people and the outer world, but have excellent means to resist their influence on us. When the other tries to enter our shell, we cover it with pearl essence, swallow it and forget it. We suffocate the other in order to proceed with our familiar and secure life. Tolerance would mean learning to accept the otherness and learning to encounter that otherness in everything and everyone. We would try to open our shells and communicate with the other out there, to tolerate the other and accept it. This also means resisting the numbness of daily routines. As mentioned earlier,

these skills can be learned; waiting and listening skills can be developed, like the musicians have learned them.

Levin (1989: 47, 58) believes that developing our listening skills also means improving the practice of compassion and increasing our capacity to be aware of the interrelatedness and commonality of all human beings. He also believes that we can respond to the historical arrival of nihilism and realize the social dream of humanism, if only we develop our capacity for listening.

According to Dachler and Hosking's (1995: 14) partnership model, identity is constructed from being in relationships, being connected. The relationships are understood as caring, sharing responsibility for oneself and others, respecting other standpoints. They build on equality, not on a need to dominate the other. In like manner, the openness and tolerance described in this section characterize equal relations, not subject/object relations that are typical in the dominance model. I suggest that listening, with its open and tolerant qualities, is a necessary property in the partnership model.

Music

At the end, I present some ideas about music to illustrate a local culture where visual primacy does not rule. One obvious example is music; making music, playing or singing. I discuss this particular local culture where the crucial knowledge is to listen, to react, to follow.

Dewey (1934: 236) describes music as follows:

> *"Music, having sound as its medium, thus necessarily expresses in a concentrated way the shocks and instabilities, the conflicts and resolutions, that there are dramatic changes enacted upon the more enduring background of nature and human life. The tension and the struggle has its gatherings of energy, its discharges, its attacks and defenses, its mighty warrings and its*

peaceful meetings, its resistances and resolutions, and out of these things music weaves its web."

Varto (1990:37) explains how music has its ways to persuade us to encounter the other. We are exposed to new areas almost without noticing. Music is very lucrative because in between the familiar parts loom strange and surprising elements. These strange elements then appear without notice and invite us to experience new realms in music and in ourselves as well. Music is also rare in that sense that it provides an experience of totality and unity. Although music is a riddle, a mystery, invisible in nature and difficult to define, we can approach it by experiencing it, by proper waiting or exposing ourselves to music.

Pythagoras was convinced that music is the most important science because it presents the order of the universe in an audible fashion. When a person hears evidence of this order through music, she becomes aware of her own part in this universal order. This experience could then make her live morally right. In other words, music can have a moral aspect according to Pythagoras. He also stated that mere factual knowledge of something does not necessarily make the person act accordingly. It takes knowledge based on one's own experience and inner life to oblige a person to act right (Varto, 1990: 36).

The seductive qualities of music are often viewed as negative in many cultures. For example, the problematic relationship of the body and mind becomes even more difficult when treated from a musical perspective. In our western culture, the mind and body are traditionally separated with the result that the mind is considered pure and significant whereas the body is seen clearly inferior, sometimes even dirty. However, music strongly speaks for the unity of the body and mind. Music has elements that appeal to body and mind. Music can be highly sophisticated and it can be analyzed by reason, and at the same time it affects the body in many ways. We can feel the rhythm in our bodies, and music makes us move and dance. It affects our pulse, breathing and even the level of adrenaline. Sounds come form outside the body, but sound itself is very intimate

and we feel the clash of vibrations throughout our whole body (Dewey, 1943: 237). Our bodies and minds are one in music, and the dangerous part is that this conclusion could apply to other areas of life as well (Varto, 1990: 29-30).

Training and experience are also the essential skills for a composer. I had a conversation with one composer of contemporary classical music about how he works with sound. When I asked whether he can hear how a composition will sound like, he answered:

> *"It is a matter of professional talent. I can hear it quite well, and that ability has increased over the years."*

In other words, a professional composer can "hear how the score sounds" even before he has ever heard it played by an orchestra. This is, however, a talent that requires a great deal of practice, it is not a mystical gift. According to him, a beginning composer should listen as much as possible, in concerts and rehearsals as well as from CDs, and simultaneously study the score to see how certain sounds or rhythms are created. It is an endless journey, since the variety of sound combinations created by a symphony orchestra is immense. This "inner ability to listen" actually means a process through which the composer constructs auditive knowledge out of visual impulses, that is, the score. This special skill or practice is an ongoing relational process through which the composer creates ideas for music, formulates new sounds.

Most characteristics of orally based thought and expression relate closely to the unifying, centralizing, interiorizing economy of sound as perceived by human beings. A sound-dominated verbal environment is harmonizing rather than analytical, participatory rather than distanced, emphasizing holistic and situational thinking rather than abstract thinking. Harmony, unity, participation and situationality all seem such excellent qualities. Has anything from oral cultures, any auditive elements, remained until our time? The next subchapter

discusses listening in organizations through examples from the world of music and orchestras.

Listening in organizations

Previously I have discussed the nature of auditive culture and listening from a theoretical perspective. The present subchapter makes an effort to extend the discussion to more pragmatic fields by illustrating some listening practices in organizations. My data on symphony orchestras and music have been the major source to discuss listening, supported by several theoretical references. These ideas from the music world are then used as an inspiration to extend the discussion to other organizations as well. Let us begin by an interesting quote by one musician:

> *"If you play too loudly, you don't hear others. If you play too quietly, you don't hear your own playing. If you have technical problems with playing, it is easier to play loudly than quietly." (Musician, Tampere)*

This musician's quote encourages my imagination to jump to tentative conclusions about the nature of listening. Could it be so that strong and loud people have difficulties in hearing others, or that quiet people risk losing their voices completely? Or is it common to cover up problems with a lot of noise and loudness instead of quiet self-reflection?

My data from symphony orchestras suggest that musicians are experts in listening (Koivunen, 2002). They have a unique talent of listening, responding and following, it is an essential part of their profession. They know how to interpret the conductor's gestures and mimics, and listen to the sound and adjust their own playing to that. Musicianship requires highly developed skills in concentration, listening, responding and adaptation. In addition to the craft of playing itself, one has to develop a nearly intuition-like skill in following the conductor,

notes, listening and watching the concert master, principal players and fellow players, all this simultaneously. The players admit that this process includes some almost mystical elements that they are unable to explicate. This is clearly an example of tacit bodily knowledge.

Levin (1989: 84) also depicts how musicians are trained in listening. He emphasizes that the musician listens to the sounds of things with a listening that comes from a bodily felt understanding of what this means.

> "*The musician cultivates a different dimension of our listening skillfulness. Listening to sounds, chords, melodic lines, and the different instruments of sound, the musician cultivates her ear for pitch and timbre, tonal register, harmonies and discords, changes in key, subtle inversions and quotations. Allowing her body to come, itself, a medium, an instrument, for the resonance of the sound, the musician can hear sounds, fields of sound, choirs of sound, that the rest of us will never hear. Listening with well-trained ears, the musician breathes in an atmosphere that is filled with music: each thing, each being, has its own distinctive sound. The skilled listening of a musician also requires an inner and outer silence: without that silence, more silent than the silences to which everyday living accustoms us, the musicality of being, the voices of our man-made instruments, will not give themselves to be heard.*"

How can the musicians make sense out of the huge amount of impulses that exist when a symphony orchestra is playing? To whom should one listen to and how? There seems to be two alternative ways of sensemaking in the orchestra. One alternative is based on visuality: watching the conductor carefully and following his signs and gestures. The other alternative consists of listening to one's own playing and to the sound of fellow players. Naturally, these approaches can overlap

and do overlap in an ideal situation where the eye and the ear work together as Berendt (1992:28) suggests. The problem with only watching the conductor is the lack of adjusting individual playing to the orchestra sound. The danger in only listening is the tendency to follow easy and familiar melodies and to lose the big picture.

If playing in symphony orchestras builds on both visual and auditive elements, a jazz orchestra works almost totally with auditive impulses. Jazz musicians seldom, if ever, use notes since they play by heart. Some of the best jazz musicians are in fact blind, which may explain their greater sensitivity for listening. Jazz musicians relate to other players by listening to the sound and responding to it by producing own sounds.

Many organization scholars have been interested in jazz orchestras and their improvisational abilities. A pioneering work in the field is the study on the Utrecht Jazz Orchestra by Bougon, Weick and Binkhorst (1977) which focused on cognition and cause maps. More recently, Barrett (2000) has been interested in jazz improvisation as a self-organizing system, Hatch (1999) has used the jazz metaphor to explore organizational structure, Kamoche and Pina e Cunha (2001) have explored the similarities of jazz improvisation and product innovation and Rehn and Wikström (1999) have used jazz music to understand the nature of project management. The journal *Organization Science* has even dedicated a special issue to the theme of jazz improvisation and organizing (Vol. 9 No. 5, 1998). I attribute the exceptional interaction patterns of a jazz orchestra to the highly developed and sensitive use of auditive information. This is a rare circumstance in any other organization.

Jazz orchestras do provide inspiring examples of good listening practices. Marie Jo Hatch (1999:79-81) has studied jazz music and jazz musicians and describes how in an ideal situation each musician listens to all of the other players all the time when they are performing a tune. However, many musicians admit that they reach this ideal very rarely, only at the peak moments of a jazz performance. At other times, the

musicians concentrate on listening to one or two fellow players intensely. Thus, there is always somebody listening to the player who is contributing. Most importantly, the best listening and responding involves noticing how others are listening and responding to you. The better the listening and responding, the greater the music sounds.

Berendt (1992: 169-172) confirms that in the group of improvisers meaningful music comes into being by highly alert listening on the part of the individual musicians. He continues by pointing out that one must listen to the other musicians more than to oneself. After all, one knows what one is up to. The players unconsciously strive for attunement with the other players. This mysterious phenomenon of collective improvisation has been discussed in many books and studies. One explanation is such that posits a harmonic scheme and a framework of chords where the improvising musicians meet up. Berendt does not find such a mechanistic model sufficient but believes more in the alternative explanation, that of synchronicity.

Synchronicity is the meaningful coincidence of two or more events that cannot be explained in causal terms. The 'law' of synchronicity prevails within group musical improvisation. Such a group moves like a flock of migrating birds. There is no leader that would regulate the formation, the flock moves synchronistically. The group of birds is capable of spontaneously changing direction or making abrupt curves without disrupting their grouping. It is a system, or a single organism. A group of improvising musicians is also a system in that sense. If it is really together, it can react, move and change as if it were a single being or a flock of birds. What happens in such a musical group obeys the laws of synchronicity rather that those of causality, and cannot therefore be explained to the last detail. Musicians cannot do that either, but they talk about the 'high' that carries them along when the improvisation is particularly successful. Or they speak of a 'sense of uplift' (Berendt, 1992: 171-172).

These occurrences of optimal experience happen in symphony orchestras as well. The musicians explained how they develop a special bodily skill through which they can feel if the playing is good or bad. Sometimes the playing goes extraordinarily well, reaches unusual heights, and a very special atmosphere is created. The playing is breathing well, the musicians find the same level of consciousness, reaching what is known as flow (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990). If the playing goes badly, if there is a blockage somewhere, people can feel it. If the music is not flowing, playing becomes suffocating and heavy. One Philadelphia musician also mentioned the flow phenomenon and had developed a concept of his own to describe it: he called it entering 'the zone'. Moreover, one Tampere musician used the exact metaphor of a flock of birds to describe how playing in a symphony orchestra at its best can be: everyone reacting to everyone else. This is a rare phenomenon though, but not impossible, even in such a large ensemble as a symphony orchestra. The partnership model suggested by Dachler and Hosking (1995) also demonstrates that knowledge is created exactly in the relational process, in the relations between musicians.

Sometimes it happens that musicians lose their sensitivity for listening or become routine listeners. They seldom reach the flow, they are not really listening any longer. The orchestra can play a piece of music technically correct but totally lacking in interpretation, or beauty. Playing the right notes is the basic requirement for music but if the tempo, phrasing or balances are unpolished, the music sounds hideous. Listening to other players requires courage, trust in others and good self-confidence. When one carefully listens to other people's playing, one puts oneself in a vulnerable situation, surrenders to others. This is very difficult and threatening. The same phenomenon applies to soloists and conductors who often avoid hearing other artists' interpretations. Different approaches and interpretations can be too great a threat to one's own artistic personality, built with such great care and conviction, that artists prefer to avoid them.

Refusing to listen entails certain aspects of control. In chamber music, for instance, many people prefer tight control to freedom and flexibility. Musicians can be reluctant to completely trust others in concert situations, to listen to each other. They rather demand a clear pattern of interpretation and phrasing beforehand. Thus, in the concert situation it is not necessary to expose themselves to the demanding situation and depend too much on others. This is certainly safe and secure and probably produces relatively nice music. It is, nevertheless, tempting to think what the outcome might be like if the full potential of every musician would be put into playing. Playing together could be an opportunity to go beyond all reason, stretch the boundaries and transcend individual talent. But it does require trust and flexibility.

Similarly, people in organizations can function very well without listening too much. Organizational procedures, systems and processes lead us through necessary steps and actions. Very familiar are also situations where many people talk but hardly anybody listens. Such interaction cannot be very fruitful. People do physiologically hear what is being said, but they do not really listen, receive the sum and substance of what is being said and reflect upon it. This is actually not surprising when we think how interpersonal and communication skills are taught at schools and universities. We learn how to formulate speeches and presentations, how to persuade others, how to influence others and how to force our own opinion on others. Do we ever learn something about receiving and listening? The focus is always and without exception on speaking, as Corradi Fiumara (1990:121) also points out. She calls this state of affairs a reduced-by-half notion of rationality, where people are able to speak but not to listen.

It seems that people use the opportunity to speak in public to strengthen their own ideas, not to really discuss the matter. Different opinions are poorly tolerated. Perhaps this also explains why really good conversations hardly ever take place; the prerequisite of which is naturally careful listening. Monologue is the name of the game, a conversation is usually

constituted of one monologue after another. Dialogue very seldom takes place but when it sometimes does, it provides deep satisfaction to participants. Maybe in the future we can learn to appreciate good conversations and other people's opinions and reach a multilogue kind of situation where many voices are being offered, tolerated and listened to (Dachler and Hosking 1995).

In addition to musicians, there are other professions that involve good listening skills. Therapists, medical doctors and many other occupations in the service sector require a receptive attitude and a willingness to listen to the patient, client or the customer. In the business world, management consultants often have the role of providing listening services to the top management. Top managerial jobs are often very lonely and these executives want to have someone who would listen to their problems and worries. Consultants understand their work and are qualified to give knowledgeable comments and advice. Management consultants get paid for their presence, willingness to listen and receive the problems of their customers.

I was told that some musicians are afraid of doing crescendos and diminuendos (playing at an increasing or decreasing volume). This is not a matter of musical talent because many very talented musicians also have the same problem. This I find intriguing, why are changes in volume so threatening? Or is the point here that making the decision where to make crescendo and diminuendo is demanding, and people wish to avoid that? Or that being the decision maker in a big group is not desirable? Or even that some people prefer to be followers and need someone to show the direction? This would be an open invitation to strong leaders, people who decide for others.

An alternative explanation for the fear of nuances could be the unavoidable presence of emotions in playing music. Emotions can sometimes be very strong such as passion, love, hate or rage. The expression of these emotions in the playing can be difficult and intimidating. In this sense we could characterize the job of musicians as emotional labor (Hochschildt, 1983). Musicians have to involve their emotional capacity in order

to concentrate in their work and interpret the music. Artists are not necessarily any more emotional or sensitive than other people, they only have to deal with emotions more than people on the average since it is an essential part of their job. Emotions are a necessary tool to get the daily work done. This does not mean that it is not stressful and demanding to engage in emotional work, quite the opposite. Particularly auditive environments can make people very sensitive and subject to unusual neurotic behavior as Ong (1967:130-131) describes in his studies of oral cultures.

Listening has an essential role to play in the interaction between people. Listening means receiving information from others, listening to their words, sentences and stories. The listener tries to comprehend the meaning of spoken text and form an understanding of the message. This requires concentration, an interest and a sensitivity to listen, something that seems to be very difficult for most of us. Someone is willing to share something with us, but we hesitate to accept it. Listening appears to be a crucial element in sharing. When you admit to listening, you become involved in the situation and lose the neutral position of an observer at a distance. You are involved with your whole being, with your body, in that situation.

Listening is an act of tolerance and openness. As Gadamer (in Corradi Fiumara, 1990:28) points out: "Anyone who listens is fundamentally open. Without this kind of openness to one another there can be no genuine human relationship". The accent in listening must shift from being the sender of information toward its recipient; one needs to try to get rid of one's introversion and be prepared to receive something new and unfamiliar, possibly different and unpleasant. Accepting something different can be risky, it can threaten one's personality. It is usually easier to reject any unfamiliar impulses even before they reach the outer borders of our identity. On the other hand, the willingness to listen, to receive and accept can lead to remarkable discoveries about ourselves and others.

The auditory process is indeed relationship-making. Sound is literally moved by its hearers, it changes and shifts in response to its environment. Sound is highly reactive and interactive. To listen to someone playing, singing or speaking, is to let oneself be put in vibration with that person. We tend to identify with the manner in which the person addresses us (Kittelson, 1996: 46-47). This explains why in the presence of someone who whispers, we start to whisper ourselves. We are identifying with the whisperer and adapt his way of communication, the whisperer's sound.

Everyone can practice the skills of listening. Just as the composer can learn by practice to hear what the score sounds like simply by looking at the notation, so other people can learn to listen to their fellow people. Each relationship is unique in the sense that the patterns of interaction can vary significantly. It may take a long time to learn how another person communicates and relates to others. Even successful relationships will not endure without a constant effort to nurture the interaction. Interaction patterns are not permanent and stable, but change considerably and require active readjustment.

In the following subchapter I move on to discuss leadership literature and its close relationship to visual culture. The prospects of an auditive leadership culture are also constructed.

The tradition of visual leadership and some prospects of auditive leadership culture

This subchapter connects ideas about visual and auditive cultures with my reading of leadership literature. I argue that traditional leadership literature in organization studies bears a close resemblance to the central properties of visual culture. In contrast, more participative models or shared approaches to leadership have much in common with auditive culture. In this section I discuss these similarities.

I apply the characteristics suggested by Welsch (1997) in the subchapter "Qualities of hearing" to describe visual and auditive cultures: endurance and temporality, distance and incorporation, inaffectuality and exposure, individuality and collectivity. These categories are not intended in a dualistic manner, they are certainly overlapping from time to time. Furthermore, no purely auditive or purely visual cultures can be found, these concepts have been constructed to explain certain phenomena. I use these categories to build my arguments.

Visual leadership culture

It is difficult to talk about hearing and listening without talking about vision. Vision has a dominant position over hearing; in fact, it is as if all other senses existed in relation to vision. Indeed, the world is primarily determined by vision. In a like manner, many of the aspects that describe the primacy of visuality in human life can be found in the characterizations of leadership offered by mainstream leadership theory, such as in leadership textbooks (e.g., Howell and Costley, 2001; Yukl, 1998). The similarities are rather striking.

Leadership literature is an ode to individuals, and vision is a sense of individuality as well. Vision isolates, distances and separates the viewer from the object and in a similar manner the leader is separated and distanced from the subordinates. Due to the distance, the leader as well as the viewer are not closely affected by what happens to the objects. Both leadership literature and the visual primacy expect clear and permanent results that can be observed, rechecked and controlled. In the following, I analyze leadership literature by using the features of the visual model: endurance, distance and differentiation, inaffectuality and individuality.

Endurance. Leadership research focuses on clarity and enduring phenomena. The emphasis has been on measurable outcomes rather than on the organizational processes through which these outcomes can be attained. This includes

objectifying the subjective, laying it all out in explicit words and figures, instead of giving credit to tacit social processes and cultural outcomes. These figures are then meticulously rechecked and controlled. This kind of knowledge that is attached to vision is a knowledge that the Greeks call *episteme*. Episteme means knowledge that can be seen, is situated in front of us, standing still, unchanging (Levin, 1989: 31). This situation also makes people believe in one absolute truth, the one that can be seen by all, the one that is permanent. Matters that cannot be made explicit or visual are not important nor deserve the status of knowledge.

Organizational processes are considered less important than permanent, measurable outcomes. The logic goes like this: Visionary individuals at the top of an organization's hierarchy know what the future holds in store; it follows that the favorable outcomes are also known and need to be measured or otherwise clearly indicated. The idea that the future might be constructed in interaction with a number of key actors across time is not a common philosophical approach in leadership thinking. Although multiple, even paradoxical approaches have been suggested (e.g., Quinn, Faerman, Thompson and McGrath, 1996) to understanding leadership in today's organizations, the rational goal model developed in the days of early industrialization still prevails. Its effectiveness criteria, such as productivity, accomplishment, direction and goal clarity continue to be important outcomes to be measured and controlled.

Distance and differentiation. Distance and differentiation between leaders and subordinates is very typical. Leadership research and contemporary business magazines are full of examples of heroic leaders, CEOs and company presidents who are idolized and set apart from 'ordinary' people. The well-known leadership trait studies are one remarkable source of vision-induced leadership which assure us that good leaders are equipped with skills and characteristics well beyond those of their subordinates. The unexpressed assumption in

traditional leadership research seems to be that leaders know better, which reveals the underlying trust in hierarchy and control. Dachler and Hosking (1995:12) also indicate that the notion of leadership includes "a self-concept that depends on differentiation and social-emotional separation from others". It follows that leader relationships are: "artificial not natural; instrumental not self-developing; short-lived, not long-term and involving".

The distance between leaders and subordinates is clearly exhibited in organizations. In addition to the differentiation based on traits and talents, leaders are separated from subordinates by physical and organizational distance. Organizational charts and hierarchies define a person's position in the organization. Hierarchy also points out the location of power and knowledge in the organization. In this kind of reality it is possible for the leaders to keep the outer world at a distance as well as the employees, colleagues, sometimes even customers and other stakeholders.

The former president of Scandinavian Airlines Jan Carlzon wrote his famous 1987 book "Moments of Truth" (originally in Swedish "Riv pyramiderna!", that is, Break down the Pyramids!), a book that encouraged business enterprises to turn their organization hierarchies upside down. The traditional pyramid should be turned to stand on its tip and those employees who interact with the customers should be held as the most crucial ones for successful business operations. The employees' encounters with the customers were called 'the moments of truth' that determined the company's success. Leaders are less important in that sense, said Carlzon.

Flatter organization charts have since then become more common; in particular new business fields like information technology prefer more informal and unbureaucratic structures. Nevertheless, one still sees many alternative ways to exhibit the position and value of a leader. Company architecture provides one example of this. Even today, leaders' offices are surprisingly often situated on the highest floor of the building, above everyone else, as if suggesting the pecking order

of the people in that company. In addition to location, the size and decoration of the office rooms also reflect the same order. The location of the parking space, designated areas in company cafeteria and other innocent-appearing arrangements in the same fashion convey a powerful symbolic meaning and easily raise strong emotional reactions in people. The pyramids and their symbolic message are still with us.

Even if there have been changes in organization structures and processes, organizations seem simultaneously to develop more layers to organize human energy (Whittington, Pettigrew, Peck, Fenton and Conyon, 1999). Even new organization forms such as networks and cross-functional terms may maintain similar types of practices, meanings and values as before. Thus, leadership continues to manifest itself as a standing order coming through the hierarchy as rational organizing of employees, production and work environment (Ropo et al., 2002). In other words, in the world of visual primacy people tend to behave in a way that requires a certain rank order among them. If the traditional hierarchy is abandoned, a new form such as a network, team or project is created or emerges by itself. And the old hierarchy continues to live in this new form of organizing. One could argue that this is the nature of the visual model: to divide, not to unite.

Inaffectuality. Leadership literature presents a rather normative and idealistic understanding of the reality in organizations as if the leaders were not at all in touch and affected by it. Due to distance and differentiation the leaders are protected from the outer world, for example by being sheltered from the daily contact with most employees as well as possible conflicts and disagreements. Leadership theories target harmony and balance whereas annoying contingencies need to be identified and neatly eliminated (Ropo et al., 2002). For instance, problems need to be identified effectively and conflicts have to be managed constructively to keep people happy and productive. Leadership theory seems unaffected by the ugly side of organizational life.

Leadership research is badly prepared for the fact that the reality at workplaces can involve roughness, ugly situations and confrontations with colleagues, arguments and tension, even aggression. Pelzer (2002) even goes a step further and writes about disgust in organizations. People experience disgust at a very bodily level and this occurs in organizations as well. According to Pelzer, everyone in organizations is aware of these dark aspects of human nature, except for the top management that sticks, or pretends to stick, to the idealized vision. While the employees may grow ever more disillusioned with their work, the leaders continue to live in their world of future visions. And disgust never penetrates these visions. Leadership literature is mainly written to top managers or it is written from the perspective of top management. Maybe it serves the purpose of keeping the top leaders out of the harsh realities in their organization as well as helping them to continue to believe in their visions.

To feel and experience organizations to the fullest requires bodily presence and involvement in situations. Sending out memos or e-mails does not achieve the same result as visiting employees at their workplaces. If leaders are not present among employees, it is easy too remain distant and to close one's eyes both literally and figuratively. Leadership literature easily reduces employees to human resources, which can then be dealt with like any other figures. Employees are no longer flesh and blood, people with feelings and emotions, but figures.

Individuality. A great deal of the traditional leadership literature emphasizes individuals rather than groups or collective action: leadership is traditionally seen as an individual level phenomenon. Many scholars in this field focus their research on studying leaders' behavior, skills and efficiency. Leaders are important people, thus everything in them is under scrutiny and worth studying. Leaders are seen as originators of all action, they define the rules and order and provide guidance and orientation. People become leaders because of their superior knowledge and other possessions, such as

charisma. By contrast, subordinates are treated as objects of this leadership, being less active and less knowledgeable than the leader. In this setting, leaders are clearly subjects and subordinates are objects. In this visual mode, it is impossible to find another kind of arrangement; in order to see one needs to separate things into subjects and objects.

My research at symphony orchestras, in particular the discourse analysis, indicates that there is a need for leaders in general and particularly for strong, heroic leaders. This might be a local and cultural construction, in other contexts this notion of a strong leader could be strongly disliked. The *heroic leadership* discourse in my orchestra data reflects the high expectations that musicians place upon leaders. These expectations are often completely unrealistic, no person can live up to them. For example, a contract with a new chief conductor often follows a specific cycle. The first year is absolutely wonderful, like a honeymoon between the conductor and the musicians. During the second year the affection slowly cools down and the third year witnesses considerable dissatisfaction and complaining. Finally, in the fourth year musicians want to change the conductor. Despite this repeating pattern, musicians continue to hope for the perfect conductor to emerge, one day, like a heroic miracle.

The above four aspects of mainstream leadership theory culminate in its emphasis on **visionary leadership.** Visionary leadership literally reveals the deep connection between leadership and visual primacy. Throughout history, vision has been held to be important; people who see visions have been considered forerunners, even prophets. Vision became the most often repeated buzzword of the 1990s, and ever since has had a central role both in research vocabulary and in business world. It would be difficult to find a leadership text today that does not discuss or idolize visionary leaders. In fact, visioning is at the heart of describing one particular trend in today's leadership, namely leading change. Theories of transformational leadership

emphasize vision and envisioning, as do the vast amount of charismatic approaches to leadership.

Transformational leadership (Bass, 1985), charismatic leadership (Conger, 1989; House, 1977) and visionary leadership (Westley and Mintzberg, 1989) emerged in the 1980s. Together these labels reveal a conception of the leader as someone who defines organizational reality through the articulation of a vision. This vision is a reflection of how the leader defines an organization's mission and values that will support it. First, the leader needs to articulate the vision. Second, she must communicate it and make it relevant and appealing to the followers (Bryman, 1996: 280-281). I will now present a few illustrations from this research.

Transformational leaders have a vision of a desirable and possible future for their organization. It is sometimes just a vague dream and at other times a more concrete one like a written mission statement. These leaders "move followers to higher degrees of consciousness, such as liberty, freedom, justice and self-actualization" (Bennis and Nanus, 1985: 218). A clear and appealing vision serves several important functions. One function is to inspire followers by giving their work meaning and appealing to their fundamental human need to be important, to feel useful and to be part of a worthwhile enterprise. Another function of a vision is to facilitate decision making, initiative and discretion by employees at all levels. Knowing the organization's central purpose and objectives helps people to determine what is good or bad, important and trivial (ibid., 1985; Yukl, 1994: 363-364).

Charismatic leaders are likely to articulate a vision that relates to the deeply rooted values and ideals shared among followers. By providing an appealing vision of what the future could be like, charismatic leaders give the work more meaning and inspire enthusiasm and excitement among followers (House, 1977). Leaders need to be sensitive to the needs and values of followers as well as to the environment in order to identify a vision that is innovative, relevant, timely and appealing (Conger, 1989). Charisma is more likely to be attributed to leaders who

advocate a vision that is at odds with the status quo but still within the latitude of acceptance by followers. Followers will not accept a vision that is too radical and they are likely to view the leader who espouses such a vision as incompetent or crazy (Conger and Kanungo, 1987).

Several researchers (e.g. Bennis and Nanus, 1985) have also established a link between transformational leadership and vision. Peters and Waterman's (1982) popular book "In Search of Excellence" asserts that almost all highly successful companies had been influenced by a transforming leader at some stage of their development. The importance of articulating a vision was found to be a central element in successful transformational leadership. Correspondingly, the lack of a clear vision has been identified as the major reason for the decline of companies and entire industries in the recent years.

Creating a vision has really become the central quality of theories of successful leadership. After having analyzed the similarities between visual primacy and the leadership research, I next focus on the possibilities of auditive mode within leadership studies. The present leadership research is examined from the perspective of the auditive mode.

Auditive leadership culture

There is a lot less in common between the writings about the auditive culture and leadership literature than was the case with visual culture and leadership theory. Some elements of auditive mode can be found in the relatively recent approaches to leadership, such as shared leadership or dispersed leadership. Theories that emphasize teamwork and employee participation also include elements of auditive culture. Yet, the stereotype of an active, dynamic leader who gives orders, informs and convinces employees, still prevails. An "inactive", receptive leader who would listen, receive and allow does not appear a very appealing concept.

We have little familiarity with what it means to listen, we are used to living in a culture in which leaders are predominantly

involved in speaking, shaping and informing. Our intellectual heritage, especially in the western world, commonly defines communication as a capacity for ordering and explaining, detached from any propensity to receive and listen. Leadership books do emphasize the mutuality of communication, but in practice the nature of interaction between leader and followers reflects the dominant, hierarchical logic where the leader's message is more important. The research on shared leadership offers a different approach to this condition.

One example of shared leadership research is the partnership model suggested by Dachler and Hosking (1995: 14-16). In this partnership model, identity is constructed from *being in relationships, being connected,* as contrasted with the individualistic construction of identity through separation and competition. The ability to form and nurture partnerships is highly valued, in contrast to the individualistic needs to emphasize one's own strengths in comparison to others. Competition rarely facilitates partnerships of any kind. Further, the relationships are understood as caring. This means sharing responsibility for oneself and others and respecting other standpoints, giving a central voice to the issues of team working, and cooperation in the sense of all interacting actors sharing responsibility. The appointed leader is only one voice among many. Since the subordinates also have responsibility for the cooperation, they are also responsible for the kind of relationship they construct together with the leader. One could say that the involved actors are participants in 'co-constructing the choreography' in which joint action 'enlarges the world'.

Networking becomes an important means to share information and knowledge. The partnership model emphasizes the ongoing process of meaning making, multiloguing and multiple realities. Here, the networking managers seek to understand the meanings of the others' conversational contributions. Meaning making is regarded as a joint activity. It is not a leader's responsibility, as Smircich and Morgan (1982) suggest when speaking of the management of meaning. When negotiating is viewed as a process of multiloguing, trading

away differences is no longer important. It is pointless for participants to argue about the correct meaning of a certain event or matter. Negotiating becomes a process in which the manager and others may come to know each other's perspectives and construct a shared understanding about their relations. Networking and negotiation are seen as processes that produce and reflect connectedness and interdependence as egalitarian relations, and as processes that construct collective authority and responsibility (Dachler and Hosking, 1995).

Dachler and Hosking's ideas about negotiation are very close to those that are practiced in peace negotiations. Johan Galtung (Gage, 1995) demonstrates a win/win situation to be the ideal form of conflict resolution. In such a situation every participant wins and there is no division into winners and losers. This is a highly developed way of negotiation that demands great talent and creativity from the participants and also the utmost respect for others. A compromise might be a good accomplishment in tough conditions, but it seldom facilitates any greater commitment. Nobody is completely satisfied since everyone had to give up on something, and these sacrifices remain in people's minds, eager to materialize at any time. In Galtung's words, a compromise is rather a lazy solution if the participants have not used all their creativity to reach for the best solution. A win/lose situation is the worst possibility. It does not provide very lasting results. The situation is reduced to a black and white setting where there seems to be only two alternatives and people are divided into two groups that defend their opinion with clever argumentation. This win/lose situation resembles the dominance model to a great extent with its hierarchical leader-subordinate relations.

Yukl (1998: 351-375, 409-437) discusses leadership processes in teams, self-managed groups and executive teams. He indicates that the essential points in leadership processes are building consensus around a shared objective, maintaining cohesiveness in the team, tolerance for diversity and mutual cooperation. Important tools to facilitate group learning are reviews held after an activity and dialogue sessions. In these

sessions the members are able to share their knowledge and the group is willing to listen to and receive the experiences. Executive teams are becoming more common, and they are currently being successfully used in many countries, such as Japan. Sharing knowledge, building trust and cooperation were held vital also in executive-level teams. Similarly, the diverse backgrounds of the team members were found to be useful; they facilitated both learning and the tolerance for differences. In summary, trust, cooperation, sharing knowledge and tolerance for diversity were considered important in shared leadership. All qualities represent auditive culture.

The concept of shared leadership invites a further question of whether leaders will be needed at all. Within the concept of shared leadership two alternatives seem possible. It may be that leaders are still needed, but their role changes considerably. They are like one voice among others. Or it may be that leaders become unnecessary, that it is no longer necessary to assume that a leader/subordinate relation is required to accomplish something. Instead, self-organizing groups could function without a person in charge of them.

Next, I discuss the four qualities of auditive culture in reference to leadership and leadership literature. These factors were identified earlier in the section entitled "Auditive Culture", namely: temporality, incorporation, exposure and collectivity.

Temporality. Project organizations, performances in the art sector or various events like conferences, exhibitions or fairs reflect the temporal nature of the auditive mode. A performance or a concert may be held only once after which it disappears, a project organization may cease after the ship or a power plant is completed. Art performances, such as concerts, theatre plays or dance performances are immaterial and unique in nature, one can never hear exactly the same concert twice. A ship or a power plant does exist also after it has been delivered to the buyer, one can always visit it and experience it all over again, but the production was a unique process.

Processes are difficult to define, describe and measure. They are temporal, constantly changing and complex. Where visual culture cherishes permanent and measurable outcomes, auditive culture involves fleeting, transient phenomena. Or more specifically, auditive culture admits that the nature of many events is temporal and cannot be measured with figures. As the relational theory suggests, knowledge is situated and created in this relating process (Dachler and Hosking, 1995). Knowledge is not mind stuff, something that can be stored in individuals' heads. In other words, knowledge is not permanent, it is temporal and changing all the time.

Incorporation. Auditive culture implies unity rather than division. In teamwork this would signify that the team's objectives are more important than individual ambitions. Too much, if any, competition between the team members is not beneficial and disturbs the unity of the team. The purpose is to establish a shared understanding or a decision about a particular matter. A team might have no appointed leader, all team members have influence over and responsibility for the team. Some teams may be cross-functional teams that entail people from the marketing, financing and production departments. The objective there is to overcome the departmental differences and work together in a creative way. Different opinions become the fuel for creativity, it is not good to suppress them.

Business enterprises have also noticed the importance of team spirit or unity. Team building exercises have become popular and the employees are sent, sometimes to quite extreme conditions, to learn how to function as a team. People learn how to work with each other and eventually how to trust each other. The purpose is not to find the best individuals but to evaluate and train teamwork skills. The purpose is not that the team defines a rank order between the members, divides and differentiates but rather to recognize one another's unique capabilities and build a team spirit based on them. The purpose is not to focus on differences but more on the similarities of team members which would help to create unity in the team.

Exposure. Auditive leadership culture is bound to develop in an organization where traditional hierarchies with a strict division of labor and chain of command have lost their meaning. Many expert organizations and new organizational forms nurture a more lateral and informal culture where also the leaders are exposed to collective daily activities. Being part of the interaction process, relating with other people, being exposed to such situations is crucial in auditive culture. Leaders as well as employees are all involved in the same process, and it is difficult to take a distance from the intense flow of events. Such a way of working requires patience, tolerance for differences and uncertainty and an open and receptive mind.

In such a relational process, a great deal of tacit knowledge (Nonaka and Takeuchi, 1995; Polanyi, 1962) is shared. The nature of tacit knowledge is such that it is very difficult to verbalize and thus share with others without being exposed to situations. It also often requires a considerable amount of time to acquire. It may be gained during an apprenticeship or a period of learning by doing. One feasible way to share tacit knowledge with others is through a process of demonstration, or 'show-how' (Roberts, 2000). This show-how, showing others how to do things, requires social interaction between people. It also requires bodily presence, the transmitter and the receiver have to be present in the same location. Leaders lose the opportunity to gain show-how if they are away from the organization a lot or prefer to sit in their offices most of the time. Distance work may be possible but not distance show-how. Instead, leaders could be present in their organization, interact with other members and expose themselves to situation in which they can construct new knowledge with others.

Collectivity. Auditive culture emphasizes collective aspects and interaction among colleagues. Knowledge is created in a relational process between people that requires active participation from both sides. Listening is of central importance in such a relating process. People who take part in this process, like musicians rehearsing a piece or company

employees preparing a project, all share their knowledge and experience with each other. Important knowledge does not reside only at the top of the organization. Nobody has the right or complete knowledge, only different parts of information. In the negotiating process these pieces of information are discussed and shared with others in order to make a synthesis. In this process, listening is of crucial importance, the ability to receive instead of only sending out information.

As mentioned many times, leadership focuses on individuals and leadership interaction is traditionally about relating between individuals, face to face. It is only recently that the issue of different levels has been raised in mainstream leadership research (Dansereau and Yammarino, 1998), suggesting that leadership is a complex phenomenon that often involves hidden dynamics at and across different levels of analysis: individual, group and collective. This development hopefully calls more attention to collectivity.

To conclude, auditive leadership does not simply mean that leaders acquire an additional leadership skill in their repertoire, that of listening. Rather, auditive leadership culture paves the way to a paradigmatically different understanding of leadership knowledge. One of the biggest challenges for leaders may be the change from an "active" sender of orders and information who determines the organization's future into a what may seem like a "passive" or "inactive" receiver of followers' ideas and opinions.

Particularly, the highly knowledgeable professionals in expert organizations are not used to being told what to do; they find authoritarian leaders uncomfortable. In other words, the leaders do not need to form and structure the organization extensively, they can concentrate on receiving and understanding the collective wisdom and knowledge of the followers. Especially before making important decisions, the leaders should first listen to the organization and collect the wisdom from subordinates. The leaders can trust that all knowledge already resides in the organization, their job is to let it come out, allow it and accept it.

The following subchapter demonstrates how symphony orchestras are good examples of auditive leadership culture.

The example of symphony orchestras

Symphony orchestras do not manifest a purely auditive culture, but certain elements of visuality are present as well. In fact, the two cultures are present simultaneously. In such an ideal situation the eye and the ear work together in a democracy, as Berendt (1992: 28) also suggests. However, work in symphony orchestras is clearly built upon auditive elements, upon playing and listening to the music. Furthermore, I find that the unique interaction in an orchestra bears a surprisingly close resemblance to the central properties of auditive culture.

In the following I illustrate the aspects of auditive leadership that I found to be inherent in symphony orchestras. Again, my analysis builds upon the concepts derived from visual and auditive modes: vision and sound, individuality and collectivity, distance and incorporation, inaffectuality and exposure, and endurance and temporality.

Vision and sound

Interaction in symphony orchestras is a fairly complicated process and entails many elements of sensuous perception, visual and auditive impulses being the most crucial. Musicians use their eyes to look at the notes, to follow the conductor and the principal player. The printed scores provide the necessary information on musical expression (Hultberg, 2000). Professional musicians have highly developed skills to understand musical notation and transform it into music. The conductor sends an abundance of visual information on how she wants the music to the played: the hands convey the beat, the more exact phrasing and the entrances for different players or instrument sections; the face and bodily gestures display the

conductor's emotions and by the same token her interpretation. Visually transmitted information is thus very important.

However, the most unusual talent possessed by musicians and conductors in symphony orchestras is their expertise in listening (Koivunen, 2002; Köping 1997). In their profession, they make use of auditive impulses, sounds, and transform them into aesthetic knowledge by concentrated, well-trained listening skills. The quality of their work is evaluated by listening, both by themselves, the audience and the critics. Musicians have extremely well-trained ears to listen to different sounds at the same time. They listen to their own playing, to their fellow players, the sound of the instrument section and the sound of the whole orchestra. Using all that auditive information, they adjust their own playing, tune themselves to the orchestra's sound. They make sense of the chaotic situation in a symphony orchestra by listening and making aesthetic judgments on the basis of that situation. All this reflectivity takes place simultaneously.

Another dimension of listening is more metaphysical in nature. In addition to physically hearing sounds from many players, the musicians are in a permanent position to receive. They are alert, expecting something and prepared to react upon that signal immediately. Instead of self-defining the world, structuring it or providing order, the musicians are in a position to receive. They receive, admit and tolerate various articulations for the music, choices of particular music traditions and interpretations for the music. The musicians have to adjust to these conditions, regardless of whether they like them or not. Developing an open-minded attitude that gladly invites and accommodates a huge variety of different opinions, interpretations and styles is a very challenging task.

And indeed, it can happen that musicians grow tired of always receiving and tolerating, year after year, when changing conductors ask for almost completely opposite interpretations of the same music or when their own idea of playing Mahler is violated by a totally different approach. The concert process itself is demanding, a new project each week that requires fresh

energy and adjusting to a new guest conductor. Only enduring the intensive rehearsal process is demanding. Consequently, it can happen that musicians lose some of their sensitivity for listening and become routine listeners.

Another aspect of listening is related to self-confidence and trust. Listening to other players requires trust in others and self-confidence. When you carefully listen to other people's playing, you put yourself in a vulnerable situation, surrender to others. This is very difficult and threatening. The same phenomenon applies to soloists and conductors who often avoid listening to other artists' interpretations. Different approaches and interpretations are too great a threat to one's own artistic personality that has been built up with great care and conviction, and therefore artists often prefer not to know them.

Individuality and collectivity

In leadership and management literature, conductors are often used as metaphors for excellent leadership. Those lonely and charismatic heroes create their own interpretation of the music and put the orchestra to work in order to fulfill it. They are in total control of the situation, while the musicians are depicted as passive subordinates who follow their lead. Conductors are seen as typical examples of the individualistic approach to leadership. Some conductors of the older generation may perhaps fulfill these criteria, but the younger conductors today increasingly emphasize the collective aspects of symphony orchestras.

I do not want to deny the conductor's important role, but rather shift the focus toward musicians who are experts in responding, following and adjusting. Musicians know how to respond to the conductor's signs and gestures, they have developed a very special bodily skill that allows them to adjust to the conductor's orders and their fellow players' playing. They know how to act collectively, how to play in a large ensemble. In fact, I see the operation of a symphony orchestra as a unique

interaction process where lateral relations and negotiation are essential. The conductor has an important role to play in this process of interaction, just as the musicians do.

In this musical collective, the essential communication takes place through listening. Musicians explain in the interviews that playing in an orchestra is like a musical conversation where different instruments are having a discussion. It is as if playing an instrument would replace speaking. The musicians are having a constant discourse via their instruments. And everybody contributes to the sound, every instrument is important. The score and the conductor as well guarantee that every instrument is heard, that every instrument is welcomed to join this musical discourse. One conductor described it as follows:

> *"I check from the score what sounds I should hear and instruct the players if I don't hear all sounds." (Conductor, Tampere)*

According to musicians, good conductors are known to speak very little. This is a quality that comes naturally to Finnish conductors. They must be able to express themselves without words, relying on signs and gestures. Talking too much undermines their credibility. Being a person of very few words does not necessarily guarantee good listening skills, but it is a good start. Instead, what conductors do in the rehearsal process is to ask the musicians to play, and then they listen. They gather the collective talent of musicians, receive it and evaluate it. By using their own highly cultivated aesthetic judgment the conductors evaluate the quality of playing and decide which parts need rehearsing and how the rehearsing is going to take place.

Conductors usually ask the musicians to play through the whole concert program in the first rehearsal. With standard repertoire this is usually possible, while contemporary music may require more instructions from the conductor. The first rehearsal may produce a less united sound because

everybody is playing according to one's own idea of the music. After carefully listening to the playing, the conductor can aesthetically evaluate the level of playing and decide what his interpretation is and plan the rest of rehearsals in the most appropriate way.

Good conductors do not force their own musicality upon musicians, but help the musicians express their musicality. Rather than interfering in their expert work, what they do is try to help the musicians to make a better sound. Good conductors are available, but still at a distance. This is a very sensitive process, if a conductor tries to force the interpretation upon the musicians, they may react by resistance and choose to play in their own way. The key leadership practice of this artistic process relies on mutual listening; respect for each other's competence, giving space to musical talent and playing together. It is a collective effort.

Distance and incorporation

There is a clear hierarchy in the orchestra. Each instrument section has a principal player and a vice principal player. The principal player of the first violin section is called the concert master who also serves as a leader of the whole orchestra. The principal players play the solo parts of their instrument and also define the sound of the section. In that sense the orchestra entails distance and differentiation based on hierarchical positions. Still, the band has to play together and to create a beautiful sound, and the hierarchy should not disturb it. On the contrary, the hierarchy should facilitate this challenging task. The musicians themselves talk about a purposeful hierarchy that helps to divide the responsibilities in the orchestra. Every single player has to strive for unity and blend her sound to the collective sound. No individual player is supposed to stick out, with the exception of the solo parts.

Auditive culture emphasizes unity rather than distance and division. In group work this would mean that the group's objectives are important. In fact, there can be very

few individual objectives in such a large ensemble than the symphony orchestra. Individual players have to blend their sound to other sounds for the sake of unity. In ensemble playing it becomes quite clear why everybody must have the same goal. Music would sound horrible if all would follow their individual aspirations and interpretations. It does cause problems though, having to repress your personality and ideas about music. For example, the string players have a greater dilemma with their musical identity because they play the same score and seldom get to express their individuality. For this reason, many musicians play chamber music or give solo concerts to compensate for this extreme form of incorporation that playing in symphony orchestras includes. This was mentioned by several musicians at both orchestras.

Incorporation or unity is not an easy task. To begin with, a perfect unity is an impossible dream. To have a section of 16 musicians to play exactly the same way is like asking 16 people to speak similarly. However, according to musicians, unity is the ideal that is aimed at. Professional musicians with strong self-discipline have trained their ability to work in a large ensemble, listen to other musicians and adjust their own playing to that. This ability requires training, it does not come naturally. Nowadays many music students play in little ensembles and practice group play. In the earlier days, music education was strongly directed toward a solo career and many lacked experience in orchestras. Ensemble playing and solo playing differ considerably and excellent solo players do not necessarily make good orchestra musicians.

In particular, a competitive mindset is not beneficial to team spirit and unity. If one player wishes to show off, to demonstrate that he can in fact play better than others in a particular section, it will damage the sound of that section. It is a selfish act that will disturb the harmony of the section at two levels. First, it will disturb the sound; and second, it will also affect the group spirit, the unity. One musician explained to me how the attitude toward one's instrument section does not resemble competition but something else instead. In his words, nobody wants to be

the one who is not playing well. Nobody wants to be the one who has not rehearsed well enough or who is out of tune. It becomes a matter of professional pride or self-discipline.

However, despite the severe requirements for ensemble playing and unity, this unity of playing in a symphony orchestra can be a wonderful experience for musicians. The unity, the togetherness of almost a hundred musicians can be a special circumstance. Musicians feel that they are connected to every other musician, the playing breathes and advances smoothly. The orchestra is like a flock of birds where everybody reacts and moves simultaneously, in synchronicity.

The conductor's duty is to achieve the unity and evaluate the balance of the sound. Conductors listen to the sound of different instrument sections and evaluate the balance between those sections. They listen to the volume and tone color and define the level of volume between the sections. For instance, wind players often play too loud and have to decrease their volume. The acoustics of the concert hall and the seating plan also influence the sound and the balance. There can be different seating plans for this purpose, to create a different balance of sound.

Inaffectuality and exposure

The members of the orchestra can prepare for concerts by analyzing the music and planning their interpretation of it. The conductor can prepare the score and build his understanding of the music. This work may be done with distanced, objective thinking. But when the orchestra comes together for rehearsal or concert, the nature of the work changes dramatically. It is no longer possible to take a distance from the work because "the playing happens at every musician's core", to borrow an expression from a musician. Sounds pour into the musicians and fill them with music. It is an extremely intense experience. Musicians are exposed to the sounds, they allow the auditive information to flow in. These are the characteristics of listening;

it is receptive, open and tolerant – and given the open exposure, vulnerable.

Another unique feature of the symphony orchestra is that all its employees are present at the same time in the same space. This is truly unusual. There can be one hundred musicians on stage together, one hundred highly talented, skillful and individual players, experts, working together. This setting creates an enormous intensity that makes the job very challenging indeed. Collective bodily presence on this sort of scale can at its best transfer the energy to the audience and produce wonderful experiences.

Exposure requires trust. A successful cooperation between musicians and the conductor builds on trust. If the atmosphere is warm and trusting, the musicians can play in a relaxed way, make suggestions about the music, try something different, even at the risk of failing. The result is very different from standard playing where risks are avoided. Musicians can be afraid of new ideas because it is they, not the conductor, who have to play in the concert. Musicians always carry the biggest risk, because they are more vulnerable than the conductor. If the conductor makes mistakes, for example, it is musicians who suffer. It is thus natural self-protection from the musicians' part to be careful with new inventions and suggestions. It is the conductor's duty to create a trusting environment and help the musicians in difficult spots so that they can perform their demanding work properly.

The ability to play in a symphony orchestra is hard to acquire by reading books or even by playing an instrument individually. An ensemble playing skill is usually acquired by 'learning by doing' or by 'show-how'. These methods presuppose that the person is exposed to the operation of a symphony orchestra and aims at acquiring the necessary skills by observing other musicians, ways of rehearsing and other procedures. Even experienced musicians, when playing at different orchestras, can face a situation where they have to relearn and adjust themselves to the new environment.

A specific form of 'show-how' takes place when conductors express the interpretation with face and bodily gestures. Conductors really have to expose themselves at a bodily level to make the interpretation understandable to the musicians. The message becomes understandable to different instrument sections in a different way, there is no standard message that reaches everybody in a similar fashion. The musicians react with their bodies to conductors' gestures, in other words, they imitate the gestures. For instance, if a conductor is not an expert on strings and conducts in a very stiff manner, the strings tend to follow this stiffness in their playing. It is possible to resist this, but it takes a lot of extra effort from the musicians. This is illustrated by a comment from one musician:

> *"Last week we had a conductor who was little uncomfortable with his body. He was very stiff in his movements and couldn't really help the violins. Our playing became very stiff as well, because we by instinct followed him with our bodies. The conductor should be able to help each instrument section with a body language that is inherent to them." (Musician, Tampere)*

The most natural way is to follow the conductor with the body movements. This phenomenon is called 'kinaesthetic empathy' (Parviainen, 2002). Empathy can be seen as a particular form of the act of knowing. It entails a re-enliving or a placing of ourselves inside the other person's experience.

In addition to bodily presence and exposure, musicians experience a special intuition-like skill that enables them to accomplish all the necessary areas of playing. They admit that information flows on so many different levels that they are unable to explicate precisely how everything happens. Musicians also develop a skill to feel the quality of playing. Sometimes the playing goes extraordinarily well, creating a very special atmosphere that is collectively sensed by the musicians. They find the same level of consciousness, reaching

what is known as flow (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990). If the playing goes badly, if there is a blockage somewhere, then the musicians can feel it in their bodies. If the music does not flow, the playing becomes suffocating and heavy.

Endurance and temporality

Vision refers primarily to spatial, hearing to temporal phenomena. Music and the printed score represent a permanent phenomenon which is constantly available and which endures in time. Even if the scores are permanent, the interpretation can take many forms. There are various traditions to interpret Mozart and Beethoven, and some traditions are more permanent than others. Some conductors wish to be faithful to an old tradition and invent new things within this tradition. Other conductors search for completely new ways to interpret the music of old composers. Contemporary music seldom has any clear tradition.

There are also high standards of how the professional musicians of today can play. Conductors can trust that the orchestra can play a certain repertoire really well. The collective knowledge of the musicians is thus a permanent factor in the symphony orchestras.

Each performance is by contrast temporal in nature; the sounds fade away as soon as the performance is over. It is impossible to capture the sound or the atmosphere. This is what makes concert performances so unique, they can never be repeated. The audience must be receptive at that particular moment and listen to the music, they are not given another chance. The music can of course be captured in recordings, but live performances not. A certain piece of music can be played again and again, but it will never result in the same sound. Even the same orchestra never plays in exactly the same way twice; each concert is unique.

Musicians live in the moment. Their work requires them to concentrate on the present moment. The orchestra management, however, does not share this concept of time. They have a long-

term perspective that includes planning the program even three years in advance. That requires a different approach to work than the musicians have. These two worlds inevitably collide. Musicians do not understand why their needs are not attended to immediately, the administrative personnel does not understand how somebody can be so impatient. It is difficult to move between these two realms, the worlds of endurance and temporality.

CHAPTER VII.

FINALE: SOME NOTES

The purpose of this study is to understand and describe leadership in symphony orchestra organizations. Symphony orchestras employ numerous professionals, such as musicians, conductors, administrators and managers, and thus host many kinds of leadership behavior. I have applied two perspectives to study the versatile leadership practices in two case orchestras. The discursive perspective provides a wide analysis of how leadership is perceived by musicians and management. The aesthetic perspective focuses on the specialty of a symphony orchestra: the unique interaction processes that take place when the orchestra is playing. This concluding chapter highlights the most important results concerning leadership.

In general, the results of the study demonstrate a versatile, even paradoxical a picture of leadership. This notion of leadership appears ambiguous, irregular and contradictory rather than harmonious and logical. Furthermore, no single truth or model can be identified, instead, multiple realities seem to exist simultaneously. Leadership is constructed in various ways by different actors in different contexts. Even the same actor may construct leadership differently in a different situation. Discourse analysis shows that contradictory discourses can exist simultaneously. In their need to make sense of the world people hold various interpretations that can contradict each other but still make perfect sense to the person. Indeed, people may need these inconsistencies in order to engage in a constant sensemaking process. An overly logical or finished interpretation of reality may hinder the sensemaking process and prove harmful to the individual. Thus, the noble idea that people are completely logical and rational in their

actions and possess a permanent interpretation of the reality proves to be less convincing.

It seems that I have studied two areas where individuality is valued exceptionally highly. The art world and the leadership literature both praise great individuals who have superior talent and personal characteristics when compared to others. Artists by definition have to cultivate their artistic talent and nurture their inspiration and desire for art in order to continue in the profession. Sometimes this intense focus on oneself results in unhealthy self-absorption and an inability to take other people into consideration. Leaders, on the other hand, need to build a strong self-confidence in order to survive in the business world. Top leadership positions are also often very lonely, there are very few people to share ideas with. In addition, competition, a symptom of increased individuality, seems equally harsh in both professions, art or management. Due to this emphasis on individualism, it has traditionally been more important to study their ideas, values and behavior than how these individuals relate to others and to the environment.

What happens when these individual professionals have to work together in groups, organizations, communities? What happens when musicians have to play with a hundred other musicians, or academics negotiate a research strategy for the department? The members have to learn how to participate in teamwork with an open mind and a willingness to receive novel ideas and opinions from others. They have to cultivate their tolerance for otherness yet simultaneously respect their own individual principles. Balancing between individual and collective values appears to be a common dilemma in all expert organizations.

It has been said that managing experts is like herding cats. This probably means that being a leader in an expert organization is a hopeless task. One central problem seems to be the question of authority. Musicians, artists and other professionals are undeniably experts in their field, they do not wish anybody's interference in their work. Yet, most often than not they have to endure a person who has some authority

over their work. This relationship to authority and persons in authority positions appears problematic and paradoxical as well. On the one hand, leaders are needed and depended on, but on the other hand they are detested. Again, this varies a lot from person to person and in different contexts. For example, musicians tolerate more authority from one conductor than from the other, or they tolerate more authority from conductors than from administrative managers. The question of authority appears to be a very delicate issue.

It is paradoxical that while authority is perceived very negative, at the same time a strong, heroic leader is very much in demand. Heroic leaders are perfect human beings who excel in their work and can solve all problems before they even emerge. They are expected to be wiser and more courageous than anyone else in the organization. This need demonstrates again how leadership is perceived as an individual act. In orchestra organizations, conductors easily become heroic figures, and the history of legendary conductors has certainly contributed to that state of affairs. Interestingly, the need for heroic leadership reaches the management as well. When orchestra management is concerned, the heroic leader takes an invisible form. According to musicians, an ideal management is an invisible and inaudible management that never interferes in any matters nor bothers the musicians with their demands. The moment the management enters musicians' domain, or becomes visible, the spell is broken – revealing that the management has not succeeded in their invisible job. They are ordinary, not heroes.

Such expectations for heroic leaders are unrealistic and leaders are seldom able to live up to them. The stereotype also undermines the possibilities for another kind of leadership because the subordinates are unlikely to take any initiative themselves as long as they expect the leader to take full responsibility for everything. And indeed, there is potential for a different approach to leadership. This study clearly shows that the prospects for shared leadership do exist in symphony orchestras. The discourse on *shared leadership* may not be as popular as the *heroic leadership* discourse, but it is certainly

substantial. The discourse on *shared leadership* ponders the basic questions surrounding this theme in general. What does shared leadership mean in practice? Do we divide the leadership tasks between many individuals or shall these persons truly share all power and responsibility? Can a group be in charge of everything, do we need a leader at all?

Certainly these practical questions can be solved successfully in many different ways and there is no one correct solution. There are, however, certain principles that shared leadership embodies. In general, shared leadership is concerned with relationships, not individuals and their characteristics. The interest lies within establishing and nurturing relationships between people. Knowledge resides in these relational processes; the essential ability is to construct knowledge and experience by relating with other people. Leaders as well as employees are all involved in this relational process. Leaders have the special role of receiving and collecting the wisdom and knowledge from the employees, they are not expected to possess the ultimate knowledge themselves. Some kind of hierarchy or structure may still be needed, but the essential wisdom is located in these relating processes.

A symphony orchestra in action offers a suitable illustration of this. The orchestra has a very strict hierarchy where each player knows exactly her duties and work assignments. The ranking order is also crystal clear. This hierarchy provides the basic structure for producing music. Nevertheless, the playing in the orchestra is highly relational in nature. Each player relates to the conductor and many other players simultaneously. They play, listen to the sound, adjust their playing to the sound and respond to signals from the conductor and other players. The hierarchy and the relating process exist simultaneously, and both are necessary. Still, the actual work that the musicians perform with their hands, bodies and souls, the work that encompasses the fundamental knowledge of the organization, is relational in nature.

If individuality is one of the cornerstones of traditional leadership research, then rationality is another. In leadership

literature, leadership is clearly depicted as an intellectual activity that includes the planning, ordering and controlling in the most effective way. People are treated as human resources or as pure minds that are abstracted from their bodies that sense, feel and experience. Since leadership theory ultimately aims at harmony and balance, any unpredictable elements such as emotions and bodies are disregarded. However, as early as in 1750, Baumgarten defined two categories for knowledge, the intellectual and the aesthetic. Leadership research has only focused on the intellectual part, leaving the understanding of the phenomenon severely incomplete. The field would greatly benefit from incorporating aesthetic knowledge in its scope and providing a more holistic understanding of human behavior.

This study has made an attempt to bring the aesthetic perspective into leadership research. This has been done by directing attention to the role of sensuous perception in our knowledge formation. In particular, hearing and auditive culture have been investigated. It is evident that hearing is generally neglected in our society and seeing is the dominating, most noble sense. This can be concluded on both practical and metaphysical levels. Visual culture promotes individuality, distance and endurance while the auditive culture cherishes collectivity, exposure, unity and temporality.

Interestingly, traditional leadership research embraces the characteristics of the visual culture to a great extent. Furthermore, the shared or dispersed approaches to leadership entail many aspects of auditive culture. The partnership model suggested by Dachler and Hosking (1995), for example, incorporates many auditive features and their dominance model clearly reflects visual culture. This suggests that one of the essential characteristics of shared leadership builds on auditivity, listening and receiving.

To conclude, let us consider what an auditive leadership culture could be like. First of all, listening would be a very important and well-trained skill. The direction of communication would be reversed; receiving information would become more important than structuring the world

and giving orders to employees. Leaders would collect the knowledge and wisdom from the employees and act on the basis of that knowledge. This requires sensitivity and tolerance for differences and uncertainty. There would be more concern for creating unity than supporting competition, division and differentiation among employees. These leaders would also be exposed to the relational processes themselves, they would not take a distance from the central activities of their organization. The leaders would acknowledge the temporal nature of events and thus focus on processes, not on permanent structures or figures. The leaders would trust that all knowledge already resides in the organization, their job would be to let it come out, allow it, accept it. Just like conductors trust musicians, inviting their musicality to emerge, respecting it and letting the music happen.

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Websites:

http://www.tampere.fi/or/

http://www.philorch.org/

http://www.orpheusnyc.com/

APPENDIX 1.

THE LIST OF INTERVIEWS

Tampere Philharmonic Orchestra

23.10.1995	Maritta Hirvonen, General manager
11.6.1996	Outi Viitasalo, Publicity manager
11.11.1996	Lassi Saressalo, Manager of cultural affairs, City of Tampere
12.11.1996	Ismo Ponkala, Horn
20.11.1996	Juha Mononen, Bass, Producer in Tampere Hall
21.11.1996	Tapio Kilpinen, Trumpet
28.11.1996	Pentti Mikkonen, Viola
16.1.1997	Jaana Haanterä, Violin
21.1.1997	Sirkka-Liisa Tanskanen, Assistant manager
4.2.1997	Maritta Hirvonen, General manager
22.4.1997	Tuomas Ollila, Artistic director
7.11.1997	Jaana Haanterä, Concert master
19.1.1998	Jarmo Hyväkkö, Clarinet and Janne Pesonen, Clarinet
20.1.1998	Kimmo Kivivuori, Viola and Kimmo Tullila, Second violin
22.1.1998	Juhani Heikkilä, Second violin and Risto Mikkola, Bass
22.1.1998	Pauli Heikkinen, Principal Cello
23.1.1998	Kirsti Vartiainen, Harp and Tiina Laukkanen, Timpani
26.1.1998	Riikka Pelto, Second violin and Eeva-Liisa Tiitinen, Second violin
27.1.1998	Lauri Lehtonen, Stage manager and Juha Marttila, Stage manager
3.2.1998	Ismo Ponkala, Horn and Tapio Kilpinen, Trumpet
28.8.1998	Maritta Hirvonen, General manager
15.3.2000	Jaana Haanterä, Second violin, conductor
31.5.2000	Marjukka Lieppinen, Viola
13.6.2000	Jouni Kaipainen, Composer-in-residence
27.4.2002	Jaana Haanterä, Second violin, conductor

The Philadelphia Orchestra

26.2.1998	Joseph H. Kluger, President
19.10.1998	Joseph H. Kluger, President
23.10.1998	Anthony Orlando, Percussion, Chairman of musicians' committee
9.11.1999	Emilio Gravagno, Bass and Kathy Picht Read, Cello
11.11.1999	Philip Kates, Second violin and Gloria de Pasquale, Cello
11.11.1999	Don S. Liuzzi, Timpani
11.11.1999	Joseph H. Kluger, President
12.11.1999	Clinton F. Nieweg, Principal Librarian
15.11. 1999	Jeffry Kirschen, Horn and Audition coordinator
15.11.1999	Simon Woods, Artistic administrator
15.11.1999	Marie-Hélène Bernard, Manager for special projects
16.11.1999	David Nicastro, Viola
16.11.1999	Neil Courtney, Assistant principal Bass
17.11.1999	David Cramer, Associate Principal Flute
18.11.1999	Anthony Orlando, Percussion and Chairman of musicians' committee and Luis Biava, Principal second violin and Conductor in residence
18.11.1999	Liz Kintz, Operations manager
19.11.1999	André Raphel Smith, Assistant conductor
27.-29.5.2000	Discussions with Anthony Orlando, Judy Geist, David Nicastro and Emilio Gravagno (in Helsinki, during the European tour)

Expert interviews

27.10.1998	Tero-Pekka Henell
28.1.1999	Tero-Pekka Henell
13.12.1999	Tero-Pekka Henell

APPENDIX 2

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS & THEMES

Interview questions at the Tampere Philharmonic Orchestra, autumn 1996 — Musicians

The musicians' interviews loosely followed this list of questions. Often the interviewees talked about issues that were not on this list. The list was prepared to help the interviewer. The questions were plentiful, often there was no time to cover them all.

How long have you been in this orchestra? What positions have you had?

Do you have a different perspective on your work as a musician since you are also involved in the governance?

How would you describe your work as a musician?

Knowledge and skills
- what kinds of skills are required from an orchestra musician?
- what kinds of skills does an orchestra possess, in addition to playing skills?
- how do you transfer those skills to the newcomers?

Cooperation and interaction
- between instrument sections
- with the conductor
- with the executive manager and the administration

Who is your boss?

Who manages the orchestra?

What kinds of leadership skills do conductors possess?
- Describe a good conductor, how does he communicate with the orchestra?
- Finnish versus foreign conductors?
- Why are Finnish conductors so successful?

How do you experience hierarchy and democracy in the orchestra organization?

Creativity, art, music
- Do you think an orchestra is a creative organization?
- Why do orchestras exist?
- What is their purpose?
- What is the history of this orchestra?
- How does the future look like?

Organization culture
- cooperation
- creativity

Is the division of labor clear and rightful?

Communication
- describe it
- what is important information

Objectives
- What are the objectives of the orchestra? Who defines them?
- What are the objectives of an instrument section?
- What are your personal objectives?

Support and feedback
- Do you get any feedback for your work?
- Who gives it?

Education
- Do you receive any education and training?
- In music or in other skills?

Problems
- What are the most typical problems that this organization suffers from?
- How do you deal with them?

Interview questions at the Tampere Philharmonic Orchestra, spring 1997 — Managers

How long have you been in the orchestra? What positions have you had during this time?

Can you describe your work, what do you do?

How has the job of the general manager and the vice general manager changed?
- more responsibility from the artistic director
- knowledge of the art field

How has the role of the artistic director changed?

Describe the role of the City of Tampere in orchestra management?

What is the role of the concert master and the principal players in orchestra management?

And what is the role of the musicians and the visiting soloists?

Can you describe the history of the orchestra?
- important milestones

Describe the cooperation with
- musicians
- conductors
- the city organization
- Tampere Hall
- the media

Why does the orchestra exist, for what purposes?

Goals and strategies
- What goals does the orchestra have?
- Who defines them?

Knowledge and skills
- What kinds of skills are required from the managers?
- What kinds of skills are required from the musicians?

Describe the organization culture in this orchestra?
- sense of community
- creativity
- when compared to other orchestras

Problems
- What are the most typical problems that this organization suffers from?
- How do you deal with them?

How would you describe this orchestra in comparison to other Finnish orchestras?

Interview themes at the Tampere Philharmonic Orchestra, spring 1998 — Musicians, group and solo interviews

How does the week look like for you?

How long have you been in the orchestra? Tell me something about yourself as a musician, your career?

I am interested in leadership in symphony orchestras. What does it mean to you?
- You can describe one concert production.
- conductors
- management
- concert master, principal players
- Tampere Hall, City of Tampere

Do you have any particularly memorable experiences or stories about symphony orchestras?
- What makes an exceptionally good concert?
- Conductors or soloists?
- Can you describe the rehearsals this week?

What changes have taken place in symphony orchestras?

Let's assume that in 10 years Tampere Philharmonic Orchestra is the best managed orchestra in Finland. What has happened?

Other themes:

- emotions and rationality
- competition
- creativity

Interview themes at The Philadelphia Orchestra, autumn 1999 Musicians, group and solo interviews

Describe your work as a musician? How does your week look like?

How would you define management and leadership in this orchestra? Tell me about management and leadership in this orchestra? What does it mean? How would you describe it?

Conductor

- Music director, visiting conductors

Concert master

Principal players

Administration

- Are you in contact with them, if with whom?
- Describe their work

Board

What is happening in the concert situation, the interaction with the conductor?

What about emotions, how are they involved in the process?

Creativity, is your work creative?

How was your education, was it for playing in the orchestra or to become a soloist? Did you training include any interaction skills?

Interview themes at The Philadelphia Orchestra, autumn 1999 Managers

How would you define management and leadership in this orchestra? Tell me about management and leadership in this orchestra? What does it mean? How would you describe it? Any particular examples or stories about this?

Tell me something about your work, what do you do?

What can you tell about this orchestra, any stories, anything typical for the organization?

APPENDIX 3.

EXCERPTS FROM INTERVIEWS

Interview with Musician A. and Musician B., Tampere, 1998

NK: On siinä eroja, kaikki tietysti osaa kertoa että kuinka me soitetaan ja niin, mutta ei kaikki mieti niitä asioita sillai kauheesti. Niin, mä olen nyt sitten haastatellut tämmösissä ryhmissä 7 paria tai seitsemää porukkaa ja paljon on puhuttu kaikennäköistä, aika paljon just kapellimestarista. Eli mä olen edelleen kiinnostunut tästä orkesterin johtamisesta. Nyt mä en enää aio kysellä,että mitä tekee äänenjohtaja, ett sen mä nyt jo olen oppinut tietämään tässä, niinku nää peruasiat. Tota johtamispuolta, sitähän on tietysti mun näkökulmasta monenlaista. Eli mä olen kysynyt näissä haastatteluissa ihan tämmöstä kysymystä, että kun olen kiinnostunut tästä orkesterin johtamisesta, niin mitä se teille tarkoittaa?

A: Orkesterin johtaminen on siis tätä taiteellista johtamista ja sitten on tätä hallinnollista johtamista.

B: Usein käytetään synonyymina kapellimestari ja orkesterin johtaja. Mutta mun mielestä asia ei ole näin, niitä ei voi käyttää synonyymeina. Että kapellimestari ja taiteellinen johtaja niin se on yks yhteinen asia, mutta se ennen oli kapellimestari oli orkesterin johtaja mutta ei se ole enää, yksin. Oliks tää alkuperäinen kysymys, että kuka orkesteria johtaa?

NK: Niin tai mitä se tarkoittaa?

A: Mitä tarkoittaa orkesterin johtaminen?

B: Mun mielestä se orkesterin johtaminen jakaantuu niinkun kahteen osaan, taiteelliseen johtamiseen ja hallinnolliseen johtamiseen. Ja se, että kumpi puoli on, kumpi johtaminen on etusijalla, niin se riippuu kyllä aika paljon orkesterista ja tilanteesta. Se riippuu henkilöistä ja organisaatioista. Jossain tää hallinnollinen johtaminen, esimerkiks budjetin kautta, niin se asettaa aika tiukat raamit sille taiteelliselle johtamiselle. Ja sitten taas toisissa tapauksissa niin kun mun mielestä enemmän meillä, hallinnollinen johto kuuntelee taiteellista johtoa. Mun mielestä meillä on niin. Mutta se on kuin veteen piirretty viiva, ja vähän riippuu asiasta. Semmosta jyrkkää jakoa kahtia ei voi tehdä. Ja sitä paitsi se täytyy aina muistaa, että jokaikinen hallinnollinen ratkaisu, mitä orkesterissa tehdään, koski se vaikka budjettia taikka henkilöstökysymyksiä tai palkkapolitiikkaa tai mitä tahansa, on myös taiteellinen ratkaisu. Kaikki vaikutukset on joko suoranaisia tai välillisiä, ne kohdistuu siihen taiteeseen. Ugh.

A: Toisaalta myös yhtä lailla nää taloudelliset raamit asettaa taiteelle ehtoja, esimerkiks taiteellisen johdon kyvyttömyys saattaa vaikuttaa talouteen. Että niissä on sellasia toisiinsa heijastavia vaikutuksia.

B: Se tuli tossa heti mieleen, että noin kaupunginhallintoa ajatellen, niin meillä ei ole enää esimerkiks orkesterin omistaja eli kaupunki, kaupunginvaltuusto ja kulttuurilautakunnan kautta ei oo pyrkinyt vaikuttamaan ymmärtääkseni enää vuosiin tähän taiteen tekemisen sisältöön. Että aikaisemmin oli sillain, että haluttiin ehkä enemmänkin esimerkiks ohjelmistopolitiikkaan vaikuttaa. Tottakai

täällä pantiin hanttiin sen mikä kerittiin, mutta semmoisia pyrkimyksiä oli. Että esimerkiks orkesterin johtokunnan työväenpuoluiden edustajat olis halunnut, että olis pidetty työväen musiikin konsertteja. Tää vaan esimerkkinä, niitä on paljon muitakin. Mutta tällaiset taiteen sisältöön vaikuttaminen, sitä ei mun mielestä enää oo. Tavallaan on ikään kuin se liikkumavara olemassa. Että tässä rahat ja tällä teette tätä ja tätä. Että ainoa mitä meillä nyt sanellaan että tietysti että orkesteri (kännykkä soi)

NK: On kyllä olemassa mitä ärsyttävämpiä näitä hälytysääniä, ett aivan kauheita.

A: Se on aika monipiippuinen asia toi orkesterin johtaminen, kuka sitä sitten lopulta johtaa ja ...

NK: Niinkun mä olen sitä pyörittänyt, välillä se tuntuu jotenki vähän helpottavan, mutta sitten se taas. Kuka sitä sitten oikein mistäkin suunnasta vetää ja mihin päin.

A: Jos ajatellaan niinkun sitä taiteellista puolta, taiteellinen johtaja, joka sit tulis persoonallaan kiteyttää, että mitä tässä tehdään, mitä joukko tekee. Ja toisaalta taas hallintohenkilökunnan pitäis pystyä se, mitä tehdään niin, hallinnollisesti mahdollistaa se työ. On selvää, että jos ei anneta sille toiminnalle edellytyksiä ja mahdollisuuksia, ei voida vastata sen taiteellisen johtajankaan vaatimuksiin. Sitten taas jokaisellahan porukassa on sellanen tavoite, että pitäis pystyä mahdollisimman hyvään lopputulokseen. Siitä hyvän lopputuloksen tinkimisestä, niin se on hyvin vaikea asia. Silloin joudutaan tinkimään niin sanotuista identiteettiasioista kyllä sitten.

B: Toisaalta hyvin tyypillisiä asioita esimerkiksi sellaset, että voidaanko käyttää sijaisia. Ensinnäkin, jos omista isommista ryhmistä joku sairastuu, säästösyistä pyritään siihen, että ei otettais sijaista, jolloin tavallaan se, eikä tavallaan, vaan siis lopputulos huononee. Kun meidän orkesteri on muutenkin vähän liian pieni tohon saliin. Elikkä me ollaan jo vuoskaudet roikuttu siinä sellasessa kriittisessä pisteessä. Me saadaan tällä porukalla kyllä nää meidän teokset pääosin soitettua, mutta tavallaan ollaan niinku riskirajoilla koko ajan. Tää on hyvin tyypillinen esimerkki. Ja myöskin vakanssipolitiikka. Aikanaan kuntasuunnitelmaa, mä en muista, sitä tehtiin 80-luvun lopussa, 80 luvun lopussa silloin hyvänä nousukautena ja kun talokin piti tulla ja suunnitelma oli, että vuonna 1995 orkesterissa olis 96 vakanssia. Ja nyt orkesterissa on 83 vakanssia. Me ollaan saatu siis taloon tulon jälkeen vain pari vakanssia. Tosiaan se 96 on tämmönen kansainvälisen sinfoniaork esteristandardin minimikoko. Tää on esimerkiksi semmonen tyypillinen. Jos sitten taiteellinen johtaja, olkoon se oma tai vierailija, vierailija tulee, että iso sali, ja sitten rupee katsoon, että onpas pieni bändi. Sehän ei ole ensimmäinen kompromissi siinä vaiheessa ennen kuin ääntäkään soitettu. Tän orkesterin koko ei vastaa ton salin vaatimuksia. Siinä on taiteen ja hallinnon ristiriita. Tosin se hallinto ei oo orkesterin hallinto, vaan siis orkesterin omistajan hallinto.

A: Suuri sponsori ei anna riittävästi varoja tässä yhteydessä. Se on soittajalle erittäin turhauttava tilanne, koska se vuositolkulla se jatkuu se sama tilanne, että. Ja sitten jousistolla voisin kuvitella, että on hyvinkin turhauttavaa soittaa semmosessa alimittaisessa, koittaa saada se iso soundi, jota ei saa.

Interview with Musician C. and Musician D., Tampere, 1998.

NK: Joo, mä oon tekemässä väitöskirjaa orkestereista. Mä oon kiinnostunut lähinnä orkesterin johtamisesta. Olen ekonomi koulutukseltani ja opiskellut tämmösiä asioita kuin organisaation hallinto ja johtaminen. Mun mielestä tää sinfoniaorkesteri on vallan kiinnostava paikka tarkastella moista asiaa. Kun me puhutaan johtamisesta, niin se tietysti tarkoittaa meille tiettyjä asioita. Esimerkiksi jos mä teiltä kysyn nyt,

että miten te ymmärrätte, miten teillä vaikuttaa tää

C: Ensimmäisenä orkesterin johtamisessa tulee mieleen tää tikulla huitominen.

D: Niin sitten, kun sitä ruvetaan enemmän kaivelemaan, niin armeija on ehkä aika lähellä rakenteeltaan orkesteria. Siellä on hyvin selkeä niinku hierarkia periaatteessa. Että on kapellimestari, sitten on konserttimestari ja sitten on sektioiden äänenjohtajat, joilla viime kädessä on, tai ainakin pitäis olla sillä tavalla aina ehdoton päätösvalta alaspäin. Ja sitten vielä, että on totteluvalta ylöspäin, että. Se on aika lähellä sitä vanhoillista perinteistä orkesterinjohtamista, orkesterisysteemiä.

C: Mitäs muuten konserttimestari. Mitä se vois tulla sanomaan meille periaattessa?

D: Kyllä mun mielestä sillä on siis ihan selkeä valta puuttua kaikkeen orkesterin soittamisessa liittyvään

C: Ei kauheesti käytetä sitä valtaa täällä.

D: Se syntyy niinku siitä käytännön tarpeesta, että täytyy saada asiat valmiiksi hirveen nopeesti.

NK: Mikä hierarkia

D: Joo. Jos 85 ihmistä alkaa neuvotella siitä, että mimmonen hidastus tehdään johonkin paikkaan, niin siitä ei tuu oikeestaan mitään. Se on aika jännää, että se on kapellimestari, joka alkaa keskustella orkesterin kanssa hyvinkin nopeasti niin hyvinkin nopeasti menettää myös asemansa.

C: Huom. Neukkulassa on niinku orkesteita, että siellä ei ole kapellimestareita ollenkaan.

C: Ideologisista syistä. Oramon Sakke sanoo, että kuulemma toimii ihan hyvin, paitsi, että oli auttamattoman tasapäisiä tulkintoja. Mutta kyllä ne yllättäen kuitenkin pystyi yhteen soittamaan.

D: Se on aika jännä, sen on niinku huomannut kamarimusiikkia soittaessa, että jos on kauheesti keskusteltu ja menty monen ihmisen mielen mukaan jotain proggista tehdessä, niin tulkinnasta tulee aika tasapaksu. Että aika usein siis hyvä taiteellinen lopputulos tuntuu vaativan sellaista, että siinä on joku yhden ihmisen persoonallinen, joku näkemys kiteytyneenä. Meillä on olemassa semmoset yhteissointuiset konstit, millä me soitetaan sillä tavalla. Jos kaikki kuuntelee toisiaan ja joku, sanotaan, artikulaatio. Kuinka paljon sä tunnet

NK: Jotain. Mä olen kyllä harrastelija.

D: Jaa. Niin, tota. Se on aika mielenkiintoista havaita, että jos kukaan ei sano mitään, niin siellä on olemassa joku semmonen tietty yleisesti hyväksytty "siltä väliltä"-artikulaatio, johonka se sitten niinku valuu pikku hiljaa. Ellei sitten tuu joku, joka kerta kaikkiaan sanoo, että tässä soitatte pitkiä ääniä ja tässä soitatte lyhyitä ääniä. Sekin riippuu musiikista, että mitä lähemmäs meidän aikaa tullaan, niin sitä tarkemmin säveltäjä kirjoittaa nuottiin, että miten pitää soittaa. Mutta sitten taas, jos mennään esimerkiksi Mozartin aikaan, niin ei nuoteissa lue oikeastaan yhtään mitään.

C: Bachin aikana ei edes välttämättä lukenut, että mikä soitin laitetaan soittamaan mitäkin.

NK: Elikkä tää oli aika jännää, että samalla vois olla tämmönen demokraattinen

orkesteri, että . Sitten sä jatkoit tästä sen, että siitä tulee siitä tulkinnasta tasapaksu, mutta se olis mahdollista kuitenkin.

D: Se on aika mielenkiintoista.. Sä oot varmaan kuullut tän Ensamble Wien-Berlinin levyjä.

C: Joo.

D: Näähän on aika semmosia, jopa tylsiä. Ja sitten, kun mä tapasin Leisterin, joka soittaa klarinettia siinä porukassa, niin se oli niin mielenkiintoista kuulla, kun se sitten kerto siitä, että aina, kun me soitetaan yhdessä, meillä on niin hauskaa keskenämme ja me jutellaan, että toikin on...

C: Joku mättää pahasti.

D: Joo. Ja sitten, kun sä kuuntelet levyltä, niin se menee niin keskitietä koko ajan se soitto, että loppujen lopuksi.

C: Kyllähän Suomessakin useampi kamariorkesteri ainakin ajoittain soittaa ilman kapellimestaria. Mutta tosin niissä on usein sitten hyvin vahvat konserttimestarit, joka aika paljon sitä kapellimestaria paikkaa

NK: Eli kuitenkin siinä täytyy olla sitten joku, joka ..

C: Kyllä se suotavaa tuntuu olevan.

D: Kapellimestarin hommahan on kasvanut. Barokin aikana kapellimestari oli sen orkesterin kosketinsoittaja. Wieniläis-klassillisena aikana se sitten siirty se homma sitten konserttimestarille. Sieltä pikku hiljaa, se alkoi 1800-luvulla mun mielestä niinku jostain Beethovenista lähtien, alkoi niinku voimistua se, että siellä edessä on todella johtaja, joka johtaa sitä orkesteria.

C: Mutta sitten taas Euroviisuissa kapellimestari Olli Ahvenlahti huitoo pianon ääressä seitsemää soittajaa, että siellä.

Interview with Musician E., Philadelphia, 1999.

NK: You were talking about the musicians participating in the governance. I was thinking if there are, it seems to me that management is there and the musicians are there. There seems to be a huge gap. So is there the like a contact person or somebody?

E: There is the members' (musicians' committee), Tony is the chairman, has been the chairman for several years now. There's also a committee of orchestra members which serve as a liaison between the management and the orchestra. We have a lot of committees, we also have an artistic committee which consults with artistic director and conductor and things on matters regarding repertoire, lot of different things. We have tour committee which is involved directly in organizing our tours, conforms to our contracts. So there are always musicians involved in that process. If I am really honest I think the problem of communication between the orchestra and management, the smoothness of that, is a great fault of orchestra too in a way that orchestra is involved. I think that I was talking about finding the balance between how involved the musicians are in the actual governance of the orchestra. And there is a point which is just too much, but I think there's also a point which is not enough.

E: And there are members in the orchestra who feel that their only responsibility as members of the orchestra is to show up for rehearsal and play their instrument

and they go home after the concert. And they don't take upon themselves to attend meetings, orchestra meetings if it's the orchestra committee that Tony is leading. Or other meetings where the orchestra is being informed of what kind of issues are being discussed and what's going on. There are just some people who can't be bothered to come. Too busy teaching or whatever else they might have and I think that's a problem. I really think it's a problem because it makes the orchestra committee's work very difficult. Because you don't have the ears or the input from your colleagues. There are I would say 25 or 30 people in the orchestra who are always involved and if they can't be there they still take it upon themselves to know what is going on.

E: But there is a large number of people who simply don't know what's going on. It's a, as a result of I think it's very typical to overcome some of these suspicions or distrust that exist. And something will happen, you know, management will make a decision or something will happen, and given orchestra member who hasn't been aware of what's going on will suddenly react "Oh, why was this decided, it is this typical, why were we not informed and etc." So the orchestra has issues and it's difficult, you know, it's necessary to be democratic about it, it's naturally very inefficient.

E: Any kind of democracy is very inefficient and it takes a long time. You've seen it yourself, how long it took you to set this up. And it just takes time because there are so many other, again I can't emphasize enough, and I really think that this is an area the management is not aware of enough or it needs to aware of more. Which is simply the amount of energy and time it takes to simply fulfill your duties. Just to show up to the rehearsals and concerts. We are having a very good contract and we have a very good, fair working conditions, the better than the most other orchestras in the world.

E: But I think that there is a reason for that and I think that's related to the quality of music that the orchestra puts up. I just know from my personal experience that if you don't have time to recharge, if you don't have little time away from the concert, rehearsing and play, you know, your performances lack of vitality and lack of freshness. We have good contract and I think it allows the musicians of the orchestra a great deal of artistic and personal freedom which is necessary. So given that, you have whatever time you have away from the orchestra, some people have families, some people have, they are building a chamber career, whatever, they are teaching a great deal. That extra time is to be filled up really quickly and so then when important issues come up it takes the orchestra committee or orchestra in general, let say issues regarding the tour.

E: And sponsors, somebody has offered to take the orchestra to this country, but it requires a change in a contract or something, requires a deviation from the contract. There is a whole process, the management needs to find time, the committee, they need to be inform, they need to sit down, the orchestra needs to hear about it, think about it, and then finally get back together and take a vote and make a decision. In the meanwhile, the clock is ticking, and maybe we will have 2 days off, in certain situations we don't have a chance to meet as an orchestra and that's just ?, usually I mean my experience on the committee, there is always at least 3 or 4 issues to talk about at the same time.

E: So if you have a meeting with the orchestra you have 45 minutes to have, whoever shows up, you know, in the room which is usually 25 or 30 people. There you have 15 minutes to discuss one issue and then you have to get on to the next issue and sometimes you don't have time so you have to schedule another meeting. It's very inefficient, it's very difficult to get things done and to do it in a fair way. So the people have a chance to simulate the information and make a decision. And again, I think it's the responsibility of orchestra, you can't take everybody and insist that they come to the meeting, but I think it would be easier if everyone at the orchestra felt that "I'm going to at least take it upon myself to know what the issues are and if necessary to communicate my opinion and my feelings to the orchestra committee to make the

orchestra committee's job easier.

Interview with Musician F. and Musician G., Philadelphia, 1999.

NK: I went to the rehearsal last Thursday, the Mahler, and after the first half an hour I was exhausted. It was so intense. He was stopping, I just felt that was very difficult, these constant stoppings.

G: That's our job. That's what we are trained to do. We have to build up an ability over the years to withstand that concentration and that attentiveness. Playing an instrument is like given, you don't even think about that for the most part, because that's an inward process, everybody has to make the preparations in their own way and they come to the group here to play the notes, but then where the music happen, making the atmosphere happen, the excitement.

NK: How do you learn that?

F: It's experience. You have to be in it, to experience it. I don't think there is a way to teach that. Every time a student plays in a community orchestra they learn it, because you are participating and establishing a relationship between the orchestra and the conductor, which the conductor sets the tone. So it is exploring that relationship with this individual and seeing how he is able to move the orchestra to his desires and ideas. With still maintaining respect, I mean, there is tremendous ego involved. You know, standing up there in front of one hundred people, be confident enough to declare your idea regarding the piece as being valid and valuable and worthwhile enough to rehearse and perform for 3000 people. You sort of almost need that sort of an ego, but it is kind of a fine line.

G: There is a great variation in the style, every conductor must have self-confidence, ego, if you will, but some conductors are better, well there are different ways of sublimating the ego and making that come out as music. Rather than ???

F: Trying to use force or affiliation, many conductors did that in the past. In the 1940's, 30's I guess that was the general way to accomplish what they wanted to accomplish, but nowadays the relationship is much more respectful. But you still see, as G. mentioned, different ways of sublimating the ego. Like musicians can really love a conductor, they may not know why but sometimes you can see a certain degree of humbleness there yet underneath there is a very strong quiet conviction of their own ideas. Yet they manage to convey that with the sense of humbleness and there is openness in the dialogue. And I really think that the conductor should know more about the music than anybody else on stage. He should be the authority. Yet I think conductors have realized that old American phrase that you can attract more flies with honey than vinegar. So they have realized that theirs is a long-time relationship, they are not going anywhere, they are going to come back as guest conductors in many years or the music director really has a chance to dig deep and establish a really unique relationship that no guest conductor could try to develop. So he stands to benefit himself in a lot of ways. So it is a very interesting relationship. You could write you whole dissertation on that. Laughing.

NK: I should be a musician to understand that. Everybody is always really interested in that, and I am also interested in that. But then again, a lot of that is, there is no words, and how can I observe that?

F: It's like a dance. Because at a certain point you got to stop talking. Period. Too much talking, it does not work. The conductor has to physically with his gestures and the way he moves on the podium has to convey SO many things, you know. Not only just here is one two three four, but dynamics, expression, he'll show you are coming

in you are coming in there and just the general feeling including all the ideas he has about how we the audience should experience it to US so that we can through our craft come together as a unit and realize his ideas. So it is complicated, I am sure there are many levels.

G: We could talk for hours about what goes on on the stage but I understand from the note that Anthony Orlando gave to us that you are interested in what we consider the meaning of management. I am not quite sure I understand what the question is.

NK: I am interested in all,... or actually I could throw the question back to you and ask that what does that bring to your minds. What does management or leadership mean to you?

F: Some aspects that should be there.

G: For me it means that the people who are managing the orchestra would be caretakers. They would be taking care of all the business aspects of the orchestra. I think that the line between music and business has become blurred in recent years. Maybe it is because of changing market dynamics or losing subscriptions or losing recording whatever. The musicians had been asked to take a much more active role, or sometimes they have asked for it, in managing the orchestra and trying to find new ways to make everything work better. I have questions about whether that is a good thing. Because the musicians are trained extremely well to do their jobs and the perception among some of our musicians is that sometimes we don't see that kind of preparation in the management side and some of us wish that the management of the orchestra were as good in their job as we are in ours. When we have a problem with something on the stage, we can't go and ask the management to help us. Laughing. But is seems that we are asked to help on the business end a lot which is fine if we were able to do it. If we are able to make some changes and make things happen that will work better, that would be great. But if it is only a situation where we are having a problem here and we need somebody to share the responsibility or the blame or the whatever, the ? of this problem, and we are unable to help to solve it, I don't know what I should think about that.

F: Yes, that is a difficult situation, because any time you involve musicians and I have to say that over the past three years, since our strike, more musicians have been involved in more committees that I've ever seen. And I have mixed feelings about this like G., the efficacy of putting musicians on these committees and what can they truly contribute in the long run, or is it just an information gathering exercise where they will go to these meetings and come back to the orchestra and tell well was at the finance committee and this is what is going on. Or can they really have meaningful input where they can persuade the board members because of their knowledge to invest in something else that they are investing now that would get better return or something like that. Will the musicians be able to say something like that, with...

G: Authority

F: Yes. Authority. So this is something that I would categorize as an experiment (the musicians' participation) and it is still being analyzed and looked at. People must know what's going on around here and this has always been a thing of mine, this communication. I think that since I've been here that's been like an issue of mine and I don't think communication happens very well around here, very efficiently and in a timely fashion at every level. From management to staff and from management to us. Vertically, as well as just horizontally. Even among the musicians, getting information from one musician to another in a timely fashion there have been problems.