

Erika Sauer

Emotions in Leadership: Leading a Dramatic Ensemble

ACADEMIC DISSERTATION

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Unversity of Tampere, Department of Management Studies School of Economics and Business Administration

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Tampere, November 2nd 2005, 2.20 am

Erika Sauer

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PROLOGUE: WHAT, WHY AND HOW?

The sport of orienteering is quite a poignant allegory for research. I had sketched a map for myself: I was a leadership scholar interested in theatre. I had a hunch that in the leadership of a theatre production, emotions played a key part. I started to run in the forest of leadership to find traces of emotions, going back and forth finding a few traces here and there pointing mostly to the directions of organization theory, psychology, and neurophysiology. I also found some references to theatre. From rather a remote corner of the woods I found the social constructionists doing holistic research where emotions were also taken into consideration. I wanted to get to know this part of the forest better.

Although I have spent quite a few years in these woods, still, I cannot say I am completely familiar with the place. It keeps on changing and growing. Instead of a map, I decided to make impressionistic pictures of this place that had become so important to me. Will these pictures of mine contribute to the leadership and perhaps to emotion research, and if yes, how? In letting us see the embeddedness of leadership and emotions, I believe they do.

Why study leadership and emotions?

As Yukl (2002) states, emotions are nowadays often mentioned as being important in different areas of leadership research:

"Many recent conceptions of leadership emphasize the emotional aspects of influence much more than reason". (2002, 5)

He continues suggesting empirical research to find out the relative importance of both emotional and rational processes and their interaction and states that the conceptualization of leadership should not be exclusively reserved to either type. Within charismatic leadership research (Conger & Kanungo, 1998; Shamir, 1995) as well as in transformational leadership research (Bass, 1996; Shamir, 1995; Conger, 1989; Bennis & Nanus, 1985; Burns, 1978) the implicit thought of emotional influence is strongly present. Heroic, individual leader is associated with positive, dynamic characteristics, evoking enthusiasm and inspiration in followers. Emotional intelligence (Goleman, 1995; Mayer & Salovey, 1997) and especially empathy are tied to arousing enthusiasm, optimism and change in others. Even though the correlation between leadership effectiveness and positive emotions is not unquestionably proved in research, in leadership literature it can be read between the lines how positive emotions are believed to lead into good outcomes.

In the empirical context of theatre, however, the relationship between emotions and leadership seems complex: a process that is experienced as negative, and surrounded with negative feelings and emotions can result in a successful play, whereas a handbook example of a harmonious, positive process can lead to a flop.

The field of research on emotion in organizations has immensely increased during the last ten years. (Von Glinow & al., 2004; Yukl, 2002; Fineman, 2003, 2000, 1993; Ashkanasy et al., 2000; Fineman & Gabriel, 1996). In the tail of organization studies in general, leadership researchers have come closer to emotions (Keso, Lehtimäki & Pietiläinen, 2003) from the angles of e.g. strategic leadership (Brundin, 2002) creativity, inspiration and intuition (Dunham & Freeman, 2000; Välikangas & Välikangas, 2004). The basic tensions in leadership in theatre context lie in being simultaneously able to create organizational unity, to encour-

age creativity and independent thinking within the expert groups, and to foster individual talent.

I study the embeddedness of emotions and leadership by describing how leadership is expressed and experienced in theatre context. Taking a social constructionist standpoint, my claim is that leadership is relationally constructed, besides in cognitions, also in emotions. Social and cultural values and belief systems within an institution and an organization construct what leadership is and, simultaneously what it is not. Within theatre, there is a social understanding of what a good director, a good ensemble and a good rehearsal processes are like, and what they are not.

When leadership is experienced (i.e. felt), it is often defined as negative or positive. The positive and the negative seem to be emotionally evaluated social constructions. The comparison of negative and positive leadership processes and their results call for an understanding of how the emotions and leadership construct each other. I intend to take this construction a step further from the positive/negative aspect and to conceptualize the embeddedness of emotions and leadership in a work group and to describe this dynamism (Hunt, 2004) in different rehearsal processes.

How? Research questions, method and the dimensions of analysis

As I pursue the thought that emotions reveal cultural systems of belief and values attached to leadership within a specific context, to capture the interplay of emotions and leadership I ask:

How is leadership constructed in the rehearsal process of theatre?

and thus

- How are emotions related to leadership in the process?
- How and why are emotions meaningful and how do they become conceptualized in leadership?

In theatre, the prime negotiators on the leadership during the rehearsal process are the director and the actors. Directors are perceived as leaders (Saisio, 2004; Weston, 1996; Korhonen, 1993) as they are given the full responsibility for the preparation of the play. They have the final say about all the decisions concerning everything from the choice of the genre to the color of the actors' socks. However, the main elements of the work of the director are not managerial tasks, but the ability to motivate and enthuse, to create an open atmosphere for the textual art to be transformed into performing art. The actors expect the director to help them bloom as individuals. The director represents the audience, the paying customers, but the director is also the core of the artistic inside circle, the ensemble that prepares the play.

Studying leadership in theatrical ensembles calls for understanding of social interaction and social exchange on a group level, and also leader-member exchange theory (Graen & Uhl-Bien, 1995; Jacobs, 1970). The level of analysis in this study is the level of a relationship and the group.

I have gathered a variety ethnographic data on research processes: I have done participant observation and worked in a theatre and participated into a rehearsal process as a member of the ensemble. In addition to this I have done several interviews and gathered written documents, such as newspaper articles. On the basis of the data I have written four fictional narratives of leadership in a rehearsal process.

With the help of the fictional narratives, later called caricatures, I am able to communicate to the reader, how the emotions and leadership are interrelated. The caricatures display the social actors and actions, and the systems by which the leadership is maintained, changed and criticized. The interplay of emotions and leadership is constructed through bodily actions of looking and touching, through language and linguistic prac-

tices like talking and listening, through rhythm as in how the ensemble was able to synchronize and tune their work and, finally, through space and its socio-emotional functions.

Expected contribution

"Contextually rich 'real time' emotion studies of organizational life are still relatively rare (...) The ethnographic form has the distinct advantage of encouraging what Lofland (1976) has termed 'intimate familiarity' by the researcher – looking onto organizational life while being into or part of it." (Fineman, 2000, 14)

Answering to this call, I provide an empirical study on emotions and leadership in the context of theatrical ensemble.

Through the dimensions of vision, touch, language, rhythm and space I wish to contribute to the discussion of bodily aspects (Parviainen, 1998) of leadership (Ropo, 1989) brought up in aesthetic organizational research (Samier, 2005; Von Glinow & al., 2004; Koivunen, 2003; Guillet de Monthoux & Strati, 2002; Linstead & Höpfl, 2000; Strati 1992, 1996, 1999). I bring along the concepts of distance and closeness, created through these dimensions thus hoping to promote bodily and emotional presence in leadership.

I consider my third contribution to be a methodological one.

"(Studying emotion) requires the capacity to report (usually in words) imaginatively, illuminating and conceptually developing our understanding of the emotional texture of organizations. Here, perhaps, we have something to learn from the poet, novelist and dramatist who have long explored emotions 'in the round'. A social science of emotions is rendered no less systematic or rigorous by finding different voices, or expressive forms, to convey crucial experiences and meanings." (Fineman, 2000, 15)

I came up with the caricatures through the tradition of experimental writing and narrative fiction (Rhodes & Brown, 2005; Patient, Lawrence & Maitlis, 2003; Richardson, 1994, 2000). I believe they offer interesting means for both leadership and emotion scholars to convey subtle phenomena. Sensitive and delicate subjects may be left unnoticed under more dominant phenomena. Through caricaturizing they get more volume. Diverse types of data can be presented and ethnographic experiences mediated to the reader. The ethnographic field work often produces lengthy reports that can be hard to turn into reader friendly rich descriptions. Keeping in mind the focus of the research I suggest that caricatures offer a condensed and powerful form of writing.

1

INTRODUCTION:

A curtain call

In the prologue I have introduced the reader with the most basic building blocks of the study and the growing interest to emotions within leadership research. The driving force behind my study is to elaborate on how leadership is constructed in emotions. I presented the reader with research questions and the basic methodological choices. In this chapter I focus on describing the theatre, its structures and systems, and the work group, or ensemble, being the specific context here. In the end of this first chapter, the reader is given a summary of the course of the study.

As theatre director Juha Lehtola prepared a play that reflected a modern work place he took up reading leadership and management books. He states his opinion about them very clearly:

"I've never encountered so much crap as when reading the leadership- and business guides. It seems odd to me how personal contacts are avoided at all cost." (Aamulehti 13.9.2003)

Looking at the world of leadership and organizations offered by these guides he was surprised to find out how in the organizations the human aspects, such as personal interaction and contacts, were ignored.

The absolute majority of leadership research draws on the quantitative tradition of seeking profitability and effectiveness (Bryman, 2004), where the human beings are traditionally written about as resources or as items of expenditure being influenced by as anonymous group of decision makers. The tradition of pure positivist scientific writing and the tradition of leadership studies, aiming to cool rationality and anonymity, are conjoined as the following quote illustrates:

"Because human beings are able to think and act rationally to maximize their gains, organizations can capitalize on this capacity to efficiently and economically produce their goods and services." (Fineman, 2000, 10)

Within organizations, the leaders and the managers are the ones hired to ensure the gains and effectiveness. According to Mullins (1996) this is done in three rational, easy-sounding steps:

"Successful management involves the clarification of objectives, the specification of problems and the search for and implementation of solutions." (In Fineman, 2000, 10)

This text in management literature gives an insight of control and rationality, where cognitive planning and careful implementation ensure acceptable results. The rational, cognitive and objective intellect is called for, whereas subjective, sensual and aesthetic forms of knowing are not mentioned, even though these human capabilities are also used in striving towards the goals.

The constructionist and participatory paradigms in postmodern social science have been extended to organization- and also to leadership studies making it possible to approach the concept of leadership as an experiential and sensory phenomenon. Thus, emotions, as a natural part of life, open up to be studied in relation to leadership, also.

The emotional, bodily knowledge is not trying to replace the cognitive knowledge. Instead, it is an integral part of the rational action that

subsumes both cognition and emotion (Fineman, 1996; Ropo et al., 2002; Hosking, 1999). Bringing the emotional knowledge beside the cognitive tradition and into leadership theory will put the experience of leadership under scrutiny and thus emphasize the relational nature of it.

In this constructionist research I study emotions as socio-cultural practices in organizations, especially in leadership situations. The post-modern turn in social sciences has opened up new questions and views to organization research. Also subjective experiences, not only generalizable, reproducible results, count as knowledge (Bergquist, 1996). Rational, cognitive knowledge is supplemented by bodily, sensuous knowledge. The constructionist perspective subsumes that as we make room for these other forms of knowledge than what the modern perspective has allowed us to do, we start to see leadership not only as cognitions of individual traits and skills and characteristics but more like a dynamic social and relational process, involving the body and the sensuous experiences.

1.1 Theatre in leadership research

Even though theatre terms and metaphors as well as techniques have a long history within organization theory and research, the empirical research on leadership practices within theatre are rare.

In theatre, there are several linkages to the organization research. For decades concepts familiar from theatre have been transferred to business organizations on a metaphorical level (Cornelissen, 2004, 2005). In organization theory, theatre has often been used as a metaphor: we act, we direct, we speak about staging and being on stage, we put ourselves and others in different roles (Jackson & Barry, forthcoming; Morgan, 1986). Especially in leadership and management studies the role metaphors have become popular (see e.g. Quinn et al., 1996; Mintzberg, 1973). Because the use of theatrical language has become a convention within organiza-

tion theory, some parts of text get a double meaning in my work: there is a difference in taking the stage in rehearsals from taking the stage in the cafeteria during the lunch brake.

According to Clark and Mangham (2004a) theatre has entered the organization studies at least in four distinctive ways:

- 1. The use of theatrical texts, for example Shakespeare to inform and illustrate leadership programs (see Mangham, 2001). Poetics of Aristotle (350 B.C.E.) have had an immense influence on the theatrical storytelling and thus on general western understanding of narration, also in organizations.
- 2. Dramatism is an analytical perspective that holds an ontological position that organizational life is theatre. In the 1950's the literary critic Kenneth Burke developed a dramatistic model of human behavior (1945, 1969a, 1969b). It is a method that explores both action and explanations for action through the act, the scene, the agent, the agency and the purpose.
- 3. Dramaturgy: Burke (1945) Duncan (1962, 1968) and Ichheiser (1949) had a strong influence on Erving Goffman (1959, 1967) whose work has made philosophers and social scientist take theatre as metaphor very seriously. Goffman took the theatrical terms into use in his research on social behavior which he saw as performance. Organization research took Goffmans ideas as their framework some 20 years ago. Goffman contributed in making social reality a matter of scripts and performance created by human interaction. Once this was noticed, change became a possibility. However, the everyday life of theatre did not belong to Goffman's interests.
- 4. Theatre as technology: the complete organization of theatre is deployed to put on a performance in front of an audience to bring out change in social and organizational behavior (Cole, 1975). The space of performance is used to see clearly and differently the problematic situation and to use the reflexive power of the audience to see their own reality in a new way (Turner, 1984). The aim of theatre as technology is emancipatory.

There are several terms for what theatre as technology is: organization theatre (Schreyögg, 2001; Clark & Mangham, 2004b), situation theatre (Meisiek, 2002), corporate theatre (Pineault, 1989), dramaturgical society (Young, 1990).

If organization research has borrowed terms from theatre, theatre has also been studied by using illustrative concepts familiar from organization research: theatre work can be *organized* in multiple ways. Gran and De Paoli (1991) have conceptualized organizational models in a following way: *A Theatre Factory* produces plays like sausage: standard quality and maximum quantity are the guidelines. The theatre director is in a leader position. She or he decides over repertoire, over casting and over the directors. The director is responsible for the individual process of making a play, especially for the artistic concept. In Theatre Factory there is a separation between artistic and non-artistic staff, that is visible also through a presence of multiple labor. The managing director is very often responsible for the artistic staff only, the administrative director being the boss of the non-artistic staff. The decision-making, control and information are thought to flow from top to bottom.

Director's theatre is based on the idea of the director being the creative motor of the process. The director is also the managing director and administrative director of the theatre. She or he may even take part in the play. Specialization between the professional groups is less strict, but the power concentrates to the director-manager who controls everything, however, s/he is as dependent as anyone on the resources of the theatre group. Thus, it is in her/his interest to take care of them.

Group Theatre is based on the idea of theatre being a collective artform, consisting of individual and equal artists, who have respect for one another. There is no administrative director. Organization is very simple and separation between both artistic and non-artistic as well as between professional groups is very low. Collective creative process is a protest against Theatre Factory. The group improvises and discusses to integrate different tasks needed to prepare the play. A precondition of the Group

Theatre is that the people have similar values and goals in artistic work. The group structure is rather stable.

In the *Project Theatre* the organization is put together for a specific time period. Every play is a new experience. The task is to prepare a play in a certain time frame. Everybody knows that the cooperation is limited to this one play only. Work is innovative, organization is minimally structured and it adapts to uncertainty very well (Gran & De Paoli, 1991).

Within the Finnish institutional theatre the basic model is the factory, but the director's position and the collaborative model of group theatre can be found in the field. Also the project model exists in theatres as e.g. individual actors prepare their own shows.

Empirical studies on leadership and theatre. There has been a vivid interest in the world of theatre in organization theory, and leadership theory is to follow (de Monthoux, 2004). Most articles, however, which bring together theatre and leadership are either theoretical or drawing their empirical data from secondary sources (Clark & Mangham, 2004a, Dunham & Freeman, 2000).

Empirical studies of leadership in theatre are scarce (Dunham & Freeman, 2000). However during the past ten years, leadership and organizational scholars, in Finland and internationally, have conducted empirical studies in various art organizations (Koivunen, 2003; Taalas, 2001; Stenström, 2000; Soila-Wadman, 2003; Eriksson & Ropo, 1997).

There are a few studies on directing actors, theatre management and decision making processes within theatre (e.g. Taalas, 2001; Weston, 1996; Vaill, 1991; Korhonen, 1986) but the relationship, especially from the leadership point of view, between the director and the actor is empirically quite unexplored, as Dunham and Freeman (2002) suggest. Their article on how business leaders can learn from theatre directors, based on published books and interviews of theatre directors, is offering an insight on how directors lead creative artists to bloom.

Outlining some basic structures in the Finnish theatre field. In Finland, being a country of 5 million people, there were 47 professional theatres, 46 professional theatre groups, 13 professional dance theatres

and six radio and television theatres in 2004 (Theatre calendar, 2005). Theatres employed altogether 1972 persons on a full time basis. Of them, 712 were artistic staff, 837 technical staff, 248 administrative staff, and 121 managers.

There are two university level institutions giving education in acting and directing, Theatre Academy of Finland and the University of Tampere. The Theatre Academy provides education also in audio-visual arts and in theatre education. In training of other artistic professions (set designer, dress designer) university level education can be obtained in the University of Art and Design, Helsinki.

Theatre professions are popular among young people. Annual average intake of students at the Theatre Academy of Finland to the five-year-long actor training program is between 1–2 %, of the amount of applicants (in 2004, there were 1072 applicants of whom 14 were chosen), and to the director's studies approximately 3 % of the applicants (in 2004 there were 102 applicants of whom 3 were chosen).

The law on theatres and orchestras guarantees a basic funding to professional theatres. They are financially subsidized by the state, and with a few exceptions, also by the municipality. Approximately 40 % of the costs of the theatres were covered by the state, some 30 % by the local municipality and approximately 30 % of the costs are covered by the ticket sales. Most theatres are forced to balance to make ends meet. Repertoire planning is used as a tool: entertaining musicals make the cash flow in, but the repertoire should also be artistically and culturally ambitious and of high quality.

Local theatres. Three of the work groups I studied were located in institutional theatres (Tampere Theatre and TTT, Tampereen Työväen Teatteri). The third group I studied and worked within was an independent production of eleven theatre professionals, the actors working also for abovementioned theatres and the director being a free-lancer. The theatres mentioned above are the two major players in the theatre field in Tampere. Tampere Theatre employs 130 people, of whom one third

are artistic staff. Two of them are directors. TTT employs 148 people, of whom one third, again, are artists. TTT employs one full time director. Theatres employ several free-lance directors and actors every year for specific productions.

Both theatres are located in the city centre. Tampere Theatre was founded 1904 by the bourgeoisie of the city. TTT-theatre was founded 1901 as a workers' theatre.

Tampere Theatre is still situated in its original building by the main square. The architecture has been influenced by Art Nouveau, whereas the TTT-theatre is a modern, some 20 years old red-brick building with huge glass windows. As a contrast to earlier decades there are hardly any recognizable political or ideological differences, not even in the repertoire, which earlier was the showcase for the political orientation.

1.2 Leadership and theatre

In institutional theatres there are several kinds of leadership structures simultaneously present. Technical authority is in the possession of technical managers. Artistic manager of the theatre, as a CEO, is in charge of the whole theatre organization, and thus, can have an indirect influence on the process. Labor unions are quite influential inside theatres. Also the informal hierarchies like professional superiority and artistic rankings, as well as the system of personal favoritism can have an influence on the leadership dynamics. The division between free-lancers and actors who are permanently hired by the theatre can also cause power struggles, not to mention the gender issues or celebrity actors, whose presence and power in the process can be questioned by others.

Artists are often portrayed as very charismatic personalities. It is a construction through which actors and some directors, in theatre and especially in film, are presented. Typing together the words 'cult' and 'di-

rector' gets 2 800 000 hits on Google. Through this 'diva-cult-star' – rhetoric, hierarchies are being built. Sometimes these constructions make their way also into the rehearsal situations. A well-known actor may be hired for a play to pull in the crowds. Just like inside other expert professions or art forms there are different schools and groups within theatre professionals. They are united through the method of work, world view or age, creating still another power structure.

The leadership in a rehearsal process is formed and developed when the work group, including performers, director, technicians and designers, is in action. Theatres create self-organizing teams (see Nonaka & Takeuchi, 1995) that include directors, actors, designers and production staff. These short-term production teams have been called 'temporary systems' (Goodman & Goodman 1976). The teams and the small groups are focused on creating effective organizing forms. They have the advantages of mobility, flexibility and independence (Long, 1999a). The responsibility for an ensemble is given to the director. She or he has the full artistic freedom, as well as the responsibility for the ensemble (Weston 1996, Korhonen, 1993, 1998). The director has multiple roles in her or his work. She or he has a text that is about to be performed on the stage. The director determines the work method. She of he creates and controls the timetables, sometimes also the finances. Extreme sensuous skills are needed to create the collective atmosphere and to approach individual actors or specific situations. Communication skills are needed to convey, to interpret and to make the meanings collective. Sometimes the role of a director is questioned: if they perceive the director having been mentally or physically absent, the actors say they have prepared the play without him or her (Tola, 1995).

Leadership in artistic work may be considered a paradox in itself. The myth of art being independent, free of structures and conventions, is widely spread. Considered from this perspective, the intrinsic and individual need of an artist to make art and the task of the leader to organize seem to clash. In the case of a director and an actor or a group of actors the case is even more complex. Even though on the organizational level

profit pressures are not present, the individual ways to think about art and to make art can be very different, especially, as by convention, the director comes from outside the organization to direct one play and moves on after opening night to another theatre to direct another play.

As a story telling organization a theatre has an innate natural tendency towards feelings and emotions, as opposed to bureaucratic ideal, where the privileging of reason and mandate of emotional control are built in (Meyerson, 2000). The stories need to be emotionally appealing and interesting in order to turn into a satisfying experience for the audience. Actors need to be able to display emotions on the stage. With the director, they search for and analyze the emotional content and the message. Emotions are present in relations between people, both as tools and as an outspoken source of inspiration, not just as internal, individual and mute phenomena as Gyllenpalm (1995) has noticed. According to him theatre work requires emotional display and engagement.

Sandelands and Boudens (2000) state that feeling is a dominant element in the life of a group.

"...when people talk about work, they talk primarily about other people. They talk about relationships, about the intrigues, conflicts, gossips and innuendoes of group life...A great deal of feeling goes into the relationship between workers and management, a relationship often passionately antagonistic and full of intrigue." (Sandelands & Boudens, 2000, 50)

I am interested in the core of theatre: the group of actors and a director preparing a play. This constitutes a fundamental interdependence of actors and the director in theatre work. Sometimes, however, astonishingly seldom, actors prepare plays, mostly monologues or small scale plays, without a director. The regular procedure includes the presence of a director.

Ensemble is understood to be an ideal form of making theatre.

"...Only closeness makes you sure that also the others are mentally present. The ensemble was to be so small that you could sense the feelings and moods of the colleagues every day." (Korhonen, 1993, 350)

The word 'ensemble' has the idealistic sound of a tight cohesive and creative group, welded together. The word leads us to the French language where 'ensemble' means 'together'. In Finnish the word has connotations with a voluntary group where people are committed to work with each other. Houni (2000) writes about the ensemble as a reference group for the individual performance: there is a sense of community that allows a creative context for creative activity to be born.

In institutional theatres today, ensembles are not stable. Actors belong to several work groups simultaneously. The bond in a group, or in an ensemble, is interaction (Houni, 2000). Interaction is born from closeness. Closeness imbues relationships (Eskola, 1990). In close relationships similarities, especially similar and analogous interests create a sense of positive community (Csikszentmihalyi, 1996, 1997). Empathy and solidarity are attributes attached to an emotionally fulfilling ensemble.

"Some people are nice to play with, because our sense of humor is similar...we have a common mission, we are saving the work we all are part of." (Klemola in Ojala (ed.), 1995, 212)

"...An actor may think it is easier to work without opening up to others, but it is a lot easier to work in a giving way...this applies to my relationship to a group. I attach to it and I want to be accepted, unconditionally: how the others see me: do I belong to them even if I would do something wrong. It is important." (Vuolle in Ojala (ed.), 1995, 188)

The actors see the group as a great chance of sharing the experiences, but simultaneously the group is a threat. It seems that an ensemble is a dynamic process rather than a stable state.

1.3 Theatre and I

I first became interested in theatre without any academic passion. I got involved in the theatre world, deeper than just as an eager member of audience, because of a very mundane need: I had to finance my university studies. So I found a nice part-time job in the local theatre, not on the stage, though. I worked in the local theatre field in various positions for six years, sensing the atmosphere night after night, grasping bits and pieces of the work of various professions, and, of course, listening to the endless discussions at the restaurant tables after the performances. The complex, passionate, yet sometimes torturing relationship at work, the bursts of emotion on the stage; a cool and balanced, somewhat distant, workmanlike professionalism; but, seemingly "everything but bureaucratic" work intrigued me.

The theatre work that was free and light like a child's play seemed, from time to time, cruel and emotionally consuming. People ran out of the rehearsals crying, there was shouting and arguing, but finally, in the opening night party everybody loved each other again. The directors were the heroes, or sometimes the villains of the stories told in the corridors of the theatre. Some of them became almost cult figures.

So, when the professors in the seminar for the master's degree asked us who would be interested in writing a study about theatre, I raised my hand. I started to try to make sense of the difficult, paradoxical tensions that the 'boss' in a theatre has to face. On the one hand, the artistic mission had to be the priority, but very close behind that were the merciless financial requirements that demanded some business discipline. On the other hand, there were different professional groups working for the theatre: the autonomous artists, the actors, dramatists and directors, the technical staff and the office workers, bookkeepers, secretaries and the marketing people all having their special set of problems and a need for leadership. On top of that there was this somewhat awkward half communal, – half privately owned nature of that particular theatre institu-

tion, which posed double challenges to the leadership of the theatre. The results of my master's thesis pointed out that the circles of communication, conflict and commitment were decisive in the leadership success (Vapaavuori, 1995; Ropo & Eriksson, 1997).

As I started the doctoral thesis I could not let go of the theatre. I still find it intriguing and inspiring. Instead of the leadership of the whole theatre I decided to focus my research on the core of the theatre: to the rehearsal period as a leadership process of the artistic work group.

1.4 Setting the stage: Structure of the study

I welcome the reader to a journey into the artistic processes in which I have set the scene for the connection between emotions and leadership enhancing the paradoxical and bodily nature of organizational life. Through the findings the trip hopefully lures the readers to explore the sensual possibilities in everyday routines and help us see our organizational environments in a new way.

This first chapter has been a visit to the travel agency where we received a description of the forthcoming voyage. As the agent, I briefly explained the background of my study, both from the personal and from the theoretical perspective to give the reader some idea of the itinerary.

In the second chapter the journey begins: the ontological assumptions I present are our passports. They are to be kept ready to be used whenever needed – and to avoid problems, we should keep them safe in our breast-pocket, close to the heart. My research questions work as road maps to the destination. The methods I have used to gather the empirical material, the work process and the methods of analysis will be used as our means of transportation.

The literature review in the third chapter can be understood as the view we see on our way. In experiencing it we make assumptions of, and

create expectations of, how the journey is to continue. Sweeping the gray and rather monotonic landscape of leadership with high-rise buildings and cubical structures we occasionally see glimpses of people as we follow the way where leadership studies have taken a sociological turn. Our destination is to find a common corner where leadership research meets the lush and green jungle of emotions. Going through both the individual, charismatic, narcissistic and also shared models of leadership we explore the concept of bodily leadership.

In the fourth chapter the caricatures are presented. Some photographs are used to help illustrate the visual interplay of body, emotion and leadership in the caricatures as well as in the chapter five when discussing the findings.

In the fifth chapter, there is a camp-fire evening, where the data is conceptualized. Having studied the interaction between people and their surroundings as suggested by Von Glinow et al. (2004), Collins (2004), Saarikangas (2002), Seppänen (2002), Heise (1998), Rossi (1995) Goffman (1959) I conceptualize the embeddedness of emotions and leadership through bodily dimensions of vision, touch, language, rhythm and space. Through body we are present in the space and interact with it. We make a dive into the body to explore more the concepts of gaze and the ways of looking and being seen as well as touching. Rhythm penetrates our work and life in general, we may take up the beat from others, or not. There is rhythm in our bodies, in the language and in the space. Beside the bodily communication, the linguistic exchange is important, not only in the literal- or cognitive sense, but also in the aesthetic sense.

In the sixth chapter returning from the journey I hope the landscape has changed a little in our eyes. Besides working in the high-rises and the cubicle office buildings people work with each other and experience and sense the bodies and emotions around them. Emotional bonds are tied and broken, and just as rules and norms are constructed and deconstructed, so is leadership. People live their life inside the organizations.

The reader is free to choose her or his path in deciding how to read this research. For those who are more interested in the empirical findings and results, the chapters from four to six might be of interest. Chapters two and three are more theoretical ones. I have chosen to give a lengthy presentation of the ontological and epistemological choices and methodology in the chapter two, since I feel that the nature of the research setting and the methods require it. The literature review, where the theoretical positioning within leadership and emotion literature takes place, is presented in chapter three.

In this first introductory chapter I have described the structures in the theatre field as well as inside a theatre. In the end, the reader was given a summary of the course of this study. In chapter two I will present the reader with data, ontological and epistemological choices leading to the methods.

2

METHODOLOGY:

The chain of choices

In this chapter I present the data, discuss the relationship of postmodernism, or postpositivism, and social constructionism (Berger & Luckmann, 1967) and my steps toward participatory paradigm (Heron & Reason, 1997). I will walk the reader through how aesthetics and feminist and emotional epistemologies have guided my thinking of emotional knowledge. I will also present the reader my reasons for choosing to write narrative fiction.

2.1 Data

Eleven years ago I was able to do five semi-structured interviews with actors, a director and theatre managers in Tampere Theatre, being very careful not to lose the 'poker face' of a trained researcher. At the time, I was working at the theatre, so it was quite easy to approach the directors, who are the gatekeepers to their ensembles. I quickly learned it was

not self-evident at all to gain access to a group. I was turned down once, because the director did not want to disturb the sensitive process, even though I had planned to do the interviews outside the working hours. Finally, one director accepted my request and I was able to interview her and two of the actors. This play did not turn out very well. The rehearsal process was quite stormy: everybody felt quite disappointed with it and also with the result. The play was withdrawn from the repertoire only a few weeks after the premiere, because it did not attract the audience in an expected way and the actors felt uncomfortable performing it.

In the winter 2003, I did observant participation in an ensemble in the other of our local theatres, TTT. At the time I was living in the USA. I called the director two months before the process was about to start to ask if I could come and watch them rehearse. He accepted immediately, so I traveled from the USA to Finland to sit at the rehearsals twice a day from 10 am to 2 pm and again from 5 pm to 9 pm, for two weeks. I also did interviews with the director and all of the actors in the play.

I was most informed of constructionist paradigm, reflecting my own position, paying attention to the unsaid, undone, to the atmosphere, to the silly details, hierarchies and feelings. As I came in for the first time, the group greeted me as if it was part of the play that someone sat in the audience. I also spent time with them socially. By accident, the first day I was doing the observing, a Scottish playwright, Gregory Burke, whose play was on the repertoire performed by the same actors I was observing, came to see his own play. The group was invited to have dinner with him afterwards, and maybe, because I had come over from the USA, and was expected to speak fluent English, I was invited by the actors and the director to join them.

It was a nice evening. During the next days I was told and I also felt it myself that sitting in the audience was a natural thing for me to do. It did not bother them: in fact, they seemed to be glad of my presence. The rehearsals were entertaining to observe: the group got their knickers in a twist time and time again. They told me they were actually quite tired and quite nervous, since the rehearsal period was intensive and short. Despite their anxiety, the play turned out to be a success, both financially and artistically. The critics as well as the audience liked it and it was kept in the repertoire almost a year.

In the fall 2004 I was given a chance to jump straight into the world of an ensemble: I had a double role as a researcher and as a member of the work group in a small independent cabaret production. The directors and the actors were all professionals from our local theatres. At first, I was supposed to be a costumier, but soon I was partly assisting the director. Everybody was very determined and committed to make the performance work. The group rehearsed mostly at odd hours during eight weeks: sometimes in the night, early in the morning, but sometimes also quite normally in the afternoon. Along with preparing the show, the group gradually and consciously built up a feeling of intimacy and closeness. Sometimes the sensitiveness developed into oversensitiveness, and the group went through some moments of confusion, but the outcome was a success. The expected amount of audience was clearly surpassed and the critics were praising the show.

On the basis of the collected data, I wrote four caricatures, i.e. fictional narratives, where I condensed rehearsals according to the differing emotional processes.

Chronologically, the data gathering process was following:

- In 1994 I did five semi structured interviews with one director, two actors, with an administrative manager and with the artistic manager of the theatre. These interviews lasted from 1 hour to 1,5 hours. The interviews were taped and transcribed.
- In the winter 2003 I conducted five ethnographic interviews, all of which lasted 1,5 hours. I interviewed actors (4) and two directors (2). One interview was conducted together with an actor and a director. I taped and transcribed the interviews. I did observant participation as I followed rehearsals of a play for two weeks in January February 2003 and spent time socially with the ensem-

- ble. I recorded most of the rehearsals (approximately 630 minutes on a c-cassette).
- In 2004 I did two additional interviews, one with a director and one with an actor. The interviews were taped and transcribed. In the fall of 2004 I did ethnographic field work in a theatre ensemble in the role of costumier and during the rehearsals, also as an assistant to the director. It was a very intensive work period stretching from August to December, but being most intensive during October 2004. I was present from the very beginning of the rehearsals in August until the premiere on the November 5, 2004. During the actual rehearsal, I sat a couple of meters from the stage near or beside the director in order to be able to do both my work as a costumier and as the directors assistant. I had conversations or meetings with the director in which we discussed the show. Before and after the rehearsals we often had a discussion round where all the participants were present. I talked about the process with the actors. I made field notes of the process.

In addition, I have had tens of informal encounters with actors and directors talking about this rehearsal process in particular, but often reflecting on it with their previous work experiences in various theatres.

Summary of data collection					
	Pc	Quantity			
Interviews with directors of which semi structured interviews ethnographic interviews	4 1 3	about 4,5 hours			
2. Interviews with actors of which semi structured interviews ethnographic interviews	8 2 6	about 2,5 hours about 7 hours			
3. Semi-structured interviews with theatre managers	2	about 3 hours			
4. Observation		about 60 hours			
5. Participation		about 3 months			
6. Other documents		approximately 400 pages			

I asked the interviewees to tell me about the rehearsal process he or she had been involved in. In the course of the interview I sometimes asked them to specify and to elaborate on a specific situation. I also asked them to describe the best and the worst process they had ever been involved in. During the inquiries the interviewees often told anecdotes and talked about other plays, directors, colleagues and theatres, too.

Sometimes during, but usually after the discussion sessions I wrote down my impressions about the interview and the feeling I was left with. The written documents about the plays, the audience statistics and the financial documents as well as the critics were at my disposal. In addition to this I have used documents like articles in newspapers and magazines as well as literature about acting and directing. In caricatures, I have put all my data to use to better understand the construction of leadership in theatre and the role of emotions in it. The qualitative constructionist research orientation means that there is no existing theory, but the researcher generates or builds the theory in relation to the empirical material. The conceptualization is emergent as the data is allowed to speak.

The researcher needs to have a multifaceted understanding of the subject of the study: here I try to understand the phenomenon of leadership and the role of emotions in it. I have given an account of the background and the bonds of the phenomenon and the experiences of the participants. This orientation demands a dialect between the researcher and the empirical material. Even though none of the interviewees, or the participants, asked for anonymity, I felt that the caricatured form of presentation demanded me to change the names of the people. In the direct quotes I have preserved the proper names.

I am expected also to give an account of my ontological and epistemological choices, and my relationship with the subject of the study, as the categorization, and the choice of themes is dependent on how I understand the phenomenon and what significance I give to different situations. Someone else, who looks at the same subject of the study from another perspective or with a different research orientation, is bound to

raise different issues from the data. Therefore, I have used quite a lot of space to give an account of my paradigmatic positioning.

2.2 Ontological and epistemological choices

As Alvesson and Köping (1993) have stated, when writing a scientific study, we have to make it clear, both for ourselves as well as the reader, what the ontological and epistemological reference points are; what the basic assumption of the nature of the man is; and, in gathering together all these factors, what is the method to be used in conducting the study.

Understanding begins when someone asks if something that happens can be thought as self evident. What is needed is just someone who addresses the question, who wants to understand. Then, the occurrence is discussed with others. It is given a name. In this way 'the unknown' is given a structure and framework. Thus, the unknown is constructed and it becomes 'known'. Also we, who discuss 'the unknown' are social constructions as well. We need 'the other' to reflect on ourselves. In fact, we make ourselves in relation to the other (Hosking, 1999). To understand and to make sense (Weick, 1995) we also need experiences against which we mirror the upcoming events. We bring happenings and artifacts into life by paying attention to them (Paalumäki, 2004).

Postmodern thought is where art and science come together. Postmodernists claim the world to be at the same time globalizing and getting more and more segmented. We live among discrepancies, diversity and unpredictability, where life-style enclaves, from Porsche-owner clubs to ski-bums to churchgoers, may be found. As postmodern architects, opposing the uniformity and order of modernists, are embracing diversity and complexity, the researcher can do the same, by giving credit to subjective voices. Theatre is a specific world where the artistic staff, actors

and directors are separate groups, but they all make even a deeper differentiation to non-artistic staff in a theatre.

A theatre production can be seen as a metaphor for social constructionism (Hosking, 1988, 1999), where the director and the actors talk (negotiate) about the characters, their logics and the scenes in order to present these individual characters and the plot to the audience. They fill in the past, the future and the unsaid of the play them selves, according to their own logics, intuition and experiences. In the performance, all the people in the audience and on the stage share the same moments, but every one of them may experience, feel and understand them differently.

Thus, postmodernism is not a coherent theory, nor is it interested in debating the competing paradigms, because theoretical thinking, ideologies or world views form only a fraction of the layman's reality. When developing argument for the social construction of reality, Berger and Luckmann (1967) argue that sociology has to study the normal life and routines, because the nets of knowledge, essential to all societies, are formed in everyday practices. This may be the reason why postmodernism has sometimes been criticized for being superficial, facile and contradictory, but, undeniably, it shows the researchers valuable and insightful perspectives to phenomena of our time (Bergquist, 1996).

"The origins of postmodernism can be traced to many sources, form Marxist-based analysis...to more conservative observations of Drucker (1989), from Christo's 'cover-it' performances to Peter Vaill's (1991) spiritual leadership." (Bergquist, 1996, 579)

The roots of postmodernism can be found in four sources: intellectual debates in Europe about structuralism, feminism, deconstruction and post-capitalism. The second source of postmodernism lies in critique of contemporary art forms and life-styles that reinterprets our cultural history, the other areas being the social analysis of the workplace and economy and chaos theory (Bergquist, 1996).

Postmodernism is often juxtaposed against modernism. In research this can be seen in a paradigmatic shift from positivism to postpositivism. Positivists stand for objectivism, whereas *constructionism* belongs to the postpositivist realm. Objectivists assume, that there is a (one) reality out there that we can know and articulate and that there are truths, or universal principles, whereas the idea of social constructionism begins by first admitting that everyone constructs his/her own social realities based largely on traditions and needs of the culture and socioeconomic context, and that there are no truths or principles, or global models of justice or order that could be applied in all settings, at all times, with all people. Social constructionists argue that there are specific communities that espouse their own way of knowing. The world around us is fluid, in constant change, negotiated and renegotiated again and again (Bergquist, 1996).

"These two perspectives do not simply involve different belief systems. They encompass different notions about the very nature of a belief system..." (Bergquist, 1996, 580)

For objectivists, it is possible to find truth, in religion, belief or in art. The challenge of constructionists is to retain healthy skepticism about all purported truths, including the postmodernist truth. According to Edmundsson the postmodernist's bumper sticker could be

"Don't turn your postmodernism into a faith. Don't get pious about your impiety." (1989, in Bergquist, 1996, 580)

The social constructionist perspective was first presented by Berger and Luckmann (1967) and developed further by several differently oriented groups, e.g. by feminist theoreticians (Hirschmann, 2003), who all brought up unique ways in which people become knowledgeable about the world. Researchers developed inventive methods to become knowledgeable about the language, rituals, values and practices that construct the phenomena.

The task of the post positivists is to see differently, to pose different questions and to act as critics of the hegemony of positivist science. In this relation the positivists and post positivists can and should complement each other.

The hegemony of language. As the language itself is considered to be reality, the text is the whole world rather than a reflection or means by which something else is described. This marks a shift from objectivity and vision to subjectivity and voice. Instead of concentrating on individual experiences, we talk about them, thus the discussion becomes a shared experience and we form our own experience in relation to the discussed.

One of the major implications of this is that language, and therefore reality, are ephemeral. Once we have spoken, the reality that was present as we spoke is no longer present. Thus when speaking comes in the form of written words or images, they have a different meaning, depending on the situation and on who reads or hears them, and everything that has preceded, and that will follow these efforts. Therefore, for example, discussions and interviews change their meaning when transcribing them into written text, and reading them months, maybe years after the actual interactive situation, especially if the reader has not been present (Bergquist, 1996). Consequently, my empirical data is not a random scientific sample from life in theatre, but something I have paid attention to. Here, I have been unavoidably guided by the values of the society in which I was born, by the values and norms of our time and, thus naturally, by the previous knowledge I have on leadership, theatre, and work in general (Berger & Luckmann, 1967).

Social constructionism can be divided into two separate traditions. The speakers for epistemic constructionism rely solely on language. There is no reality beyond language, meaning, that the world is 'made' in words. In the research context this would mean that texts are the world of research, therefore they are not used to verify or contradict other information, for example observations or statistics gathered from reality

outside the text. Epistemic constructionism tries to understand what people do with words, the target of the analysis being the situational use of language and the regularities in this interaction (Jokinen, Juhila & Suoninen, 1999).

The Foucaultian tradition (Foucault, 1984) or critical discourse analysis in contrast, relies on the ontological constructionism, where the subject of the study is not language alone, as there are non discursive worlds beside texts. The tradition concentrates on hegemonic and institutional discourses that have become historically and locally accepted norms supported by different institutions in societies. This kind of ontological constructionist research aims at understanding how different worlds are discursively built in different language-related practices and/or how non-discursive and discursive worlds relate to one another and thus question the self-evident and unquestioned truths, power relations and hierarchies. At the same time, ontological constructionist research constructs counter-discourses and opposing positions. Being interested in emotions within leadership I represent the ontological constructionist tradition: I understand emotions as bodily phenomena, existing also outside verbal expression (Koivunen 2002, Korhonen & Lavaste, 2005).

Paradigmatic development within organizational theory: social constructionism and beyond. Several scholars have paved the way for social constructionist research within organization studies. For example Dian-Marie Hosking (1999, 2002), Kenneth Gergen (1994), Alvesson and Willmoth (2003), Alvesson and Sveningsson (2003), Jönsson (2003), Sjöstrand (1997), Sjöstrand, Sandberg and Tyrstrup (2001) and Shotter (1997) have written about making inquiries into leadership, management and change work by developing a social constructionist 'thought style', elaborating on many fundamental issues that are seldom paid attention to either in leadership inquiry or in leadership practice. These include moving from subject-object positions to relational reflexivity; from propositional knowledge and being realism (leadership as 'what' entities) to processual knowledge (leadership as 'how' processes) and becoming re-

alism; from exclusive knower position to a participative partner; from being apart from to being part of, from mono-voiced truth to multiple realities as ontologies (Hosking, 2002).

Referring to Heron and Reason (1997) Lincoln and Guba (2000) write about participatory ontology as being a postpositivist paradigm making a move from social constructionism to the direction of participative reality, and towards epistemology, where experiential, propositional and practical, living knowledge is valuable. About methodology Heron and Reason (1997) mention collaborative action inquiry, primacy of the practical and use of language grounded in shared experiential context. Especially appealing in participative ontology is the axiology of

"practical knowing about how to flourish with a balance of autonomy, cooperation and hierarchy in a culture is an end itself and intrinsically valuable." (Heron & Reason, 1997 in Lincoln & Guba, 2000)

This goes well together with the aesthetic epistemic approach where emotions are understood as knowledge, and, especially suited to theatre, where knowledge about the task at hand, i.e. the play and its characters, is intuitive and emotional in nature. The director and the actors balance, and thus construct their autonomy, cooperation and hierarchy in their daily work.

Criticism to post positivist research. The main criticism of social constructionism was adduced by Michael Polanyi (1969) who problematized the danger of infinite regression among the social constructionists. The main idea was that one cannot attend to what one is attending from, meaning that one can never obtain an objective assessment of an institution. The issue of the ethics of science seems to be at stake.

Some critics to post positivist research note, that admitting there is not one absolute universal truth means that all truths are equal or relative and therefore all social action would eventually be blocked (see Boje, 2000). I subscribe to Boje as he claims that it is *not* about 'one can say

anything'. Instead, it is about the fact that there are socially, legally and politically situated limits, which are subjected to research. In leadership research this means for example giving up the idea of leadership situated in one individual, a leader, and concentrating on how leadership is made in and outside the organization. Another accusation pointed at constructionists is that they cannot be scientists, since they dismiss science as just another grand narrative and that they also do not advocate for transformation at the social level, since they are more concerned about aesthetics and language than change.

As a perennial challenge to a constructionist researcher is the skepticism about all purported truths, an attempt to describe and review the subject of the study, knowing that basically everything is the construction of our own imagination. Social constructionist, and participatory, qualitative research have been accused of relativism, as post positivist thinking does not believe in pursuing one truth. Instead, it looks for socially situated limits to what one can assert, embracing the legitimacy of multiple interpretations of reality.

If the scientific study does not aim at revealing the 'truth' it is a valid question to ask why bother to do research, where one answer could be: for the same reasons someone makes art. Even though there are no ultimate truths, someone may ask good questions.

Emotion and body. In this research I use the terms feelings and emotions interchangeably. Feeling is often said to be an inner state of mind. It may remain unperceived by others, if it is not explicitly spoken of. However, often the feeling of an individual or a group is expressed in a more subtle way than directly speaking about it. Emotion is said to be more observable: the body may change its color, posture or expression, but emotions can also be experienced and expressed in another way, for example, by just being still, or by deliberately not being or working in sync with other people.

People need a body to have, display, perceive and understand an emotion. Body and emotion are impossible to distinguish from each other,

but there are several perspectives on the relationship between body and emotion: Social constructionists are interested in how people get to know and utter the physicality of emotions. Admittedly, emotions have cognitive features: we have developed a vocabulary for them, thus, they have become cognitive (Harré, 1986).

Led by the thought style of natural sciences, the modern, positivist science has labeled some corners of human mind and behavior suspicious and sinister by using concepts like dark charisma and dark side of organization. In organization theory there are hardly any references to bodily phenomena, for example to violence or suffering. By hiding the body and linking it to the dark, night side of the human life, a 'rational' individual, who correctly appeared on the emotionless stage of bureaucracy, was born. In bureaucracies the body has been rejected: by removing the body, the foul and injurious we are trying to create an illusion of the presence of good life and absence of all sorrows (Burrell, 1997; Juuti, 2001). But besides the ugly and messy, bodily knowledge can also be attached to the care and warmth of human presence (Ropo et al., 2005).

Inspired by Foucault, in his work on *Pandemonium* (pandemonium= Greek; lodging place of evil spirits, suffering), Burrell (1997) criticizes the modern thinking for sweeping under the carpet all the messy, dirty, unpleasant and chaotic belonging to human life (Juuti, 2001). Clear structures, beauty of geometry, hierarchies, organization, symmetry and purity are forms of the modern (Ropo et al., 2002). In organization theory the beautiful and smooth, quality and result, get a lot of attention. Leaning on Nietzsche and de Sade, Burrell decides to see and to focus onto what the others wanted to forget: on the body, flesh, blood, power, violence, sex and fear.

"(Pandemonium) is meant to escape from the normal conventions of textual presentation which pass for common sense within Western social science." (Burrell, 1997, 1–2)

Burrell sees us now in between the positivist cold rationality, since being constructed by it but then again, torn to the human, bodily and emotional passions. Besides the emotional and bodily phenomena that have been labeled as forbidden and dark, there are less provocative everyday bodily and emotional issues in every organization, like power and gender, sickness and ageing.

From controlled objectivity to subjective experiences. According to the positivist rationality, the world is thought to be controllable and organized, and we tend to think its language as being objective and rational. Because of the nature of emotions as being subjective and individual, in Europe beginning already in the 19th century, emotions were slowly turned into something that had to be avoided, not only in scientific texts but socially as well: literature, some drinks, such as coffee and tea as well as spices could be doomed evoking "harmful" emotions and bodily conditions.

Emotions and emotionality also became a gender issue. Women, those volatile creatures, were considered to be in danger of 'sinking' into emotions, whereas men were the sensible ones left with the task to protect women from these dangerous temptations. Women were described as suffering uncontrollably and helplessly under their emotions, since they were silly and simple. Hysteria, being solely a women's condition, meant the ecstatic, hallucinating, emotionally overreacting woman on the one hand, and, a hyper-feminine, erotically attractive and alluring nymph on the other. In an old handbook for medicine it is mentioned, that "a real hysterical woman is always very seductive". Hysteria has always been linked to woman's sexuality. It has been a threatening power that had to be controlled (Kortelainen, 2003).

Even though women's position in the western societies has changed, I think women still are shadowed by abovementioned attitudes of 'otherness' attached to moodiness, unpredictability and emotionality. Emotionality and sexuality are intertwined and understood as uncontrolla-

ble and dangerous, unstable behaviors, that need to be cut out of public spheres, such as workplaces.

As postmodernism wishes to make the invisible visible, emotions become interesting. Feelings can be seen as a crucial part of the social order and disorder in organizations: of conflicts, influencing, assimilation, power, sex, organizing of work and the social structure. For people who have grown up in modern society, so thoroughly soaked in modern, positivist thinking, it has become difficult even to perceive feelings and emotions at workplaces because of the negative and disturbing label attached to them. Even the researchers who study emotions in organizations apologize for the 'messiness' (Fineman, 1993).

No matter how constructionist and participatory I want to be, with choosing the theatre work as the empirical focus of my study on emotions and leadership, I may reinforce and reconstruct the stereotypical image of artists, actors and directors as more 'emotional' and 'open' persons, and theatre as more 'emotional' organizations than the 'normal' organizations. Admittedly, yes, I came up with the idea of the embeddedness of emotions and leadership in a theatre context, but I claim that emotions and leadership are equally embedded in any organization.

I do not wish to subscribe to this stereotypical division of the modern rationality in connecting those 'bohemian artist' and emotions as standing together outside the rational world. I do not want to marginalize emotions by attaching them only to the everyday life of the arts organizations. And the other way around, I do not wish to give an exclusive right to emotions only to arts organizations.

Table 1. PARADIGM POSITIONS IN QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

	POSITIVISM	CRITICAL REALISM	CONSTRUC- TIONISM	PARTICIPA- TORY
ONTOLOGY	One reality – one truth	Reality is his- torical, contex- tual, only partly understandable	Multiple re- alities, holistic view	Participative reality
EPISTEMOL- OGY	Subject-object relationship, Realist	Subjectivist, value mediated interpretations	Subject-subject relationship, experiential knowledge	Extended epistemology of experiential, propositional and practical knowing
METHODOL- OGY	Ideal: Natural science, Case study	Dialectical	Narrative, discourse, eth- nography	Participation, primacy of the practical, lan- guage grounded in shared experi- ential context
ASSESSMENT OF QUALITY	Objectivity Validity Reliability Generalizability	Potential for change, empowerment. Modified positivist criteria (trustworthiness)	Reflexivity, authenticity, creativity, lived experience	Congruence of experiential, presentational and practical knowing; aim: human flourish- ing

(Sources: Guba & Lincoln, 1981; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Hammersley, 1992; Lincoln & Denzin, 1994; Heron & Reason, 1997; Patton, 2002; Spencer et al., 2003; Hosking, 2004; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000)

2.3 Aesthetic epistemology gives leeway to emotions

Epistemology is a part of philosophy that addresses the nature of knowledge. How can we know? What can we know? What is knowledge? The epistemology of aesthetics is important in understanding bodily knowledge and bodily presence. According to Strati (1992, 1999) organization-

al aesthetics requires 'a sensory faculty and experience' of e.g. smelling, touching, seeing and 'a reaction to sensory experience'. These experiences are individual in nature: they call for a human body. Sensory, bodily perceptions, emotional reactions and aesthetic judgments are needed to form aesthetic knowledge (Yancey Martin, 2002). Ropo and Parviainen (2001) have developed the aesthetics of bodily leadership in making the bodily practices of leadership visible (see e.g. Ropo & Parviainen, 2001; Parviainen, 1998).

If the human being has got a harmonious relation to the world, it must be a bodily relation. A harmonious relation to the world is corporeal, not only spirit or mind-stuff (Varto, 1993). Knowledge creation calls for senses and emotions, the hands-on – experiences, poignant, shaking, heartfelt experiences that finally make abstract information to personally absorbed, culturally usable and meaningful knowledge (Sava, 1998).

Paula Yancey Martin states about her ethnographic study in an old people's home:

"By bringing sensate and emotional experiences to the fore, it shows what residential organizations look, smell, sound and feel like to residents, staff and ethnographer." (2002, 865)

The etymology of the word aesthetics comes from ancient Greek *aisth* and *aisthanomai*, (knowing on the basis of sensible perceptions) and it conveys the heuristic action of aesthetics: feeling through physical perception. The verb *aisthanomai* denotes the stimulation of the abilities related to feeling, which means that aesthetics is an active aid to observation (Marquard, 1989).

Aesthetics differ from rational or cognitive approaches. Aesthetics is a special form of knowing, different from intellectual and rational knowledge. It is heuristic in nature (i.e. it leads to discovery, learning through trial and error). Gestured language, myth and metaphor are its forms of knowing. Aesthetic approach emphasizes that rational analysis neglects extremely important aspects of quotidian organizational practices, not

that it chooses to but it cannot grasp or understand their meaning. The knowledge obtained like this is partial, fragmented and modest. It is not generalizable, universal, nor objective: it gives up every tradition of positivist organization study. Instead, aesthetics enables us to study and to talk of the subtle, underlying qualities, which we sense, but cannot quite put our finger on (Samier, 2005; Strati, 2000).

Aesthetic knowledge is not entirely verbal, but also visual, gestural, intuitive and evocative. It poses new challenge to the researcher, when conducting an empirical inquiry: the scholar needs to use her or his own senses and perceptive abilities to produce organizational knowledge. Sensual abilities influence practices and meanings of organizational life. Being able to understand emotions and act upon them is sensual ability. However, this does not mean, and should not lead to rationalization of emotions.

I argue for emotions being knowledge. Knowledge is either conscious or unconscious: we are conscious of the fact that we know. We are also conscious of the fact that we do not know. We may also not be conscious of the fact that we know. This could be called intuition.

In focusing on theatrical ensembles, I have been inspired by the ideas of the romantics, especially of Friedrich Schiller (1759–1805). To oppose the message of the Age of Enlightenment, which underlined the reason and the objective observation to draw knowledge of the world, the Romanticism (1780–1840) turned to feeling, emotion and soul. Romanticism has been called both a way to escapism and to exploratory expeditions. Romanticism got a foothold especially in the arts: literature, theatre, poetry and painting all found inspiration in emotions.

The science of psychology started to develop. Romanticism inspired writers to explore also the dark sides of human mind. Fantasy, horror and mystery genres in literature were born. Central to romanticism was the genius position of an artist. The artist was the source of inspiration who was expected to lead the way to the future and, ultimately, to divinity. As the age of Enlightenment had promoted rationality, Schiller pointed to

the importance of emotional side of human existence. Based on the ideas of Immanuel Kant and his thoughts concerning space and time and the categories of understanding being subjective and thus ideal, Schiller believed in aesthetic values being the chief types of intellectual norms.

"Fortunately he possesses not only in his rational nature a moral tendency that can be developed by his understanding, but even in his sensuously reasonable (i.e., human) nature an aesthetic tendency that is aroused by certain sensible objects and which by the purification of his feelings can be cultivated toward this idealistic impulse of his spirit. I now propose to treat of this tendency; one which in its conception and being is indeed idealistic, but which the realist also displays clearly enough in his life, even though he does not acknowledge it in his system...

By means of the feeling for the sublime, therefore, we discover that the state of our minds is not necessarily determined by the state of our sensations, that the laws of nature are not necessarily our own, and that we possess a principle proper to ourselves that is independent of all sensuous affects... Then away with falsely construed forbearance and vapidly effeminate taste which cast a veil over the solemn face of necessity and, in order to curry favor with the senses, counterfeit a harmony between good fortune and good behavior of which not a trace is to be found in the actual world. Let us stand face to face with the evil fatality. Not in ignorance of the dangers which lurk about us – for finally there must be an end to ignorance – only in acquaintance with them lies our salvation." (Excerpts from the essay "On the Sublime" by Friedrich Schiller)

Schiller held to the idea that feelings and emotions, not only bodily sensations, are crucial for human development towards the better future. He calls for aesthetic tendency, which is not to be understood as beauty alone, but also what he calls "sublime", an intuition, a tendency or a hunch of a human being towards something that is hardly definable in words, but includes feelings of melancholy, joy and deep desire. By and large, Schiller advocates the vast spectrum of human emotions and feel-

ings as sources of knowledge and deep understanding. As means to evoke these emotions Schiller offers us art.

Aesthetics toward phenomenological hermeneutics. The hermeneutic elaboration of constructionist paradigm has led to participatory paradigm (Lincoln & Guba, 2000). As Laurel Richardson (1998) has stated, the paradigmatic categories are fluid, constantly altering and enlarging. The ontology of participatory paradigm has brought in a more appreciative attitude towards participation and cocreation of the reality. On the epistemic level participative paradigm offers an extended epistemology of experiential, practical and propositional knowing.

To study emotions as a part of leadership construction and as an everyday-life practice demands an empathetic, compassionate attitude from the researcher. The traditional positivist researcher aiming to objectivity, invisibility and non-obtrusiveness cannot grasp the emotionality of leadership. As Denzin (1994) puts it, it calls for a newer, gentler, compassionate gaze, which looks, and desires, not technical, instrumental knowledge, but in-depth existential understandings.

On the epistemic level, it is very hard to define theoretically how to become aware and thus part of the experiential, practical and propositional knowing of emotions in leadership construction. Geertz's (1979) conception of the process of ethnographic, i.e. experiential and participatory understanding can be described as hermeneutic, since it emphasizes that one must grasp the situation in which human actions make meaning in order to say one has understood the action.

Phenomenology is also important. Philosopher Merleau-Ponty brought body to phenomenology (Parviainen, 1998), concentrating on the idea that we live the world through our body. Therefore, we can ask how we make meaning through the body? Consider the spoken language juxtaposed against the written one: the words uttered by us can be understood in a multitude of ways depending on the tone of our voice, the expression on our face and the gestures we make. The complexity of this kind of epistemology could be called as phenomenological hermeneutics,

meaning the combination of ongoing bodily experience and our previous knowledge and experience of the situation.

The political nature of aesthetics and emotions. The postmodern, constructionist and participatory ontologies, as well as aesthetic experiential and heart-felt knowledge subsume political attitude (Lincoln & Guba, 2000). (Compassionate) knowledge of others has the potential to create emotional bonds. Moral action is often accompanied by an emotional connection thus linking epistemology with ethics. Own personal experience leads to emotional connectedness. Emotion transforms abstract knowledge into concrete understanding: embodied connection allows felt understanding.

Western philosophical tradition has often operated as if moral principles or formulae had a universal quality to them detached from any knowledge base, time or location. Feminists criticize the idea of universal man and the trans-historical rationality. Knowledge is tied to the 'knower', to his or her location and perspective. Knowledge gained through research is particular knowledge: every study produces its own presentation of the subject (Ronkainen, 1996).

Feminist epistemology attaches knowledge to communities making them subjects of knowledge rather than individuals. Communities sustain discursive and material resources and social and cognitive practices of how knowledge is produced and legitimized. Walker (1998, 2004) describes the feminist epistemology as maintaining that knowledge is necessarily an intersubjective achievement and also that communities sustain the practices and resources for knowledge.

Emotions also bind communities together and become a dominant force in fixing relations (http://www.americanphilosophy.org/archives/2002_Conference/2002_papers/tp-11.htm). Beside emotions, also aesthetic practices, as acting, function as bonding elements between people, thus creating communities (Von Glinow et al., 2004).

Feminist epistemology links together the bodily and sensuous way of knowing. Feminist epistemology, as well as emotional epistemology, is political in nature, raising questions about power and hierarchies, which are central phenomena also in leadership. Jane Addams, American nobelist, philosopher and a social reformist (1860–1935), accused of being a socialist, an anarchist, and a communist, was also an early feminist. Her publication "a New Conscience and an Ancient Evil" (1912), gave fuel to philosophical ideas of emotional epistemology, grounding her thoughts in experiences of particular time and place, which is very close to postmodern feminist epistemologies (Walker, 1998). Addams' emotional epistemology is highly political in nature.

The feminist epistemology contrasts the western epistemic tradition of autonomous agents and universal principles offering the safety of emotional detachment and personal distance. The personal connection can elicit emotional response, and thereby, shorten that distance. Emotional knowledge, as a result of emotional epistemology, implies risk and vulnerability that has the potential to cause us pain and disappointment.

Emotion is a trigger between rational knowledge and action: we see a picture of a malnourished baby in the newspaper with a bank account number of the local Red Cross below. We may feel pity or get slightly irritated about the unjustness of the world, but instead of running into the bank to make a deposit, we choose to turn the page of the newspaper instead. But what if someone brought a malnourished baby into our office? At least we would open our wallets to help the child immediately and encourage all others in our department to do so as well. Some of us might even organize a statewide collection! No wonder emotional epistemology is called disruptive, because it transforms abstract understanding into concrete understanding. Through emotions we make evaluations about appropriateness and inappropriateness, which may lead to (political) action.

Jane Addams argued that leadership is a relation. She called for a connected leadership, which would make the participation and presence ongoing elements of leadership (Hamington, 2001). Addams wanted to close the power distance between the leaders and the non-leaders to make

the relationship, thus connectedness real and the knowledge more practical than abstract. I follow Addams' thinking in arguing that emotions constitute the leadership relationship in a theatrical ensemble, where the aesthetic practice of doing the work is based on presence and where emotions in addition to being subjective and private, are created together, shared, co- and reproduced.

This is in contrast with the traditional leadership research based on positivist ontology. While I am interested in emotion practices and emotional staging as constituents of leadership, the traditional leadership research in business organizations can be condensed into the question of how leadership can improve the profit. More broadly, leadership is understood as target oriented action, aiming to make an organization function in the way that both current profitability and future challenges are met. Since the task of the business organization is to be financially profitable, it means combining the often controversial objectives of monetary gains and effectiveness with human well being. Linking emotions and leadership also sheds light to the questions about the role of emotions in hierarchies and power relations, presence, the connectedness and vulnerability. Research, which studies power relations is inherently political in nature. I connect my study to feminist and emotional epistemology, because I see emotions as repressed within leadership studies. When unleashed and acknowledged as knowledge, emotions have the potential to change the existing leadership practices. The political mission of this study is to get emotional knowledge recognized also within leadership theory and practice.

Summarizing this chapter so far, I have explained my ontological and epistemological choices: I have made an attempt to explain the development of postmodern, constructionist paradigm towards participatory one. Referring to Richardsson (1998), I see the borders between postpositivist paradigms being fluid, constantly changing. The epistemology of experiential and participatory knowing are discussed with aesthetics and phenomenological hermeneutics, as eliciting the bodily and sensual

in experiential knowing, and finally brought to feminist and emotional epistemology to point out the political agenda in this research. The purpose of this discussion was to clarify how the methodological choices presented below conjoin my ontological and epistemological decisions.

2.4 Method: From anthropology to caricatures

This chapter discusses the path from anthropology via ethnographic research to fictional narratives and caricatures. I consider this important, as this study is empirical in nature. It calls for an independent search and careful explanation of the data collection and the methodology. There is no ready-made framework to follow and no templates for analysis. This is one of the critical challenges of social constructionist qualitative studies: one has to make one's own constellations and own analytical tools to be able to exhibit a rich description and a relevant analysis. For the analysis, I have chosen and developed categories, that on the basis of empirical data, I have found to define and construct the combination of emotions and leadership in a rehearsal process.

For the empirical part of this study I had made interviews, collected written documents, and performed participant observation. Still, I wanted to participate in making a play in order to have a hands-on experience of what is going on in a group of actors and a director. After having done that I turned to theory on field work. Having followed the development from anthropology to ethnographic field work, and the way of reporting from expedition diaries to narratives, I had gathered enough courage to report my experiences by writing narrative fiction. I call the stories caricatures.

Anthropology as the basis for ethnography and narratives. The tradition of anthropology began with expeditions. Researchers explored strange continents, different tribes, cultures and habits. Distinctive to anthropology was the positioning of the self as an objective observer and viewer studying the 'other'. Feminist anthropology (e.g. Coffey, 1999) on the one hand, re-positions the researcher in the midst of the others, into a position of 'not-knower', and thus taking away the power relation to the subject of the study. On the other hand the feminist anthropology is giving voice to the researchers subjectivity, also, thus making the study multi-voiced (see Wahab, 2003).

Czarniawska (1998) uses anthropology as a frame of mind when conducting narrative studies, as one must create a fit between one's own worldview and the organization one wants to study, with the first rule or claim being that one must conduct fieldwork. In an eye-opening way, she presents two figures, a researcher and a CEO to show the reader how the worlds of these two people do not touch each other, though living in the same country in the same era. The text being a metaphor for the researcher's academic world contra the subject's practical non-conceptual world, and their slow progress to the point where the researcher becomes the subject of the original subject person.

What Czarniawska suggests, in contrast to the golden rules of anthropology, is that one can do fieldwork among one's own culture and it is not necessary to make prolonged studies as a participant-observer. Czarniawska sees the prolonged studies as somewhat problematic, the anthropological researches often lasting years, possibly decades. She points out that there is no neutral starting point, but it is the purpose of the study to make the difference and set the starting point. Such phenomena are recommended to be presented as power and structure rather than explanations. The researcher should first ask him or herself, what it is that he or she would like to reveal in time and secondly if the purpose of the study will be fulfilled more effectively by prolonging the field study.

The original reason for the thought that fieldwork cannot be carried out among one's own culture is that one has lost some of the needed naïveté. Czarniawska argues that the researchers are necessarily accompanied by prejudices stemming from their own culture, and do not arrive

as objective observers to a strange one. She suggests that Nigel Barley (1983, 1988) deserves a status as the patron saint of anthropologically inspired organization studies as he helped to show how pathetic figures the anthropologists were in an alien culture. Barley also claimed that it makes sense to study one's own culture, and in Czarniawska's words:

"With luck, the visitor may be regarded as an uninformed but well-meaning researcher – an euphemism for a harmless idiot or a nuisance." (1998, 24)

The other rules of anthropology being broken or bent (Czarniawska, 1998) in the use of organization studies, are the prolonged periods of participant observations, that include participation, time, space and invisibility. Some anthropologists suggest, that the best position the researcher can have is inside the organization, the researcher having assumed the role of an organizational member, or the other way around, that an employee becomes a researcher (see for example Melville Dalton 1959, John Van Maanen 1982, and Robin Leidner 1993).

This idea of an objective observer stems from a positivistic, traditionally masculine, world view where rationality and emotions are put in a dichotomy. As this positioning is intolerable (but still continuing the dichotomy) in my study I replace the objective, invisible observer with a more "feminine" approach of a compassionate, participatory researcher functioning as a bodily person.

I have written fictional narratives about leadership in a theatre ensemble, where emotions seem to play a major role. In the social constructionist, post positivist paradigm, the interest shifted towards the use of language. It resulted in new empirical methodologies, where the world was textual. Moving towards participatory paradigm, beside the language there is the shared experience, which ties the researcher into the inquiry process.

I personally felt the difficulty of having a double role as a researcher and as a participant as I decided that in order to be able to fully participate I had to become a member of a theatrical ensemble; to have a function there. The work of a costumier was perfect. It was natural for me to participate in the rehearsals but it left enough room for me to stay alert to what was going on. In the beginning, though I had been open about my double role as a researcher and a costumier, I felt like a traitor, an infiltrator, who uses the role of the costumier as a cover-up. I became more self assured as I did my job and the work went smoothly. However, every once in a while I had to pinch myself not to slip too much into either of my identities. I had two jobs to do: the dresses and staying alert to what was going on.

Besides sewing the seams of the costumes well enough, I took part in the social life of the ensemble. I was maybe more silent than the other members of the group, as I did not want to talk that much of my research or my work at the university, but I was an avid listener eager to hear all the stories. Becoming a member of a group, getting to know the people and making friends made me think very positively about the ensemble. Just visiting instead of having had a permanent position in a theatre ensemble has for sure made the experience exotic, unique and rosy. When considering how to report this experience I suddenly felt a conflict of interest. I did not want to double cross the group, even though nothing of a sort happened what I could not write about. Still at first, I somehow felt that writing about the process was a little insensitive and rude, like breaking a silent agreement of trust. The idea to write caricatures was a relief in this sense. I had both the means to convey the experiences and a way to protect the anonymity of the people.

To tackle the difficulties of simultaneous organizing, and people moving around, doing a lot of unobservable things, Czarniawska presents us with several techniques. She has *shadowed*, i.e. followed the subjects around as they do their work (Czarniawska, 2004).

As the rehearsal process evolved, I often worked near the director, sewing or gluing, or just discussing with others what a scene should look like. More and more, she explained her thoughts and asked also for my opinion. Towards the end I had become something of an assistant, shad-

owing her, like Czarniawska suggests, in order to be there for discussing a scene or to implement ideas concerning the props, the costumes or other details.

Ethnography and ethnographic writing. People working in a theatre share the theatre context and the jargon used in the trade. In addition to that the artistic staff share, at least partly, common professional training based on mutual history, values and norms. This common education basis, as well as rather a coherent cultural tradition in Finland in general, contributes to the isomorphic modus operandi and thus, to the reproduction of the common social reality.

There are several opinions about the concept of ethnography and what it includes. It can mean broadly a study of an explorative nature, where the data is unstructured, and where the researcher is case oriented and interested in meanings (Alvesson, 2003). Silverman defines it as any study referring to naturally occurring events (2001). Crucial to ethnography is first, an insightful choice of the subject of the study to be able to get the best possible data, and second, the thick description, which means careful, detailed and insightful accounts of social processes and the ways meanings are expressed. Ethnography is valued as it involves more than just interviews. The experience of 'having been there' is often thought to offer a deeper understanding (Geertz, 1973). Ethnography draws on from the tradition of ethno methodology (Garfinkel, 1967).

Usually, an ethnographic study means a study involving a long period of fieldwork, as the researcher tries to obtain a deeper understanding by getting close to the community she or he studies. The everyday life is usually not studied only as linguistic practices but the researcher also pays attention to the area of mutual understanding that cannot necessarily be expressed in speech (Garfinkel, 1967). The researcher is a part of the research, being in fact the main instrument in the study. She or he is the contrast against which she or he mirrors the researched subject (Ranta-Tyrkkö, 2005). The paradoxes and tensions are born from the differing perspectives of the researcher and the researched.

The researcher relies on the accounts and her or his own observations of a rich variety of naturally occurring events, and also on other material as documents and material artifacts. The researcher is interested in meanings, symbols, ideas and assumptions (Alvesson, 2003).

There are two major elements in ethnography: the process of fieldwork and the writing of the text (Van Maanen, 1995). The researcher is required to produce a thick description of the system and the context (Garfinkel, 1967). The structures and contexts are often written about as independent, separate from the life of individual people. According to Garfinkel the mutual cultural reality is manifested in the ways members of society play their part, or manage their self presentation in response to an imposed social order. Garfinkel believes that social performers create and sustain this social order. The cultural reality is collectively produced by the interaction partners, who, as simultaneously being the products of the culture in question, automatically reproduce the culture, and the structures and the contexts, in their everyday lives.

Constructionist and participatory view on ethnography have both impugned the need of lengthy field study periods, as the distant subject – object relationship between the observer and the observed (Hosking, 2002; Tedlock, 2000). The concept of participant observation refers to both distant subject object relation (observation), and to closeness (participation). To embrace the intersubjectivities of ethnographic fieldwork researchers should reconceptualize the participant observation as "observant participation" (Tedlock, 1991).

According to Lassiter (2000) Tedlock (1992) writes

"During participant observation, ethnographers move back and forth between being emotionally engaged participants and coolly dispassionate observers of the lives of others. This strange procedure is not only emotionally upsetting but morally suspect in that ethnographers carefully establish intimate human relationships and then depersonalize them – all, ironically, in the name of the social or human sciences. In the observation of participation, on the other hand, ethnographers use their everyday social skills in simultaneously ex-

periencing and observing their own and others' interactions within various settings." (Tedlock, 1992 in Lassiter, 2000, 608)

Observant participation can be understood as a variation of ethnographic interviews, which are repetitive, open, and extensive interviews, a superb example being the study of Mats Alveson and Ann-Sofie Köping (1993) on advertisement firms in Sweden. Without the accounts of the people it may be difficult to say anything about the practices and situations the researcher has witnessed. Interviews may also provide better understanding as the researcher gets more deeply familiar with the interviewees and is better able to formulate the questions (Alvesson, 2003).

After the interviews, observant participation and participation as a member of the ensemble, I felt I had completed my field work. I had a multifaceted understanding of the leadership in a rehearsal process and I started to ponder on how to write the data in a way that would simultaneously allow me to make an account of my experiences in the field and to include the interviews and other documents, for example newspaper articles, critics and photographs to make space for multitude of voices.

The interplay of leadership and emotion is a subtle phenomenon to write about, even though we produce, interpret and recognize emotions in each other all the time. However, writing about emotions at work, attached to leadership and as an account of an empirical phenomenon within academic research tradition felt difficult. I lacked concepts and words. So there I was, eager and willing to try and write rich, thick stories of rehearsal processes in theatre and about the emotionality of the leadership processes in there, but at the same time I felt paralyzed by the rigid, rule-filled ways of treating different kinds of data.

Being a leadership scholar, and belonging to the tradition of organization research, has an impact on the ways of how one writes and analyzes the research subject. The scientific vocabulary has grown to meet the needs of the positivist tradition. This study is a fitting example of it: the official form of a doctoral dissertation is a book, filled with text, divided

into chapters according to predetermined logics. The book has to include certain information, in certain format.

Ethnographic interviews can be directly analyzed as ready made narratives, but the researcher can also write ethnographies. In Lassiter, (2000) Barbara Tedlock writes that reconceptualizing ethnography through the framework of observant-participation

"...has resulted in a representational transformation where, instead of a choice between writing a personal memoir portraying the Self (or else producing a standard ethnographic monograph portraying the Other), both Self and Other are presented together within a single multivocal text focused on the character and process of the human encounter. This emergent form of writing is known as "narrative ethnography"... What follows, then, is a multitude of voices and textures, each revealing human experience." (Tedlock, 1992 in Lassiter, 2000)

Narratives. Storytelling is said to be the main mode of human knowledge (J. Bruner, 1986, 1990) and the main mode of communication (Fisher, 1984, 1987). Reconciliation between the scientific and narrative knowing has been attempted several times (see for example Giambattista Vico, 1744/1968; Czarniawska-Joerges & Guillet de Monthoux, 1994). It is claimed that life is best conceived as an enacted narrative (MacIntyre, 1981, 1990).

A narrative device is neither a model nor a blueprint. It is there for everyone to use, to re- and deconstruct according to their need. The difference between make-believe and reality is a fluid one, so is the difference between theatre and real life. Organizational narratives are both inscriptions of past performances and script and staging instructions for future performances.

Using narrative methods enables researchers to place themselves at the interface between persons, stories, and organizations and to place the person in emotional and organizational context (Glynn, 2005; Sandelands & Boudens, 2000; Boje, 1995, 2001). Organizations are seen as

social constructions interactionally relevant and constraining (Czarniawska, 1997, 1998).

Much of organizational life is spent reading stories already written, and interpreting them within a set of existing rules, namely routines, sense-making or the activity of attributing meaning to previously meaningless cues also occurs: storytelling is a never ending construction of meaning in organizations. Stories simplify the world, and are thus useful as guides (see Weick, 1995).

Narrative in its most basic form requires three elements: the original state of affairs, an action or an event and the consequent state of affairs. Often, the plot must be put there. Within the narrative, an explanation usually consists of relating an event to a person or persons. Narratives exhibit an explanation, instead of demonstrating it. To each reader the text talks differently (Katila, 2000). The basic factors of storytelling are the necessary actors (dramatis personae) (Propp, 1968), the basic structure and the dynamics of the story. Sarbin (1986) suggests that narratives illuminate the experience of emotion where the interaction of people and things could be described from the point of view of emotions.

Fictional narratives. The academic tradition is based on communicating through writing. Since the Renaissance the world of writing has been divided into two: literary writing and scientific writing. Literature has ever since been associated with fiction, rhetoric and subjectivity whereas scientific writing has been associated with fact, plain language and objectivity, fiction being 'false' and science 'true', since it only 'objectively reported' the reality.

Beginning in the nineteenth century, the social sciences have crossed this dualism, by employing the language of science to literature and vice versa (Richardson, 1994). Qualitative researchers in social sciences strive for thick, rich description and good writing, but at the same time they are constrained by the traditions of mechanistic models stemming from quantitative tradition, where the meaning of the work can be conveyed in tables and summaries. Qualitative work depends on people reading

it, and not just the plot summary. Alvesson and Köping (1993) make an argument for increasing the readability and fluency and at the same time increasing interest in scientific texts by paying attention to the style of the writing. According to them it is the task of the researcher to be independent and critical, which can mean that the traditional serious and distant approach is put aside and the ironical view (Alvesson & Köping, 1993) is taken instead.

It was crucial for the objectives of this study to be able to present the data in a form that the reader organically understands the variety of roles the emotions play in constructing leadership, the different places where leadership and emotions are intertwined and finally, how emotions are an organic and inseparable dimension of leadership.

Feminists and postmodernists have criticized the traditional qualitative writing practices, and come up with experimental writing, "where it is not about 'getting it right', but about getting it differently nuanced" as Richardson (1994) writes.

"The writers are seeking a format in which to tell 'a good story'; that story might be about the self, but more likely it is about the group or culture studied. In addition to the techniques used by self narrators, ethnographic fiction writers draw upon other devices, such as flashback, flashforward, alternative points of view, deep characterization, tone shifts, synechdoche, dialogue, interior monologue and sometimes even the omniscient narrator. The ethnographic setting encases the story, the cultural norms are seen through the characters, but the work is understood as fiction." (1994, 521)

Ethnographic experiential writing seemed to conjoin with the postmodern approach to narrative (Hosking, 2004), where narratives are seen as embedded, situated and of local and relational quality. They are regarded as social and not individual to articulate local and practical concerns (Gergen and Thatchenkerry, 1996). The narratives give voice to issues and practices that usually are muted, suppressed or silenced (Hosking, 2004).

Based on the variety of empirical data, especially the interviews, observations and the data gathered by participating in a rehearsal process I decided to write fictional narratives (Rhodes & Brown, 2005; Patient et al., 2003). They illustrate the everyday life in a theatre when an ensemble is rehearsing a play. When choosing this method to present the data it was important for me to be able to convey the emotionality of the process.

"The considerable scientific value of stories comes in their mapping of the feelings and forms of social life...Feeling at work is symbolized figuratively in art forms such as stories." (Sandelands & Boudens, 2000, 61)

I started to write the caricatures by posing the data a question 'How is leadership talked about', 'or how is leadership perceived'. In caricatures, strong emotional states and waves were a dynamic and constructing element. Emotional landscapes in caricatures were constructed by different social practices, different relationship rules, emotional scripts and emotional roles. I also asked:

- How do the participants produce leadership and emotions?
- How do the participants combine emotions and leadership?
- How did I perceive this to happen?

Thinking of the caricatures as emotional landscapes where different actions take place led me to ask

- What did these landscapes consist of?
- How were they constructed?
- What were the sources of emotion in leadership relation?
- What practices, rules, scripts and roles construct leadership? What kind of argumentation, positions and roles are taken? What were the results of the processes? What ideological consequences does the process/result connection have?

During the interviews I heard many fragments of experiences referring to previous experiences of horrible or great directors and rehearsal processes. Through these small examples the interviewees usually wanted to illustrate something abstract, hard to put one's finger on. I felt these excerpts were important to me. I started to write them together with my other data, thus creating four different caricatures.

To best describe the patterns I ended up formulating four caricatures:

- a) Monster
- b) Family
- c) Elitist
- d) Tea-Party

The caricatures are my constructions. None of them has exactly taken place. I have brewed them from the mixture of my data. None of the persons in the caricatures has existed as such, they are also results of me choosing to exaggerate or belittle some characteristics.

Paul Veyne, a French historian, has studied the notion of truth in history and said that the world can be fictional only according to whether one believes in it or not. The difference between reality and fiction is not objective, but it resides in us according to if we subjectively see it as fiction or reality.

Characterizing caricatures. Neither the social constructionist nor the participatory paradigm aim at causally explaining or ranking, but it casts light on how we, when interacting with each other in every-day life, construct and experience the various phenomena. The meanings are results of interaction. Shedding light from one angle is offering one possible explanation. Shedding light from multiple angles may offer multiple, even contradictory explanations. Therefore, the constructionist and participatory paradigms cannot offer exclusive causal explanations as truths.

The emotional and feministic epistemology call for subjectivity, body and the feeling (Liljeström, 2004) Thus, I study also the 'unsaid', because

my sensory observations are considered as valuable knowledge (Koivunen, 2003). The challenge lies in reporting because when writing down and describing, it is me who is interpreting and labeling and, thus, making choices about who is given a voice. In trying to write rich descriptions of everyday life with its practices, structures and multiple hierarchies within the leadership construction and the emotional dimension I wanted to bring the reader inside the intimate and sensible rehearsal processes. The relational way of making theatre and leading a rehearsal process could be captured in writing and also in some photographs I chose to present with the caricatures. I also believe that fictional narrative is a powerful, yet sensitive medium in leadership research to talk about the bodily, relational and shared practices of leadership. Fictional narratives can reveal qualities of group experience in a way that other research types cannot: it helps further in formulating the central questions.

As our ways of living are becoming more and more fragmented, we have grown used to describing people, places and situations just by outlining out or making a rough sketch. A style and a taste are easily understood as typified examples. Ingalill Holmberg and Mats Wiman (2004) write about the problem of simplifying. In organizational life it can lead to mistakes and in the worst case, even to catastrophies. We do it in order to be able to avoid complexity, ambiquity and uncertainty. The caricatures are condensed stories of emotions and leadership. Through condensing, the intensity of stories has increased, but I think that in caricatures the nuances of the life and the leadership of theatrical ensembles have been preserved. I also think that the set of four caricatures deliver a picture of the complexity and ambiquity of the work and thus avoid the danger of oversimplification.

I chose to call my fictional narratives as caricatures, since they are condensed ways of presenting long processes. Here, I was forced to leave out the things I considered unnecessary when concentrating on emotions and leadership. Also, the amplitude and variety of data I have posed a challenge: I had to find a way to present the reader with the essential in

relation to my research question. Writing caricatures was my solution. Therefore, the caricatures are already an analysis of my data.

According to the web dictionary the noun "caricature" means

"a drawing or imitation (of someone or something) which is so exaggerated as to appear ridiculous."

The verb, to caricature, means to satirize by emphasizing someone's bad features. Caricature is thus a way of descibing something in such a manner that the original person or phenomenon is easily identifiable, but the dominant features are exaggerated. In newspapers, the politicians are usually targets of caricaturists, but caricaturizing has always been a part of visual presentation. A caricature is a visualized simplification, that delivers the essential of the phenomenon. At best, this is done in a shrewd and amusing way (Soikkeli, 1996).

Besides visual presentation, to caricaturize can also mean linguistic presentation, for example in a speech or in a text. The verb, to caricaturize, depending on the situation, can be understood in a pejorative or laudatory meaning: it may mean a travesty or a mockery, or a very insightful, witty and perspicacious way of presentation.

During the rehearsals in the fall of 2004 I also took some photos, which in earlier data collecting situations would have been an unthinkable violation of the atmosphere. The intimacy of the rehearsal process would have vanished if I had violated the unspoken code of behavior as a participant observer, who had been able to develop such a close a relationship with the ensemble at the TTT, that a title of an observing participant felt more suited. I was also able to get hold of the photographs the theatres had made of all of their plays, as the local theatres, where I had collected data from, gave me free access to their photographs. The disadvantage of these photographs, however, was the fact that they had been taken at the rehearsals of the actors performing the play: there was no director nor other members of the work group in sight.

For illustrative purpose I decided to add photographs to the caricature. For me, photographs seemed like a powerful way of mediating something that is very hard to put into words: the visual dimension of the interplay of emotions and leadership. It adds to the written caricature by challenging the reader visually. It 'speaks' another language than the text.

The constructionist and participatory researchers see reality as an agreement, fluid in time and in space, negotiated again and again (Burr, 1995; Hosking, 1999; Ropo, Parviainen & Koivunen, 2002) in the fragmented situations of everyday life. All situations and organizations include and consist of unspoken social codes, values and norms. The postmodern perspective extends our perception of organizations beyond their structural boundaries to symbols, metaphors, rhetoric and rules and practices, through which the activities become understood in another way. I started to see human beings as bodily and linguistically emotional, first in relation to each other's bodily and linguistic presence, but also in relation to spatial, as well as rhythmic presence.

The dimensions of

- a) bodily presence, especially sight and touching
- b) language
- c) rhythm
- d) space

became important because they open the view to the emotionality of leadership constructions.

With the help of these dimensions I have described the habits of argumentation, emotional scripts, identities and positions within different situations and spaces. Inspired by the work of Koivunen (2003) and Czarniawska (1999) I do my best to provide you with reading that brings you within the theatre group, contrasting the paradoxical expectations and power relations. I hope this stirs your emotions as it did mine.

2.5 Quality criteria of postmodern qualitative research

According to chosen epistemology researchers are not objectively making observations or 'collecting' data. The researcher is an active participant and cannot deny his/her influence on the researched subject (Gergen, 1994; Hosking, 2002). The objectivity of the researcher is a myth. Everyone, including the researcher, is part of (rather than apart from) the process creating the world, in this case the construction of emotions in a group and in leadership. Thus, my subjective world view is present in this study.

When I collect data I 'understand' people through my experiences and character and, even more so, when I write about my material. Deciding what are considered as key elements depends largely on the position, choice, and competence of partners in knowledge creation in a particular field. The researcher is part of the narrative by constructing it based on her own expertise and position, still negotiating continually with other narratives and elements.

I have heard and seen (stories of the) rehearsal processes. There are things I have seen, heard, and felt during the rehearsal periods where I was present. There is also the emotional exchange during the interviews. Participating in a rehearsal process gave me an opportunity to perceive it through my senses. When writing these stories I have tried to find the emotions and voices of the participants being aware of the fact that I have left something out and added something of my own.

Within positivist realm gathering different sets of data is referred to as triangulation, a form of fortifying the validity of the study. However, within constructionist or participatory paradigms, the aim is not to find the truth, or to be better able to claim what is the truth, but to better understand the phenomena, and as in my study, to better make sense of the interplay of emotions and leadership.

The traditional evaluation criteria, objectivity, validity and realiability are problematic in social constructionist and participatory qualita-

tive research. Where the extremists suggest throwing out all criteria, the majority agrees with reflexivity, self reflexivity, leveling and an overall 'fit' to be as important (Spencer et al., 2003). The quality criteria of objectivity, reliability and validity belong to positivist scientific tradition. In constructionist research objectivity is considered impossible, since our premises are already biased. Our own history, gender, race and traditions make objectivity impossible to achieve. Instead, reflexivity becomes important (Hosking, 2002).

In the constructionist and participatory research quality of the research cannot be measured in the same way as in the positivist and post-positivist traditions. When evaluating the goodness and quality of the post positivist qualitative research, there are (at least) two possible sets of criteria (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Hammersley, 1992; Lincoln & Denzin, 1994; Heron & Reason, 1997; Patton, 2002; Spencer et al., 2003; Hosking, 2004; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). The constructionist criteria are reflexivity, authenticity, creativity and lived experience. In the participatory paradigm the criteria are congruence of experiential, presentational and practical knowing of the political agenda aiming to human flourishing.

Having worked in a theatre ensemble, i.e. "gone native" by being deeply immersed into the life of the target group, and having co-created parts of the data with the participants I answer to the criteria of authenticity and the congruence of experience and practical knowing. By having written the caricatures I have, in congruence with the experience and practice, presented the data in a creative way. Throughout this research I have tried to fulfill the criteria of reflexivity by making account of how the data was gathered and what my experiences in the field were like. I also gave the narratives and the analysis to some of the participants to read and comment on.

I openly state that my political agenda in doing this research is to describe and conceptualize and empower the emotional knowledge in leadership. I promote leadership theory where body and emotions are present and by that broaden the perspective from which we see leadership. I claim

my study being ontologically authentic by referring to the overall fit of the ontological choices and the research design.

As I subscribe to the thought that this research presents only some possibilities of a multitude of stories that could be told of leadership in a theatre ensemble (Hosking, 2002), the stories I have told here cannot be confirmed to be more credible than any of those other possibilities.

3

THEORETICAL STANDPOINTS

Emotionalizing the leadership

In the previous chapter, the ontological and epistemological standpoints were brought together with the methodological choices. Emotions were discussed from the aesthetic perspective. In this chapter, after a brief historical glance, the organization theory and especially the theory of leadership are looked at from the perspective of emotions. I build my argumentation on the previous research that shows there is a connection between different emotional behaviours and leadership qualities: positive emotions and positive leadership are implied to lead into good results. As I tie my research especially to social constructionist studies where emotions and leadership have been studied as a part of everyday life of an organization, the complexity becomes evident. Negative emotions and negative leadership can lead to exceptionally good results.

Second, I have found contacting surface between charismatic, transformational and narcissistic leadership and professional artist working at the theatre that all build a picture of an individual heroic leader. Simultaneously, theatre work is done in ensembles that call for collectivity and sharing, coming more close to the ideal of shared leadership. As the level of analysis of this work is the group level, concentrating on relationships

between the members of the ensembles, also LMX theory is taken up. Finally, bodily leadership is brought into discussion as this study promotes the bodily dimensions of emotions and leadership.

In the last section of this chapter I connect the ontological, epistemological and methodological issues to the challenges that this kind of research, combining complex phenomena like leadership and emotion, poses.

3.1 History: Organizations, leadership and emotion

The bureaucratic control systems (Weber, 1947) were made to dissipate the individual, the personal, the body and the emotions. The bureaucrats succeeded so well that it seems in organizations there is a very narrow language for emotions and no room for the sensuous body. Leadership research has largely followed the scientific, rational tradition, where emotions are absent or have been cornered into something that should be controlled and suppressed.

Yet, in any given organization, emotions are always present. As early as in the 1920's and 1930's psychologists approached organizations from angles, such as workers' sentiments, negative effects of emotions on work behavior, joy at work, zest and morale. These studies were largely motivated by efforts to make organizations more effective. For a short period in 1950's organizational psychoanalysis became fashionable. It was assumed that organizations dwelled in unexpressed desires and anxieties, which sporadically were revealed in routine processes. In following decades, job attitudes and job satisfaction issues occupied researchers. In the 1970's the cognitive side of human behavior was emphasized. The concepts of decision-making, information processing and problem-solving became dominant. The cognitive and rational emphasis is present in

those words which are in opposition to uncertainty, vagueness and thus, emotions (Fineman & Gabriel, 1996).

The history of leadership theory and research can be divided into four stages: until the beginning of 1940s, researchers interested in leadership tried to find traits that would define the phenomenon (Stogdill, 1948; Gibb, 1947; Lord et al., 1986). They tried to identify personal characteristics of effective leaders boiling it down to five traits: surgency, conscientiousness, agreeableness, adjustments and intelligence (Bryman, 1996).

The style approach changed the focus from individual traits of the leader to the behaviour. It put emphasis on the training of the potential individuals. The two areas the researchers tended to focus on were consideration and structure (Kerr et al., 1974). Ohio State University researchers are the best known group attached to leadership style approach, dominant until the late 1960's. It was criticized by the insufficient attention paid to the situational contingency of leader behaviour (Bryman, 1996).

No wonder that the next stage of leadership research is called contingency approach (Fiedler, 1967, 1993; Fiedler & Garcia, 1987). Fiedler developed a measurement instrument known as the least preferred coworker (LPC) scale, which measures what kind of leadership orientation the person filling out the form has. There are pairs of adjectives (friendly – unfriendly; pleasant – unpleasant) indicating a positive view or a negative view, and when answering, the respondent was asked to think of the person she or he least liked to work with. The contingency idea still has considerable support, even though by the end of 1980's the new leadership approach, with concepts like transformational and charismatic leadership, started to dominate the leadership field (Bryman, 1996).

3.2 Emotionalizing leadership through organization theory

Not until the late 1980's were emotions explicitly addressed in organization studies (Ashkanasy et al., 2002; Elsbach et al., 1998; Fineman, 1993, 2000, 2003). During the past 20 years the situation has changed. Even the decision making research, being one of the most cognitive oriented domains of organization research, has started to acknowledge the role of emotions (Maitlis & Ozcelik, 2004). Emotions have been more openly present in organization theory than in leadership research (Fineman, 1993, 1996, 2000), but as Sturdy (2003) states, doing research on emotions brigs along a set of considerable challenges:

"Emotion is only just beginning to be incorporated in into organizational studies and relatively little attention has been given to methodological and related theoretical issues. These present considerable challenges, not least because emotion is considered to be especially elusive-private, intangible, transient, unmanageable, and even 'unknowable'- and is a complex that spans disciplinary divides and attention." (Sturdy, 2003, 81).

Past research tended to take a 'rational' approach, which prevailed across much of the social and behavioral sciences, to organizational behavior, also (see Simon, 1976). The theories presented the people as calculative, logical information processors: within job satisfaction studies the researchers suggested that workers decided to be satisfied based on the rational, utilitarian reflection (Ashkanasy et al., 2002)

"Yet beneath the surface, the issue of emotions and managing emotions in the workplace has often been implicitly at the core of management practice and development (Mastenbroeck, 2000) and is reflected in earlier general (e.g. Simon, 1976) and feminist literature (Mumby & Putnam, 1992)." (Ashkanasy et al., 2000, 317)

Academic interest in emotions in the workplace has traditionally belonged to the area of social psychologists (Isen & Means, 1983). Accord-

ing to Ashkanasy et al. (2002) the interest in the area expanded in the late 1980's and early 1990's, when e.g. Van Maanen & Kunda (1989), Rafaeli and Sutton (1987, 1989), Baron (1993a), George (1990), Hosking and Fineman (1990) contributed to the area. A broader, more integrative view on the area has been called for more recently (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1995; Ashkanasy, Härtel & Zerbe, 2000). Ashkanasy et al. (2002) point out four specific areas related to emotions at work, thus contributing to organization studies:

- a) mood theory, meaning trait emotionality and state mood and the respective predictors of these phenomena. Negative and positive moods have been separately treated in the research (Isen & Baron, 1991; Forgas & George, 2001).
- b) emotional labor (Hochschild, 1983; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1989): Hochscild's study (1983) on stewardesses continues to represent a pioneering work on emotional labor. The research on emotional labor has been divided into areas, where either emotional labor and customer service is being studied or emotional labor and its effects on the employees (Schaubroeck & Jones, 2000; Tews & Glomb, 2000).
- c) affective events theory, based on the finding that affect and emotions are not synonymous with job satisfaction, but are distinct constructs. The research focuses on negative or positive emotion-driven behaviors and their relationship to job attitudes (Fisher, 2000; Weiss et al., 1999).
- d) emotional intelligence (Salovey & Mayer, 1990; Goleman, 1995; Mayer & Salovey, 1997) has boomed among emotion researchers. It is based on the idea of the importance of emotional capabilities in social life, soon understood as vital also in business life, especially for leaders (Fisher & Ashkanasy, 2000). However, the notion of emotional intelligence has become slightly problematic. On one hand, the concept of emotional intelligence is based on scientific measuring methods and different conceptualizations. On the other hand, strict criticism has been raised (Davies et al., 1998). It points out that the more exaggerated claims of emotional intelligence lack theoretical and empirical grounding.

Studies on emotional intelligence and on emotions in general within organizational psychology are largely conducted on individuals. The concepts of emotional intelligence and the research tradition point more to direction of cognitive paradigm rather than to bodily, sensuous and emotional experience. The concepts of emotional intelligence and the concepts of charismatic and transformational leaders and leadership in general are brought together for conceptual discussion by Ashkanasy et al., 2002; Ashkanasy & Tse, 2000; George, 2000; Caruso et al., 2001), suggesting that there are linkages between the behavioral aspects of transformational leaders and the more cognitive and emotional dimensions of leadership. They also call for empirical research.

Studies on leadership and emotions are predominantly quantitative and positivist, concentrating on the causal relations between different emotions or emotional capabilities, which are tied together with the traits or capabilities of the leader. The focus of emotion research, as in traditional leadership research, is almost always an individual. There, emotions are seldom seen as social interactive processes. Studies on emotions and leadership are predominantly concentrating on the leadership style and traits correlating to emotions (e.g. Wolff et al., 2002), as well as emotion management (e.g. Pescosolido, 2002), perceptions of leaders and emotional displays (e.g. Newcombe & Ashkanasy, 2002; Ashkanasy, 1996), emotional intelligence (Cooper & Sawaf, 1997) and traits (Kirkpatrick & Locke, 1991).

The findings suggest that emotions are related to several key issues in leadership, e.g. that positive emotions, like empathy, predict well leadership emergence and that management of group members' emotions is an important part of the leadership process and that leaders successfully managing group processes can influence performance (Humphrey, 2002).

Leading an innovative team and developing a creative, fruitful atmosphere has been claimed to call for emotions labeled as positive ones (Fredrickson, 2003; Fredrickson & Losada, 2005; Gaddis, Connelly &

Mumford, 2004), and thus better outcomes (Isen & Baron, 1991; Isen & Daubman, 1984, Isen et al., 1987, Isen et al., 1985). Positive mood has been attached to prosocial and helping behaviors (Williams & Shiaw, 1999), implying to leaders, and improved performance (Wright & Staw, 1999). Positive mood usually facilitates creativity (Estrada et al., 1994). Nevertheless, there are countervoices: High performance employees strive to meet challenging goals, and it is therefore not expected that they necessarily are in a good mood (Locke & Latham, 1990).

"Throughout the history of philosophy it has been claimed that major dimensions in feelings are linked to pleasure and pain, agreeableness and disagreeableness, or as it is often glossed in modern social psychology, positive or negative valence. In fact, quite a few modern social psychologists believe, that feeling can be quite conveniently reduced to the valence aspect." (Scherer, 2000, 184)

The pervasive understanding and divide between negative (George & Brief, 1992, 1996a) and positive emotion (Isen & Baron, 1991) (e.g. Scherer, 2000; Russell, 1980; Scherer & Ekman, 1984), linking positive emotion to better outcomes, suggesting also, that emotional display and variety will lead to 'emotional exhaustion' (Morris & Feldman, 1996), has been expanded to tri-dimensional system from the classic pleasantness – unpleasantness (Wundt, 1874) dichotomy, by adding for example activity – passivity, tension – relaxation dimensions (Plutchnik, 1980; Schlosberg, 1954). These two dimensions can be found virtually in all studies.

The creativity required in an artistic profession is often brought together with psychological safety, freedom, high internal motivation, absence of external evaluation, surveillance, reward, competition and time pressure (Harrington, Block & Block, 1987; Amabile, Goldfarb & Brackfield, 1990; Amabile, Hennessey & Grossmann, 1986; Kruglanski, Friedman & Zeevi, 1971; McGraw & McCullers 1979; Amabile, 1982; Amabile, Dejong & Lepper, 1976). Brundin (2002) and Sauer and Ropo (forthcoming) state that creativity needs confrontation and tensions.

In a summary, the exceptional outcomes are understood to require positive emotions. Organizational research on emotions focuses mostly on linking positive feelings and positive outcome (Staw et al., 1994, Wright & Staw, 1999). Positive feelings and moods in a more understated form are attached to leadership as well: Positive behaviors and traits are normatively understood as good and effective leadership practices as seen in different leadership definitions.

However, my research within theatre organization suggests that also different stories can be told: the creative processes can be really messy, grotesque counter examples of traditional good leadership practices given in leadership literature. The illusion of the happy everyday life of a creative organization as a nest of positive feelings turned out to be an illusion nobody even seemed to expect to become real. Leadership in a creative group seems to be much more complicated than just 'keeping the spirits up', strengthening the positive emotions.

While leadership is still not exhaustively conceptualized, three areas would seem to be common to many definitions: influence, group and a goal (Bryman, 1996). Leaders have influence on what people consider desirable, possible and necessary. Already this definition holds an implicit notion to emotions. Arlie Hochschild's (1983) pioneering social constructionist study on emotional labor and stewardesses brought the emotions explicitly into leadership research as well. Yukl (2002) states that according to the recent conceptions of leadership which emphasize the emotional aspect

"...only the emotional value-based aspects of leadership influence can account for the exceptional achievements of groups and organizations." (Yukl, 2002, 5)

Sjöstrand (1997) presented a social constructionist study on leaders as emotional human beings. Also Brundin (2002) and Fineman (1996, 2000, 2003) have addressed emotions in leadership from the social constructionist viewpoint. Gabriel, Fineman and Sims (2000) have juxtaposed

psychoanalytic and constructionist approaches, and stated that social constructionist view tends to highlight the negotiation of emotion and emotional display. Also the researchers studying leadership in art and culture often state the importance of emotions (Soila-Wadman & Köping, 2005; Koivunen, 2003). All these studies emphasize the importance of emotions and emotional processes as a part of leadership and between the leaders and the followers, as Fineman puts it:

"Leaders perform on a stage where their emotional performance is under scrutiny. Dealing with balance sheets, strategic plans and marketing information is one thing. Handling one's own, and other's fears, pains, anxieties and insecurities is a very different ballpark. Reflecting and expressing the joy, dejection or despair of followers, without appearing trait or condescending, requires a degree of empathy and emotional sensitivity not often credited to technical specialists who achieve high office...What is often under-appreciated is that the leader's ability to 'get the job done' requires more just than good business knowledge. It also requires emotional knowledge and sensitivity." (Fineman, 2003, 90)

What the leadership research lacks, seen from emotion perspective, are qualitative empirical and constructionist studies concentrating on micro-level group processes, which would increase our understanding of the complexity of the interplay of the two phenomena. To a constructionist the suggested linkage between positive and positive leadership leading to positive results and vice versa sounds like an oversimplification. Contextual and empirical conceptualizations are called for.

3.3 Conflicting leadership approaches: Individual leader versus sharing

Within art, standard product is not what people are after. They seek for exceptional results and unique performances. Within artistic professions inside theatre there are many charismatic, transformational and narcissistic leaders admired by their followers. Charismatic, transformational and narcissistic leaders represent a heroic individual leadership model. However, in theatre, there is a need and tendency toward building collectives or ensembles with low (or no) hierarchies, coming close to shared leadership models. These two coexisting models are both simultaneously alive in theatre.

Transformational, charismatic and narcissistic leaders. Theories of leadership dominant at the moment also involving emotional elements are based on the ideas of charismatic and transformational leadership (Bass & Avolio, 1994) (Ashkanasy et al., 2002). As early as in the 1940's interest within charismatic leadership was turned into traits, behaviors and qualities of the charismatic leaders, who made irresistible *emotional connections* with people (Weber, 1947).

Transformational leaders project a vision, they motivate and inspire, they stimulate and provide individual attention to their followers (Bass, 1998; Bass & Avolio, 1990). Weber (1947) studied charisma as a trait and later, it was studied also as a type of behavior (House, 1977; House & Baetz, 1979; House & Howell, 1992). The charismatic individual is understood as visionary, energetic, unconventional, and exemplary (Bass, 1985; Conger, 1989; Conger & Kanungo, 1998; Harvey, 2001; House, 1977). Charismatic leaders are also an attribute of outstanding rhetorical ability (Harvey 2001, 253).

Charismatic leadership can also be understood as a potentially exploitative technique to make the subordinates follow the given guidelines. Charismatic leaders are understood to be socially contagious (Meindl, 1990). Criticism to charismatic leadership has raised the issues of ma-

nipulation and emotional blackmailing. This becomes especially relevant in relation to 'dark charisma' (Bass & Steidlmeier, 1999; Conger, 1989; Conger & Kanungo, 1998; Kets de Vries & Miller, 1985).

Charismatic and transformational leadership (see Yukl, 2002; Bryman, 1992, 1996) texts can be read as inherently emotional, and the leadership as an individual phenomenon.

"Good leadership does not need speech: it is omnipresent in the person of the just and generous leader. The leader must be an apt miner balancing carefully between the traps of mimesis and the advantages of mild mimicry. The leader identifies with the ethos of the organization." (Kirkeby & Born, 2004)

The charismatic, transformational or inspirational leadership tradition has been criticized for its focus on the leader alone (Meindl 1990, 1995). Most of the leadership theories are simple unidirectional models of what a leader does to subordinates (Yukl & Van Fleet, 1982). The followers remain under-explored (Lord et al., 1999). In order to include followers in the charismatic leadership construction Howell and Shamir believe that

"...followers also play a more active role in constructing the leadership relationship, empowering the leader and influencing her/his behavior, and ultimately determining the consequences of the leadership relationship." (2005)

The division between personalized charismatic relationship and social charismatic relationship is made (Kark & Shamir, 2002), which means that in a personalized relationship, the follower attributes desirable qualities to the leader and desires to become like one. The followers are confused and disoriented, but the relationship provides them with a clearer sense of self and self confidence. Followers are dependent and vulnerable. The social charismatic relationship is characterized by self definition in terms of group membership. It is noted that the previous writings about the "dark side" of charisma (Conger, 1990; House et al., 1991, Sankowsky,

1995) have tied the negative consequences mainly to the traits and behaviors of the leader. Meindl (1990) and Howell and Shamir (2005) suggest, that the responsibility should be divided to followers as well. It has been noted that despite of all their adverse consequences the dark charismatic leaders (Conger & Kanungo, 1998; McIntosh & Rima, 1998) are not necessarily doomed to failure, but the phenomenon has been morally doomed (Yukl, 2002).

Narcissistic leaders (Maccoby, 2000, 2004), building on the concept of charismatic leaders, are the modern superstars. They are larger-than-life leaders, inspiring people, who, instead of predicting the future, shape it. They are charismatic. They have the audacity to push through massive transformations. They are charmers and risk takers. But similarly as the dark side of charisma, narcissists can be emotionally highly distrustful and isolated, they may experience feelings of gradiosity, even paranoia. They don't tolerate criticism and they are uncomfortable with feelings. They throw tantrums, publicly humiliate subordinates, they are poor listeners and they lack empathy (Maccoby, 2000).

Drawing from this literature we come up with an extremely powerful heroic picture of an individual. When using the concept of 'leadership' in everyday life, a stereotypical visual image of a tall, handsome, rough, but well-groomed man in a dark grey or navy suit pictured on the pages of a business magazine comes to mind. Leadership is personified. The concept of leadership becomes a heroic narrative of an individual leader.

Shared Leadership. Shared leadership is understood not as a characteristic that some individuals have (either inherited or through training) but as constructed and thus created through every day social interaction among people, structures, and events. But traditional, individually-centered construction of leadership is very much alive in organizations. Heroic narratives are told of strong leaders, but simultaneously leadership is constructed in small mundane actions and practices and also stories of every day organizational life.

The conceptualization of shared leadership is in contrast with traditional notions of leadership, as it is mostly understood to be an individual phenomenon, which revolves around a single person. Therefore, the leadership literature has been written from the management perspective to the management, making the relationship between the leader and the follower a vertical one with top-down influence patterns, even though researchers in organization and social psychology have long seen leadership as a group or organizational phenomenon.

There were some early signs of more collective and relational understanding of leadership action proposed by Sayles (1964, 1979). However, it was not until the mid-1980s that shared/distributive constructions of leadership started to gain momentum, escalating in the early 2000s (Brown & Hosking, 1986; Hosking & Dachler, 1995; Gronn, 2002; Ropo & Sauer, 2002, 2003; Wheatley, 1999). Dispersed, shared, and relational leadership approaches are getting stronger voices (e.g. Gronn, 2002; Ropo & Sauer, 2002).

The paradigmatic shift from individual to shared leadership requires a change of the mind-set. Shared leadership is seen more like a process rather than possession of individual traits (e.g. Pearce & Conger, 2003; Fletcher & Käufer, 2003; Hooker & Csikszentmihalyi, 2003; Ropo & Parviainen, 2001).

Pearce and Conger define shared leadership

"as a dynamic, interactive influence process among individuals in work groups in which the objective is to lead one another to the achievement of group goals. This influence process often involves peer, or lateral, influence and at other times involves upward or downward hierarchical influence. The key distinction between shared leadership and traditional models of leadership is that the influence process involves more than just downward influence on subordinates by an appointed or elected leader." (2003, 1).

They state that shared leadership theory is in its infancy as numerous dimensions of the phenomenon have received little or no attention. The

fine-grained dynamics of the shared leadership are on their rudimentary level, with hardly any knowledge of the implementation of shared leadership. The very notion of shared leadership calls for broadening and criticizing the findings and understanding so far, thus avoiding the danger of building the theory further solely on the ideas of predecessors and, perhaps, lacking important aspects.

Within the shared leadership research there is critical need for empirical studies

- a) on the relationship between shared leadership and vertical leadership
- b) on the fine-grained understanding of the dynamics of shared leadership and
- c) on the implementation models of shared leadership (Conger & Pearce, 2003)

Shared leadership research points to the direction where it might be possible to make space for other understandings of leadership and emotions than the modern rationality allows. That would mean to see leadership not only as individual traits and skills and characteristics but more like a social, relational process (Yukl, 2002, Hosking, 2002; Pearce & Conger, 2003).

According to my understanding, an extreme form of an ensemble can come close to the concept of shared leadership, while an ensemble is a collective of autonomous artists. By definition an 'ensemble' resembles shared leadership. Ensemble is an ideal of a group, where everybody flourishes, all are given artistic freedom and support. Having an ensemble consisting of several creative, autonomous people is a leadership challenge: trust, responsibility, selfishness come together with mutual artistic goals and like-minded people. This is an ideal towards which many professionals want to strive. Ideally an ensemble is presented as a group where, positive emotions are appreciated and fostered, thus contrasting the ideal of unemotionality, or discreet emotionality of the bureaucratic

work place, as to be visibly capable of feeling and having emotions is often understood as a sign of weakness in our culture.

Sharing leadership in an ensemble is not necessarily distributing tasks or decision making authority, but more a collective, joint and social advancement. Leadership, as a social process, takes place between people. It is not so much what leaders do, but something that arises out of this relationship. It does not depend on one person, or the leader alone, but on how people act together to make sense of the situations they are faced with (e.g. Gronn, 2002; Ropo et al., 2002). Acting together, staying alert and sensitive to the situation requires bodily presence.

In practice, shared leadership seems like an idealistic model. For me it is more like a mind set where leadership becomes a social phenomenon. I believe that leadership in an ensemble is formed by all participants of the leadership relationship, letting the leadership be constructed around one individual or a collective, or both. In this study I am interested in the relationships in a group.

As Fineman mentioned, other people, in addition to the leader are necessary to the leadership relationship to exist (cf. LMX theory) The LMX theory (leader-member exchange) (Graen, 1976) emphasizes three domains: the leader, the follower and the relationship. Later, extending the theory, it is acknowledged that both the leader and the follower mutually determine the quality of the relationship, Thus, the relationship is put on focus (Graen & Uhl-Bien, 1995). Howell and Shamir point out that the followership has still been left underdeveloped. They also ascertain that the theory does not articulate the manner in which the followers influence the nature of the relationship (2005). Through studying the relationship I study social exchange and leader-member interaction (Jacobs 1970; Hollander 1979) and in this research the followers influence the nature of the relationship also through emotions.

In a summary, there is a simultaneous pressure to sharing of leadership and a need for a heroic individual leader. The conflict between a strive of an ensemble toward a collective, a kind of a shared leadership model and the allure of the heroic, charismatic individual leader cause emotions and emotional outbursts in a theatre. This confrontation is present in rehearsal processes.

Theatre work is bodily work. In a theatre, the actor's work is based on bodily presence. The actor is the material or the work of art, the object of the work of art, and the artist (Rantala, 25.8.2005). On the stage, the actors move, their bodies are in contact. They are on stage to be seen and heard. This adds another dimension to the allure toward heroic, individual leader and to the shared leadership construction, as well as to the construction of the relationship.

3.4 Bodily dimension of emotions and leadership

The mainstream literature rarely addresses the bodily presence of the individuals in organizations. It is as if the mind, intelligence, rationality, management and organization alone would do the work. Still, more often than not, bodily presence is also required. Sometimes there are special demands on the looks and behavior, and increasingly, on the acceptable feelings and emotions of the people (see Hochschild, 1983; Taylor & Tyler, 2000; Tyler & Taylor, 1998).

However, there is another understanding of the social. It means relating to other people in a sensory way and experiencing the encounters. People are bodily creatures with all their joys and pains. Through their bodies people sense, experience, interact and relate to one another. And, according to the relational constructionist view, the subjects are constructed in relations. (Ropo, 2004)

"The question of biology and the body in sociology and social theory remains problematic and contested. Nevertheless, what seems clear is that the body, however conceived, is almost absent from organization theory." (Sturdy, 2003, 90)

As Williams and Bendelow (1998b) note, there are multiple conceptions of the body: a fleshy organic entity, symbol of society, the basis of us being-in-the-world, a discursive product, a structure of lived experience, basis of rationality, the source of human emotionality, a physical vehicle for our personhood and identity among others. Body vocabularies, emotional displays, feelings and understandings are also embodied phenomena.

Also, according to Burrell's ideas of the Pandemonium (1997), work places contain a lot of anger, hate, roughness, foul play, violence, sex, joy and love, in which the leaders take part, sometimes as mediators but also as participators.

Leadership is complex in the theatrical ensemble. Besides striving toward both an individual, heroic leader and sharing, also the bodily form of work demands attention. Through this bodily dimension I have conceptualized the embeddedness of emotions and leadership.

3.5 Challenges in capturing emotions and leadership

As Sturdy (2003) in the beginning of this chapter noticed, emotion is a transient, private and intangible phenomenon spanning disciplinary divides. What makes the subject of the study even more challenging is that leadership resembles emotions in being elusive and unmanageable. Perhaps more than other organizational phenomena, emotions are seen as multidimensional and thus not knowable through a single frame. Emotion is an emotional subject to study. Within organization science, emotion research has been understood to pose methodological, epistemological and moral-political concerns (Sturdy, 2003).

By not avoiding unpleasant feelings, anxiety and shame present in leadership constructions I have not intended to promote emotions and behaviors that are destructive for the group or individuals. I think that it

is important to address the complexity of emotions tied to various leadership relationships. Besides the positive – negative scale I suggest that also other dimensions of emotions in leadership, vital to the work process and its outcomes, can be found.

According to Burkitt (1997) and Sturdy (2003) emotions are multidimensional complexes, both cultural and corporeal/embodied, and arise in social relationships of power and interdependence. Through the traditional rational lens, emotions are considered 'unknowable', mystical (Bendix, 1956), too personal and private to research (Jackson, 1993) and maybe also, too unimportant (Craib, 1995). These characteristics pose difficulties to those who wish to capture emotions.

However, following the guidelines of Fineman and Gabriel (1996) and Mumby & Putnam (1992) emotion marks out possible course of inquiry for the researcher. Verbal and written emphasis, embarrassment, outbursts, and confidences as well as interruptions, evasiveness and sudden changes of subject are all forms of emotional behavior which highlights organizational events, such as leadership, personal reactions, experiences and fantasies and provide the researcher with empirical material.

I take an integrative approach as my study discusses the constructions of leadership as heroic, individual leader (Yukl, 2002) as well as seeing leadership as a relationship and as a shared, ongoing process (Pearce & Conger, 2003; Hosking, 2002). These simultaneous constructs are often understood as conflicting forces, but I suggest that they can also coexist. As my aim is to contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of leadership, I have discussed the bodily, sensuous and emotional nature of leadership alongside the cognitive rationalistic way of thinking.

The aesthetic, bodily understanding of an organization (Strati, 1999, 2000) gives leeway to emotional knowledge and emotional understanding. Aesthetic feeling relates as much to the heart and the sentiments as to the senses. Senses provoke emotions in both organizational actors and the researcher. The principles and ambits of the aesthetic approach rest on the emotions aroused by the sensory and perceptive faculties and pro-

vide materials for the empirical and theoretical analysis. I am tempted by the aesthetic understanding of organizational life, which requires that the reader, as well as the writer, exerts empathetic understanding. A researcher should seek to understand organizational life without looking for rational explanations of organizational phenomena at any cost. Aesthetics enables us to study and to talk of qualities, which cannot be put to a measuring scale.

Instead of the traditional positivist ontology, this approach calls for constructionist, participatory world view and ethnography, which in turn encourages the understanding of leadership as a shared and connected phenomenon. I have tried to familiarize myself with and make an account of emotions as lived experiences (Van Maanen, 1988). Here, narrative fiction, the caricatures are used to mediate a rich picture, not making any difference between emotions as 'rational' or 'irrational' constructs (Terkel, 1975; Sandelands & Boudens, 2000; Van Maanen, 1988). I have also tried to write about emotions as embodied phenomena. I have included some photographs to my work to emphasize the bodily in emotions and leadership. These narratives present one possible course of analysis of the data. I suggest caricatures provide an insightful way to look at the embeddedness of the complexity of emotions and leadership.

4

CARICATURES AS PORTRAYALS OF THE DATA

Fifteen years ago I sat in a seminar room at my university. We were about to start discussing post- Second World War Swedish literature. There had been a month's Christmas break, but the seminar had already gone on for half a semester. Expecting a new professor as we were, the atmosphere was curious, yet slightly excited and quite cautious. All I remember is her coming in and starting the not very lively discussion. Then it was my turn. I had quite liked the novel and was eager to express it, to analyze the connections to the historical events and to the pre-war literature. To my astonishment the professor said I had understood it completely wrong. I was too much of a novice to oppose her, she being a distinguished scholar. After being so bluntly put down, the arguments just died on my lips. I still experience the same anger in response to the absurd argument that it would be possible to understand literary fiction wrong. I find emotions to be similar: they get understood differently, depending on the person and her experiences, mood and situation.

I participated in creating these narratives by constructing the scene together with the people I interviewed, observed, discussed and worked with. I have chosen to name them caricatures. A caricature means exaggerating features in such a way that the phenomenon still stays recognizable. My decision to write caricatures was based on my aim to underline the emotional side of leadership by means of story and narration. In order to enhance this I decided to combine my own experiences, the interviews, the stories told in informal discussions and the observation data and to condense this into stories. When going through the material four different story lines started to take form: monster, family, elitist and tea-party. Caricatured way of presentation condenses the happenings, tensions and dramatic events of six to eight weeks of rehearsals into a short version of a couple of pages. These are descriptions of the processes, but not representations of reality. Writing these stories was already a form of analysis by having chosen what to write and how, and what to leave out.

The photographs presented together with the caricatures are added to illustrate the caricatures and to underline the visual dimension of experiencing emotions and leadership.

The structure of the work group in all of the productions is rather similar. There is a small scale dramatic play or performance to be prepared with a small group of actors, sound and light technicians and setand dress designers. In each of these stories, the central tension is built between the director and the work group, because in preparing a play most interaction goes on between the actors and the director.

Once upon a time there was a...

4.1 Monster

Characters:

Director – Erkki Actress – Rina Actress – Eva Actor – Jussi

Minor parts: assistant to the director, actors, technicians

They had been going through the same section of the text over and over again for the past four hours. The premiere would be at hand before they had finished rehearsing the first quarter of the text. On top of that two actors had fallen ill, but were both working regardless. They were expecting Erkki to come in any second now. He marched in, sat down in the first row and started yelling

"You are sick just to annoy me...just to ruin this work... How dare you get sick in the situation like this? Well, let's start."

Jussi, one of the actors had lost his voice and the other was running a temperature of almost 40 degrees. A couple of hours later the director was walking up and down the stage in an overwrought manner. Actors looked frightened, avoiding his all seeing gaze. The air was thick with fear, anticipation and aggression.

"God damn it! I have told you time and time again that do NOT offer here anything that even remotely looks like acting!" Erkki shouted. "Now get over here. We'll take this again..."

"This does not look like a rehearsal of a theatre piece any more. This is like working in a lunatic asylum", thought a sound technician looking down to the stage. Rina was lying in the same bed with these two actors. Besides them, there was also a fourth person, the director's assistant, who read out loud the lines of the actor who had lost his voice. The actors were tossing about in bed without making a sound, the assistant was babbling

on and the director was barking instructions to all of them. The bed was damp, the spit from the director's mouth reached Rina's cheek as he was yelling near her ear.

Erkki's voice increased in volume. Soon he was shouting his lungs out. His blue eyes almost burst out of their holes as he yelled:

"Don't expect this to be easy! I expect you to go further than you ever even thought you could think!"

The director stood on the stage staring at the actors with his piercing eyes. He did not get what he wanted out of these actors. They did not understand at all what was going on! For hours now he had been trying to get Rina, a younger actress, to say one sentence the way he wanted to hear it. She repeated it over and over again without him accepting any version. In the end he shouted to her:

"How dare you come and stand here like some idiot! You should be ashamed of coming here and bothering your colleagues, experienced professionals, with your beeping!"

She cried with shame and anger. She offered to leave the production if she was not good enough. Erkki told her to stop acting like a child: clearly, she was no professional, and he had his doubts if she ever would become one, but there was no question of her leaving. He told her to shut up for the rest of the week and learn. He would take away some of her lines in order not to let her rape them.

Eva could not stand still any more:

"Can you please leave her alone? As a director you should know that when it does not come it does not come! Leave it! Try again tomorrow! Sweet Jesus....!"

Erkki turned to her:

"You should be learning your lines instead of mixing into this! How can you be so slow at learning them by heart?"

Later, in the Green room, Rina could not help bursting into tears again. She cried out loud in the corner of the couch. The other actors in the work group gathered around to comfort her. They were as confused as she was. The good thing was that this director never came into the green room. He stayed on the stage and prepared the next scene. In fact, he had insisted that the actors would not have any breaks either. In his opinion, they would lose the concentration they needed to be able to work with him, but the labor agreement prohibited him from enforcing this.



Photo by Leena Klemelä

Photograph no 1. The driving force of shame

Next morning arriving at the theatre through the staff entrance, Rina felt physically sick. She could see that the director was in already...she felt her stomach turn upside down...she had to make it to the restroom! When putting her role clothes on in the dressing room she felt tired already. She felt the power and the will fade away from her. There was nothing left of her but an empty shell. Often, at this stage of the process, there had been the fear of shame, of losing face in front of colleagues, but now it was something more profound: she was afraid of herself. What if she was not up to this? What is she was in fact inadequate and unworthy of being there? What if she was just a shell, with nothing inside, just a black hole?

"How dare you go up there? What do you think you are? We have practiced for five weeks and you still look like you do not know what you're doing up there? You should come and see yourself from here... you look pathetic!!"

She heard Erkki's voice echo in her head, she became red, and started shaking. She had to sit down on the floor, otherwise she would have fallen. She tried to explain, but the director shouted:

"I cannot hear you! Please try to speak up! What are you whining up there!"

The other actors moved slowly closer to Rina. Eva took her by the shoulder and squeezed. She gave the director a look that could kill.



Photograph no. 2. Plucking up the courage

For the seventh week now they had exceeded all the limits set by the Working Hour Restriction Act. They were like ghosts, only sweaty and smelly. Erkki was the only one who seemed to have all his energy left: He shouted and flailed around his arms, gesticulating the positions and gestures. His blue eyes rolled around as he strode off round the stage. Suddenly Eva realized how Erkki was like an ancient shaman, hypnotizing everybody with his terrifying, and yet magical appearance. The actors stared at him with blurred eyes and tried their best. Once again, Eva could not get her line straight. She had tried and tried for the last 90 minutes. The others were lying around by the walls on the stage. Suddenly they heard Erkki sob.:

"My God...I did not know I'd ever live to see this...this was the Perfection!"

Eva looked at Erkki with a bedazzled face:

"But ...what did I do?"

The fleeing thought in Eva's head:

"I will most certainly die if he asks me to do that again."

Erkki sighed

"Just do not EVER even TRY to imitate that. It will just ruin the beauty of this moment!"

As the rehearsals finally came to an end towards midnight a couple of days before opening night, the actors were too tired to even talk to each other. They had not been downstairs to the pub since the third week of the process. Eva thought she would be unable to participate into the normal gossiping and joking. They felt isolated from the others, it was as if they would not have been able to speak the same language any more. It was just that they were squeezed completely empty. They barely had the energy left to go home. As Eva shut the door behind her she felt the hunger and the nausea. Yogurt was the only food she possibly could hold

inside her: no need to chew...just the lovely feeling of having something in the stomach. The last week of rehearsals was about to begin. Thank God it was still six days until the premiere. They would, most probably, after all make it.

Erkki felt agitated. As the hours passed, his anger grew. He could not help nagging and complaining about the work on the stage, but the actors were too tired to take it personally. Erkki stood up and started mimicking them to underline their mannerisms. He strutted back and forth on the stage. Eva stared at him:

"Whatever you say..."

"See, see, this is how you look", Erkki mocked them.

"Ok, whatever you say, you are the boss..."

Eva knew Erkki was just trying to build up a good fight with her. He would have wanted to work his anger and stress off on her, but Eva was just too tired. She could not have cared less. Finally Erkki gave in and furiously stopped the rehearsals for the day.

The performance organized for the press just one day before the opening night was maybe the most crowded one in the history of the theatre. All the papers in the country seemed to be interested in this particular play. Erkki was known as a controversial director and what's more it was his own text on the stage. The journalists were used to see a few short scenes of a play, to have a photo-op and the possibility to interview the work group. Now it was different: Erkki made them watch half of the second act, and instead of accepting any questions, he made them watch it over again. After that he only took a few questions, all of which underlined the talent and great working morale of his work group. Directly after the press performance he demanded that the actors would stay and go through the ending. This was repeated again and again. The actors were extremely tired, but experienced this masochistic joy and content of working at their limits. After three hours Rina asked if they could have a

pause to go to the bathroom. Erkki denied. The last scene had to be fixed before anyone would go anywhere.

"Ok, I think I'll pee in my pants then!", Eva heard herself answer.

Erkki looked at her as if he was considering if it would somehow fit into the script...After a couple of seconds a ten minute break was announced. After the break they continued until two o'clock in the night.

Two days after the opening night it became clear that the play was a hit. The director was praised, the text was described genial and the performance of the actors as unmatched. The performance continued to draw full audiences for three years, and would have continued to do so if the changes in the theatre staff had not forced the play to be withdrawn from the repertoire. Both the actors and the audience loved the play. Sometimes Rina was surprised to catch herself thinking that it would be great to work with Erkki again.

4.2 Family

Characters

Director – Outi Actor – Kari Actress – Nina

Minor Parts: journalist, actors and actresses, technicians

It was important for Outi to meet the whole work group before getting too fixed on any ideas. She had actually met all of them before, even worked with two of them and had an idea how they would take up their roles, but she tried consciously not to think about that. Outi wanted to give people space and see how they took up the tasks themselves without her guiding their every step. Maybe she also wanted to give herself an opportunity to be surprised and to discover something unexpected.

The synopsis was brilliant. It gave an aura of sensitivity, all the while being ironic, funny and up to date. Outi felt confident working with it, even though it meant that she actually had no dialogue. Her basic idea for working with what she was going to present to the work group, was that they would start improvising, and she'd write the dialogue based on their improvisation.

There was an intimate atmosphere in the studio which the group was assigned. It was in the basement of an old theatre building. It felt like a warm cave, cozy and dim. The stage was at the same level with the first row of chairs, then the next rows made a half circle round the stage. The last, sixth row, rose gradually to the level of your eyes. Altogether, the room held only about hundred seats.

When entering the stairs leading down to the theatre, one could see old theatre posters on the walls. It smelled like cigarette smoke, since everybody, both the audience, and the staff gathered by the entrance to smoke before they went in. Downstairs, there was a cloakroom, where the old janitor always stood. Of course not now, not for the rehearsals, but when the audience came in he would be standing there. Outi had always admired the way he took care of the people coming in. Everybody got his full attention, one at a time, courteous, but still personal and friendly. Then, the audience would move along and come into a bar. The whole space, the theatre room as well as the bar and the cloakroom had all very low ceilings. There were bare brick walls, and in the bar by the wall, simple dark painted stools and benches with thin purple seat cushions. The colors were muted and dark. All over there was a sweet smell of coffee and liqueur with a hint of old cigarette smoke, as not so long ago smoking was still allowed inside. It was definitely a smell of expectation and anticipation of the theatre experience soon to start.

Outi had asked the work group to come straight down, into the theatre. She thought it was best to start directly on stage where the play was supposed to be performed. The group had received the synopsis beforehand. Some of them would by now probably have an idea as to how they

would like it to turn out. But at least with one of them, Outi expected herself to be holding her breath still at the opening night. She knew he would be a tough one: he had a reputation of being a brilliant actor, but only if he wanted to, and if he felt confident about the character he had built. Often he'd also behave like a child throwing unexpected tantrums in the middle of the rehearsal, but Outi decided not to worry beforehand and instead, try to offer him all the help she could, and to put herself thoroughly at his disposal. The infinite need for attention was a sin of some actors who possessed the gestures of a diva. Outi knew she might have to do this even at the cost of losing some of her authority as a director. This was the other side of the coin: some people were able to interpret help as undermining their professional expertise and talent, and, thus, they'd lose all their self confidence and the performance would get even worse. Outi knew this would happen if they stopped trusting her. They would think she had betrayed them.

As they came in a little before ten o'clock, she had pulled some chairs on the stage, so that they all could sit down. It was her custom to shake hands and to try to have a few words alone with everybody before the rehearsals really started. Outi wanted to have an idea of what was going on with all of them. As they all had arrived she introduced herself, told them where she had worked last and why she had got stuck with this idea: The main reason was that it spoke to her personally and she had a strong feeling it would speak to others as well.

They started talking about the parts of the synopses that had become meaningful to them. Everybody took up one particular incident. Soon they were all talking over each other and then, someone moved the chairs away and everybody started doing some scenes on the stage. Four hours went rapidly.

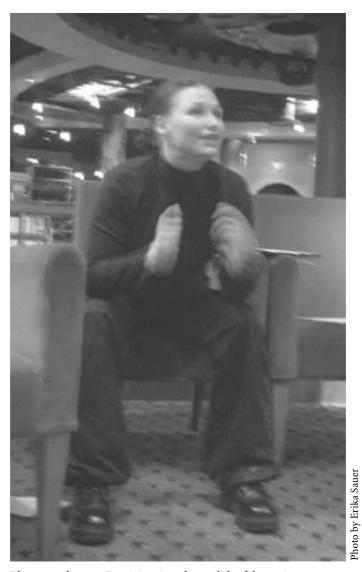
Time was a worrying element. Outi had no idea of how fast or slow they'd be making progress, but she had accepted the schedule the theatre manager had offered. Outi knew it made sense, since the further towards spring the premiere would be postponed, the less audience the play would probably get. She knew the plan had terrified some people in the work group. However, if the enthusiasm to rehearse would stay the same, they'd have nothing to worry about!

During the next couple of rehearsals it became clear that the approach the director had introduced was more demanding and difficult than originally thought, but on the plus side, everybody would have much more influence on the final result. However, Kari had his doubts. The director was young, not too experienced and a woman. He had seen some of her work and had liked it but Kari had heard she might get very uncertain. There was, of course, also a possible element of mistrust: a chance that she would be just using the actors to write a great play. They would pull their guts out improvising for her and she'd just pick the best pieces like cherries. This was not Kari's idea of fairness...

After the first rehearsal at the dressing room the atmosphere was relaxed. The unusual method of working together for the text and the cozy atmosphere had helped the cast in getting excited about the work at hand. What appealed to Kari was not getting stuck analyzing the text over and over again but to get on the stage. He wanted to get to know the character by being him and not just talking about being him.

The morning rehearsals would start with coffee. Outi had usually arrived a little before everybody else. She had brought a coffee machine with her to ensure a steady flow of it. In the morning she was there to make enough of it for everyone. There was some yawning, the people would walk around. The papers would eventually emerge on tables and the discussion that was on schedule for the day got started. Outi briefly made some references to scenes from the day before to get people in the mood and as a continuation for the day's work. The music played out loud and they did some singing first to get the blood circulating.

Outi sat in the first row and glanced intensively at her actors. She took the rhythm of the music and showed the actors their starting points, the beginnings of movements and turning points as if she had been a conductor. From time to time she called out her contentment or admiration.



Photograph no 3. Participation through bodily excitement

Outi was seemingly interested in her actors. It showed in her eyes as she followed what they were doing on the stage. She liked what she saw. She was alert and hungry to see what was going to happen next. Every time it seemed as if she had seen the actors and the scenes for the first time, with fresh eyes.

Outi had asked the work group if they thought is was all right to bring a journalist into a rehearsal. She personally tried to keep a good and close contact with the local newspapers, knowing the power of the media in praising or disgracing a performance. After being there to watch the group rehearse the journalist asked Outi if it was possible to obtain a short interview. Outi asked Kari if he cared to join her. The journalist wanted to know what it was like to play the love scenes. Kari answered:

"As you saw, in this play, we have a scene where a couple is in bed making love. Those are very sensitive situations. I have a feeling that these situations are easier for the actors who are the same sex as the directors. Being naked in front of a director who is a woman is completely another ball game for a man than if the director was a man."

Kari noticed Outi seemed a little offended by this. She hastened to give her statement on that:

"It is weird how different it is to work with men or women. It is just bullshit to say that sex would not matter, of course it does. I do speak differently to men than to women, I have noticed that. Sometimes I suddenly realize how I provoked men to show me what they can and I am sure all my male colleagues do the same with actresses. Towards the ladies I try to create an open and warm relationship. I notice I tend to make jokes in situations like that: to be sensitive and yet to be able to joke about it makes it easier for all of us. Today I urged this couple to make the most of the situation, since this is one of the few fringe benefits of the profession."

The journalist, herself a woman, looked amused. A few days later they could read in the paper how the journalist had found an interesting play being prepared in a local theatre, hinting briefly to the possibility for the ladies to see a young handsome actor naked on the stage.

After the evening rehearsal the group tended to visit the pub near the theatre. It was really nice to relax with colleagues. It was much easier to let go on the stage if one had a connection on a personal level and knew the other people in the room also personally and socially, not just work wise. It was hard to stand there, on the stage, vulnerable and without protection, if feeling uncertain about the colleagues.

The neighboring tables were crowded by colleagues from the theatre, some waiting for their spouses from other plays. Someone commented on how in this profession it is rather common to marry a colleague and how the work at a theatre is hard for a 'mixed couple'. One is always working when the other would have time off work and vice versa. Kari pointed out how theatre people only yap about theatre things, experiences, the work at hand and nobody gives a shit about the business of an 'outsider'. He thought of a time when he had been a freelancer. Even that, not belonging to any of the work groups, not having a reference group in people from the rehearsals or performances, being just a colleague, had thrown him outside the conversations.

"I was left alone at the table to eat my lunch at the cafeteria. I really pity the spouses and other people not working at the theatre who come and sit with us. They look forward to having a nice evening and the only thing they get to do is to console a sensitive artist who rolls in self pity in a pub after they think they have been insulted by some self-important director."

There was this one particular scene that had started to bother Kari. He thought it was weak and not funny at all, as it obviously should have been. At the rehearsals he just could not keep his mouth shut any more. He said it was a frustrating scene to play. The director said she absolutely wanted to keep the scene, and asked if they could alter it by doing this or that.

Kari looked grumpy, but did what she told him. It obviously did not work out that well. Outi reared up. She accused Kari of not giving the scene even a chance. The actress, Nina, who was on the stage at the same time with Kari, got offended as she thought Kari and Outi were criticizing her. Everybody started shouting and screaming at each other. Nina walked out, slammed the door after her. Kari went to the dressing room and Outi sat down at the edge of the stage and said that everybody was to take a 20 minute coffee-break.



Photo by Erika Sauer

Photograph no 4. Sharing despair

In ten minutes both Nina and Kari came back on the stage. Outi had made coffee and they drank it, just the three of them. They did not talk about the incident, they just sat until the others came in chatting about films they had seen. Outi said she'd give the scene a thought overnight and if it would not soon improve they would possibly leave it out. When the evening rehearsal was over Kari felt like having a beer in another pub, not in the usual one. He asked Nina and some colleagues from the work group to join him.

Outi sat alone in the usual pub. She had spread the papers on the table to look as if she was working, but she was completely absorbed into herself. She had known already in the morning that Kari was going to start complaining about something. Nothing worked for him. The clothes were hard to get on during the change over, he could not remember his lines, he sang worse than normally, but Outi had not expected him to try to undermine her opinions. There was some truth to what he complained about, the scene did not work as it should, but Outi thought it was greatly depending on Kari's aversion to do it properly.

"He is just unable to act it interestingly. He appears weaker than the others in that scene and he just tried to put it on me, since after all, I am the one putting him there. What really pisses me off is the way he presented this. As if he was more capable of judging what the scene was like than I am! I am the one sitting and watching him! I know what it looks like. And now, he must be at some bar speculating about this with our colleagues...just how ungrateful and disloyal of him!"

The next day, before the rehearsals started the atmosphere was a little tense. Everybody was very nice towards each other, as if they had been afraid to add to the nervousness. The first issue Outi took up after the songs, was to explain that she had been thinking about the scene and would like them to try to come in from another angle, emphasizing some aspects they had not done before. She asked Nina and Kari to go through the hot spot again, and "voilà", it worked! Outi nodded contentedly and

smiled at them. Kari felt good. He felt satisfied about having brought up the problem. He was much more confident as he could justify his presence there much better now.

"For once, the voice of an actor was heard...the directors should trust us more. We know since we are the ones performing on the stage night after night. They never get in the firing line as we do", Kari thought.

Outi thought that not too much damage had been done, knowing how sensitive those situations actually could be. She had been able to give Kari's character much more independence, just as he had wished for. Not much else was actually changed, but immediately the scene started working better. What Outi actually was much happier about was that there had been no lasting division in the work group due to their confrontation.

The work process was progressing and gaining intensity. As they went through the scenes Outi spurred them. She followed them closely, giving gestured instructions, encouraging them to pick up speed and strength. From time to time she rushed to the lightning technician or to the sound technician, but she never took her eyes off the stage.

It had become a habit for the whole group to spend the breaks together in the biggest dressing room. They were just eight altogether, so they fit in just fine. The arrangement was partly a necessity, since they helped each other with the make up and the clothes, partly a question of hanging around together, joking, trying to control and share the excitement. It was Outi's habit to pat shoulders or to hug when they met in the morning and went out in the evening. The habit of touching silently spread over the group. Suddenly the patting was not only Outi's thing, but a mutual sense of collegiality had extended to every member of the group.

Responsibilities were shared too. Management had let the group know that the production period had been exceptionally expensive. None of this was said out loud, but the theatre is one big gossip house and people are very good at sensing what is going on. Now it was payback time: because of the exceptional and costly method, they expected exceptional results.

Even though Outi had tried not to let the pressures get to the work group, she knew that they knew. She noticed that the group was very interested in the ticket sales. One of the musicians even took it upon himself to go over to the ticket counter every day to ask how the advance reservations were coming along

The electric feeling of the premiere was in the air. In the dressing room everybody was nervous, but in a good way. Even in a situation like this, the humor was there. Sometimes Outi felt the fooling around was getting even competitive features, until someone made a joke too cheeky to override. She made a point of allowing herself to be a target for jokes.

The group was about to have their second audience. This was the real general rehearsal. Two days before, they had had a rehearsal with audience, which had been a catastrophe; luckily there were not many other people but family members and a few technicians from another theatre. The actors giggled and laughed all the time. Outi was not exactly happy. She told the group she had seen the technicians as they left the theatre and she was sure they thought that the whole group should get fired. Outi had seen the contempt and thought she could read their minds:

"Other people in theatre have to work for minimum wages and you, pricks, have the nerve to come up to the stage and giggle through it...?"

Thankfully, the general rehearsal was better than any rehearsal yet. Outi was pleased. On the night of the premier, she even said she'd be satisfied even if the group gave out 80% of the energy they had given out at the general rehearsal. She did not need to worry: They were all in it so that they pushed their limits to the utmost. The play was the smashing hit of the season. Every performance was sold out. Because of actors' and director's commitments to other plays, additional performances could not be added, but the group decided that they would definitely work together again.

4.3 Elitist

Characters

Director – Heidi Visual designer – Simo Actress – Anna Actress – Ulla Actor – Anssi

Minor parts: theatre manager

Heidi was contacted by a theatre manager, who offered her a job. She was slightly confused. He had asked if she would be interested in coming to direct a play in this small theatre, two hours drive north from the capital city, where Heidi lived. Had her financial situation been better she would never have seriously considered this offer. In her opinion, all theatre worth seeing was performed in Helsinki. Her colleagues would never travel outside the city to come see her work, no matter how good it would turn out. It would be ignored anyway. What was worse, the whole town would soon gossip that she was no longer a hot theatre director with critical and controversial ideas. She was proud of having been a rebel, but being rebel did not pay off very well. She had compromised and directed two predictable best-seller plays which made the cash machines in the ticket sales to sing as loud as the choir on the stage. But for some reason the work offers had stopped coming. She had not directed anything in Helsinki for the past 18 months. However humiliating this thought was, she knew she needed the job – any job.

The theatre that had offered her work had stood by the town square, in the heart of this small provincial city for the last 100 years. The theatre had its regular audience who came to be entertained. The greatest hits of the theatre had been the "West Side Story" in the 1960s and "Sugar" (The musical version of "Some Like It Hot") in the 1980s. After that, the theatre had struggled with financial problems beginning with the Finn-

ish economic downturn in the early 1990s and, after that, the downsizing of the publicly subsidized cultural sector.

The daily rhythm, as usual in any other theatre, was rigorously constructed. The morning rehearsals would start at 10.00 am and would end by 2.00 pm, sometimes from 11.00 am to 3.00 pm. In the middle of the rehearsals, there would be a coffee break. The evening rehearsals would start at 5.00 or 6.00 pm and end by 10.00 pm. If there was a show in the evening, the staff would be expected to arrive about an hour before the curtain went up.

Heidi was supposed to meet her work group for the first time. She stepped into the room, raised her voice to announce she would say a few words after which the actors and other people would have the opportunity to introduce themselves. She started on the text and described how in this theatre, texts had often been misunderstood to be comedies, whereas they actually were subtle criticism to the modern society. From here on Heidi really got fuelled up: she used her uncanny rhetorical skills and her surprisingly penetrating voice to widely describe the present state of mankind, to paint pictures of the slow suffocation of civilization and the inevitable total decline of the western hemisphere and the crucial role of theatre in revealing this degradation. This took about two and half hours.



Photograph no 5. Filling the space with an ego

Heidi's opening performance had paralyzed the listeners, which she took as a proof of how overwhelmingly more profound her analysis had been compared to ones of his predecessors. With contentment she sat down, closed her eyes and made a small gesture with her hand to let someone start the introduction round. It did not take more than a couple of minutes to finish the round. People could barely utter their names. Heidi stared at the actors for a few seconds, as if she actually would see them for the first time and turned angrily away. She could not believe her eyes: she had clearly told the manager of the theatre precisely which actors she wanted to have in this production. She marched out into the manager's office, complaining in a vociferous manner about the material she had been given. She felt she had been humiliated and betrayed. The manager tried to tell her about the repertoire, the maternal leaves and the attempt

to rotate all the actors of the theatre, to give everyone a chance to perform but this seemed to be in vain.

The manager was not too worried about Heidi. He knew she was one of those hard-to-handle, unpredictable free-lancers without too many opportunities to find a better job anywhere. However, once or twice she had succeeded quite nicely interpreting a classic in a modern way. That had been a while ago, though. Since then, her style had altered into a more rebellious direction. The critics had praised her as a modernizer of the Finnish theatre. Originally, however, the manager had hired her because the particular director whom they had selected for the job became ill, and a play had to be done to fill the gap in the repertoire... And besides, the bursts of anger were not unheard of in theatre...there was nothing for the manager to worry about: Heidi had already signed the contract to direct this play.

It was a disappointment to everyone that the rehearsals could not be started directly on the stage. They had to rehearse on a small stage built in the middle of a café. This was a stage where more informal, small scale works were performed and the audience could use the facilities of the bar at the same time. The atmosphere was awkward. The director had bargained to get her own visual designer who walked nervously around. They were old colleagues who had worked together in many productions. He was her confidant, a right hand, whom she could trust in all situations. He would be responsible for the set design, dresses and all printed material. All in all, the entire visual image of the play was in his hands.

Heidi and the set designer, Simo, sat side by side at the table, while the actors went through the scenes on the stage. Anna, one of the actresses was a little uneasy. She often felt the scornful eyes of the director on her back. Then again as she turned to her she saw Heidi and Simo absorbed in a discussion. She tried to forget about that. Heidi reminded her of a cat. She was small and slender, like a young girl, even though she had to be approaching her 50's. Anna felt clumsy. She certainly was over ten years younger than Heidi but she felt old and used as if the sell by date had expired long ago. She knew Heidi was an experienced professional and

she felt that her own experience was the only thing she could rely upon. Anna was at her best in witty snappy comedies. She had the same sense of rhythm the author had in his text and she was looking forward to this hallmark play of his.

The bar across the street, called "The Brick", was a second home for everyone working at the theatre. This did not literally mean everybody: the women working at the office, the ticket sales persons or marketing people did not hang out with the artistic staff, but often the bar was full of people who wanted to see and be seen with the celebrities of a small town. The work groups sat together in big tables, had vivid conversations and laughed. People would come and go. As Heidi and Simo did not actually live in this town, the theatre had rented apartments for them. In the evening, they also dropped in the bar, but, as if they had not recognized the people with whom they just a couple of hours ago shared the same room, they walked through the place, did not greet any one and sat down in a corner table. Their work group grew suddenly very silent. This was unheard of. Since it was clear they were not having an affair, what was this all about? As if it had not been humiliating enough that the director did not have coffee with them during the rehearsal break! It was as if she was avoiding them.

Next morning the director went up to the stage, asking the actors to gather around her and sit down. She wanted to make something very clear: they obviously had not understood or perhaps had even consciously ignored the guidelines she personally had given in the first meeting: she explicitly wanted this play to be a criticism of the modern man. This play was not a comedy! She did not want to see any of the old-school 'running in the stairs, banging of the doors, getting in a wrong room' stuff. This play was about the shallowness of the middle class, so it was not written to please the middle class! They should forget about conventionality and pleasing! The clue would be the awkwardly modernist and ultra stylish set design against which the cruelty and egotism of this man would come out.

Anssi, the only male actor, protested. He said he had been in many plays written by Neil Simon and humor was exactly the medium through which the message was sent out.

Heidi turned to the actresses:

"See, this is exactly what I mean to show in this play! This is about the problems of a middle aged man, who opens himself up and sees what he has become in his life. And what he sees is not flattering!"

Anssi replied:

"I cannot share your opinion on this. What about if you stopped thinking about the set design and would concentrate on what is happening on the stage! Maybe you'd see better then..."

Heidi started to scream:

"Are you challenging my professional ability? Or is it just so God damned hard for you to accept that a woman can be a good director? Or maybe you have a problem being the only man on the stage? Are you afraid of women? You know, I begin to think that your reputation as a skillful actor is just bullshit. It is obvious, that either you have a problem with me or a problem of a very personal nature with this character? Does it come too close, tell me? I think we all are dying to hear that?"

The actresses did not know what to do or where to look. The situation was awful. On the one hand Anssi was a good colleague of theirs, a very talented and experienced actor and they shared his opinion on Heidi's strange viewpoint on the text. On the other hand they were astonished by the way she spoke to Anssi. They did not want to get involved, to not to get insulted themselves and not to make the situation even more chaotic.

Next day Anna arrived at the theatre just in time for the morning rehearsal. She opened the door of the staff entrance. On her right hand side there was the operator who also buzzed the door open to everybody. To her left, there was a whiteboard with everybody's names. Actually, she started thinking, not all of the names were there. There were almost all

the actors, some of the technical staff, none from the office of the ticket sales, nor the doormen. Beside the name there was a green button. As you pushed it, it turned red, which meant that you were inside the building.

The building was old, large and spooky. There were corridors, stairways, closets and store rooms. The staff had two separate green rooms. There was one for the technical staff and one bigger and nicer room for the actors. The people always went into their own green rooms, there was no mixing. Once, she remembered a colleague of hers, a girl who had fallen in love with one of the assistants to the stage manager, had spent her breaks and pauses in the technical green room. He had never come to the actor's side. It was not forbidden, though. The technical staff was often passing by, or going through, but they never sat down in the actor's green room. Somehow, they did not feel like staying.

The rehearsal began. Anssi had a mocking expression on his face every time he looked at the director. Sometimes he unctuously and in an exaggerating manner said to her:

"But of course, you are absolutely right!"

The director was seemingly taken by Ulla, one of the senior actresses. To Simo she whispered:

"See, she is one of 'my' people again. I am sure she understands my vision!"

Simo, the visual designer was the one talking to the technical staff. Heidi had enough to do with the actors. Mostly, when Heidi was trying to explain herself to the actors on the stage Simo stood by the curtains in the dark, completely absorbed by his drawings. The sides and the back of the stage were all painted black. There were some light spots here and there to guide the steps. You had to go through the dark backstage to get into each of the green rooms. Simo preferred the actor's room as the technician's green room was not that cozy, but he had to go there since Heidi did not communicate with the technical staff. She did not know their faces, let alone their names. Simo thought the technicians' green room was the fu-

sion of the worst bachelor's pads he had seen: empty pizza boxes, a large television, a dirty kitchen sink with unwashed cups, constant smoke in the air, an old spotty sofa and black brick walls. Besides, he felt out of place every time he had to go there, which was quite often. The men were looking at him with unfriendly eyes. He saw they wished him out of that room. His presence meant work. Well, he was not planning to make it easy for those lazy bastards.

Finally the group was allowed to move onto the big stage. After four weeks of rehearsals the routine had taken a certain shape: Heidi would sit in the audience seats, quite far back, so that she could not be clearly seen from the stage, especially as the spotlights would be directed at the actors on the stage and the audience remained in the dark. There were no scenes where all the actors were on the stage at the same time. Mostly Anssi was on the stage with a couple of actresses. It had become a habit of Heidi that she would ask either Ulla or Anna to sit beside her, when they were not on the stage. She would comment on the acting on the stage to them and occasionally ask them to go up and give her instructions to the people on the scene. Ulla and Anna were confused. It was not their task to be the messenger boy for the director. It was insulting to everybody.



Photograph no 6. Ironic look creates distance

Sometimes the rehearsal situations got particularly difficult, since Heidi was fond of the modern, surrealistic style on the stage. She wanted the actors to talk to balloons as if they were their children. Some felt this was too weird. They were afraid that the audience would be alienated. Heidi got mad:

"Oh, please, look now I have brought to you an experience something called ART and you cannot even see it though it is put right under your nose! We have been through this already. Do you want me to spell this out for you?"

The press was invited to see one of the general rehearsals. After that Heidi was asked to give an interview in the green room. Anna was sipping her coffee on the couch since the journalist had asked her to be present also. Heidi seemed to have a lot to say:

"...big lines count, you know, the brain of the director works differently from the actors...Directors think a lot!". The journalist asked Heidi how she would describe herself as a director: she replied, "I think I am quite democratic, but very strict. I do not give in very easily. For example in this play, I have chosen the way it is done, the certain mercilessness, the certain stylish modernism, you know, the set is decorated very sparsely, there are certain very surrealistic solutions on the stage. When I see that it looks good, that it is right, I do not give a shit if someone else does not understand it. I have created something pure and unique, and I will not let anyone destroy it." Without them noticing, Anna left the Green room.

In "The Brick" Simo and Heidi were again sitting alone in the back of the restaurant as they saw some of the people in their work group come into the restaurant. They were coming from the evening performance to have a drink together. It offered an opportunity to level one self and get back to normal. The adrenaline rush, the feeling of collegiality and the need to go through the details of the show of the evening were the reasons for staying together for an hour or two before going to bed. Their eyes swept the room. Noticing the table where Heidi and Simo were sitting, they

stayed in the bar in the front. Simo felt uncomfortable and could not help wondering out loud why they were left alone. Heidi said to him that she knew exactly why they did not come:

"Anssi is against me, I cannot understand why, but he is... Thank God I have been able to get the girls along quite nicely...."

During the rest of the rehearsal period Heidi had a lot to do with the supplementary material. Although Simo, her trusted man, was in charge of those, Heidi insisted making the decisions herself. She did not want any misunderstandings: The material had to reflect the true character of the play, so the potential ticket-buyers would know what to expect, and no "Grannies from the sticks" would stray in.

The opening night came and the play was performed. The actors waited for the director to come and give them feedback in the Green room, but they found her talking to the theatre manager at the party room. The hostile feeling seemed to contaminate the usually very lively occasion, as the collegial feeling was completely nonexistent. It must have been the first time in the history of the theatre, that there had been wine and beer left after the opening night.

The play was performed less than ten times. Anna said she often burst into tears at home the night before she knew they had this play to be performed the next evening. The critics of the play were by no means crushing. They were flat and platitudinous, just like the feeling among the actors as they were on the stage. After the opening night reservations were not made any more. The theatre manager made the decision to withdraw the play from the repertoire.

4.4 Tea party

Characters:

Director – Laura Actor – Leo Actor – Ville

"Ok, let's take it again from here! Ville, could you please come in once more? I am not quite sure if we got it right... Maybe we are leaning too much on the script... Leo, please think about green mornings and hazy summers, don't you just smell the grass?"

Laura painted impressions for the actors. She held on to the script in her hands. The papers were full of notes made during the several try-outs. They had gone through so many Laura could not keep track of them any more. This was maybe the seventh time this scene was repeated this morning but she was calm. She had made a schedule for the rehearsal which left no options but to haste towards the end of the process.

Leo and Ville did not know what to do differently any more. They knew Laura did her best to help them, but the first signs of frustration began to surface. Ville got this slight tinge of tension in his voice as if he would have been struggling to keep something inside. Laura cut him off:

"OK, Ville, please once more...maybe you could emphasize the word 'greed', because this is what this scene is all about, isn't it? I mean how do you see it? Let's talk about it for a while. I wish you would think what greed means to all the characters and what it is supposed to look like?"

They all sat in a circle, scripts in their hands, dressed in jogging suits. Some of them had closed their eyes. The greed discussion round was finished after two monologues and some extremely brief statements. The routine was started over again. The lines were read out. The director thanked them, described the approach of the next character and asked the actor to proceed. Sometimes they could go through two, even three

sentences before Laura talked about what it was all about and asked them to repeat. The rhythm of the language was important. She explained how the personalities of the characters would grow according to the way of the speech.

At exactly 12.15 they would stop and have a lunch break. As usual, they would all go to the staff canteen downstairs, take the menu of the day and sit on two round tables side by side. Laura explained how she was touched by the subtlety of the text and how she thought their approach needed to be extra careful not to destroy the sensitivity of each word. She explained the etymology of the words, the philosophical positions of different characters and the literary influences the novelist had had as he was writing this play. She was a well-read, well-prepared director that everyone liked. Her calm way of directing was a comfort to many people who had been through many kinds of processes.



Photograph no 7. Distance through meticulous controlling and organizing $\,$

The work group was eager to please her. They thought she was very good at creating a safe atmosphere and at directing the plays. By nature she was very nice and polite to everybody. It was important for her also to behave in a just manner, because the unjustness of the world was one of her favorite themes. She was known to most of them from the theatre school where many of them had studied, so that there was no need to pretend anything. They knew that inner balance was important for her. She practiced this balance by living an extremely healthy life, eating organic food and avoiding all unhealthy and disturbing habits. She was no moralist, though. She knew other people lived differently. She had decided to concentrate on her own life.

The text was quite challenging and difficult. It included separate stories and demanded real flexibility from the actors. Yet Laura was calm and confident. From the beginning of the rehearsals she had asked the actors to arrive on time, and not five minutes late. She believed that the calming down together would help everybody to concentrate. She herself was an avid yoga practitioner and she asked the work group to exercise a few movements with her and meditate for 20 minutes after that.

So, at 10.04 every morning during weekdays the work group was warming up by stretching their bodies. At 10.20, as the meditation had lasted about five minutes, the first sounds of snoring could be heard. Luckily, Laura was absorbed in herself. She did not seem to hear a sound. The snoring might have offended her, so to keep her concentration and spirits up, this persistent habit of someone falling loudly asleep was kept from her. She never mentioned it.

During the fourth week they moved on the stage. The period of practicing only the text had been very long, but as Laura had underlined the meaning of intonation and pronunciation, no one had protested. Ville was a very physical actor. He preferred to get on to the stage as soon as possible to work on the character. He was happy about the progress. Ville had found his positions and entrances almost before the others had had time to get on the stage. Leo was more hesitant. He preferred to have the

clothes the character would use as he started rehearsing on the stage, but he did not want to complain or to disturb Laura's concentration.

She had underlined the importance of this step for her visual memory. She explained how the words expressed during the last weeks would now melt into bodily images moving in space. She seated herself in the first row and asked the actors to start. In the first scene Ville was supposed to start to smoke a cigarette but then to change his mind, and toss the whole pack away. He walked in and made a gesture to offer a cigarette to someone sitting in the first row. Laura cut him off and asked him to try again and not do it. After that she asked him to walk further up the aisle in the middle of the audience seats. Next, she asked Ville not to go there at all but to throw the box into the audience.

In the afternoon the actors gathered around Laura. She told them she was aware of the need to proceed faster and not to get stuck. However, she said she needed not to rush and she felt it was important to let things evolve slowly. Leo had thought to ask when the clothes would be ready but decided to swallow the question. As Laura said, they would most probably be used when the time was right. In the rigorous and strict pace along with the calm, non-gushing atmosphere the play was built like a puzzle, piece by piece.

They were making progress exactly according to the schedule. The premiere would take place in two weeks. In the rehearsals, the same procedure was continued. The process went on like a railway engine, without any hesitations or unnecessary interruptions. The analysis of every word was complete, the positions and technical details were in place. The sounds and lights were coming together at an assuring pace. Laura left nothing to chance.

In the opening night there was no air of nervousness. They had already played to a couple of audiences for the general rehearsals and everybody was assured the play worked. It did. It worked so well that the critics admired the technical virtuosity of the actors, but they wrote also about a mechanical aftertaste. The perfection had reached such a level that the

human chance for chaos and error seemed non-existent. The audience gave steady, polite applauses, always long enough, but they never got wild or excited. It was as if they had been watching a film, a well-cut and clever story, just neat and clean enough to be forgotten as you walk out of the theatre. The tickets sold well enough to cover the costs of making the play, but soon it was forgotten in the flow of new and more interesting performances.

5

DISCUSSING THE EMBEDDEDNESS OF EMOTIONS AND LEADERSHIP

Above, I have presented four different rehearsal processes. The caricatures are my constructions made on the basis of empirical material and according to my understanding of what the emotional and leadership processes were like. Someone else would probably have written them differently. To emphasize the nature of emotions, which is hard to access by verbal means, I have added photos to illustrate the processes. Aside from being illustrations to the caricatures, these photos do not necessarily have any other connection to the plays or rehearsal processes presented here. As the traditional academic writing gives little room for presenting emotions, this is an attempt to make use of new, unconventional methods in leadership research to display the data in a way that it serves the research question.

In this chapter I first categorized the caricatures according to the traditional positive/negative scale and linked the processes with results. The leadership theory that links positive process (positive emotions during the process) to positive results is contradicted. It is noted, that in both successful processes the people used a broad emotional scale. To elaborate further on the embeddedness of emotions and leadership, I suggest

some bodily aspects of leadership practices, such as the use of language, the looking and touching, as well as the rhythm and presence as emotionally momentous areas.

5.1 Emotional repertoire and individual vs. shared leadership

As put forth by the concept of valence, a term used in quantitative research and also in traditional emotion research (Scherer, 2000; Ashkanasy et al., 2002; Wundt, 1874), the caricatures are placed in a scale from positive to negative, i.e from pleasant to unpleasant. In two caricatures, the emotions the participants seemed to experience were mostly negative and in the other two positive.

In the monster story, the amount and intensity of unpleasant emotional episodes labeled the process as more unpleasant than pleasant. Emotions had to do with the way the director pushed the group to their physical and emotional limits. He discredited the actors so many times that the feeling of shame became so commonplace that it lost its power. He shouted at them, he deliberately insulted them and openly mocked their performance on the stage. He made impossible demands on them to immediately learn their lines and long monologues by heart. He openly compared actors to each other. The actors felt helpless shame and rage.

In the Elitist caricature, the process was also unpleasant. The director had her vision, which she expected the actors to produce on the stage. Yet, the actors had a very different idea of the text and found it hard to position themselves as merely being the director's marionettes. The director positioned herself as an artist, and the actors as her instruments. The director despised the traditions of the theatre where she was visiting. She manifested the cultural superiority of the capital city and its theatre scene, thus simultaneously depreciating the provincial city and its

tradition. The actors were offended by the director's disdaining attitude towards their theatre and their professional history. She controlled the ensemble and pursued her vision of the play, as she possessed authority over the process.

The director distanced herself from the ensemble by not making direct contact with the actors on the stage, but instead used other people to convey her messages. This caused confusion and segmentation among the group. The director divided the work group into "her" people and others. The feelings of mistrust and suspicion contaminated the atmosphere. The director's distrust towards the group escalated.

In the tea-party caricature there was a mutual feeling of calmness and trust. The director had the text, the method and the work schedule firmly in her grip and the actors trusted her. The work group enjoyed the feeling of safety. They felt confident about the solutions, since they saw how much energy the director put in meticulous organizing. The atmosphere was harmonious. Nobody wanted to disturb the peace.

In the family caricature the atmosphere was electric and vivid. The director did not have a ready made, clear vision as the process started. It was created together along the way. She also let the rehearsal situations evolve quite spontaneously. The participative work method led to uncertainty, but also to excitement, since everybody had the possibility and the responsibility to create the text. The director's interest in the actors and in the whole work group strengthened the feeling of collectivity. Her intensive gaze followed everybody. She commented and thanked the scenes she preferred and left the less successful ones uncommented upon. As she herself was criticized, she was offended. She wanted to solve the situation as soon as possible and the parties compromised. The sometimes harsh humor cultivated by everybody, seemed to be both a means of self-criticism as well as soft criticism towards colleagues. The intimacy and the physical proximity seemed very important for the whole group.

As noted earlier, the theory links positive emotions with positive results. With results I mean the financial results such as the amount of

tickets sold and artistic results such as the criticism and the evaluation by the participants and peers. Negative, unpleasant processes are usually not expected to bring good results. However, these caricatures tell another story: there are two pleasant processes from which one became a hit, and two unpleasant processes from which the other also became a best-seller.

The monster caricature opposes almost everything good leadership is understood to entail whereas the tea-party, verging on the ideal presented by leadership literature did not succeed. In both monster and family caricatures the shows were sold out and the critics were appreciative making the processes financial and artistic victories.

The monster and family caricatures both had a broad repertoire of emotions. By emotional repertoire I mean the freedom of emotional display, both into negative as well as into positive direction. In monster and family caricatures the broad repertoire of emotions was openly displayed. In the autonomous artistic professions the tensions are said to fuel artistic processes (Brundin, 2002). In the family caricature, the conflict opened up the register of the negative emotions and uncertainty, and added to the tension. In the monster caricature, however poisonous the director usually was, he was also moved into tears when he saw one of his actresses play her scene on the stage.

The display of emotions was mediated by the physical proximity of the work groups. In the family caricature the physical closeness in the dressing room, as well as on the stage, between the group and the director added into the collective feeling. In the monster caricature, the director was very close to the actors all the time. He was with the actors on the stage. He followed them from a close physical range, so close they often could feel him breathe nearby.

In the elitist caricature, the relationship between the director and the actors was more distant. In the case of the elitist, the director and the actors formed two separate groups that stood apart and could not bind together. In the tea-party the distance was more spiritual in nature: the

director had an aura of harmony and calmness, which spread into the work group. Nobody wanted to break the harmony. The harmony and safety started to prevent participation and questioning. The collective niceness, the safety and the certainty the director was able to convey released the work group from responsibility. The element of risk was absent. Although this process was a respite from the consuming and demanding rehearsal processes where tension and conflicts are a part of everyday life, the result of the tea-party process was neither financially, nor artistically satisfactory.

The work groups in the monster and the family caricatures felt collective participation as they all were actively co-constructing the performance and not merely making a predestined vision come true. In the elitist caricature the director seemed to have a very clear vision. She tried to impose her vision on the actors, finally by using her hierarchical position and by appealing to their sense of professionalism. Compared to the actors, she claimed to have a superior understanding of the work at hand. Before the rehearsals had even started she had polished her vision into perfection and did not want anyone to alter it. However, the actors did not agree with her view, and therefore, rejected it. The emotional repertoire of the work group in the elitist caricature got into a rut: the process was labeled by mistrust and anger.

Heroic vs. shared leadership. In the caricatures we can find examples of both charismatic, narcissistic and shared leadership. In the monster story, the leadership was built around one man. He led the actors using shame and humiliation, like the narcissistic leaders may do (Maccoby, 2000). The actors suffered, but for them the process was an ordeal that had to be gone through. They did not question the monster's leadership even though they were both emotionally and physically strained. The actors felt they got something in return for their trials with this charismatic person: they overcame themselves. Even though most of the time the leader was almost in rage pushing the actors he also showed his appreciative and tender feelings. Maybe this way the actors saw the monster was

capable of seeing also the good in their work, and that he was sincere in his work. It seems that the sincerity was demonstrated through the broad emotional repertoire. In this way he also came close to the actors.

Leadership is negotiated in relationship between the members of the group. The actors did not question the individual leadership of the director. The director took it as a matter of course and the actors surrendered to his power. Also Eva, showing broader emotional repertoire than other actors, was allotted some kind of leadership, or at least a position as a spokesperson for the group. Considering the process afterwards the actors seemed to accept that this is the style of some directors and their task is to make the best out of it.

In the elitist caricature, the leader on one hand said she wanted to build a collective feeling, but then again, she wanted to be the autocrat. She had a vision she wanted her group to implement and she was not willing to negotiate it. The ensemble did not understand her ambiguity. Some of them felt rejected as the elitist decided to ally herself with some of the actors while keeping the others at a distance. The unequal treatment added to the distrustful construction of leadership. As Maccoby (2000) states, the narcissistic leaders do not take criticism well.

The emotional repertoire of the elitist was narrow. She made half-hidden sarcastic remarks. It built further the distance between the members of the group as the communication was indirect and oblique. According to the narrow definitions of leadership it could even be said that there was no leadership in the caricature of the elitist. The members of the group did not accept her leadership. Somehow it seems as if Heidi refused to have it. She did not devote to the group, on the contrary: she demonstrated her contempt for it.

Already the names of the caricatures in the family and tea-party refer to the more strive toward collectivity and sharing. Even though in both processes the ensembles had a leader, the director, more space was given to other members too to influence the process and the outcomes. Sharing happened through participation. The members were expected to actively construct the process and not just follow the orders. However, these two processes differed in their emotional repertoires. In the family caricature, there was closeness built by all the members of the ensemble. Also the emotional repertoire ranged from occasional feelings of anger and despair to ecstatic. In the tea-party, even though the process was trusting and respectful, the emotional repertoire was kept rather narrow. Extreme emotions and feelings were avoided.

In theatre ensembles, both individual heroic leaders as well as shared leadership co-exist.

Broad emotional scale seems to be beneficial. It opens up possibilities for all the participants to use their emotional potential. But just putting emotions on a scale or recognizing, naming and labeling them seems inadequate. The dynamism is lost.

5.2 The feeling body: Vision, touch and language

When talking about leadership, organizations and emotions they all become epitomized in the human body. Leadership is constructed and takes place between people. Organizations are networks consisting of people. Emotions become meaningful in relationships between (bodily) human beings.

We take emotions as a routine part of our life, not every minute trying to figure out the current emotional state of mind, and yet we know they exist all the time. Emotions are born in the privacy of the body. One's emotions are in relation and in proportion to other bodies and rhythms within a certain space. In aesthetics, bodily knowledge, i.e. knowledge that we understand and share through senses is studied. Through body and language emotions become meaningful to us and to others.

Relying on aesthetic knowledge, sensing and feeling, researchers have paid attention to links between aesthetics, management e.g. through architecture (Gagliardi, 1992) and metaphorical space of theatre (Guillet de Monthoux, 2004) (in Ramirez, 2005). Articles of organizing and jazz music, musicians and improvising, where rhythm and pace are central elements have been written e.g. by Barrett (1998) and Hatch (1999). Vision, sight and looking have been put under scrutiny by Seppänen (2002) and Silverman (1996), who have written about looking and being looked at and distancing through looking.

For the social constructionist researchers looking at organizations language becomes central (Weick, 1995). Leadership- and organization theories produce language through which the people working in these organizations mold their experiences (Jokinen et al., 1999; Juuti, 2001). Smelling, touching, and the senses of sight and sound in an organizational setting have been addressed by Yancey Martin (2002) as she has done an ethnographic study in a residential home for the elderly. All these researchers point out how power, for example authority, is negotiated through these bodily practices. Here, I understand power as leadership.

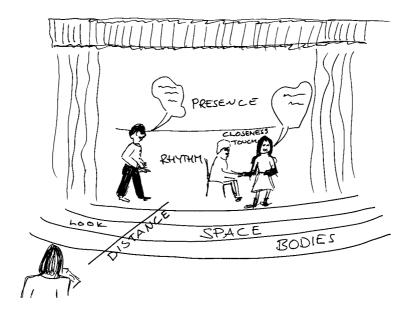
Thus, leadership can be seen as bodily negotiated between the participants in the everyday routine of the rehearsals. It gets bodily negotiated through senses: through seeing and looking, through hearing and listening and through feeling and touching. It gets bodily negotiated also through language. I have found rhythm to be important for emotions and leadership. Body is needed to understand and produce rhythm. As the experience of space becomes meaningful, presence, closeness and distance would seem to play a role in the embeddedness of emotions and leadership.

These conceptualizations are by no means exhaustive, but I consider them to be meaningful in trying to understand the complexity of leadership and emotions in the context of theatre. When rehearsing a theatre production the bodily presence, the simultaneous presence of the director and actors, becomes as central as the cognitive presence. Bodily presence necessarily awakens emotions through the physical relations and acts of e.g. seeing and being seen as well as touching.

I conceptualize the embeddedness of leadership and emotions by concentrating on the bodily experiences of emotional episodes. This means paying attention to the events that tell the "story" of the emotion (Bruner, 1990; Harré & Parrot, 1996) linking them to leadership practices in the data. Hence, the experiencing and sensing body becomes central.

We all exist within and through our bodies. We cannot leave our bodies behind. We may alter and change our selves, but the changes happen also inevitably, in time, without us having any control over them. Through our bodies we are in a relationship with the world.

The bodily existence of an actor is a requirement for a play to take place. We experience emotions from body to body, even without any physical contact. The body is needed to send, receive and to create emotions. The body comprises emotions. The body equals presence. The body



Drawing no 1. Conceptualizing emotions through body: Vision, touch, language, rhythm and space.

epitomizes our gender. It mirrors our physical health, power and condition. The body signals our moods, feelings, emotions and affects, and changes in them. Our bodily presence reflects also our personality, level of alertness and even mental health. Violence and aggression, as well as nurture and care, are bodily expressions demanding a suitable emotion.

The body looks and smells, feels and tastes. The body makes sounds, deliberate and unintentional ones. We experience rhythms in ourselves and are influenced by the rhythms of others. We can tell a lot of a person just by listening how she or he walks into the room. The body reveals our emotional states.

The body is a source and a target of pain and pleasure, of shame and pride. The bodies can be looked at as individuals or as groups. The bodily presence of the work group is a necessity in theatre. The bodily presence of a group can signal collectivity or diversity and friction. How people move within a group, if and how they look and touch each other are implicitly emotional acts. The actors' bodies are under scrutiny through their work. Directors are also closely observed.

The spatial dimension is also meaningful. It is of interest where the director decides to place him or herself in the room. Will she or he be in the audience? Why so distant? Or will she or he run around on the stage and be under actors' feet all of the time? How does she or he display the presence in the space? For a rehearsal of a play to take place and to be meaningful, the eyes, not just the artistic vision, of the director are essential.

The evil eye and the loving look

'I' am always subordinated to being seen, by myself and by others (Silverman, 1996). This notion holds to all organizational members. Looking and being seen is usually a mutual experience, but hierarchies are constructed also through the sense of vision.



Photograph no 8. Bodily closeness on stage

The Western culture has been conditioned to take a Cartesian perspective (Berger, 1991; Seppänen, 2002). During Renaissance, within the art of painting artists developed a visual order to present space and depth. The basic idea was that the parallel lines meet in the horizon, in the vanishing point, and the objects nearer the observer are drawn larger, whereas the objects further away are presented smaller. The perspective is often given the credit to help the art of painting to become realistic, and thus, helped people to see the world as it really is. However, it is just one way of seeing. Perspective produces a static and bodiless visual angle, leaving the observer out.

Perspective contributed to the philosophy of Descartes (1596–1650) as he stated that the body and the senses cannot be trustworthy sources of information. Instead, he suggested concentrating on reason and cognition. The tradition of natural sciences draws from this philosophy, ac-

cording to which the researcher is an outsider, a neutral observer avoiding in any way to participate into the phenomenon observed. The Cartesian perspective sets the seer outside the seen. The seer is a subject and the seen is objectified.

The subject-object thinking and the distance refer to estrangement, to cold neutrality and to mercilessness, all elements of criticism. The subject became a separated observer. Little by little this way of looking became a naturalistic illusion of reality, so a person who has acquired this modern way of seeing may position himself as the centre of his observational world, the reality, thus creating a visual order. Leadership is associated with the ability to understand, to vision and to see clearly. Leader is in the center, in the position of the visionary observer.

Visual orders are loaded with expectations, norms and feelings, which all together become part of interaction. The Cartesian tradition of seeing defines the stereotypical understanding of leadership, where the leader is the static, criticizing and controlling eye, and the follower is the object to his/her gaze. Yet the reciprocity of the leadership is left out of discussion: The leader is both the seer as well as the one who is seen.

In the leadership literature it is normatively repeated that the leader should provide the followers with a vision or goal towards which the organization will strive. She or he should also be able to guide and control the process. The main task of a leader has been to effectively and clearly communicate the vision, so that the followers could identify it as their own (Bryman, 1996; Yukl, 1998). Peters and Austin have put the importance of vision into words like this:

"You have got to know where you are going, to be able to state it clearly and concisely – and you have got to care about it passionately. That all adds up to the vision, the concise statement/picture of where the company and its people are heading and why they should be proud of it." (1985, 284)

This understanding produces a position where the director is a dictator and his or her way of seeing the only possible one.

"The worst case is when you realize you are just a marionette for a director... that s/he is just using you to carry out his/her own intrigues or ambitions or an artistic vision." (Minna, actress, 6.2.03)

Under the leadership of a director with a less clear vision, the rehearsal process may take unexpected turns. The actors are autonomous in their profession to lead their characters according to their own intuition thus being entitled to participate in co-constructing the process. Through the bodily practice of rehearsing and acting on the stage the vision gets altered, shared and co-constructed again and again until everybody finds their place in it.

Another central area where visual order and the ways of seeing become relevant are cultural norms defining the gaze and ways of looking and seeing (Seppänen, 2002). The human body, as an object and as a subject within a space, is on focus here. Our culture has produced not only ways to see, but the repertoire of ideal bodies and ideal ways to be seen. Yet the efforts to reach the ideal are all doomed to fail.

Elsa Saisio (2004) has written very insightfully about the relationship between an actor and the director. According to her, the position of an actor under scrutiny of the director is merciless, because our existence necessarily becomes defined by the eyes of another person. In theatre this perception materializes in the metaphor where the director is described as an overarching eye, having a loving gaze or evil eye, that possesses the power to elevate or to crush just by looking. The relationship with the director becomes sensitive, because the gaze defines how the actor perceives himself and the work. The actor becomes dependent on the love and acceptance of the director, because she or he is the loving or the condemning eye, thus possessing the power to either embrace or to disregard the actor as the actors below note:

"It is important for an actor, that the director sees him/her as the actor wants to become seen." (Saisio, 2004, 84)

"The only one who can give an actor freedom is the director...I fear to do anything that would make the director to dislike me...I cannot face his/her eyes if s/he hates me." (Klemola in Saisio, 2004, 84)

The body is put in the limelight, compared to others. The actor feels the looks, sees the acceptance, joy, admiration or maybe even love but s/he also senses the underrating looks of disregard, despise and shame or fear. It is the core task of an actor to awaken feelings and emotions in the audience. The non-responsive, hollow look from the director or the audience is the worst feedback one can get. The enthusiastic, appreciative look feels like a reward.

The presence of the director was materialized in the actor sensing the director's eyes following him/her. The actors wished to be able to capture the eyes of the director, which in the rehearsals represented the gaze of the audience. To be the target of the gaze means that the actor is interesting enough to hold someone's gaze.

"The director sits on a chair pulled just one meter away from the stage. The group of four actors is going through a scene including a long joke and some singing and dancing. The director sits in a very straight position, face forward, smiling, tapping the rhythm of the song with her foot singing along. She laughs aloud to the culminating point of the joke, nods with her head to signal her agreement to the timing of the punch line. The actors on the stage seem to get their kicks from her supporting movements. The obvious contentment takes over the space. The rhythm of the music is getting its exact beat every time. It sounds like the band even accelerated it almost teasingly, as in response to the excitement of the director. In that room, besides the band, actors and the director, there are only the sound technician and I, both hands full of work. I should be sewing a hem, and he should be checking the sound system, but we are unable to distract ourselves from the wordless interaction between the actors and the director. They have captured our eyes and the least we owe them is to give them our full attention. When they stop, we spontaneously applaud." (Excerpt from my field notes, 2004)

To look at someone can be an act of love. To enjoy that look signals the acceptance of love. This works also vice versa: the director can deny his/her gaze from an actor. It is an act of marginalization, saying I do not want to see you. It is an act of rejection, expressing the wish to put shame on the other one. In theatre, this is experienced as an extreme form of degradation. It is an act of denying the scarce resource. The denial of gaze is a pillory, a public humiliation: someone is left out.

The gaze referred to here, is not only something that observes our surface, appearance and clothing, but something penetrating, making one petrified as noted by actors:

"It is not that I'd be afraid that someone sees me in a wrong way. I am afraid that someone sees me...what if in my personality there is something so awful and disgusting that when I am acting, it just awakens a repulsive feeling in the viewer." (Klemola in Saisio, 2004, 85)

"I was afraid of him (director)...well not so much of him as a person, but my own insufficiency, that how hard will it be if I do not understand, if I cannot pull this off." (Eila, 15.4.04)

Besides being the object to someone else's gaze or being the observer, the actor takes the self as the target of his or her look. It is the nature of the profession of an actor to be in the public, to be looked at, to submit one-self under scrutiny and criticism, to the evaluation and comparison with others. By being an object to gaze and look, the profession molds the actor to be very much aware of his or her talent and appearance, which can become a burden, but also a source of inspiration and joy.

Physical qualities of an actor are important. Marika, director, says:

"For me it is very important how an actor moves and what kind of voice s/he has...I could never cast anyone just by looking at a photograph." (4.2.03)

The director, in flesh and blood, is also under scrutiny of the work group during the rehearsals. Actress, Eila, tells about her first encounter with a director:

"She (the director) entered the room in an unobtrusive manner, and spoke with a soft voice...and she instantly created a collegial atmosphere." (15.4.04)

Bodily presence and touch. Through look and touch the concepts of distance and closeness become important. Closeness is perceived as safe, whereas distance brings along criticism and fear, a possibility of shame. Often, people touched each other as a gesture of gratitude.

"As the actors come down from the stage, the director hugs the actress, and pats the actors' and the musicians' shoulders, one at a time, as they go past her." (Excerpt from my notes during a rehearsal period).

Touching is a touchy thing to do. People are extremely skillful in interpreting touching as an act of friendship or love or ignorance, suppression or hostility. It was perceived as a severe act of violation of one's subjectivity and autonomy, if the director took the actor as an object:

"The absolute worst is when the director pulls you by your clothes or your arm and this way moves you around the stage." (Minna, 6.2.03)

The physical closeness is however embedded in the routines of the profession of actors and directors, as the work often includes being near to colleagues. Building collegiality through bodily closeness begins already in theatre school. The students form a close knit reference group, almost like in the army, starting from doing daily physical exercises with each other to sharing clothes, privacy and also emotions. The preparation to the profession includes touching: fights as well as nursing and tenderness are practiced.

Also the touch of a fabric is mentioned as important in the work of an actor. The costumes, besides helping the audience to understand the character and the play, the clothes help the actors to get into the role. Even though the person carrying the outfit would not see her picture in a mirror, she senses what she is wearing. The touch of the cloth signifies a specific scene or a character.

In a theatre there are seldom individual dressing rooms, but a couple of actors or actresses share a room. At work on stage there are situations where an actor not only touches, but is physically dependent on the colleagues. For example, in doing dancing scenes with lifts, carrying each other, and in violent fighting scenes.

Closeness and touching also become eroticized. This can be humorously presented as a welcome spice to the job. Actresses openly joked about taking intimate scenes as a privilege: in very few jobs one is publicly encouraged to enjoy tender scenes with a colleague. Actors were more careful in their choice of words.

"The female directors I have been working with have been very profound people and when they are profound they are very feminine, so the work situation may be even very maternal, very close...and when I say maternal I may mean something primitive, I cannot deny that as we strive for openness those things (sexuality) are very much present, but to keep the work progressing it may be a defense mechanism that you take the sexuality of the other person as maternity or something like that...it is something you do not have to think about or explain to yourself, but it is a good thing and a safe thing, it is there and it happens." (Pentti, 5.2.03)

"to work with women is ...you usually get to play nice scenes with them, very different from those with men and now I do not talk about homosexuality, I think they are funny things these relationships between men and women." (Pentti, 5.2.03)

Being a director is mentioned as the most erotic profession in the world (Teatterilehti 5/00, p. 17). The loving and responsible presence and closeness bring along the feelings of safety and mutual respect. The successful

work period strengthens the simultaneous feelings of dependency and admiration, boosting the self-respect of each member. The outside world starts to feel hostile whereas the intimacy and acceptance of the work group forms a safe haven. During the rehearsal process the director puts his energy, passion and efforts into the job. The group gets inspired, people inspire each other. The directors fall romantically in love with the actors who so willingly, selflessly and beautifully make the play come true at the stage.

"After a meaningful job the director inevitably breaks his/her heart. The combination of the actor and the character, the fruit of the collaboration, the one with whom s/he fell in love, disappears from the director's life. Both continue their lives separately." (Feodoroff, Teatterilehti 5/00, 17)

Language and leadership. The linguistic turn in German philosophy in the 18th century has caused a renowned appreciation of language. Language became understood as a central instrument through which we create our world view making it an interesting subject for academic research (Riikonen & Madan Smith, 1998; Gergen, 1994). Leadership- and organization theories produce language through which the people working in these organizations mold their experiences.

In social sciences language is analyzed in many different ways: discourse analysis aims to find ruling and underlying discourses. The researcher interested in narratives analyzes and/or constructs stories, their plots, beginnings and ends and finds/creates villains and heroes. Rhetoric analysis deconstructs the style with which the author wants to influence the listeners. Communication has been of interest to leadership scholars already for decades: research has concentrated on symbolism, mode of expression and rhetorics (Bryman, 2004; Den Hartog & Verburg, 1997; Shamir et al., 1994), where language is not viewed as a neutral means for transmitting information, but as a medium loaded with values, norms and attitudes. Simple examples are the established "top down"- and "bot-

tom up" -metaphors from management literature as linguistic illustrations of hierarchy.

I wish to point out that not only does language entail the ability to influence others, but having a voice and thus having the ability and patience to understand voice makes language a bodily phenomenon. We all have a distinct voice and a distinct way of listening. Through body, producing and understanding becomes possible. We can speak with our mouth, hear with our ears. Brain is needed, but also heart and other body parts are referred to as sources of understanding in many languages. Thinking and language have a complex intertwining relationship, where emotions, feelings and the cognition play the leading roles (Vygotski, 1962).

Language is a communication system. Language becomes a language when it is understood as one. There are languages of different scope and scale, e.g. body language, national language, dialects and professional jargon. Language unites and separates, includes and excludes. Sometimes geography defines borders for languages. The English language is referred to as a language of the world. Finnish is the language of the Finns. People in the Tampere area speak the local Tampere dialect. Interest and profession shape the language people to such an extent that it may become impossible to understand for outsiders.

Closeness and distance through language. Groups and gangs sometimes develop their own distinctive style and manner of speaking. The cultural use of language may vary in terms of style and dialect, through the use of specialized terms, thus forming an exclusive group. The norms and taboos are culturally shared through language. Which subjects get the most interest, which evoke strong emotional outbursts, which subjects are forbidden or never joked about, is humor used, and if, about what? Who are featured in the stories? Who tells the stories and who listens? I was thrilled to see how the norms and codes of leadership were often constructed through emotional use of language.

In theatre, the language is an important tool for communication, also outside semantic meanings. As Eila, actress, put it:

"There are actors and directors who share a language. Then there can be an actor of whom a director says that I cannot take him, because we do not speak the same language." (15.4.04)

Sharing a language becomes a metaphor for a very deep understanding and bond between people. Speaking the same language means that work becomes easier:

"I only had to give a few hints, and she (an actress) grasped it immediately from there...she is very elastic, she is a quick, what I always like, and she is ready to try out anything without asking sixteen irrelevant questions." (Heini, director, 13.2.95)

Closeness and distance were created through talking about professional groups and hierarchies. The supremacy of artistic professions (the professions of actors and directors) and the hierarchy within one production was talked about in a following way by Minna, actress, who explained the job at hand:

"This work is defined by the two main characters and the director. The rest of us react to what happens between them." (6.2.03)

The driving forces at the rehearsals are the director and the two actors who play the main characters. They are given the advantage of defining how the work is progressing. The two main characters get the leading position on the stage.

The professionalism was underlined by making a division between professionals and non professionals. This was done e.g. by talking about the education. The following sentence was uttered in a derogatory manner about another person.

"She has not gone to theatre school. She probably would have wanted to become an actress, but she did not have the talent...she did not understand we were supposed to make it work together." (Aliisa, actress, 21.2.95)

The leadership position of the director was legitimized by making a distance to another profession, as Heini, director did:

"To control the whole system... it is a psychological mechanism that the directors think differently from actors. Directors think a lot...I like to solve complete cases, what is essential and what is the main message, what is the visual and thematic world, instead of rooting around one single thing...and that the play looks like something, that it smells and tastes and looks...there the director is needed, the director is actually needed all the time. You know, if there had been no director in that play, I think they'd solved it under direction of the actor having most authority..." (13.2.95)

Minna, actress, called for the dialogic relationship and the feeling of equality in a collective tone:

"(my ideal director-actor relationship is) ... an equal dialogue, where I accept the division of work that the director is a director and an actor is an actor and that I am directed. I must feel that I am both intellectually and as a human being on the same level with the director and that we approach the same thing together but from different angles... a direct dialogue with the director is (important)." (6.2.03)

Other professional groups beside actors and directors within theatre were seldom discussed. They were mentioned only sporadically, and also then, often without names of the persons.

"Marketing people come to see the rehearsals at a point when there just starts to be something to show and most of them do not understand anything of how people work and if you let them come and see the work too early, they will start the strangest rumors, as they do not have a clue how the process goes forward." (Aliisa, actress, 21.2.95)

In the quote, frustration and a slight scorn can be heard. The actress is discontented with the ability of non-artistic people to understand their work and nervous about the possible damage.

In the rehearsal situations the other work groups, e.g. the technical people were not paid any attention to. The technical professionals were expected to be present at the rehearsals, but they were seldom asked anything, nor did they utter their opinions or talked at all. In some groups this culture was considered as problematic for the work community. The director tried to create a feeling of unity into the whole work group by organizing social get-togethers for the whole group.

"I personally think it is important to let everybody know if there are plans to do something with the work group during free time. And if something is planned, it is announced to everybody." (Marika, director, 4.2.03)

Language is used to make division between gender, also. Actresses had become aware of the different ways of using the language.

"Women have their own language. Now we speak the language of the boys up there, and the directing and the atmosphere happens through what the boys create, plus that they have this other play right behind them with the same group, so they have this joking language from there and as I came along I just watched, that OK, they have a boy's club in here." (Minna, actress, 6.2.03)

"I think if there is a man or men in the work group, then the women adapt to their language, independent of the amount of women in the group, but the language is always created through the man." (Minna, acctress, 6.2.03)

In language, closeness and distance is created through grouping (wethem), by making hierarchies and also by choosing who to listen and talk to.



Photograph no 9. Also not to speak is a linguistic act evoking emotions.

Here, Aliisa, actress, talks about how the actors expect the director to pay attention to actors and to their opinions.

"Usually the director and the actors have discussions and they try to cooperate. I think she was a very insecure person, so she took one or two people with whom she whispered and made others feel awkward and confused on the stage. As we came from the first general rehearsal she came into the bar beside me, turned her back on me, and started to whisper with the prompter, and did not say anything, not a word to us about how it went or anything...one started to feel that we had spoiled her fine play, I cannot believe she pulled off such a stupid act." (21.2.95)

Sharing and skimping through language. Language is a part of the bodily presence in a rehearsal situation that creates interaction. There is the text of the play and the dialogical interaction to be practiced. The actors are on the stage and deliver their lines. The director cuts in, explains, asks the actors to alter the scene in some way. If the director accepts what is going on at the stage, she or he stays quiet and lets the scene go on. The actors continue, until they lose the situation or come to the end of the scene. They may comment on their work. The director decides if the next scene is going to be a repetition of the last one or if they are moving to another scene.

The relationship between the actor and the director is loaded with expectations and experiences. The director expects loyalty, enthusiasm and work morale and the actors look forward to someone coming and allowing their talent to bloom.

Openness, created through honesty and truthfulness is usually considered beneficial for artistic rehearsal processes. However, Pentti, actor, described how he balances between honesty and discretion.

"You have to have a continuous internal discussion with yourself all the time about where the line between discretion and modesty goes and what you actually can say and what is better to be left unsaid...even when we are very open to each other, even then you have to be careful, because we all are totally liable not to break up the situation...then it works." (5.2.03)

Also Heini, director explained how she tries to be polite

"I think I am very democratic, but strict (as a director). I try to be just. If I pursue something and it turns out to be wrong, and someone from the group says so, I think, after having given it a thought, I have the capacity to back off. I say Thank you, I appreciate it, but I do not give in to all kinds of foolishness. I say that I'll think about it and already saying it I know I'll never agree with that." (13.2.95)

Some directors were afraid of sharing too much, which resulted in the actors perceiving the director to be unnecessary and useless. Being able to keep up the tension between being necessary and needed, but also letting go, thus regulating the feelings of safety or readiness of taking responsibility when the time comes, was perceived as a crucial element in directing a play.

"In the phase when a director is supposed to support the spirit of the work group, that they would give everything they got to the final spurt, she started pulling the rug from under our feet. She was selfish, like mmh,this is my story, she did not understand it was our story and it is the job of the director to leave the play to the actors as the pilot vessel leaves the ship at a certain point and after that the ship sails alone." (Aliisa, actress, 21.2.95)

Directors are expected to take the responsibility but also to share it with others. If they keep the authority and the responsibility completely to themselves, they are experienced as greedy and selfish leaders.

Tommi, director, says the bodily presence makes everybody responsible for interaction: the situation calls for surrendering to communication.

"when you see that the group really stands behind their work, this extra feeling makes 75% out of a theatre performance." (6.2.03)

Empowering interaction (Riikonen & Madan Smith, 1998) is a relationship that motivates, invites and obliges to discover hopefulness. Participants experience interaction as interesting, satisfying and safe.

The reverse side of the empowering interaction is faced when conflicts and problems occur. Participants tend to dig into narrow roles and perspectives and the tone of voice is very defensive and possessive.

"there was no trust...everyone took care of their own work and did as I said, but it is nothing." (Tommi, director, 6.2.03)

"When the work gets tense and sarcastic it really puts you to your knees, as cynicism is the end of everything in this line of work." (Eila, actress, 15.4.04)

When the atmoshpere in the rehearsals got tense, questions of possession emerged. Who owns the play.

"It would be ideal to have such a collective minded ensemble, that it would not matter where the ideas come from, that who said what, or that someone would be jealous of someone else's ideas, so that it would be a shared process, that I thought about this, and not that in the end the actors would say, that hey, it was us who directed this." (Heini, director, 13.2.95)

"In the worst case the actors ally themselves against the director very openly, but that is the worst that can happen. The actors create there own culture where the director is left as the outsider." (Minna, actress, 6.2.03)

The artistic profession guarantees autonomy. The contradictions sometimes result in a compromise that satisfies nobody.

"I felt I wanted to do exactly the opposite from what the director wanted me to. I never did as she wanted, neither as I wanted: I found myself in the middle ground, as if my character had been nothing. I tried to oppose the director, but somehow, if you do not want to have an open conflict with the director, you try to take at least something

of her, so that it at least looked a little like I tried to do what she wanted." (Aliisa, actress, 21.2.95)

In a theatre, the rehearsal processes that last only 8-10 weeks are hard to get back on track if the conflicts have escalated. In the smaller opinion differences humor was often used as a soft means to integrate and reintegrate.

Humor was used in the rehearsals if the group got stuck or the situations became difficult. It has a social function in relaxing the atmosphere as well as in keeping the spirits up, to relax, to get in the mood in the morning. Ola, actor, notes:

"That bullshit we do is actually taking each other into consideration. It is more than the clinical 'Good morning'." (3.2.03)

Quite harsh jokes are made about colleagues. Humor may be used to get to know each other or to renew the collegial bond as Pentti, actor, says:

"I do not know if I can explain this very well but what we do there is quite chaotic and cacophonic, you may wonder if there is a slightest bit of sense in there...I think that as much as we yap about other things than the play, joking and fooling around, it helps us to pave the way to openness. It is easier to approach even difficult things. I believe it is like a method, everyone knows it is a way to get to know people. It is a quicker, faster way, I think. We measure each other's tolerance with humor. It is quicker and a deeper way than to gather around a table and start a conversation about the childhood of every member...this quote unquote 'sullying' works better." (5.2.03)

Joking can be seen as an acceptable act of rebelliousness. It is time taken off from actual work. One time, during the several weeks period of observing action and participation, the director reminded the actors, that there is work to be done, and in this way gave a hint to cut off the fooling around, that had lasted for about half an hour already.

The joking can also be a self-protection mechanism to laugh at one self before others do, or to make everybody the laughing stock. It seems as if humiliation was used to open up the atmosphere and to make the possibility of shame and embarrassment appear a little less serious.

Those who made jokes were mostly actors. Directors were not joking on the expense of actors, neither did the actors joke on the expense of the technicians or the directors. The jokes about each other were stopped while on the stage, but during the rehearsals as well as performances the actors sometimes deliberately tried to make each other burst into laugh. This was also more common among actors than actresses. It was an act of boyish disobedience to break the rehearsal by making the colleague burst into laughter.

"it gets emphasized in this small group if one of the three or four start to slip, the whole situation is destroyed...this is a fragile constellation, but it has been great, since everybody has a challenging task in this production, so they feel that they are important, and I think this situation that we do two plays in row with the same group, makes this special in a way that everybody takes very much responsibility." (Tommi, director, 6.2.03)

"In a group of this size and this situation where especially these two characters are driven to the limits of their tolerance, one of my most important tasks is to keep the atmosphere up so that it stays open and productive for new ideas." (Tommi, director, 6.2.03)

The actors valued the feelings of trust and having an ongoing dialogue between the actor and the director. If the director is capable of sharing his/her work with the actors, they get a possibility to use their creativity and make progress in their work.

Besides the meanings of the words, linguistic acts, the way of speaking, and the speed of the talk make rhythmic sounds. In organizations talking and listening set the rhythm of different situations. Through these rhythms we get the feeling of what the specific situation is like and how and if we are expected to take part in it.

5.3 Body and rhythm: Setting the pace

It is said that one of the greatest talents an actor can have is a sense of rhythm. As Eila Roine, actress, put it in an interview:

"You have to know when it is your turn and when it is somebody else's." (Aamulehti 17.9.2004)

To set a rhythm is to organize. Finding a mutual, suitable rhythm that embraces and captures the group is leadership. It is to include and to share instead of dividing and delegating. Rhythm is emotional, as it always signals something, be it peacefulness, rush, anxiety or joy. Leading, sharing and bearing responsibility for the rhythm is important in organizations. Finding an inclusive rhythm can be one conceptualization of leadership.

Rhythm is self evident in life: the heartbeat, breathing, growing and withering, being born and dying, the rhythm of day and night and the change of seasons all define our life. Rhythm gives impulses to emotions (Garret, 1967). Besides the musical connotation, rhythm can be experienced as polite, rude, inclusive or exclusive. Within bodies, rhythm is born in the way people move and walk. Tempo of movement, synchronization, and direction are meaningful to rhythm. Rhythm is evident in interaction also: The tempo of speech, the time one takes for reflection and answers, if there is a cacophony of every body speaking at the same time, how the turns are taken and for how long the floor is given to a person. Rhythm creates hierarchies and orders.



Photograph no 10. Abruptly losing a rhythm may be experienced as fearsome error, but it gives a chance to set a new pace.

The director has the prerogative to set the rhythm of the group. She or he may also be sensitive to the rhythms of other people, and adjust them accordingly. There are several sources of rhythm in a rehearsal situation: the director has to synchronize the rhythms of actors on the stage and the rhythms of the technicians beside the stage. While on the stage, the actors take the leading position in defining the rhythms. The text also gives impulses on how the rhythm in different scenes is altered.

The work contains certain daily, weekly, monthly and yearly rhythms. There are things that repeat themselves every day, like lunch breaks, coffee breaks, on weekly bases there are many kinds of meetings and there are certain yearly routines in every organization. For example in theatre, the busiest period starts in September, that continues until Christmas. January is usually silent, February and March are again rather intensive, but by the middle of May almost every theatre closes their doors for the summer. Besides only mechanical changes, the alterations in the work rhythm cause also emotional changes in organizations, in groups and in individuals. Some are by nature slower while others prefer and enjoy a more energy-laden rhythm in their daily work.

Rhythm is born from work routines and traditions. Work in a theatre institution is marked by different stages in the process. The shifts from stage to stage are rhythmic markers of progress. Text is often rehearsed first in the rehearsal room, just by reading the script and talking about it. The next step is to move on to the stage, which brings the elements of moving bodies and the set design.

How the time is used from the starting date of the rehearsals to the date of the premiere largely depends on the director. Some prefer a slow beginning and add tempo in the end. Some want to keep the pace steady throughout the process. For some directors it is important to keep up the tempo all the time.

"I knew that it was vital that once we get to stage, we will really vigorously get things done and this is why I did not want to start the rehearsals earlier someplace else in the kind of atmosphere that

nothing would really spring up, that no-one would get the feeling that we just hang around...this kind of uncertainty is often irreversible." (Marika, 12.11.04)

The actors are sensitive about finding the right rhythm of their characters through movements and through speech, thus contributing to the play. Many actors say that the rhythm of the body is altered when they start wearing the shoes of the role character.

In a rehearsal situation the directors give instructions to actors. They try to find a mutual rhythm in repeating the lines, acting the scenes and giving and getting instructions. Sometimes actors may perceive commenting as disturbing.

"I try to help by cutting in and shouting in order to support and to feed it so that s/he (the actor) would not cut the scene." (Marika, director, 4.2.03)

"Yes, but usually you are causing the cut by intervening. In the worst case I have something going on and I do not even hear you, but then suddenly it hits...like... what did you say?" (Lari, actor, 4.2.03)

The director's challenge is to balance between the actors who find it easy to slip into the character and those who take longer to do it. This may cause anxiety and feelings of being left out or not cared about among actors. The feelings of envy can be caused by the amount of attention the director gives to the main characters. Also, the main roles often set the pace on the stage and the other actors must set their roles accordingly, as Minna, actress, has noticed:

"This work is defined by the two main characters and the director. The rest of us react to what happens between them." (6.2.03)

It was seen as important that the director has the capacity to intensify the rhythm and the atmosphere of the actors to give them the final push before the opening night. The applauses make a rhythm. If people clap their hands long enough they often reach a common tempo. At least I myself have a stronger sensation of a collective experience when the applauses also have a rhythm. The bodily act of simultaneous clapping is an act of participation. After the premiere, it is a tradition to have a party, where the whole group is together for the last time. Speeches are given, and the group is thanked. After that the director leaves the actors to perform the play.

The concept of rhythm led me to think of space. As situations have different rhythms, which cause different sensations and emotions, also spaces produce emotions. I became interested in the relationship between space and a body.

5.4 Space: Distance, presence and absence

Spatial existence becomes materialized through the relationship between the body and the space. According to Michel Foucault (1967) it would be arbitrary to make a division between the norms of social relations and the space where they take place, thus them being inseparable. The movement of the bodies is essential in making the space meaningful: bodies make space (Saarikangas, 2002). Space is not only structures and environments but also spatial relations and meanings. Space becomes meaningful in another way when it is examined from the point of view a living body.

According to Merleau-Ponty (1989) a person does not actively nor passively observe the space, but experiences it with all the senses and with the body. We interact with and are connected to our environment. Space exists through the interpretations of the people in it (Merleau-Ponty, 1989). Organizations are usually located in buildings. They may be specially designed just for the purpose of the organization, anonymous office buildings offering seemingly neutral but professional space, or very improvised looking huts housing various activities. Space makes

and marks hierarchies, defines the borders for cultural behavioral codes and emotional norms for people, depending on their role and status. The power and the hierarchy are marked through spatial planning, and spatial practices. Leadership constructs and is constructed by behavioral and emotional norms within spaces.

Theatres offer emotions and sensual experiences including the form of architecture. The buildings are designed specifically for making and performing theatre. The spaces inside the building are distinctively planned for specialized functions. What meanings do the spaces produce? What is a proper thing to do in which space? The ways theatre buildings are used, experienced and talked about have to do, among other things, with the way we perceive leadership happening in there. Who controls which space? How does it show? What does it mean?

The buildings evoke emotions and feelings. Theatre architecture is a reflection of the social norms and hierarchies linked to theatre tradition. Spatial hierarchies and categorizations to formal and casual, private and public spaces guide also the social norms of emotions and emotional expression. Theatres are divided to public and private spheres.

From the outside, the theatres are often marked by posters of the plays currently in repertoire. In big theatres, there are large doors, maybe even a row of them to make it easier for the audience to get in. Once they arrive, there are doormen, the cloakroom personnel, and the waitresses in the café to make them comfortable. The spaces are designed to make the audience feel festive. Traditionally, people dress up a little, when going to theatre to reflect the festivity displayed by the architecture. They talk to each other and watch other people arrive as they wait for the performance to start.

The bell rings three times to mark that the audience is expected to take their seats. The late arrivals rush into the auditorium and try desperately to find their seats. With careful movements and polite, delicate gestures they move along the narrow space between the seats trying not to disturb too much the audience already sitting. People start to speak

discreetly, and suddenly, as the darkness falls, they get silent. Now it is the turn of the actors to take over. The audience sits back and lets the story to entrain them.

The edge of the stage forms a border between the audience and the actors, but the stage is still a public place in the sense that it is visible to the audience. The actors move in and out of the stage. The privacy starts behind the curtains. Actors wait for their turn there, in the dark. They control the situation, others are expected to be silent and not to disturb them. Further in the back, there are the green rooms. In large theatres, there are separate rooms for different professional groups. Actors have their own green room and the technical staff theirs. Those spaces are reserved for recreation. They are like shared living rooms, with television sets, magazines, tables and sofas and a space for drinking coffee.

The staff uses staff entrance, where the visitor, wanting to enter the premises of the staff has to get through. The doors are locked. The janitor is a gatekeeper of the staff entrance, through which one can enter the offices, belonging to the clerical staff, the offices of the management, the dramaturges and the director(s) rooms, stage, green rooms and the dressing rooms of the actors. Actors and actresses have separate dressing rooms. Dressing rooms are private spaces, as opposed to offices. In office rooms the visitor does not expect to see the occupant almost nude, which might quite naturally be the case when stepping into the dressing room of an actor. The dressing rooms are most often shared by three or four actors, each of them having their own chair and the dressing table. The chair and the table are often personalized by the occupants, marked by photographs, pictures, make up and personal items.

As the core task of the organization is to produce theatre, the premises of the artistic staff are the heart of the institution. They are unofficially restricted areas for the incongruous. This underlines the hierarchical supremacy of the artistic staff. The offices of directors and dramaturges, as representatives of artistic professions, are often placed apart from the clerical staff.

Spaces in the theatre have norms, which regulate the behavior of the people. Different professional groups are also given different amounts of emotional freedom. The actors and the directors are allowed much more scale and scope in their emotional outbursts, especially on the stage during rehearsals, but also off the stage, in the green room and in the corridors. The dressing rooms are places for calming down and concentrating.

The traditional stage since the 1970's is a black box (Arlander, 1998), a versatile intimate space, a womb that can represent any given environment. It is a utopia of a neutral space without any disturbing factors allowing the viewer to concentrate on the essential, on the actor and the text. During the rehearsal period the stage produces intimacy. Other people walking in corridors and spaces adjacent to the stage tiptoe and whisper in order not to disturb. It is clear to everybody within the theatre that the rehearsal situation is restricted from outsiders, as long as the work group decides to keep it so.

The stage makes anyone standing there bare and vulnerable, open to criticism. The stage belongs to actors. Directors may go onto the stage, but as soon as the scene starts they usually go off the stage, or to the side trying not to disturb the actors. The stage forms its own world, with its own rules guided by the text. What would be considered inappropriate elsewhere is allowed on the stage: the aggressions, passionate love scenes and nudity are allowed and encouraged as the performance is located in a fictional space. The stage is a place where two worlds merge. The mental space is shared by the actors and the viewers, and the architectural frame of the stage becomes a psychological border.



Photograph no 11. Being on the stage is setting oneself open to criticism.

The director is the protector and facilitator of the situation. He or she controls the intimacy of the space on behalf of the actors. The director decides who is let in to watch the rehearsals and when it can be done. The director sits very often in the audience seats when watching the rehearsals. He or she may sit in the dark, but the actors follow closely his or her eyes. They are very sensitive to the intensity of interest and get offended if the director does not follow them closely.

The physical closeness experienced on the stage facilitates emotional closeness also outside the stage. The close physical and emotional contacts help create friendships. There is plenty of time to get to know each other also on a personal level since much of the work of an actor consists of waiting. The green rooms resemble living rooms, except that the auditive environment is dominated by the silent sound of the internal radio, so the actors can hear when they are supposed to go on stage. The spatial planning supports the gregarious nature of being an actor: the design of the theatre space calls for a collective mind set as there are no private spaces for individual actors.

Directors are considered more reclusive. They have their private office and they are not expected to hang out in the Green room. The directors are also given the space to decide themselves if they have coffee or eat lunch together with their actors. The more private the space and the more emotional freedom, the higher is the hierarchical position. Both the right to privacy through space and to broad emotional repertoire, become markers of power.

Social theatre space extended outside institution. The social side of theatre work seems to be quite active. People often meet socially after hours. There are pubs and restaurants crowded by actors, directors and other theatre staff after the rehearsals and performances. Actor Ola explains:

"After a performance, my colleagues mean so much to me that, I would not want to abandon them just yet. I simply must be allowed to spend an hour, an hour and half with them afterwards." (3.2.03)

The social get-togethers intensify the feeling of collegiality that penetrates the walls of the workplace. It intensifies the sense of autonomy of the profession, especially of the artists. The theatre institution alone does not control and outline their lives: an important part of the work is done outside the theatre buildings. Actors and directors get a chance to get to know each other at least little on the personal level. As actor Lari said, it is a strange feeling to play an intimate scene with someone barely knowing the name of the other person. It also helps the directors in their work if they know what kind of personalities their actors are. A collegiality is produced that makes it easier to be on the stage, to be open and vulnerable.



Photograph no 12. Social get-togethers and rituals boost collective feeling and thus emotionally construct the ensemble.

Photo by Erika Sauer

Bars and restaurants provide a different stage compared to the theatre. Here, the space is not tied to work, hierarchies and timetables. The bars are public places, but the tables are made private. The work groups tend to stick together. They jam into the same table, no matter how small. A point is made of everyone fitting in. Often, other actors and people working at the theatre join the group. There is a social and emotional pressure also to manifest the collegiality. Thus, the violations, as they are done publicly, are experienced as serious. Aliisa, actress, described an incident at a bar:

"As we came from the first general rehearsal she came into the bar beside me, turned her back on me, and started to whisper with the prompter, and did not say anything, not a word to us about how it went or anything...one started to feel that we had spoiled her fine play, I cannot believe she pulled off such a stupid act." (21.2.95)

Sometimes the atmosphere may be rather cliquey as Ola, actor, describes:

"As I was on my leave of absence I walked in and there were the work groups in their tables. I sat down alone to eat and no-one came to sit with me, they just said hi as they walked by and then they were gone. At first I felt bad, but then it started to feel right and normal." (3.2.03)

5.5 Emotional and practical sensitivity in leadership

In theatre rehearsal processes, both individual leaders and shared leadership are present. Heroic individual leaders as charismatic, sometimes even narcissistic directors and ensembles pursuing sharing and shared leadership can be conflicting constructions, but they can also coexist. Instead of building on positive emotions and positive leadership, these

caricatures suggest that the broad emotional repertoire, including both so called negative and positive emotions, was important for both leadership models to be successful. Through broad emotional repertoire the members of the group felt closeness and participation. In theatre context narrow emotional repertoire reflected emotional distance.

In the caricatures four different stories of bodily, rhythmic and spatial presence were told. In two of them the work group took the risk of putting themselves on stake, they exerted closeness through body, language, rhythm and space despite the difficulties. The other two artistic processes, that were experienced as emotionally dull and one-sided were characterized as distant, lacking intensity in emotional presence, physical distance, lack of mutual rhythm or marked by mechanical rhythm and lack of intimacy.

Given the autonomy of an artistic profession, leadership is not gained through hierarchical position. Leadership is negotiated between the director and the actors in everyday practices. It is possible that leadership is declined if the expectations are not met, and if the basic values are not agreed upon. This evaluation is often emotional in nature and it takes place in bodily practices, language, rhythm and space.

In the caricatures, the abovementioned leadership practices can be condensed in the following way:

Table 2. The caricatures combined with the findings: Conceptualizations of how the emotions became meaningful and understood in the rehearsal processes.

	MONSTER	FAMILY	ELITIST	TEA-PARTY
LEADERSHIP APPROACH	Individual/ charismatic (narcissistic)	Combination of shared and individual	Individual/nar- cissitic	Combination of individual and shared
EMOTIONAL REPERTOIRE	Broad	Broad	Narrow	Narrow
BODY	Closeness	Closeness, trust	Unapproach- able, withdrawn	Self centered, control
LANGUAGE	Criticism, Discrediting (shame), but loyalty	Encouraging, humor, ciriti- cism	Gossiping, insulting	Analytical, polite
RHYTHM	Dramatic changes, defined by the director	Shared, found together	Asynchronous, selfish, irre- sponsible	Organized, restrained
SPACE	Intimate	Collective	Distant	Controlled

In the interviews the actors called for a warm and safe atmosphere in order to be open and able to trust to the director and to the colleagues. However, the professional essence of the work lies in renewal and in the challenge to push their professional limits. The feeling of the professional challenge and taking the risk is energizing, but sometimes difficult and tough. As director demanded actors to abandon their mannerisms and bludgeoned them in finding new ways of expression the feelings of insufficiency were frightening.

The presence of these tensions requires balancing from the director as well as from the actors. It requires sensitivity and a broad emotional repertoire and to be able to identify the different needs and possibilities of people to make the best out of the play. The leadership practices in theatre allow and encourage the closeness, participation and sharing, which call for and enhance the emotional and bodily sensitiveness.

6

CONCLUSIONS

The greatest part of social interaction is spent in defining and redefining the rules of the play (MacIntyre, 1981). To accept that the social constructionist world view of leadership is getting negotiated and constructed between people also means accepting that leadership may get neglected and rejected. If we accept leadership as a negotiable phenomenon, we can see that defining the rules is simultaneously negotiating leadership.

Emotions have a sociofunctional role (Averill, 1980; Armon-Jones, 1986) as through them we make judgments of approval or disapproval. Emotions provide a basis for the social practices of leadership, according to which leadership is judged. Emotions also reflect the values, interests and beliefs of the social community in question. This study contributes to aesthetic perspective on organizations, acknowledging the role of emotions beside the cognition. Including bodily and emotional knowledge to the essential ways of making sense becomes vital.

When reflecting on the work of theatrical ensembles as they were preparing the plays, I found that the individual heroic leaders and the shared leadership model coexist. The previous research has implied to the direction that positive emotions would be linked to positive leadership and thus to positive, i.e. good outcomes, and vice versa. I, however, have

found that both positive and negative emotions are needed and that this broad emotional repertoire is beneficial for both individual and shared leadership constructions.

To be able to further elaborate on the embeddedness of emotions and leadership over the emotional repertoire, and as theatre work is bodily work, I turned to bodily leadership, developed by aesthetically oriented researchers. First, I attached both leadership and emotions to bodily practices, especially the bodily presence was essential to leadership to become a relationship. Looking and touching were perceived as emotionally powerful leadership practices. Second, I discussed the role of language as a bodily function in combining and activating leadership and emotion. Thirdly, I argued that rhythm and space are bodily dimensions linking emotions and leadership. All these dimensions come into existence through the body, thus underlining the central position of the body also in leadership.

The sense of vision, sight and looking was a means to create distance and closeness, and thus hierarchies. Who is watching whom and in what way? Does doing the work need someone to watch over it, to control it through watching that everything happens as it should? How does this make me feel? An obvious example of creating hierarchies through the ability to see are organizations where some people are allowed to watch others without them being able to know that, e.g. the security at the airports or police work. Also the metaphorical use of the word vision is very important for leadership. How is vision created and whose vision gets to be implemented?

Touching is a sensitive, and of course, a cultural thing. In some organizations touching is a normal part of the work procedures that does not evoke strong emotions, but a similar touch outside these procedures is easily experienced as awkward giving reason for emotional outbursts. For example the medical doctors and nurses are doing their job by touching people, but they do not accept that their patients would touch them the same way. The institutional permission to touch someone creates

hierarchy: In general people are extremely sensitive about how they are touched. Touching can be both a soothing, comforting and calming act but a light touch can also have electrifying effects. Eroticism is often attached to touching and also to looking, though increasing understanding of how insulting and derogatory some acts that even hint to the direction of sexual harassment can be has caused eroticism to become a suppressed phenomenon in work organizations.

Language is usually a self explanatory part of work. We speak, listen and write. They all are emotional acts which create hierarchies and construct leadership. By not paying attention to the meanings of the words and sentences we get to study the ways how we speak, listen and write. Who do we speak and in what manner? Who talks and who listens? Do we cut in? Do we expect others to listen to us?

The contents of language creates differences between people. We make distinctions between them and us, men and women. The stylistic choices like irony and joking, besides being used to hurt and suppress, can also be used to break the ice between people, to create intimacy and also, they can be used for self protection. While speaking we make choices of the level of politeness and honesty, simultaneously drawing the border between telling a white lie or hurting someone. Listening is an underestimated and powerful leadership skill (Koivunen, 2003). Emotions are expressed, suppressed and controlled through language.

Rhythm can be understood as a leadership practice. Who sets the rhythm, is it inclusive or exclusive. Does it set the pace too fast for the slower ones? Does an incongruent and slow rhythm evoke feelings of bad management and sloppy organizing?

Space creates the borders between outside and inside, private and public. Through spatial solutions organizations express power and hierarchies. Where is my office positioned, near or far from the CEO? Who shares a room with me? Who sits next door? Is intimacy valued by having separate offices for everybody or are hierarchies abolished and equality and transparency expressed by using open-plan offices? What colors are

used in which space? In theatres, intimacy and closeness are produced by using dark colors. The brink of the stage is a border between the audience and the actors.

Through the abovementioned dimensions of vision, touch, language, rhythm and space I have contributed to the discussion of bodily aspects (Parviainen, 1998) of leadership (Ropo, 1989, 2004) brought up in aesthetic organizational research (Samier, 2005; Von Glinow et al., 2004; Koivunen, 2003; Guillet de Monthoux & Strati, 2002; Linstead & Höpfl, 2000; Strati, 1992, 1996, 1999). The emotional concepts of distance and closeness in leadership became important through these dimensions.

Through caricatures I have also contributed to the methodology of leadership research. Fineman (2000) and Richardson (1994, 2000) have called for experimental writing and the capacity to "imaginatively and conceptually develop understanding of emotional texture of organizations by finding expressive forms to convey crucial experiences and meanings." (Fineman, 2000).

I agree with Fineman as he stated emotions being extremely complex phenomena to study, almost escaping research. Methods concentrating exclusively on language and linguistic means in producing reality soon appeared inadequate, demanding to make way to the experiential nature of emotions. Relying on aesthetic epistemology and ethnographic research methods I chose to write about theatre work and the incidents where I thought I best could capture the leadership situations and the emotional elements. Answering to the call to provide empirical studies on emotions and leadership, I wrote four caricatures. Here is a way for both leadership and emotion scholars to look at these subtle phenomena, offering a condensed and powerful form of presentation.

What comes to the limitations of the caricatures, it is legitimate to ask how well they fit to the social constructionist way of doing research, which underlines the importance of nuanced and rich presentation. As something is exaggerated, something else is automatically getting belittled. Nonetheless, I see the advantages greater than the limitations. The

condensed way of presentation allows space for phenomena that are ephemeral and hard to catch. However, the researcher must be careful when drawing the conclusions. He or she must be able to set the caricaturized picture, blown out of the proportions, back into the frame.

Further addressing the limitations of this study, I recognize the theatre as a very specific organization, with distinct contextual and situational possibilities and limitations. Due to the artistic freedom exerted in theatre, also the forms of work differ substantially from many other organizations. For example, the rehearsal processes take only a limited amount of time, and the life span of the ensemble is usually equally short. Adding to the freedom, typically the artistic ensemble is not directly responsible for the financial success of their work.

The level of analysis has been the group or team level. Taking the limitations of this study seriously, I believe that my findings and conceptualizations can be used in studying for example research and development teams and in similar groups where the work is done through mutual aesthetic practices.

What comes to the emotional repertoire that was beneficial for the leadership in theatrical ensembles, there is a strong possibility that the theatrical work, having to do with presentation of emotions, is more tolerant toward extreme forms of emotions. However, as exemplified above, other organizations are performative as well. Referring to the frequent use of the theatre metaphor for organizations in general (see p. 10) I suggest that through the same dimensions the embeddedness of emotions and leadership in many different kinds of organizations can be studied.

Emotions probably have a more visible role in the work of an artistic group than foe example in a team in a bank. Therefore, theatres were an excellent place to start doing research on emotions and leadership. However, I encourage further research on the embeddedness of emotions and leadership, in other organizations as well, as I am certain it produces insightful perspectives both for leadership researchers and practitioners. I suggested that closeness was built through wide emotional repertoire and

narrow emotional repertoire implicated distance. I find this phenomenon intriguing, thus pointing a direction for my future research interests.

Emotional power is leadership. It is manifested through bodily dimensions and functions in a theatre through sight and touch, through language, rhythm and space. Leadership is negotiated in emotions. The combination of creativity, leadership and emotional power remain intriguing. In this study a broad emotional repertoire seemed to enhance creativity. This calls for further research.

To integrate visual and possibly other forms of presentation to academic research interests me. This is why I included the photos also in this study. The visual presentation of leadership (Jackson & Guthey, 2005) and the role of emotions in the pictures is something I would like to address in my future studies. Following the footsteps of Jackson (2001) I also would like to address the linkage between emotions, values and leadership by studying how values are expressed through emotions in negotiating leadership.

As a practical implication I am convinced that recognizing the embeddedness of leadership and emotions, the rules and norms attached to them, and being simultaneously sensitive but also ready to question these barriers, can open new doors and possibilities for leaders and leadership. In these hectic times of constant travels, remote work, when communicating with the next door neighbor happens via e-mail, and having a cup of coffee with colleagues seems like stealing time I would like to advocate the importance of presence and closeness as a vital leadership practice. Building ensembles that base their work on mutual aesthetic practices requires besides bodily, also emotional presence.

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Tables

- Table 1. Paradigm positions.
- Table 2. The caricatures combined with the findings: Conceptualizations of how the emotions became meaningful and understood in the rehearsal processes.

Appendix

Photographs

Photograph no 1. Photo by Leena Klemelä. Actress Ritva Jalonen, in the play Niskavuoren Naiset, the Tampere Theatre.

Photograph no 2. Photo by Ari Ijäs. Actors Eila Roine and Juhani Niemelä, in the play Rakkaita pettymyksiä rakkaudessa, TTT-Theatre.

Photograph no 3. Photo by Erika Sauer. Director Marika Vapaavuori, Starboretum.

Photograph no 4. Photo by Erika Sauer. Starboretum work group.

Photograph no 5. Photo by Ari Ijäs. Actress Eila Roine, Rakkaita pettymyksiä rakkaudessa. TTT-Theatre.

Photograph no 6. Photo by Leena Klemelä. Actresses Tuija Vuolle and Ritva Jalonen, Niskavuoren naiset, the Tampere Theatre.

Photograph no 7. Photo by Erika Sauer. Director Marika Vapaavuori, Starboretum.

Photograph no 8. Photo by Ari Ijäs. Actors Eila Roine and Juhani Niemelä in Rakkaita pettymyksiä rakkaudessa, TTT-Theatre.

Photograph no 9. Photo by Leena Klemelä. Actress Tuija Vuolle in the play Niskavuoren naiset, the Tampere Theatre.

Photograph no 10. Photo by Ari Ijäs. Actors Eila Roine and Juhani Niemelä, in the play Rakkaita pettymyksiä rakkaudessa, TTT-Theatre.

Photograph no 11. Photo by Erika Sauer. Director Marika Vapaavuori and actor Sami Hintsanen, Starboretum.

Photograph no 12. Photo by Erika Sauer. Director Marika Vapaavuori and musician Arto Piispanen.