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Exploring leadership as it is expressed within professional rugby: the application of Merleau-Ponty's sensual ontology of flesh to organisational practice.

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the degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

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I feel extremely privileged to have gained the opportunity to participate in a PhD. I do not believe everyone gets this chance, irrespective of academic ability, so I am aware of my good fortune. I just wanted to take this time to highlight the support I have gotten along the way.

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Abstract

This thesis centres on the practice turn, specifically leadership-as-practice (LAP). It draws on a phenomenological lineage in order to expand LAP's ambition to grasp leadership empirically. The thesis argues that to ward off regurgitating realist assumptions as we conduct our methodology, it may be useful to direct our philosophical endeavours at how the body is understood during empirical inquiries. The body, however, is a problematic concept within the social sciences, often depicted as a distinct, bounded, entity with the result a 'disembodied' gaze onto leadership. The research questions therefore whether an alternative philosophy of the body may better inform how researchers get a *feel* for leadership in practice.

To embrace this alternative, the thesis turns to Maurice Merleau-Ponty's reversible ontology of flesh. This philosophy illustrates how body and world continually co-create each other. Furthermore, such corporeality paves the way for an epistemology of sensual expression which identifies knowledge as emerging from this reversible creation. In order to elaborate on this 'fleshy' frame, the research draws on sociological and anthropological literature to sensually 'reawaken' the scholar's body within the 'thick' of practice. The thesis utilises this framework to re-envision ethnography from a realist, bounded, perspective to a sensory, emplaced, affair.

The ethnography culminates by providing six sensual depictions of leadership within Hibernia, a professional rugby team. Through these depictions we can empirically understand LAP as a 'sensuous intoxication', displayed through three corporeal lenses that explore leadership: the situated body; the emotional body; and the physical body. These lenses respectively inform the expression of leadership as: coproduced through lines of site/sight; a deeply felt (e)motional engagement; and as a manner of communal orientation. The thesis closes by detailing the key empirical features of such sensuous intoxication and how it contributes towards a practice approach.

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Merleau-Ponty Glossary of Terms

Flesh: A homonym that pertains both to the 'flesh' of our tangible, meaty, bodies but also to the 'flesh' of the world, the ongoing, uncut, social and material 'pulp' or fabric of which we are all part.

Corporeal/le schéma corporel: This term is used in a multitude of ways, but pertains to an awareness of how our bodies can engage with the lived possibilities of the world around us. I deploy the term to denote the interwoven nature of bodies as distinct from an 'embodied' view of our bodies as bounded entities.

Sens: The French term for 'senses', but 'sens' is a homonym for it can be understood both as a form of 'direction' but also something that carries 'meaning'.

Expression: A rebuttal to the idea that 'thought' can exist onto itself, and that spoken language is the optimal means by which such thought is ex-pressed. Merleau-Ponty felt expression is grounded in a multitude of gestural possibilities that come from our body's engagement in the material world e.g. movement, touching and so forth. Also, the term denotes 'thought' or knowledge as within such expression not within a person.

Carnal: An empirical perspective that recognises we sense and grasp the world through our *own* bodies and therefore cannot simply reflect on *other* bodies in a detached, objectified, manner.

Reversible: The term is used to highlight that what we think are 'entities' are often 'reversible' in nature, co-creating each other in various ways rather than existing distinctly. Merleau-Ponty felt the body was reversible (e.g. both sees and is seen) but extended this idea to the co-creative reversibility of the body

and world. This term is a direct rebuttal to the notion of dualisms and binary concepts.

Chiasma/Chiasm: Pertains to the Greek letter *chi* (“x”) and is used to indicate an intertwining or crossing over of different types of relations. Merleau-Ponty uses it as a centre point to his idea of flesh, in which body and material world meet at particular crossing points. At such points, new forms of expression are possible. Also referred to as ‘intertwining’ in some literature, and I used it here as another term for the body and world overlap.

Thickness: This idea refers to the physical and emotional ‘depth’ that our bodies find themselves in. This term is used as a means to represent the ongoing, living, movement of bodies and materiality in the world around us. The term ‘thickness of the flesh’ would entail our bodies having a double belonging-ness to such movement, both helping create and be created by such animation.

Rugby Glossary of Terms

Line out: The line out is a way of restarting play after the ball has been knocked or kicked out of play past the touch line (off the field of play at the side).

Scrum: A scrum (short for scrummage) is formed by the players who are designated forwards binding together in three rows. The scrum then 'engages' with the opposition team so that the players' heads are interlocked with those of the other side's front row.

Jackal: When a player 'steals' the ball in the tackle. Often as they pick up the ball the opposition supporting players arrive and try to knock him/her back off it.

Ruck: A ruck is formed if the ball is on the ground and one or more players from each team who are on their feet close around it.

Maul: The maul is when at least three players from either side are in contact together, challenging the player with the ball, moving towards a goal line. But what makes the maul different to the ruck is the ball is not on the ground but in hand.

Tackle: Only the ball carrier can be tackled by an opposing player. A tackle occurs when the ball carrier is held by one or more opponents and is brought to ground.

Phases: A phase is the time a ball is in play between breakdowns.

Breakdown: The breakdown is a colloquial term for the short period of open play immediately after a tackle and before and during the ensuing ruck.

Try: A try is scored by grounding the ball in the opposition's in-goal area (on or behind the goal line). In rugby union, a try is worth five points.

Conversion: After scoring a try, that team can attempt to add two further points by kicking the ball over the crossbar and between the posts from a place in line with where the try was scored.

'22' or 22 yard line : The '22' yard line is a line parallel to the try line 22 yards out from the try line.

Turn over: When a team concedes possession of the ball, particularly at the breakdown, they are said to have turned the ball over to the other team.

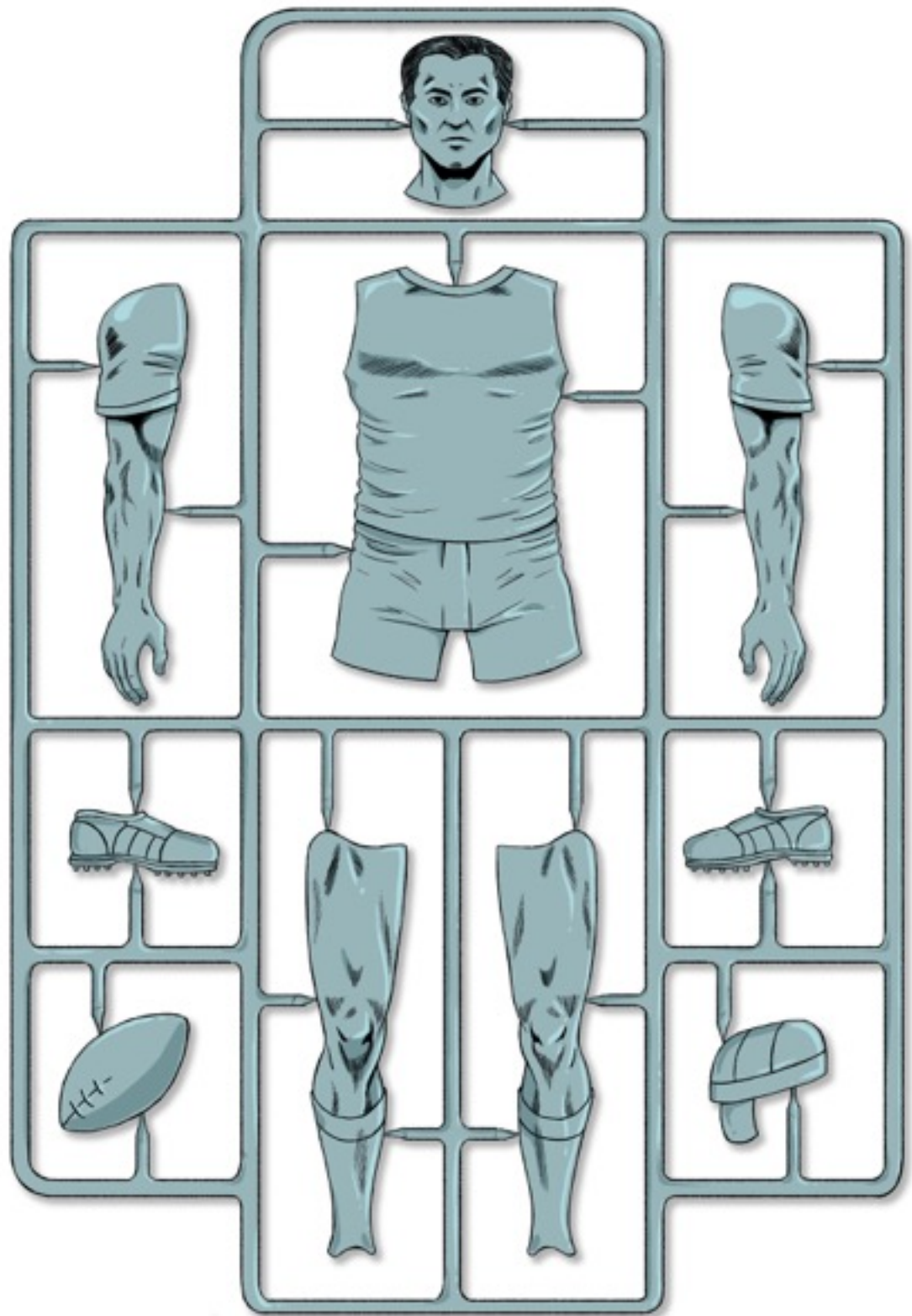
Backs: Consisting of players numbered 9 to 15, the backs play behind the forwards and are usually more lightly built and faster. Successful backs are skilful at passing and kicking.

Forwards: Forwards compete for the ball in scrums and line-outs and are generally bigger and stronger than the backs.

Going/kicking to the corner: In order to gain a line out and potentially go for a driving maul to cross the opposition's try line.

High ball: The ball is kicked high up in the air with players racing to get under and catch it to regain possession.

‘The proof of the theoretical pudding of practice will be found in its practical eating’ (Wacquant, 2002 p. 185)



Drawing 1: The 'Airfix' Rugby Player Kit

Chapter 1: Introducing the research

‘The organ with which I perform my labor, eat my food, caress my loved ones, yet remains a stranger to me’ (Leder 1990 p. 1)

1.0. Chapter Introduction

This introductory chapter aims to provide a gentle overview of the thesis as preparation for the argument and structure that is to come. I begin with a background to the research, illustrating how the traditional ‘definitional problem’ of leadership points to a theoretical ‘pendulum swing’ between individualism and collectivism. It goes from there to locate the research within a practice perspective, specifically leadership-as-practice. The suggestion here is that a greater ontological exploration of the body may help realise the ‘promise’ of this perspective. The chapter goes on to illustrate the thesis objectives illustrating the exploration of Maurice Merleau-Ponty’s work, the development of a sensory ethnography, and the depiction of leadership as a carnal, sensuous, intoxication. The chapter closes by exploring the research significance and contributions, before briefly detailing the structure of each chapter.

1.1. Background and statement of the problem

1.1.1. Leadership's definitional issue

Stogdill's (1974 p. 7) quipped 'there as many different definitions of leadership as there are persons who have attempted to define the concept'. Similarly, Burns (1978 p. 1) added that, 'leadership is one of the most observed and least understood phenomena on earth'. Furthermore, owing to this definitional uncertainty, it is suggested leadership is in a permanent state of 'crisis' or 'shambles' (Rost 1993 p. 99, Ciulla 1995 p. 13, Barker 1997 p. 345). Grint (2000 p. 3) argues the this uncertainty arises because leadership is a 'contested concept' i.e. meaning different things to different groups (see Gallie 1955). He goes further to state modern leadership scholarship oscillates in a 'pendulum swing' between the 'tick' of the individual leader and the 'tock' of the collective (Grint 2011 p. 11). This individual approach is the 'Western fetish' for individual 'heroes' and icons which stretches back to Carlyle's 'great men' (Carlyle 1840[2008] p. 2, Grint 2005 p. 20). In contrast, there is the 'tock' of collectivism, developed more recently out of a desire to address mid twentieth century authoritarianism (e.g. Bion 1946, Lewin 1948, Gibb 1954).

Although leadership is suggested as 'contested', definitions of the topic have tended to fall within this 'pendulum swing'. Grint (2011 p. 11) highlights that this theoretical swing is a 'binary pairing' but goes no further with this reflection. However, as Lincoln and Guba (2000 p. 165) point out, such

binaries, or dualisms as they refer to them, are the epistemological signposts of a realist ontology. This 'binary' suggests the swing of much of contemporary leadership is informed by a realist 'pin' at its fulcrum. Realism professes a 'real' reality 'out there' that can be broken down into parts (i.e. variables) to analyse in a 'cause-and-effect' like manner (Lincoln and Guba 2000 p. 174, Hosking 2006). Chapter 2 will detail this further as the 'mainstream paradigm', but for now I suggest that leadership is contested more at an epistemological level in terms of what is deemed 'true' knowledge rather than as a topic of discussion. The ontological foundation, in terms of how the world is viewed, of much of scholarly leadership remains therefore 'pinned' to this implicit realist view (Bateson 1979 p. 4).

1.1.2. Leadership-as-practice: expansion from 'on' to 'in' research

As an alternative paradigm to this realist, 'mainstream', philosophy, the thesis grounds itself within the 'Practice Turn' in the social sciences (Dreyfus 1991, Schatzki 2001a, Reckwitz 2002). This 'Turn' is rather diffuse, taking on different forms depending on the lineage of a particular 'philosophical practice thinker' e.g. Heidegger, Bourdieu, Wittgenstein and so forth (Schatzki 2001a p. 10). The manner in which practice is defined depends on these lineages, but it is rather broadly suggested as encapsulating 'all forms of human action' (Ortner 1984 p. 150) or 'arrays of human activity' (Schatzki 2001a p. 11). Organisation studies also have embraced a practice approach, looking to apply the paradigm to strategy, technology, and knowledge based

work. It is from this evolving trajectory that leadership-as-practice (LAP) also has emerged (Crevani, Lindgren et al. 2010, Raelin 2011). Like practice generally, LAP is difficult to encapsulate in a single definition, although it is overtly a 'philosophically structured inquiry' which aims to embrace ontological pluralism to offer practitioners greater flexibility over leadership enactment (Cunliffe and Hibbert 2016 p. 50, Shotter 2016 p. 153). A number of common themes to LAP also do emerge, however, in which the approach looks to examine leadership as: informed by bodily and material relations; co-constructed through a shared 'we-ness'; embedded within the ongoing flow of practice; acknowledging of daily, 'messy', work; and practitioner focused (Kempster 2011, Küpers 2015, Simpson 2016). These themes are not exhaustive but illustrate some 'resemblances' across LAP.

My work looks to specifically embrace a phenomenological lineage of practice. This lineage shares a desire to return to the 'lived experience' of practice, or specifically, the means in which we 'live through' our relations with others and objects (Schatzki 2002, Dreyfus 2014, Van Manen 2017b p. 811). This form of practice is particularly interested in methodologically grounding knowledge within such experiences, without reducing understanding down to mental content (Wrathall and Dreyfus 2009 p. 2, Van Manen 2014 p. 65). Such a methodological bent is important for LAP as it looks to empirically expand its focus to leadership 'in practice' (Orlikowski 2010 p. 24). Such an expansion is required to ensure LAP becomes more than a 'promise' of an alternative to mainstream, realist, approaches to

leadership (Carroll, Levy et al. 2008 p. 365). This 'promise' though may be hamstrung unless we re-appraise our methodological approaches in accordance with our congruent, practice, ontologies (Balogun, Huff et al. 2003 p. 217). It is important that our philosophical efforts are not simply directed to research *on* practice theoretically, but are also directed at our methodological assumptions *in* practice (Van Manen 2014 p.15). I suggest that these assumptions are not simply 'mental' endeavours, for we live through these beliefs at a 'tacit' level in terms of our 'bodily doings' of research (Kuhn 1962 p. 24, Law 2004 p. 41). It is our bodies that *do* research, not our theoretical positions. This acknowledgement ensures that we do not simply 'retrofit' realism into our methodological inquiries by failing to reformulate them philosophically (Sandberg and Tsoukas 2011 p. 338). In order to get closer to such 'doings', it would seem useful to explore what the body can offer us philosophically to support such a congruent, methodological, expansion.

1.1.3. Bounded bodies and decorporealised analysis

In looking further at the 'body' in social sciences, we quickly learn it is a problematic issue. Similar to leadership, it is a contested concept, with what is deemed to be a 'body' varying philosophically (Holliday and Hassard 2001 p. 3). The critique has centred on the body being deemed an 'absent presence' (Leder 1990 p. 13). For even when the body is referred to within the text, it remains absent in its moving, visceral, form (Shilling 1993). Similarly, within organisation studies, the body is also 'forgotten' either

rendered as this absent presence or not acknowledged at all (Knights p. 203, Dale and Latham 2015 p. 168). The body therefore is still represented as either an 'empirical object' or the result of powerful social norms (Casey 2000 p. 64). I sought to render this perspective on the body in Drawing 1, the 'Airfix' rugby player, at the start of the introduction. Specifically, this drawing reflects how the body is often displayed as a static decontextualised element, or an assembly of parts, distinct from the wider setting to which it finds itself. There is a failure here to account for a body in its holistic, moving and feeling, form. Within the thesis, I detail that the body in organisation studies is represented either as an 'animated corpse' that delivers a singular output, or a 'meat machine', which is sought to fit into the 'cogs' of work (Shilling 2005 p. 76).

I continue by arguing that such representation is predicated on a bounded notion of the body. Explicitly, that our actions are philosophically bounded at the 'skin', dualistically positioning our bodies as on the 'inside' and the world on the 'outside' (Dreyfus and Taylor 2015 p. 46). As Leder points out in the quote at the start of this chapter, the body becomes a 'stranger' to us, rendered a distinct entity or object, amongst other objects. This bounded position also carries implications when it comes to exploring organisational interests like leadership. For it philosophically enables us to 'cut' our bodies away from the site and the phenomenon we wish to investigate, creating a form of 'disembodied organisational analysis' (Hassard, Holiday et al. 2000 p. 6). In viewing our bodies as a bounded entity we engage in a

decorporealised form of perception, suggesting we can 'gaze' onto leadership as if our bodies were absent (Leder 1990 p. 5). Through the ontological absence of the researcher's body we potentially end up privileging a certain sense of what we 'know' to be leadership. Specifically, the construction of knowledge through the 'eyes' suggests leadership as a 'thing'; the 'mouth' in terms of leadership being enshrined in language games; or the 'limbs', with leadership reduced to parts of bodies or things (Dale 2005 p. 674).

It seems pertinent to methodologically explore leadership-as-practice in terms of the body, but I suggest that the concept is represented in a problematic manner. From a phenomenological perspective, simply asking what the body contributes is insufficient to realising the methodological promise of practice. Instead, it requires a more nuanced research question:

How might a renewed philosophy of the body help us *feel* leadership within the flow of practice?

This question moves us away from gazing *onto* bodies as objects to how we corporeally grasp a phenomenon *through* our bodies (Dreyfus and Dreyfus 2014 p. 34). The research looks to the professional practice of a rugby team called Hibernia¹, in order to answer this question. It is important however to reflect that phenomenology provides a number of 'bodily' scholars. The

¹ All names and references to the rugby team within this thesis are pseudonyms.

research, however, looks to the ‘the phenomenologist of the body’, Maurice Merleau-Ponty, to provide us with a different ontological framework for the body (Van Manen 2014 p. 304).

1.2. Thesis objectives

1.2.1. Merleau-Ponty’s ontology of flesh

The first objective is to explore how Merleau-Ponty framed the body. He referred to his ontology as ‘flesh’, a homonym pertaining to both the flesh of our meaty bodies, but also to the ongoing, ceaseless, fabric or ‘flesh’ of materials and bodies to which we are all interwoven (Merleau-Ponty 1968 p. 139). He suggests this ontology is ‘reversible’ in design. Distinctly, what we often think as bounded, or self contained, entities, like bodies and things, are actually shaped by their ‘chiasmatic’ overlap, or reversibility with each other (Merleau-Ponty 1964b p. 166). For although the body is viewed as ‘inside’ us as a self contained dynamism, distinct from the outside world, it is actually its immersion within this world that shapes how it comes to be formed (Küpers 2015 p. 216). I deploy the word ‘corporeal’ during the research to refer to this ‘leaky’ or ‘porous’ definition of the body. Such a fleshy ontology paves the way for an epistemological position of expression. This position suggests knowledge is not locked into bodies as a single gesture, or inside our ‘minds’, but emerges from the shared corporeal overlap of bodies and materiality (Merleau-Ponty 1962 p. 169, Küpers 2015 p. 41). Specifically, expression suggests it is through our senses, or ‘sens’ to use the French homonym, that

we both feel our way around the world *and* create meaning or knowledge through our bodies (Cataldi 1993 p. 37).

Although Merleau-Ponty lays the framework at an ontological and epistemological level for a reformed body, sociology and anthropology have explicitly looked to bring empirical research 'to its senses' (Howes 2006 p. 29). Research in these disciplines have utilised Merleau-Ponty's ontology to develop a 'carnal' approach, defined as exploring phenomenon *from* the perspective of the body rather than *on* other bodies (e.g. Stoller 1984, Crossley 1995). This work suggests though such a fleshy ontology we can 'profoundly reawaken the scholar's body', enabling the researcher to get closer to the 'smells, tastes, textures, and sensations' of social phenomena like leadership (Stoller 1997 p. xv). Such sensuousness enables the researcher to be corporeally in the 'thick' of practice. We can understand such 'thickness' as: rooting the researcher 'within' the site of the study; ensuring they can participate at a 'deep' emotional level; and acknowledging how the 'dust' of the researcher's own acculturation informs the study (Seremetakis 1994 p. 37). Although such a fleshy perspective gives us a corporeal framework to grasp research at a 'carnal' level, further work is required however to infuse our methodology with this understanding (Pink, 2015).

1.2.2. An emplaced, sensory, ethnography

The second objective of the thesis is exploring how a sensuous, fleshy, approach may inform the empirical 'doings' of a carnally infused LAP. It is suggested within LAP, that ethnography may be a congruent approach for practice, allowing us to get closer to the 'everyday' of organisational life (Rasche and Chia 2009 p. 726, Raelin 2016a p. 8). Ethnography is a diffuse methodology, however, depending on its philosophical framing and whether it is deemed to begin and end in 'the field' (Bate 1997). For example, within the social sciences Ethnographic Realism (ER) is still deployed, which involves the retelling of accounts, or 'tales', in a dispassionate manner with the noticeable absence of the author's voice (Marcus and Cushman 1982, Stoller 1997).

In order to meet this second objective, I look to the existing anthropological literature which has sought to develop a 'sensory ethnography' (e.g. Nakamura 2013, Pink 2015). To illustrate this ethnography's difference to ER I use Van Maanen's (2011 p. xv) four markers to detail the different assumptions around fieldwork. These markers include: the Observed; the Observer; the Tale; and the Audience. Through these four markers a sensory ethnography is depicted as an ethical engagement, a shared sensual experience, a (re)constructed account, and a visceral and affective connection (Pink p. 262, Wacquant 1995 p. 491). Overall, these four concepts help provide the methodological overview for the fieldwork that took place at Hibernia. Over the course of a season I spent time immersed in the

work of a group of players referred to as a 'leadership group', whose task was to bring the phenomenon to life. I illustrate in the thesis how I gained access to Hibernia, the fieldwork involved, and the analysis that took place (Emerson, Fretz et al. 2011). The senses were used here as a means to make connections between myself and the players in order to represent leadership in practice (Wacquant 2005a). The result of which is detailed as six sensual 'Depictions' on the work of Hibernia's players.

1.2.3. Leadership as a carnal, sensuous, intoxication

The third objective was to explore how the sensual depictions of rugby helped inform leadership-as-practice. I borrow Wacquant's (2004 p. 71) term to suggest we can understand leadership within Hibernia as a 'sensuous intoxication'. Method and theory cross over here, with the former relating to how researchers' need to attune or educate their senses to 'feel' leadership's ongoing construction, and the latter that leadership 'intoxicates' the players at a sensorial level (Stoller 1997, Shotter 2000). I argue that it is through a corporeal hyper-reflexive stance that we can get in the 'thick' of leadership (Merleau-Ponty 1968 p. 135). I propose three carnal lenses, or 'bodies', in which to illustrate how we can come to 'sense' leadership as something we contribute to through our own corporeality, but is also a shared co-construction.

First, the 'situated body' illustrates that being within a research site draws our attention to the way we 'manoeuvre' ourselves, the manner in which we 'fit'

into such places, and how some spaces absorb us more than others (Dreyfus 2014/2001 p. 95). Through this corporeal lens, leadership can be understood as a co-produced phenomenon in Hibernia. Specifically, it is the meaningful crossing points of the 'site' of the action and the 'sight' or perspective from which we stand. Within Hibernia this coproduction is expressed through examples of a timely dive onto the pitch and the different perspectives on gameplay shared by the coaches and players (Shotter 2010b p. 8).

Second, the 'emotional body' argues that being in 'deep' as a researcher will 'move' us affectively (Leder 1990 p. 3). It illustrates how our emotions can be 'moulded' by the research setting, help act as guides to our enquiries, and provide us with the 'gist' of an industry's 'sensory biography' (Corbett 2006, Brannan 2011). Such a corporeal position illustrates leadership as a deeply felt emotional affair that facilitates ongoing engagement amongst the players. It is expressed in the tactility the players display towards each other and the care and fastidiousness towards the 'mundane' elements of their work and maintenance of their surroundings (Pink 2004).

Finally, the 'physical body' illustrates how we place the 'dust' of our own acculturation over proceedings. Specifically, I illustrate how corporeal displays of components like gender, physical literacy and nationality inform research relations (e.g. Stoller 1984, Sutton 2001 p. 37). Through this position we can grasp leadership as a communal orientation, an 'anchor' that

locally defines what is 'good work'. For the players, this orientation was expressed through the pain and duty of 'sacrificial acts' and the ability to 'speak your mind' (Todes 2001 p. 66). Through each carnal lens onto leadership, I draw on the depictions of Hibernia, along with the literature, to illustrate my thinking. I also highlight for each lens the methodological and theoretical implications for leadership-as-practice.

1.3. Significance of research & contributions to knowledge

The research carried out at Hibernia suggests that in order to avoid implicitly 'retrofitting' or regurgitating realist assumptions into our methodological endeavours, embracing a carnal approach to LAP may be useful (Crossley 1995). Merleau-Ponty provides the ontological starting point to 're-awaken' the researcher, specifically, by being immersed within Hibernia I was able to acknowledge my senses as both co-constructing, but also empirically grasping, leadership as it was expressed (Stoller 2005). Through a carnal incarnation of leadership-as-practice we can acknowledge that we become 'intoxicated' on a sensual level by our surroundings (Wacquant 2004). This intoxication occurs through a recognition of our bodies in ethnography, rather than seeking to complete an ethnography on bodies (Pink 2011a p. 347). Such sensuous intoxication points to contributions at both the methodological and theoretical levels for LAP.

1.3.1. Methodological contributions

The first methodological contribution suggests that we are more likely to ‘feel’ leadership as it is expressed, than to ‘find’ it as an entitative form (Wood 2005). On engaging Hibernia through a carnal lens, leadership is not something we can ‘see’, as encapsulated in a body or thing, nor is it an outer representation of an internal ‘mind’ (Howes 2006 p. 8). The danger here is we inadvertently stumble into behaviourism, suggestive that we are ‘led’ by such entities. Instead, attending to our senses helps ‘tune’ our awareness to the more opaque expressions of leadership that can occur within an organisation (Howes 2006 p. 43). This attentiveness allows us to get a ‘grip’ on the conditions possible for expression to come into being rather than looking to search for a leadership ‘essence’ (Küpers 2015 p. 101). Through tuning in to our bodies on a sensual level, we can ensure we do not become ‘transfixed’ by the entities around us, instead directing our attention towards the chiasmic *overlap* of bodies and materiality as the starting point for expression.

Second, the research looks to represent leadership in a ‘rich’, evocative, fashion. This process of representation is not simply a stylistic endeavour but looks to capture a depiction of leadership that connects on a visceral, affective, level with practitioners (Wacquant 2005a p. 444). A carnally infused LAP requires placing such individuals at the heart of our work in order to develop engagement and credibility around practice as an alternative paradigm to traditional mainstream approaches (Balogun, Huff et al. 2003). If

we continue to inject realist assumptions into our methodologies we simply feed back dead, colourless, impressions of what those in organisations engage daily as a lived, meaningful, experience (Shotter 2006). A sensory, emplaced, ethnography therefore looks to depict a 'portrait' of leadership that resonates, and is recognisable, with organisational practitioners.

The final methodological contribution illustrates that we as scholars have no authority over what is deemed 'good' leadership. Furthermore, a failure to get amidst the 'ordinary' and 'mundane' work of organisations can facilitate a form of idealism around our own scholarly position of 'good' (Bate 1997, Barley and Kunda 2001). Such idealism is not simply directed towards heroic, mainstream, notions of leadership but privileging any forms of leadership over another when disconnected from the site in question (Crevani and Endrissat 2016). A carnal approach to LAP opens up our awareness to the complexities faced by those seeking to enact leadership. It acknowledges that the phenomenon is always an 'imperfect' process, and we should begin by examining what is deemed to be 'leading' locally before assuming any idealistic 'truths' on how leadership *should* be expressed (Cunliffe and Eriksen 2011).

1.3.2. Theoretical contributions

The research also provides three key theoretical contributions. Initially, the examination of leadership through a mind/body dualism may be an *inappropriate* application of Merleau-Ponty's work. To do so risks straying into

notions of embodiment, suggestive that our bodies are bounded carriers of the mind or soul (Merleau-Ponty 1968 p. 200). This position points us back to the decontextualised physicality of our 'meaty' bodies like gender, height, characteristics and so forth rather than acknowledging that Merleau-Ponty's target was the incarnation of such bodies-in-the-world (Dreyfus 2005). He therefore wished to look at how we are 'geared' into the world in a corporeal manner rather than provide a theory of a dislocated body (Merleau-Ponty 1968 p. 200). In utilising his fleshy ontology to grasp leadership as it is expressed, not what leadership 'is', his work has transferability into how other organisational phenomena are also enacted like strategy, innovation and so forth (Casey 2000).

Second, the research provides a broader sensual, and thus theoretical, palette for how we engage leadership. Specifically, much of the research on leadership investigates the phenomenon through sight or speech. Although not 'wrong' it is rather narrow to grasp the meaning of a social phenomenon through only these sensorial dimensions (Todes 2001 p. 217). A carnal empirical approach would instead suggest that various 'house styles' of leadership contain theories more as tacit, unspoken, 'rules of thumb' onto what is deemed useful or not within a particular practice (Cunliffe 2003 p. 999, Ingold 2011 p. 204). Broadening our sensuality allows us to depict such 'rules' in a more robust way, enabling us to grasp such tacit notions through a palette of how leadership tastes, smells, sounds and so forth (Stoller 1989).

Finally, the research asks whether we can see leadership-as-practice as inherently democratic or collaborative. The depictions of leadership *in* practice illustrates that such assumptions have not looked into the darker elements of leadership enactment (Raelin 2016a p. 9). In looking towards a corporeal approach to practice, it is not the aim to theorise on the 'right' kind of leadership, but instead strives to get closer to how the phenomenon comes to life in practice, both constituting and constituted by our bodies (Pink 2004). The research illustrates that some organisations cannot fulfil lofty democratic notions as they are *inherently* unequal and elitist, like that of a professional sports team. This organisational practice therefore limits those within it from contributing in an equal manner. In embracing a carnal approach, the aim is to illustrate *how* practitioners go about forging such a contribution rather than suggesting equality as a necessary theoretical factor (Carroll, Levy et al. 2008).

1.4. Thesis structure

The thesis aims to delineate a sensuous approach to expand leadership-as-practice, via Merleau-Ponty's ontology, as an alternative methodological perspective to the decorporealised, realist, gaze that informs much of leadership studies. In order to illustrate how we come to feel the expression of leadership, I work my way through eight chapters excluding this introduction.

Chapter 2 acts as a literature review for the thesis, examining two paradigmatic approaches to leadership. The first is the mainstream, realist, paradigm which displays an epistemological binary that oscillates between leader centrism and collectivism. The second review is an alternative paradigm facilitated by the 'practice turn'. I detail this turn in the social sciences and organisational studies before turning specifically to leadership-as-practice. I suggest this turn to practice provides a 'promise' of an alternative approach but needs to look to the body to further its methodological aspirations.

Chapter 3 acts to detail the research problem by providing a deeper understanding of the body from a philosophical position. It is suggested that within the social sciences the body is repeatedly viewed as a mechanical 'thing' or a socially 'marked' representation. The body is therefore often represented as an 'absent presence', simultaneously included in the research but rendered as something distinct from our visceral experiences. I argue that at the heart of this issue is a bounded perspective, with the world on the 'outside' of our 'skins' and the body on the 'inside'. In order to grasp leadership through a phenomenology of practice therefore, we need to embrace an ontology of the body that allows us to 'feel' leadership empirically.

Chapter 4 acts as a framework by detailing Merleau-Ponty's ontology of flesh as well as his epistemological position of sensual expression. Further work is

required however to develop his philosophy for empirical application, and I turn to sociological and anthropological work to complete the frame. Through this literature we can embrace a carnal approach to scholarship which sensually 'reawakens' the researcher to how leadership is expressed in ongoing practice. Specifically the frame looks to how we can 'thicken' the research at a corporeal level. The chapter closes by acknowledging that ethnography itself needs to be reviewed through a sensual lens to ward off implicitly importing any realist approaches.

Chapter 5 delves into the methodological analysis at a deeper level. Specifically it explores ethnography as it is deployed in organisation studies. Furthermore, it also looks to the anthropological development of a 'sensory ethnography' which provides the bedrock to this methodological overview. I illustrate in this chapter how ethnography moves from a realist, embodied tale to a sensual, emplaced, account. I highlight this movement through four markers: The Observed; the Observer; the Tale; and the Audience.

Chapter 6 provides specific details of Hibernia as the research site in question, and seeks to overview the methods deployed in order to carry out a sensuous approach. Specifically, I refer to how my own background and interests as a researcher informs the construction of the ethnography. I also illustrate how the senses acted as a way to categorise the extensive amount of field notes and conversations that were carried out as well as to forge

connections with the leadership group. I include points on field relations, recording the action, and analysis within this chapter.

Chapter 7 provides an account of the work of Hibernia. Specifically, it details six 'sensual depictions' that embed leadership across a season of professional rugby. These depictions relate to the following senses: haptic (touch); equilibrioception (movement); proprioception (space); vision (sight); nociception (pain); and auditory (hearing).

Chapter 8 looks to discuss the sensual depictions. It argues for a carnal leadership-as-practice, facilitated by the use of three 'bodies', or carnal lenses, onto the depictions. Initially, the 'situated body' looks at being 'within' a particular place. It suggests that leadership is coproduced at the crossing points of site/sight. Second, the 'emotional body' looks for the affective 'depth' of the research, positioning leadership as a deeply felt emotional engagement. Finally, the 'physical body' explores the 'dust' of our own historical acculturation. Leadership here is positioned as a communal orientation which 'anchors' Hibernia's players. Each 'body' draws on the 'Depictions' of chapter 7 and includes a section on the implications for LAP. I close the chapter by illustrating that we can grasp leadership as a sensuous intoxication and indicate a number of key themes that enable us to empirically feel leadership in practice.

Chapter 9 concludes the research. It initially provides an overview of the thesis, but also follows on from this summary by examining the methodological and theoretical contributions that emerge from the research. Furthermore, this chapter illustrates three limitations around the research in terms of romanticism, importing Merleau-Ponty's philosophy and it being a re-constructed tale of Hibernia. I finish by pointing to future research around comparative studies and action research.

1.5. Conclusion

This chapter has aimed to detail briefly the thesis so as to act as a guide for the ones that are to follow. It has used leadership's definitional issue as a springboard for the practice approach, and ultimately the corporeal objectives that aim to deliver a robust, congruent, methodology for LAP. Overall, the drawing of the 'Airfix' player summaries my ambition to not dismember the body into parts or decontextualise it from ongoing practice. Rather, I aim to detail how the body is always, already, within ongoing practice. Furthermore, in doing so, my work will look to suggest alternative ways to depict leadership at a sensorial level.

Chapter 2: Literature synopsis - returning leadership to organisational life

2.0. Chapter Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to provide an overview of the literature on two ontological positions. The first is in reference to realism, a mechanical ontology, that sits within the 'mainstream' paradigm for leadership studies. I point to how three philosophical assumptions that underlie realism play out across the 'pendulum swing' that is leader-centrism and collectivism respectively. I suggest scholars need to move beyond simply addressing this epistemological dualism, and look for an alternative philosophical paradigm to explore leadership. The second review is the proposed alternative paradigm of practice, specifically a phenomenological understanding. Alongside charting the 'turn' to practice in the social sciences, organisational studies, and leadership-as-practice (LAP), I detail a phenomenology of practice as a philosophy, a perspective, and a phenomenon. I argue, however, that the last of these, inquiring into the phenomenon, is hampered because our bodies remain absent from the research. The mechanistic treatment of our bodies as information processing 'automatons' limits our ability to explore practice phenomenologically so as to 'feel' and 'grasp' leadership. Invoking innovative methodologies is not sufficient to re-corporealise LAP however, and a reviewed philosophy of the body as 'open' to the world, rather than bounded, is required.

2.1. The Mainstream Paradigm

I use the term 'mainstream' not solely as equated to the individual, leader-centric, approach, as others have done (e.g. Grint 2005, Collinson 2011) but also to collective approaches to leadership. Rather than being borne of distinct paradigms, these two perspectives are of a singular functionalist paradigm, a 'mechanical philosophy' that views the world as entities or 'parts' that can be assembled (Venn 2004 p. 136). Functionalism is predicated on a realist ontology, which in order to define the 'essence' of a phenomenon, believes there is a 'real' reality 'out there', like 'social facts', which can exist beyond the perspectives of those involved (Burrell and Morgan 1979 pp. 1, 26, Lincoln and Guba 2000 p. 165). Any epistemology aims to distinguish what counts as knowledge, and realism predicates a positivist epistemology based on prediction by distinguishing regularities and causal relationships between *isolated* 'variables' (Burrell and Morgan 1979 p. 5). Within leadership literature we see such a dualism, or bifurcation, illustrated in the theoretical 'pendulum swing' detailed in section 1.1.1. represented in leader-centric and collectivist accounts respectively. Functionalism, as the 'mainstream' paradigm, or 'fulcrum', in the study of organisations and leadership, evokes causal structures by creating 'bounded' entities which are viewed as interacting with each other in linear ways (Lincoln and Guba 2000 p. 174, Hosking 2006). In evoking the word 'mainstream' then I nod to Kuhn's (1962 p. 24) concept of 'normal science', which is a discipline's, dominant, paradigmatic 'accepted model or pattern'. Before I make explicit how such

'dominance' is manifested through realist 'assumptions', it is worth detailing what I mean by both the leader-centric and collectivist 'swings' of the functionalist pendulum.

2.1.2. The leader-centric position

The pendulum 'tick' of leader-centrism is not simply about individualism, but that the source of 'truth' in what we understand leadership to be *resides* inside an individual. The phenomenon is viewed as 'inside' us as traits, behaviours, characteristics and so forth (Jackson and Parry 2011 p. 25). Classed as leaders, such individuals are the causal centres of action while those around them are deemed as followers, at times responding passively to their influence (Collinson 2011 p. 182). Leader-centrism therefore is a valorisation of the individual as 'a unitary and singular origin of true knowledge' (Venn 2004 p. 136) containing 'inexhaustible internal resources' to handle organisational concerns (Burkitt 1999 p. 49).

Although there is general agreement within leader-centric positions on where the phenomenon resides, leader-centrism is not united in terms of its theorisation of leadership. For example, some theorists have pursued a humanistic path, based out of 1970s self-actualising literature (see Maslow 1971), like authentic or servant approaches which advocates leaders should be 'humble' and look to serve their fellow workers (e.g. Russell and Stone 2002, Avolio, Walumbwa et al. 2009). Other researchers, however, focus more on the influential traits and behaviours leaders possess like 'charisma',

impression management, or transformational qualities that facilitate followers' self-worth in order to develop creative solutions (e.g. Shamir, House et al. 1993, Gardner and Avolio 1998, Bass and Steidlmeier 1999). Against such stable qualities, more context reflective theorists argue that leaders need to be adaptive in order to match their followers' attributes or performed tasks (Hersey and Blanchard 1982, Irgens 1995). Similarly, Leader-Member Exchange (LMX) theory suggests that leaders develop different exchange relationships with followers, with organisational success dependent on the quality of such relationships (Gerstner and Day 1997). Finally, we also see a large number of cognitive approaches usually based on Social Identity Theory (SIT) (see Tajfel and Turner 1979). SIT based approaches view leaders as projecting the qualities of an 'in group's' values, or similarly, that followers internalise a social schema of an effective organisation that is espoused by the leader (Hogg 2001, Lord and Emrich 2001). Irrespective, however, of the different idiosyncrasies between these leader-centric theories, all still profess a form of leadership 'essence' that either resides under the 'skin' of the leader or directly influences their individual behaviour.

2.1.3. The collectivist position

The collectivist leadership 'tock' of the pendulum also is not unified, but a common thread exists. Irrespective of the theories on offer, there is the suggestion within collectivism that leadership does not reside within singular individuals, but moves person-to-person, existing as a wider social force (Friedrich, Vessey et al. 2009 p. 933, Jackson and Parry 2011 p. 102,

Friedrich, Griffith et al. 2016 p. 313). Semantically, however, it can be difficult to distinguish the various theories that are on offer. Distributed leadership for example focuses on interdependence and coordination between individuals along a socialised division of labour (e.g. Gronn 2002, Mehra, Smith et al. 2006, Bolden 2011). Such a definition though seems to also correlate with 'shared' leadership, which argues for a move away from 'traditional leader authority figures' to one in which leaders work together through non-hierarchical flexible relationships to achieve success (e.g. Manz, Pearce et al. 2009a p. 178, Manz, Shipper et al. 2009c). The difference between distributed and shared seems to revolve around a specific focus on relationships based on role allocation or empowerment respectively (Seers, Keller et al. 2003 p. 77). To add into this semantic mix we also have 'team leadership' advocating leadership as an 'outcome', 'drawn from' teams as a result of people working together, as opposed to some sort of individual 'input' (Day, Gronn et al. 2004 p. 858). Overall, the unit of analysis that predicates either distributed, shared, or team based approaches seems to be the *relationship* that occurs *between* people. Indeed, much of collectivism is predicated on the notion that leadership occurs in-between two bounded subjects i.e. dyadically between individuals. It therefore assumes, *a priori*, and similar to leader-centrism, the notion of a bounded individual in the first place, as distinct from the world around it. In essence, although collectivism is confusing semantically, it shares a similar ontological position to leader-centrism.

2.1.4. Realist assumptions

Kuhn (1962 pp. 10-11) suggests all paradigms contain assumptions about how the world is viewed, although such assumptions can remain implicit, particularly if the paradigm is the dominant, accepted, model within a discipline. Any research, however, will leak out these assumptions through 'indicators', or signposts, like the use of language, how it defines its unit of analysis, its deployed method and so forth (Polkinghorne 2005 p. 144). In order to make explicit the common, taken-for-granted positivist epistemology of leader-centrism and collectivism, I draw on a number of such signposts within the relevant literature (Burrell and Morgan 1979 p. 23). These assumptions are gathered together under three headings of rationalism, reductionism and representationalism. Although in application these assumptions overlap considerably, separating them out provides us with three interrogative 'lenses' on to the mainstream, positivist, epistemology in leadership.

I. RATIONALISM

A 'mechanical philosophy' inherently contains what Dreyfus (1993 p. x) calls a 'rationalist dream' that if we put the 'right parts' in the 'right order' we come out with the desired result (Lincoln and Guba 2000 p. 165). An example of this 'dream' is the idea of the 'mind' as an internal, cognitive, homunculus driving the body like a 'pilot in the ship' (Burkitt 1999, Todes 2001 p. 13). Within leader-centrism the individual is equivalent to the 'mind' in the role of this essential 'part'. The leader is viewed as an intellect that can be removed,

re-trained through learning & development, and re-inserted into the organisation on the belief 'good' leadership will result (Raelin 2004 p. 131, Ford and Harding 2007 p. 489). Through the 'mind' of the individual leader then a 'vision' is created and placed into their docile followers' bodies to enact and perform (Ladkin 2010 p. 104). Leader-centrism then is broken down as a formula of interaction between a 'part' of the leader (i.e. their mind) and a 'part' of the follower (i.e. their bodies).

Collectivism also has a focus on parts, although it is the individuals as a *group* which acts as the independent part, rather than focusing on the fragmented elements of a leader or followers. For example, Gronn (2002 p. 428) defines distributed leadership as 'a status ascribed to one individual, an aggregate of separate individuals, sets of small numbers of individuals acting in concert, or larger plural-member organisational units'. Distribution then is *numerically additive*, with 'good' leadership assumed as *more* individuals are added to the leadership mix. As Paul Watzlawick and his colleagues (1974 p. 32) sardonically point out, 'more of the same... "surprisingly" does not produce the desired change'. They go further to argue that numerically additive approaches often make things worse, not better, as they scale up the problems of the singular. The reason such scaling occurs, as Weick (1979 p. 67) illustrates, is that in most scenarios of collectivism or group functioning, the individuals involved do not act independently with the result of a cumulative, additive, effect. Rather, individuals only ever have 'partial control' over their contributions meaning to a degree 'everyone's fate is in the

hands of everyone else'. It is not like, therefore, producing individual pieces of a jigsaw which can be slotted together later. It is naive to think that collectivism works through additive contribution, rather, it is the members' *interdependence*, not individual independence, that provides an indicator of a group's future success or failure. The rationalistic assumption may be espoused differently between leader-centrism and collectivism therefore, but both centre on the idea of a formula of leadership success that is achieved from ensuring we 'add' the right parts together in a linear manner. In order to include some 'parts' though we exclude other elements, limiting our ability to draw on our 'mundane' organisational experiences to transform the ordinary to the extra-ordinary (Shotter 2011 p. 79).

II. REDUCTIONISM

Reductionism is the suggestion that we can reduce the *cause* of action down to one, or some, delineated 'part'. This assumption is particularly important methodologically, as positivism looks for the 'verification of a hypothesis', usually through some form of manipulation or experimental method. The overall inquiry aim of such methodology is to ensure 'prediction and control' of the world around us (Lincoln and Guba 2000 p. 166). Reductionism enables such control by suggesting that by manipulating one 'part' (independent variable - within the social sciences usually the person or part of them) we can have direct control on another part (dependent variable - usually the environment or others). We see such reductionism evident with

leader-centrism in which a trait, style, or behaviour has a causal, 'control and command', effect on followers (Ladkin 2013 p. 146).

Such causation, however, can have an amoral quality, blind to the manipulative 'dark side' of leadership through notions of 'charisma' or 'values' (Tourish 2013 p. 8). Meindl (1985 p. 79) claims that such blindness owes much to our 'romance of leadership'. This romance 'denotes a strong belief, a "faith", in the importance of leadership factors to organisational functioning'. Although I disagree with Meindl and his colleagues (Meindl and Ehrlich 1987, 1995) when they say leadership is nothing more than a helplessness 'bias', I believe their notion of 'romance' highlights the desire to reduce events down to the individual in order to solve organisational uncertainties. We romanticise the 'variable' of the leader as a 'white knight' who has omnipotent power to 'save' us (Khurana 2002 p. 62). This romantic allure can also extend to an ideological faith in the power of the collective centring its focus on the *relationship between* people (Kelly 2008 p. 778). Dispersed leadership scholars use terms like 'networks' (Mehra, Smith et al. 2006 p. 233), 'empowering' (Ensley, Himieleski et al. 2006 p. 220) or 'exchange' (Ford and Seers 2006 p. 259) to define the relationships between people in a harmonious manner. However, as noted from sports teams, individuals do not always have to like each other to develop strong leadership together (Morgan, Fletcher et al. 2015 p. 96). Collectivism therefore can be just as romantic for leadership scholars as individualistic accounts, owing to the reductive process that centres the unit of analysis as a singular 'part',

whether this is an individual trait or dyadic relationship. Although it can be alluring and comforting to reduce leadership to a singular entity, whether an individual or a relationship dyad, it has the potential to blind us to how other organisational details inform the construction of the phenomenon.

III. REPRESENTATIONALISM

The representationalist assumption suggests that generic, context-free, 'rules' or 'beliefs' exist. Within the human sciences this is usually advocated as either generalised 'truths' that refer to propositions of the 'mind' or static models of how action *should* be, in order to have predictive power (Dreyfus 1993 p. xvii, Lincoln and Guba 2000). Such predictive generalisations may provide us with a modicum of control over our world, but it can lead to a pernicious form of 'disengagement' from our surroundings (Dreyfus and Taylor 2015 p. 18). Such de-coupling of 'parts' within leadership gives credence to the idea that a theory, tried and tested in one setting, will retain its predictive power in another, separate, setting (Uhl-Bien 2006 p. 661). What is predicated then as crucial in determining 'good leadership' is not the setting but the proposed detached model.

Within leader-centrism such models can even become disengaged from the theorist who originally proposed them. For example, James Burns, one of the original proponents of the term transformational, was less than enamoured with what he referred to as 'personality cults' (Burns 1978, Collinson 2014 p. 38). As a former soldier, he was concerned at the 'sheer physical impact' of

individual's narcissistic ambitions (Burns 1978 p. 10-11). His originally cited term of 'transforming leadership' then referred to 'mutual stimulation and elevation' rather than individualism. The gerund (-ing) he includes here is important, as it demonstrates that transforming was not a static trait that belonged to an individual but was a pluralised, active, term (Burns 1978 p. 4). By the early 1980s however Bass (1985) had developed a 'transformational leadership theory', viewed as an 'adaptive' approach in which leaders help followers develop creative solutions for complex problems. Transforming has now become a nominalisation that moves from situated action to a generalised theory that helps 'predict performance' (Bass, Avolio et al. 2003 p. 207). The term 'transforming' thus was theoretically and empirically disconnected from its origins in the name of representationist predictive power. Such disengagement opens the door for leadership 'theory' to often ignore its origins, an essential reflective stance considering the phenomenon's Western ethnocentric bias on what is deemed both moral and pragmatic (Barker 1997 p. 344, Yukl 1999 p. 301). Representationalism within leader-centric positions can leave us with theories that fail to acknowledge the history of their own construction.

Collective approaches are also not immune from this decontextualised or disengaged approach to theory. There is often an underlying belief in a 'collective mind' or shared mental model which is invoked in language like 'team leadership cycle' (Day, Gronn et al. 2004 p. 861), 'frameworks' (Bolden 2011 p. 259), 'alignment' (Leithwood, Mascall et al. 2009 p. 280),

'incremental' formations (MacBeth, Oduro et al. 2004), or 'co-ordination' (Spillane 2006 p. 102-103). All such models still suggest leadership as an entity of sorts enacted in 'sequences' or 'routines'. Even, Peter Gronn (2009 p. 384), originator of the modern incarnation of 'distributed leadership', argues his concept has become 'politically domesticated' owing to a 'one size fits all' adaptation by others. Denis and colleagues (2012 p. 230) comment that the representationalist assumption is a 'blindspot' in collectivist approaches resulting from a failure to understand how organisational, situated, 'political dynamics' influence their accounts of leadership. Overall, a representationalist position illustrates that leader-centric and collectivist generalisations ignore how situated temporal and spatial factors contribute to theoretical construction.

2.1.5. Engaging the 'territory'

As Burrell and Morgan (1979 p. 396) espouse 'to be located within a particular paradigm is to view the world in a particular way'. However, for mainstream leadership, the dominant paradigm of functionalism it has adopted may now result in the phenomenon in question becoming a 'puzzle' (Kuhn 1962 p. 10). This 'puzzle' suggests that the presentation of leadership in mainstream academic debate is growing ever distant from how it is encountered within daily organisational life (Grint 2005 p. 1471). However, if functionalism is failing to reflect such life, we are not bound to this paradigm, but can 'step outside' of it to embrace other intellectual traditions that may grasp leadership in more meaningful ways (Burrell and

Morgan 1979 p. 396). Such a 'step' ensures we do not simply accept and inherit the mainstream approach, but overtly ask ourselves the axiological question of which paradigm is of 'value' to the scholarly task and phenomena at hand (Burrell and Morgan 1979 p. 399, Lincoln and Guba 2000 p. 167). Other paradigms are not then available to simply critique the mainstream understanding of leadership but be adopted on their own terms in what they have to 'offer' as a 'coherent alternative' to functionalism (Burrell and Morgan 1979 pp. 395-396).

A positivist epistemology works off 'ideal types' in viewing the world around us, but this mainstream position ensures there is little resemblance between theory and how we encounter leadership amongst our everyday, messy, organisations (Sandberg and Tsoukas 2011 p. 355). As Korzybski (1958 p. 53) points out 'a map is not the territory' in terms of our everyday experiences and the theories we use to represent it. No theory, of course, is fully, representationally, accurate, but Korzybski continues by arguing that such theoretical ideal 'maps' can misrepresent the organisational 'territory' which we seek to return to. These 'maps' can be useful if they share a 'relation' or 'similar structure' to how we engage a phenomenon, but as I have argued above, a mechanistic ontology of leadership moves us further away from daily organisational activities not closer to them. A positivist epistemology is ill-suited to exploring leadership, for through rationalism, reductionism and representationalism such an epistemology can become a 'killer of life', robbing leadership of its 'richness' by extracting it from daily organising (Van

Manen 2014 p. 4). 'Organising' here refers to Weick's (1979 p. 2) suggestion we do not see organisations as a static entity but 'to organize is to assemble ongoing interdependent actions into sensible sequences that generate sensible actions'. The gerund here reflects that organisations are consistently under construction, fluctuating rather than stationary. Positivism can ignore such construction and its 'bountiful supply of socially interpreted everyday life', often replacing it with rather 'simple accounts' (Weick 2007 p. 14).

In order then to navigate, or lead, our way through the organisational 'scrublands' we need to be more conscious of how our representation of leadership resonates with our daily organising (Schön 1991 p. 42). Prudently, such resonance should begin with a reflexive position on research in terms of how and who produces it, and the impact it can have on others i.e. how we represent ourselves, the organisation and the phenomena through our work (Denzin and Lincoln 2000 p. 16, Cunliffe 2003). In order to be explicit about these influences, it is unlikely that qualitative researchers will be able to subscribe to one single 'conventional' paradigm that meets all our needs (Cunliffe 2011 p. 666). Rather we need to embrace other paradigms on leadership that allows for 'multivocality, contested meaning, paradigmatic controversies, and new textual forms' (Lincoln and Guba 2000 p. 185). I therefore turn to practice as this alternative paradigm, which does not look for leadership 'inside' people, or 'outside' in an abstract social structure, but to 'the practice within which it is occurring' (Raelin 2011 p. 196).

2.2. The Practice (Re)Turn

Michel de Certeau (1984 p. 18) argued that we cannot grasp phenomena through a positivist epistemology which “finds” only the homogenous’, and in doing so gradually ‘loses sight of what it claims to seek and to represent’. In opposition, he argues for a *return to practice*, which involves ‘penetrating the obscurity’ of the ‘everyday’ in which we find ourselves. The idea of a ‘Practice Turn’ (Schatzki 2001a p. 10) therefore is actually a ‘return’ to the ‘everyday muddle’ of organisational life (Czarniawska 1997 p. 2). It questions our attempts to break the world down into cause-and-effect variables through an external gaze, suggesting instead that we can only ever ‘know’ a phenomenon from ‘within’ its organisational enactment (Shotter 2016 p. 12). Practice though is no singular ontology but rather is underpinned by a number of different ‘philosophical practice thinkers’ with their own nuances, idiosyncrasies and ambitions (Schatzki 2001a p. 10). Irrespective of such philosophical differences I would suggest that all these ‘thinkers’ share a common goal to represent life as more ‘alive’ than ‘dead’, as functionalism seems to do. For organisational scholars who engage in practice such a search for ‘life’ requires a Gestalt-like shift away from excessive mechanical abstraction, towards examining the ‘unheroic work’ and ‘unromantic realities’ of day-to-day practitioner life (Whittington 1996 p. 734). Such examination ensures we can revel in the ‘amazingness of the ordinary’ by detailing the ‘background’ activity in organisations (Shotter 2011 p. 79, Lok and De Rond 2013). Before exploring leadership-as-practice (LAP) however, I would like to show how this return to ‘ordinary’ practice has emerged through the social

sciences into organisational studies. To locate LAP therefore we must position it within the wider academic conception of 'practice'.

2.2.1. The 'practice turn' within the social sciences

Within the social sciences, 'practice' as a term and approach emerged in the 1980s (Ortner 1984, Schatzki 2001a, Reckwitz 2002). In terms of definitions though, practice has remained fairly loose and is described as 'all forms of human action' (Ortner 1984 p. 150), 'arrays of human activity' (Schatzki 2001a p. 11) or the 'routinized way in which bodies are moved, objects are handled, subjects are treated, things are described and the world is understood' (Reckwitz 2002 p. 250). Such definitional ambiguity owes itself to the aforementioned diversity of underpinning 'thinkers', ensuring there is no one unified 'theory' of practice (Schatzki 2001a p. 10). This diversity though is not necessarily problematic if it facilitates rich pluralism and innovative exploration (Gherardi 2012 p. 15). However, such pluralism can make it difficult for researchers to grasp what is practice. Postill (2010 p. 6) suggests understanding practice along 'generational' rather than semantic terms focusing on two 'waves' of academic 'thinkers'. The first wave consists of some of the foremost social theorists of the twentieth century (e.g. Heidegger 1978, Giddens 1979, Foucault 1980, de Certeau 1984, Bourdieu 1998, Wittgenstein 2009), while the second 'wave' looks to extend and explore such thinking under the term 'practice' (e.g. Ortner 1984, Dreyfus 1991, Schatzki 2001a, Reckwitz 2002). Rather than trying to singularly define practice, it may be better to think of it in terms of specific lineages under the

one 'umbrella term' (Küpers 2015 p. 91). Definition then emerges from the ontological *detailing* provided to the particular lineage you embrace.

2.2.2. The 'practice turn' within organisational research

With no universal theory of 'practice' available, there is growing diversity in organisational research in terms of its unit of analysis and philosophical position (Gherardi 2007 p. 15). We can see such diversity through literature relating to knowledge based situated practices (Wenger 1998, Gherardi 2000), technology-as-practice (Orlikowski 2000, Orlikowski and Scott 2008), or strategy-as-practice (Whittington 2006, Jarzabkowski, Bologun et al. 2007). Such diversity seems to thrive within organisational studies for three reasons. First, practice studies aim to bridge the gap between academic focus and practitioner relevance (Golsorkhi, Rouleau et al. 2010 p. 1). Through academic research focusing on daily organising rather than individual(s), it helps to build cooperative relations between researchers in terms of shared interests, but also to develop a communal 'source of activism' fostering productive and moral change (Heron and Reason 1997, Heron and Reason 2006, Pink 2012 p. 13). Second, practice also helps us to pay attention to the materiality of our social world (Gherardi 2007 p. 16). Materiality usually referring to the 'arrangement' of objects and physical materials that we are surrounded by (Leonardi, Nardi et al. 2012 p. 42). Although this term can be definitionally uncertain, practice does aim 'to think in new ways about the nature of matter and the matter of nature' (Orlikowski and Scott 2008, Coole and Frost 2010 p. 6). It illustrates how materials are

not simply 'worked on' by bodies but can 'bite back' in various ways reconfiguring how practice is enacted (Engeström and Blacker 2005 p. 310). Such incision moves us beyond the sole individual as the source of action to show how the tangible 'work' of leadership is achieved through the (co)existence of mobile bodies and objects (Küpers 2013, 2015 p. 71). Finally, practice embraces the notion of 'relational work' (Gherardi 2012 p. 10), both in terms of how work is created through *shared* understanding, actions and know-how but also as emergent from the material space and time to which it is located (Pullen and Vachhani 2013 p. 316, Rapo, Sauer et al. 2013 p. 380). Practice's desire to engage the physicality of work ensures it is an attractive proposition to grasp organisational phenomena.

2.2.3. Leadership-as-practice (LAP)

LAP is a recent addition to practice-based studies in the organisational literature. Like practice generally there is no 'one theory', or unified perspective therefore but a number of different 'as-practice' approaches (Nicolini 2012 p. 1, Crevani and Endrissat 2016 p. 38). Such a diverse perspective is following a similar path to strategy-as-practice, which as the recent Cambridge Handbook in this area attests, includes literature underpinned with work by Foucault (Allan-Poesi 2010), Heidegger (Tsoukas 2010) and Bourdieu (Gomez 2010) to name a few (Golsorkhi, Rouleau et al. 2010 p. 13). LAP is following suit with such diverse philosophical interests like hermeneutics (Cunliffe and Hibbert 2016), pragmatism (Simpson 2016) or Vygotskian approaches (Kempster, Parry et al. 2016). The 'broad church'

of LAP, however, is not simply a cynical suggestion of jumping on the 'practice bandwagon' but rather aims to embrace ontological pluralism (Nicolini 2012 p. 11, Cunliffe and Hibbert 2016 p. 50). In embracing a 'philosophically structured inquiry' it opens up new vistas on how we comprehend leadership beyond the current narrow functionalist paradigm (Shotter 2016 p. 153). However, in order to provide a position for phenomenology, and Merleau-Ponty's particular ontology, I believe it is worth detailing five common disciplinary threads to LAP overall.

I. RELATIONAL

The term 'relational' is itself contested within leadership studies, for it can be used to refer to relationships *between* people as a two directional encounter (Fletcher 2004), the different *modes* of communicating (Uhl-Bien 2006), and the moral, situated, implications of *how* we relate to each other (Cunliffe and Eriksen 2011). Most relational leadership positions focus on human relations, varying in the status they attribute to such relations. This variation can include attributing relations to a collection of 'leaders' working together, sound interpersonal relations as a by-product of 'good' leadership or, that we require good relations to get sound leadership (Burkitt 2000 p. 3). There is an assumption in these variations of relational as an 'in-between', with bodies and objects relating as bounded entities. Simpson (2016 p. 162) suggests that viewing entities as relating in this way can be understood as 'interaction'. She advocates viewing the relational nature of practice as a 'transaction', a 'continuous flow' of bodies and things constituting each other

through their very relation. By way of this 'knot of relations' we can understand practice as an 'ongoing co-ordinated accomplishment' (Merleau-Ponty 2007c p. 67, Simpson 2016 p. 173). In using a dancing metaphor, Burkitt (2014 p. 20) suggests this practice view of relational neither ignores the 'dancers' nor does it *reduce* the dance to them, looking instead to the 'patterned figurations' of bodies and materials that emerge in situ. A potential LAP understanding of relational then is not solely inter relations or relationships, but the co-emergent nature of activity.

II. 'WE-NESS'

LAP has an overt endeavour to understand how leadership is 're-grown' daily rather than view the phenomenon as a form of static, enduring, essence (Endrissat and von Arx 2013 p. 299). LAP therefore rejects leadership as an individualistic effort, yet also generally does not embrace the collective notion of additional leaders, as both reflect leadership as residing in some entity (Denis, Langley et al. 2012 p. 232). The starting point instead is to the 'we-ness' of leading, centring on how those in a particular time and place come together in order to enact the phenomenon (Cunliffe and Hibbert 2016 p. 55). The terminology can vary here but such a 'collaborative act' (Simpson, Buchan et al. 2018 p. 647) or 'cooperative effort' (Raelin 2011 p. 196) is not about additional leaders, but how those organisations create meaning by making sense of contextual occurrences (Carroll and Simpson 2012 p. 1303). Leadership then is not about influence from a number of limited entities, but rather its "ownership" can be shared by all', potentially

augmented by those in its locale (Shotter 2016 p. 133). This 'act' or 'effort' of leadership revolves around a mutual appreciation of ongoing reflection, contribution, and reconstruction of the taken-for-granted assumptions that define *what 'is'* leadership (Raelin 2006 p. 155). Within LAP then, the 'shared judgements' of what constitutes contextually 'good' leadership is continually questioned (Shotter 2016 p. 135).

III. PRACTICE AND PRACTICES

Pickering (1995 p. 4) suggests that we can understand 'practices', in its plural form, as a 'repeatable sequences of activities', like the practices of cooking, cabinet making or executing a goal kick in rugby. Practices then are shared routines or behaviours, exemplified when practice scholars talk of 'configurations of action' (Nicolini 2012 p. 10) or 'patterns of activity' (Gherardi 2007 p. 37). However, such a pluralised definition can view bodies and objects as interchangeable (Cataldi 1993 p. 28), and assume the context is an independent 'container' of such practices rather than recursive in their ongoing constitution (Simpson 2016 p. 173). In contrast, Pickering (1995 p. 15) views 'practice' (without the 's') as the 'constitutive *intertwining*', or overlap, of contextual material and human 'resources' ensuring that work is 'temporally emergent' rather than fixed and routinised. Simpson (2016 p. 173), similarly, differentiates "Leadership as a set of Practices" and "Leadership in the flow of Practice". The former as 'inter linkages' between hardened entities, while the latter acknowledges the 'mutually constituting' nature of our ongoing activities within leadership. Such a flow of practice de-

centres the phenomenon away from being 'contained' in an individual or a routine (Denis, Langley et al. 2012 p. 256). Routinised practices purport that we can delineate leadership as certain distinct, hardened, activities ignoring the potential for other forms of meaning to emerge through situated, daily, enactment (Denis, Langley et al. 2012 p. 260, Raelin 2016 p. 3). Although such an approach to practice looks to overcome attributing routinised, delineated, acts to leadership, it is difficult to engage empirically as it can be methodologically uncertain what we are 'looking' for when we step into an organisation (Crevani and Endrissat 2016 p. 32).

IV. 'MESSY' ORGANISING

Within LAP there is an aspiration to define the 'everyday practice of leadership including its moral, emotional and relational aspects, rather than its rational, objective and technical ones' (Raelin 2011 p. 195). Rather than viewing leadership as it *should* be done, as an ideal, it aims to view it through an 'unidealised' lens as neither heroic nor 'perfect' but only ever 'good enough' within organisational constraints (Storch and Shotter 2013 p. 4). LAP is therefore a 'reframing of leadership, as we know it', centring on the 'background' of everyday organising rather than the traditional 'heroic' moment (Raelin 2016 p. 2). It specifically recognises the 'messy' nature of organising, reflecting the differing values, interests and expertise of those in a workplace (Denis, Langley et al. 2010 p. 68). LAP embraces such 'mess' to acknowledge that what people in situ decry as meaningful leadership is not static, but rather is temporally 'fluid' (Fisher and Reiser Robbins 2015 p. 286,

Crevani 2018 p. 92). Such fluidity does not devalue leadership but instead suggests the phenomena is brought to life through daily, workplace, enactment. Of course, such fluidity gives us leadership 'without easy answers', but its adaptability provides practitioners with more expansive ways to deal with organisational uncertainties (Heifetz 1994, Carroll and Simpson 2012 p. 1290).

V. PRACTITIONER FOCUSED

LAP is also suggested as 'providing direction for organising processes' (Crevani, Lindgren et al. 2010, Crevani and Endrissat 2016 p. 23). 'Direction' is perhaps a clunky term, but for me it highlights the importance of working collaboratively with practitioners to develop more robust forms of the phenomena *in practice*. LAP does not advocate that practitioners 'embody' or solely create leadership as realist approaches do, but rather a greater exploration of how they contribute, or 'shape' the movement of its ongoing construction (Crevani 2018 p. 89). Such contributions focus specifically on what is the situational, common enactment of 'good leadership' in both moral and practical terms (Levine and Boaks 2014 p. 225, Grandy and Sliwa 2015 p. 1). Rather than splitting leadership from leadership development then, leadership-as-practice (LAP) aims to subsume the two through work based learning (Raelin 2004 p. 2004, Kempster, Jackson et al. 2011 p. 328). It is generally not advocated that developing the phenomenon entails disconnected workshops focused on general personal development (Day, Fleenor et al. 2014 p. 79). Instead, the development moves away from

viewing practitioners as individual 'containers' to be filled with leadership 'skills', to a practitioner-led model that supports, *in situ*, individuals as they aim to make sense of complexity and uncertainty (Carroll and Simpson 2012 p. 1303). Practitioners, through a LAP lens, are not viewed as some form of 'spark-plug' to be extracted from the organisational 'engine' and inputted anew, but acknowledges their role in the ongoing flux of daily organising (Raelin 2003 p. 65).

Although I have attempted here to show five commonalities to LAP, the varying underpinning philosophical differences will continue to paint alternative practice vistas, and thus produce different 'dances' to leadership enactment. Orlikowski (2010 p. 23) suggests that in order to ground practice in a particular vista, or 'lineage', it is appropriate to articulate our position in three 'modes': as a philosophy; as a perspective; and as a phenomenon. I will detail how each of these modes inform a phenomenological approach to LAP.

2.3. Practice as a (phenomenological) philosophy

Philosophically, practice examines the 'dynamics of everyday activity, how are these generated, and how they operate within different contexts and over time' (Feldman and Orlikowski 2011 p. 1241). Phenomenology aims to grasp how phenomena *appears* to us by questioning such everyday dynamics (Van Manen 2014 p. 28). As a method of inquiry then, phenomenology is the study of '*what* shows itself or gives itself in lived experience' (Van Manen 2017a p.

775). This term 'lived experience' is sometimes utilised in literature as an empty place holder, but it refers to our lived relations to the world, or more specifically how we 'live through' such relations (Van Manen 2014 p. 26). These relations can be through people or 'things', but the lived element is how our experiences come to be expressed, and the understanding that enables such expression (Van Manen 2017b p. 811). Phenomenology therefore can provide an 'enriched understanding of practice by viewing organisations as "situated life worlds"' (Küpers 2015 p. 96). The overall aim here is to leave practice as 'intact' as possible to explore such relations, or 'worlds', rather than tear it asunder reducing our 'bodies, senses and perceptions' to independent parts operating in a mechanical, unmoving and unmoved, manner (Küpers 2015 p. 98). It is important then to point out that 'lived experience' does not refer to subjectivity, as some forms of psychology have misinterpreted, but how we live through the ongoing, situated, relations of our lives.

A phenomenological position that looks to examine practice in a holistic fashion may provide a number of key benefits for the purpose of the thesis here. First, phenomenology has a strong methodological orientation as it constantly seeks to find new ways to get to grips with the 'things themselves' i.e. our situated everyday relations (Husserl 1965, Wrathall and Dreyfus 2009 p. 3). It aims to achieve such a 'grip' by overcoming the theory-practice gap in much of the academic literature (Küpers 2015 p. 98). Phenomenology sees theory not in a dualistic opposition to practice, but that it too is another

form of life and thus always subsumed within practice (Van Manen 2007 p. 14). Certainly 'phenomenology distrusts theory', particularly in its detached realist form, instead, seeking theoretically 'grounding' in our lived hurly-burly experiences rather than abstract it unnecessarily to models or frameworks (Van Manen 2014 p. 65). As a philosophy, it does not look at the world as a collection of entities, viewing practice instead as a form of 'entwinement'. The world is not reduced to parts, like that of the functionalist paradigm, but is always in *relation* to something else, with phenomena emerging from such relational constitution (Sandberg and Dall'Alba 2009 p. 1362).

Second, phenomenology directs attention to what is often 'opaque' in organisational practice, encouraging us to draw on the everyday in order to open up the possibility of 'acting more thoughtfully' (Burch 1989 p. 204). Practitioners then can gain a sense that they 'own' practice, rather than it being overlaid with some detached theory (Sandberg and Tsoukas 2011 p. 352). The caveat here is that we cannot apply phenomenology as some form of 'technique' but we can provide practitioners with a philosophical alternative in how they see the world. In that way, we can never 'do anything' with phenomenology but rather its chief practical benefit is what it 'does with us' (Heidegger 1953/2000 p. 13). Phenomenology then can help re-orient academics and practitioners alike away from mechanical mentalism to residing in the material here and now of organisations.

Finally, phenomenology helps provide a 'primer' to Merleau-Ponty's work, which I detail in Chapter 4. Phenomenology contains many directions, with scholars focusing on different topics e.g. Levinas' (1969) work on ethics, Arendt's (1958) focus on politics etc. Merleau-Ponty's corporeal phenomenology provides a distinct approach that reformulates our own bodies as researchers from rational information processing 'machines' to situated, sensual, moving bodies (Shotter 2010b p. 27). It opens the door therefore to increasing researcher *sensitivity* to the mundane 'background' which encompasses daily organisational life (Shotter 2010b p. 62). It is important therefore to understand that Merleau-Ponty's work exists as an extension of a long line of phenomenological philosophy.

In order to detail a phenomenological approach to practice in this chapter I have drawn on three relevant 'second' wave scholars in Schatzki (1996, 2001a, 2001b, 2005), Dreyfus (1991, 1993, 2014) and Van Manen (2007, 2014, 2016). Their work provides a position on the phenomenology of practice which will signpost later reflections on corporeality. Like any philosophy though, phenomenology's approach to practice contains a number of assumptions. Again such assumptions are not exhaustive but do help to delineate the explicit understanding around phenomenology. I have laid out these assumptions onto practice as: situated; resists dualisms; and mutually constituted. These assumptions work in direct contrast to those within the positivistic paradigm and I have detailed such differences as an overview in Table 1.

Positivist Mechanical Assumptions	Phenomenology Practice Assumptions
Rationalism - the 'right parts' in the 'right order' leads to the desired outcome.	Mutual constitution - how practice transforms itself in novel and distinct ways through its own movement.
Reductionism - reduces the 'cause' of action down to one particular part.	Resist dualisms - the overlap of bodies and 'things' rather than as distinct entities.
Representationalism - extract the model or 'schema' from its context in order to be applied universally.	Situated - practice as located within the specific context to which it is formed.

Table 1.

I. MUTUAL CONSTITUTION

Practice is mutually constitutive in that is not locked into a repetition of linear parts but instead 'sustains' itself through an inherent dynamic. Schatzki (1996 p. 52) suggests that 'constitution' here is a form of 'incitement' in which materiality, bodies, a technique or discourse 'fastens upon, singles out, or calls attention to' an existing bodily aspect. Such a 'call' then transforms, or 'draws that feature out', in some novel manner. Constitution then is not the marking, or 'inscription', of bodies or things, but rather both are transformed through practice (Schatzki 1996 p. 57). We often fail however to 'see' such constitution take place as it blends into the background fabric of our daily activities in a 'taken-for-granted manner' (Van Manen 2014 p. 42). Perhaps the best way to represent such constitution is visually, like the art work of M.C. Escher in the form of 'Drawing Hands' or 'Relativity' (Orlikowski 2002, Feldman and Orlikowski 2011 p. 1242). Another nice visual representation is Grosz's (1994 p. xii) appropriation of the Lacanian version of the Möbius strip, the inverted three dimensional figure eight. The strip is neither two distinct substances, or two attributes of the same substance, but rather show

the 'inflection' of mind into body, body into world etc. However this 'inflection' is not static but comes through the *mobile twisting and turning* of the strip itself. Practice therefore becomes constituted and sustained through its own dynamic movement.

For Schatzki such movement has a 'teleoaffective structure' (2001b p. 60). This structure is not of the mechanical variety but rather moves towards an 'end' (teleology) while also resonating with the way such constitution 'matters' (affectivity) to those involved. Bodies then, within such a 'teleoaffective' practice, are not the drivers of action but rather interlace with the physical world to which we find ourselves. From this position bodies are 'constituted' by practice, as Schatzki states, 'social life, in the forms of practices, shapes individuals by moulding human bodies' (1996 p. 73). We also however have 'part' agency over such moulding, with bodies being also constitutive of practice through 'bodily doings' and sayings' that feed into the 'set of actions' that inform the everyday (Schatzki 2001b p. 55). Mutual constitution then is not the assembly of parts but a rolling movement of bodies and materiality overlapping each other through various affordances. There is no 'pilot' of bodily action here, but rather we too are constituted within such self-perpetuating, dynamic, movement.

II. RESIST DUALISMS

For many phenomenologists, dualisms are the 'bête noire', or 'looming target', of much of their philosophical thinking (Carman 2008 p. 11). Dualisms by their nature are suggestive of 'mutually exhaustive substances' (Grosz

1994 p. 6), which thus reduces action down to a direct causal agent whether it is bodies or 'things'. A phenomenology of practice is suspicious of reductionism in this sense, suggesting instead that action is not causal but emergent from the *interlacing* of our bodies and materiality (Van Manen 2007 p. 22). Dreyfus (2014 p. 4) provides a useful example of this lacing, or overlap, via basketball - 'the very specific form and texture of the basketball and the surface of the ground (among other things) guide the shape and position and movement of our hands'. Such guidance is not located 'in' the body, as there is no dualism at work, but rather *skilful* competence comes through the player's body *responding* to the bounce of the ball, a team mates' opposing arms, or a rebound off the hoop. It is through the overlap of body and object then that, as a player, 'you develop a sense of where you are' (Dreyfus and Kelly 2011 p. 10). The simple example of a bouncing basketball shows that enactment does not reside in either subject or object but is emergent from the movement between body, ball and court. When we begin to reflect on our everyday lives such affordances seem omnipresent, but this constant presence often means, once again, that we take them for granted in our daily actions.

Schatzki (2001b p. 55) makes a similar reflection as Dreyfus citing these affordances as a form of 'practical intelligibility'. However, Schatzki suggests intelligibility is the meaning such affordances have for people engaged in them. From a phenomenology of practice perspective, mental states are not some internalised processes separated from the outside, but are a 'state of

affairs', partially unique to one's body but always in-relation-to another body or object (Husserl 1965 p. 57, Schatzki 2001b). It is through such shared skill or intelligibility of our bodies that we 'make sense' of practice, not in some rationalistic manner, but as a means of 'going on' or 'grasping' what is around us (Schatzki 2001b p. 55). Practice therefore does not sit outside of our bodies but rather 'we are the practices', operating from within through a shared physiognomy of our bodies and place (Dreyfus 1991 p. 28). Our bodies are always engaged in a 'non-fusing embrace' with our material world, and can never be conceptualised as a distinct entity from it (Küpers 2015 p. 73). In resisting dualisms then, practice begins to re-draw the boundaries around how we see our bodies, problematising traditional dualistic thinking of mind/body, body/world and self/other.

III. SITUATED

Schatzki (2005, p. 467) positions practice as a 'site ontology' as it is 'inherently tied to a context in which it transpires'. The 'context' to which he refers is not an 'environment' but rather the space that 'surrounds or immerses' us and thus 'enjoys powers of determination' (Schatzki 2005 p. 467). Practice therefore is 'lived', or rather we live 'through it', in a pre-reflective and pre-representational manner (Van Manen 2014 p. 26). Consequently practice engages in a 'forceful opposition to representational accounts', particularly to displace the mind as 'the central phenomenon in human life' (Schatzki 2001a p. 21). We can never be fully autonomous or aware of how our bodies interlace within such situated space, rather such

awareness operates on the periphery, as 'subsidiary' to our thinking in daily action (Shotter 2006 p. 586).

The term 'site' though is not simply a reference to spatiality but also to the shared physiognomy of our bodies which fosters forms of communal 'social skill' (Dreyfus 1991 p. 27) or 'shared understanding' (Schatzki 2001a p. 12). To borrow a Heideggerian understanding, we can view practice as the 'house' of the social, not just spatially, but through the shared physicality of our bodies (Schatzki 2001b p. 53, Chia and Holt 2006). Through our bodies we always have a continual taken for granted, implicit, 'linked existence' to our physical world, like how my fingers tap the keys as I type this sentence. In that way we cannot escape our bodies, with Husserl referring to them as the 'zero point' to a phenomenological view of the world (Sheets-Johnstone 2016 loc 64). The body here is not a distinct subject in opposition to an object, but rather that it is 'always here' and cannot be forgotten in how we come to represent phenomena. Although we may think of physical space and bodies as separate they continually reshape each other in practice. If we try to represent them as distinct from each other, we begin to lose the rich detail that can illuminate the accomplishment of the everyday.

Through the assumptions of a phenomenology of practice we can see how the 'body' becomes re-viewed in a different way. Often thought of as an entity, the body too becomes something that is continuously constituted in practice, devoid of dualisms and inherently situated physically and socially to

particular 'sites'. We can understand it as a sensual, body-in-motion, that is 'half-open' to the world around us. Although none of the phenomenological scholars cited here deal directly with the body, we already begin to see how a phenomenological position on practice requires researchers and practitioners alike to engage with their bodies in a very different manner. Overall, a phenomenological ontology centres our moving bodies as 'within' practice, not as something we can stand 'outside' of.

2.3.1. Practice as a (sensitive) perspective

Orlikowski (2010 p. 25) points out that we can also understand practice as a perspective, turning it into a 'powerful lens for studying particular social phenomena'. A perspective approach takes on a 'theoretical' orientation to answer 'how' practice is formulated in a certain way (Feldman and Orlikowski 2011 p. 1241). A phenomenological approach to theory therefore would aim to seek for 'leadership' *within* practice rather than reduce the phenomenon down in order to predict and control it. Such an approach, therefore, rejects defining leadership as a 'thing' or encapsulated form. Van Manen (2014 p. 17) argues that an overdetermined focus on theory can cause us, like Pygmalion, to 'fall in love with our own fabrications', even when such seduction is at the expense of our everyday engagement. He suggests it is appropriate to have a 'perspective' on the social world but not look to reduce the world to fit our perspective. It is important then to be aware how such theoretical seduction can beguile us, tempting us away from our everyday organising.

Rather than to 'think' our world, phenomenology aims to 'grasp' it through our sensual, relational, bodies that are pre-reflective, pre-theoretic and pre-linguistic (Van Manen 2007 p. 20). In grasping everyday organising 'it is the body that speaks, that knows' (Merleau-Ponty 1962 p. 264) in terms of 'feeling' the atmosphere in a meeting change, being 'touched' by a colleagues personal story, or how we may be looking to 'sniff out' why a project may not be working. From a theoretical position, phenomenology begins to see practice as a 'sensitive' perspective (Van Manen 2007 p. 22). Such sensitisation aims to use phenomenology as a practical and reflective method, rather than simply for the auspices of a professional philosophy. It is a call for a 'richer common-sense', a shared social 'tactfulness', that aims to be both evocative and transformative (Shotter 2016 p. 28). Such sensitivity to practice asks us how we wish to act in 'everyday situations and relations from a pragmatic and ethical position' (Van Manen 2007 p. 13). A theoretical orientation therefore always looks to be rooted within practice than unnecessarily abstracted from it.

2.3.2. Practice as a (lived) phenomenon

Finally, Orlikowski (2010 p. 24) suggests we can also understand practice as a phenomenon, articulated as a 'specific commitment to understanding what practitioners do 'in practice''. She continues by stating the preposition 'in' denotes 'practical activity and direct experience', or 'what' gets done in terms of everyday organising (Feldman and Orlikowski 2011 p. 1240). There is a

difference then here from how philosophy informs research *on* practice to how we come to research a phenomenon *in* practice (Van Manen 2014 p.15). It is an empirical expansion from what we define as knowledge, to also how we access such knowledge in a congruent fashion. This movement is perhaps the most difficult aspect of practice as it asks scholars to 're-conceive' how they 'do' research in line with a specific philosophical lineage (Balogun, Huff et al. 2003 p. 217). For organisational researchers this re-conception is a serious challenge, as it requires taking a philosophy that was not used in a direct applied way, and operationalising it in some form to investigate a phenomenon. Failure to make this application can result in a form of 'lag' between our theoretical and methodological positions. It is my assertion that expanding research from 'on' to 'in' practice is the pivot on which the 'promise' of LAP becomes realised or not (Carroll, Levy et al. 2008 p. 365). In order to investigate leadership from a practice perspective we need to turn our attention to how we 'grasp' anew our methodological approach.

I do not believe such a grip is solely achieved by the use of more 'innovative' or unusual methods of exploration. For our methodological 'doings' need to be 'commensurable' with the underlying ontological and epistemological axioms that are attributed to our philosophy. We therefore cannot 'pick and choose' our methodology from one paradigm and 'retrofit' it to another (Lincoln and Guba 2000 p. 174). In addition, Kuhn (1962 p. 24) points out that paradigms are not just generalised 'laws', implicit assumptions or a

certain world view, but are *bodily ways of 'doing'* research. Our philosophical assumptions are therefore enacted in a tacit manner 'embodied in craft skills, unspoken assumptions and inscription devices' (Law 2004 p. 41). The manner in which our body is orientated within the research is what brings the methodological approach 'to life' not the blueprint or 'plan' for methods' delivery. Goffman (1989 p. 126) illustrates that only through such 'bodily doings' can we ever possibly reside within an organisation's 'set of contingencies'. He continues by arguing that we need to get 'close' to those involved both physically and empathetically to begin to *sense* what they are experiencing. Such closeness he (1989 p. 126) attests:

"tunes your body up" and with your "tuned-up" body and with your ecological right to be close to them...you are in a position to note their gestural, visual, bodily response to whats going on around them and you are empathetic enough - because you have been taking the same crap they've been taking - to sense what its is that they're responding to'.

Goffman is suggesting that in order to 'sense' what is happening to others around us we need to re-orientate the way we corporeally engage with the world. In order to comprehend leadership, we need to look further at how practice conceives such a 'tuned up' body as researchers *in* everyday organisations (Rasche and Chia 2009 p. 725). By ignoring how we come to bodily 'sense' leadership, we may implicitly import and 'retrofit' realist assumptions into our methodological approaches to practice. Rather than

developing a sensitivity to leadership such research may inadvertently enact mechanical assumptions with the result a detached version, or 'disembodied abstracted realm', of leadership (Sandberg and Tsoukas 2011 p. 338).

2.3.3. Returning the body to practice

I suggest then that we need to congruently ground, or re-em-body, research on leadership by devising a new, corporeal view of how we research *in practice*. Such a re-view becomes commensurable once a philosophy of the body starts to be aligned with the phenomenological assumptions of practice mentioned in section 2.3. Initially, ensuring we are situated rejects what Donna Haraway calls the 'god trick', which is an 'illusion' of bodily detachment in which we try and view 'everything from nowhere' (1991 p. 191). She suggests instead we 'learn in our bodies', rather than reduce engagement down to one sense organ i.e. sight or sound. The detached 'view from nowhere' is a leftover of a positivist epistemology which involves extracting what is deemed 'factual' from the localised 'value' to which it is found (Dreyfus and Taylor 2015 p. 92). In order to preserve the complexity of leadership, we must acknowledge that the 'value' of the phenomena is 'drawn from local contexts', not something that exists as an independent essence (Sandberg and Tsoukas 2011 p. 352). Such a situated 'value' does not simply involve detailing the context, but explicitly acknowledging that the representation of leadership comes through the overlap of bodies and the material organisational setting. It is through our bodies that we come to 'know' such leadership.

Second, in rejecting dualisms through our understanding of practice we also need to be suspicious of a bounded schism between researcher and researched. Such rejection means expunging a notion that the researcher remains corporeally unmoved, emotionally or physically, as we interact with others. Such immobile methodologies are therefore care-less in terms of how we treat others. Shotter (2006 p. 586) suggests that a form of 'witness' thinking can be an antidote to our bounded duality of 'researcher' and 'other'. Rather than thinking 'about others' like a 'disengaged observer', Shotter suggests we are always 'thinking-from-within'. The word 'within' here has a double meaning both as knowing 'from within a social situation' and also 'from within oneself as a human being and as a socially competent member of a culture' (Shotter 2010b p. 26). Shotter continues by suggesting 'within' acknowledges ourselves as both 'touching' and 'touched' corporeal researchers that are not 'disembodied, disinterested creatures'. We care therefore for those we stand alongside as researchers, empathetic enough to share some of the 'same crap' as those in the organisation. Like organisational employees, we cannot blindly follow a positivistic 'map' or 'recipe' to orientate us through organisational mess (Storch and Shotter 2013 p. 16). Only by standing beside practitioners, trying to make sense of things *with* them, can we too 'feel' the twists and turns of the swampy territory that surrounds us.

Finally, if we abide by the assumption of mutual constitution, we reject ideas of isolated 'parts' as practice involves communal ownership (Shotter 2016 p. 133). It is not my suggestion here that the recent, sometimes short term, researcher dictates 'what' leadership 'is' in comparison to an organisation's long standing members, but neither do they stand outside of its ongoing construction. The 'models' we develop around leadership through a phenomenology of practice do not claim to 'passively' reflect or 'mirror' organisational life as positivistic representation attests (Tsoukas 1998 p. 792). If we enact our assumptions when we come to do research, as Kuhn suggests, it seems plausible, *even desirable*, that we can begin to influence localised understandings. For me, as a researcher, by asking rugby players what 'is' (good) leadership (here) I am 'calling' to such players for a communal, although not homogenous, response. From a functionalist paradigm this may appear to be 'contamination' or 'bias' but it is through such responsiveness we begin to understand how leadership is expressed. Furthermore it is through the 'responsive relation' between researcher and 'participant' that leadership is nurtured allowing it to 'emerge or unfold' in practice (Shotter 2010b p. 198). In order then to avoid an inadvertent mechanistic methodology of detachment, 'about-ness' thinking, of which we as researcher are a disengaged 'part', it is not enough to deploy innovative research methods or radical reflexivity. We actually need to *perceive* our bodies in a very different manner than the bounded entity we take-for-granted on an ongoing daily basis.

Although, as practice scholars, we may espouse a philosophical desire to 'return to life', we can often go about our methodological approach as detached, separate, entities *looking* onto the daily work of practitioners as if there is boundary between 'us' and 'them' (Shotter 2010a p. 19). Such a bounded understanding emerges from an inadvertent methodological incongruence which fails to reform our bodies through practice as well as the unit of analysis. The result is a positivistic 'lag' in which we view our bodies as researchers as little more than an 'automaton' existing as a 'set of parts-outside-of-parts' (Todes 2001 p. 46-47). The researcher's body then becomes an object or instrument that aims to 'assess' leadership from afar like that of an information processing machine. Through inadvertently adopting mechanistic assumptions of research *in* practice, we may be left with a (mis)representation of leadership as 'slate grey' rather than the 'bright orange' of everyday organising (Lombardo and McCall 1978 p. 3, Hansen, Rapo et al. 2007 p. 544). To get closer to such luminosity we need to view ourselves as situated, sensual, moving bodies trying to 'grip' what is occurring alongside those around us (Shotter 2010b p. 27). It thus opens the door to researchers increasing their *sensitivity* to what is traditionally thought of as the mundane 'background' of daily work (Shotter 2010b p. 62). Through such sensitivity we too can become 'entwined' within the bodies, materials and place that constitute practice (Sandberg and Dall'Alba 2009 p. 1363). In short, such sensual relations allows us to get a taste, touch, smell, sound as well as a sight of leadership as it is lived within organisations (Küpers 2015 p. 102).

2.4. Chapter summary

This chapter traced the philosophical history of the leadership literature. Whether through leader-centrism or collectivism, leadership research is dominated by a realist ontology that aims to rationalise, reduce, and generalise. Such functionalism, however, may move us further away from leadership in organisational life, thus requiring an alternative paradigm. I argued that practice, based on phenomenology, is one such alternative. The return to practice examines leadership in its daily enactment rather than 'extract' it from the 'site' in which its constructed. However, in order to fully realise the promise of practice to leadership, we need to embrace a commensurable empirical approach. Such commensurability involves expanding research 'on' practice to encompass research 'in practice'. This expansion, however, requires a philosophical review of the researcher's body. Failure to do so may result in a dis-em-bodied methodology that simply reproduces the mechanical assumptions of functionalism. We need to then conceive of a commensurable view of the 'body', a corporeal endeavour to ensure our bodies-in-motion are methodologically 'within' organisational practice. In the next chapter I will begin to detail this re-view of the body, and how it may allow us to empirically 'sense' leadership beyond its current, narrow, representations.

Chapter 3: Problematic - the dys-appearing body

in leadership research

3.0. Chapter introduction

In Chapter, 2 I illustrated how the 'promise' of practice provided an alternative paradigm to study leadership. Instead of regurgitating individualist or collectivist perspectives, practice may offer us a meaningful way to understand how leadership is enacted in daily organisational practice. To realise this promise, however, theoretical research 'on practice' needs to be expanded to encompass methodology 'in practice'. I finished by suggesting a barrier to this expansion was a view of the body that was potentially incongruent with a wider phenomenology of practice. The result being a disembodied form of research on leadership. In this chapter, I explore further the problematics around the philosophy of the body, specifically how its depiction as simply another object, either as a mechanised 'thing' or docile to industrial forces, has rendered the body an 'absent presence' in the organisation studies literature. Such an absence is based on a bounded fallacy, a schism between the 'inside' and 'outside' of our bodies. I illustrate that leadership has inherited this 'absence' through the use of bodily metaphors related to the 'eyes' 'mouth' or 'limbs'. To re-member the body in leadership-as-practice requires an ontological foundation that does not replicate this 'absence', but embrace a philosophy that is congruent with practice's ongoing emergence.

3.1. The contested body

There are two ways in which we can understand the body as a contested philosophical topic. First, theoretically, 'what is the body' remains unclear, as it is proposed in diverse ways, from acting as some form of 'foundation' of truth making claims, to little more than a social construction facilitated through discourse (Johnson 2007 p. 9). Second, representationally, and thus morally, it must also be asked 'whose bodies' are being theoretically debated. In examining phenomena we must question who represents, and who is represented, as the way we engage other bodies also relies on our philosophical positions (Holliday and Hassard 2001 p. 3). In this section I wish to explore the former, looking to define the body through two different ontologies - Descartes' and Foucault's bodies. These two positions are probably the most dominate in organisational studies, albeit the former is usually deployed implicitly and the latter explicitly. I do recognise, however, that other organisation scholars have used Deleuzian notions of bodies without organs (e.g. Barker 2012 p. 265), Bourdieu's capitalised body (e. g. Butler 2018 p. 5) or Lacan's repressed body (e.g. Woźniak 2010 p. 396) to name a few (Küpers 2015 p. 256). However, in showing the two positions in the coming sections I aim to represent how the body is contested and remove any *certainties* we may have around establishing a singular definition. Furthermore, it allows me to reflect on the limitations that are associated with these dominant positions.

3.1.1. Descartes' 'Body'

Descartes is often painted as the villainous *bête noire* of many a social scientist for his assertion of a mind and body schism (Todes 2001 p. 22). Within this section I suggest such a portrait may be a rather shaky foundation on which we lay our own claims. Similarly, those who adhere, implicitly or explicitly, to Descartes concepts may also be misunderstanding much of his reasoning, being thus more 'Cartesian' than Descartes himself. This section has two aims - to illustrate why Descartes approached the body as he did, but also to reinforce that it was not a dualism of mind and body he necessarily created, but rather of *idealism* from *materialism*.

First, we can see the misunderstanding of Descartes evident in the 'cogito ergo sum' aphorism, often mis-translated, and actually reads from the French 'I *am thinking* therefore I am' (Shotter 2011 p. 9). The gerund here is important to illustrate that Descartes was actively searching for a *method* rather than an ambition to privilege the mind. Descartes states (2017 p. 39):

'like one walking alone in the dark, I resolved to proceed so slowly and with such circumspection, that if I did not advance far, I would at least guard against falling, ... I took sufficient time carefully to satisfy the general nature of the task I was setting myself and ascertain the true method by which to arrive at the knowledge at whatever lay within the compass of my powers'

The analogy of walking cautiously step-by-step illustrates Descartes' ambition to develop a careful method that would allow us to access 'truth' in relation to our world. Unfortunately, Descartes' misunderstanding is assuming that such 'steps' can be conducted in a disconnected, static 'mind', rather than a body that is engaged in continued responsiveness with the world (Shotter 2011 p. 10). Indeed, we require such responses in order to verify our naive empiricism. Dreyfus (1993 p. xxvii) refers to the latter, 'steps', approach as a 'comforting illusion' that our world can be broken down into 'general principles' or 'rules', like the surety that Descartes sought through his method. Importantly, this focus on method highlights how the mind-body dualism originates from an earlier split between 'inside' (cogito) and the 'outside' ('darkness').

Second, the idea of the privileged 'mind' might not be that he intentionally denied the body was relevant, but rather developed an 'ambivalence' towards it in order to achieve a 'rational transcendence as accomplishment of self' (Casey 1995 p. 53). Descartes is not guilty of some form of philosophical 'original sin' towards the body, but rather his attempts to integrate a Christian God into his method resulted in a de facto transcendental 'cogito' (Todes 2001 p. 13). Transcendence was of a serious concern during the time of Descartes' writing, and he had to struggle to integrate his burgeoning scientific methods with dogmatic religious traditions. We see this connection with Descartes (2017 p. 31) reflecting that 'intelligent nature', like the 'perfection in God' was not aligned with a dependency on the body for such a

‘state of dependency is manifestly a state of imperfection’. For Descartes the corporeal was related to godlessness, with ‘thinking’ that much closer to God’s ideal. The body is thus de facto reduced to an automaton or ‘savage’ whose dispositions are laid down by its organic nature, thus diametrically opposed to a mind that relates to truth-seeking and free will (Burkitt 1999 p. 11).

We see therefore that it was Descartes’ search for a scientific method and associating thinking with a transcendental God that led to a dualism. However, suggesting that this dualism is that of the mind-body is oversimplistic. Rather ‘ideas’ were split away to develop his linear approach, and justified contextually through a religious connection which in itself viewed the body as something to be shed to achieve heavenly status. What is defined as the human subject moves from corporeal engagement to that which is ‘inside’ us, specifically as the ‘soul’ or the enlightened ‘mind’, rendering the body philosophically ambiguous (Todes 2001 p. 14).

3.1.2. Foucault’s ‘Body’

In terms of explicit body philosophies, Michel Foucault’s work on the disciplining process is probably the most cited in organisational studies (e.g. Covalleski, Dirsmith et al. 1998, Taylor and Bain 1999, Knights and McCabe 2003, Clarke and Knights 2015). Foucault illustrates how the body becomes ‘organised’ through the pervasive, ‘spatialized’ overlap of institutions, biology and industrialisation (Dale and Burrell, 2000 p. 18, Rose 2007 p. 9).

Specifically, his work shows how institutional margins ('collective character') govern the boundaries placed on our own bodies and thus 'experience' (Foucault 1973 p. 110, Dale and Burrell 2000 p. 20). It is through such boundaries that bodies become 'public property', commercialised as instruments through their working activities (Rose 1999 p. 100, Magdalinski 2008). Foucault (1980 p. 172) remarked that organisations sought to mechanically define bodies as 'the more or less utilisable, more or less amenable to profitable investment, those with greater or lesser prospects of survival, death and illness, and with more or less capacity for being usefully trained'. Rose (1999 p. 5) points out that Foucault showed not just how institutions shape bodies, but in his later work on 'governmentality' (the management of subjectivity), how such bodies were in themselves complicit and inviting of the disciplinary process.

Foucault (1980 p. 172) therefore showed us how 'the body of populations' shapes the 'body of individuals'. For this reason, Grosz (1994 p. 138) refers to this view of the body as an 'inscriptive' approach as it looks to analyse the 'social, public body'. She continues by stating that such inscription is concerned with how the body is 'marked, scarred, transformed, and written upon or constructed by the various regimes of institutional, discursive, and non discursive power as a particular kind of body'. Foucault's work therefore is utilised for a particular purpose around the body, in terms of showing how the social is materialised *on the skin*. Casey (2000 p. 60) critiques Foucault on this point, however, arguing there is 'no space for sensual experiences' in

his work, with the body remaining too detached and distant, positioned as ‘an abstract object of power and semiotics’. Nonetheless, Grosz (1995) reminds us that such ‘inscriptive’ approaches cannot be reconciled with the phenomenological ‘lived body’ that seeks both closeness and sensuality.

In turning to any scholar of the body, we need to know what *our target* is in terms of inquiry. Foucault’s work is exceptional in demonstrating how the ‘power of the norm’ is displayed through the (social) body, but it is not capable of illustrating how our fleshy corporeality positions us ‘within’ the world (Covalesski, Dirsmith et al. 1998 p. 296). When it comes to contested bodies therefore, no philosophy can ‘neatly’ lay claim to a foundational truth. Rather, what is sought in the social sciences, and thus organisational studies, is a greater *plurality* of bodily understanding beyond implicit acceptance of Descartes rationalism, or the limitations of a *single* perspective like Foucault’s social body (Holliday and Hassard 2001 p. 16). Grosz (1995 p. 6) suggests that such plurality then is not a rejection of one bodily ontology, but a more subtle way to increase the din of the corporeal conversation in order to ward off ‘the relentless forces of sameness’.

3.2. The problem of the body

As a contested phenomenon then, the social sciences continually grapples with the ‘problem of the body’ (Williams and Bendelow 1998 p. 10). This ‘intellectual obstacle’ involves the body being represented as either an organic, ‘biological’ entity *or* a general, normative marked symbol that

represents wider society (Turner 2008 p. 25). In response to this representational problem, 'a bewildering array of sociologies of the body' have emerged since the 1990s to try and overcome this dichotomous problem (Shilling 1993, Vannini, Waskul et al. 2011 p. 2, DeMello 2014). However, even with such an increase, Casey (2000 p. 53) suggests that there is 'not much bodiliness' to these studies, arguing such bodily work has become 'acutely abstracted and disassociated from lived embodied experience' and calls for research to begin to explore the 'the body's material, sensual, emotional absence'.

Unfortunately much of the sociology of the body still replicates the suggested 'problem', resorting to heavy textual or discursive abstraction in response to biological individualism, rather than exploring further the corporeal, lived, dimension (Hockey and Allen-Collinson 2009 p. 217). The focus then becomes on 'other' bodies, with our own, as researchers, notably absent. Stoller (1997 p. xiv) points out 'this analytical tack strips the body of its smells, tastes, textures, pains - its sensuousness'. It is not sufficient therefore to simply *re-turn* to the body by writing about it, but begin to question what *we ontologically define* as 'a body' in the first instance (Holliday and Hassard 2001 p. 7). Such a definition encompasses not just a 'sociology *of* the body, in the sense of object, but also *from* the body, that is, deploying the body as a tool of inquiry and vector of knowledge' (Wacquant 2004 p. viii). There is a required need throughout the social sciences therefore to escape the representation problem through an analytical shift that solely speaks '*of* the

body' to knowledge that emerges '*from* bodies' (Williams and Bendelow 1998 p. 65). However, such movement requires us to also understand how the body is *implicitly* positioned when investigating social phenomena.

3.2.1. Absent presence

Paradoxically, the renewed 'bodily' sociological focus may end up alienating us from the lived, sensual, experience of our bodies. In particular, materiality becomes forgotten about here, with bodies equated with biology or some esoteric social corpus (Dale and Latham 2015 p. 167). Through an implicit rational, Cartesian, view, or an explicit Foucauldian one, which is insightful but limiting in terms of a *sole* alternative position, the body continues to have an 'absent presence' (Leder 1990 p. 13, Shilling 1993, Johnson 2007). Such absence does not mean the body is gone completely from view but rather it is treated with 'profound ambivalence', or 'scientific distance', in which we talk 'about', rather than 'from the body' (Shilling 1993, Casey 2000 p. 55). Leder (1990 p. 27) claims that the body often 'dys-appears' in this way within the social sciences. The prefix 'dys' suggests that the body is not invisible (cannot be seen) or has disappeared (was there, but gone) but exists as a taken-for-granted object within social life (Burkitt 1999). This absence of course, does not simply refer to other bodies, but also the scholar's body itself within research. Through such absence the body is separated out from our lived experience, 'akin to something like baggage, something that could potentially be left behind, or might get lost', and thus without influence (Fraser and Greco 2005 p. 1).

Unfortunately, the physicality of the body itself is complicit in such ambivalence, prone to 'self concealment' in three ways (Leder 1990 p. 69). First, the location of our eyes and the body's forward locomotion can often persuade us that the 'mind' is doing much of the work of our actions (Todes 2001 p. 65). Second, Sheets-Johnstone (2011 p. 149) adds that such a taken-for-granted stance to our bodies is also a reflection of our adult states. As pre-linguistic babies and toddlers we 'learn' through our bodies to interact with the world. As we grow, what was once deliberate, conscious, usage, becomes intuitive providing a sense of bodily 'permanency'. Finally, the process of self-concealment is reinforced by our encounters with other bodies in the world. We often view our own bodies from a third-person perspective as this is exactly how we treat *other* bodies when we meet them and vice versa. Such a perspective therefore contributes to a form of self-objectification, in which we 'have' a body rather than 'are' bodies (Hoffman 2009 p. 258). Through philosophical narrowness therefore, and a physical concealment, the body becomes removed in its material form from the social sciences.

3.2.2. Containment and embodiment

The 'blindness' towards bodies in research however is not some theoretical oversight, but part of that long philosophical history referred to in section 3.1 originating with Descartes' search for a method. Leder (1990 p. 8) refers to the 'blind faith' explicitly in which the body is portrayed as 'brute' or lesser'

with the rational mind 'worshipped as the guiding principle of our world'. Thus the body is suggested as *inhibiting* the transcendental mind (Venn 2004 p. 134). Sheets-Johnstone (2009 p. 2) refers to this suggestion as a '350 year old wound', in which the body is reduced to the 'material handmaiden of an all powerful mind'. Overall, the portrayal of the body as 'lesser' is a form of 'somataphobia', fearing the body for its inherent physical limitations (Grosz 1994 p. 5). Such angst is a representation of the Cartesian schism between 'res cogito' (mind) and 'res extensa' (body) with corporeality hierarchically subordinated to the mind (Grosz 1994 p. 6, Dale 2005 p. 652). It is a reaffirmation that all we can know is our own cogito, and that it is through such rationality, rather than our fleshy materiality, that progression and enlightenment are achieved. There is of course a 'binary fundamentalism' at work here in terms of mind and materiality split into polarised concepts (Knights 2015 p. 201), which are then effectively 'ranked' so that one 'becomes the privileged term and the other its suppressed, subordinated, negative counterpart' (Grosz 1994 p. 3). The body therefore is not simply absent in research but remains present as a *devalued* phenomenon in itself, subjugated to higher powers of rationality.

The body then is reduced in much of the social sciences, marginalised in favour of the 'mind'. Such a position is also reinforced etymologically, with the word 'body' originating from the old Saxon word meaning 'bodig' or 'vessel', suggesting its as some form of carrier, either of a transcendental soul or of a rational mind (Fraser and Greco 2005 p. 23). Inherently the term 'body' then

is suggestive of a 'container' with an 'inside'. If we are looking for a term that goes beyond 'insides' and 'outsides' however, 'embodiment' too is also limiting. The use of the prefix 'em' again is suggestive of something on the 'inside' that is separate from a world on the 'outside' (Küpers 2015 p. 260). Sheets-Johnstone (2016 p. 186) states the term embodiment is a 'freely-applied lexical band-aid'. She continues by affirming that such an 'automatic, business-like packaging' reduces 'living corporeal reality' down to a contained-body that sets us apart from the world. Embodiment therefore 'skirts the challenge' of 'finer phenomenological analysis' of the living, moving, body as situated within a material world. Linguistic terms like that of 'embodiment' simply deepen corporeal ambivalence through a 'short circuiting of experience' and complexity of our bodies (Sheets-Johnstone 2015 p. 30). So although 'embodiment' as a term is deployed in much critical social theory, it is reflective of a decontextualised, disconnected, perspective (Sheets-Johnstone 2009, Shotter 2016). Overall, the philosophical view of the body as a container is reinforced rather than resolved through such semantic confusion. As this devalued container, the body is nothing more than the 'husk' or 'carrier' of the mind, an automaton like instrument to enable internal cerebral rationality to interact with the outside world. I will return to this idea of containment in section 3.4., but it worth detailing that this pervasive position of containment resonates beyond the general social sciences into the domain of organisational studies.

3.3. The organised body

Aligned with the social sciences generally, organisation studies (OS) too may perpetrate the 'absent presence' referred to in the previous section (Hassard, Holiday et al. 2000 p. 4, Cooper 2005 p. 1692, Shilling 2005 p. 98). Certainly within OS there is a growing literature on the body whether its in relation to teamwork (Hindmarsh and Pilnick 2007), creativity (Küpers 2011) or ethics (Hancock 2008). Even with such work, and others similar, there is still an implicit 'forgotten body' within organisational literature, in which our sensuous corporeality is marginalised (Dale and Latham 2015 p. 168, Knights 2015 p. 203). Casey (2000 p. 55) argues that the body is once again included but in a way that it is 'gazed upon, described, inscribed, operated upon, dismembered, interrogated and interpreted by modern social and biological sciences'. So even when we speak of the body, it is still reduced to an 'empirical object'. The body remains, but it either contains a Cartesian philosophy at its core, or at best interpreted through Foucault's detached socialised account (Casey 2000 p. 64).

Furthermore, within OS it is not simply Cartesianism that contributes to such objectification but also industrialised, regimented, line pacing (Dale and Burrell 2000 p. 28). As Holliday and Thompson (2001 p. 120) point out, this 'era of time-discipline' is maintained today through the office which is, organisationally, the most 'sophisticated surveillance machine, particularly in its contemporary guise - glass doors and offices, polished clinical steel and decor means there is 'no escape for the working body' (2001 p. 120). Of

course such surveillance has extended to that of 'the self' engaging in formalised health and fitness activities that portray the 'professional body as a fit, enduring, and disciplined one' (Holliday and Thompson 2001 p. 123, Costas, Blagoev et al. 2016 p. 14). Cartesian, rationalistic, distancing is therefore aided by Fordism and scientific management which views the body as a 'mechanism that could be articulated precisely to the parts and rhythms of a scientifically assessed production process' (Shilling 2005 p. 82). Within organisations then, the Cartesian legacy is reinforced through localised industrial activities that help shape the body as an object borne of production.

3.3.1. Animated corpses and meat machines

Within OS therefore, there is a limited 'carnal' or corporeal acknowledgement of the body for its sensorial materiality, remaining instead a self-contained entity (Dale 2005 p. 652, Hockey and Allen-Collinson 2009). I 'borrow' two metaphors to act as sense making 'lenses' to illustrate this entitative view (Lakoff and Johnson 1980 p. 3, Sims 2003 p. 529). The first metaphor is Todes' (2001 p. 46) idea of an 'animated corpse' which is a 'set of limbs fitted into one another' for a specific reason or output. The body is positioned then as a revenant cadaver that moves only to serve its required output, rather than a body that 'feels' anything kinaesthetically or emotionally (Cataldi 1993 p. 91). Such a position is not a 'cog in the machine' (of which I will come to in my next metaphor) but rather the body is *in itself* the output of production (Dale and Burrell 2000 p. 20) or 'source of work' (Shilling 2005 p. 76). Wacquant's (2002 p. 181, 2004) immersive work in boxing provides such an

example, in which the pugilists feel they are treated as commodified 'whores' or 'slaves' by 'fleshpeddlers' within the sport i.e. promoters, managers and other forms of fight matchmakers. Yet, the boxers themselves collude with such 'peddling', objectifying their own bodies through the 'commerce of manly flesh'.

The 'animated corpse' therefore illustrates how the body can be *represented* and *reduced* to the physical labour that it produces. Such 'corpses' are thus only brought to life to achieve a particular external working task, akin to Frankenstein's monster (Elias 1991 p. 19). Taking this science fiction analogy further, Parker (2000 p. 77) points out that it is often not the 'good doctor' who really creates the monstrosity but the 'big corporation or state that sponsors them'. Reducing our bodies to the production of labour however is a 'monster' of our own design. Cohen (1996 p. 15) points out that science fiction monsters are usually created to conduct a particular, 'dirty', type of work for us which 'runs counter to the more heroic of our moral conceptions' (Hughes 1958 p. 58, Dick 2005). The 'monster's' *raison d'être* therefore is to *solely* do the work set out for them, although there is the usual recourse of the monster's escape and subsequent retribution (Cohen 1996 p. 20). However, in looking to our bodies as reduced to work solely in OS, we represent them as such 'monstrosities' (Holliday and Hassard 2001 p. 11), or animated corpses, in which corporeality is equated with production, and 'bodies' as 'frozen', only coming to life to fulfil the enactment of work (Sheets-Johnstone 2011 p. 139).

The second form of pervasive metaphor is Dreyfus' (1993 p. 252) term of 'meat machines'. He argues that the information processing, rationalistic, view of the body views 'no essential difference between meat machines and metal machines', between corporeal life and 'controlling moveable manipulators'. The body is not the source of work here, but rather becomes the 'location for the effects of work' (Shilling 2005 p. 78). Bodies are viewed as 'a little cog in the machine', fitting into a wider organisational system which in itself is the collective producer rather than the individual body (Dale and Burrell 2000 p. 21). Mechanisation is realised through the various methods organisations utilise to control bodies, by making them 'fit' into certain ways of being on a daily basis (Dale and Burrell 2000 p. 17). Such regulation is evident, for example, through the use of ergonomics to set up the body, performance management to regulate the flesh, and comprehensive, one size fits all, uniforms that standardise our outer skins (Hassard, Holiday et al. 2000 p. 4, Holliday and Thompson 2001 p. 123, Levy 2015 p. 170). Even our feelings can become homogenised to the organisational 'mind' through the use of 'emotional labour', where 'the emotional style of offering the service is part of the service' in such a way 'to "love the job" is part of the job itself' (Hochschild 2012 p. 6). More so than simply a 'Pan Am Smile', such labour highlights how displays of emotions can be sought to ensure consumer reciprocity (Burkitt 2014 p. 58). To conclude, both corpses and machines are metaphors to represent the reduction of work within organisations. The former is reduced solely to the work itself, having no other

reason for being than industrial production. The latter is reduced to a 'cog', with its objective to 'fit' uniformly into the wider system to ensure its smooth running.

3.3.2. Machines to cyborgs

Perhaps when it comes to metaphors of corpses or machines, it is the latter that is the most prevalent in how we feel about our working lives. Personified by Charlie Chaplin's (1936) character in *Modern Times* being dragged through relentless cogs, we too can feel like just another piece of steel in the industry machine. Sheets-Johnstone (2009 p. 19) points out that such mechanisation is the ultimate rationalistic fantasy in which 'as a machine, the body verges on being considered *the technological tour de force, the ultimate creation in a long line of technological achievements, precisely as if it were the product of technology rather than evolution*'. Such 'visions of techno-golems' (Parker 2000 p. 74) however has a direct implication on our body's vitality within organisations. The 'body-as-machine' metaphor is evident whenever we wish to describe our working somatic or psychological states, whether this is as 'worn out', 'wound up', or 'run down' (Scheper-Hughes and Lock 1987 p. 23). Of course this language alienates the 'I' from the body, but it also is suggestive of a mechanistic view of ourselves as capable of 'limitless performances' (Hoberman 1992 p. 25). Shilling (2005 p. 111) sums up this position when he states 'increasingly treated like a machine, by institutions and individuals alike, the body simply cannot stand up in the long run to the stresses and workloads borne by machines'. The mechanistic

premise suggests the right 'inputs' will lead functionally to the correct 'outputs' of personal and organisational performance. Of course, our bodies, as Shilling points out, do not work like machines, with physical and mental health being jeopardised as a result (see Leka and Jain 2010, Kalleberg 2012, Harvey, Modini et al. 2017). Although work promotes various 'body-regimes' like personal fitness, the value of time keeping, and maintaining health to reduce sickness absence, such promotion potentially just 'hides the fact that work is killing us' in terms of employment adherence (Holliday and Hassard 2001 p. 14).

Both metaphors of 'meaty' or 'mechanical' exist as a binary, even if they share a vision of the body as a contained entity (Mazis 2008 p. 6). Rather than indulging in such binary metaphors, a more accurate representation of working life may be Haraway's notion of the cyborg. For her, the cyborg is a 'cybernetic organism, a hybrid of machine and organism, a creature of social reality as well as fiction' (Haraway 1991 p. 149). She continues by arguing the 'boundary between science fiction and social reality is an optical illusion', and that our 'monsters', machines and meat, overlap in organisational life. Parker (2000 p. 74-81) pursues this thought further, coining the term 'cyborganization', in which 'we are already cyborgs' in our work through a 'continually shifting set of relationships' via moving human and non human parts. Although I like Parker's phrase here, I feel Haraway's cyborg offers us something more radical than the material relation of human and 'thing'. Rather, it shows that body and objects *interpellate* each other to such a

degree that they *co-produce* one another. Haraway's cyborg refutes any form of containment 'transgressing boundaries' between fact/fiction, human/machine and male/female. Rather than *being* cyborgs as Parker suggests, like the prosthetic connections between object and body, Haraway is trying to argue that 'cyborg is our ontology', the philosophical foundation to how we engage in our world (Haraway 1991 p. 150). She is not therefore simply questioning our daily material interactions but arguing our formation as individuals is emergent from daily (organisational) life.

3.4. Boundaries

Haraway's work illustrates, through the 'cyborg' that many of our boundaries are of our own making. It also illustrates that 'containment' is not simply the body acting as a supporting act to the mind. For this containment, or embodiment, is predicted on an epistemological dualism that sees the body as a 'bounded' entity, in which our corporeality effectively 'ends at the skin, or include at best, other beings encapsulated by the skin' (Haraway 1991 p. 178). It thus creates a 'concrete' schism between what is 'inside' our bodies and 'outside' in the world - what is referred to as the inside/outside (I/O) dualism (Wood 2005 p. 1104, Dreyfus and Taylor 2015 p. 46). As explained in section 2.2.4 (part II), such dualisms are formed by the need to create 'parts' within a positivist epistemology in order to extrapolate cause and effect. Such creation though is a form of 'philosophical line drawing', in which we make abstracted cuts within the ongoing practice of organisational life like that of leader/follower, leadership/management, autocratic/participatory (Tsoukas

and Chia 2002 p. 568, Collinson 2014 p. 39, Dreyfus 2014 p. 99). However, I wish to go into more detail on the aforementioned schism, specifically how a bounded I/O epistemology influences how we come to 'see' the world.

3.4.1. Implications of a bounded body

An ontological bounded view of our bodies, predicated on an I/O dualism can influence how we epistemologically 'perceive' either the 'othered', social, body as well as our own individual body. First, from a social perspective, a bounded dualism, owing to the petrification and ranking process, privileges certain loci of knowledge, rendering some inferior or superior (Knights 1997 p. 3). As discussed, the 'absent presence' of the body is a reflection of a subjugation to the rational mind but it also marginalises that which is deemed to be aligned with such a 'body' e.g. the feminine or/and emotional (Knights and Kerfoot 2004 p. 431). In sociological studies there already exists literature that reflects the marginalisation of the feminine 'body' within organisations (e.g. Kondo 1990, Bordo 1993 p. 42, Butler 2015 p. 141). In many organisations, as Harding (2002 p. 66) attests, rationality is intertwined with masculinity thus dictating a 'norm' that requires *all* 'workers become rational, logical, emotionless, utterly devoted to the ends of the organisation'. There is a propagation of rationality as associated with the 'normal', masculinised, contained mind that is diametrically opposed to the 'natural', feminine, 'leaky', body which 'threatens to erupt blood, water, milk, and vaginal secretions' (Holliday and Hassard 2001 p. 5). Organisational control demonstrates the rejection of such 'leaky' bodies in favour of the 'sealed'

mind. For example, within professional rugby, Coupland (2014 p. 3) argues that 'normal' bodies are organisationally 'worked-upon' in order to create the 'appropriately aggressive, deferential, yet hyper-male, worker'. Rugby is certainly a setting in which what is viewed as the epitome of the male body (aggressive, physically commanding, rational) is also potentially equated with the definition of a leader's body (certainty, control and vision) within the sport (Cunliffe and Coupland 2011 p. 64). Similarly, emotions and movement are also subjugated alongside such bodies, dismissed as something inherently irrational. For example, Burkitt (2014 p. 79) suggests the rational and emotional are often viewed divisively, 'fighting for dominance' as *the* key influence on human behaviour. Rather than engaging our emotions in decisions we often look to develop a distanced, 'objective' position in organisations so as to be deemed rational. Ironically, 'cold behaviour is no less emotional' but again it legitimises the expression of some form of emotions over others at particular times in organisational life (Hassard, Holiday et al. 2000 p. 5).

Second, on an individual level, the inside/outside dualism positions our own bodies as something alien, foreign to us, standing distinct to some ideal 'I'. We therefore associate what we deem is our 'true' selves with some internal cogito (Findlay 2003 p. 158). R. D. Laing (1961, 1965) argues that such alienation of our bodies can lead to a form of ontological insecurity. In general, we gain a sense of security through our bodies as belonging to a shared world, and thus belonging with others (Burkitt and Sullivan 2009 p.

567). However, ontological insecurity is the erosion of such a conception, in which we 'may not possess an over-riding sense of personal consistency and cohesiveness' and may feel one's 'self as partially divorced from (one's) body' (Laing 1965 p. 42). Our view of our bodies feeds such insecurity in which it 'comes to feel dead, like a hollow shell: a lifeless object in the world among other lifeless objects' (Burkitt and Sullivan 2009 p. 568).

Through ontological insecurity then we can become detached from our own bodies, or as Laing (1965 p. 69) referred to it, an 'unembodied self, as onlooker to all the body does, engaged in nothing directly'. He felt that such 'unembodiment' or detachment from our bodies-in-the-world, could lead to psychological ill-health. It is not through the 'inner space' of the mind, within a container like body, that makes life meaningful, but rather the space within which our bodies are situated in everyday life (Burkitt 2003 p. 336). In summary, the bounded I/O view of our bodies informs social as well as individual perspectives on life. However, from a research perspective, it also informs not just *how* we go about investigating phenomena, but how we *define* what is meant by the phenomenon itself. In the next section I will illustrate that ontologically 'cutting' our scholarly body away from the world, as I/O does, and thus rendering it absent influences how we *perceive* leadership. The resulting representation displays leadership as: a 'disappearing act'; a language game; or reduced to physicality.

3.4.2. Decorporealised perception

The philosophical perspective we take on our body informs what we derive as 'true' knowledge, and thus the means we go about investigating phenomena. The view of the body as a bounded 'absent presence' ensures that we privilege idealism over materialism. In doing so, we remove ourselves as scholars both from how the phenomenon is construed and thus the full potential by which we come to access organisational richness in all its detail (Weick 2007 p. 18). The absence of the body in leadership can be summed up well by leaning on Barker's (1997 p. 352) analogy of a river, which, he suggests: 'can be said to be flowing in one direction, yet, upon close examination, parts of it flow sideways, in circles, or even backwards relative to the overall direction. It is constantly changing in speed and strength, and even reshapes its own container'. This analogy would suggest leadership is not created by individual leaders, but rather the individuals themselves are constituted by what is deemed leaderful within the 'flow' of organisational practice - an idea synonymous with leadership-as-practice (LAP) (Simpson 2009 p. 1332, e.g. Crevani, Lindgren et al. 2010, Raelin 2016 p. 10)

To extend Barker's analogy however, and fully embrace the 'promise' of practice, we cannot simply 'stand on the banks' as a distant, objective, bystander to organising. Rather, there is a need to methodologically 'wade in' to such murky waters and allow leadership to 'wash over us' in a fully

immersive manner. Specifically, I believe that in order to realise this 'promise' from a methodological perspective, there is a need, as corporeal anthropological work has done (e.g. Stoller 1989, Howes 2006, Pink 2011), to understand how those involved experience the 'sensuous intoxication' of leadership within practice (Wacquant 2004 p. 71). Unless we strive to represent such 'intoxication' through an emplaced, corporeal, body, we may be left with 'only a tasteless, depersonalized, surface image' of leadership (Stoller 1997 p. 82).

Unfortunately, as illustrated, the idea of the body as an 'absent presence', resulting from being a bounded 'empirical object', is pervasive in organisation studies. This absence is referred to as 'disembodied organisational analysis' (Hassard, Holiday et al. 2000 p. 6) which thus leads to 'disembodied phenomena' (Dale and Latham 2015 p. 179) i.e. rather pale and shallow representations of topics like leadership. In order to avoid such a lack of depth, Küpers (2015 p. 252) advises us that, 'developing embodied research requires a shift from theorizing *about* or *of* bodies in a disembodied, objectifying or subjectifying way, towards a mode of inquiry that makes sense while thinking *from* and *with* lived bodies and processual embodiment'. Getting corporeally 'within' organisational practice would seem essential then for understanding situated enactments of leadership (Shotter 2010 p. 37). Failure to do so will lead to 'dispassionately analysing' the topic thus leaving us 'cold' or 'unmoved' either emotionally or physically by what we encounter (Cataldi 1993, Casey 2000 p. 56). Personally, such 'coldness' is at odds with

my own encounters with leadership in the past, particularly from my time working in sport, which I found to be *highly* emotional, engaging and ‘deeply felt’ (Burns 1978 p. 196, Heifetz 1994).

The philosophy of the body we adopt therefore shapes how we methodologically perceive the world, including the construction of phenomena like leadership. In the next three sections I illustrate how forms of ‘disembodied analysis’ leaves us with a certain, partial, perception of what leadership ‘is’. From here on however, I refrain from using the word ‘disembodied’ to describe such analysis, owing to the semantic issues around the term ‘embodiment’ as laid out in Section 3.2.2. For the term ‘embodiment’ encapsulates this bounded, container like, notion of the body. I prefer instead Leder’s (1990 p. 5) term of ‘decorporealised’. This term better reflects not simply the absence of somatic, meaty, gestures, but relates to the dearth of understanding around leadership as understood through a body-in-the-world i.e. the ‘geared in’ situated body that walks the streets (Pink 2011 p. 344, Dreyfus and Taylor 2015 p. 44). In the next section therefore I utilise three privileged similes (eyes; mouth; limbs) to illustrate how leadership is conceptually reduced in accordance with a decorporealised, methodological, position

I. THE ‘EYES’ ARE PRIVILEGED

There is a nihilistic view that suggests leadership engages in a ‘disappearing act’ when we go looking for it (Rost 1993, Alvesson and Sveningsson 2003,

Alvesson and Sveningsson 2003b, Sveningsson and Larsson 2006). For example, Alvesson and Sveningsson (2003 p. 360) argue that often people end up 'confusing the label leadership with an assumed empirical reality'. They illustrate this confusion through interviews with managers, reflecting, that the 'view of their leadership becomes vague or even self-contradictory, the initial positioning almost melts away' (Alvesson and Sveningsson 2003 p. 374). They argue that the phenomenon is 'fragile', and thus 'dissolves' or 'disappears' when interrogated. Others suggest that leadership may be little more than a managerial 'fantasy', a discourse of 'organizational and individual greatness' (Sveningsson and Larsson 2006 p. 220). It is important to point out that such research does not aim to *denounce* leadership per se, but encourage a more 'skeptical reading' around its accepted norms (Alvesson and Sveningsson 2003b p. 1450).

Such a focus on 'disappearance' however, points towards a corporeal absence on three levels. Initially, we see the ontological assumptions that the concept (i.e. leadership) can *be methodologically split* from the 'empirical reality'. There is an implicit idealism around this perspective, in which individuals must first internally 'think' leadership into existence, then go about acting out the phenomena like reading from a cognitive script or 'schema'. People however do not think, then move, but think *through* movement (Sheets-Johnstone 2011 p. 117). Searching for some 'essence' of leadership through interviews eliminates the representation of such movement, as

people themselves become decontextualised removing any chance of the phenomenon coming into being (Waskul and Vannini 2008 p. 54).

Second, there is an assumption that people are 'coherent' in their approach to leadership, as if they function according to an information processing 'application of rules' (Dreyfus and Dreyfus 1986 p. 5). Instead we see that people are often 'strangers' to their bodies, unaware or emotionally inarticulate towards a topic (Sheets-Johnstone 2008 p. 18). Such 'strangeness' doesn't mean leadership is contextually irrelevant, rather our bodies are good at *concealing* somatic and sensory understanding from rational justification (Leder 1990 p. 1). Indeed, in asking organisational members to articulate through interviews their daily work, even the most skilled of them can find it difficult to espouse the right words, as the mode of articulation is not sufficient to cover the expansive expression involved (Wrathall 2014 p. 6).

Finally, it must be wondered what would appear if we could 'see' leadership. Interviews are unlikely to reveal leadership if individuals are not able to 'wear' it. The limitations of interviews has led some LAP scholars to embrace ethnography, however as I will discuss in section 5.1, such an embrace is also influenced by our philosophical positioning (Crevani, Lindgren et al. 2010 p. 82, Raelin 2016 p. 8). The privileging of the 'eyes' suggests there is a leadership 'out there', and if leadership does not 'appear' to us as a reified 'clear cut, definite figure', or a coherent espoused notion, then it fails to 'exist'

(Wood 2005 p. 1116). This blindness ensures 'important aspects of lived experience may either remain invisible, or, if they are noticed, unintelligible' (Kusenbach 2003 p. 459). Overall, the suggestion of leadership's 'disappearance' is a rationalist conceit, for it must be predicated on a 'thingness' of leadership to begin with.

II. THE 'MOUTH' IS PRIVILEGED

Another line of critical research suggests leadership is nothing but a 'language game' (Pondy 1978 p. 224, Kelly 2008, 2014) or 'categorical error' (Meindl, Ehrlich et al. 1985, Meindl and Ehrlich 1987). Leadership here is dismissed as 'bias' or 'false-assumption-making' created to ward off 'helplessness' to those deemed to be in positions of authority (Meindl, Ehrlich et al. 1985 p. 97). Although Kelly (2014 p. 917) points to the importance of the topic, and that it is 'absurd' to define leadership as existing in the 'body of a CEO', he relates the phenomenon to a 'proxy' or 'place holder' which 'struggles to find any meaning of its own'. He suggests that leadership has no ontological foundation in itself but remains at an epistemological level wrapped up in ideology. However the idea that 'words stand for things' is a form of entrapment for we then fail to partake in a shared exploration of how such words are brought to life within practice (Shotter 2016 p. 109). The idea of words as proxy 'stand ins' for communal, situated, expressed phenomena of course reduces our body to 'talk', or to follow on with the bodily parts simile, our 'mouths'. Three problems can be identified with such reduction.

First, it remains questionable whether we could ever reduce leadership down to a definitive position that *did not* involve proxies. Language by its nature is always striving to go from 'a part to whole' in order to represent and encapsulate daily practice (Merleau-Ponty 1964b p. 39). Our talk does not directly represent the world in its entirety any more than a post card image of a sunny beach represents one's holidays or a wave of a hand encapsulates the corporeal resonance as we approach a long lost friend (Butt 2003 p. 380). We cannot make the mistake of confusing the semantics around leadership with how it is enacted through localised bodily 'gropings' within practice (Shotter 2010a p. 20).

Second, to simply point out the use of managerial 'sloppy language' around leadership fails to identify their 'active engagement within and with the world' (Hancock 2008 p. 1367). It is important to acknowledge the struggles for those in organisations to make sense of such a 'VUCCA world - Volatile, Uncertain, Chaotic, Complex and Ambiguous' (Van Maanen 2011 p. 162). For those working in organisations, daily life can be permeated by simply feeling 'lost' or 'bewildered' in relation to what is occurring (Shotter 2010a p. 25). Mobilising concepts like leadership therefore are important ways to 'grip' such complexity, and they shouldn't be derided for semantic confusion or inconsistency.

Finally, the suggestion of leadership as a semantic proxy displays an ethnocentric position. It affirms that leadership remains fixed across time and

space, deemed only valuable from the position in which the researcher interacts. This position is a blinkered view that espouses an 'out-there-ness that is singular' rather than something open to multiple material enactments (Law and Singleton 2003 p. 18). For example, Mol and de Laet (2000 p. 252) illustrate the 'fluidity' of a Zimbabwean bush pump. They discuss how the bush pump's 'boundaries are not solid and sharp'. It thus serves many roles as a community device, a health promoter and a nation building apparatus. In addition, through its physical augmentation over time by locals, it changes in terms of the object we define as a 'pump'. If such materiality has the potential for such fluid definitions then so too has a social concept like leadership. Overall, in reducing leadership solely to its associated words, it risks obscuring how the phenomenon is locally enacted in diverse ways (Mol 2002 p. 109)

III. THE LIMBS ARE PRIVILEGED

Stoller (1997 p. xiv) argues that there is a tendency in social science to view the 'body as a text that can be read and analyzed'. This detached approach to the body reduces leadership to its meaty 'muscularity' devoid of the *meaning* people involved actually attach to their physicality (Gilbourne 2009 p. 72). Ladkin and Taylor (2014 p. 6) define such physicality as the:

'material ways in which 'embodiment' is manifested by both leaders and followers, the physical setting in which their relations occur, as well as the many artefacts (dress, personal effects such as pens, handbags, wallets,

cars, office spaces, all of the paraphernalia on desks and walls) which are part and parcel of how leadership comes to be’.

The simile deployed here suggests to reduce leadership down to a ‘part’ within our context is analogous to reducing our moving bodies down its respective limbs. The ‘action’ of leadership however cannot be reduced to either parts of bodies, or things, but emerges through an inherent relationality, or ‘unfinished betweenness’ (Cooper 2005 p. 1692). Essentially such reduction suggests leadership is ‘embodied’ in either the body itself or related objects. There is a danger then with a focus on physicality, or ‘limbs’, that we misattribute leadership to something ‘inside’ such ‘parts’ rather than an ongoing relation. There are three ways such reduction is evident.

Initially, the first form of reduction involves reducing leadership to part of someone’s physical appearance like physical attire, stature, ethnicity and so forth (Fletcher 2004, Ladkin 2008) i.e an attribute of the *individual* body. For example, Sinclair’s (2005 p. 394) work discusses Chris Sarra, a mixed race Australian of Aboriginal descent who is principal of a remote Aborigine school. She reflects on the impact of both his ‘big and imposing physique’ as well as his ethnicity (for he is half Aborigine) in terms of his leadership. Similarly, in conjunction with Emma Bell (2016 pp. 323-329), Sinclair uses the TV series *Borgen* to ‘destabilise confining notions of female leadership and present alternative ways of leading’. The main character here in *Borgen* is the fictional Danish Prime Minister Birgitte Nyborg, with Sinclair and Bell

drawing particular attention to Nyborg's physical transformation, 'disciplined' from the 'wrong clothes' to dress that is deemed to be more fitting of a 'political leader' in accordance with her gender. Although this transformation is illuminating, it is the association with leadership that is uncertain for there is a conflation of hierarchical positions with leadership (Collinson 2014 p. 14). In addition, I also would question 'whose bodies are articulated theoretically' (Holliday and Hassard 2001 p. 1). For to focus on Sarra or Nyborg in this way, is research *about* other bodies rather than *through*, or even include, the researcher's own body.

Second, in relation to gender specifically, there is Ladkin's (2010 p. 94) reflections on 'Hillary's Tears', as in the Democratic candidates' campaign to be the party's representative at the United States presidential elections. At one stage, after losing the Iowa Primary, Clinton's 'eyes welled up' when asked how she kept going. Ladkin, citing Fletcher (2004 p. 654), suggests here that women are caught in a bind of being 'too feminine' so not 'tough enough', or too tough and unfeminine in relation to norms of leadership. However, there is a reductive premise that we can associate leadership with 'part' of the body, specifically in connection with Hilary Clinton's gender. I am not suggesting here that gender is unimportant in the construction of leadership, but it is a rather narrow 'embodied' perspective on what is occurring (Sheets-Johnstone 2009 p. 37). For example, it fails to acknowledge how 'good' leadership is equated with 'winning' leadership in response to Hilary's loss (Grint 2000 p. 5), or how 'the powerful are also

powerless' in the face of media construction and interpretation (Harding 2014 p. 392). As with Sinclair's work, although we look onto what is occurring, we fail to acknowledge that it is through our own bodies we are *perceiving*. Clinton is not the one who has associated leadership with gender, but Ladkin herself from the position of distant, and decorporealised, onlooker.

The final way in which bodies are reduced is through the articulation of leadership in relation to space and place (Hansen, Rapo et al. 2007, Rapo, Sauer et al. 2013, Rapo, de Paoli et al. 2015). Rapo and colleagues' (2015 pp. 1-2, 8) ambition is to draw on the 'spatial turn' to demonstrate how leadership is a 'spatially informed phenomenon' produced through 'human/non-human relationship' in which bodies are directed by materiality. The concern here however is that space and bodies are not viewed as co-emergent, but rather bodies are contorted by the physical landscape. For example, Sauer (2015 p. 258) illustrates spatiality by examining the practice of a city hospital in Finland. She invokes Foucault's (1975 p. 135) term 'docile bodies' to suggest the physical space of the hospital strips away autonomy and personal regulation. However, the use of 'docile' here is not how our bodies collude with social forces in the disciplining process, but rather they are *passive* to such forces. Corporeality then is confused with behaviourism, as in bodies are passive receptors to external stimuli, which may reflect the influence of environmental psychology informed architecture literature in much of the 'spatial turn' (Crain 2000 p. 177, Peltonen 2011 p. 807). Leadership then is once again reduced to 'limbs', albeit the limbs of objects

rather than that of the body. The phenomenon is still based on a causal relationship, with bodies and materiality viewed as 'discrete entities or closed systems' (Coole and Frost 2010 p. 15).

Overall, much of the critical leadership research that is highlighted still embraces a decorporealised methodological gaze, premised on realist assumptions, and I have looked to illustrate that here in three ways. First, this gaze still assumes leadership should be some 'thing' we can see, confusing social and natural science assumptions that the phenomenon can exist beyond our perception. Second, this view also isolates a 'part' of our daily experiences (e.g. 'talk'), suggesting we can only understand leadership through this part. Such isolation is a *rationalist* position that privileges talk over other sensorial ways of engaging our experiences. Finally, even with studies focusing on the body in leadership, there is a tendency to *reduce* leadership to a part of this body, or as materiality that has a causal relationship with us. I do not believe such assumptions are explicit, but the result is a vision of leadership that is 'de-materialized and disembodied' (Dale 2005 p. 674). Table 2 illustrates the implications from a decorporealised methodology in leadership studies. In failing to engage methodology through our bodies-in-motion, we are left with a rather pale incarnation of how leadership is experienced (Sheets-Johnstone 2009)

Decorporealised methodological view	Influencing how we theorise, or perceive, leadership (the 'is' or 'is not')	Implications
1. Seeing is privileged within a methodological hierarchy of the senses, suggesting what is 'seen' in organisations is somehow more 'true'.	This privileging results in the 'disappearing act' of leadership - a suggestion that the phenomenon cannot be 'found' in organisations.	It seems non-sensical to approach any social phenomenon like leadership in a tangible manner (like it's hidden in a cupboard in the manager's office) - if that was the case we would denounce 'love', 'grief' etc. and other abstract concepts.
2. The phenomenon is reduced to the examination of 'talk' only - audition is privileged as the sole representation of leadership.	Leadership here is suggested as some kind of 'place holder' or 'proxy' for other terms/concepts.	We end up in endless 'games' of words standing in for other words - it also goes back to the idea that we require 'talk' (i.e. rationality) to move us in a mechanical manner.
3. The 'limbs' are privileging in which leadership is reduced to 'parts' of a persons physicality or enshrined in objects around us.	Parts of things or people are causal determinants for leadership. E.g. concepts like gender or age. Likewise 'parts' of 'things' such as architectural elements directing what 'is' or 'is not' leadership.	The body itself is viewed in a vacuum in that we ignore how concepts like gender are specifically situated in the enactment of leadership. Likewise, we can end up back in behaviourism by looking to the physical structure of buildings, thus reproducing the inside/outside dualism.

Table 2.

3.4.3. Phenomenology - a complementary perspective

Dreyfus and Taylor (2015 p. 46) refer to the inside/outside (I/O) rupture as a 'mediational view', in which on the one side of our skin 'there are the bits of putative information of the mind - ideas, impressions, sense-data; on the other, there is the 'outside' world about which these claimed to inform us'. Body and world therefore are viewed as *independent* of each other, informed solely by their own internal dynamism ignoring the ways in which they are relationally stitched together. However, phenomenology actively rejects this fissure, suggesting instead that our sensory movement, or body within the world, is our 'our mother tongue' (Stoller 1997 p. xv, Sheets-Johnstone 2011p. xxv). Our 'insides' and 'outsides' then are certainly not in opposition, nor are they co-existing, but continually engage in a 'complementary' manner

(Sheets-Johnstone 2016 p. 118). Sheets-Johnstone (2016 p. 186) exemplifies this complementary nature by suggesting breathing itself is not 'embodied' or bounded, but occurs as a dynamic synthesis of body and world, 'a living corporeal reality, that needs to be neither provided nor incorporated in a body'. Breathing, therefore, is 'a literally extended sense, a breath inward brings in what is communal and outer-worldly; a breath outward releases what is individual and inner-worldly'.

Ingold (2011 p. 3) too illustrates the complementary nature of 'insides' and 'outsides', by arguing that bodies are not 'growing into the world, the world grows in them' - bodies and world therefore 'grow' each other through parallel relations rather than through independent trajectories. He goes on to use the example of walking, particularly in barefoot, stating bodies have become 'constrained' in their contact with the world through footwear, hardened surfaces like pavements, and modern transport (Ingold 2011 p. 14). Ingold is no luddite but rather aims to show how modern techniques lead us down an illusory path of bodily disconnection to the world. Instead, he wishes to restore our sense of touch to proceedings stating 'surely through the feet, in contact with the ground (albeit mediated by footwear) that we are most fundamentally and continually "in touch" with our surroundings' (Ingold 2011 p. 41). He is not simply pointing out that 'locomotion and cognition are inseparable' (Ingold 2011 p. 14), but also that our 'skin' is no bounded barrier and is in fact the very *means* by which body and world 'grip' each other in an intelligible form (Dreyfus 2014/2001 p. 93, Anzieu 2016).

Furthermore, Dreyfus and Taylor (2015 p. 138) also question the body's bounded nature, but from a perspective of how an inside-outside (I/O) dissolution may impact our lives. They write, 'we now can see that it is not by having a disembodied, detached contemplative capacity that we are thus in touch, but rather, thanks to an involved, active, material body that can orient itself appropriately to cope with things'. Adopting the 'right stance' is therefore inherent in how we understand the world around us, with 'knowledge' not 'in' the subject but rather forms through our 'contact' with the world (Dreyfus and Taylor 2015 p. 104).

Within organisational studies there can be a tendency to take philosophical positioning for granted, but it is worth remembering that our epistemologies limit 'how we can know anything' in terms of what we feel is 'true' knowledge (Bateson 1979 p. 4). Phenomenology rejects the bounded I/O for it sees our bodies as 'too intimately interwoven in with all that we are and can do from within, for it to be lifted out and examined scientifically, as an object, from the outside' (Shotter 2016 p. 33). The ontological position we adopt, whether realist or phenomenological, will underpin how we perceive epistemologically. As Laing (1965 p. 20) suggests 'the initial way we see a thing determines all our subsequent dealings with it'. Although I would prefer the word 'perceive' rather than Laing's use of 'see', to go beyond the privileging of sight, his reflection is sound in terms of the manner in which we view others from an ontological perspective informs our material relations with such 'others'. Our

epistemological view then has the potential to both marginalise and include, with no 'right' position existing (Grosz 2017 p. 3). Phenomenological perspectives however provide us with a potential starting position to overcome bounded notions of the body.

3.4.4. A practice perspective on the body

In chapter 1 I illustrated how leadership-as-practice (LAP) provided a 'promise' to understand the phenomena in its daily enactment. I articulated however that this pledge was potentially hampered unless our methodological ambitions to research 'in' practice were encompassed within the ontology of how we research 'on' practice. However, ensuring such congruence between 'in' and 'on' practice would involve a very different view, or theory, of the body (Shotter 2000 p. 237). For to stand outside such practice as a disinterested observer is incommensurable with the phenomenological lineage that I espouse, as well as the general LAP principles outlined in 2.2.3. However, simply saying a 'new' ontology of the body would be sufficient for the practice perspective would be a simplification (Cunliffe and Hibbert 2016 p. 57). For as section 3.4.2. attests, the body is 'absent' in its *living* moving form from the organisational and leadership literature, which still favours a realist ontology. A phenomenology of practice however provides the room for an alternative ontology of the body in its living, breathing, immersed state. For example, Schatzki (Schatzki 1996 p. 72) argues that the body is the 'carrier' of practice for our bodies set the wider background of 'intelligibility' to which such actions become meaningful.

Similarly, Van Manen (2007 p. 25, 2014 p. 15) adds that in order to deliver a 'phenomenology of sensitive practice' that 'reflects *on* and *in* practice' we must look to an bodily 'ontology, epistemology and axiology of thoughtful and tactful action'. Finally, Dreyfus & Dreyfus (2014 p. 34) too point out that looking to the body is the starting point of examining practice, for it is 'skilful bodily activity' which produces different forms of engaged absorption, and thus meaning, in our relation with the material world.

So it is not as simple as LAP requiring a 'new' methodology delivered through a 'new' theory of the body. Specifically, what is required is a methodology of the body that is *congruent* with the espoused ontological lineage of a phenomenology of practice. In essence, the thesis in general asks, what form of phenomenology of the body would enable us to *feel* or *grasp* leadership within the flow of ongoing practice? A number of potential phenomenologists could provide a starting point to answering this question. For example, Jean-Paul Sartre provided a position on the material uniqueness of the body (Hoffman 2009 p. 253) or Husserl's writing on a body as inseparable from movement (Sheets-Johnstone 2011 p. 115). However, 'the phenomenologist of the body' is without doubt Maurice Merleau-Ponty (Van Manen 2014 p. 304). Indeed, it is suggested Merleau-Ponty provides a 'phenomenology of life' for his aim is to show how 'every meaning, whatever its degree of abstraction, has its roots in corporeal life' (Barbaras 2005 p. 186). The 'meaning' then of leadership does not come from 'inside' us as a trait, or 'outside' as a collective structure, but through bodies in *relation to the world*

around them i.e. within the practice of organisational life. In the next chapter, I will look to delve further into this ontology of 'life' to explore how Merleau-Ponty's 'body' provides a renewed sense of how we can understand leadership 'in the flow' of organisational practice (Wrathall 2014 p. 3, Raelin 2016 p. 141, Simpson 2016 p. 168).

3.5. Chapter conclusion

This chapter detailed the philosophically contested nature of the body in organisational studies (OS) generally and leadership specifically. Within much of OS, predicated on sociological literature, the body becomes an 'absent presence'. For even when explicitly positioned it is represented as a 'container' of a privileged, rational, 'mind'. Such containment foresees a bounded body, ceasing at the 'skin', and which is analogous to a revenant or mechanical thing. Phenomenology attests that this boundedness is predicated on an inside-outside epistemological dualism. Such a representation of the body therefore is not a 'truism' but positionally aligned with a realist stance. However, I point out that this stance can lead to a decorporealised methodology within leadership studies. Such 'blindness' is evident in the narrow, critical, portrayals of leadership as a 'thing' to be 'seen', defined through 'talk', or attributed to a 'part' of the body or materiality. Through such portrayals the moving body-in-the-world still remains absent philosophically. Phenomenology provides the opening for a renewed theory of the body that is congruent with an examination of leadership within practice. Furthermore, in the next chapter I will begin to explore how

Merleau-Ponty's philosophy of the body can allow the 'promise' of practice to be realised methodologically.

Chapter 4: Framework - returning

leadership to its senses

4.0. Chapter introduction

This chapter details an alternative corporeal ontology to frame the 'body'. Specifically it draws on Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology of 'flesh', which suggests our bodies are already always interwoven within the fabric of organisational life. Furthermore, it provides an epistemological position of sensual expression, in which knowledge is created through a shared sense of what is occurring around us. In order to develop a theoretical springboard for a methodology of sensing, I address the organisational literature on sense. Specifically, Weick's 'sensemaking' as a comparison to Merleau-Ponty's notion of 'sense'. Although there is overlap in terms of being a 'shared' concept, further development is required to understand the implications of a non-bounded body in practice. Fortunately, anthropology has developed a form of 'sensuous scholarship' which suggests it is through the researcher's 'awakened' body that we can begin to grasp the feel of an expression like leadership. This carnal approach advocates we research *from* our bodies not *on* bodies, thus providing the required 'thick' framework that acknowledges we are: situated within practice; espouse a depth of emotion; and acknowledge the 'dust' of our own personal histories. I conclude however by acknowledging ethnography itself needs to be reviewed through such a sensual lens.

4.1. Flesh - an alternative philosophy of the body

Merleau-Ponty's contribution is on three levels. First, he maintained that perception was not an event of some internal functioning, but results from our *entire* bodily orientation in relation to our setting (Carman 2008 p. 1). Second, he looked to extend this thinking to *all* human experience, suggesting that such a form of perception is our basic mode of being. We experience the world *through* or *from* our bodies in that way, and thus can never stand outside them in a transcendental fashion (Taylor 2005 p. 6). Finally, by extension, our lived bodies are not separate, fixed entities, with a world external to them, but are already immersed, *emerging* from this relational understanding rather than through some internal dynamism (Küpers 2015 p. 28). Our body, via Merleau-Ponty's position, is our way of 'being-at-the-world-from-within-it', both philosophically inseparable and the very process by which we find meaning in the world (Dreyfus and Dreyfus 1964 p. xii).

Merleau-Ponty's ambition for the body was not to explore it as a distinct object, a biological 'inside' distinct from nature 'outside', but rather to illustrate how we are 'always-already' 'woven corporeally' into the ongoing fabric of the world which is devoid of any boundaries (Merleau-Ponty 1968 p. 136, Crossley 1995 p. 44). Such an interwoven perspective therefore is the antithesis of an 'embodied' view, in which we are philosophically bounded at the 'skin' (see section 3.4) (Sheets-Johnstone 2015). In order to represent such fabric, Merleau-Ponty deployed the philosophical metaphor of 'flesh',

which linguistically could be understood as a homonym, or phenomenologically, it has a 'double belongingness' pertaining to the flesh of our meaty bodies but also, the 'flesh of the world', the ongoing social and material 'pulp' of which we are all part (Merleau-Ponty 1968 p. 139). In order to understand 'flesh' in more detail I explore its 'reversible' nature which enables us to move corporeally in the world, and how sensual forms of meaning or 'expression' emanate from this movement.

4.1.1. Flesh as reversible

A crucial aspect to Merleau-Ponty's positioning is that flesh is reversible in nature. Rather than bodies and world being isolated in dualistic notions, they interweave through each other. He states (1964b p. 166):

'I touch myself touching the body accomplishes a 'sort' of reflection. In it, through it, there is not just the unidirectional relation of the one who perceives to what he perceives. The relationship is reversed, the touched hand becomes the touching hand, and I am obliged to say here the sense of touch is diffused into the body - that the body is a 'perceiving thing', a 'subject-object'.

Our bodies therefore are both sentient and sensible then in terms of how we touch and be touched, see and be seen, hear and be heard and so forth (Crossley 1995 p. 44). At this point in his work he suggests that there is an ongoing 'grip' between bodies and the spaces in which they are situated

(Merleau-Ponty 1962 p. 273). He uses an example of strolling through an art gallery to illustrate such a 'grip', in which he states 'there is an optimum distance from which it (a picture) asks to be seen - an orientation through which it presents more of itself - beneath or beyond which we merely have a confused perception due to excess or lack' (Merleau-Ponty 1962 p. 352). Certainly Merleau-Ponty here is beginning to question how our bodies orientate themselves in our world, not as driven through some inner homunculus of the mind, but through our senses. However, such reflections are from his early work. Although he is undermining the dualism of mind and body, he has not yet begun to question 'the body' in its 'unbounded nature' as he would in his later work (Shotter 2016 p. 25). Effectively by suggesting that body & world are *connected* through perception he has left the inside-outside dualism intact, as such connection is premised on the idea of polar entities.

The emergence and usage of the metaphor 'flesh' came later in his work, but built on these earlier, reversible, notions of the body (Carman 2008 p. 119). With the concept of flesh, he moved from the idea of perception as located inside the body to something that both constructs and is constructed through our material relations (Coole 2007a p. 12). He refers to such fleshy construction as having a 'chiasmatic' quality, borrowing the term from the chiasma between chromosomes in genetics or the crossing point of the optic nerve to enable vision. Sensing and sensed do not exist as separate then through perception, but occur as a Janus-like 'double representation' (Küpers 2015 p. 216). Through such flesh it is not a case of senses *emerging* from

the body but rather we live in a 'sensible world that is common to sensible bodies' (Merleau-Ponty 1968 p. 13). We can conceptualise such a reversible chiasma akin to a 'finger of a glove that is turning inside out', in which there is no 'side' to speak of with our biological inside and external nature 'each other side of the other' (Merleau-Ponty 1968 p. 263). Flesh then 'is not matter, is not mind, is not substance', but rather is a 'formative meaning', a living, carnal, ongoing texture or 'fabric' that eschews any notion of boundaries (Merleau-Ponty 1968 p. 139, Cataldi 1993). Rather than simply our bodies being reversible, our world in general has this reversible, generative, quality to it.

Such a reversible ontology argues that there is no 'break/brakes' to speak off in our lives either temporally or physically, with any 'cuts' occurring, like that of 'insides' and 'outsides', as a result of our representational, idealistic, view on the world (Gibson and Walk 1960 p. 189, Cataldi 1993 p. 82). Merleau-Ponty adds that it is through the 'thickness of the flesh', i.e. our situated materiality, that bodies and things engage in the world. Such materiality is 'not an obstacle' between them, it is their means of communication' (Merleau-Ponty 1968 p. 135). We do not connect, therefore with the world through some inner representation, or via some sort of perceptive bridge, but it is through the *very* 'depth' of such flesh acting as a medium that we come to orientate ourselves in daily life. This thickness of the flesh is a reference to the 'density' or 'depth' of our material space within which we move (Cataldi 1993 p. 34). How we devise meaning then comes from courageously

'plunging' ourselves into such thickness, the ongoing flow of tangled materialities and bodies of which we are all a part (Dreyfus and Kelly 2011 p. 218). Materiality therefore does not simply have inherent meaning for our bodies, but bends, twists, rotates and pivots our corporeal being. It is *through* such movement then that body and materiality work together to establish a form of 'lived meaning', or 'expression', within our daily lives (Todes 2001 p. xxxix). I will return to this idea of expression in section 4.1.3. but it is worth showing how such flesh manifests itself in our daily corporeality.

4.1.2. Corporeality

Corporeality is based on the idea of a body that is 'meshed' into our fleshy world. Our bodies do not stand outside our particular situation, but rather are 'irrevocably stitched into the fabric of the world' (Ingold 2011 p. 9). The 'body', as an individualist, embodied, concept, would seem to be somewhat of a fallacy, as it is always a social and material body. For when I reflect that I am experiencing something through my body, it really means 'an experience of my body-in-the-world' (Merleau-Ponty 1962 pp. 163-164). For any bodily experience is in relation to the world around us. What is distinctive about such corporeality, or 'le schéma corporel' to give it the Merleau-Pontian name (Carman 2008 p. 93), is its communal nature. It is a shared 'bodily point of view', best captured in the French pronoun of 'On' ('We' or 'One') as in 'One blinks every few seconds' or 'We breath through our noses' (Merleau-Ponty 1964b p. 176). Such corporeality is not a mechanistic bundle of parts or a container of mental processes - but rather the body as a mingled intertwining

of perception and movement, a 'system of possible action'. It is *through* our bodies, rather than internal 'cognitions', or external objects, that we are 'called' to move in a relational sense (Hoffman 2009 p. 253). Blurring the conceptual boundary at our skins therefore begins to reappraise how we incorporate the world prior to representations (Carman 2008 p. 106). In order to detail the sinewy nature of the flesh, I will look further at such 'schéma' in relation to objects, what Merleau-Ponty called 'things' (Kelly 2002 p. 387), and also the 'problem of the other' i.e. how it is possible for one 'mind' to know another (Crossley 1995 p. 57).

Initially, Merleau-Ponty (2007b p. 355) suggested that we 'inhabit' objects in a variety of ways to enact our daily lives. It is not simply that objects have some practical external use, but that the body is 'made somehow in the thing' through a unique corporeal grip (2007b p. 355). Body and 'thing' therefore create a new potential for perceptual understanding, as is illustrated through the analogy of the 'blind man's cane':

'The blind man's cane has ceased to be an object for him, it is no longer perceived for itself; rather, the cane's furthest point is transformed into a sensitive zone, it increases the scope and the radius of the act of touching and has become analogous to a gaze' (Merleau-Ponty 1962 p. 165)

The idea of the corporeal schema suggests there is no distinction between insides and outsides, no containment to speak of, but rather 'things' are

'woven into the same intentional fabric as my body' (Merleau-Ponty 1964b p. 167). Objects therefore allow us to extend the senses beyond the confines of our skin to increase our potential enactment of phenomena. Certainly, we engage with objects around us as if they were completely distinct, but often mistake the object itself for the perceptive movement between body and object, what Merleau-Ponty (1962 p. 5) calls the 'experience error'. To even gaze upon an object thus can never locate perception in one entity or another but exists relationally. If we reflect on daily life, we begin to see how objects become subjects and subjects become objects. Such blurring is evident in how people come to engage with prosthetic limbs (Sacks 1985 p. 69) or how our bodies can become a 'stranger' to us when parts 'break down' or become ill (Cataldi 1993 p. 16-19, Findlay 2003). Of course, although Merleau-Ponty (1968) aims to show how perception is constructed through bodies and objects, he suggests the body is 'not merely one object among all other'. Rather, it is an 'exemplar sensible' owing to our ability to sense the world around us in a sensible manner (Merleau-Ponty 1968 p. 135). We see things then as external to us, but any act of perception always incorporates such objects, not simply through intentionality (being conscious of something) but as extensions that allow us to navigate our surroundings.

Furthermore, such corporeality does not just extend to objects but also to others, as we share a common flesh. Through a 'we-ness' of the senses, we perceive the world through a common physiognomy of our bodies (Leder 1990 p. 46), what Merleau-Ponty referred to as 'intercorporeality' (Merleau-

Ponty 1968 p. 143). Such communality is not an empathic 'as if' quality, but that our bodies share the same physical way of 'grasping' the world around us (Merleau-Ponty 1964b p. 170). Neither is it intersubjectivity, which is suggestive of an 'a priori' thought to the individual thinker, as if we *first* conceive of others in our minds then respond to them in a causal manner (Burkitt 2000 p. 1010). Yet, "the constitution of others does not come after that of the body; others and my body are born together from the original ecstasy' (Merleau-Ponty 1964b p. 174). 'Minds' are not co-creating each other then in some kind of cognitive abstraction, but rather our bodies emerge 'intermingled' together from our sensible world (Merleau-Ponty 1964b p. 174). The only 'severance' between bodies then is the abstract representations we place on them, not their lived experience in everyday practice. Merleau-Ponty uses the example of the handshake to illustrate how two bodies come together in the flesh:

'the reason why I have evidence of the other man's being-there when I shake his hand is that his hand is substituted for my left hand...my two hands 'coexist' or are 'compresent' because they are one single body's hands. The other person appears through an extension of that compresence; he and I are like organs of a single intercorporeality' (Merleau-Ponty 1964b p. 168).

Like the object, it is not the 'appearance' of another's body, 'a mannequin', that we feel we interact with but rather we acknowledge that a person of flesh and blood stands before us. Through the example of the handshake then

‘when we say that the perceived thing is grasped ‘in person’ or ‘in the flesh’ that is to be taken literally’ (Merleau-Ponty 1964b p. 167). There is no reduction of the other to an object or as an outer marker of an inner representation, but rather we share the same flesh both through common physiognomy and a shared ‘sensitive space’ (Cataldi 1993 p. 49). Whether in using a cane or engaging in a handshake, Merleau-Ponty aims to demonstrate that meaning in its entirety is located in our sensual, communal, activities rather than located in some isolated ‘mind’. It is the activities in themselves that are *meaning-ful* rather than through a representational ‘veil’ being placed over them (Casey 1995 p. 157). In the next section, I will explore this reasoning further in terms of how an ontology of flesh, premised on an interwoven corporeality, leads to an epistemological engagement through various forms of sensuous expression.

4.1.3. Sensual expression

In seeing our everyday experiences as rooted in a chiasmatic flesh, an ontological entwinement of inside and outside, we move from seeing knowledge epistemologically constructed through bodies ‘thinking’ together to knowing emerging from a shared physical movement that Merleau-Ponty (1962 p. 169) calls an ‘expressive space’. However such expression is paradoxical as it is both something continually new, but also old in terms of occurrences, as familiar objects and bodies come together in a unique manner during everyday experience (Waldenfels 2000 pp. 92-93, Küpers 2015 p. 79). Expression in such a way then is not routines or systems, but

about 'gearing' into performances that are *equally* pure repetition *and* pure creation (Landes 2013b p. 10). For example, painting as a form of expression has a repetitive element in terms of painter, brush, canvas and so forth. Whether cubist or impressionist, the *form* which emanates from the overlap of such bodies and materials is always new. We thus 'gear' into the performance of painting but what comes to be expressed has a unique quality (Merleau-Ponty 1964a p. 16). There are two areas of such expression worth detailing further.

First, the body-in-the-world *is* the condition of thought and linguistic expression, not some form of external outcome (Merleau-Ponty 1962 p. 190). Kupers (2015 p. 41) therefore suggests 'the smile on the face is not detached from the joy that it expresses, but rather the smile *is* the joy; the expression *is* that which is expressed'. When we express something then, we do not just express ourselves, but also something about the world at that moment in time. Expression has the ability to communicate a shared situation, to sense what is occurring (Burkitt 2000 p. 46). For Merleau-Ponty, all gestures, all words, carry some form of meaning, but it is through such expression, not some internal representation of an external environment, that we engage in the 'production of sense' (Merleau-Ponty 2007c p. 66). The use of the French version ('sens'), carries a double meaning both in terms of a way, or direction, as in feeling, but also sense as in significance or meaning (Cataldi 1993 p. 37). In his book 'Sense and Non-Sense' (1964 p. 50) Merleau-Ponty exploits this ambiguity arguing against an understanding of 'sens' as locked

into a singular body. He states by 'resolutely rejecting the notion of sensation it teaches us to stop distinguishing between signs and their significance, between what is sensed and judged'. Although there is the temptation to see the 'senses' as embodied, it is evident that they only become *intelligible* within the context of a spatiotemporal world. Merleau-Ponty then is trying to tell us that it is *only* through forms of expression, an entwinement of moving bodies, objects and space, that we come to sense any phenomenon.

Second, the senses work together in a non modularised interrelated format. We see such a format in cases of synesthesia, which is the mingling of the senses (hear colours, taste sounds etc), with senses being able to 'trigger' each other (Küpers 2015 p. 30). Even stronger neuropsychological evidence exists with concepts like proprioception and kinaesthesia. These senses cannot be located within an individual part of the body, but operate through our collective, muscular, activity between the body and our spatiotemporal world (Luria 1987 p. 41). Sheets-Johnstone (2009 p. 59) therefore suggests it may be better to state that we are 'kinetically attuned to a particular situation at hand' rather than seeing kinaesthesia as a property of the body. Merleau-Ponty draws on painting extensively to show the sensuous nature of expression. He states 'the painter's vision is no longer a view upon an *outside*...the world no longer stands before him through representation; rather it is the painter who is born in the things as by the concentration and the coming-to-itself of the visible' (Merleau-Ponty 2007b p. 376). Within such expression the 'artist' is not the locus of sense, but rather through taking up

the materials required and the heritage of painting, he or she is able to *respond* to the present and to the emerging sense of the future. It is suggested that bodies then don't act as such loci, instead it is through entwined, corporeal, expression that we 'catch on' to sense. At that moment the particular action is 'ex-pressed', actively *pressed out* from the weight of past expectancies, current circumstances, and ideal future trajectories (Landes 2013a p. 73).

Overall, knowledge then is not locked inside us, but within such sensual expression. Such an understanding asks questions of how we can come to understand concepts like leadership. For leadership can be understood as another form of expression, a social phenomenon, brought into being through a common flesh of bodies and materials (Küpers 2013, 2015p. 148). Like any expressive form therefore, leadership is not reducible to a singular entity or 'label' thus only every partly generalised to other sites. Furthermore, leadership as a form of expression extends beyond bodies in a non bounded manner, as such expression always sits between 'pure repetition' and 'pure creation' (Merleau-Ponty 2007a p. 267, Landes 2013 p. 80). Expression therefore:

'is not concerned with 'word-meanings', it does not seek a verbal substitute for the world we see, it does not transform it into something said, it does not install itself in the order of the said or the written as does the logician in the

proposition, the poet in the word, or the musician in the music' (Merleau-Ponty 1968 p. 4).

There is a warning here that if we are looking for some definitive 'truth' to 'what' leadership is, or a certain set of actions we can label as leading, we may never fully find them. Such definitions can be in themselves rather narrow akin to saying all painting *should* be impressionist, or *should* be cubist, but like such art leadership's vibrancy lies in the multiplicity of its enactment (Mol 2002 p. 92) or 'ongoing birth' (Merleau-Ponty 2007b p. 358). My aim then is to use Merleau-Ponty's fleshy philosophy as an ontological base not to define leadership, but to ask how we as researchers may come to better experience, or *feel* leadership, within the 'thick' of organisational practice (Shotter 2014 p. 593). Specifically, my ambition is to sense how leadership comes to be expressed in a particular time and place, rather than looking to find out 'what' leadership 'is' as an isolated variable (Van Manen 2016 p. 5). A corporeal framework, with its fleshy ontology, suggests that body and world are 'too intimately interwoven' for any phenomenon to be 'lifted out and examined scientifically, as an object, from the outside' (Shotter 2016 p. 33).

However, although leadership cannot be ontologically ripped from the fabric of the organisation, there is some epistemological signposting, or 'guidance', on how we may go about sensing leadership from within. First, we know that we cannot reduce knowledge down to a single sense, as in solely based on

sight or hearing, but must understand phenomena in a more non modularised, spatial, manner (Küpers 2015 p. 100). Second, we are limited by the interwoven location of our situated bodies. Definitively, I mean there is only ever a 'view from somewhere' in that knowledge is not static, but 'on the move', with our efforts directed to getting a sensuous 'grip' on the evolution of such movement (Dreyfus 2014 p. 94, Dreyfus and Taylor 2015 p. 139). Finally, if we understand expression as a shared epistemology, there is an acknowledgement that once we step into a setting our own bodily presence contributes to the creation of local ways of 'knowing' i.e. how leadership is locally enacted (Polanyi 1964 p. 3). Our corporeality therefore potentially co-constructs the phenomenon that is being investigated. Overall, Merleau-Ponty gives us the ontological tools for a new conception of the body as situated within organisational practice, facilitating an epistemological understanding of leadership as sensuous expression. However, before exploring how we engage with such sensuous expression further, it is important to reflect on how 'sense' is contemporarily conceived within the organisational literature.

4.2. From sensemaking to sensing in practice

In keeping the term 'sense' in mind, it would seem erroneous to not discuss the literature most synonymous with its usage in organisation studies i.e. sensemaking. Weick (1993 p. 635) suggests the 'basic idea of sensemaking is that reality is an ongoing accomplishment that emerges from efforts to create order and make retrospective sense of what occurs'. The 'basic'

usage is important here, as the definition is not homogeneously deployed (Brown, Colville et al. 2015 p. 266). Certainly sensemaking has gripped organisational studies, with its original incarnation developed through Weick's (1990, 1993) early application as a lens onto organisational disasters and also his theorising directly on the subject (Weick 1995, 1996). Sensemaking has also being extensively applied by others whether in quantitative analysis of organisational hazards (Gephart 1997), banking (Abolafia 2010), middle management (Lüscher and Lewis 2008) or corporate responsibility (Onkila and Siltaoja 2017). I wish though to briefly highlight three particular contributions that make the concept so alluring.

4.2.1. The contribution of sensemaking

First of all, sensemaking illustrates the 'ongoing' nature of organisational life, in which 'people are always in the middle of things' (Weick 1995 p. 43). This ongoing focus has led some to suggest that Weick's perspective, at least its recent incarnation, is processual in orientation and indeed such a suggestion seems well placed when there is talk of an 'infinite stream of events and inputs that surround any organizational actor', or when he cites Chia's (2000 p. 517-518) notion of the 'undifferentiated flux' of lived experience, 'which is arrested and regularised and then translated into pragmatic use' (Weick, Sutcliffe et al. 2005 p. 411). Although Weick reflects on 'organizational becoming' to a greater extent in his more recent work, he however stops short of labelling himself 'processual' (Weick 2011 p. 148). Instead remarking that while others labelled him a 'process theorist' he was, 'in many ways

amongst the last to discover this' and perhaps is more a 'process practitioner' to use Tsoukas' labelling of him (Weick 2010 p. 103). Either way, his work illustrates the continual, unbroken, nature of life in organisations.

Second, Weick's (1995 p. 53) sensemaking strives to link the individual person and the social collective with the place to which they are situated. It therefore avoids the decontextualised pitfalls of much of social psychology. He also aims to illustrate how materiality mediates this linkage, albeit mainly with references to metaphor and stories. For example, he illustrates such a connection when he discusses the story of the Hungarian military detachment who get lost in the Alps, but unwittingly find their way home by using a map of the Pyrenees (Holub 1977). Weick argues that leading, orientation and maps are intertwined suggesting that 'all the leaders know is that the plan or the map they have in front of them are not sufficient to get them out'. However, he continues by stating the map helped enact the soldiers to 'keep moving, they kept noticing cues, and they kept updating their sense of where they are' (Weick 1995 p. 54-55). The 'accuracy' of a map is perhaps not so important then, rather its 'plausibility' is more relevant so as to 'bring order to the world and prompts action' (Sutcliffe 1994 p. 1374). Weick shows then how materials, physical terrain and people interact, sometimes in inaccurate ways, but still lead to successful outcomes.

Finally, there is a strong theory-to-practice zeal within his ideas. This zeal is particularly evident in relation to comprehending chaotic circumstances like

that of the Mann Gulch fire disaster (Weick 1993), the Tenerife Air Disaster (Weick 1990), how additional perspectives grappled with physical child abuse (Weick 2006) or the manner in which competitive sweater companies shared a collective identity (Porac, Thomas et al. 1989, Weick 1995 p. 76). Overall, Weick uses sensemaking effectively as a translational tool, a frame to help practitioners 'make sense' of what may at first seem like non-sensical organisational movement. Weick's work therefore shows us how organisations are continually formulated on such 'making' in which physical structures, people, objects and so forth must all come to resonate with some sensible meaning in order for institutions to be expressed (Ryle 2009[1949] p. 6).

4.2.2. The 'making' of sense

Sensemaking, however, perhaps owing to the use of the term 'making', is suggestive of being synonymous with some form of mind-like internal workings (Brown, Colville et al. 2015 p. 273). Weick (1995 p. 8) is conscious of this suggestion, commenting that to make this association would be a 'blunder' arguing instead that sensemaking refers to 'authoring as well as interpretation, creation as well as discovery'. Perhaps then interpretation is not the right term, as it is indeed often associated with a passive connotation of the body as 'tabula rasa'², whereas sensemaking involves some form of discovery and invention (Brown, Colville et al. 2015 p. 267). Rather it may be more accurate to suggest sensemaking is a constructivist approach to

² Latin for 'blank slate' - used in psychology as a reference to the body (or mind) as a blank slate that is 'drawn on' by our interpretations of experience.

perception (Sandberg and Tsoukas 2015 p. 7). This approach argues that *what* you decipher as a stimulus is dependent upon some prior existing knowledge, usually in the form of an internal 'schema'. Schemas here being a cognitive framework or structure, developed over time, that helps you organise information. We thus are viewed as internally 'building' or 'constructing' our perception from incomplete information, filling in blanks through our own retrospective experiences as we go. Succinctly, we use what we already know to 'make sense' of our current experiencing (Rock 1985 p. 10, Gregory 2001 p. 134). This conception of 'sense' however is limiting from a corporeal perspective, as it still looks to 'inside the head' as the means to understand our world, rather than *through* the body (Eliasoph 2005, Hoffman and Fine 2005). In order to develop a methodology of sensing, some groundwork is required to expand on Weick's 'sense' through a corporeal lens. I look to therefore differentiate two facets of constructivism against a Merleau-Pontian philosophy.

First, constructivism leans heavily on rationality or internal conceptions to 'make sense' or 'mediate' the world (Weick 1995 p. 41). This rationality is evident in definitions referring to the 'generating' and then 'interpreting' of a social world (Gephart 1997 p. 587), or 'retrospection' and 'rationalisation' (Weick, Sutcliffe et al. 2005 p. 409). The use of such terms points to a definition of 'sense' as a form of comprehension. The suggestion is that we use our individual or collective 'minds' to 'grasp' what is occurring (Weick and Roberts 1993 p. 258). Merleau-Ponty's work would certainly

chime with this idea that sense is a *shared* construction in that, 'we discover meanings' together in situ (Dreyfus and Dreyfus 1964 p. x). If we return to a corporeal suggestion though that 'sens' carries this double meaning that entails both comprehension *and* feeling, we begin to see a difference. For when Merleau-Ponty (1964b p. 167) suggests we 'grasp' the world in order to understand, he does not mean it metaphorically, he means it literally with our visceral, sensual, moving bodies. Unlike Weick's sense there is no 'mind' doing the work here, but rather our bodies engage with the world as a 'gestalt'. Specifically, we perceive the world through a 'constitution of the whole' rather than break it down into various 'parts', or individual stimuli, that we must first reconstruct inside our heads *before* acting (Merleau-Ponty 1962 p. 19). Corporeality is a bodily 'I am able to' therefore rather than a constructivist view of a mind which 'thinks' to then lever the body into movement (Merleau-Ponty 1964b p. 88). Merleau-Ponty and Weick's work seem agreed therefore that 'sense' is about construction, but the former would suggest this occurs through our sensual engagement with the world, not through internal workings of the mind.

Second, the empirical work around sensemaking also points to constructivist thinking. In particular a large amount of such work relies on 'talk' or speech to represent action whether this is interviews with business elites (Maclean, Harvey et al. 2011 p. 19), transcripts of meetings from the Federal Reserve Committee (Abolafia 2010 p. 351), the individual story recounted from a fire inspector (Jeong and Brower 2008 p. 226), or books that recount a disaster

(Weick 1993 p. 628). Empirical work therefore is predicated on speech as the driving force around the construction of sense or that talk 'constructs and gives order to reality' (Maclean, Harvey et al. 2011 p. 20). Merleau-Ponty reflects that 'phenomenology is all or nothing' in that it is through the fullness of our bodies-in-the-world that we form knowledge (Merleau-Ponty 1964b p. 93-94). For this reason any form of sensible expression, which draws on a multitude of bodies and materials, can never, totally, be irreducible to 'speech' (Merleau-Ponty 1964b p. 89). Speech instead can be understood as a *gesture* of expression, but such expression contains other forms like the touch of a hand on our elbow, the smile on a face, and so forth (Küpers 2015 p. 39). He argues we should not treat these other gestures within the expression of any phenomenon as 'lesser or derivative' in comparison to talk or speech (Merleau-Ponty 1964a p. 85).

Overall, Weick (1995 p. 55) suggests that 'sense' is a 'mischievous' prefix as it invokes both a realist (as in a tangible 'truth' out there) and an idealist ontology (as in agreed through a collective 'mind'). This suggestion illustrates however Weick's constructivist tendency, which at its centre has the 'mind' working on the 'inside' to make sense of the 'outside' world. For Merleau-Ponty (1968 p. 176) however there is no internal representation of sense, or equation with a certain gesture. For him, it is something that occurs as 'vinculum' or connective 'tissue' that wraps body and world together, devoid of any insides or outsides. So although Weick's work illustrates 'sense' as

something shared and constructed, in order to develop a congruent, corporeal, methodological view we need to look further than his work.

4.2.3. Towards empirically sensing leadership

Instead of a theory of sensemaking as Weick proposes, I believe Merleau-Ponty's ontology offers us an alternative means to develop a methodology that brings the body 'back in', not as displaced from practice, but as a vista onto phenomena. Others share in this reflection. For example, Ladkin (2013 p. 331) suggests developing a better understanding of a 'felt sense of leadership' enables greater possibilities around how leading may be enacted. Similarly, Küpers (2014 p. 101) also argues Merleau-Ponty can help grasp how leadership is 'made present' within organisations. Furthermore, Rapo and colleagues (2013 p. 384) illustrate that a corporeal approach enables the senses to be 'valid sources of information' in the comprehension of leadership. It is only this last work however, based around research from the University of Tampere, Finland (e.g. Rapo, de Paoli et al. 2015, Salovarra 2015a), that has looked to deploy Merleau-Ponty's work through a longitudinal, phenomenological, approach to leadership. This research uses, however, Merleau-Ponty's work, along with Lefebvre (1994), to *theorise* the relation we can have with spaces and places, rather than how it may reform the researcher within the ethnographic process itself (see Rapo, Sauer et al. 2013 p. 384).

Out with leadership studies, Cunliffe and Coupland (2011 p. 64-65) do look to methodologically deploy a corporeal position in their narrative sensemaking approach to the British Lions Rugby 2001 Tour. Their ambition is to put the 'bodies and senses to work' in order to create accounts of our 'intimate, personal and corporeal relation with [our] experience of the world' (Strati 2007 p. 62). Unfortunately, this approach is hamstrung by the empirical material, which uses a video documentary³ ensuring the researchers remain observers rather than sensual participants (Weick 2011 p. 149). As Strati (2007 p. 69-72) points out, 'sensible knowledge' is not simply about sight, but done 'with the hands' 'with the feet' and 'with the ears'. Looking *onto* a world either philosophically or practically is not sufficient as 'all science depends on observation, and all observation depends on participation' (Ingold 2011 p. 71). Although there is an appreciation of the application of Merleau-Ponty empirically therefore, there seems to be uncertainty around how it should be developed (Ladkin 2013, Küpers 2015).

Weick (2011 p. 150) provides a suggestion by stating that sensing requires us to 'brush up on everyday life'. He continues by articulating that such brushing up entails:

"an inside story" that can be acted on to provide a shape that is both generative and suitably complex. It's all there if you can take the time to look and feel'.

³ Titled 'Up Close and Personal: Life with the Lions Down Under'

It may be useful then to look at immersive forms of research for answers to comprehend how daily, mundane, action helps shape the relations that express leadership (Coupland 2014 p. 12). The focus then is on an 'inside story' which points us towards 'messy' rather than clinical, linear, settings and stories. Such immersion is best typified in sociological and particularly anthropological work, although such forms of inquiry perhaps 'is more a moral imperative than a methodological safeguard' (Czarniawska 1997 p. 4). Specifically, rather than viewing those in the organisation as 'the other' we actively see them as human beings like ourselves, with the focus to make communal sense of ongoing confusion and uncertainty. However, this begins by acknowledging our own sensual bodies within such fieldwork, rather than seeking to act as a distant observer. Strati (2007 p. 75) suggests that:

'once in the field, researchers see ugly and beautiful things; they smell perfumes, unpleasant odours or note the absence of odour; they hear agreeable or disagreeable noises; they are angered by the conditions in which people are forced to work, or they may be enchanted by the beauty of particular work stations. They may be seduced by a well-told story or annoyed by overblown rhetoric; they 'feel' their research'

The aim then is to explore sociological and anthropological work that has sought to embrace such 'feeling' through a sensual approach. It is to this literature I now turn.

4.3. Sensuous scholarship

In this section I reflect on how the senses are deployed within anthropological and sociological literature. In terms of the latter, I have already mentioned in section 3.2. the growing literature on a sociology of the body that emerged since the 1990s that 'looked to bring the body back in' to academic research (Williams and Bendelow 1998 p. 9). Sociology has struggled however to realise this ambition for a number of reasons. First, much of the work on 'the body' in sociology is 'chastised' for being mainly theoretical with little 'visceral' empirical research - the body thus remains phenomenologically absent (Hoffman and Fine 2005 p. 153, Wainwright and Turner 2006 p. 238, Hockey and Allen-Collinson 2007 p. 114).

Second, there is a need for what Crossley (1995 p. 43-44) calls a 'carnal sociology of the body' which looks not just at "what is done to the body" but also "what the body does". The former refers to how the body is marked or inscribed by the social, like the work of Foucault mentioned in the last chapter. However, it is grasping the latter, the moving body, 'always-already' engaged in a specific social situation, that is more problematic. Crossley feels that both perspectives are required to extricate the 'single problematic' of the absent material body within sociological research.

Finally, there is the suggestion that sociology needs to engage with anthropology to realise a 'carnal' sociology, for it is anthropology which 'has

conducted the most sustained and detailed investigations into the bodily practices and identities of those groups which have tended to escape the sociological gaze' (Shilling 2007 p. 12). Specifically, a number of sociologists have suggested that its anthropology's embrace of 'sensuous scholarship' that requires further exploration and application (Hockey and Allen-Collinson 2007 p. 188, Okely 2007 p. 75, Hockey and Allen-Collinson 2009 p. 220), with a growing, but small, number of sensuously informed sociological texts doing so (e.g. Wacquant 2004, Downey 2005, Lande 2007). Returning to some of the anthropological source material then may give us a better idea of how to bring the body 'back in' enabling a 'new sensoriality' to investigate leadership (Küpers 2015 p. 126).

4.3.1. Re-awakening the scholar's body

Within anthropology there is the suggestion that we need to 'come to our senses' in order to address the decorporealised nature of much of the ethnographic research (Stoller 1989 p. 8, Seremetakis 1993 p. 13, Howes 2006 p. 29). Referring to it as 'sensuous scholarship', Stoller (1997 p. xv) argues that such an endeavour 'is an attempt to reawaken profoundly the scholar's body'. He points out that such awakening is to incorporate the 'sensuous body - its smells, tastes, textures and sensations' into ethnographic work. Two elements to such sense are worth mentioned. First, sensuousness is not devoid of reason for 'sensuous experience is not just a way of enlivening ethnographic description...it is an essential basis for exploring how people make sense of the world through perception' (Howes

2006 p. 43). Sense reflects therefore that we are already 'always in the middle of things' (Weick 1995 p. 43). Second, anthropological sensuousness goes beyond bounded embodiment as it is built explicitly on Merleau-Ponty's fleshy ontology and expressive epistemology which is devoid of 'insides' and 'outsides' (Stoller 1989 p. 37, 2004 p. 821, Pink 2015 p. 28). There is a distinct drive here to represent expression in its chiasmic, reversible, form in order to illuminate how we come to grasp any phenomenon in practice (Okely 2007 p. 77). The manner in which we come to understand an 'inner dynamic' is not possible though unless we re-view our bodies as unbounded, with sense acting as our relational means to reach out to the world (Shotter 2011 p. 124). Such sensuous scholarship 're-orientates' how we look at research inquiry in three distinct ways.

I. PERCEPTUAL RE-ORIENTATION

Initially, at the epistemological level, there is a re-orientation of perception, as Howes (2006 p. 40) points out 'perception has everything to do with it, the 'it' being good ethnography'. Through a Merleau-Pontian understanding, perception here does not privilege one particular sense, nor suggest the senses are contained inside us in an entitative manner, but rather they act as the 'brute' relation between body and world in an overlapping, synesthesia-like, fashion (Küpers 2015 p. 115). In much of Western research traditions however, and society in general, sight is privileged as the most important sense that we engage with (Stoller 1989 p. 7). Howes (2006 p. 6-7) points out such a bias was not always the case but emerged particularly since the

second world war. At that time much of social science research began to privilege sight and hearing under an 'assumption' they were the *least* subjective of the senses and thus more suitable as the bases for scientific investigation. He continues by stating such privileging was compounded by the advance of 'technologies of reproduction' with cameras and audio equipment associating 'sight and hearing with rationalism by appearing to register cultural expression in a direct, unmediated, objective fashion'. Such an objectivist tradition then privileges some senses over others and fails to recognise that our senses overlap in their everyday use.

Ironically, our vision is no more 'objective' than any other sense could possibly be, with Whitehead referring to such a fallacy as the 'delusion' of perception (Hooper 1933 p. 330, Stoller 1989 p. 56). Indeed, one of the great contributions of the Gestalt psychologists was to show how our sight could 'mis-lead' us, demonstrating such thinking through the use of various illusions like that of the Müller-Lyer lines or even the Moon illusion, in which the moon appears larger on the horizon than higher up in the sky. Modern cognitive psychology experiments have also illustrated repeatedly that our sight is fallible, whether in: 'look but failed to see' (LBFS) motor accidents (Langham, Hole et al. 2002); 'change blindness' in selective attention tasks (Simons and Chabris 1999); or correctly identifying the faces of others (Kemp, Towell et al. 1997). Sensory information, even in such constructivist terms, is always incomplete thus ensuring we 'fill in the gaps' in what we see based on our past experiences (Gregory 1980 p. 185).

In addition to sight not as objective as we might think, we also need to question the culturally *idiographic* nature of sensory experience. Hall (1966[1990] p. 2) proposed that ‘people from different cultures, not only speak different languages but, what is possibly more important, *inhabit different sensory words*’. Hall is alluding to ‘*experience as it is perceived*’ suggesting that the ‘selective screening’ of an individual’s sensory experiences are partly established through socio-material cultural norms (Howes 2006 p. 14). Perhaps where anthropology has preceded sociology, is that although the latter has taken a western focus to the social construction of the senses, the former has illustrated such thinking by examining cultures more broadly (Shilling 2007 p. 12). Such cultural differences do not mean senses are necessarily expressed in a different way, but that others senses, apart from sight, are privileged in order to comprehend everyday experiences. For example, we see such cultural differences in accounts of aboriginal Australians, who privilege the ear as the site of intelligence, lifting letters to the ears in their early encounters with white settlers (Howes 2006 p. 19). Similarly, Kondo (1990 p. 245) speaks of a certain form of Japanese artisan known as a ‘puresuyasan’ (one or two person crafts), who was ‘always trying to work *with the machine*’ in a *tactile* manner. The machine then was not an object or ‘instrument of alienation, but something with which he could cooperate in the production of a fine object’. We should not assume therefore that observation should be the most privileged sense in research, or that other social groups of people privilege sight also.

II. MORAL RE-ORIENTATION

Such awakening of the body is not simply a re-orientation of ethnographic perception but an ethical question that asks how we come to 'sensuously bear witness' to phenomena. Such witnessing pushes back against 'academic isolation', instead it asks us to embrace 'scholarly burden and responsibility...to bear witness in forms of social trauma, abuse, and repression here has the potential to shock readers into newfound awareness, enabling them...to think new thoughts or feel new feelings' (Stoller 2004 p. 832). The suggestion here is not simply that ethnographers 'give voice' to 'the other' but that the sensuous scholar should look to 'locate' conceptual sensory histories from the 'scattered wreckage of the inadmissible: lost biographies, memories, words, pains, glances, and faces that cohere into a *vast secret museum of historical and sensory absence*' (Feldman 1994 p. 415). There is a consciousness therefore of the power of representation to evoke feelings that can lead to new awareness and action.

Through such a re-orientation the unsaid and unheard aspects of the corporeal body are articulated to enhance our perspective on what is occurring for practitioners. Feldman (1994 p. 404) uses the term 'cultural anaesthesia' to highlight how the pervasiveness of objectification can render pain and feelings inferior or 'silent' to rationalistic 'thinking' in the formulation of our research priorities. Certainly, organisations may indulge in this form of affective anaesthetisation through 'muffling' the collective emotional

expression around an unpleasant event. This process often occurs so the institution maintains an appearance of 'flawlessness' (Strati 2007 p. 73-74). Similarly within certain communities and organisations there is also a 'refusal to verbalise' emotions for fear it will hijack rationality and lead to dangerous repercussions (Howes 2006 pp. 33-34). A sensuous approach looks to articulate such affective moments to offset any institutional silence.

Furthermore, morally, we cannot simply write up our data 'blindly', but acknowledge our own 'anthropological return to the world' (Stoller 1997 p. 41). For although we can 'never avoid the author function', in that our work can never be fully transparent, we should *strive* to articulate how we bring ourselves to bear on the research (Rabinow 1985 p. 3). Limiting ourselves to 'sight' blinds us too much to what occurs in organisations. Similarly, we cannot be blind to ourselves. To develop a full ethnographic sensitivity requires us to look at power as it occurs in practice, including the practice of how we come to write about others (Coombe 1991 p. 191). Moral re-orientation through the senses ensures we are not there just to 'bear witness' on others, but also to witness the implications our *own* research practice has on those we stand alongside.

III. PRACTICAL RE-ORIENTATION

Finally, such a reawakening has a profound impact on how we come to understand the construction of ethnographies. In practice, researchers who embrace ethnography and fieldwork often implicitly adopt a certain set of

conventions to judge their work (Stoller 1989 p. 25). Stoller (1984 p. 103) refers to such conventions as 'ethnographic realism' (ER), which goes back to the roots of Western philosophy with a search for 'The One in the Many', i.e. to discover the generalised reality hidden behind appearances in order to arrive at the 'truth'. In section 2.1.4. I referred to such 'realism' as the mainstream paradigm within leadership, with its focus on rationalism, reductionism and nomothetic truths. ER is the product of this paradigm with Marcus and Cushman (1982 pp. 31-37) pointing to a number of indicators that illustrate some of the assumptions of realism. For example, participants are viewed as shallow, or nameless, rarely depicting their emotional or expressive characteristics, and only illustrating how such members fit into the wider system as 'common denominator people'. In addition, during writing, there is a need to deploy 'symbolic markers of 'having really been there''. Such markers are not just a 'dead hand' third person narrative, but the complete splitting of context description (usually through a preface of some kind) from the research 'data' (Stoller 1984 p. 103). Ethnographic realism is therefore often the methodological adoption of many in organisational studies, perhaps unwittingly aware of its philosophical roots.

Furthermore, the inadvertent adoption of ER has consequences for how we come to see the organisations we work with. There is a danger of looking to 'read' organisations, a visual and verbal bias, which reduces the researcher to a 'voyeur' and the conditions in which we find ourselves that of a 'spectacle'. The result is not simply ethnocentrism but also 'glosses over the

differences' of those we are researching, naively interpreting activities that are not our own (Howes 2006 p. 20). Czarniawska (1997 p. 2) suggests it is the refusal to engage in such differentiation and sensory understanding that leads us to ignore the 'everyday muddle', viewing such mundanity as 'rather dull as a possible subject'. She continues by suggesting that such everydayness is dismissed in favour of 'glossy and glossing' accounts which centres the researcher's position rather than striving to understand, in a communal manner, what is occurring experientially around such scholars (1997 p. 2). In the next chapter I will look to undermine many of the traditional approaches used in a realist informed ethnographic framework and illustrate how they are re-conceptualised under a sensual paradigm. For now, I wish to examine how such a re-awakening of the scholar's body as the space of sensual expression, allows us to immerse ourselves in the 'thick' of leadership as it occurs.

4.4. Within the thick of it - the 'feel' of leadership in practice

Merleau-Ponty's ontology of flesh allows us to radically re-view what we deem to be 'the body', moving it away from being a bounded entity to acknowledging it as chiasmatically entwined with the world. Epistemologically, such flesh provides a platform for the relational, mingled, senses to inform knowledge of a phenomenon. Methodologically, it allows researchers to get within the 'thick' of leadership by 'giving expression to our own experiences from *where* we are in its unfolding flow' (Shotter 2014 p.

493). The anthropological suggestion to 're-awaken' our bodies as scholars is the starting point for this different methodological orientation. As I mentioned in section 4.1.1. we cannot corporeally escape the 'thickness of the flesh', for we are already a part of the ongoing stream of bodies and materials (Merleau-Ponty 1968 p. 135). We are therefore already part of an organisations daily activities when we begin research, rather than able to stand outside such action.

Geertz (1973 p. 10) of course used the term 'thick' as an interpretative approach that looked to detail the context of an event as well as the behaviours of those involved. In particular, his focus was more on a 'vivid' or 'rich' writing style rather than illustrating how the researcher was sensuously woven within the thick fabric of localised practice (Howes 2006 p. 18, Sergi and Hallin 2011 p. 197). Instead of solely looking for 'thick' *accounts* my ambition is to understand ourselves within such thick-ness. To rely *solely* on writing styles as interpretative authority does not give us thickness of any kind, instead we get 'thin structures: gaunt, bony propositions stripped of the flesh of experience' (Lincoln 2010 p. 6). In the next three sections I have tried to prise apart this idea of 'thickness' in relation to leadership to provide the empirical base for the next chapter which will focus more on a reformulation of the methods deployed.

4.4.1. Thickness as 'within'

Shotter (2010b p. 26) suggests that we can only understand phenomena from 'within', both in terms of 'from within a social situation' and also 'from within oneself as a human being and as a socially competent member of a culture' (2010b p. 26). As well as acknowledging ourselves physically within ongoing practice, such a sentiment also recognises we are not docile automatons but are called to move affectively in our world (Sheets-Johnstone 2011 p. 115). We cannot therefore represent phenomena as extracted from practice, for doing so will leave us with a 'tasteless, depersonalised, surface image' of experience (Stoller 1997 p. 83). Being within is predicated on 'witness-thinking', which involves trying to make *sense* of ongoing, evolving, phenomenon like leadership, not in some detached manner but alongside, and with, others (Shotter 2006 p. 586). Rather than 'aboutness' which can leave us 'cold', Shotter suggests 'witness-thinking' acknowledges we are touching and touched, with such expression creating new understandings communally as a 'collective-we' (Shotter 2010 p. 24). Thickness therefore reflects being within a place and within a community.

Jointly, in practice then, we participate in new ongoing forms of expression, but to feel such expression we need to acknowledge philosophically and thus methodologically we are interwoven (Shotter 2000 p. 238). The aim is not to try and fit practice then into a 'theoretical scheme' (i.e. on our *own* terms) which strives for a 'God's eye view' that can generalise leadership (Shotter 2006 p. 600). Neither is it to find something 'unknown' or 'undiscovered'

about the phenomenon. The ambition instead is to move away from solely theory-laden perspectives on leadership, so as to change not *what* we think but rather “what we think with” i.e. the way we go about engaging situations in our empirical endeavour (Shotter 2010 p. 82-84). Opening up a fleshy ontology does not see us ‘observing’ from a methodological perspective but being ‘plunged’ in to situated organisational practice in its ongoing, fluctuating, and confusing form (Pink 2011 p. 347). Diving into the ‘wider ecology’ of rugby, a highly physical form of work, provides a distinctive context to explore such sensory within-ness (Bull, Gilroy et al. 2006 p. 6, Coupland 2015 p. 2). Although there are limitations to how much I can physically get within such a situation, as this is professional sport, I can look to stand with the players over a period of time to understand how the expression of leadership is sensed locally.

4.4.2. Thickness as ‘depth’

Depth relates to feeling, not simply as in touch, but how emotive aspects of thick research should be embraced not ignored (Shotter 2011 p. 28). A ‘thick’ sensuousness therefore strives for such depth in our relation with others as we collectively confront any organisational uncertainty. To be ‘in deep’ acknowledges that the researcher brings themselves fully, as a person not simply a scholar, into the encounter with those that surround them (Mearns and Cooper 2005 p. 9). Such relationality does not try to strip us of our bodies and their personal story, but acknowledges this story as the *very* means by which we make connections with others rather than dismissing it

as some form of unwanted bias (Cooper 2005 p. 1699). In striving to get within through an awakened notion of sensuousness, my ambition is to allow leadership to 'move' me appropriately (Leder 1990 p. 3). Such movement overlaps both our physical and emotive dispositions. Without an openness to others and the expression of leadership, we will not allow ourselves to be 'called' to move in this way (Mazis 2008 p. 11).

Furthermore, when we talk of the 'sens' of objects and people therefore, it is not simply how we engage with them on a physical manner, but that it is through such emotional movement that our expressions become meaningful (Merleau-Ponty 1962 p. 259, Cataldi 1993 p. 38). The reification of emotions as some 'labels' with internal quantities, can be understood 'as one of the nonsensical contributions of psychology to a distorted epistemology' (Bateson 1972 [1987] p. 150). Rather than feelings and emotions then as internal, and belonging to a private entity, they are more 'dispositional' in nature, '*patterns of relationship* between self and others, and between self and world' (Burkitt 2014 p. 2). We can see then that 'depth' as is an overlap of the material 'grip' of materiality and of emotional resonance. Depth is thus a homonym, and if we refer to being in 'deep' in a research setting it is an acknowledgement that it will be a highly physical *and* emotional enterprise (Küpers 2015 p. 119).

4.4.3. Thickness as 'dust'

Weick (2011 p. 145) suggests that the making of sense 'may stir up dust, or remove it'. He quotes Berkeley (2003 p. 405) who states 'we have first raised a dust, and then we complain that we can't see'. Berkeley continues by stating, 'I'm inclined to think that most, if not all, of the difficulties that have in the past puzzled and deceived philosophers and blocked the way to knowledge are entirely of our own making'. However, Weick (2011 p. 150) points out that dust can 'reveal' as well as 'conceal', with 'dust' a metaphor for our own relation with the world around us. Such 'dust' can potentially blind us, but it is also the very conduit through which we socially access phenomena. Weick (2011 p. 145) sums up his powdery thoughts by reflecting: 'suppose dust turns out to be all there is' and maybe we should 'strive to stir up less dust, move to locations that are less dusty' (2011 p. 145). Weick suggests therefore that we need to be more conscious of our own biases and idiosyncratic positions, our own 'dust' that we lay over our perspective, and should strive to maintain a distinction between ourselves and our setting.

The distinction between our own 'dust' however, and what is occurring in the context, is not always rationally accessible. There are always 'strings attached' with research, for truth does not 'announce itself' to us as we enter an organisation (Shotter 2004 p. 447, 452). Specifically, what we deem is our 'own', and what is the practitioners, can be hard to grasp. Furthermore, 'dust' might be all we have for as Gibson (1986 p. 127) reflects, 'to perceive the

world is to co-perceive oneself. The awareness of the world and one's complementary relations to the world are not separable'. I certainly agree with Weick (2011 p. 151) when he states we need to 'ward off blind perceptions, and redirect perceptions to ward off empty conceptions', but I think he makes a separation between perceiving and conceiving i.e. orientation and thinking. Through a Merleau-Pontian perspective however thinking *is* such perceptual orientation.

The sensual anthropologists view 'dust' differently as part of a 'reflexive anthropology of the senses'. Dust again here is indeed the 'surface residue of the researcher's own acculturation', which can 'obscure depth' (Seremetakis 1994 p. 38). However, rather than noting the dust and leaving it to settle, there is an argument for a 'dusting off' process. This process does not mean to focus on the 'dust' solely (i.e. navel gazing) at the expense of the object it conceals (Stoller 1997 p. 87). Seremetakis (1994 p. 37), instead, calls this 'dusting off' process 'reflexive commensality' referring to 'the exchange of sensory memories and emotions, and of substances and objects incarnating remembrance and feeling'. Phenomena then, like leadership, are 'transformed' through our relational exchanges as we bring 'remembrance' into the organisation with us. Awareness of our 'dust' brings a level of 'consciousness' to the implications of our bodies in fieldwork (Stoller 1997 p. 87). The idea of commensality also comes close to Cunliffe's (2003 p. 997) definition of 'radical reflexivity'. She states such reflectivity examines the way in which 'researcher and participant focus on how a shared sense of

the situation unfolds in the responsive, interactive moments of the research conversation'. This type of reflexivity is not about 'action research', which can be as systematic and unreflective as other forms of inquiry, but rather illustrates that being 'co-operative' is an epistemological stance in which 'good' research is always '*with* people rather than *on* people' (Reason 1999 p. 208). Our 'dust' then cannot be bracketed nor split away from how we perceive leadership. Instead it is by working *through* the 'dust' that we allow things to reveal themselves, instead of ignoring or privileging our idiographic position.

4.5. A carnal methodology

Within section 2.3.2. I illustrated how the promise of leadership-as-practice (LAP) was hampered by a methodological 'lag', with researchers positioning themselves differently between research 'on' and 'in' practice. I suggested to ensure LAP was robust methodologically as well as practically, looking again at the body may prove fruitful. For a phenomenon is brought to 'life' by the way our body is positioned in the research (Shotter 2010b p. 27). In chapter 3, however, it was highlighted that defining what is a 'body' is problematic. Depending on the ontological perspective, the body can be 'present' as an object within research, but remain 'absent' as a visceral, lived, engaged form (Casey 2000 p. 64). In essence, bodies become represented as 'animated corpses' or 'meat machines'. This ontological view of the body can lead to a decoporealised form of analysis, privileging certain forms of knowledge

around leadership over others, as illustrated in Table 2, Section 3.4.2. (Hassard, Holiday et al. 2000 p. 6).

In detailing Merleau-Ponty's corporeal framework, this chapter has sought to meet the second objective of the thesis. For his non-bounded ontology of flesh, and an epistemological position that focuses on sensual expression, is congruent with the phenomenological approach laid out in Table 1, section 2.3, which views practice as mutually constituted, anti dualistic and highly situated (Carman 2008, Dreyfus 2014). For such expression does not occur inside a bounded body, but involves our bodies drawing on the surrounding materiality in order to articulate a 'lived meaning' (Landes 2013b p. 7). Expression is irreducible therefore to a single gesture, but requires its Gestalt 'wholeness' to be brought to life. Within research however, any phenomenon is difficult to encapsulate in its whole form through abstraction. Expression does enable us, however, to go beyond speech in order to represent the everyday. Importantly, it opens up a methodological space to be more diverse in how we depict leadership (Mazis 2016 p. 25). Furthermore, as our bodies are implicated in the ongoing construction of expression, the researcher does not 'stand outside', but is the very fleshy, visceral, conduit by which we grasp leadership (Stoller 1989).

The acknowledgement of our bodies as the zero point, or 'organ' for our research investigations may seem obvious phenomenologically, but it is taken for granted when we come to explore leadership within the ongoing

constitution of practice (Sheets-Johnstone 2011 p. 115). In corporeally reawakening the researcher both ontologically and epistemologically, it opens the door for a carnal methodological approach that allows us to communally sense, along *with* others, the feeling of leadership *through* our ‘half open’ bodies (Cataldi 1993 p. 66, Shotter 2006, Hockey and Allen-Collinson 2007 p. 116). Through a ‘thicker’ understanding of practice we begin to understand the manner in which our own bodies may impact on how we grasp leadership. I have not yet articulated, however, how to deploy the required ‘tools’ to carry out such a carnal approach. For although Merleau-Ponty re-frames the body appropriately, further work is required to fulfil the second objective of the thesis (see 1.2.2.) in relation to developing a sensual empirical perspective. In advance of detailing what was done in relation to methods used and the depictions of Hibernia, there is a need therefore, as sensory anthropologists suggest, to review ethnography from a sensual perspective (Stoller 2004, Pink 2015). A failure to make such amendments may mean we fall into the trap of regurgitating realist assumptions in deploying such a methodology (Stoller 1989).

4.6. Conclusion

This chapter has looked to detail the impact of a Merleau-Pontian ontology on grasping leadership in its felt form. It lays a renewed framework by repositioning the body as unbounded, always participating in the expression of locally formed social phenomena. The ambition is to take the respective ontological position and re-view how we can understand sense within an

empirical endeavour. Drawing on organisational, sociological but in particular, anthropological literature, it details how we can 're-awaken' the scholars body on a perceptual, moral and practical level. There is a desire to develop a carnal approach, in which we articulate leadership *from* our bodies within ongoing practice. Specifically to be in the 'thick' of practice draws attention to how we are within a particular social community, strive for deep affective engagement, and how the dust of our own physical acculturation plays out on the expression of leadership. I finish by suggesting Merleau-Ponty provides our ontological and epistemological framework, but further work is required to embrace ethnography from a sensual approach.

Chapter 5: Methodology - From embodied realism to an emplaced, sensory, ethnography

5.0. Chapter introduction

This chapter looks to illustrate the movement of ethnography from a realist paradigm to one that embraces the fleshy, sensorial, framework of the last chapter. To illustrate this movement I begin with a brief overview of ethnography generally, and organisational ethnography specifically. From here I use Van Maanen's (2011a p. xv) four markers to reframe ethnography as a sensory endeavour. First 'the Observed' illustrates the divergence from seeking to find the 'thing' of leadership to exploring a social phenomenon constructed through ongoing relations. This divergence details how ethical engagement is reformed. Second, 'the Observer' illustrates the movement from a distant, detached, researcher to a 'sensory apprentice' who develops shared meanings alongside others. This detailing has implications for how we view reflexivity. Third, 'the Tale' looks to reform ethnography from a generalisable 'truth' to a reconstructed account via the emplaced body of the researcher. Such a review has implications for how we use interviews. Finally, 'the Audience', looks to engage the researcher at a visceral, emotional, level, rather than provide a representation that leaves us 'cold'. This engagement further informs how we conduct our analysis. I finish the chapter with an overview of how a sensual approach informs a carnal methodology within leadership-as-practice (LAP).

5.1. Corporealised rationale: organ-ised sensory ethnography

Within LAP there is a concerted effort that suggests ethnography is the methodology of choice to grasp leadership within the flow of practice (Crevani, Lindgren et al. 2010 p. 82, Raelin 2016a p. 8, Crevani 2018 p. 92). It argues that ethnography can 'capture the dialectical relationship between social structure and human agency' (Raelin 2007 p. 512), allowing us to experience the 'everyday doings' rather than simply the 'talk' about such doings (Rasche and Chia 2009 p. 726). Certainly, if we accept that organisations are 'a system of collective action' we cannot hope to grasp leadership if we stand outside everyday, mundane, enactment (Czarniawska 2012 p. 123). In addition, considering much of the research on organisations is often secondary in nature, limited to structured interviews, questionnaires, surveys and so forth, ethnography seems an appropriate alternative (Bryman 2011). However, the stumbling block with this suggestion is that there are many ways to both conceive, and engage in the 'doing' of, ethnography. Such 'doings' are informed by an underpinning philosophy which can vary as widely as those deployed in organisation studies (Ingold 2011 p. 225).

I pointed out in section 4.3.1. that ethnographic realism (ER) was still the most utilised approach in organisation studies as an extension of a realist ontology (Bate 1997, Neyland 2008 p. 7, Van Maanen 2011a p. 45). Such realism looks to 'allude to a whole by means of parts', suggestive of a

generalised 'truth' beyond a particular time and place (Marcus and Cushman 1982 p. 29). Furthermore, the researcher's voice is often only included to signal 'being there' rather than looking to detail how they were personally affected by the research site, or how their body informed its relations (Sparkes 2009 p. 32). This idea of the absent researcher body returns us to the notion of embodiment, highlighted in section 3.2.2., which philosophically positions *our* body as something that can be 'cut' away from the social phenomenon we wish to explore (Sheets-Johnstone 2015). Van Maanen (2011 p. 49) refers to such decorporealised accounts as 'realist tales', authored in a 'dispassionate, third person, voice' thus jeopardising the 'evocative' possibility of the tale. In this chapter I will detail this realist, embodied, perspective, comparing it with a sensory informed, emplaced, ethnography. The latter approach acknowledges the researcher's whole body as part of the site, and construction, of a phenomenon (Pink 2011a). Specifically I will illustrate how such realist assumptions play out in 'doing' ethnography and suggest alternatives through a fleshy, sensuous, perspective. Such movement from realist to sensory ethnography thus provides an *opportunity* to 're-conceive' the way we conduct research *in* practice (Balogun, Huff et al. 2003 p. 198) .

5.1.1. Defining ethnography

Van Maanen (2011a p. 1) posits that ethnography is 'a written representation of a culture (or selected aspects of a culture)', and only exists once it is in this written form. Etymologically, this seems reasonable considering the word

can be broken down to denote the practice of writing (graphy) about a people or specific culture (ethno) (Bryman and Bell 2011 p. 425). Watson (2011 p. 205) adds, therefore, that, 'ethnography is the product not the method of production'. It is not a 'technique' or research 'tool' in itself which delivers an output, but the final written output that sits 'in our hands'. Ingold (2011 p. 232) suggests that:

'nothing has been more damaging to ethnography than its representation under the guise of the "ethnographic method". For ethnography has its methods, but is not in itself *a single* method.'

Also, we must be careful not to suggest anthropology is ethnography, the former being a discipline. Anthropology is not about fieldwork specifically, for 'what truly distinguishes anthropology...is that it is not a study *of* at all, but a study *with*' (Ingold 2011 p. 228). So ethnography is neither singular method nor discipline and for this reason I have separated out this *methodology* chapter from the methods in chapter 6. Ethnography is therefore closer to a methodology, a rationale for the research approach, focusing on 'participation in particular groupings' (Neyland 2008 p. 1). However, it is a methodology that goes beyond the 'field', or the analysis even, to the 'representation of culture' (Van Maanen 2011b p. 219), a 'practice of verbal description', which provides a detailed account of *how* 'the people of some place and time perceive the world and act in it' (Ingold 2011 p. 233). Ethnography therefore is an expansive methodology, depending on particular ontological

assumptions, potentially starting from ethics formulation to the final full stop on the written account.

5.1.2. A return to organisational ethnography

Ethnography is not new to organisation studies. This suggestion is evident in classic texts like: 'The Boys in White' (Becker, Geer et al. 1961) which reported the educational experiences of those at a medical school; 'On the Shop Floor' (Lupton 1963) which explored working groups in postwar factories in a more 'naturalistic' manner than the then comparable, experimental, 'Hawthorne Studies'; and the 'Banana Time' study which documented how workers grappled with the 'beast' of monotonous toil by segmenting their work day (Roy 1958 p. 158). Even with such classic texts available however, organisation studies indulge in a form of 'disciplinary amnesia' that inadvertently seeks an 'erasure' of this ethnographic past (Yanow 2009 p. 191). Traditionally in pre-1970 work based studies, whether methodologically called ethnography or not, research involved some form of fieldwork or immersion. Technology and the advance of large scale quantitative surveys may have impeded this tendency however, and although there is a recent return to qualitative approaches, interviews are still preferred. In effect, researchers are more than ever at a 'distance' from the changing nature of organisational work (Barley and Kunda 2001 p. 81).

Some seminal organisational texts however are ethnographic in approach but hesitant to use that term. For example, Mintzberg's (1973) original thesis

for the 'The Nature of Managerial Work' was much closer to ethnography in approach. Specifically he used a form of 'structured observation' which he suggested was a 'methodology which couples the flexibility of open-ended observation with the discipline of seeking certain forms of structured data' to ensure the 'researcher observes the manager as he performs his work' (Mintzberg 1970 pp. 89-90). Similarly, Wolcott's (1973[2003]) research on understanding the work of a school principal illustrated the use of 'shadowing' to comprehend daily endeavours. Indeed, as Wolcott amusingly remarks the term 'shadow' 'stuck around' referring to both its continued usage in the literature and also the process itself of sticking with the person throughout the fieldwork (Wolcott 2014 p. 2). Perhaps it's Kunda's (2006) work, however, which suggests 'ethnography' as an unsayable term. Originally published in 1992, the research focused on an intentional attempt by management to construct an 'organisational culture' in a high tech company, but made no mention of ethnography. Kunda (2006 p. 257) reflects in subsequent published versions, through a 'confessional of sorts', that the research was indeed ethnographic with the researcher 'more or less as a fly on the wall in the case of my sojourn in the field' (Kunda 2006 p. 257).

Organisational ethnography has a richer history therefore than its suggested 'discovery' in the 1990s by respective business scholars (Czarniawska 2012 p. 119). Since then however a number of overt ethnographies in organisation studies have emerged including: Kondo's (1990) work in a Japanese factory; Watson's (1994) work on management at a telecoms company; Delbridge's

(1998) examination of manufacturing and lean production techniques; and Ho's (2009) Wall Street study on how boom and bust is constructed (Gilmore and Kenny 2015 p. 56). Either way, ethnography's history in organisation studies is relatively extensive, but only recently embraced as an overt methodology of choice. It is thus worth reaffirming therefore what ethnography can provide such studies.

5.1.3. The benefits of ethnography

Ethnography can bring numerous benefits to organisation studies, dependent of course on the underlying ontological assumptions. I would like therefore to list ethnography's contribution to organisation studies based around confessional 'tales' which includes the researcher, albeit from an autobiographical level rather than through a constitutive and sensorial voice, and impressionist 'tales' which focuses on detailing the unfolding drama (Sparkes 2009 p. 33, Van Maanen 2011a p. 41). Both these 'tales' provide a good ethnographic springboard to discuss a sensory endeavour (Pink 2011b). Overall, four contributions are highlighted.

Initially, ethnography may allow us to get closer to what 'actually happens' or 'how things work' within organisations by been around on a regular basis (Watson 2011 p. 204). This understanding is not to say, generally, that we have more of a privileged position than others in the organisation. Instead, it develops a level of 'circumspect care' to the 'mess' that confronts practitioners, and academic humility in terms of challenging the limits and

possibilities our discipline offers to living, breathing, organisations (Raelin 2006 p. 165, Alvesson and Spicer 2012 p. 377). Furthermore, getting close to such 'action' allows us to review what is an 'organisation', questioning whether we can petrify these constantly evolving forms (Brannan, Pearson et al. 2007 p. 396). In avoiding such petrification, we can examine our semantics in terms of defining 'work', 'jobs' and 'employment', in practice, within the movements of these organisations (Barley and Kunda 2001 p. 83). Ethnography has the potential therefore to be a *dynamic* rather than a static methodology.

Second, Van Maanen (1979 p. 539) argues that those of us conducting organisation based research 'tend to theorize well in advance of our facts' with thus the 'facts that emerge from our studies are twisted to fit a given theory'. Ethnography's hesitancy to theorise before engaging the 'action' is important when working through a 'practice' perspective with inherent dynamic undertones (Schatzki 2005, Watson 2011 p. 205). Instead of such premature theorising, ethnographic knowledge begins with 'clueless', 'child like' 'blind wandering' (Van Maanen 2011b p. 220). Van Maanen (2011b p. 222) continues by stating that if we 'allow our questions to determine our theories' we may end up with 'shameless eclecticism', in which 'various theorists' are deployed as explanatory foils. There is a rebuttal here of twisting practice to 'fit' in with our theories, desensitising our bodies to the potentiality of what is occurring around us in fieldwork.

Third, ethnographies illuminate that knowledge development is not an individual endeavour or 'lone quest', but is a co-constructed process (Gilmore and Kenny 2015 p. 59). If we suggest a phenomenon being studied is shared in practice, then our theories, and thus methodology, must represent this communal affair. There is, however, 'no one set of rules to follow' about how such a communal construction takes place, but we can ascertain that the 'hyphen' becomes well worked in terms of the boundary between 'researcher-respondent relationships' (Bradbury and Lichtenstein 2000, Ellis 2007 p. 23, Cunliffe and Karunanayake 2013 p. 366). Social phenomena are therefore not 'owned' by any one in particular, but suggested as a political and ethical co-production occurring into the final write up (Orr and Bennett 2012 p. 439).

Finally, and of the most relevance to my work here, there is the potential for a 'multisensory, experiential, ethnography' that 'touches' us both emotionally and physically (Nakamura 2013 p. 134). The chiasmatic process of bodies as sensed and sensing potentially enables the depiction of phenomena to connect with the reader's personal understandings. This depiction is not simply a stylistic indulgence, but as Brannan and colleagues (2007 p. 396) suggest, the 'expansion of normative cultural control techniques in many workplaces necessitates research into the subjective, sensuous and corporeal domains of the organization'. A sensuous approach illustrates therefore what is being done to, and through, bodies in their work. This 'doing' is not simply through hierarchical forms of management, but how we

can degrade our own 'flesh' by appropriating certain bodily norms in organisations (Rose 1999 p. 2, Küpers 2015 p. 214). Ethnography can therefore illuminate the sensual and corporeal implications of engaging in the daily practice of work.

In the following sections I will expand on this final benefit further. The aim is to demonstrate how a fleshy, sensuous, approach to the body reforms ethnography in terms of understanding research *in practice*. Howes (2005 p. 7) argues that ethnography needs to move beyond embodiment, with its schism between inside and outside, towards 'the emergent paradigm of emplacement' which embraces 'the sensuous interrelationship of body-mind-environment'. Emplacement can be summed up 'as we know as we go, not before we go' (Ingold 2000 p. 230). In that way, knowledge is not contained inside us, but draws on other bodies and materials within the ethnographic endeavour to sense what is occurring. Through this 'carnal entanglement' bodies and places are mutually 'moulded' together (Wacquant 2005a p. 466). Emplacement therefore acknowledges 'bodies as parts of places', something which holds particular significance for the structured, performative, nature of sport (Pink 2011 p. 347).

In order to show the movement from an ethnographic realist position of embodiment to a sensory ethnography of emplacement, I utilise Van Maanen's (2011a p. xv) suggestion that any ethnography can be reviewed via four markers. First, 'The Observed' aims to make explicit the connection

between the abstraction that is 'culture' (or in this case leadership) and the behaviour the researcher engages with. Second, 'The Observer' refers to the experiences of the fieldworker. The fleshy ontology I espouse throughout this thesis is of course apprehensive of the term 'observer', for it privileges the eyes, but it facilitates a starting point for discussion (Dreyfus 1991). Third, 'The Tale' refers to the representation style that is selected to join the observer and the observed. Finally, 'The Audience' looks to acknowledge the role of the reader in how the tale is constructed. In illustrating a sensory, emplaced, ethnography, I draw heavily on Wacquant's work (e.g. 1995, 1998, 2004), who has completed the most extensive bodily ethnography focusing on boxing, and Pink (e.g. 2012, 2013, 2015), who has looked to develop 'sensory ethnography' as a more detailed ethnographic approach. Throughout all four markers I illustrate how traditional realist understandings of ethics, reflexivity, method and analysis are incarnated through an emplaced, sensory, view of ethnography.

5.2. The Observed

Van Maanen (2011a p. 34) suggests that the 'sacred power of observation alone has faded'. Certainly benefits are derived from thorough, observational, descriptions, but such description cannot be held up as an absolute truth, even if it resonates with a particular reader (Denzin and Lincoln 2000). As mentioned in section 2.2.6. an omnipotent god's eye position is impossible, with our 'view' onto the 'action' informed as much by the places we 'hang out' during fieldwork, as well as the people involved (Law 1994). To use Merleau-

Ponty's (1968) terminology, an emplaced perspective moves us away from the 'observed', to what is deemed 'sensible', an understanding of a phenomenon as it fits into the setting. Searching for any 'thing-ness' of leadership, whether through agents, actions or materials therefore may leave us unfulfilled (Uhl-Bien 2006). It is for this reason that Ladkin (2010 p. 34) warns 'the closer you get to it the more quickly it (leadership) disappears'. We cannot simply then go into the organisation and overlay our own deductive theories on what is occurring for this approach is little more than 'armchair' scholarship, a failure to leave our theoretical 'comfort' behind on entering the field (Sera-Shriar 2014 p. 27) For it is only through our 'participation in social and material environments that our sensory practices and indeed identities are lived out' (Pink 2015 p. 63). We can thus only understand knowledge by *perceiving* it not seeing it, which for the emplaced ethnography of Hibernia involves 'transmission of sensory knowledge' by drawing on a 'multiplicity of sources'. Such sources would include my own personal and professional experiences of sport to help conceptualise leadership as it occurs in situ (Wacquant 2005a p. 454, Pink 2015 p. 64).

In order to move from an observed 'truth' to perceiving the sensible, we can embrace a number of useful guidelines around sensory ethnography. Initially, such an ethnography focuses on practitioners' indigenous meanings and concerns. Of course 'immersion is not merging' however and such a focus does not mean devaluing your own perspective (Emerson, Fretz et al. 2011). In my research here, such 'meanings' entail 'taking seriously' what the rugby

players have to say about leadership, the virtues it holds for them, and its impact on their sense of professional self. It goes further though to understand leadership from the 'inside looking out', by not simply talking 'with' the players, but sitting with them, eating with them, or standing with them through emotional challenges (Wacquant 1995 p. 490, Pink 2015 p. 111).

Second, the collection of contemporary field-notes 'as you go', is not to confirm 'theories' but rather acknowledge 'anomalies' or 'strangeness' that strikes you (Emerson, Fretz et al. 2011 p. 24). In his ethnography of a laboratory, Law (1994 p. 83) amusingly points out that he was constantly asked by organisational members, 'so what have you discovered then?'. This question perturbed him as he was not some form of archaeologist 'digging' for buried 'facts' that were somehow invisible to others (Latour and Woolgar 1979). I suggest therefore that it is unlikely I will 'find' anything 'new' about leadership that has escaped Hibernia's players, rather the process focuses on detailing evocative interactions to compress and portray what is occurring (Stoller 2004 p. 832, Ingold 2011 p. 13).

Finally, Emerson et al. (2011 p. 48) suggest that the notes taken should detail daily interactions. These details prize the 'mundanity' of organisational activity, but also go beyond a 'fleeting encounter' to illustrate the 'extended chain of routine interpersonal exchanges' (Wacquant 1995 p. 494). Furthermore, such notes acknowledge that the development of a 'fact' within

an organisation is a constructive process by all those involved in organisational practice, including the researcher (Van Maanen 2011a). In addition, such field-notes chart the researcher's 'series of decisions' to co-produce what is 'found', with such decisions continually shaping the understanding of a phenomenon right up to when the ethnography is complete (Law 1994 p. 50). Overall, perceiving the sensible starts with long term, detailed, field-notes that chart both the relations as well as the activities of the researcher. Overall, these sensory guidelines suggest: developing field notes that reflect indigenous meaning; focusing on what 'strikes' us rather than on 'validating' theories; and detailing ongoing interactional activity. In the next section I will illustrate the manner in which a sensuous, corporeal, perspective impacts on how ethics are conceived, particularly in relation to informed consent and anonymity.

5.2.1. Ethical Application

I. INFORMED CONSENT

Informed consent was originally designed for biomedical and experimental research, in which a physical procedure was done to a person's body and thus consent was needed. So it is an imported term in relation to ethnographic studies of organisations. However, within such studies consent can become a 'meaningless ritual' for three reasons (Thorne 1980 p. 285). Initially, 'consent' is problematic as those who sign such forms and receive the explanation (i.e. gatekeepers) may not, or may only partially be, the ones the ethnographer engages with on a daily basis (Hammersley and Atkinson

2007). Furthermore, there may be active distrust, or hierarchical pressure, between such gatekeepers and the workforce with which you look to engage (Thorne 1980 p. 292, Wacquant 2002 p. 180). Second, even if we could sort the consent aspect, it may be difficult to discern if those in the organisation are accurately informed. Within the uncertain 'muddle' of everyday organising, it is hard to predict the implications from such involvement, with any detailing on risks and benefits appearing somewhat 'shallow' (Czarniawska 1997, Neyland 2008 p. 144). Finally, where professional roles end, and personal relations begin, can become blurred. Within any ethnography, the researcher may have multiple identities, roles and relationships, and it may be research's 'original sin' to exploit others who view you as a friend in order to enhance the 'juiciness' of what's contained in field notes (Thorne 1980 p. 291). Exploitation, even inadvertently, is hard to avoid however and what is 'deemed' as private can be uncertain. Utilising interpersonal distance may be one response, but this removes the potential empathetic, 'fraternal', relations that can 'transform' both researcher and practitioner (Wacquant 2005a p. 450). Overall, we can see the problems of applying informed consent like some preventative ointment that will 'cure' all ethical ills.

Embracing an emplaced understanding of informed consent is summed up in Wax's (1980 p. 282) sentiment that, 'consent is not contractual but developmental; it is a process, not a single event'. A starting position therefore is acknowledging that consent is a lengthy, ongoing, negotiated

endeavour. Ethnographers therefore need to be continually 'on their toes' in acknowledging such a processual view of consent. Throughout the fieldwork, it is important to raise such ethical issues by finding ways to constantly communicate with those involved. This 'renewal of consent' (Thorne 1980 p. 290) reminds practitioners of what you are doing, why, and also provide a space for them to provide specific feedback. Solutions may also require the researcher imposing a form of self-exclusion from events to protect others, or at least self-limitation around what goes into a notebook at the end of the day (Wax 1980 p. 278). As Thorne (1980, p. 290) suggests, 'fieldworkers tend to assume that if their presence is tolerated, if they aren't told to leave, consent has been granted'. Informed consent therefore moves from a singular, 'tick box', event to reflection-in-action, a tacit acknowledgement of consent's constant movement through time and place (Schön 1991).

II. ANONYMITY

Like informed consent, anonymity in its ethnographic, realist, state contains a number of issues. Initially, the distinctiveness of a particular organisation (location, industry, workplace systems etc) may be hard to conceal, or likewise a particular individual within the context (Emerson, Fretz et al. 2011 p. 217). Second, it also may be appropriate for anonymity to occur in advance of any published or accessible work. For example, field notes may need to be anonymised as an additional level of protection for those involved. Such detail highlights again the ongoing nature of ethical fieldwork particularly if you are dealing with groups who may already be in the public

domain (i.e. politicians, sports personalities, police officials etc.) (Van Maanen 1973 p. 409, Lok and De Rond 2013, Crewe 2017). Third, it is also worth noting that there may be competing voices in relation to anonymity (Thorne 1980 p. 293). Some within the context may feel they are subjugated, discriminated, or ignored and may use the researcher as a way of getting their voices heard by a wider audience. Others may say 'no' to using their real name as a response to the fear of reprisal from saying, 'yes'. Either way such 'games' may be dangerous for the naive researcher to be embroiled in, potentially unaware of who is doing the subjugating and who is subjugated (Wax 1980p. 279, Gilmore and Kenny 2015 p. 56).

An emplaced understanding of anonymity suggests such concerns require extension not ignorance. Some organisations fear that researchers are there to conduct some form of critical 'exposé' on their activities (Thorne 1980 p. 286). Following academic guidelines therefore may need to be tailored to the 'moralities' of a specific cultural context and its participants (Pink 2015 p. 68). Pink continues by suggesting that ethical processes like anonymity be conducted in a collaborative manner to fulfil moral relations with others. Such collaboration however is not an endorsement of the organisation and thus 'preclude final assessment' of their activities (Wax 1980 p. 278). Academic anonymity however should form the starting point *rather* than the maximum 'masking' of those involved, with situational augmentation required.

As we become further immersed in the ethnographic process, we begin to see that anonymity, like informed consent, is a *negotiated* process rather than 'administered'. For example, in Wacquant's boxing study, he openly tells of the Woodlawn Boys Club gym, its characters and their history without any masking. Yet, his representation of the gym 'is way beyond seduction' (Wacquant 2004 p. 4) and through a form of Hemingway-like tradition, 'paid his dues' in boxing to the degree he felt he could speak *for* the other fighters (Wacquant 1995 p. 493). His *passion* and love for the boxing club resonates from the page and thus we know that any representation of the boxers will probably be a slightly romantic, idealised one, particularly when done retrospectively (Wacquant 2005a p. 472). Such romanticism is not a criticism, rather it illustrates fully what it is like to 'feel' part of that passion. This romanticism bleeds over into issues of anonymity as it is safe to say Wacquant would also represent and protect his pugilistic brethren in a sympathetic manner even if he did not anonymise them directly. Anonymity therefore can be conducted to protect those involved but we must be cognisant that, depending on the context, others may feel comfortable with you telling *their* story (Neyland 2008 p. 145). Essentially such an extension of anonymity aims not to simply follow academic structures but connect with others in order for them to articulate their reflections on professional privacy.

5.3. The Observer

'The observer' refers to the researcher sharing 'firsthand the environment, problems, background, language, rituals, and social relations of a more-or-

less bounded and specified group of people' (Van Maanen 2011a p. 3). Such emphasis suggests we get close to practitioners' lived experience, but defining 'closeness' varies considerably (Watson 2011 p. 212, Van Maanen 2011b p. 227). For example, the term 'participant-observer' is deployed to explain such closeness (e.g. Hammersley and Atkinson 2007), but is rendered mute from most relational perspectives as bodies are already, always, participating (Cooper 2005 p. 1704). Another term is 'complete member researcher' (Ellis and Bochner 2000 p. 741), but again the idea of membership is problematic, as it denotes an outcome of participation but not the emplaced process around how this occurs. Specifically, it may be worth examining further the suggestion of researchers as either 'insiders' or 'outsiders' in relation to ethnography (Cunliffe and Karunanayake 2013). First, the idea of being 'outside' is not necessarily a bad thing. For example, in his essay, 'A Day's Work', Truman Capote (1986) follows his maid Mary Sanchez around for the day. Although, throughout, they disagree continually, it is their different positions which fosters understanding and connection between the pair. It is not therefore whether we are on the 'inside' or 'outside' but rather how researchers' 'wield' the position they find themselves in (Czarniawska 1997).

Second, the idea of being 'inside' also may be a fallacy. Those involved may have no interest in the research, viewing the researcher as nothing more than a 'harmless idiot' (Barley 1987 p. 56) at best or a 'management stooge' (Law 1994 p. 43) at worst. Similarly, initial enthusiasm for a research

project can dim quickly under the pressures of daily work (Wacquant 2005a p. 449). For the organisation may not value our research as other scholars do. Furthermore, we cannot represent a 'native's point of view' anyway for there is no singular, unified, 'view' from the 'inside', and even if there was it would be decidedly difficult for this position to be 'discursively explicated' (Wacquant 1995 p. 491). There is no homogenous group of 'common denominator people' therefore for which an ethnographer can report on (Marcus and Cushman 1982 p. 32)

Third, we should also reflect on whether those working in the organisation consider themselves 'insiders' or 'outsiders'. Czarniawska (1997) suggests that researchers may 'nurse the illusion of sharing a common culture...but there is always a basic sense of alienation'. However, I am not sure if such a feeling of estrangement is limited to researchers but something everyone can feel in a workplace. Law (1994) wonders therefore if the position of 'outsider' actually reflects our own anxieties around 'entering the field'. We may never know, like any organisation employee, if we are ever fully accepted by those around us during our fieldwork (Kempster and Stewart 2010 p. 216). Overall the idea of being 'inside' or 'outside' is fraught with complexities that call the terms into question.

The move to emplacement, in contrast, provides a pathway for understanding the ethnographer as a 'sensory apprentice' (Pink 2015 p. 103). Such an apprenticeship is an 'education of attention' which involves not

simply participation but also engagement in a shared sense of what is occurring (Ingold 2000 p. 37, Pink 2015 p. 105). There are a number of elements to point out around this apprenticeship. First, 'shared' here does not mean 'sameness' (Pink 2015 p. 112). It does not scrub out individual experience of what is occurring but illustrates that expression, as an open concept, can only be partially grasped individually. Neither does 'shared' suggest a deterministic perspective that we should engage in the *same* actions as those involved in the organisation, but instead suggests we focus on *being* with them as they go about their daily work. Such an apprenticeship looks to form an 'empathetic engagement' therefore with the activities and places deemed important to people in the research. Such engagement is the 'production of meaning *in participation with them* through a shared activity in a shared place' (Pink 2011b p. 271). There are also practical reasons for not doing the same activities. For example, professional rugby is of such skill, physical robustness, and commercial worth that it would not be appropriate for any researcher, including myself, to even train with the players.

Second, even though engaging in activities may be limited, there still should be a 'total "surrender" to the exigencies of the field' (Wacquant 2004 p. 11). Wacquant calls such surrendering, or 'resocialization', 'sensuous intoxication', in which we look to 'immerse ourselves as deeply into the cosmos under examination' (Wacquant 2005a p. 466, Wacquant 2005b p. 443). He suggests we can 'intoxicate' ourselves in a variety of ways. For example, we need to 'pay our dues', or 'learn the ropes' (Watson 2011 p.

208) which involves subjecting oneself to the daily schedule, as much as practically possible anyway, and thus 'sensory rhythms' of those involved (Wacquant 2005a p. 448, Pink 2015 p. 89). In this instance we may not be able to participate in the work of professional athletes, but we can strive to be *invested* in their ongoing activities. In doing so, like others involved, we too can become taken for granted in the landscape, or 'part and parcel' of what is occurring, enabling us to get closer to organisation's 'mundane' activities (Wacquant 2005b p. 443).

Third, such apprenticeship is never a 'warrant' to provide a final, definitive, position on a phenomenon in practice but rather acts as a 'methodological springboard'. For example, within the current research, this springboard is not looking to define leadership but to create a 'tasteful ethnography' around the topic by disclosing the 'distinctive sensory semiosis' of the phenomenon in professional rugby (Stoller 1989, Wacquant 2005a p. 467). It is a springboard then to translate how leadership is comprehended viscerally, through my 'flesh and blood' as a researcher into a conceptual language that is evocative for others. This translation is not always a planned process through which a particular research question is pursued narrowly, but a more inquisitive, exploratory activity. Overall, an increased sensitivity directs attention back to the researcher, thus questioning how reflexivity is reformed from being a distant observer to an emplaced 'apprentice'.

5.3.1. Reflexivity

In section 4.4.3. I remarked how reflexivity becomes a form of commensality through a sensory perspective and I would like to pick up on this further. This form of sensual exchange acknowledges that reflexivity is not some internal mechanism but is born out of the 'spiral dance that constitutes both the research and the researcher' (Frost and Stablein 1992 p. 270). From a sensory perspective reflexivity is not introspection therefore, which 'gives us almost nothing', for it creates an artificial severance between 'thinking' and 'doing' (Merleau-Ponty 2007 p. 57, Pink 2015 p. 108). We can detail emplaced reflexivity in three ways.

First, a setting's ecology informs how we come to reflect on everyday occurrences, thus providing an avenue for transparency on the construction of knowledge (Pink 2011a p. 351, 2013 p. 264). This appreciation does not mean we should stay on longer in the field however to tie up 'loose ends' or foster a deeper understanding, something which Van Maanen (1979 p. 548) calls an 'ethnographic illusion'. For only the ethnography begins and ends, not the organisation's ongoing activity (Lincoln and Guba 2000). By staying longer we may simply become blasé to the 'mess' we are surrounded by, which is succinctly articulated by Czarniawska (2012 p. 133) when she says, 'there is no "essence" that I could have revealed, given time'. Instead, a sensory apprenticeship looks to how we become 'moulded' by the site in question, shaping not just *what* we see but *how* we see things (Whittington 2006).

Second, such emplaced reflexivity looks to counter the trend of organisational 'alexithymia', which refers to the inability of researchers to deploy appropriate words to describe their *own* feelings. Brannan (2011 p. 323) argues that such 'a diagnosis is rendered strange given the emotional sensitivity of a great deal of organisational research to the emotions of others'. Reflexivity occurs therefore within the *whole* of us, the emotional as well as the rational elements. However, the emotional experience *of the researcher* is still often seen as 'immature' in academia with a rationalistic dominance 'silencing' such experiences (Gilmore and Kenny 2015 p. 57). Some have tried, however, to put emotions at the heart of their research. For example, Brannan's (2011 p. 324) description of an 'emotional encounter' in a UK call centre; Tracey's (2004 p. 520) interlocking aspects around her own sexuality and emotion in two US penal institutions; or Lindemaan's (2010 p. 439) work on quadriplegic rugby athletes overlapping with the emotions of becoming a disabled father. Emotions then are not something to be dismissed but potential new *sensitivities* for comprehension. In addition, we also need to be open to how our own emotions impact ethnographic work for it is 'not always muddy and windy but is certainly less comfortable - physically and psychologically - than our (academic) ivory tower' (Czarniawska 1997 p. 60). Research therefore can create an 'emotional vortex', affectively draining the ethnographer during the research encounter (Wacquant 2005a p. 468, Sergi and Hallin 2011 p. 198).

Third, a sensory approach to reflexivity requires us to be conscious of the 'presence of the ethnographic present' for people's lives 'twist and turn in the flow of local and global history' (Stoller 2005 p. 199). Alongside the ethnography's temporal setting, such 'presence' refers to how the researcher's personal history, or 'baggage', may influence not simply our research decisions, but also the 'brute force realities' of the organisation in terms of its practice and treatment of employees (Ellis and Bochner 2000, Watson 2011 p. 208). This awareness is particularly important to ward off ethnocentrically overlaying our own values onto those in the organisation (Emerson, Fretz et al. 2011 p. 131). Furthermore, emplacement involves not just reflecting on the research site but overtly acknowledging the manner in which our own experiences have shaped how we perceive the world, and thus comprehend the organisation. It is suggested this form of reflexivity, or situated learning, is 'dark matter' as little organisational literature is available on how a researcher's sense of self is re-crafted through the ethnographic encounter (Carroll and Levy 2010 p. 230, Kempster and Stewart 2010 p. 207). It must be pointed out that the examination of such 'matter' is not narcissistic 'navel gazing', but looks to grasp how we inform a social phenomenon's construction (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007, Nicolini 2012). Reflexivity on emplacement therefore encourages 'grounded-ness', not individual mesmerisation, enabling us to understand how our bodies contribute to leadership's expression.

5.4. The Tale

Ethnography is certainly never apolitical as the 'power of one group to represent another is always involved' (Van Maanen 2011 p. 4). It would be incomplete however to simply attest that such representation and political hubris resides solely with the researcher. Those 'gatekeepers' or 'informants' within the organisation who grant access and supply information will also shape the research direction (Crewe 2017 p. 166). Such 'sponsors' can therefore provide barriers, sometimes unwittingly, to limit or expose what is experienced by the researcher in order to fulfil their own organisational narrative (Law 1994). Kondo (1990 p. 250) calls such barriers an 'exclusionary practice', in which the organisation contains forms of 'doing' that can silence some, or add voice to others, in terms of engagement with the ethnographer. Providing a voice to those perhaps deemed marginalised is a highly limited endeavour therefore, and as pointed out earlier in this chapter, we need to ask exactly what 'point of view' is being articulated i.e. the *tale* that is being told (Wacquant 2004). In terms of an emplaced, sensory, ethnography of leadership here, I believe three things are worth illustrating in reference to such a represented 'tale'.

First, a sensory account acknowledges that ethnographies are incomplete 'temporal snapshots' that can never encapsulate the full 'doings' that occur in the organisation at the time of the research (Sparkes 2000 p. 24). Acknowledging this temporality is important so the research does not become 'finalised and deaf' to the plurality of voices on offer during the

ethnography (Shotter 2011 p. 77). Furthermore, even though research projects do end, it is worth acknowledging the relationships involved often continue afterwards ensuring the tale has an 'open ended' feel to it (Wacquant 2002 p. 180). The emotive and visceral attachment that a researcher feels towards, what they deem, 'my organisation', may last long after the research has finished, even if academia overtly deems this connection undesirable (Gilmore and Kenny 2015 p. 62). For the researcher, if they are 'moved' or 'touched' by what they experience, may still feel a part of the organisation. Wacquant (2005a p. 468) sums up such a sentiment by stating how difficult it was to 'resign myself to putting a definitive close to an episode of my life that was vastly more vivacious and rewarding than academe can ever be'. For a sensory ethnography this attachment is not undesirable subjectivity but provides important corporeal 'clues' to the impact a phenomenon, like leadership, has on those who encounter it (Pink 2011b p. 271). It is not then that ethnographies provide everlasting 'truths', but that we can strive to harness the temporal mark it leaves on us as researchers (Van Maanen 2011b p. 227).

Second, the mediatory telling of the tale is reinforced through the sense making process with Law (1992, p. 31) affirming 'writing is work, ordering work'. Any tale therefore needs to be an intelligible recounting of working practice (Van Maanen 2011 p. xiv). Czarniawska (1992) suggests overall that tales can be *from* the field, in a story like way, or *of* the field in which numerous narratives from the field are collected and compared to narratives

of academia. The first is perhaps the hope of a dramatised 'recounting', while the latter is a '(re)construction' of the point of view of, in this case, myself the researcher and the rugby players involved (Wacquant 1995 p. 491). Such reconstruction may involve romanticisation, not of leadership, but for those involved, or the process of their work. Sport specifically is built on romanticism, with the dream, or gamble, of the one 'Big Win' around the corner a powerful motivator (Fry and Bloyce 2017 p. 154). The sensory perspective I advocate here aims to 'de-exoticize' rugby away from the commercialised 'extraordinary', instead to focus on the *ordinary* work of rugby, closer to perhaps artisans with their tacit expression than to 'superhumans' (Wacquant 2005b p. 444, Roderick and Schumacker 2017 p. 167). Any tale therefore is (re)constructed, but the hope within a sensual approach is to convey the relations that people have with their ongoing work.

Finally, Emerson et al. (2011 p. 110) suggest there is an inherent tension in trying to create what is perceived and representing such perception to the reader. From a sensorial perspective the problem is 'representing the non-representational' in terms of evoking the corporeal and experiential feelings of '*being there*' so as to 'communicate and disseminate those aspects of their work that are tacit, unspoken, embodied' (Pink 2015 p. 164). In any narrative we need to 'linearise' proceedings in some way, but there is always a danger of 'disfiguring' in representation, what is 'recursive and spiralling' in practice (Wacquant 2002 p. 182). Wacquant (2005b p. 444) advises us that if we want to recount tales through a sensuous, emplaced, methodology we must look

to convey the 'taste and ache of action'. The vividness of representation therefore is important to enable the reader to 'step into' what is occurring so as to 'think new thoughts or new feelings' (Stoller 2004 p. 832, Wacquant 2005a p. 470). Stoller (1997 p. xv) therefore calls for ethnographic work to be both 'intelligible', as in comprehensible or understandable, *and* 'sensible' in relation to creating an evocative feel for proceedings. Such tales do not rely solely therefore on the rational and de-corporealised, utilising the body as a sensitive space to contribute on both a theoretical and substantive manner to academic knowledge (Pink 2015 p. 164)

5.4.1. Interviews

Ethnography by its nature usually involves a substantial amount of interviewing for a number of reasons. Initially, certain topics are not openly discussed in work like wage levels, or payments received, and thus require individuals discussions (Bell 2001 p. 47). Also you may wish to gain a history of what has occurred in the organisation up to that point with 'retrospective interviewing' deployed to comprehend the localised past (Pettigrew 1990 p. 271). Second, interviews may be used to circumvent some ethical concerns. For example, Ditton's (1977 p. 81) work on 'pilferage' in bakery workers utilised interviews as a way of accessing the topic generally but to protect those involved individually. Finally, interviews can be less intrusive in people's lives, with individuals having to spare perhaps only a couple of hours rather than engage the researcher, and thus the topic, on a more regular basis (Emerson, Fretz et al. 2011 p. 4). Potentially these are some of

the reasons why interviews account for half of the research published in the *Leadership* journal for example (Bryman 2011 P. 78). Even with such a high usage, and application, it can be hard to ascertain *what is* an interview, for they vary widely in terms of structure and deployment (Kvale 2007, Denzin 2017). For example, Milkman's (1997 p. 191) General Motors plant study in New Jersey included interviews that varied between 45 minutes to 4 hours. In contrast, Marshall's (1996) study on 16 women middle managers as they reviewed their career choices contained interviews that came out fairly consistently between 1 and a half and two hours. So although prolific in use, the definitions of interviews is diffuse when we look at their implementation.

Perhaps what informs the definition of interviews most succinctly is the paradigm to which they are located. Certainly for realism, interviewee accounts reflect a 'real social world' out there, and are usually conducted as an individual 'event' in order to extract information about a 'specific topic' (Seale 1998 p. 202). Within immersive settings, interviews usually take on a more dynamic process, with Heyl (2001 p. 367) defining 'ethnographic interviews' as borne out of 'respectful, ongoing relations' to ensure a 'genuine exchange of views'. From an emplaced perspective however, interviews are recast in three ways. First, it is acknowledged that our bodies conduct the interview in ethnographies, not our mouths, and thus interviews do not have to occur sitting down face to face, but can 'go-along' with the daily work of the organisation (Kusenbach 2003 p. 463). In addition, within a sensuous ethnography, such interviews do not simply involve speech but also involve

the 'materiality of the environment and of artefacts' (Pink 2015 p. 78). The 'event' of the interview then is always more a 'place-event', a 'nexus' of things and bodies rather than something that can be extracted generally from the setting (Pink 2011a p. 349). Furthermore, artefacts involved in the work can help enable conversations. Within rugby, this may entail when players are lying on physiotherapist tables, sitting in stands watching a game or conducting light stretches with 'Dyna-Bands'⁴.

Second, in not just focusing on the aural or the material around us, but how we use the broader senses to 'contribute profoundly' to the construction of an interview, we can get closer to opaque or tacit enactments (Stoller 1997 p. 3). For example this contribution may focus on maintaining emotion through silences, touch, or the quick movement of the eyes (Pink 2010 p. 332). Furthermore the communality that comes from tasting and eating together can help develop rapport, use available time more wisely, and provide a comfortable space for discussions (Sutton 2001). Of course this sensual process needs to be developed over time through a 'cultivation of bodily awareness' or 'education of the senses' (Howes 2006p. 33). Tuning in to the sensual rhythms of a workplace can take time therefore but ethnography allows us this time for development more so than single interviews can (Van Maanen 2011b p. 220). As stated, an apprenticeship is not simply about doing the work that others do but tuning into the sights, sounds, and touch of what is occurring around you (Downey 2005 p. 497).

⁴ Essentially a form of elastic tubing used to aid stretching and provide light resistance.

Finally, situating the interview involves including reference to the senses *explicitly* in the that particular setting. Such 'elicitation' may be opportunistic in terms of discussion, but also done consciously through the introduction of images, soundscapes, or specific tactile objects (Pink 2015 p. 88). For example, within rugby this may involve the potent smell of a boot room or discussion on what 'sweat' meant and looked like in scientific terms as well as general 'work' (Hockey and Allen-Collinson 2007 p. 122, Sparkes 2009). Likewise, pictures or photographs may also help practitioners conceptualise what a social phenomenon, like leadership, means to them. An emplaced approach therefore looks to 'attend to the senses' in an effort to put the 'sensory, experiential, and affective elements of lived reality to the forefront of research design' (Leder Mackley and Pink 2013 p. 338). Such explicit attention is not just for those we engage with but also for the researcher themselves to be critically aware of 'the ways things look or smell in the land of the others' which will render our interviews more 'faithful' to the field in which we are engaged (Stoller 1989 p. 8-9).

5.5. The Audience

Throughout an organisational ethnography, Van Maanen (2011 p. 25) suggests that the ethnographer needs to be aware that the implicit reader they 'court' can shape the writing process. He means that the prototypical audience the researcher *has in mind*, whether leadership scholars, social scientists, practitioners and so forth, will influence how the researcher then represents the narrative and the account (Neyland 2008 p. 21). Irrespective of this prototypical reader we should remind ourselves that the audience, even implicitly, may be asking 'what makes this ethnographic account trustworthy?' (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2009 p. 59). Although I have mentioned already ethics and reflexivity in relation to developing such trust, it is suggested for organisational ethnography three others factors are worth including.

Initially, it's that conveyance to the reader of 'being there' to such a degree that they themselves begin to get a sense of what such an experience feels like (Bate 1997 p. 1163). This process means we are not engaging simply in 'jet plane ethnography' through 'flying' visits to the organisation but spending ongoing, considerable, time with practitioners (Bate 1997 p. 1161). Such 'being there' focuses on the everydayness, or mundanity, of ordinary work, particularly important for leadership and its tendency to heroicise individuals and certain events (Whittington 1996 p. 734, Cunliffe and Hibbert 2016 p. 53). It must be remembered, however, that this 'being there' is of course a reconstruction. For Geertz (1995 p. 130) warns us that, 'depiction is power.

The representation of others is not easily separable from the manipulation of them'. We therefore are not selling 'truths' to the reader as representation is always mediated by the writer of the ethnography (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2009 p. 60). For my research, 'being there' doesn't give me ethical authority over the events of the rugby team, but rather an assurance that it is how *I perceived* events as they unfolded.

In addition, such truthworthiness is built on ensuring the 'polyphony' of the research, in terms of the organisational members having a clear 'voice' in the research but also in terms of the researcher being explicit in how they position themselves in relation to such a 'voice' (Bate 1997 p. 1166). Of course, those in the study can sometimes mislead the researcher, not for nefarious reasons perhaps but either consciously to protect or position themselves, or unconsciously they are just incorrect about an event or assumption (Van Maanen 1979 p. 544). Beyond realist approaches, 'rigour', as in step by step due diligence is not really deployed in other forms of ethnographic tales (Van Maanen 2011a p. 164). Instead, more critical and interpretative variations rely on the researcher 'in the moment' to test out, in context, what is being said or disclosed (Yanow 2009 p. 192).

Finally, it is argued that the audience needs a 'point and a punch line' which Bate's (1997 p. 1168) poetically suggests is 'the message in the bottle, that something that makes one feel the long journey and discomfort were really worth it', be it 'a theory, model or form of insight'. It is not just a single 'point'

of course, but occurs through a synthesis of literature and engaged action that add some 'punch' to an ethnography. Any narrative engagement therefore with the reader 'should be empirical enough to be credible and analytical enough to be interesting' (Van Maanen 2011 p. 29). A punch line needs crystallising however whether against multiple interviews and other documents, and alongside member checking with the organisation in question to ensure you are capturing *their* lived experience as accurately as possible (Williams 2000, Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2009 p. 60-62, Denzin 2012). Although I believe all three aspects mentioned here of promoting trust through the illustration of 'being there', polyphonic voices, and a punchline, are important, they still centre very much around the reader as a 'rational soul' with a further need to position the audience as also having 'guts' and 'heart' (Todes 2001 p. 38).

In acknowledging the reader as the same 'flesh' as ourselves the researcher, however, requires two further developments in terms of a sensory approach. First, it is my ambition to represent the ethnography in a 'multimodal' manner. This variation in sensual depiction entails appealing to the senses of the reader in a variety of overlapping ways (Pink 2011b p. 262). This process may still include evocative writing, but strive to go further to 'capture and portray' the sensory dimensions of leadership (Hockey and Allen-Collinson 2007 p. 126). Pink (2015 p. 169) highlights that, 'reading experiences are themselves sensorial', in which a book's materiality, the reader's corporeal responses, and the setting all contribute to the understanding we gain. In

order to aid such a sensuous experience, a number of scholars have looked to appeal to the diversity of the senses through written form. For example, Hahn (2006 p. 88, 2007 pp. 19-21) uses a series of 'orientation exercises' (e.g. like drinking a glass of water as performance) to illustrate the difficulty in conveying sensual experiences. Similarly, Sutton's (2001 p. 156-157) anthropological study on food and memory invites the reader to partake in Greek cooking by providing the appropriate menus. Others have looked to include soundscape compositions (Drever 2002, Feld and Brenneis 2004), olfactory art works (Blackson 2008, Drobnick and Fisher 2008), pictures (Wacquant 2004, Hockey and Allen-Collinson 2006) and also audiovisual materials (Pink and Leder Mackley 2014) to bring the reader 'in' further to the research. There is thus the opportunity in my thesis here to 'weave a multilayered tapestry' of mixed media to depict how the players at Hibernia are 'gripped' by leadership (Wacquant 2005b p. 444). This interweaving of media does not aim 'simply to represent but convince' so as 'to invoke a sense of intimacy and sympathy in the viewer/reader/user' (Pink 2015 p. 186). Such a 'tapestry' still looks to compile a 'theoretical narrative' however, informing scholarly knowledge through intellectual argumentation (Pink 2015 p. 187). The various ways we can sensually represent knowledge therefore can have a powerful evocative impact on the audience in question.

Furthermore, ethnographic realism bases trust on a form of observation aligned to objectivity (Marcus and Cushman 1982, Howes 2006). In addition to the loss of potential knowledge from our wider senses, the cost of this

objectivity is, 'reflected in the awkward, disembodied, impersonal writing style' of many academic journals (Corbett 2006 p. 229). In relation to the ethnography at Hibernia, it is important that I do not write as a 'disembodied author' (Sparkes and Smith 2014 p. 155) or use dispassionate 'bloodless language' (Stoller 1997 p. xv), but strive to articulate how leadership is expressed in 'flesh and blood' (Young 1980 p. 143, Wacquant 2005a p. 453). Writing therefore that refers to the experiences of the author is not about 'narcissistic irrationalism' but aims to reflect the expressional aspects of a phenomenon (Wacquant 2005a p. 470). According to Stoller (1997pp. 29-32) ethnographic realism, however, deploys a decorporealised text in order to reinforce the 'author-ity' of the writing as some form of omnipotent truth. He continues by arguing that researchers should 'take responsibility for their words, images and actions', and that it is this abdication of ownership and ethical reflexivity, rather than issues of linguistic style, that leaves writers 'disengaged and disembodied'. Overall, a sensuous perspective does not serve as an indulgence to include our emotions and personal reflections through a first person narrative, but is deployed in order to act *sensitively* to the bodies and space that inhabit the research site. At present such sensitivity aims to, of course, tell the Hibernia players' story 'with dignity and respect' but also to continually ask ourselves why do we write and for whom (Stoller 1997 p. 42).

5.5.1. Analysis

If we re-conceive the audience from rational, disconnected, individuals to people who feel and connect emotionally and empathetically with research, how we understand 'good' analysis changes accordingly. Unfortunately there is 'no single answer' to how analysis is conducted appropriately from a sensory perspective (Pink 2013 p. 262). It is instead viewed as an ongoing process throughout the fieldwork thus making it 'hard to track' our analytical thought as we follow people about (Leder Mackley and Pink 2013 p. 337). Pink (2015 p. 143) however tries to situate analysis within the research in two ways. Initially, *during* the fieldwork, analysis is understood as a tacit process partially open to conscious reflection (Hahn 2007 p. 78). Such corporeal 'competence' may become evoked however through writing up field notes but also may need to be 'practically implanted' in other ways (Wacquant 1995 p. 504). For example, O'Dell and Willim (2013 p. 319) remark on the usefulness of 'collapsing' talk into visual compositions or 'artworks' that are 'frozen in time'.

Such compositions may be a simple doodle but allows us to both review our experiences but also re-sense, or interact further, with the 'data' through a novel perspective (Pink 2011b). Furthermore, a 'critical friend' is a useful way to re-sense what is occurring by describing, or using pictures, to illustrate to others what happened in a detailed manner as well as fostering 'authenticity, fidelity and believability' (Faulkner and Sparkes 1999 p. 57, Crossley 2007).

Overall, analysis can potentially start at a tacit and practical level during ongoing fieldwork.

Furthermore, Pink (2015 p. 143) suggests analysis within a sensory perspective may be situated spatially or temporally away from the research site. She continues by suggesting this stage of analysis explicitly seeks to 'maintain (or construct) connections between the materials and the ways of knowing associated with their production'. Two avenues are available on how such connections are formed. First, we can treat the research materials themselves as sensory texts, which recognises the physicality of written notes, pictures, videos, emails and so forth but also what they *represent* emotionally and experientially to the researcher (Okely 2007 p. 77). For such materials can cause us to be 'back there' at the research site, reliving events in both a new, and old, manner (Hockey and Allen-Collinson 2007 p. 125). In essence, such sensory awareness to our 'data' allows us to engage in a process of 're-visiting the research encounter through prompting the memory and imagination' (Pink 2015 p. 147). The second way we can analytically engage the senses is through the use of 'sensory categories' (Pink 2015 p. 148). This process involves exploring the different linguistic categories that those involved, like the rugby players in this study, use to describe sensory experience. For example, Hockey (2006 p. 187) used such categories in his autoethnography of running, to map 'the route' of his movements. Pink (2005 p. 278) relied on a similar lens to explore how those working in the home made 'sense' of their daily laundry. Furthermore, Edvardsson and Street's

(2007 p. 26) work on nursing also used such themes to organise their own work and form 'epiphanies' on how the senses can enrich and enhance how we understand care. Overall, we can see that analysis is not a linear model, but occurs right through the ethnographic process. If we are to *situate* such analysis within this process, however, we need to acknowledge that our actions are as much about 'condensing and translating' a large amount of ethnographic information as well as rendering the depictions sensible to those engaging with the final account (Pink 2015 p. 151).

5.6. A carnal, emplaced, ethnography

In chapter 2, I highlighted that the expansion of LAP depended on the development of a congruent methodological approach that enabled researchers to 'step' in to practice rather than simply stand at its 'shore' as a distant, disconnected, bystander (Cunliffe 2003 p. 999). I continued by suggesting a failure to make this 'leap' threatens the 'promise' of LAP as an alternative paradigm to mainstream, realist, representations of leadership (Shotter 2016 p. 143). Furthermore, in not making this 'leap' in a reflexive, articulated, manner may lead to implicitly regurgitating realist assumptions as we carry out our LAP research (Cunliffe 2011 p. 13). The result is 'more of the same' in terms of how leadership is displayed as a tasteless, colourless, phenomenon devoid of life (Watzlawick, Weakland et al. 1974 p. 31). Turning to the body however, provides an explicit portal to examine our tacit assumptions around methodology in LAP (Sheets-Johnstone 2009). Certainly defining the body philosophically is rather diffuse and problematic, but

Merleau-Ponty (1968) offers us a corporeal framework that returns our bodies to the world and also within the ongoing expression of leadership in practice. His philosophy points towards a 'sensuous scholarship' that awakens the researcher to explore and represent leadership in its lived form (Stoller 1997, Cunliffe and Hibbert 2016).

Although developing this corporeal frame may fulfil the first objective of the thesis, the second objective of importing a sensuous, fleshy, approach into the methodological 'doings' of the research requires further development. As I pointed out at the start of this chapter, within LAP it is suggested that most authors 'indicate a preference for qualitative ethnographies over a priori theory construction and quantitative testing' (Raelin 2016a p. 2). At present however, there are not a large number of such ethnographic studies (Kempster, Parry et al. 2016 p. 244). Alongside LAP being a relative new inductee to the 'practice turn', there is also a practical reason for such dearth as ethnographies can be problematic (Carroll, Levy et al. 2008 p. 366). For example, they are time consuming requiring ongoing commitment and negotiation on the part of the researcher and host (Watson 2011 p. 205). Furthermore, gaining access to an industry may require a researcher first developing a breadth of networks and contacts to establish credibility before even sitting down with an organisational 'gatekeeper' who may then grant access (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007 p. 31). In addition, researchers may be hesitant to engage in ethnography as it is ethically quite fluid. As I stated in section 5.2.1. ethnography creates both ethical and moral quandaries

around *what* form of information you should be 'collecting', *when* this detailing should occur, and *who* you should be citing as your sources (Angrosino and Mays de Pérez 2000 p. 679). Ethnographies therefore may be impractical in relation to many of the commitments of academic life.

The LAP studies which have deployed ethnography however, may be displaying indicators that validates my concern over retrofitting realism into our methodologies. For example, a number of such studies have looked to meetings as the ethnographic source (e.g. Crevani 2018 p. 93, Simpson and Buchan 2018 p. 653). I am unsure however whether we can use meetings solely as a representation of 'ordinary' work, for they may be treated as 'events' by practitioners that punctuate their daily activities (McInnes and Corlett 2012 p. 35). They are also usually structured, sometimes to the point that people are engaging in surveillance of each other, and interaction can involve forms of turn taking (Langfield-Smith 1997 p. 218, Knights and McCabe 2003 p. 1615). A greater problematic however is the reliance on speech to represent leadership, sometimes with such speech devoid of the more traditional detailed 'thick descriptions' of the ongoing work itself (e.g. Crevani, Lindgren et al. 2010 p. 83, Kempster, Jackson et al. 2011, Fisher and Reiser Robbins 2015 p. 287). I am concerned this focus on speech is a reflection of the decorporealised perception detailed in section 3.4.2. which seeks to 'find' leadership within 'talk' or discursive interactions, rather than look to the wider, emplaced, bodily senses. It is early days for LAP's

methodological development but it is worth pointing out how longitudinal research is being conducted.

In detailing my concerns here on a selection of existing LAP ethnographically informed work, I am not wishing to lambast the contribution that many of these thoughtful papers make. Rather, I look to point out that simply theorising *on* practice is not sufficient to develop our methodologies *in* practice. Specifically, such theorising does not reform our bodily actions as we go about engaging the organisation, which requires a more nuanced reflexivity on what is different about such an undertaking (Van Manen 2016 p. 5). Throughout this chapter therefore I have tried to fulfil the second objective of the thesis, by illustrating how a flesh informed perspective carnally reframes how we go about ‘doing’ ethnography (Pink 2015). Specifically, it reinforces the notion of an emplaced sensory ethnography as i) an *ongoing* ethical engagement rather than a single event ii) a shared sensual experience instead of a distant observation of other bodies at work iii) a (re)constructed tale instead of an espoused, generalisable, ‘truth’ and iv) a visceral and affective depiction as an alternative to bloodless, dispassionate, representations (Wacquant 1995 p. 491, Stoller 1997 p. 42, Pink 2011b p. 262)

5.7. Chapter conclusion

Within this chapter I have illustrated how we can reform ethnography in favour of a sensual approach to avoid implicitly ‘doing’ ethnographic realism

within LAP research. Although anthropology has developed a 'sensory ethnography' in some detail, the chapter here looks to contextualise these reflections within an organisational understanding, and detail how they inform specific actions in terms of enacting methodology. It is not meant therefore as an exhaustive menu on how a sensory approach *should* be done. Instead, it is a starting point to delve into the field at Hibernia equipped with a 'feel' to how I may orientate myself. This methodological overview therefore provides the foundation for the methods' chapter that is to follow, which will illuminate on further details including myself as a researcher, Hibernia as a research site, and the specifics around access, field relations and analysis.

Chapter 6: Within Hibernia

'How do you measure leadership?...Is the fact the team's losing does that mean the leadership's "poor"...or is the fact the team's winning mean the leadership's "good"??'

Keith (pseudonym): coach at Hibernia

'it seems as if the degree to which one becomes a participant is as much a matter of perceiving oneself as a participant as it is of being accepted as a participant by others' (Liebow 1967 p. 256)

6.0. Introduction

The first quote above highlights a conversation I had with Keith, an assistant coach, during the ethnography at Hibernia. He was unsure if we could attribute leadership to an event i.e. winning. As we chatted, it was evident we both believed in the possibility of 'leadership' as a localised force for good at Hibernia, but measurement in such traditional forms was perhaps a fallacy. The second quote, from the classic ethnographic text 'Tally's Corner', highlights that understanding what 'good' is resides not in objective forms of measurement, but in *allowing* ourselves philosophically and practically to become such a participant. In order to get closer to 'good' we need to begin to sense how the expression of leadership makes us feel and thus move us physically and emotionally, rather than looking to 'measurement'. In this

chapter I try and chart the doing of such sensual, ethnographic, engagement. We have no more to work through as researchers than our own bodies and thus must always start with 'who is meditating' on the ethnography in question. I begin this chapter therefore by providing a very brief interlude on myself as a researcher, who I refer to as 'The Stranger', echoing Jung's reflections around getting to know ourselves. Second, I detail the research setting, touching on rugby generally for the uninitiated, before moving onto Hibernia, the club in question. Third, I explain further some details on field relations, looking at areas like access, positioning and recording. Finally, I detail the analysis process, illustrating how the sensual 'depictions' was derived from the large amount of notes, recordings and documents that were accumulated. All of this description is in the present tense to situate the details and I use field notes (denoted via 'FN' and a date) as a direct reference to events.

6.1. Situating 'The Stranger' - 'you are part of it now Will'

Professional rugby is a very 'doing' orientated environment, with the 'part of it' quote in the title coming from Hibernia assistant coach, Graham (pseudonym), on my first day. Social participation therefore is encouraged quickly, but within an ethnography the ability to fold *yourself* into the setting is tasking. Such ethnographic enfolding therefore involves two ends of the organisational 'fabric' being brought together in terms of the social, but also

the individual. Furthermore, the term 'stranger' is understood differently in ethnographic research depending on which end of this fabric you grasp. First, Schutz's (1944 p. 499) version of the 'stranger' reflects the process of socialisation in which the researcher 'tries to be permanently accepted, or at least tolerated, by the group which he approaches'. Such estrangement here is a cultural frame of reference allowing us to engage in localised 'taken-for-granted' forms of knowing (Maso 2001 p. 147).

The second 'stranger' is closer to Jung's (1964 p. 361) psychological notion, a forever incomplete striving to 'know ourselves as we really are'. However, we often remain 'strangers to this stranger', struggling to ever fully reflect on how our personal 'blindspots' can have strong implications for the process of fieldwork (Gilmore and Kenny 2015 p. 57, Sheets-Johnstone 2016 loc. 3552). Jung (1964 p. 572) suggests such blindness is not insignificant and to think otherwise would be to add 'stupidity to iniquity'. Presently, the 'stranger' represents the personal, hidden, 'baggage' that I brought to Hibernia, and its influence on how I grasped the setting. For the expression of leadership is never 'beyond' us, or 'out there', but draws on our own personal histories to move us in a meaningful manner. How organisations reflect back our own personal 'biases' or 'hang ups' fashions how this Jungian stranger imprints on the research encounter (Wellin and Fine 2001 p. 327).

6.1.1. Personal background

To echo Whyte's (1943 [1981] p. 280) sentiments, the focus on 'personal background' is not narcissistic 'navel gazing' but that we 'live through' our research. I endeavour here to place the ethnography, albeit briefly, within my own encompassing lifeline. I come from a lower-middle class Irish family, my father a butcher and my mother a school teacher. However, alongside being a butcher my father spent much of his life as a semi-professional cyclist, his true love, racing for various cycling teams in the UK and Ireland. I was therefore borne, both biologically and carried socially, into sport not as a prolific athlete (I was a fairly mediocre boxer), but I experienced the 'back stage' emotional rollercoaster of 'total devotion' my Dad had for his pursuit (Wacquant 2005a p. 462). Sport and education therefore were huge drivers in my life, and I studied sports management, and a psychology conversion degree, before a Masters in sport psychology. The masters allowed me to embark upon a chartered route, through the British Psychological Society, to eventually becoming a qualified sport and exercise psychologist. This qualifies me to work with athletes, coaches and teams to improve their sporting performance through personal development and well-being. I entered into a business school PhD therefore based on this educational pathway, coupled with industry experience working in sport for local authorities, national governing bodies of sport, national agencies and performance environments. Overall, such experience entailed around ten years, ensuring I was not naive to many of sport's working facets, both thrilling and morally questionable.

6.1.2. From 'stranger' to 'shadows'

Jung suggests that although we can be blighted by our own hidden estrangement, we can catch glimpses, or a 'shadow' of this stranger. These fleeting glances are opaque, revealing themselves partially as we move through a setting, but often misplaced onto the relations with others or things thus obscuring our own implications (Jung 1957[2005] p. 46). Three 'shadows' came into view as I worked through how my own needs played out on the ethnography (Maslow 1971 p. 365).

First, elite professional sport often recruits non-playing employees through a desire for association with a 'glamorous', highly public, sector. Financially and professionally though, it is no more rewarding than many less public industries (Roderick, Smith et al. 2017 p. 101). However, sport contains 'cultural capital' thus inflating employees status through involvement (Bourdieu 1998 p. 5). Similarly for me, through such a setting I gained familial credibility. Initially when I entered I felt such a setting was a justification of my talents, but as I laboured through the ethnography I realised *reducing* my professional identity to the organisation was a brittle form of self worth.

Second, as a trained psychologist, chartered through the Health and Care Professions Council (HCPC), I was eager to, and indeed trained, 'to help'. In such eagerness being coupled with a desire to not be viewed as an 'incompetent' researcher of little situational value, uncertain boundaries

became an issue. Such research boundaries are essential in terms of *competence* but also how the researcher's *role* becomes inscribed initially (Schank and Skoholt 1997 p. 48). I was qualified as a psychologist, and indeed the players and staff used this term heuristically towards me, but this role was not the one I was deemed to do (Wacquant 2005a p. 450). To ward of such blurred boundaries good supervision was essential. Discussions with my business school academic supervisors, alongside the required sport psychology supervision required for chartered status, ensured boundaries were maintained, but achieving such equilibrium may have unknowingly impacted ongoing *relations* at Hibernia.

Third, previous sporting experiences had facilitated a personally sceptical position around professional conduct within the industry. Certain norms were wearisome, like a large amount of authoritarian control, lack of accountability, and how those deemed 'elite', either educationally or sporting, assumed managerial roles without appropriate experience (Romaine 2014 p. 411). In particular it is a tempting simplification to romanticise the athletes at the *expense* of coach vilification (de Rond 2009 p. 71). With the ethnography unfolding though, I began to realise the landscape was more complex than simply unaccountable, authoritarian, management. There were 'murky' occurrences around who managed who when it came to 'star' players, how contemporary issues had long, complicated, histories and the lack of a single, homogenous, 'voice' that spoke for all the groups involved.

Overall then, to catch a 'glimpse', or shadow, of one's personal stranger requires three reflections: not to prematurely 'diagnose' what is occurring and thus potentially regurgitate our own personal histories; good supervision helps ensure various perspectives on how the research is moving; and finally, any scepticism should be directed at an industry's public portrayal rather than cynicism to those employed within it.

6.2. Situating rugby

As well as situating myself the researcher, it is also important to situate the sport. Rugby union is played by around 3.2 million registered players in 121 countries⁵. The sport turned professional in 1995, although there was a fear in the UK and Irish national rugby unions that an 'intrinsic love for the game' may be lost through commercialisation (O'Brien and Slack 2003 p. 419). This fear though was outweighed by a growing 'shamateurism', or underhand payments of amateur players, ensuring such unions adopted professionalism to protect their respective national teams (O'Brien and Slack 2004 p. 14, Obel 2010 p. 444). Since 1995, UK and Irish unions developed city or regional professional teams alongside their national sides. At the start of my field work, these UK and Irish teams were split across the English rugby union league structure (Premiership, Championship etc.) and the 'Pro 12' league. The ethnography focuses on a team called 'Hibernia' (pseudonym) who plays within one of these leagues. In addition, all teams in the UK and

⁵ See <https://www.world.rugby/development/player-numbers>

Ireland play in one of two European competitions. The 'Champions Cup' for teams finishing closer to the top of their respective leagues and the 'Challenge Cup' for the remaining teams. In the next four sections I detail Hibernia further, in term of organisational makeup, the structure of work, their physical location and the leadership group.

I. HIBERNIA AS AN ORGANISATION

Hibernia thus went professional as a men's team in 1996, funded through their respective national governing rugby body rather than a private investor. At the start of the 2015/16⁶ season, the team contained 53 players, fluctuating during the season owing to injuries and international duties, of which 23 were selected for a match day competition, and 15 of those formed the starting lineup⁷. Although the team is mostly made up of players from Hibernia's home nation, others also come from Italy, Canada, the USA, South Africa and Australia. Alongside the players, there is a team of performance staff which include: a head coach, assistant coaches (4), performance analysis (2), and strength and conditioning staff (3). In addition, there is also a medical team of a doctor, a lead physiotherapist and two supporting physiotherapists. The broader club also consists of staff dedicated to operations, marketing & communications, commercial & hospitality, and community rugby development. The business performance of the club is run through a Managing Director, although like most professional clubs, the main authoritative figure *throughout* in the organisation is the Head Coach (Collins,

⁶ I have changed the season and the yearly dates to help increase masking and anonymity.

⁷ See Appendix 1 for rugby union playing positions.

Moore et al. 1999 p. 209, Peachey, Damon et al. 2015 p. 572). In addition to the 53 players at the club, there is therefore another 31 non playing employed staff, and also volunteers who help out on game days⁸. In terms of performance on the field, over the previous 5 seasons Hibernia had grown in terms of infrastructure and had moderate success competitively. Much of this success was attributed to the Head Coach James, who is well regarded both as a former professional player and now a coach. Off the field, Hibernia costs around £9m to run annually as a franchise, with most of these finances spent on players' wages.

II. SEASON AND WEEKLY STRUCTURE

The team began pre-season training at the start of August 2015, with some friendlies occurring in late August and then their first competitive league game at the start of September. The season would run through to a final game at the start of May 2016. During November and February, Hibernia would lose players to the international Autumn Testimonials and Six Nations respectively. From a weekly perspective, I have attached a sample schedule in Appendix 2. These schedules were set out by rugby operations every Friday for the forthcoming week. Generally, most weeks began on Monday, consisting of more 'coach led' sessions with individuals and player groups. Such sessions included both off field meetings and on field training and games (marked as 'rugby' on the schedule). Usually the team had a break on Wednesdays, although light personal training was expected, and by the

⁸ Any names of these staff, players, locations etc. used in this chapter, or the next, are all masked with pseudonyms to protect their anonymity.

Thursday before a game training sessions were more 'player led'. The most notable session on this day is the 'team run', with playing leaders facilitating the integration of learning on the training pitch and coaches taking a lesser role. Interspersed throughout the weekly structure other sessions would focus also on strength and conditioning, recovery, and 'extras' consisting of individual skills like kicking.

III. LOCATION

The team's stadium 'Athletic Park' is owned by the local council, rather than the club, and contains around 10,000 seats. Small comparatively to other professional rugby stadia, the Park was originally designed for athletics with a running track around the pitch. Adjacent to the Park there is also a grass training pitch and a smaller 3G artificial surface, with the stadium's facilities housed in the main stand. This stand's ground floor contains: an open sprint track space which the players use for small drills; a smaller gym; changing rooms (although I rarely visited here); a kitchen space; and a physiotherapists room with three tables. Adjacent to the physiotherapists' room is also a slightly smaller emergency medical bay for severe injuries. The second floor consists of what is referred to as the 'Machine Room' containing the performance staff, and unlike other areas, requires a four digit code for access. The top floor consists of the commercial offices with the marketing and communications room across the hall. In addition, further along the top of the stand is a large 'Club deck' where team meetings and lunch occurs during the week and hospitality services on game days.

IV. LEADERSHIP GROUP

Including the captain, the leadership group consisting of six 'leaders' who meet each week, and six 'lieutenants' who take on responsibilities when leaders are absent (injury, international duty, family reasons etc) thus twelve players in total ⁹. The twelve players are broken down into six pairs who are tasked with a particular element of Hibernia 'culture' including: family; Hibernia '24/7'; hardest working team; sense of history and community; improvement; and enjoyment. On arriving in August 2015, I was informed the leaders were selected through a player survey.

6.3. Field relations with Hibernia

6.3.1. Gaining access

Through pre-existing sport & exercise psychology work in rugby, I serendipitously came into contact with Ruari, or 'Big Ru' owing to his 6 foot 8 inch, 19 stone frame, who was the former captain of Hibernia and the current 'mentor' to the existing leadership group. Ru effectively became my 'informal sponsorship' owing to his strong belief that leadership brought people together (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007 p. 43). Throughout, his support was similar to Tally in Liebow's (1967) classic study, or 'Doc' in Whyte's (Whyte 1943 [1981] pp. 298-99) 'Street Corner Society'. Like these individuals Ru was well respected in Hibernia and thus helped 'sell' me to the players (FN 18/8/15); provided initiation on organisational 'dos and don'ts' (FN 10/9/15); highlighted social protocols in terms of hierarchy (FN

⁹ See appendix 3 for an overview of nine of these leaders.

1/8/15); and generally aimed to 'show me the ropes' (FN 11/8/15). Ru organised the initial meeting with Head Coach James, Assistant Coach Graham, my supervisor Peter and myself. This meeting was more of a negotiation than an acceptance or rejection of the research by the 'gatekeepers' involved (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007 p. 42). Access therefore was always to be *conditional* based on amendments to the study proposal with such amendments entailing: a focus on the players not the coaches; I could not attend one-to-one meetings; and I needed to provide an internal report of some sort to the players and coaches at the end of the 9 month study ¹⁰. Somewhat different conditions than were required of my original ethics application to the University¹¹. Although I would not say that my Hibernia conditions ensured my original idea 'dropped forever out of sight', it is fair to stipulate that ethnography, perhaps more than other forms of qualitative inquiry, is at the discretion of the host organisation (Liebow 1967 pp. 236-237).

Also, ensuring that head coach James granted access was not sufficient, with double and triple entry access permission also required (Gouldner 1954 p. 255). Double entry ensured another meeting with Managing Director Brad to 'give him his place' as Ru suggested (FN 1/8/16). Even more importantly was a 'third entry' via the playing leaders themselves. Again, in this initial meeting with the 6 leaders, I provided them with information on the research to echo Ru's assurances that what is discussed 'doesn't go back to the

¹⁰ This final report is available on request once masking is applied.

coaches’¹² (FN 18/8/16). However as suggested in 5.2.1, with the players in particular, access was granted through ongoing trust rather than a formal, singular, procedure.

6.3.2. Positioning

On entering the field it was not simply how I position myself, but also how others positioned my ‘working identity’ as I had *no formal role* in the organisation (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007 p. 68). I was certainly deemed both an ‘expert’ and/or ‘critic’ on leadership initially (FN 11/8/15; FN 19/8/15), but over time there was a need for me to ‘pay my dues’ or ‘serve’ my apprenticeship to develop my professional identity (Wacquant 2004 pp. 10-11, Pink 2015 p. 103)(see section 5.3). However, there were three challenges to such development.

First, professional sports teams can be concerned with rivals gaining access to internal tactics and information. As a researcher then, I was often accused at Hibernia, albeit jokingly, of being a ‘spy’, particularly for Pro 12 rivals Leinster, the province in Ireland from which I hail (5/8/15; 22/8/15) (Gouldner 1954 p. 255). Whether jovial banter or paranoia, the comments held me at a distance initially, an ‘outsider’ until proven otherwise.

Second, developing a way of becoming embroidered in the organisation’s fabric also involves a balance of ‘trying to be busy’ against not ‘hassling any

¹² See Appendix 4 for research information sheet provided to the players.

other worker too much' (Johnson 1975 pp. 152-153). Within Hibernia, I began to learn when I was imposing on situations, or 'hanging around' too much, by retreating to toilets to gather thoughts or write notes, or walking up and down the stadium under the pretence I was 'off somewhere' and thus 'busy' (2/8/15) (Van Maanen 2011 p. 165).

Third, sometimes the 'work' of ethnography didn't fit in at Hibernia. For example, I began the research by carrying a notepad and I would openly jot down notes as I would go. Again though, through certain comments usually veiled as humour, I began to feel uncomfortable with this approach - 'you and your little black book eh?!' (22/9/15) or 'that's where Will writes all his secrets!' (4/10/15). Thus I began to use 'mental jottings' during ongoing action that I would then write up when alone (Emerson, Fretz et al. 2011 p. 252).

Overall, positioning oneself to effectively be taken-for-granted, and thus experience the organisation in a more routine manner, involved a multitude of ways to fit in. Whether it was taking notes or trying to look busy, serving one's 'sensory apprenticeship' is at times unconscious (Pink 2011b p. 270). Many of the approaches I used to get 'within' were therefore on a tacit level, and only through hindsight now that am I able to make sense of some of my actions.

6.3.3. Recording the action

At Hibernia, 'lingering' around the 6 leaders and 6 'lieutenants' was my main ethnographic approach and involved accompanying them to meetings, sitting at the touchlines as they trained, or eating lunch together in the 'Reception Room' (Casey 1995 p. 201). I was afforded great interaction once access was assured, even being presented with an organisational pass ¹³. Effectively, the ethnography was 3 days a week from August 2015 to March 2016 with follow up interviews that April (Van Maanen 2011 p. 14). Overall, three methods of collecting information was deployed.

I. FIELD NOTES

I formulated a field note structure based on Emerson et al. (2011 loc. 163) which consisted of daily, hand written, 'jottings' converted that evening into extensive typed notes that also included 'commentaries' (personal reflections), and daily and weekly 'summaries' ¹⁴. Each month I also provided some 'reflections' back to Ru and James the head coach through a two page report ¹⁵. Such generalised documents helped fulfil the club's requirement of a 'provision of services', alongside providing me with a sense of 'contribution' (Andersen, Van Raalte et al. 2001 p. 14, Tracey 2004 p. 521, Hammersley and Atkinson 2007 p. 70).

¹³ Appendix 5 includes a picture of this pass.

¹⁴ See Appendix 6 for this structure and appendix 7 for a sample with names and locations masked.

¹⁵ See Appendix 8 for an example of these monthly feedback documents.

II. CONVERSATIONS AND INTERVIEWS

It was agreed initially with James and Ru that I would interview the 6 leaders, and also those of the 6 'lieutenants' that were willing, to see how these players experienced different phases of the 2015/16 season like European competitions, loss of teammates to the six nations and so forth. Rather than record the first meetings with each player I aimed to 'sell' the research ethically and practically, without looking to be coercive, over a coffee (Kvale 2006 p. 482). However, after these initial round of meetings I conducted recorded interviews with 5 leaders twice and with the 6th recorded once. I also interviewed 4 of the 'lieutenants' twice and 1 of them once in the course of the season. Similarly I had coffees with all medical and performance staff without recording anything, albeit I did follow up recorded interviews with Paul (the Player Development Manager), Keith (an assistant coach) and Big Ru himself. Traditional consent was sought and received for any recorded interviews¹⁶.

These recorded interviews, particularly with the playing leaders, took on a sensorial dimension in three ways (see section 5.4.1.). First, such interviews were not 'snapshots' in time but part of an ongoing relationship within the twists and turns of an unfolding season (Heyl 2001 p. 367). I placed no structure or semi-structure on these interviews therefore, apart from bringing it back to how 'leadership' was enacted, or made 'tangible', so much of the

¹⁶ See Appendix 9 for consent form template.

interviews contained what was contemporarily deemed important to the players (Kvale 2007 p. 67).

Second, the interviews were situated *within* the daily work of the players (Pink 2011a p. 349)(see section 5.2). They occurred over lunch, in physiotherapists rooms as players were being tapped for training, or as they did light stretches on the indoor track. The sensuality of the landscape changed how we spoke - for example in the dugout, bodies are pressed close to each other ensuring all present are involved in the conversation, whether you like it or not. Added to this the players literally sweat on you in this tight space informing the collective sense of intimacy (Stoller 1997 p. 3, Pink 2010 p. 332) (see photo 1)¹⁷.



Photo 1. Dugout

¹⁷ Please note - although a large number of photos were taken, the ones inserted within the thesis are similar replacements from 'Shutterstock' to ensure the team were not identifiable to fans or the rugby fraternity.

Third, in order to ensure consent was ongoing not simply an event via a relative form, I fed back to the players interview themes or detailed notes (see 5.2.1). For example, in the final interviews I utilised a repertory grid technique to elicit some deeper reflections from the players and provide feedback. This technique is based on George Kelly's theories (Kelly 1955/1991, Easterby-Smith, Thorpe et al. 1996) adapted via my second supervisor Barbara Simpson and colleague Linda Buchan (2017 p. 2) for use around pharmaceutical leadership ¹⁸. Similarly I set up a 'Dropbox' group that was shared with the 6 leaders and Ru to feedback some meeting notes ¹⁹. Anything the players provided therefore I tried to 'reflect' back to them in some way so they felt informed either by providing transcripts or the recordings themselves.

III. ARTEFACTS

I use the term 'artefacts' here not simply to refer to objects like the dugout, pitches and so forth, but also documents, emails and other forms of representation which have a particular, enduring, connection to the organisation (Miettinen and Virkkunen 2005 p. 437, Werle and Seidl 2015 p. 68). I did not analyse these objects and documents in a formal manner, but are reflected upon here as they make a continued re-appearance in the field notes. In relation to 'things' this includes: the training dugout; a symbolic 'Tunnel' erected by the players at the entrance to the training field; and a

¹⁸ See Appendix 10 for the template and pictures used to elicit constructs around leadership alongside sample feedback.

¹⁹ See appendix 11 for an example of such notes.

newly installed 3G pitch. These objects will be detailed further in chapter seven. In relation to documents, as I was party to all internal emails I received what generally all players and staff did. These documents include: weekly structures; travel itineraries to away games; concussion protocols; organisational presentations; and player introductions.

6.4. Sensual analysis

The sensual approach taken here reflects that analysis starts the moment we enter the field rather than solely at a later, disconnected, stage (Seremetakis 1993 p. 443, Spencer 2001 p. 443, Stoller 2004 p. 832)(see 5.5.1). Analysis therefore happened 'on site' during the fieldwork as well as 'off site' later on in a more traditional analytical phase (Pink 2013 p. 262). In relation to the ethnography, in collecting 70 days of field notes and around 3000 words per day, 'data asphyxiation' was a concern in terms of representing something as contested as leadership (Pettigrew 1995 p. 111). Within Hibernia, a number of multiple incarnations of leadership were, and are, possible, perhaps unsurprising considering the phenomenon's 'messy' enactment in practice (Denis, Langley et al. 2010 p. 73, Denis, Langley et al. 2012 p. 215). For example, both players and staff felt Head Coach James and former Captain Big Ru to be individualistic 'good leaders' a conflation of leadership and management. Similarly, even with the 'leaders' as six players, there was the notion that they somehow 'embodied' leadership, thus, potentially, excluding others in the team from striving to enact the phenomenon. Leadership within Hibernia therefore was referred to as individualistic and collectivist during

discussions. However, it is my ambition to go beyond such narrow discursive incarnations to examine the wider expression of leadership within organisational practice.

The first draft of chapter 7 came to around twenty-thousand words, as it included references to these discursive incarnations on individualism and collectivism. We cannot rule out that those in organisations *talk* in this manner around leadership, but it is not the only understanding to be garnered. In addition, there were references to outside the *playing* group like leadership amongst the medics or coaches. Again, leadership existed beyond the players but I wanted to clearly move away from leadership as synonymous with management. Chapter 7 now stands at ten thousand words, not in order to *define* and contain leadership but rather *refine* how it can be understood as a sensual expression. Chapter 7 therefore contains six accounts of leadership as *told through the senses*, to illustrate how the phenomenon was made ‘flesh’ in practice by Hibernia’s players (Stoller 1997 p. 3). I have referred to these accounts as ‘Sensual Depictions’, as they are not realist tales of ‘truth’, but a co-construction that aims to elicit both a visceral response from the reader as well as convey informative content (see section 5.5) (Stoller 1989 p. 29, Van Maanen 2011 p. 45). The strength of Merleau-Ponty’s theory of the body is that it enables a non-reductive methodological inquiry, ensuring we do not misattribute leadership to solely what is ‘inside’ our bodies, or ‘outside’ as some humanistic social structure or materiality (Merleau-Ponty 1964 p. 86). Rather, it searches for expression as

a chiasmatic crossing of bodies and 'things' to grasp the 'lived meaning' of leadership. The strength of this corporeal phenomenology is its ambition to represent how 'invisible' abstract concepts like leadership become enshrined in 'visible' daily enactments (Merleau-Ponty 1968 p. 134, Van Manen 2016 p. 36). It allows us to question ideological dogma around phenomena, like individualistic or collectivist leadership, and thus represent how these concepts hold more nuanced meaning for those who have experienced them.

In Table 3 I outline the six depiction titles used in Chapter 7 playing on Merleau-Ponty's understanding of 'sens', to mean *both* our biological senses but also perceptual orientation, to illustrate how the players' defined what was 'good' leadership. Specifically, certain senses were drawn on to express leadership over others (Tilley 2006 p. 313). For example nociception, the biological term for our sense of pain, may not be found as much in other organisational contexts. In addition to the text, photos are also used as well as an evocative drawing to represent each depiction further (Emerson, Fretz et al. 2011 p. 57). These thesis specific drawings are designed through 'Ink Pot' artist Andrew Strachan, who is based at the University of Dundee, a city with a long history of comic, sporting, illustrations thus the 'Roy of the Rovers' formulation²⁰. In order to show the construction of these depictions further, in the next two sections I will detail the specific analytical process that occurred 'on site' (in the field) and 'off site' (when I had left the field). In doing so I hope to fulfil my responsibilities as an ethnographer to be accountable to

²⁰ For further information see <https://dundeeconomicscreativespace.com/category/artists-interviews/>. The drawings were commissioned and are owned by the researcher.

organisational scholars, to Hibernia itself, and the wider industrial and public stakeholders by demonstrating ‘how’ I have come to know what I know (Leder Mackley and Pink 2013 p. 337).

Depiction Title	‘Sens’ - The senses and perceptual orientation	
1: Pressing the flesh	Haptic (touch)	The acknowledgement of others as flesh and blood.
2: Moveable feast	Equilibrioception (Movement)	Those who move through the club have the opportunity to add to its identity.
3: Lucky Pitch	Proprioception (space)	A strong connection to your ‘roots’.
4: Playstation game	Vision (sight)	The articulation of different positions or ‘lines of sight’.
5: Fucks my body	Nociception (pain)	The celebration of the ‘mundane’.
6: Coach doesn’t love me	Auditory (hearing)	A common understanding that every player has the right to a voice within the playing cohort irrespective of seniority, talent, or age.

Table 3.

6.4.1. On site

During the fieldwork, analytically ‘attending to the senses’ encompassed two phases (Stoller 1997 p. 38). First, it involved exploring the ‘sensory aesthetics’ of the players’ daily work by both detailing their actions but also querying their use of tacit and bodily knowledge to inform playing rugby, and what it was like to be a member of Hibernia (Pink 2004, Leder Mackley and Pink 2013 p. 340-341). In particular, I queried how they made leadership ‘tangible’ for themselves and thus how an abstraction was enfolded as a

'felt' sense. Such expression was not articulated as leadership equates to a certain routine but revolved around emotional and visceral discussions of tackling, linked arms, or the smell of sweat.

Second, I also looked to capture my own sensorial reactions by 'grasping' certain moments in the field work from an emotional or emplaced perspective. Such capturing was similar to autoethnography in content, as it formed a critical self-narrative that aimed to 'bend back' and look further at the relations between myself and others (Ellis and Bochner 2000 p. 734, Spry 2001 p. 710). The commentaries in the typed field notes are important here, as they demonstrated the manner in which my body was 'apprenticed' into organisational understanding through sensual encounters (Pink 2015 p. 97). Over time, my body began to sensually 'tune in' to both the organisation and thus the expressed, localised, 'house style' of leadership (Pink 2011b p. 267). Such attuning enabled me to 'feel' leadership within practice, resisting the ethnographic realist position of leadership as 'out there' and thus recordable as independent 'data' (Stoller 1989 p. 25, Pink 2011b p. 270). By focusing on what other bodies do, and what my own body felt, I aimed to detail how leadership was being expressed.

6.4.2. Off site

Away from the field, analysis also involved two stages. Initially I re-sensitised or 're-encountered' the notes and recordings evoking vivid memories from their emotional and physical content (Seremetakis 1993 p. 3, Pink 2015 p. 143). Continual re-reading and re-listening allowed me to viscerally immerse myself in the notes and re-construct events at Hibernia (Hahn 2007 p. 8). To manage this evocative immersion, I constructed detailed 'notes on notes' to streamline any field notes, and used the audio programme 'Audacity' to tag and track the interview recordings in terms of content, tone, and interview emplacement (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007 p. 151)²¹.

Second, post information immersion, I looked to identify common 'sensory categories' that were beginning to emerge (Pink 2015 p. 148). Such categories involved a reference to the senses in action, either to myself, the players, or both. Not always a rational endeavour, the focus here was on trying to prise apart how leadership was expressed daily (Pink 2005 p. 276). Through the players narrating their experiences during the fieldwork, it ensured I was able to keep a 'sensorial log' of daily activities, within the fieldnotes, which I could draw on later (Hockey 2006 p. 184). I cross referenced such a broad 'log' of events against the more detailed focus on leadership in the interviews (Denzin 2012 p. 81). These 'sensory categories' do not offer any absolute 'truth' on leadership at Hibernia, but rather act as 'epiphanies' by connecting the field notes and interviews to reveal taken for

²¹ Both an example of 'notes on notes' and the Audacity outputs can be viewed in Appendix 13.

granted or surprising orientations of how leadership is experienced (Edvardsson and Street 2007 p. 26, Pink 2015 p. 53). Analysis therefore does not aim for reproducible reliability or generalised validity à la positivism, but ensure we can trust the findings owing to a thoroughly examined weight of argument.

I looked then to establish the trustworthiness of the research in three ways that 'crystallise', or coherently represent, what is presented in Chapter 7 (Guba 1981 p. 83, Denzin 2012 pp. 83-84). First, alongside the richness possible from daily immersion, I looked to 'member check' the finalised depictions back to Ru himself and two playing leaders, Séan and Earl (Guba 1981 p. 86). Changes to the depictions were not sought, but it was interesting to note the players voiced some sadness that leadership had changed from that time, perhaps illustrating leadership expression's unstable quality (Lincoln and Guba 2000 p. 183, Landes 2013b p. 20). Second, I used an 'inquiry audit' to run the depictions by those who research in the sporting industry and leadership. Such an audit therefore was conducted by Dr. Paul McCarthy, a sport & exercise psychologist at Glasgow Caledonian University (Hoepfl 1997 p. 60). Finally, as I mention in chapter 5.3.1. reflexivity is ubiquitous within carnal research and ethnography so I kept a number of handwritten notebooks on the inquiry process that I am happy to make available (Cunliffe 2003 p. 991, Gorli, Nicolini et al. 2015 p. 1351).

Certainly, by way of some self-reflective critique, I do acknowledge that the depictions in the next chapter modularise our senses as individual in orientation. However, our senses are more intermingled really in terms of their engagement with the world (Howes 2005 p. 7). Similarly, I also utilise a Western categorisation of the senses although I do not limit them to the traditional five senses (Howes 2006 p. 5). However, to represent the senses as convergent or to use another categorisation process would create a confusing outline of how the players work through their senses to express leadership. In addition, both myself and the players are embedded in a western context creating an overlap of linguistic understanding (Tilley 2006 p. 313). Furthermore, although I am limited to experiencing leadership through my own body, I do not agree that these are subjective musings, but rather aim to display the '*body of the analyst*' as a fount of social competency and an indispensable tool for research' (Wacquant 2005a p. 466). The shared physiognomy of our bodies allows our senses to resonate with those of others, ensuring that through this 'tool' we can grasp further what is deemed situated 'good' leadership within practice.

6.5. Conclusion

This chapter focused on a descriptive overview of the research process. Overall, the ambition was to locate various parts of this process including; myself as a potential impactful stranger; the host organisation of Hibernia; how the action was recorded; and the analysis itself. This descriptive endeavour acts as the methods chapter to Chapter 5's *methodology*. Such

precision is important to illustrate that the depictions highlighted in Chapter 7 are not simply utilised to fit into any pre-existing theoretical frame, but represent the ongoing dialogue between theory and practice that occurred throughout the ethnography. Without truth in the means by which information was collected the depictions are not credible to the reader or resonant with those who share similar experiences.

Chapter 7: Sensual Depictions of Hibernia

Depiction 1: Press the Flesh (Haptic)

I was sitting with Ru in the local coffee shop the leaders met away from the public glare of Athletic Park. As we begin I asked him how he felt Hibernia players looked to make leadership 'concrete' in their daily actions. He began to chuckle:

'Sorry, I'm laughing because to make it concrete in my mind is to make it tangible. Every pre-season, I used to talk about making things tangible...you have to use the emotions and make them tangible as well and *I suppose* it is a bit of a funny concept'

He paused, as if searching for a specific example for me.

'I was always a big fan of a huddle....Alex Maguire (pseudonym) was the coach when I was captain. We used to wind him up how much we used the huddle, 'cus he'd rather we were training. But the sooner you come together like that...and you're linked-arms and everybody's tight, and it's an unbreakable circle. That for me is as close to being tangible as you'll get. The energy that is floating around in that group, the honesty that's floating around in that group... Also standing, doing the anthems before an international as well, where you're locked arm-

and-arm. So how do you make it concrete? I used to talk about the fact that if it's no good inside you, and that you had to bring it out'

Ru continued by reflecting that the 'touchy feely' nature of rugby perhaps was most important after a loss:

'Guys, standing in the changing room crying their eyes out. Sharing losses but knowing you did that as a team. Certain guys, certain feelings if they've lost the game. You can feel incredibly isolated, but then all of a sudden a guy comes up to you puts his arm around you and I've never seen anyone cut-off in a changing room. And I've seen people do some *stupid* things in the park. But even when they've done those stupid things, there'll be somebody that will go up to them and that is a massive part of leadership'

It was not just Ru who discussed a sense of touch in looking to bring leadership 'out'. Pressing the flesh was something I observed on the first morning at Hibernia, in which the players, coaches and staff engaged in a communal handshake (FN 1/8/15) (see drawing 2):

'It was noticeable when the players met the coaches how important the handshake was - it took a bit of time for them all to get around each other. As I stood there looking at this interaction I was a little bit overawed by it. Each player or coach made sure to shake every one's

hand. The whole process took a couple of minutes within a tight group of around 25 people in the middle of the park. I discussed later this interaction with one of the leaders, Calum. He remarked that it was weird at first, for maybe even a year or so, but then you got used to it each day. He continued by saying that head coach James had suggested the idea from his playing time in France, in which staff and players greeted each other with a kiss. He remarked it was important for the leaders to initiate these handshakes along with the coaches. It was easy when things weren't going well to forget to acknowledge others around you, so every day it set that standard of mutual respect.'



Drawing 2: Morning handshake

Likewise, for myself, the handshake took some getting used to. Essentially on meeting anyone at the club every day you greeted by shaking hands with them. It was interesting that it took on a life of its own, as some players and staff preferred a fist pump or hand slap and the handshake itself could vary considerably. However, this daily acknowledgement of others as flesh and blood, and worthy of respect, was omnipresent.

The idea that leadership was expressed through tactility was not just limited to the mutual touch of flesh. The Hibernia players had put in place an 8 foot tall, 10 foot long, white, free standing 'Tunnel' that stood as an entrance to the training field. It was adorned with the club colours and crest. Inside the tunnel contained all the player's signatures alongside a meaningful word to them. So, for example, one of the 'lieutenants' Dylan had used the word 'Honoured'. During training, players run through the tunnel as a reminder to themselves of why they play the game. For example (FN 8/8/15):

'As we were leaving the pitch I noticed how all the players walked through the white tunnel. At one stage one of the big props, Andy Kilbane, jogged passed the tunnel to enter into the stadium. He stopped and chastised himself for not walking through. He then backtracked on himself so he could go through the tunnel tapping it as he went by'.

I told one of the leaders Séan over lunch about what I had seen with Andy and wondered what his thoughts were on Andy's actions:

'a lot of guys do that...I think it maybe an OCD thing now!' he said laughing. 'But you know, its good because everyone has a word that means something to them when they sign it, so when you run out a lot of boys tap it as they go too. I don't want to use big Ru's word, but that bit of 'tangible'".

As he picked his way through his rather large chicken lunch, Séan continued:

'...being a professional athlete, you can get tired sometimes, be a bit arsey. And at training, when you are feeling a bit down, its always trying to remind yourself that you are setting an example to others and we are doing this because we enjoy it...thats a massive thing you know, and I think our tunnel helps us with that. When we walk out to train, the Tunnel contains a sign saying 'whatever it takes' and when you come back in, it says 'fortunate to play' which just helps remind you I think'

After the chicken was devoured, Séan seemed willing to grab a coffee together and we sat chatting for some time in the seats in the corner of the Machine room. The conversation eventually came back to the Tunnel:

‘Alluding back to the Tunnel, once you go over the white lines of the pitch, whatever happens in there, stays in there. It's the same with the opposition, you go in wanting to rip a guys head off, but you shake hands after the game. And it is a weird one, the whole week building up this feeling of animosity, and you are wanting to fucking kill somebody and afterwards you are like “good game, how are you doing?”

Without a doubt one of the strengths of leadership in Hibernia was a continued effort to make the phenomenon ‘tangible’ through such physical touch. Indeed, this success was highlighted by one of the current coaches and a former Hibernia player, Keith, who suggested in many clubs leadership is nothing more than ‘lip service’. He began to elaborate:

‘There is always the initial meeting, you get your thoughts out, you get a kind of plan together. But then throughout the season you would never revert back to what that plan was or talk about those ‘five words’ you came out with. It was almost like ‘culture and leadership meeting DONE for the season’! There was maybe one on one meetings with the coaches and the captain but I didn't feel there was ongoing processes and meetings like here. Leadership and culture aren't just things that happen, they are processes, they take time to get to work, you need to put that time into it or otherwise it is just lip service and you don't get anything positive out of it...’

Keith paused here in a moment of thoughtful frustration:

‘And how do you measure leadership? How do you measure you are doing a good job? Is the fact that the teams losing, does that mean the leadership’s poor? Or the fact the teams winning mean the leaderships good?! *Like* I have played in teams where you might say the leadership wasn't that great or wasn't addressed and you'd win games, and I've been in teams when its been really good and structured and organised, and we've lost. So it's not something where you sit down and you get a quiz and you if you get 10 out of 10 then your leaderships good. So thats an interesting thing as well, is how you actually measure, you cant measure, but is quantify the right word...whether it's being successful or not.’

I put Keith’s thoughts to Ru the next time we sat down to chat:

‘I can understand the difficulty in seeking to measure leadership. It's not like in a business where two of your team haven't met their K-P-Is. There's no check-lists. Which probably makes it a bit harder but I wouldn't introduce more (tick boxes), I wouldn't change that. I think it needs to be organic. Otherwise it would become functional’.

The 'organic' element from Ru, and Keith in some ways, seemed to be a rejection of 'lip service' as solely talk or a quantifiable routine. The idea of tactility allowed leadership to be expressed as a mutual acknowledgement of others buffering the players against the emotional rollercoaster of professional sport.

Depiction 2: Moveable Feast (Equilibrioception)

Equilibrioception is commonly referred to as our sense of balance. Without even noticing, as we move or stand our bodies are constantly readjusting to ensure we don't fall over. Within Hibernia, such a sense took on more of a metaphorical level which Ru referred to as a 'moveable feast', a term borrowed from Hemingway (1936) but originally referred to a Holy Day that does not occur on the same date each year. One morning Ru began to elaborate further what this meant as we chatted over coffee in our usual meeting spot on the sofa in the Machine Room (see photo 2):



Photo 2: Coffee spot

'There's absolutely no room for ego at Hibernia. Everybody has to be willing to learn....and this means being in charge of your own standards. Making sure you get the small things right. Be pro-active about all these little things. Make sure, for example, that you clean your space in the gym. 'Cus if you're not in charge of any of those

standards then you're not going to get on in a team environment. People will pick up on that really quickly. But you're also not going to get on yourself...If you think about leadership development or, being a good leader, those little standards are probably the most important thing that you've got ... you enable other leaders along the way, 'cus that just makes your job easier. Being a good leader is not having the ability for people to follow you, it's about creating other leaders'

For some, the constant addition of little details equated to 'hard work'. For example one of the leaders Calum was quite emphatic about the importance of a hard working team:

'We're a really, really hard working club. We go out, we train harder, we work harder on our analysis and we hope that transfers into play...you might be a lazy person at first but we're going to pull you along with us and you're going to turn into a hardworking person'.

Player Séan too had similar thoughts:

'Always for me, it's being head down and work hard. And if you get a knock back, you put your head down and work harder and hopefully you will get your break. Being humble is massive.... I very much think your actions speak so much louder than your words. You earn respect

by what you do, not what you say. I know that's a very straightforward thing but that's it'.

However, it is the *nature* of this hard work that is interesting. I began to understand that it was about details, or at least paying attention to the little details of your work. A good example here is when Gavin, one of the leaders who played at centre, detailed a particular positional technique (FN 31/8/15):

'I watched on at the individual skills post training from the little 'Portakabin' pitch side (see photo 3). Gavin and Barry were hunched over some tackle bags performing a 'jackal' drill as assistant coach Guy pulled them back with some dyna bands to act as resistance. Once done I helped Gavin put some equipment back into the nearby container. "That one looks heavy" I suggested, pointing to a tackle bag. "About 60kg", Gavin said "it replicates a person". He began to go into detail on the 'jackal' drill they had just done. "The pulling back replicates the hit you take when the opposing players comes in. Last year I damaged my ACL (knee ligament) and it hasn't been as strong as it was previously. It was a real area of strength for me to be solid over the ball like that so I put in a little bit every day to try and get to that".



Photo 3: Containers

Gavin began to detail heavily the difference between what happens if your rear end is slightly up in the air versus a flat back during a jackal.

“as well as injury prevention for your knees and hips”, he highlighted, “it also means you are harder to get off the ball (and suck more players in), you have a definite side so its easier for a ref to give a free against the opposition and you have more possibilities to play from”. “Thats amazing!” I said. “All from that simple idea of your backside being lower!?”. Gavin started to get quite excited highlighting the difference such details made in a game. “Do you get feedback from the coaches on things like that?” I asked. “Sometimes...”, he responded, “but its more from looking at footage of yourself. Trying to get things right”

Getting ‘things right’ then involves looking to add in here or there, as you can, to help ensure balance was achieved. These ‘little things’ were not simply

reserved for on the pitch. Similarly, player Barry felt that leadership itself involved the addition of small personal standards off the pitch as well:

'I'd be gutted with myself if I came in and treated...the guy cleaning the track, if I just threw a water bottle, and just left it for him to pick up and they might be like "oh I'll pick it up"...that would be the worse thing I could do here. I'd rather play terrible than walk in and someone was to say "Barry, how are you doing?" and to just walk past them. Or sometimes, it can be difficult to shake people's hand, but yeah, if there was a group of players and you were to walk straight past them, didn't...it may sound a bit much but I would be genuinely disappointed in myself'

Similarly, full back Séan felt that even looking after your surroundings could demonstrate leadership to yourself and others:

'it might come across as a bit bossy but making sure that if anybody leaves stuff in the gym or even the wee kitchen, making sure guys keep things clean. A thing that really annoys me is when people don't clean up after themselves! It's a minimal effort from everybody. Coming in from training there is always boys helping the kit man clean things up...you know, plastic bottles, everyone picking up litter, if they are walking past something they will pick it up and put it in the bin...We have talked about it before, but keeping *those* standards

high helps keep standards high on the pitch as well. If you let things slip around the club it can affect the performance as well. We need to be leading *all* the time'

Winger Dru suggested that leadership, involving these little daily re-adjustments, was not about the individual, but rather how you added into the collective meaning behind the jersey:

'you don't own the jersey, you're only a custodian. You're only there for a short period of time and that jersey is going to live on a lot longer than you as a rugby player. So your role, your job, is that when you leave, you leave that jersey in a better place you know'.

He continued, growing more emphatic:

'if you are isolated and don't feel part of the group, part of the shared purpose, then you have disillusionment and lack of motivation....there is a personal and collective element but there is a personal sense in both of those...I think that is something that is important to be aware of in a squad, as we have a 50 man squad so...not everyone can play every game, so its important to have that sense of inclusion'

Player Earl echoed these thoughts by exclaiming to me one day over lunch, making eye contact as he spoke:

‘no one person is bigger than the club...for a team to be successful, you need everyone's ideals to be on the same wavelength and everyone working towards a certain goal. As soon as one person starts to act outside of that and be really selfish, that's when the whole starts to tear. Other people start to be like, "Well, fuck, if he's not going to do that, then why the fuck should I bother?" You know? And then the whole thing falls down.’

Expressed leadership then involved all players having the potential to contribute through tiny additions to ensure the club was left in a better place. The most vivid visual recollection for me of these little additions was the players’ final lap of honour at the end of the 2015/16 season at Athletic Park. They had lost their last home game against local rivals - a relatively disappointing end to the season (see Drawing 3). I was in the stands and stood to applaud the players as they walked around (FN 6/5/16)

‘As the players walked along, a number of their own children ran around the field with them. Some were tiny, like winger Craig’s little boy who kept wondering off with a small rugby ball, with Craig needing to chase and retrieve him much to the crowd’s amusement. The players walking around all smiled and waved, but I noticed that during the lap some players left to do interviews, but others walked off. I think many felt disappointed at the loss and ending the season

like that. Also, for some this game was maybe it for them professionally. I felt great sadness too for these guys, some former Champions and Six Nation's winners, now being released without a contract. As the players walked and we applauded, Barry walked by where I was in the stands and smiled across at me through a very red and swollen eye. The day before he told me about his 5 stitches in his eye lid. By the end of the game, it was like a boxer's eye, bloody and red, and nearly entirely closed up'



Drawing 3: Lap of Honour

As well as a highly team orientated game, professional rugby generally encapsulates short careers. Two of the players who would be without contracts were associated with leadership within the club, but the accumulative impact of ageing, injuries and commercialisation means the time players have to contribute is short. Being part of leadership, therefore, through little additions here and there more so than great finals or events, is perhaps the most practical and personally meaningful way to leave the 'jersey' in a better way than you found it.

Depiction 3: Lucky Pitch (Proprioception)

Proprioception refers to our sense of space, or more specifically our bodies position in relation to materiality and other bodies that surround us. This sense of space is one of the ways in which we orientate and move in our physical surroundings. Within Hibernia, how leadership was expressed through such a sense of space was evident in relations with the physical pitch and also the stadium's location with the team's city. Pitches matter at Hibernia. In total they had three surfaces, including at the start of the 2015/16 season a new all weather, synthetic, pitch in their main stadium (see photo 4 illustrating the final synthetic 'crumb' being brushed in). As I stood looking out the window at the small, ride on, tractor making its final sweep of the field, Paul the Player Development manager came up and stood by me. He seemed relieved it would be ready for the coming season:



Photo 4: Synthetic surface

“the majority of my time last year was spent worrying about the pitch” he said grimly, “Is it flooded, is it not, can we train on it, can we not. That whole thing has been taken away. It just allows you to focus on

other things”...he looked at me and smiled, “The more important things!”.

However, as Paul was well aware the new pitch brought with it a number of concerns. During a leaders meeting with Manager Brad, the players expressed concerns about the new surface, and they all agreed they needed to remain ‘positive about it’ when speaking to other players owing to the costs involved (FN 8/9/15). Similarly, Amanda, the lead physiotherapist, was also concerned as she expressed to me one day as we watched training (FN 6/9/15):

‘a lot of the players are stretching out their hamstrings. I am looking to count them over the training sessions. I am not sure how much the players like the new field’.

The coaches looked to take a pragmatic view, trying to address the pitch in a rational manner as exemplified through the team meetings (FN 9/9/15):

‘On the presentation screen the first topic was ‘3G pitch’. Head coach James asked the players what they felt may be the issues? A number of decisive responses came back from the team - it would be a quick game; it would be based on speed; there is a different bounce to the ball. Leader Dru chipped in that, “it will allow us to play at speed from the get go. It will give us confidence to play the game the way we

want to". Pat, one of the assistant coaches, also stood up and contributed - he reaffirmed that for the "scrum on the crumb" the forwards should be confident as they were training on it for quite a bit (on the training 3G pitch) although there may be slightly more slide with the fresh crumb.'

The new, finished, synthetic pitch therefore created a lot of uncertainty, both in terms of performance but also commercially. It was interesting to note for one player, however, it provided an opportunity for leadership. In sitting down with leader Craig, a very experienced, winger, he recounted a story to me from training in the build up to the first home game on the new pitch. When I asked him for an example of leadership he responded:

'It was one of the first sessions that we done on that plastic pitch. Just because it was a different type of pitch...boys were a wee bit like "do I dive on this ball here, do I do this...". Just uncertain. And we had a set piece play during this session, in the second phase. Somebody went threw and passed it to me and I really had to take off towards the corner, and I did a *massive* dive to score (see Drawing 4). Nobody had hit the deck or anything before and I properly dived as if I would on a grass pitch, slid in front. One of the coaches came up to me afterwards and said, "you might not have known this, but the coaches were chuffed with that, to see you trying that". He said especially after we just had the conversation of why the fuck aren't we going on the

deck! And afterwards everyone was patting me on the back - yes, we had a good set piece play, but it was because I tried something, and it might come into a game when we just have to do that'.



Drawing 4: A Massive Dive

Leadership here, for Craig, was certainly borne out of his bodily actions, but he acknowledged that the space around him was primed for an expression of leadership. Fortunately, to everyone's relief, Hibernia won their opening home game on the new surface. As I walked across the top of the empty stands the Monday after, I ran into Paul (see photo 5).



Photo 5: The stands

I shook his hand and asked him whether he was happy with the result. He lent on the bars that protected the last row of seating, and paused before responding (FN 12/9/15):

'I am just happy it all went well. If we were to lose, or there was a bad injury, the pitch would get blamed. I am just glad we won and we had no injuries'.

I said “really?” as in relation to the pitch. ‘Oh yeah!’ he said. “If we had lost it would be a bad start. But now it's a winning pitch, it's a lucky pitch. Its something to go on with”. “So it's an anchor, or stake in the ground?”. I suggested. “Definitely” he replied emphatically “we can just get on with the season now, go game to game”.

I am not saying Craig's dive on the pitch ensured victory, but rather the uncertainty around the synthetic pitch provided a ‘pregnant’ potential for the expression of leadership. It allowed the players to have ownership over their own surface, rather than be afraid of its potential uncertainties.

Ownership, or at least that deeper connection to the space one inhabits, is an important facet of Hibernia. On one of the first few days arriving into Hibernia, Ru had remarked constantly that it was important the players had a ‘sense of history and community’, both in reference to the team itself and also the gritty story of their city. The club looked to enshrine this sense of community by having Athletic Park covered in the logos of local amateur clubs, how players contributed to ‘Hibernia Wednesdays’, in which the team would break up and help out coaching at local clubs for free, or how individual players conduct their own charity work. For Ru, such community engagement was another way ‘leadership development comes, by going out there even if they (the players) don't realise it themselves it's a form of self reflection’ (FN 22/8/15)

This relationship with the local rugby community was particularly poignant during one game day (FN 10/9/15). Before any home game started, the youth teams of local club's competed in advance in small sided games on the training pitch. As I came out onto the top deck of the stands, from my position I could see both the Hibernia team and the youth teams in their respective pitches:

'As I stood there I observed the Hibernia players doing some warm up drills. Before going back in to the changing rooms they came together in a circular huddle in the middle of the pitch to remind themselves of the goals ahead. As they did, I noticed in the training pitch the young players had done the same! Neither team could see each other so it was simply luck on my part but it epitomised that idea of connecting to the local roots for player development and ideals'.

Developing this sense of community space was not easy though. On chatting with Player Development Manager Paul one day he recounted that Hibernia were a transient team in the past, often sharing a stadium with various football clubs and essentially lacking a real 'home'. He reflected:

'I genuinely believe now, and the fan base would agree, we have a rugby club here, Hibernia is a rugby club in every essence. And that's down to the work behind the scenes, on the pitch, but the fan base, because the fan base are who they are and because it's grown so

much, that's the final piece in the jigsaw. The fans and the fanbase coming together and treating Hibernia like their club. It's a massive thing... And that was one of the greatest things about coming to Athletic Park in 2009 was that home venue and becoming a proper club, that's the biggest thing that has happened in the last ten years'.

Paul continued that as a professional sports team it was a continual balancing act between a community club that was 'open and inclusive', and developing a 'performance centre' exclusively for the sport. It was a challenge he and the team seemed to relish though, as losing their community roots would strip the players of some of the meaning around Hibernia. The sense of space and place was important for the players to draw on, both in terms of ownership over their own pitch but also that Hibernia was about more than on field performances, aiming to also bring people together in various ways *through* the sport.

Depiction 4: Playstation game (Vision)

The Hibernia coaches continually looked for ways to convey a team structure to the players. For example, in the week building up to a game against a team called 'Albion' (pseudonym), the coaches looked to illustrate the desired structure to the players via statistics, videos, information sheets and also metaphors. In the team meeting the Friday before the Albion game (FN 9/9/15), assistant coach Graham went through the opposition's 'heads on a plate' to identify individual weaknesses in the Albion players. One of which was represented as a traffic 'speed bump' in the powerpoint presentation, suggestive that he was a poor tackler and therefore could be easily 'ran over'. After that one of the other coaches, Pat, used a brick wall as a metaphor for the defence strategy, with individual bricks representing the various elements. The coaches seemed to dominate this notion of correct structure during the early part of the week, but when it came to the competitive games themselves the players seemed to take control.

However, this control was a tempered one. In the game against Albion, I sat on my own in the stands, something that would be rare for future games when I would usually be joined by Strength and Conditioning Assistant Coach Robbie, who had an earpiece to hear communications between the coaches in the stands and those physiotherapists and water carriers next to the field who would run on at various times. My field notes highlight how a decision

unfolded for the playing leaders that contained more influence from the coaches that I had originally thought (FN 10/9/2015):

‘Hibernia were 22-12 down. They were close to Albion’s try line and had the option to take the three points from an infringement or kick for a line-out which would potentially enable a try and a conversion, totally 7 points. Craig, Barry and Dru (all leaders) came together to discuss the situation. They opted for the line-out - with the result a driving maul and a try from winger Karl and ultimately the 7 points. It allowed Hibernia to go on and win the game. At the time it seemed an innocuous enough decision but afterwards at the press interview James stated: “The decision from our leaders to go for that scrum in the Albion 22 was inspired, and I’m glad they couldn’t hear what I was saying at the time as I was urging them to go for goal! They backed the play though, and Karl’s line from the scrum was sublime”.

In that instance the decision the players took was ‘correct’, in term of the desired outcome, but it was not always the case as a European game against Paris (pseudonym) suggests (FN 14/10/15):

‘As the game progressed Hibernia dominated. Through Robbie’s earpiece he related the radio feed from the coaches and staff and at one stage, with Hibernia leading, there was an opportunity to kick for goal or go for a try. Robbie commented that James wanted the

players to 'take the points' but the players decided to go for a try (similar to the Albion game), but the ball got turned over and the opportunity was lost. They managed to regain the ball though within a few phases and score a goal kick. In some ways, they had forged out a middle ground. Hibernia won the game 42-13 much to the delight of fans'

The coaches and the players therefore had different 'lines of sight' onto the field, ensuring that how the players led in that moment was a co-produced endeavour. However, such a communal sight was not always harmonious. After a bad loss to an Irish team the leaders came together to discuss what had gone wrong during the game (FN 25/10/15):

'Messages onto the park maybe? Some of the leaders felt they weren't able to get their messages through to the players around them in time before they were 'yanked' (substituted). For example Hibernia's No.9 Seb had a message to stop kicking and back rower Jean to 'pull his finger out' but neither got to the player before they were taken off. The leaders wanted some more time for the players to implement what was asked of them before the sub was made. Craig chipped in - 'There needs to be a balance. It cannot be like the coaches up in the stand playing the playstation game you know'.'

I was interested in Craig's 'playstation' comment and I managed to catch him after the meeting for a chat in the Machine room, grabbing some seats at the computer desks (see photo 6) to find out more:



Photo 6: Computer Desks

'It's trying to play in the right areas of the field. To do that involves strong communication in terms of the best way of putting it across the way to play without getting on people's backs...So I need to be allowed to get my word across and say what's happening without a coach sitting in the back of stands playing a playstation game and telling us what to do'

So it seemed to be about both the coaches and players appreciating each others perspective and allowing a new opportunity to emerge from both contributions. Craig continued:

'to give you an example, the Albion game. We have heard the call there for a penalty, and now we can go for the three points or the corner. We knew we had a good opportunity for a pushover try as our scrum was working well...and afterwards we get a try from it. And after they were like, "we wanted you to go for the corner, or we wanted you to take the three points, but you went against it"...but it worked for us! It's having the confidence, the belief in each other, as it was myself, Barry and Adam, you could see us come in...as said it's not a computer game for the coaches at the back, we need to make decisions for ourselves...and thats the thing, there is only so much the coaches can do during the week. They are not the ones who can get the result at the end of the day.'

I interjected so say that it isn't them that cross the 'whitewash' of the field but rather they provide the structure:

'Exactly!' Craig sighed. 'They have given us the tools to get there, but we are the ones who have to do it. Thats the leaders stepping up and making those big calls. If I make a call and it's right or wrong I'll stick my hand up, but again we have tried something. I don't want to be in the position we have got a penalty and James says posts and we have to go for the posts. And I think that, as leaders, it's a good thing that we will stick by each other on that. As you say, you could see that during that game the three of us coming together, and saying, "we

disagree with him on that, lets go for the try". Its nothing too stupid mind, and it worked for us thankfully, but there will be other occasions when it won't work, but it's not losing the confidence and ambition, that next time we'll learn from it, but if its on again, we'll have a crack at it'.

This idea of using a form of tempered 'ambition' was an interesting way to understand how leadership could be expressed through the view of both coaches and leaders. Similarly when I chatted with Calum, one of the other leaders, about this idea, he suggested the result in some ways didn't matter:

'there is an aspect of risk/reward to everything you do. And if you have that pressure not to lose, rather than just playing, then it affects your decision making and your more likely to take risk adverse decisions whether it's actually the best thing or not'.

He goes further to use an example of something that happened in another team, specifically the dying moments of England v Wales in the 2015 6 Nations:

'Wales had a penalty, and they kicked for the corner, and they didn't end up scoring so Alu Wyn Jones (Welsh captain) got ripped apart by the media. He kicked to the corner as they believed they had a good chance to score the try. And, maybe it was the right decision, maybe it

wasn't, but if they take the three points you weren't guaranteed. For me, from that position, he's probably justified in going to the corner, but if all they have is that uptight pressure approach, and that scenario happens again, then its very easy to imagine something where all they get told is purely a results based...then the next time they get to that scenario they take the penalty at goal rather than trying to win the game...it's limiting their choices, but affecting their mindset as well'.

Leadership here was not about the 'right' decision, in terms of whether they secured points or not, but in allowing both coaches and leaders line of sight to be embraced and then to act. Barry, a prop, talked about it more as something you felt rather than you decided rationally as he too reflected on the Albion game:

'its just a feeling, from the group and...it was a scrum and we got the call to go for the posts (see Drawing 5). Which is not a bad idea, but there was two scrums, and we both got a penalty from both of them. We just felt we had it. So it was speaking to the nearest guy which was Craig at the time...speaking to the props and them being like "go for it". Its just getting that feel and you go for it. But there has been plenty of times in games when you go for it, and it doesn't...the main thing is, whatever the decision is, you go for it. And there has been times I have made bad calls and suffered for it. But I am lucky I have

a group of guys who will be like “I’ll back you”. To hear that and have that feeling is powerful to have that.’



Drawing 5: A Communal Feeling

Its easy to equate such moments in a game to ‘decision making’ but cognitive analysis is not referred to by the players. Rather, it’s acknowledging others’ perspective without it paralysing you, allowing leadership to emerge as an expressive ‘feel’ to what should be done without fear of judgement.

Depiction 5: Fucks my body (Nociception)

There is no doubt that rugby is a highly physical game, with injuries common throughout the season to players. A sense of pain, or nociception, in which the nervous system detects harm or physical damage around the body, is certainly pervasive within the sport. A visceral example that still is extremely evocative in my mind comes from a field note following a Hibernia game against a Welsh team Cardiff (pseudonym) (FN 23/9/15):

‘The game itself was pretty bruising. Even after Hibernia scored a try the big hits still continued with a particular hard hit on Hibernia prop Andy Kilbane from the Cardiff opposing prop from Samoa, Tamoto Malu (pseudonym). Andy is 19 stone but Malu comes in at 22 stone and was running at full pace when he tackled Andy who had just put his hands on the ball. All I can say is Andy ‘bounced’ off Malu with a lot of force, thrown like a rag doll to the floor. The crowd’s collective intake of breath was audible and I could feel myself wince with horror and fascination as I looked on. Andy began to get up but as he walked he staggered and zig zagged extensively from left to right. It was clear he was badly concussed and was substituted immediately from the field’ (see Drawing 6)



Drawing 6: A Huge Hit

Similarly, a well liked stalwart of the Hibernia team John Vacca (known as 'JV') (pseudonym), was back for his first game after missing over 12 months of playing through injuries (FN 4/3/16):

'JV started the game out of position but was doing well. Early in the game though, as an unchallenged high ball came in to him, he seemed to catch it and then crumple to the ground (what James, the head coach, later referred to the media as an 'innocuous' high ball). There was an eerie silence and JV didn't get up as the stretcher and physiotherapists rushed onto the field. As he was stretchered off the fans rose and applauded him for a long time. He too applauded them

in his lying position and you could feel the emotions between both sets of hands clapping. Robbie, seated next to me, reflected that “that may be it for him”. Now I got it - JV was unsure of whether he would continue in rugby after the summer as his contract with Hibernia was up. He was a very loyal servant for them over the last 7 years but in recent times his injuries had diminished his contractual value. Just like that - one ‘innocuous’ ball and that may be the last pro rugby he ever will play. I felt desperately sad for him, but knew that all the players were aware that this was the nature of the sport. Brutal was not a strong enough word’.

I highlight these instances of physicality to illustrate that pain, and injury, is a common currency in terms of the potential sensual realms the players draw on to express leadership. Indeed, even the equipment within Hibernia is designed to replicate or pay homage to such pain, as the scrum machine and ‘Cryo Chamber’ for muscular recovery, photos 7 and 8 respectively, attests.



Photo 7: Scrum Machine



Photo 8: Cryo Chamber

A particularly good way to understand this physical endurance was through the physiotherapists. I managed to observe some of their daily work, with an extract below (FN 6/2/16):

‘I sat in the physio room watching Amanda, one of the physiotherapists cutting out a ‘donut’ from some padding and wrapping tape around it. It was then tapped to the shoulder of a young academy player, to act as a ‘cushion’ for bruising against further tackles. The young player had a baby face but heavily muscular body and was telling Amanda about his University studies. As Amanda continued I looked down at the two beds to my right in which a player sat, or lay, on each, and also were getting strapped in various ways to protect against injuries. It was a strange sight seeing the physios, all female, strapping up these young men - it harked back to first world war photos I once saw in which nurses had been strapping up young men for battle. The players seemed happy and

content to let the physios do their job by the expressions on their face, but said little during it'

A rugby team then is built around this physicality, perhaps best stated by assistant coach Pat that some of the players job was 'to smash shit and its important you do that' (post game analysis FN 13/2/16). In that way, pain and physicality are an integral part of the practice of rugby - the degradation of the bodily, meaty, flesh in order to enact organisational work. It is perhaps unsurprising then a sense of pain can enable the expression of leadership, particularly through the sacrificing of one's body. A conversation with flanker Calum went in some detail on such sacrifice:

'I guess the key point is the sacrifice aspect of it. It's not hard work until you are hurting from it, pushing yourself...what I mean here is hard work, kind of that aspect of running when its sore, or when its painful. When its tough to keep running, to *keep* running...and putting your body on the line for your team. That is something as well we have an emphasis on here. James the head coach talks about 'sacrificial acts' and we will highlight that. Players who have gone over and above in that regard, making efforts....'

This idea of physically going 'over and above', and its valorisation. was suggestive of leadership expression. For example, after each game the players receive symbolic artefacts to represent if they have performed

outstandingly in a certain area. After a game against an Italian team, Ben, one of the leaders received a symbolic '12 gauge' artefact, that looked like a small replica shotgun, to represent giving the opposition 'both barrels' for spending a night in hospital after peeing blood as a result of tackles (similar to the replica gun in photo 9 although on a wooden base).



Photo 9: 12 Gauge

Ben was well known for taking a large amount of physical damage and would go on to receive the 'Leadership Award' at the end of season Awards Night (FN 10/5/16). As a former boxer, I recalled an image from my own past of coughing up blood into a toilet after a fight - red specks flecked against a white backdrop. These are moments of pride at your dedication but also fear of what you are doing to your body.

Another example is provided by full back Séan, who himself used the word 'Sacrifice' on the players' tunnel, when he was asked what he felt an example of leadership might be:

'I suppose its a visual thing more than a verbal but Calum, even when he is injured he gets up and tries to make tackles again. That is probably a good example for me...like last season when he broke his thumb. He looked down and he thought somebody had bitten him and their tooth had come out in his hand but it was his bone sticking out! But he just thought it was somebodys tooth and he held his hand and got back in the line. Kept getting up...just stuff like that, you think, "bleedy hell, thats very impressive"'.

For his actions Calum was placed on the commemorative 'Courage Board' which sits on the stairs just outside the 'Machine Room'. Once, as I walked by with Paul (Player Development Manager) I asked him to tell me about the 'Board' (FN 1/12/15):

'Paul remarked it was something that was introduced by James, the Head Coach - it had started originally with a first picture that reminded the team of a talk from a royal marine and rugby player about how he had lost his legs in battle and switched to rowing at the Paralympics. Another picture was of a player out for two seasons with injury but returned to the professional game, and another of a

Hibernia player who recovered from testicular cancer back to playing. The final one was of Calum to highlight playing on with a compound fracture of the hand’.

Even with such pride taken in enduring pain and sacrificing oneself, the players were well aware that the constant physicality of training and big hits they endured were taking a toll. Séan remarked on this aspect specifically:

‘I reckon the older you get the more of a losing battle you fight to stay fit. Big Ru, he made it to 36 and he will probably be one of the last players to make it to that age. Definitely. The amount of injuries there are, there are guys retiring all the time now. I reckon...I have a year and a half left. If I get another two years, make it to 31, I’ll be like “I have had a bloody good career!”. I’d say the average career now is less than ten years. But hey...like you say you can’t really rationalise it, you just do it because you love it. And when you think I am going to do something that completely fucks my body, and you are only going to do it for ten years, you wouldn’t change it...you wouldn’t change it for anything. I guess maybe that makes you sound a bit stupid!’

It is possible the expression of leadership becomes part of a process that allows players to commit their body to the competitive cause with good conscience. Either way, it was hard to get away from the reflection that those

who 'sacrificed' and thus could experience terrible pain and injuries, were frequently associated with both a moral and practical understanding of leadership.

Depiction 6: Coach doesn't love me (Auditory)

A sense of hearing refers to how the players strived to express leadership through an openness of conversation. Such openness suggested that all players could voice their thoughts on everyday, working, matters. Furthermore, in using the term 'strived', it is important to say such an inclusive principle was an imperfect process and required a number of trade offs. For example, Ru suggested one such trade off was that the leaders would need to have 'skin six inches thick' (FN 30/9/2015). At the time, I thought he was referring to how players can, sporadically, receive blunt feedback from coaches and their peers as well as a necessary ability to take and give comedic 'banter' to those around you.

However, over a coffee with Ru, he highlighted how such 'thick skin' was more than feedback or 'banter'. On asking him whether he felt the playing leaders needed to be friends. 'No' was the court response.

'They don't need to be friends but you need to have that level of respect. Some of them will have had that respect before becoming leaders, other will have it *because* they are leaders. But if you have it because you are a leader it's only an inch thick. Its different when you are an international captain for example, they (the others players) have to respect you, take you on as a leader because they've been

told you're a leader. With the guys who are in that leadership role here at Hibernia, they have to work hard at those relationships'.

The idea of 'six inches thick' referred to an ability to build relations with others, a seemingly classic mainstream leadership point, but Ru also was pointing to the *manner* in which such relations are formed at Hibernia. Such forms were not necessarily through harmonious exchanges, but could be expressed as confrontation, with such encounters part of the daily 'work' of rugby as I observed (FN 11/9/15):

'The players were participating in some small sides games on the training pitch. At this stage of the season these games carry little contact owing to players' lack of fitness. However, winger Federico, the new, young, Italian signing put in a heavy challenge on Craig, an international player. Craig picked himself up off the turf and with a roar grabbed Federico by the throat, his face red with anger as he shouted. Other players around me barely acknowledged the confrontation, and I am not sure if it was Craig 'disciplining' a young player into how things are done, or a reflection of his concern over getting injured as a result of the zealotry of a young new signing'

Such aggression between team mates on the training ground was not uncommon with Ru once remarking that it was part of the training process to prepare for such confrontation within competitive games. However, Paul

(Player Development) remarked to me that such aggression was not something he experienced often *off* the field:

‘First, I have never heard the whole time I have been in here, is one, someone raise their voice. Secondly, no ‘thumb thumping’ (pointing to his chest), as in “we *must* to do this harder or faster”. Every single thing being said is a technical or tactical point. Its clear, and its fact... well, maybe, you would imagine that it is factual. There is no thumb thumping, no beating of the chest, no shouting. And you know I have been in a 1000 meetings, and a 1000 changing rooms after games and its never, never happened. So I think thats a measure of a sign, or a style of leadership from James and the group.’

Certainly I did not experience raised voices too often either, but confrontation was evident beyond such bluster, as I experienced through an encounter with James (Head Coach).

To provide some background, often team meetings could be quite monotonous affairs for me. The room in which they were held was large and dark, a lot of technical language was used that I could not understand, and it was very coach led with the players sometimes just listening for large periods (see photo 10).



Photo 10: Meeting Room

On one occasion however, the team meeting felt anything but pedestrian. I was sitting amongst the players and coaches, when the players were asked to split into units of five to discuss particular roles for the upcoming game (FN 22/9/15):

‘I approached the back five and asked them if it was okay to sit in “No problem” said Dru “we are the best group anyway!”. I smiled and said “no doubt” and took a seat. As the players began their goals, James called me over “Will, Will...”. I jumped up and came across thinking he wanted to show me something or suggest an idea - he looked at me sternly and intently, stating “I would rather you left the players to this. In these meetings its best if you sit down the back. If you want to sit in on anything tactical come and ask me first”. I was a bit surprised, and embarrassed, but said I understood - I walked back to the group, collected my book and pushed the chair in and walked

over to where Keith, the assistant coach, was sitting notably away from the groups’.

I certainly felt confronted in that moment, in many ways unprepared for the sudden change of pace to the team meeting. To be fair though James did not raise his voice although there was an abrasiveness to his tone. The players remarked however that such encounters, or ‘honest conversations’ as they called them, were required at times. For example, leader Dru felt that in order to be ‘custodians’ of what was deemed moral or practical at the club, such stern conversations were necessary and proceeded to recount a story on the team returning from a group night:

‘Thats a big thing, being custodians...one night out pre-season we all went to a local comedy club on the bus, and some guys had a few beers. Anyway, when we got back to Athletic Park the gates were locked, so the bus pulled up outside as some guys not drinking had parked there. It was around 11 o clock, quite late, and guys were filtering off the bus a bit drunk, and staggering around in the road... and I think Seb, who was off injured at the time with his head (concussion), was one of them and James basically saw him. I don't think he was as drunk as James thought, but he was sort of staggering, and James was driving his car, he was the only coach to come back with us. And Seb has *literally* told James to stop in the middle of the road with his hand, not realising it was James obviously.

James was really disappointed and a bit shocked. We found with guys like Seb, a good young player and an influencer in the squad, young guys will look at him and think, “if he is doing that, we can get away with that”. So myself and Ru obviously spoke to Seb, and we were pretty frank with him, that it wasn't really good enough...it was a...direct conversation, but you know...being custodians you sort of have to do those things’.

In many ways, leadership became absent, not through such ‘direct conversations’ as Dru puts it, but when nothing was said at all, or a lack of auditory expression. For example, within Hibernia, like most rugby teams, the head coach makes the final call on the team selection. Sometimes players were understandably disappointed with being omitted, as was conveyed by a young player called Fintan (FN 31/8/15):

‘I was sitting next to Dan Bothwell in the dugout, an international coach there to observe Hibernia, as we both looked out onto the players training. Fintan jogged up shaking my hand and Dan’s and stood in front of us idly for a moment - “you on for this weekend?” Dan asked Fintan in reference to the upcoming game. Fintan shook his head and looked at Dan saying, “the coach doesn't love me today...”. Dan asked if he had got any feedback. Fintan stared at his feet. Dan looked hard at him, “better you get game time somewhere else than none here...you could go to a second tier English team

maybe?'. Fintan looked up at him - "yeah...I was there at a club for a month before and I did enjoy it'. He paused and looked across the pitch, 'but the level of rugby is not good enough. If you are a forward yeah, but as a back, no'. There seemed to be no answer to it.' (see Drawing 7)



Drawing 7: Feeling Unloved

Feedback was viewed as essential for Hibernia's players both for ongoing development and also to know where they fitted into the wider team structure. Seemingly, hearing nothing at all was the most adverse place to be. Similarly, one of the leaders, Phil, an experienced international player, was reflecting on some of the aspects around his national team and leadership, as we chatted over a coffee and a sponge cake:

'You know, I think the most important thing around player leadership is that you can speak your mind without any retribution'.

He trailed off here so I asked him what he meant by retribution.

"well you know, you are not going to get dropped for speaking your mind. Like, we could sit here and nut it out and disagree and disagree, but as soon as we walk away and go to training tomorrow there is no grudges held. And at the end of the day the coach still has the final say. So me, as a player, I could push my case, push my case, without any fear of any grudges, and still at the end of the day the coach, he will take what the group said on board, and then if he doesn't want it, he doesn't want it. But at least we have said our piece and we buy into it...whatever goes forward from that meeting we all buy in to it'.

The expression of leadership here was of the ability to be heard, even if what was said could be at times difficult for players, or coaches, to hear. Gaining such a 'voice' was an imperfect process but it was important that the players felt they could articulate themselves openly, aware that it was the ability to speak freely, rather than getting the outcome they desired, that allowed leadership to come to life.

Chapter 8: Discussion - Leadership as a sensuous intoxication

8.0. Introduction

Chapter seven's depictions aim to provide a 'feel' for Hibernia's workplace. In this chapter I detail how leadership was expressed through this work, linking into the existing methodological and theoretical debates. It begins by suggesting a 'carnal' leadership-as-practice (LAP) which speaks *from* the body rather than *of* the body. The senses are recast as shared carnal connections between researcher and practitioners. These connections 'thicken' the flesh, a reflexive move examining the 'scholars reawakened body' in the construction of leadership expression. This carnal perspective informs three *methodological* 'bodies' to interrogate such expression. Initially, the 'situated body' looks at being 'within' a particular place. It suggests that leadership is coproduced at the crossing points of site/sight. Second, the 'emotional body' looks for the affective 'depth' of the research, positioning leadership as a deeply felt emotional engagement. Finally, the 'physical body' explores the 'dust' of our own historical acculturation. Leadership here is positioned as a communal orientation which 'anchors' Hibernia's players. Each body draws on the 'Depictions' and includes a section on the implications for LAP. The chapter closes by illustrating how a sensuous intoxication elucidates leadership in a unique manner.

8.1. A carnal leadership-as-practice

It is my ambition throughout this thesis to return leadership to the 'bright orange' of how it is lived in everyday organisational practice (Lombardo and McCall 1978 p. 3). In order to do so for leadership as practice (LAP), I suggest we need to inform our methodology through a 'carnal', corporeal, position which is not simply 'of' the body but is informed 'from' bodies (Crossley 1995 p. 44, Williams and Bendelow 1998 p. 65, Wacquant 2004 p. viii). Although this movement is a methodological endeavour, it is underpinned by an ontology that does not adhere to bodies being ontologically 'cut' away from the world at the 'skin'. Through Merleau-Ponty's (1968 p. 136) 'flesh' we are 'always-already' within ongoing practice. We can never therefore stand outside our bodies, or our situated location, and try to act like a bounded, detached, 'observer'. Such a 'God's eye view' is a fallacy, for our bodies are the only 'hinge' onto everyday happenings that we have (Dreyfus and Taylor 2015 p. 18). Within LAP I feel such an acknowledgement of our embedded corporeality is required to ward off 'disembodied organisational analysis' (Hassard, Holiday et al. 2000 p. 6) that leaves us with a 'decorporealised perception' onto our understanding of the phenomenon (Leder 1990 p. 5). Without this movement to a phenomenological body-in-the-world we end up reducing leadership down to what is deemed observable ('eyes'), proxy linguistic 'stand-ins' ('mouth') or 'parts' of the body or materiality ('limbs'). For to pursue an implicit realist view of a bounded body, we are left with a tasteless, grey, 'surface image' of leadership (Stoller 1997 p. 82).

In order to recap briefly, my thesis overall has sought three objectives to empirically expand research from 'on' to 'in' practice so as to return leadership to its living colour (Shotter 2006 p. 599). The first objective sought to explore how Merleau-Ponty's (1968) fleshy ontology framed the body. In combination with anthropological literature, such a corporeal frame recast methodology as a carnal affair, delivered from the body (Stoller 1997 p. 5, Williams and Bendelow 1998 p. 17). The second objective looked to augment ethnography in line with this carnality. I illustrated here the movement from an embodied ethnographic realism to a sensory perspective that looked to create a shared, visceral and reconstructed account of leadership in Hibernia (Wacquant 2005a p. 453, Pink 2015 p. 151). The discussion here turns to the final objective, how such sensual depictions inform LAP at both a methodological and theoretical level.

I argue in this chapter, therefore, that we can comprehend such depictions of leadership as a 'sensuous intoxication' (Wacquant 2004 p. 71). This is a profound movement as, unlike other approaches, I do not suggest we can go into organisations to 'find' leadership. Such an endeavour would equate to Quixotism 'windmill tilting', mistaking an abstraction as some form of concrete 'thing' either inside our bodies or enshrined outside in routines (Wood 2005 p. 1104). Rather, I advocate that leadership is an evocative, rich, phenomenon that can only be accessed through our senses in terms of its expressed 'lived meaning' (Merleau-Ponty 1964b p. 42). The focus of inquiry

thus changes from seeking to define what *is* leadership to asking how it makes us *feel*. Merleau-Ponty's alternative ontology facilitates this switch, methodologically re-sensitising or re-awakening the researcher to the 'smells, tastes, textures and sensations' of leadership (Stoller 1997 p. xv). Such movement is only possible through an ontology that does not keep our bodies on the 'shores' of practice, but allows us to 'wade' into leadership's ongoing expression with all its murky, swirling and enlivening qualities (Barker 1997 p. 352, Cunliffe 2003 p. 999).

8.2. Thickening the flesh

Within section 4.4.1 I suggested 'thickening' the research on leadership in a number of ways. Initially, it was to embrace Geertz's (1973 p. 10) 'thick descriptions', a stylistic endeavour to illustrate the rich detail of the scene laid out before us. Although a powerful mode of depiction, such descriptions alone do not necessarily draw in the sensual body of the researcher (Howes 2006 p. 18). To expand further therefore we need to get within the 'thick' of expression to grasp its localised meaning (Shotter 2014 p. 493). In order to avoid a tasteless, 'vanilla pudding' or 'bland' leadership requires mobilising the 'whole person' including their situated, emotional and material presence (Ashforth 2005 p. 40, Sergi and Hallin 2011 p. 192). Leadership's 'flavour' begins to develop with such mobilisation, but the researcher is still not implicated in expression. Merleau-Ponty (1968 p. 135) helps us to increase the 'thickness of the flesh' by suggesting we are 'folded' into organisational practice. For a phenomenon to expressively 'burst forth', it is predicated on

the ‘folding, unfolding and refolding’ of bodies, ‘things’ and place (Merleau-Ponty 1968 p. 146, Küpers 2015 p. 67). The constant interchange here allows expression to retain its meta-stable quality, something old but also always new (Landes 2013b). For our bodies to be ‘enfolded’ into organisational life, we too as researchers contribute to the ‘thickening’ of leadership as a felt phenomenon (Mazis 2016 p. 10).

Such thickened flesh points to the active role of researchers’ perception in leadership’s construction (Gibson 1978). It is through the folding of our bodies into the ‘thickness’ of practice that we can develop “a sort of hyper-reflection [sur-réflexion]’ onto proceedings. Such reflection is not simply to survey the scene as if we are not involved, nor attempt to ‘stand back’ from the leadership we have come to embrace (Merleau-Ponty 1968 p. 38). Instead such reflection acknowledges the researcher is ‘always implicated in the problem he poses’ ensuring we are in the ‘thick’ of practice through our bodies at both a theoretical and methodological level (Merleau-Ponty 1964 p. 90, Simpson 2009). There is no separation therefore between ‘on’ and ‘in’ practice but reflects instead that ‘the method is the theory’ (Shotter 2000 p. 237). Specifically, the manner in which we come to *perceive* leadership influences *what* we then view in practice (Laing 1961). In the next three sections I illustrate how my methodological perceptions enable me to get a ‘grip’ on the expression of leadership within Hibernia. To extricate this grasp, I return to the themes of thickness in 4.4.1 but expand them further into three ‘bodies’, or lenses, to illustrate leadership as something we sense through

our own corporeality: within - the situated body; depth - the emotional body; dust - the physical body (Scheper-Hughes and Lock 1987, Brubaker 2000). I detail for each the relevance for leadership-as-practice.

8.2.1. Within - the situated body

In chapter 7, the first methodological movement was in reference to 'knowledge-from-within', relating to knowledge that emerges from a particular situation (Shotter 2010b p. 26). This corporeal knowledge is 'ambulatory' in orientation, suggesting we can only grasp it from within a material place, ensuring 'we know as we go, not before we go' (Ingold 2000 p. 230). Bodies are always situated, for only once we are *in place* do we get a *feel* for what might be occurring around us (Leder Mackley and Pink 2013 p. 338). Places therefore are always 'pregnant' with the potential for various forms of leadership to be expressed owing to the structures and forms that they take (Merleau-Ponty 1962 p. 25). It is through this 'carnal entanglement' that bodies and places are moulded and remoulded constantly to produce new knowledge (Lefebvre 1994 p. 9, Wacquant 2005a p. 466). Certainly sport, with its structured legislative nature, provides a good example of 'bodies as parts of places' (Pink 2011 p. 347). The punches deemed legitimate within the space of a boxing ring, or similarly the tackles on a rugby field, would get an athlete arrested elsewhere. Within Hibernia's Athletic Park, such 'rules' are always present albeit not overtly enshrined in any 'Queensbury' form²². Instead, we learn through an 'optimum distance' from such places, informed

²² The traditional rules of boxing as endorsed by the Marquess of Queensbury.

by how they bend, twist, rotate and pivot our corporeal being (Merleau-Ponty 1962, Cataldi 1993). It is through such contortion therefore we begin to grasp the methodological feel of a 'space'. I will aim to illustrate how Hibernia informed this contortion in three ways.

First, the process of continually re-orientating ourselves from place to place helps us get a feel on what is occurring. Merleau-Ponty (1967 p. 168-169) uses an analogy of a footballer, a sport he favoured more than rugby, stating 'each manoeuvre undertaken by the player modifies the character of the field and establishes in it new lines of force in which the action in turn unfolds'. My own bodily 'manoeuvres' therefore helped me get a better understanding of how leadership 'unfolds'. For example, in 'Depiction 2', being on the pitch with Gavin and helping him put some tackle bags into the portakabin, opened up an opportunity to engage with him around the 'jackal'²³. It gave him the *space* to detail the enjoyment, difficulty, and intricacies with perfecting such a skill (Ingold 2011 p. 8). In contrast, in 'Depiction 6' the darkened classroom feel of 'team meetings', with coaches going through presentations to seated players, created a tight, passive like, response from all involved. Unlike the open space of the pitch, players were constrained by chairs and other bodies to such a degree they often would collectively stand up and stretch out. One space therefore enabled player expression and the other inhibited it (Dale 2005 p. 653). In Hibernia therefore certain spaces enabled a 'richer' form of expression to 'play out' (Weick 2007, Connor 2011 p. 51).

²³ The ability for a player to 'steal' the ball at the tackle or ruck on the ground.

Second, some places within Hibernia 'fitted' better from a sensual perspective. Dreyfus and Kelly (2011 p. 10) point out that its through the repeated exposure to a place, and its objects, 'you develop a sense of where you are'. They suggest that, like an elite sporting performer, who become 'skilful' from immersion in their discipline, we also become 'skilful human beings' taking for granted how we easily engage with physical places (Todes 2001 p. 79). This skill deteriorates however when we are uncertain how to 'respond' to particular contexts (Dreyfus 2014/2001 p. 95). Within Hibernia, this corporeal 'ill-fit' gave me access to forms of knowing left unsaid. For example, within the management's 'Machine Room', I always felt uncomfortable, as did many employees who suggested it was a stressful space (see Depiction 2). It was the only 'key coded' room to enable access, and during interaction voices were always lowered, movement slower, and eyes constantly darting from my gaze to check who else was present. During conversations here the talk was always guarded, impacting the tone, expression, and content of any dialogue (Küpers 2011 p. 30). Another example is the stands, somewhere I enjoyed being when I began the ethnography but grew more wary of (see Depiction 5). Fandom has a voyeuristic quality, with the big hits, injuries and losses observed part of the 'spectacle-game' (Goffman 1974 p. 399). Its brutal physicality remains voyeuristic through an other-ing of the players, but once you dissolve the fan-athlete boundary by getting to know the players' personal ambitions, hope

and fears, the stands become a less comfortable place to view from (Knights 2015 p. 212).

Finally, and also as a flip side to the second point, when such a skilful 'fit' does occur, we may, according to Serres (1985/2008 p. 323), who uses a rugby example, encounter indicative moments of 'ecstasy' or 'joy'. Such 'joy' emerges from how individuals feel absorbed, or in a state of 'flow' with bodies, objects and places that surround them. Within Hibernia, certain places began to resonate ensuring I felt more 'playful' and unbounded at a sensual level (Csikszentmihalyi 1992 p. 216, Lowell Lewis 2013 p. 24). For example, on entering the physiotherapists room for the first time, I felt very uncomfortable by its medical paraphernalia which echoed Foucauldian (1973 p. 196) nightmares of the 'anatomy-clinical method' of bodily homogeneity and sterility. However, over time, I grew increasingly comfortable there, and I began to embrace it as a serene, caring, place as it was for many of the players (see Depiction 5). Within this space, movements were calming, more precise, and often involved little conversation. Perhaps owing to being registered as a health care professional such places resonate with me generally, but my initial visceral response, unlike the stands, was particularly negative.

In completing the ethnography at Hibernia, over time, places and my body 'mingled' helping me become more 'attuned' to the vibrations on offer (Serres 1985/2008 p. 307). Sometimes these vibrations facilitated laughter,

relaxation, or outright stress but it gave me a portal onto how others also felt in such places and what forms of expressions were deemed of worth to those involved (Merleau-Ponty 1964b p. 169). Methodology from 'within' then relates to how we constantly 'manoeuvre' ourselves from place to place, look to 'fit' (or not) into a locale, and how places can evoke absorption. It was through these three modes then I began to get a better grip on a spatially orientated form of leadership expression.

I. LEADERSHIP EXPRESSED WITHIN SITE/SIGHT

A sensitisation to knowledge-from-within the various places of Hibernia brings me to my first suggestion that we can understand leadership as a co-produced phenomenon (Hosking 2006, Küpers 2015). I deploy the homophone of 'site' and 'sight' in order to represent this production. The former term 'site' refers to how our social lives are 'intrinsically rooted in the site where they take place' (Schatzki 2002 p. xi). Such sites constrain and emancipate our bodies offering up a range of perpetually constructed affordances and occluding edges²⁴ we must get a grip on (Merleau-Ponty 1968 p. 263, Gibson 1986 p. 80). Furthermore, the word 'sight' refers to our own 'lines of sight' which entails how our own trajectories, or 'lifelines', of personal histories, desires, and fears, 'weave' their way through the world around us (Ingold 2015 p. 15). The reason I use the homophone is to illustrate that, through our perception, there is no schism between the body that is sensing and the place being sensed but both exist in a Janus-like,

²⁴ Edges of building and materials that obscure our view.

reversible 'double representation' (Küpers 2015 p. 216). For 'every perception is doubled with a counter perception' not through some form of linear, unidirectional, intentionality but through an ongoing 'grip' between bodies and places (Merleau-Ponty 1962 p. 38). Within Hibernia then, there was the potential for leadership to become expressed at certain chiasmatic crossing points of bodily 'sight' and the 'site' of place.

For example, in 'Depiction 3' we see the concern raised from the installation of a new all weather pitch. Coaches were concerned about its impact on tactics, physiotherapists on injury, and the commercial department on whether it would be financially viable. However, I feel its player Craig's reflection of leadership in terms of doing a 'massive' dive onto the artificial surface which points to localised expression. I am not suggesting, however, that the 'routine' practice of a dive itself *is* leadership, for players diving onto pitches is 'normal operating procedures' in rugby (Simpson, Buchan et al. 2018 p. 4). Neither am I suggesting that Craig was a 'leader' in that moment in terms of some internal traits, indeed I am not sure if he thought this either (Raelin 2004 p. 132). Rather it is the very *concern* itself ensured the pitch was an 'already pregnant' potential or 'medium' for leadership, which Craig then facilitated through his normal sight for the try line (Merleau-Ponty 1962 p. 25, Todes 2001 p. 100). Owing to Craig's implicit, responsive, skills he was perhaps not even conscious of enacting 'leadership' as he dived (Dreyfus and Kelly 2011 p. 3). The space of the pitch had become weighed down with meaning, enabling Craig's ordinary everyday actions to take on a unique

expression. Places therefore ‘feed’ the flesh of localised enactment, enabling the bodies involved greater ‘possibilities’ to generate an expression of leadership to meet their needs i.e. in this case the concern over the pitch (Coole 2007a p. 232, Coole and Frost 2010 p. 112). Craig’s dive perhaps did not resolve this concern, but it illustrated that the pitch was ‘never neutral and is never just a backdrop’ to such expression (Sauer 2015 p. 243).

In addition, I also feel such lines of site/sight come from the crossing points from which people perceive the action. We see such a crossing point in ‘Depiction 4’, which illustrates a tension between the players and the head coach James on whether to go for a scrum or kick for goal. Player Calum indicated, however, that leadership was not expressed from the outcome of the action (i.e. a try), but rather from the tacit ‘terms of exchange’ that occurs between players and coaches within a particular site i.e. the pitch (Hosking 2006 p. 255). Barry the prop details this personally by stating such expression was about ‘getting that feel and you go for it’. Leadership therefore is not about the ‘right’ outcome of the decision, which can go either way tactically, but rather it ‘unfolds’ in the crossover of the perceptions involved (Merleau-Ponty 2007b p. 353-354). Barry’s ‘feel’ is not something that occurs within his body, but draws on, and feeds into, the responses of other players and coaches in that time and place (Butler 2017 p. 128). It is through such a perceptual crossing point, or ‘knot’, of the coaches and player’s from *where they stand* that facilitates or ‘limits’ leadership expression (Ingold 2015 p. 15-18). Of course, ‘knots’ don’t always stay steadfast, they

can 'loosen' as it did against an Irish team, epitomised in Craig's comment on a 'playstation game". Thus the 'knot' requires constant readjustment, deliberation and 'negotiation of social order', both on and off the field to ensure no 'slackness' from either end (Laing 1970 p. 1, Hosking 1988 p. 154, Dreyfus and Dreyfus 2005 p. 789). It is the tight 'interweaving' and 'interpenetration' of the 'knot' however which 'fastens' the expression of leadership during such moments of a game (Ingold 2015 p. 13).

Through lines of site/sight therefore the 'potential' for the expression of leadership emerges (Merleau-Ponty 2007b p. 358). A good analogy is stereopsis. This 'binocular vision' refers to how the eye's physical location takes in slightly different perceptual information, but the crossing point, or chiasma, of the optic nerve ensures we 'see' a 'singular' coherent view (Shotter 2010b p. 8). The crossing point of leadership in body and place here, like such vision, illustrates that it is not just in combining two strands of activity that knowledge will be created. Rather, knowing emerges from the difference *created from the overlap* of these two strands (Bateson 1979 p. 65). It is therefore the difference between these two positions 'that makes a difference' in how leadership comes to be expressed (Bateson 1972 [1987] p. 318). From a realist, bounded, perspective we may miss this overlap, transfixed by the individual entities involved (Landes 2013b p. 18)

II. IMPLICATIONS FOR LEADERSHIP-AS-PRACTICE

In section 2.2.2. I highlighted how practice looked to acknowledge material place, not as some docile entity, but with a potential to ‘bite back’ on us in various ways (Engeström and Blacker 2005 p. 310). The idea of ‘mutual constitution’ suggests that such material place plays a role in constituting practice. Within LAP, place is also being acknowledged in terms of how we come to ‘materialize’ leadership (section 2.2.3) (Hawkins 2015 p. 953, Sergi 2016 p. 114). Furthermore, in section 3.5.3. I illustrated that within a growing ‘spatial turn’, there is an ambition to demonstrate how leadership is a ‘spatially informed phenomenon’ (Rapo, de Paoli et al. 2015 pp. 1-2, 8). Some have explicitly drawn on this ‘turn’ to inform LAP or practice (e.g. Küpers 2013, Fisher and Reiser Robbins 2015), while others have simply looked to explore leadership *solely* in terms of place and space (e.g. Ladkin and Taylor 2014, Salovarra 2015). Either way, both positions are informed by theories of the body, ensuring from a methodological and theoretical position, the corporeal lens of a ‘situated body’ holds some relevance (Küpers 2011 p. 23).

Methodologically, although the body is spoken of in relation to place, it is often applied as a ‘theory’ of leadership, *or* a theory of the body, rather than underpinning how we may empirically explore *from* the body (e.g. Ladkin 2010 p. 66, Rapo, Sauer et al. 2013 p. 384). The senses then are not brought into play to underpin any methodological insight to represent leadership anew (Pink 2013 p. 862). There is a failure here to acknowledge the senses

as the 'vinculum', or connective tissue, between our bodily perception and the site to which we find ourselves (Merleau-Ponty 1968 p. 176). So although research on leadership within places and spaces is being empirically 'treated at great length', the researcher's body is not ontological re-envisioned (Rapo, de Paoli et al. 2015 p. 3). For without such a 'sensible' methodology, we end up *representing* the body and place, as in section 3.4.2, as acting on each other as causal forces. This representation is at best Foucauldian in which places shape the subjectivities or individuals, while at worst, it is architectural behaviourism with bodies reacting to place through a stimulus-response (SR) (Rose 1999 p. 5, Raelin 2016 p. 137). Through this causality we may fall into the trap that materials themselves may 'lead' bodies around (e.g. the pitch) or that individuals do the leading (e.g. James the Head Coach). By bringing the senses back in though we begin to see how body and place engage in a 'non-fusing embrace', mutually constructing each other, without either leading or following, to create the *conditions* for expression to occur (Küpers 2013, 2015 p. 73).

Theoretically, the approaches that do deploy Merleau-Ponty's ontology often do so from an 'embodied' perspective (see section 3.2.2) and look to draw more on his earlier target of the mind/body dualism rather than that of an inside/outside (Ladkin 2010, e.g. Rapo, Sauer et al. 2013). From this bounded position, site is left on the 'outside', and sight on the 'inside' of the body, reinforcing our corporeality as a 'container' with a hardened 'skin' (Ingold 2015 p. 15). There is therefore an incongruence between what

understanding is being sought (i.e. the crossing of place and body) and an older ontological position that cannot integrate such inquiries. Merleau-Ponty (1968 p. 200) himself reflected that his earlier book, *Phenomenology of Perception* (1962), suffered from this shortcoming. He argues that the mind/body dualism cannot be solved by starting with a “consciousness”-“object” distinction’, for it leads to suggesting that consciousness is a *result* of this objective body. If we stay fixated on the mind/body epistemological dualism we may reproduce the ‘experience error’ that positions the source of action as either residing inside bounded materiality *or* bodies (Merleau-Ponty 1962 p. 5). One has only to reflect on how materials are within bodies (e.g. a pacemaker) or how bodies ‘leak’ into materials (rugby players’ blood onto a synthetic pitch), to phenomenological grasp such boundedness as a fallacy (Sacks 1985, Downey 2002 p. 504). In a return to the site/sight of practice we can acknowledge this interpellation by embracing a non-bounded view of the body, enabling us to understand how the two positions of the homophone help facilitate leadership expression (Küpers 2013).

8.2.2. Depth - the emotional body

In section 4.4.2. I suggested that depth refers to how the research ‘moves’ us emotionally (Leder 1990 p. 3). It is a rebuttal to perspectives that suggest our emotional body is a ‘savage’ ‘handmaiden’ housing the internal, rational, mind (see section 3.4.2.) (Howes 2006 p. 5). For Merleau-Ponty (1964 p. 53) ‘emotion is not a psychic, internal, fact’ but rather emerges from our relations with others as articulated through a ‘bodily attitude’. Deep, emotional, experiences do not happen ‘inside’ us therefore, but through our social and material relations we are ‘in deep’ (Cataldi 1993 p. 1). I am not suggesting our bodies do not experience emotions, but rather they have an intentionality to them, relationally ‘co-constructed’ against a sense of ‘self’, others or material objects (Laing 1961, Rose 1999, Baralou and McInnes 2013 p. 172). Depth then refers to the ‘dance of emotions’, for we are the ones *inside* these ‘relational performances’ which are only intelligible from social, rather than private, use (Gergen 2009 p. 102, Burkitt 2014 p. 2). Furthermore, it is through the ‘dance not the dancers’ of emotion that we are solicited to move (Shotter 2011 p. 79). To embrace a corporeal methodology, I needed to acknowledge how leadership ‘called’ me to move at an emotional level (Shotter 2010b p. 63, Küpers 2011b p. 24). For any expression, weighed down and ripe with meaning, is a highly emotional endeavour (Cataldi 1993 p. 92). I aim to show how I was methodologically called to move within Hibernia in three ways.

First, in section 5.4.1. I suggest fieldwork begins by embracing the ‘same shit others take day-in or day-out’ (Goffman 1989 p. 125-126). Methodologically ‘paying one’s dues’ is a bedrock of sensory ethnography (Stoller 2005 p. 198). It goes *further* than immersion however, seeking to ‘tune in’ to what others are feeling by ‘cultivating’ or ‘educating’ ourselves sensually (Stoller 1997 p. 3, Howes 2006p. 33). In Hibernia, this ‘tuning’ involved *investing* emotionally in what was occurring rather than acting as a disinterested instrument to harvest information (Dreyfus 1993 p. 252). For example, in ‘Depiction 5’ I illustrate my sadness when Robbie utters ‘that may be it’ for the injured player John Vucca. Like others in the club, I admired John for his good humour and intelligence, but such sadness contained a ‘cultural meaning’ shared by myself, Robbie, and others (Hahn 2006 p. 88). This affective response illustrated my ongoing, emotional, conversion into practice at Hibernia (Wacquant 2004 p. vii). Similarly, in ‘Depiction 5’, I illustrate how player Ben’s peeing blood evoked my own memories of coughing up blood. Through the emotional connection with my own painful, visceral memories, I began to feel in my ‘bones and flesh’ similarities to the fear and anxiety this experience raised for him (Okely 2007 p. 77). Such memories provide a somatic ‘as if’ quality tuning us into others’ experiences, and potentially changing our own perspectives on what we encounter (Seremetakis 1993 p. 2, 1994). Organisations therefore ‘mould’ us emotionally over time through our investment in others and the evocative experiences on offer (Wacquant 2005a p. 466, Ellis 2007 p. 9).

Second, our emotional demands also influence how we perceive organisations. Specifically, the changes in our own physical and affective demeanours contribute to a phenomenon's expression (Hockey and Allen-Collinson 2009 p. 224). In essence, 'no one's hands are clean' when it comes to acknowledging how our emotions influence our perception (Merleau-Ponty 1964 p. 146-147). This suggestion is not an admittance of immoral actions, but rather that our bodies are emotionally entangled in our particular epistemological 'view' (Dreyfus and Taylor 2015 p. 138). For example, in 'Depiction 2' I remark on my empathy at players 'moving on' during the lap of honour, for in sport a 'happy ending is not to be had by all' (de Rond 2009 p. 89). Ethnographers, however, are also 'suffering beings of flesh and blood', therefore questioning whose sadness I was experiencing (Wacquant 2005a p. 467). The end of the season represented an ending for me most of all, with the research coming to a close. It was potentially my own emotions then that 'leaked out' onto the scene I perceived (Todes 2001 p. 52). Such 'mourning' though, misattributed or not, provided a *feel* for these endings (Wacquant 2005a p. 472). A 'sensitive', emotional, body therefore can guide our empirical inquiries (Leder 1990 p. 150). A specific example here is in 'Depiction 1', when prop Andy's physical touching of the Tunnel also touched me emotionally (Pink 2011b p. 270). This emotion guided my subsequent conversation with leader Séan about the tunnel's meaning. Striving to feel what others do can direct and misdirect us, but either way it provokes us to methodologically interrogate what we perceptually feel we know.

Finally, being attuned affectively can reveal an industry's emotional norms. Within professional sport, a highly masculinised domain, emotional displays can be 'covert' and hidden from view (Gilbourne and Richardson 2006 p. 326, Gulliver 2017 p. 2). Paradoxically however, sport is a 'rollercoaster of emotions' suggesting affective resonance is felt but its articulation is visibly withheld (Roderick, Smith et al. 2017 p. 102). Likewise rugby is noted for its lack of verbal articulation, in which your on-field actions are venerated for doing the 'shouting' for you (Hodge, Henry et al. 2014 p. 66). For example, in 'Depiction 1', Ru mentions how the changing room could be an emotional place, and it was important individuals did not get 'cut off' there. Emotional displays therefore were limited to certain times and places, reinforced by Development Manager Paul in 'Depiction 6' when he states there is little 'beating of the chest' at Hibernia (Tracey 2004 p. 514). Rugby's 'sensory biography' therefore is suggestive of an emotional norm of stoicism, perhaps borne from a British military past of 'stiff upper lips' (Corbett 2006 p. 226). However, even with such public regulation, small 'sign-posts' of emotional articulation did appear (Polanyi 1964 p. 140). As a researcher, picking up these signposts involved 'playing it by ear', trying to hear the emotional 'tune' on offer (Gilmore and Kenny 2015 p. 67). Embracing our bodies through a sensorial lens allows us to pick up an organisations emotional notes, even when played at the lowest key (Casey 1995 p. 84).

In order to methodologically grasp the 'hearts and minds' of those involved, we need to reject any academic 'alexithymia'²⁵ in favour of a sensitive response (Brannan, Pearson et al. 2007 p. 396, Brannan 2011 p. 323). Such a response allows us to understand how our emotions are 'moulded' by organisations, act as potential guides to our inquiries, and get the 'gist' of a sector's sensory biography. In the next section I will illustrate how this corporeal, emotional, depth informs how we understand leadership within practice.

I. LEADERSHIP AS AN (E)MOTIONAL ENGAGEMENT

Through the greater 'depth' of sensitive ethnography, I suggest we can grasp the expression of leadership as an (e)motional engagement. The unusual bracketing here is to illustrate the etymological latin root of the word 'emotion' is to 'move out' (Cataldi 1993 p. 91). Sheets-Johnstone (2009 p. 213) reinforces that 'emotions are prime motivators: animate creatures 'behave' because they feel themselves moved to move'. Similarly, Merleau-Ponty (1964 p. 50) uses the French term 'sens' as a homograph, referring to both our physical tactile grasp of the world, but also that such a grasp carries emotional resonance to facilitate meaning in our lives (Mazis 2016 p. 23). It is through animation that we 'feel' occurrences, with tactility and emotions synchronously entwined (Sheets-Johnstone 2011 p. 113). I suggest that leadership, likewise, as a sensual expression, is always animate, bringing movement to 'life' by imbuing it with a strong emotional 'hue' (Shotter 2011 p.

²⁵ Alexithymia is a personality construct characterised by the subclinical inability to identify and describe emotions in the self.

116). Such expression becomes an 'ongoing birth', as the meaning of such actions are continually reinforced and developed owing to their emotional significance (Merleau-Ponty 2007b p. 358). Leadership is often represented as a petrified 'dead' form, reduced to either a 'thing', a lexicon stand-in, or enshrined inside bodies or objects (see section 3.4.1). Such representations are 'killers of life' hollowing leadership out from the 'richness' of practice, leaving us with a phenomenon that had lost its 'expressiveness' (Merleau-Ponty 1964b p. 87, Van Manen 2014 p. 21). For Hibernia's players, they were able to foster their own engagement by 'gearing into' the emotionality of their work through either tactile or mundane expressions of leadership (Dreyfus 2005 p. 112).

Initially, for example, in 'Depiction 1' I illustrate that for the players, leadership was 'incarnated' into 'flesh and blood' through a common tactility (Wacquant 1995 p. 491, 2005a p. 453). Like some organisational scholars, Ru was suspicious of abstract petrification instead looking to make leadership tangible through 'linked arms' or 'huddles' (Hosking 1988 p. 153, Wood 2005 p. 1106). Similarly, I participated in the communal handshake which occurred with daily pride. For Merleau-Ponty (1964b p. 168) shaking another's hand was the epitome of intercorporeality signalling an ethical acknowledgement of 'the other' through a 'felt solidarity' of the body (Mazis 2016 p. 125)(see section 4.1.2.). Similarly, as full back Séan suggests, the tapping of the tunnel was also this acknowledgement of one's teammates, albeit enshrined in materials. Even though these gestures contained little spoken words, such

'silence is not pure nothingness' (Landes 2013b p. 9). We begin to see the 'depths' of such speechlessness when, in 'Depiction 2', leader Dru remarks on the need for a 'shared purpose' and scrum half Earl's comment of 'no one person is bigger than the club' (Merleau-Ponty 1968 p. 4). The touch of others, or a representational signature, moves players to acknowledge each other's importance in completing this 'purpose' (Kempster 2011, Knights 2015 p. 201). Across a brutal, relentless, season of training, in which players can get a bit 'arsey', such constant acknowledgement is required (see Séan - Depiction 1). So although the expression of leadership as a tactile moment is an ethical acknowledgement of others, it also serves a practical requirement with *all* 53 players required in various levels to participate *across* the season.

Similarly, in 'Depiction 2', Ru talks about leadership being a 'moveable feast', for it brought stability to the team but was constantly being added to and reshaped. Leadership here was referred to as daily 'standards' on and off the field, with players suggesting it was how they treated their surroundings or conscientiously went about training. Certainly, it may be suggested that such standards are nothing more than the 'extra-ordinarization of the "mundane"', in which *any* everyday action is cited as 'leaderful' (Alvesson and Sveningsson 2003b p. 1451). Such 'mundane' activities however, like cleaning or training fastidiousness, corporeally reinforce an individual's sense of self and how they 'fit' into that environment (Pink 2004, Pink 2005 p. 288). It involves people emotionally 'inhabiting' the objects around them to extend perceptual understanding in a more meaningful way (Merleau-Ponty 1962 p. 165). A

failure to interact appropriately, *reduces* the meaning of such expression leaving the players feeling emotionally 'gutted' (see Barry - Depiction 2). For example, in 'Depiction 2' as player Gavin demonstrates the 'jackal' technique, meaning does not come from inside his body *or* the tackle bag but rather the interwoven nature of the two in motion extends into expression (Merleau-Ponty 1964b p. 167). Within rugby, such *daily* engagement in one's work, or 'standards', is required to improve performance, ensuring the players need to be 'leading all the time' (Séan - Depiction 2). Cleanliness is not a *symbol* of leading therefore but the action itself *is* leading, transformed into an expression of leadership owing to the emotional, joint, resonance such acts contained (Shotter 2010b p. 75, 2011 p. 57). Once again, the expression of leadership, this time through 'mundane' endeavours, ensures the *daily* engagement required to improve the team's performance.

Within professional sport the need for ongoing commitment is essential owing to the time on task required for success (Murphy 2014 p. 135). In addition, although rugby players are involved in 32 league games per season on average in the UK, this figure increases substantially with European games and international call ups. Within Hibernia, how leadership is expressed helps facilitate emotional engagement both *across* the rugby season and during *daily* training (de Rond 2009 p. 37). Ru's suggestion of leadership as a 'movable feast' is comparative to the notion of expression as 'forever *between* pure creation and pure repetition' (see Section 4.1.3) (Landes 2013b p. 10). Every day that players 'gear' into such expression

anew, whether it is a handshake or cleaning their kitchen, they emotionally re-engage with their work, thus facilitating this required engagement (Waldenfels 2000 p. 92). Such 'gearing in' continually deepens their 'emotional sense', fostering further and further movement bringing such expression to life on a practical level to aid the team (Mazis 2008 p. 104). The expression of leadership as emotional engagement, through touch or mundane activities, helps the players fulfil what they imbue as 'good' to ensure commitment during, and across, the season (Ciulla 1995 p. 13, Shotter 2010 p. 17).

II. IMPLICATIONS FOR LEADERSHIP-AS-PRACTICE

Raelin (2011 p. 195) points out that LAP aims to focus on the 'everyday practice of leadership including its moral, *emotional*, and relational aspects, rather than its rational, objective, and technical ones' (my emphasis added). Similarly, it is suggested that a practice perspective allows to us to 'delve deeply into the emotional impact of leadership' (Kempster, Parry et al. 2016 p. 255). Even with such sentiments however, there is not much empirical LAP work that has looked at emotional engagement, albeit some have indirectly (e.g. Fisher and Reiser Robbins 2015, Denyer and Turnbull-James 2016). Certainly, there is no dearth of emotions in mainstream, individualist, approaches mainly under the guise of charismatic leaders 'putting' emotions into followers (see Shamir, House et al. 1993, Gardner and Avolio 1998 p. 42 for examples). Emotions may present a problem to LAP, for if we are to approach them as individualist psychologies do (i.e. on the inside) they prove

incompatible with most practice approaches (Burkitt 2003, Burkitt and Sullivan 2009). To ensure commensurability we cannot take up emotions from a distanced view, for like the body generally, they too will be rendered textually 'present' but empirically 'absent' (Williams and Bendelow 1998 pp. 134-135). Advocating for a 'sensuous intoxication' therefore looks to chart the emotional re-socialisation process that researchers go through in pursuit of leadership expression (Wacquant 2004 p. 67-74, 2005b p. 443). This charting though involves turning leadership 'back-to-front', in terms of starting with how we feel and express ourselves within organisational practice *before* we start to attribute how leadership is incarnated on a theoretical basis (Shotter 2016 p. 113). The implications that such an emotional reversal carries is significant for two reasons.

First, the emotional body illustrates that we need to place our corporeal presence, in all its forms, at the methodological entry point to research (Shotter 2011 p. 75). In trying to retain an affective distance, we end up with a 'bloodless', 'author evacuated' form of research that is closer to maxims of ethnographic realism (Marcus and Cushman 1982, Stoller 1989 p. 47). Such emotive warmth around leadership is important to engage who is at the core of practice i.e. the practitioners themselves. For example, Pettigrew (1997 p. 343) rightly argues that, 'social scientists have no god given right to expect other people's organizations to be their laboratories'. Likewise, we as academics do not have an 'undisputed warrant to study anyone or anything' (Denzin 2017 p. 10). It is suggested organisations are less willing,

altruistically, to engage researchers and thus we need to be able to develop more 'willing commitment' (Balogun, Sigismund Huff et al. 2003 p. 220). We ask a lot of organisations, as I did of Hibernia, to take a risk and engage with myself amidst the concerns around access, developing rapport and ethical relations (Angrosino and Mays de Pérez 2000 p. 690). Attuning oneself through an enhanced, emotional, engagement helps to resonate with practitioners how they 'get on' with leadership within ongoing practice (Chia and Holt 2006 p. 647). For those involved at Hibernia, as is evident, leadership meant a lot to them on an emotional level. If we wish therefore to gain such 'commitment' it is important we do not go about 'dispassionately analysing' the topic thus leaving practitioners, and fellow scholars, 'unmoved' either emotionally or physically by what we encounter (Casey 2000 p. 56). Such 'coldness' will be at odds with those working in organisations, like the players at Hibernia, who regard leadership as *highly* emotional, engaging, and 'deeply felt' (Burns 1978 p. 196, Heifetz 1994).

Second, from a theoretical perspective, the 'emotional body' strives to avoid narrow definitional reductionism which looks to 'capture' leadership's form in some thing-ness, either a word or repetitive routine (Merleau-Ponty 1964b p. 43). This narrow conceptualisation always entails what Dreyfus (1993 p. xxi) calls the scaling problem i.e. reducing the *whole* of a phenomenon to a *part* of it, like that of speech. To reduce expression to such 'parts' is 'nonsensical', for 'all language is indirect or allusive' (Merleau-Ponty 1964b p. 43). Within ongoing practice, the use of words as direct representations of phenomenon

is a 'sloppy' process at best (Brown and Coupland 2005 p. 1051, Denis, Langley et al. 2010 p. 79). The issues here is that when we 'talk' of leadership, like in Hibernia, and it does not contain emotive words, we will fail to grasp the emotion present. This absence of emotive words or gestures is particularly the case in highly masculinised domains like rugby (Tracey 2004, Coupland 2014). A sensual methodology is important for LAP as it has the *breath* to go beyond a single 'sense' to understand how meaning is being channeled through lived expression (Pink 2013). It provides a way to represent the more 'opaque' or 'tacit' dimensions of leadership expression like the emotions of the players (Sandberg and Tsoukas 2011 p. 354). Within Hibernia touch is *the* predicated mode of engagement so it is unsurprising that emotion is predominately incarnated in this form (Howes 2006). In order to capture the 'things themselves' as they are emotionally expressed, a broader sensual palette is required beyond 'looking' and 'hearing' (Merleau-Ponty 1964b p. 43)

8.2.3. Dust - the physical body

Czarniawska (1997 p. 21) suggests that 'Intellectuals may live *off* scientific knowledge but not *by* it. Such 'ignorance', fed by traditional habits of acquiring knowledge, costs us a great deal. . . .'. She illustrates here the cut between the academic 'intellectual' and the individual who will 'go home' at the end of the day. She continues by suggesting, however, that such 'ignorance' may also have saved us from the 'destruction by a modernism enjoying total success'. In deconstructing everything we may end up with

nothing. Weick (2011 p. 150) similarly worries that raising the 'dust' of our reflexivity may 'blind' us to what we come to see (see section 4.4.3). A sensual, corporeal position however suggests research requires a 'dusting off' process to understand how our respective historical acculturations inform the phenomenon (Seremetakis 1994 p. 37). Specifically, our 'brute' physical bodies are not 'baggage' to be laid aside, but are *a/ways* informing proceedings as much as motivations, desires and so forth (Watson 2011 p. 208). Anthropological work has illustrated that it is not just our 'mechanical' body (i.e. height etc) which informs accounts of phenomena, but also our nationality, gender, religion and so forth contributes to ongoing relations (e.g. Stoller 1984, Sutton 2001 p. 37). Through our bodies, our physical, historical, acculturation is brought to bear on the ethnographic present shaping boundaries and acceptance (Stoller 2005 p. 199). This is not the anthropologist's fear of ethnocentrism however, for it is using our explicit bodily history to connect with others, rather than covertly overlaying our assumptions onto others (Emerson, Fretz et al. 2011 p. 131). I will illustrate therefore how my own bodily 'dust' shaped my grasp of expressed leadership via my gender, physical literacy, and nationality.

First, it is suggested professional sport is a 'bastion of masculinity' (Dortants and Knoppers 2018 p. 248), an exemplar of a 'heroic ethic as the manly ethic par excellence' (Wacquant 2005a p. 462). Masculinity here refers to the 'ideal' body within sport as those that perform masculine norms (Butler 1998 p. 1). Sport display this masculinity in numerous ways including: legitimising

forms of athletic progress over others (Butler 2018); shaping who is defined as 'role models' for younger athletes (Dunn 2015); or the integration of precarious work into a sense of self (Brown and Coupland 2015). Within Hibernia, being a man would suggest easier acceptance, particularly considering the mainstream view of leadership is also associated with heroic, masculinised, norms (Collinson 2011). For example, in 'Depiction 6', Ru talks about the need for 'thick skin' both in terms of taking 'banter' but also 'honest conversations'. The idea of such 'skin' evokes a notion of leathery toughness, 'strong' or 'tough' enough to take the rigours of sporting life (Gucciardi, Hanton et al. 2017). Players too often tried to engage with me with jokes or a nickname of sorts ('Willis') to embed me within the fraternity. As a researcher however I was more comfortable in the role traditionally occupied by the, all female, team of physiotherapists whose focus was on the players' care not performance (see 'Depiction 5') (Coupland 2015 p. 799). Certain organisational norms therefore were gendered, so a man asking for the players' thoughts on their lives, as well as sporting hopes and fears, was somewhat of an 'ill fit' within Hibernia. We see this gendered 'fit' further with the handshake in 'Depiction 1'. Males greatly enjoyed this greeting, but the female employees, particularly the physiotherapists, preferred a 'fist pump' or 'high five'. Certain bodily norms, dictated by localised concepts on gender, were incarnated more readily than others. Through being positioned as a male academic therefore I was between 'two worlds', challenging some organisational norms which impinged on player relations (Gilmore and Kenny 2015).

Second, my physical literacy also methodologically shaped how I carnally connected with those at Hibernia. It is suggested that having a background in sport, particularly elite sport, fosters engagement with professional athletes (Tsang 2000). My amateur, boxing, background may have helped foster an espoused acceptance, but sensual connection occurs more viscerally. For boxing and rugby share an appreciation of sport's, brute force, physicality (Wacquant 1995 p. 507, Coupland 2015 p. 794). Through a 'medium' of pain, my boxing background connects with rugby (Küpers 2015 p. 115). The need to 'smash shit' (see Coach Pat), like in boxing, is part of the work of rugby, as we see in 'Depiction 5', with prop Andy's concussion. This wincing tackle evoked a visceral 'echo' from me, a reminder of what it felt like to 'smash', and be smashed, thus fostering an empathetic 'human-to-human' response to the player's plight (Fontana and Frey 2000 p. 654). An exposure to sporting pain ensured that the 'arc' of my own corporeal history overlapped with the players, facilitating a connection around this topic (Merleau-Ponty 1962 p. 157). Furthermore, an upbringing as a strict Irish catholic, in which martyrdom is a strong premise, ensured that pain carried more than biological meaning (Waldenfels 2000). Merleau-Ponty (1964b p. 95) suggests that it is through our physical body that 'our present keeps our promises to the past', ensuring our corporeal histories are not some form of 'bias'. Importantly, my history also did not somehow *privilege* me, for Hibernia consisted of a number of backgrounds, but rather such physical histories of gender, religion or sporting prowess help facilitate different *connections*.

These connections shape the relations involved, and thus how we locally conceptualise leadership as 'this' or 'that' (Shotter 2004 p. 457).

Finally, my body also cannot escape its nationality, which was different to that of Hibernia's location. When Hibernia encountered Irish opposition, it was joked I was a 'spy' giving away the team's 'secrets' (see 6.3.2). Accusations, jovial or otherwise, of being a 'spy' is not new in ethnography (Lather 2001 p. 482, Ellis 2007 p. 23). Understandably, public facing organisations like Hibernia must 'guard one's interests' in terms of media and competitors (Thorne 1980 p. 294). In 'Depiction 6' I recount James asking me to leave one of the players' unit tactical discussions. On reflection, Hibernia were to play an Irish team the following day, and with it being early in the ethnography I had not yet 'paid my dues' to them, or him, in terms of establishing trust (Stoller 2005 p. 198). A number of months later my inclusion might have been met with 'utter indifference' (Wacquant 2005a p. 449). By then I may have been more 'at home' having 'worked the hyphen' between the 'insider-outsider' (Cunliffe and Karunanayake 2013 p. 372). In addition, trust between professional sporting franchises is low, with teams accusing others of bugging hotels and covertly recording training²⁶. With livelihoods in professional sport predicated on competitive results, paranoia is prevalent and perhaps justified (Roderick and Schumacker 2017). It is within this industrial 'knot' of competitive skulduggery, employment precarity and paranoia, that my nationality become intertwined relationally.

²⁶ See <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/rugby-union/2016/08/20/all-blacks-hotel-room-in-australia-bugged-ahead-of-rugby-champio/> for an example of such 'spying'.

Overall, the researcher's gender, physical literacy and nationality will become entangled in existing ways of relating in a sector. This interlock will influence how you 'get into place', potentially restricting you from certain moments of organisational practice and including you in others (Goffman 1989 p. 126). In essence, such personal background acts as a kaleidoscope, 'blinding' us to some vistas while also concurrently opening up other forms of engagement.

I. LEADERSHIP AS A COMMUNAL ORIENTATION

To articulate how leadership is expressed as a communal orientation I draw on Todes' (2001 p. 65) idea of 'poise'. Poise is a form of 'body-directedness', that 'is its own effect' through an active handling of what the world may throw at us. The concept is distinguished from 'pose', which is a static way of 'separating oneself' from life around us. We develop poise by staying 'in touch', or 'tapping into' expressions that encapsulate what is deemed 'good' work locally rather than be seduced by detached, abstract, 'theories' (Denis, Langley et al. 2010 p. 85). For the Hibernia players to be 'poised for action' therefore, was an ability to be 'orientated' in what can often be the 'muddle' of practice, ensuring they have a 'way of making sense of what is at first a bewildering situation' (Storch and Shotter 2013 p. 4, Shotter 2016 p. 139). Such orientation is a 'communal' affair for it holds a common-sense, shared, understanding of 'good rugby', and thus good leadership (Merleau-Ponty 1962 p. 246). It is important to note such communion is not about democratic equality, but rather a lived ritual 'act', or 'common ideology', which acts as an

expressive anchor for the players to get a grip on (Merleau-Ponty 1964b p. 167, Grint 2000 p. 13). Such a communal orientation therefore helps the players to identify 'what is to be done' (Küpers 2013 p. 344). These expressions encapsulate a collective 'wisdom' setting out boundaries to morally and practically 'act well' (Ciulla 1995 p. 13, Shotter and Tsoukas 2014 p. 232). Within Hibernia, I felt such orientation occurred through the display of 'sacrificial acts' and the ability to 'speak your mind'.

Initially, in 'Depiction 5', player Calum suggests, for rugby, the 'key point is the sacrifice aspect of it'. Similar to boxing, sacrifice is the 'name of the game' or the 'bedrock of professionalism' (Wacquant 1998 p. 339). A particularly visceral example is Calum's compound fracture literally spilling his blood on the altar of the field. The image evokes the martyrdom of muscular Christianity, historically rooted in rugby through its Victorian, public school, origins (Collins 2015). Wacquant (1998 p. 339) suggests sacrifice in boxing serves a twofold function to 'restructure and regularize conduct' as well as loosening everyday 'moorings' to facilitate further immersion in the 'pugilistic cosmos'. Sacrifice fosters a 'transcendental self' via 'religious allegiance' to training in one's sport (Wacquant 1995 p. 507). Within Hibernia however, although sacrifice exhibited through forms of abstinence or relentless physical contact was paramount, it was not viewed as extraordinary, Calum's fracture aside. Instead, sacrifice was something the players 'geared into' on a daily basis rather than anything exotic or to be rationalised (Waldenfels 2000). The players therefore thought nothing to sacrificing their

well-being to 'body-damaging performance on the pitch' (Coupland 2015 p. 797). As illustrated through leader Séan's awareness that rugby 'fucks his body', players are neither 'dopes nor dupes' (Depiction 5) (Wacquant 1998 p. 338). Sacrifice instead is something 'they *must* do' in order for 'ordinary' work to be accomplished, placing their motivations closer to 'painters, priests, or professors' than any form of pampered celebrity (Wacquant 1998 p. 338, Coupland 2015 p. 806). Good rugby work, and thus moral and practical leadership for the players, was the expression of sacrifice, whether this entails running hard to get yourself into the correct position or showing no fear in a tackle.

Furthermore, in 'Depiction 6' we see that 'good' rugby work is also for players to 'speak their minds' to a coach 'without retribution' (see experienced player Phil). Within Hibernia, the leadership group acted as a 'sounding board' for the head coach, with James then deciding if he 'wants it'. Like many team sports, rugby is not a democratic system of collective decision making, with any final 'good judgement' left to the head coach (Nesti 2004, Grint 2007 p. 243). Unlike perhaps in other industries, this singular system of judgement goes further with team selection. For example, in Depiction 6 when young player Fintan speaks of not being 'loved', he speaks the 'unsayable' as some players are deemed more *valuable* by the coaches to the success of the team (Harding, Lee et al. 2011 p. 937). Selecting the starting line up is incredibly difficult for a set of coaches, as statistics and a honed coaches 'eye' only telling so much on how players will perform in a game (Jones and

Wallace 2005). This authoritative management of selection does however, by default, control players access to playing time and thus financial and career remuneration (Ford and Harding 2007, 2011 p. 475). The players therefore were realistic about any democratic notions, instead expressing leadership through an ability to *contribute* to the coaches' decisions, particularly when faced with 'wicked problems' consisting of no 'right or wrong answers' in terms of 'what is to be done' (Grint 2005 p. 1473). During these times players took on the mantle of 'custodians' fulfilling their responsibilities to their team mates via an 'exhaustive care' (see winger Dru - Depiction 6) (Knights and O'Leary 2006 p. 134). Leadership for the players therefore was not about collective decision making, which was not possible in rugby practice, but articulating their 'voice' on the 'right way' for individuals and locations to be treated, and for the coaches to 'hear' this empathetically (Ciulla 2005 p. 333).

Leadership writing often contains nautical references to 'setting a course', perhaps unsurprising with the Norse word for leadership ('laed') in reference to direction setting for a ship (Grint 2007 p. 238, Fairhurst and Grant 2010). Communal orientation is less about setting a direction but 'knowingly in touch' with where you *currently* are (Todes 2001 p. 66). It is therefore more an 'anchor' than a far off land, articulating what is locally deemed a moral and practical 'good'. Sacrifice and speaking one's mind therefore acted as expressive 'co-ordinates' of 'good rugby' that the players could constantly return to (Levine and Boaks 2014 p. 229).

II. IMPLICATIONS FOR LEADERSHIP-AS-PRACTICE

Within leadership-as-practice there is a strong zenith that we can embrace the phenomenon as something de-centred, with individual members being able to contribute in some form to its construction (see 'we-ness' in section 2.2.3). This contribution has led some LAP scholars to suggest the approach has 'democratic roots' fostering 'equal contribution and access' to the phenomenon's creation (Raelin 2016 p. 144, Woods 2016 p. 78). Others are less assured of this democratic zeal suggesting equal collaboration is more temporary or 'delimited' (Küpers 2013, Simpson 2016 p. 163). LAP therefore is participatory in nature but to what limits is unknown (Denis, Langley et al. 2012). Uncertainty rests around this demographic model, and it must be questioned whether we are indulging in 'after the fact' thinking, splitting and overlaying our own theoretical assumptions 'on' practice before we began our research 'in' organisational practice (Shotter 2011 p. 75). The physical body, reflected in 'dust' and communal orientations, provides some insight here.

Methodologically, a sensitive approach 'grounds' research through our bodies. Suggestions of democracy, emancipation, and so forth are an articulation of what we deem to be 'good' based on our own historical arc (Burns 1978). Such a stance is neither right nor wrong, but questions how we contribute to finding out what is 'true' about an expression of leadership. Knowledge therefore is always an 'apparatus of bodily production' (Haraway 1991 p. 189). Haraway goes on to suggest that if we mistake *our* 'good' for a *generalised* 'good' we fall into the 'god-trick' of 'seeing everything from

nowhere'. She warns that if we approach knowledge as if we can 'leap out' of our body, we are in danger of injecting a 'myth into ordinary practice', like for example that LAP is *inherently* democratic or delivered through equal collaborative input. We cannot 'stand back' from the organisation we are exploring thus suggesting we must acknowledge our complete physicality in that setting (Law 2002 p. 41). Such acknowledgement allows us to experience the 'mangle'²⁷ of practice, in terms of how it can 'manufacture pain' for the members involved, as well as illustrate practice's 'unpredictable transformations' which continually twist and turn our corporeal forms (Pickering 1995 p. 25, see R.D. Laing in Burston 1996 p. 101). For LAP researchers, we need to be more methodologically upfront about articulating our own physical histories. Failure to do so may risk falling into solipsism confusing our own biographical trajectories for those of others around us (Merleau-Ponty 1964b p. 174). Maintaining a sensitive disposition to how we engage in research allows us to reclaim what is 'ours' (e.g. a democratic zeal) and what belongs to practitioners.

Furthermore, from a theoretical perspective, the ideal of democracy or collaboration in practice become more complex. Within the practice of rugby I have already suggested that equal contributions are difficult, owing to the management role of the coach. This issue grows further with the rate of injuries across a season. For example, concussed players, like prop Andy in 'Depiction 5' are ruled out for up to 12 days to observe Head Injury

²⁷ A 'mangle' as an old fashioned device used to rinse out clothing

Assessment (HIA) protocols, with such implementation fairly common (Tucker 2017). Furthermore, to cover off injuries generally, sixteen players were brought in to Hibernia on short term contracts during the 2015/2016 season. These players were also on top of fifteen players transferred in and twenty players transferred out at the end of the season for performance reasons. Players carry with them a form of 'bodily capital', as their body is their 'money maker' or as one player remarked briskly to me, 'no play, no pay' (Wacquant 1998 p. 333, 2002). Owing to this 'capital' some will contribute more than others. In essence, professional team sport has a high 'churn' which carries with it a constant re-socialisation of relationships and internal competition (Cruickshank, Collins et al. 2013). My suggestion here is that because of such injury churn and the commodification of talent, it becomes difficult to deploy an inclusive, democratic, notion onto an organisational practice that is *inherently* unequal and elitist (Nicolini 2012 p. 184). There is a need to situate our theories therefore on what 'is' leadership-as-practice (LAP) more thoroughly (Grint 2005 p. 1470). We misattribute here a theory of practice as democratic against exploring the expression of democracy *within* practice. In doing so we fail to see the trade offs, constraints, and binds that inform such organisational life (Grint 2016 p. 567).

8.3. Sensuous Intoxication

At the start of this chapter I suggested leadership is a 'sensuous intoxication'. Wacquant (2005b p. 444) refers to this intoxication as an 'engine for resocialization'. For example, it was the 'extreme sensuousness' of the boxing setting which enabled him to become 'invested' in the pugilistic craft (Wacquant 2004 p. 70). It is not possible for all of us to become sporting apprentices, but we can 'educate our attention' to become sensory apprentices, 'gearing' into the shared sense of a phenomenon (Ingold 2000 p. 37, Pink 2015 p. 103). I have tried to show through the situated, emotional, and physical 'bodies' how we may gear into, or become intoxicated, in the thickness of practice. For our senses act as a connective 'tissue', not simply between individual bodies and the outside world, but through our shared physiognomy we communally taste, touch, smell and so forth (Krueger and SaintOnge 2005 p. 186). To be precise, it is these senses that we share, or hold in common, rather than leadership as some collective concept (Ingold 2015 p. 9-10). In asking, therefore, how leadership makes *us* feel within practice, the pronoun is important as we are looking to draw out this commonality (see section 3.4.4)(Pink 2005 p. 279). It is through our shared sensuality therefore that we become intoxicated by phenomena, rather than through some internal, embodied, dynamic.

The ethnography with Hibernia did not look to reify leadership as 'this' or 'that' but rather seeks to get within the 'moveable feast' of leadership as it continually enacts meaning for those involved (Shotter 2010b p. 16, Landes

2013b p. 107). Smircich and Morgan (1982 p. 261) point out that, 'a focus on the way meaning in organized settings is created, sustained and changed, provides a powerful means of understanding the fundamental nature of leadership as a social process'. In order to break free of an embodied view of ourselves as 'cut' off from experience, the research here suggests to phenomenologically 'plunge in' to this 'social process' by 'reawakening' ourselves to the world around us (see section 4.3.1.) (Dreyfus and Kelly 2011 p. 197). LAP predicated on corporeal philosophy and carnal methodology, allows us to wade in to organisational practice therefore and detail our intoxication as it occurs (Barker 1997 p. 352). For if we as researchers continue to *solely* theorise 'on' practice we will stand 'disconnected' on the banks of leadership expression, leaving us to trade in idealism as realist, mainstream, approaches have done (Sandberg and Tsoukas 2011 p. 341). Merleau-Ponty (1964a p. 17) points out that meaning is not levered from inside our bodies but it is brought to life through active, ongoing, expression. We can only grasp this localised 'lived meaning' through a sensible 're-socialisation' of our bodies 'with' organisational members, not through endless definitions or theories 'about' such practitioners (Shotter 2006 p. 586). In order to detail such sensuous intoxication further I would like to illustrate five of its key features that help rekindle our scholarly affair with leadership and empirically underpin LAP.

First, such intoxication facilitates the provision of a unique *representation* of leadership. The 1980s 'crisis' in the social sciences has illustrated the ethical

importance of how we represent others and the phenomenon in question (Lincoln 2010 p. 7). Specifically, such ethical awareness entails rejecting 'mechanised' images of people and events in favour of more 'emancipatory visions' (Denzin 2017 p. 8). A carnal methodology aims to reach for such 'visions' by representing leadership in practice, and those involved, beyond the deployment of 'bloodless language' and the 'impenetrable thicket' of an author-evacuated text (Geertz 1995, Stoller 1997 p. xv, Law and Urry 2004 p. 391). Furthermore, the researcher looks to depict the intoxication in such a manner as to connect with the 'hearts and minds' of the reader (Brannan, Pearson et al. 2007 p. 396). There is a required desire then to represent ongoing expression in as many ways as possible. Like the boxer 'Marvellous' Marvin Hagler attests, 'you gotta love it. I walk it, talk it, sleep it, act it, look it' (as quoted in Wacquant 1995 p. 507). The 'it' in this instance is leadership, rather than boxing, but the sentiment holds true. As Merleau-Ponty pointed out, expression 'is an endless task', and thus intoxication help fuel the desire to go beyond solely 'sophisticated vocabulary' to represent how leadership is 'lived' in as many ways as possible (Merleau-Ponty 1964a p. 15, Tilley 2006 p. 327).

Second, a carnal intoxication illustrates the folly of looking for forms of knowledge that cannot be grasped by observation (Pink 2011b p. 271). Specifically, we won't *find* leadership if we go into organisations looking for it as a 'thing' (Wood 2005 p. 1103). For if we stay true to Merleau-Ponty's (1964 p. 15) thinking that expression 'surges forth' through the relation of

bodies~places~objects we cannot reify leadership. Such relationality does not render leadership 'nothing' or a 'categorical mistake' however, but acknowledges that practitioners are continually striving to express the phenomenon as it is meaning-ful *for them* (Smircich and Morgan 1982). Certainly it may take on a multitude of enactments, even within the one organisational site, but it still holds a 'fluid' value to those involved (Mol 2002, Crevani 2018). Burkitt (2014 p. 22) highlights a similarity to our 'timeless', erotic, incarnation of 'love'. He illustrates that it was the troubadours, who practiced poetry in 12th century courts of European Nobility, who conceived this 'language of love'. This information, however, still does not devalue what love *feels* like. Similarly, intoxication strives to grasp the 'living moments' of leadership rather than reduce the phenomenon to a mechanical, entitative, form (Shotter 2010b p. 43).

Third, intoxication aims to 'de-exoticize' leadership within practice (Wacquant 2005b p. 444). Although this ambition may seem paradoxical, it is by turning to the mundanity of the practitioners' work, or the daily forging of leadership, that we wish to be become transfixed (Cunliffe and Eriksen 2011 p. 1428). Perhaps with professional sport in particular, in which individuals grow increasingly commodified and commercialised, this desire to stay close to their mundane, but 'highly skilled manual labour', is even more important (Roderick 2006 p. 247, Relvas, Littlewood et al. 2010). Meindl and colleagues (1987 p. 92) decry leadership as a romanticised, 'heroic', 'premier force' in organisations. However, I suggest it is the intoxication, or romance of

the *individual* 'hero' that is problematic not the mundane 'forging' of leadership. Rather than romanticise the individual, a carnal methodology acknowledges that leadership in organisations will always be an 'imperfect' process, and thus the focus is always on the 'tryings and failings' of those looking to forge the phenomenon (Storch and Shotter 2013 p. 4). Intoxication is therefore about 'falling for' the plight of others to deliver a moral and practical 'good' *through* their leadership, not some heroic 'white knight' or decontextualised collective (Knights and O'Leary 2006 p. 126, Liu and Baker 2016 p. 420). To be intoxicated then is not a naive pursuit, or an idealistic position, but rather a desire to return to the 'flesh and blood' of working practice (Shotter 2010 p. 20).

Fourth, the suggestion of intoxication belies that leadership is not always a rational affair. As evidenced through both the 'emotional' and 'situated' bodies, the expression of leadership can seem counter-intuitive, or paradoxical, in terms of rational practicality (Küpers 2015 p. 226). Of course, a perspective that embraces a reversible notion of 'flesh' suggests we should not understand rationality and emotions as dichotomous entities (Carman 2008 p. 102). Specifically, enacting our emotions in a communal fashion may be the only rational thing to do in order to 'move' people physically (Sheets-Johnstone 2009 p. 55, Sandberg and Tsoukas 2011). For Hibernia's players, they did not just simply accept the pain and monotonous physicality of their work, but *embraced* such discomfort. Some are well remunerated for such expenditure, but most are not, suggesting the emotional return from

partaking in the 'house style', or expression, of leadership was worth the trade off (Storch and Shotter 2013 p. 2). To be 'intoxicated' at this emotional level is a 'fundamental part' therefore of what is locally 'good' leadership, just as much as practical and moral enactments (Ciulla 1995 p. 11, Shotter and Tsoukas 2014 p. 230). Such inebriation however is not an individual affair. Instead, through a common, sensual, carnality, bodies and materiality co-create weather-like 'emotional storms' that continually feed back into the ongoing expression of leadership (Bion 1987 p. 321) .

Finally, unfortunately, to be intoxicated often means we are 'blind' to the process we are experiencing. For to be enthralled by the fleshy expression of leadership does not happen in a single event, but rather our senses are 'apprenticed' over the considerable 'journey' of the ethnography (Stoller 1984 p. 96, Wacquant 2004 p. 11). Such a subtle process can leave us reflexively impaired. Rasche and Chia (2009 p. 725) therefore suggest practice scholars must become 'highly attuned' personally to grasp their 'apprenticeship'. Such reflection looks to understand how our bodies are being shaped by practice but also how our own corporeality is 'implicated in the production of research'. Intoxication can therefore leave us 'blind' to what is done to us, but also what our 'doing does' to leadership expression (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1982 p. 187). Even within ethnography we can become empirically 'blind' to our intoxication if we only 'tune' in to our vision of what is occurring (Goffman 1989 p. 125). It is important to go beyond observation and through 'attending to the senses' we can maximise our 'ethnographic knowing' on leadership

expression (Leder Mackley and Pink 2013 p. 338, Pink 2013 p. 261). Such 'tuning in' or 'attending' to our senses is intensive involving a 'diligent effort toward inward openness' (Sheets-Johnstone 2008 p. 21). To detail our intoxication requires ongoing reflection during the field work on both the wider 'flesh' of the corporeal world around us, *and* how our 'fleshy' bodies are implicated in leadership's ongoing construction (Wacquant 2005b p. 444, Coole 2007a p. 241).

Overall, intoxication may result in a stupor around how leadership is constructed. I argue here that such 'blind wanderings' are not problematic but are part of the ethnographic process (Van Maanen 2011a p. 153). It is therefore by awakening our bodies and engaging our senses *through* such intoxication that we can begin to methodologically grasp leadership as it is expressed in practice (Wacquant 2005b p. 444).

8.4. Conclusion

This chapter has looked to integrate, and make sense, of the depictions portrayed in chapter 7. It argues for a carnal approach to leadership-as-practice that begins with our methodological, rather than theoretical, endeavours. This position does not rule out the role of theory, but aims to delineate how our situated, emotional and physical bodies are brought to bear on the research. The theoretical result suggests that the expression of leadership occurs at the crossing point of people's perceptions, maintains and fosters a deep emotional engagement, and helps anchor those involved

as a form of communal orientation. These positions onto leadership are not situationally exhaustive but look to leave leadership within the ongoing constitution of practice rather than 'rip' it from the organisational 'flesh'. I finish by suggesting that we can think of our immersion in leadership expression as a 'sensuous intoxication', informing five ways we can empirically underpin LAP.

Chapter 9: Conclusion - leadership

from the 'feet up'

9.0. Introduction

In order to provide an overview and ending to the thesis, this chapter fulfils four functions. Initially, it contains a synopsis of the argument, and journey, of the research. This synopsis details the carnal approach to leadership as practice (LAP) as an evolution of theorising from: the 'neck up' as a rational affair; to the 'neck down' in relation to the body; and finally from the 'feet up' as embedding the researcher in the process. Furthermore, it goes on to detail the contributions of returning the body to LAP on both a methodological and theoretical level. From here the chapter illustrates the limitations of the approach, which centre on romanticising the sporting environment, the difficulties of importing Merleau-Ponty's work, and the acknowledgement that the account is a 'reconstructed tale'. This chapter finishes by looking towards possible future research, specifically suggesting comparative studies to other industries and sports, and the deployment of action research, may be of benefit.

9.1. Thesis synopsis: returning the body to leadership-as-practice

In order to distill the evolution of the thesis, I draw on Eliasoph's (2005 p. 159) simile of theorising from 'the neck down'. This form of theorising relates directly to Wacquant's (2004 p viii) suggestion of 'deploying the body as tool of inquiry and vector of knowledge'. The body is therefore not a 'social product' but a 'social spring' which continually informs and expresses knowledge (Wacquant 2005a p. 445). Unlike Wacquant who drew on Bourdieu's conception of 'capital', I utilise Merleau-Ponty's 'flesh' to illustrate how we corporeally construct and are constructed by social phenomena through a shared sensual expression. Our bodies therefore are not bounded, or 'embodied', as we conduct the research process. It was my ambition within the thesis to bring the body back in, 'from the neck down', at a visceral level rather than to talk in rationalistic terms of the body as 'just' another object. I expand Eliasoph's turn of phrase therefore to detail the research journey as from 'the neck up', to 'the neck down', and 'the feet up'.

I. LEADERSHIP FROM 'THE NECK UP'

In section 2.2.6. I illustrated that LAP strove for a philosophical inquiry into how leadership was constructed. In particular, I felt a phenomenological perspective to practice offset the continual theoretical oscillation between individualist and collectivist perspectives on leadership. Phenomenology does not look to engage in such idealistic realism, instead it details how phenomena 'shows itself or gives itself in lived experience' (Van Manen

2017a p. 775). Irrespective of lineage, numerous LAP perspectives share this desire to depict such 'life', but are hampered through a methodological 'lag'. This lag refers to solely deploying our ontologies to theoretically focus 'on' practice, rather than pushing further to examine how such philosophies inform methodology 'in' practice (Schatzki 2002 pp. 232-233, Balogun, Sigismund Huff et al. 2003 p. 217). LAP therefore seems to be directing its efforts from the 'neck up', helping us to 'think' on leadership but not how we may *feel* it viscerally. Our sensible bodies are left out of the debate, with the potential result a 'disembodied organisational analysis' (Hassard, Holiday et al. 2000 p. 6) that leaves us with a 'decorporealised perception' onto our understanding of leadership (Leder 1990 p. 5). This type of analysis privileges certain forms of social knowledge over others, in particular that which is derived from observation, talk, or physical traits (Stoller 1997 p. 82).

II. LEADERSHIP FROM 'THE NECK DOWN'

To return leadership to its living 'bright orange', methodologically remembering the 'body' is important (Lombardo and McCall 1978 p. 3, Wacquant 2005b p. 444). The body however, is problematic to define, often portrayed in biological or symbolic terms (Williams and Bendelow 1998 p. 9). Within organisational studies for example, the body is often 'present' in an objectified manner, but absent in its visceral, living, form (Casey 2000 p. 54). This 'absent presence' is predicated on a bounded notion of the body, a container, with the 'mind' on the inside and the world on the 'outside' (Dreyfus and Taylor 2015 p. 46). It is important then to engage a philosophy of the

body that seeks to overcome any rift between 'on' and 'in' practice. Merleau-Ponty (1968 p. 38, 136) provides us with this non-dualistic ontology, with the body 'always already' 'woven corporeally' into the flesh of the world. Through this ontology the researcher's body becomes 're-awakened' or returned to the sensual relations that also involve other bodies, objects and place. This methodological reawakening sensitises our bodies to the 'smells, tastes, textures and sensations' of leadership (Stoller 1997 p. xv). It also equips the researcher at a perceptual, moral, and practical level to get within the 'thick' of practice. This 'thickness' initially refers to descriptions and immersion, but carnally it also means a form of 'hyper-reflection', illustrating how our corporeal involvement 'moves' us physically and emotionally (Cataldi 1993 p. 34). I do not suggest 'thickness' is about offsetting any 'bias' however, but acknowledges how our own bodily perception *informs* the social phenomena we come to investigate (Seremetakis 1994 p. 38).

III. LEADERSHIP FROM THE 'FEET UP'

Although we can theorise the body philosophically, we need to ensure leadership occurs from the 'feet up' in terms of methodology. These 'feet' reflect a 'street phenomenology' of researcher bodies that walk into organisations and 'hangs out' with others (Kusenbach 2003). Although ethnography is recommended by LAP scholars as an appropriate methodology, elements surrounding consent, interviews and analysis are often implicitly construed in accordance with 'ethnographic realism', predicated on an ontological embodied notion of the researcher as distinct

from the setting (Marcus and Cushman 1982, Crevani, Lindgren et al. 2010). In order to ensure a commensurable approach, I draw on existing anthropological literature around a 'sensory ethnography', developing it further for organisational studies through Van Maanen's (2011 p. xv) four lenses: the Observed; the Observer; the Tale; the Audience. This detailing informed the research on Hibernia from a sensorial perspective in terms of reflexivity, field relations and analysis. The culmination of this perspective was six 'Depictions' on how the players communally express leadership within rugby practice. The senses acted as a carnal connection between researcher and practitioner, with the account looking to depict leadership as a felt, moving, audio-visual and, sometimes, painful phenomenon (Pink 2015 p. 148).

These depictions help facilitate a carnal leadership-as-practice. Instead of looking *on* to leadership, it suggests we can become *intoxicated* by it, corporeally moved from within ourselves and the social situation by its expression (Shotter 2010b p. 26). I looked to illustrate how such carnal intoxication occurs through three methodological 'bodies' (Scheper-Hughes and Lock 1987). Initially, through our manoeuvring, fitted and absorbed 'physical body', we can conceptualise leadership as emerging from the perceptual 'crossing points' of site and sight. Such emergence refers to chiasmatic pitches and diving bodies, or the perspective of individuals converging from the place in which they stood (Merleau-Ponty 1962 p. 25). Second the 'emotional body' acknowledges how our affective depth moulds

us, helps guide our inquiries, and allows us to grasp an organisation's 'sensory biography'. We see leadership expressed here as tactile and mundane actions which foster deeper emotional engagement in order to sustain daily and seasonal levels of performance (Küpers 2011b p. 24). Finally, our physical body acknowledges the 'dust' of our own acculturation, specifically how my gender, physical literacy and nationality informed relations with others (Seremetakis 1994 p. 37). Through this lens leadership was expressed as a communal orientation. This orientation kept the players 'in touch' with 'good rugby', expressed locally in a common understanding of sacrifice and speaking one's mind.

Overall, a carnal LAP helps us become intoxicated, or 'geared into' leadership's local expression, by acknowledging the role the scholar's senses actively play in how the phenomenon comes into being. The non bounded, fleshy body allows us to methodological wade into the waters of practice, expanding our theoretical thoughts on what may or not be leadership in a particular locale (Cunliffe 2003 p. 999).

9.2. A carnal 'reawakening': Contributions

The carnality of leadership as a visceral, felt, 'intoxication' seeks to make contributions to leadership-as-practice (LAP) at a methodological and theoretical level. These contributions coincide, but expand on, the various LAP implications highlighted in chapter 8. To begin, methodologically three contributions are evident.

First, this carnal research eschews the suggestion that we can go into organisations and find leadership 'inside' petrified entities as some form of 'thing-ness' (Hosking 1988, Wood 2005). Such entities are not simply bodies 'leading' us about but also, as illustrated in the implications of 8.2.1., objects *nor* places cannot lead us either (Pullen and Vachhani 2013). For such a form of 'leading' is akin to behavioural psychology, treating our interactions as 'conditioned' by environmental entities, a deterministic view devoid of agency (Crain 2000 p. 170). Instead, from a corporeal perspective, it is the continually shifting 'non-fusing embrace' of bodies and materiality that provide the 'conditions' for expression to be incarnated (Sheets-Johnstone 2011, Küpers 2015 p. 73). Furthermore, if leadership is not a 'thing' to be seen, we cannot then rely on our 'sight' as a rationalistic, objective, enterprise to gasp the phenomenon. Privileging observation confines us to a nihilistic 'sensory exclusionism' suggesting that if we cannot 'see' leadership it does not 'exist' (Howes 2006 p. 8). For the thesis has shown that existence can entail quite powerful shared, hidden, meanings that involve a range of 'invisible' senses (Stoller 1989 p. 48). To acknowledge leadership as a social

construction or 'moveable feast', as LAP would attest, implicates our bodies as both informing such construction, and our means by which to grasp it methodologically (Raelin 2011). Specifically, the research suggests we may only be able to 'feel' leadership corporeally rather than 'find' it as an inseparable entity through objective observation (Shotter 2010 p. 17).

Second, a carnal approach looks to *represent* leadership as an evocative, 'rich', phenomenon that keeps all of its 'incoherence, complications and "might have beens"' intact (Weick 2007 p. 17). This richness is not simply a stylistic approach, but looks to 'sensitise' readers to the people and actions that are depicted, thus addressing an axiological question on how we represent and value others appropriately within research (Denzin and Lincoln 2000 p. 169, Wacquant 2005a p. 444). For example, the ambition with Hibernia was to depict the players as flesh and blood, striving to forge some sense of leadership from the complexity, muddle and mess of organisational practice (Denis, Langley et al. 2010 p. 42). As illustrated in the implication in 8.2.2., such an affective representation is important to engage practitioners in an ongoing manner within LAP. If leadership is represented as a colourless, dispassionate, 'dead' form, it is unlikely to elicit 'commitment' from practitioners who experience it as a 'living' phenomenon (Balogun, Huff et al. 2003 p. 220, Shotter 2006 p. 599). For practitioners to engage in LAP, the perspective needs to provide representations of the phenomenon that they recognise. Within the study it was important therefore to depict the Hibernia players as neither 'heroes' nor 'villains'. Instead, they are workers of a sort,

struggling to enact 'good' leadership even when faced with financial precarity, constant change of personnel, and the looming spectre of injury and physical harm (Cunliffe and Coupland 2011). The ambition is that such a 'portrait' of rugby work can be *engaged* by other sporting professionals who recognise the similar passions and mundanity of striving to express leadership.

Third, through the shared engagement of carnality, we begin to understand that we, as LAP scholars, have no authority over what is 'good' leadership (Ciulla 2005). As suggested in the implications in 8.2.3., it is tempting to place our idea of what is 'good' onto that of practitioners. In doing so however we run the risk of privileging our own forms of knowledge. This position bounds ourselves further from exploring the mundane lives of practitioners and truly grasping what they are trying to tell us about 'good' leadership (Haraway 1991, Grandy and Sliwa 2015). Certainly, it is important for researchers to ask moral and practical questions of such localised 'good', but not to base our understanding on an ethnocentric position of scholars as purveyors of leadership 'truths' (Küpers and Statler 2008 p. 381). Instead of espousing such 'truth', a sensory ethnography looks to gear into the 'ordinary' work of others to engage phenomena (Bate 1997, Barley and Kunda 2001). Such 'gearing in' prevents us from not simply espousing 'heroic' individualist notions of leadership, but privileging our own scholarly conception of leadership as an 'ideal' thus undermining the pluralistic agenda of LAP (Knights 2015, Crevani and Endrissat 2016). Rather than clinging to such an ideal around democracy and collaboration, it is the through the

multiple expressions of leadership that plurality is possible (Grint 2005a). In keeping closer to the ordinary, mundane, work of Hibernia's players, the research wards off this idealism, instead depicting leadership as an attainable, but also 'imperfect', expression within the team (Cunliffe and Eriksen 2011, Storch and Shotter 2013).

Although such carnality looked to foremost contribute to LAP on a methodological level, a number of theoretical contributions also emerged from the process of research. Initially, the implications in 8.2.1. suggest that Merleau-Ponty's work is perhaps not best applied as a rebuttal to the mind/body dualism. This dualistic starting point, as Merleau-Ponty (1968 p. 200) suggests, risks reinforcing a notion of 'embodiment', in which our bodies are viewed as bounded containers disconnected from the world by our 'skins'. The consequence is that we may become transfixed by our 'meaty' bodies as distinct 'parts' e.g. size, gender, age and so forth. Merleau-Ponty's (2007c p. 57) ambition instead was to provide an ontology of the body-in-the-world rather than a theory of embodiment. It is for this reason that I did not 'theorise' the player's bodies in terms of their physicality, instead looking at the intersection of their bodies and the world around them i.e. their corporeality. Specifically, we cannot take Merleau-Ponty's ontology and use it as a way to explain how leadership is 'embodied' in individuals (Dreyfus 2005). Instead 'flesh' is really an ontology that reflects how we are 'geared into' the world, which points us towards our own corporeality as researchers (Dreyfus 2014 p. 93). As far as I am aware, applying his ontology to develop

a carnal methodology is unique within LAP or leadership studies, although scholars have suggested this application (e.g. Ladkin 2010, Küpers 2015). Furthermore, as his ontology is directed at methodological development, rather than theory specifically, it may prove transferable when investigating other organisational phenomenon like strategy, performance management, creativity and so forth (Casey 2000).

Furthermore, a carnal LAP aims to increase our sensual palette in order to grasp leadership. I am not suggesting it is 'wrong' to limit leadership's representation to speech or 'talk', but using hearing as the sole respective sense is rather narrow when depicting a social phenomenon. Specifically, we do not need to reduce leadership down into sole causal parts to get a 'firmer grip' on what is occurring (Todes 2001 p. 217). Broadening our sensual engagement, as suggested in the implications in 8.2.2, allows us to pick up on more subtle elements of a phenomenon. In 'Depiction 1', Ru talked about making leadership 'tangible', and broadening our senses beyond speech or observable routines to understand the taste, sound, and smell of leadership. Such sensual expansion allows us to get closer to how localised theories of 'good' leadership are expressed (Eliasoph 2005 p. 168). For such theories will only remain 'good' within that particular setting and cannot be extracted as some schematic map to follow (Korzybski 1958). Such sensual expression points us instead towards the various 'house styles' of leadership, which do not contain generalised 'truths', but rather are closer to 'rules of thumb' or situated 'gut feelings', (Cunliffe 2003 p. 999, Ingold 2011 p. 204). Within

Hibernia we see such 'rules', or forms of meaning, contained within multiple expressions of leadership whether this is making calls on game plays, the mundanity of cleanliness, or sacrificing one's body (Storch and Shotter 2013 p. 2). Through broadening our sensual palette we can become more attuned to how such theories are enacted, enabling us to get closer to their tacit rather than espoused formulation (Polanyi 1964).

Finally, the research contributes theoretically to LAP by questioning whether democracy or collaboration should be viewed as inherent within the perspective. Although I acknowledge there is a difference between equal contribution from organisational members, and leadership as a relational emergence of bodies and materials, the research is suggestive of the limits around individual participation (Simpson and Buchan 2018). Raelin (2016a p. 9) suggests, 'the practice approach, may in the end, be more critical than critical leadership studies' for the critique of the leader-follower dyad is LAP's starting point. Yet, unlike critical approaches, LAP has not yet started to tackle its 'dark side' (e.g. Tourish 2013, Grint 2016). For example, it is an *assumption* that the enactment of democracy or forms of collaboration within a site are inherently 'good'. We also know that social concepts like group think, conformity, collusion, or worse still the historical association with the word 'collaborator', is anything but emancipatory (Janis 1982, Kondo 1990, Casey 1995). The current research begins to grapple with this issue by illustrating the situated nature of expressed leadership. Equality was impossible for the players at Hibernia for example, as their profession is

predicated on elitism. A carnal LAP seeks to acknowledge the struggle for inclusion within particular organisations therefore, not the assumption that it is inherently a desired or possible enactment.

9.3. Limitations

Denzin (2017 pp. 10-12) comments that, 'the ethnographer writes tiny moral tales'. This morality refers of course to the accounts of others but he continues by saying, 'we no longer just write culture. We perform culture'. Unlike other forms of knowledge, ethnographers are embroiled *within the action*, with such immersion creating a bespoke set of limitations. I aim, therefore, not to judge my work in terms of insufficient 'data' or a lack of diversity in the 'sample', but as a 'moral, political, and value-laden enterprise' (Denzin 2010 p. 425). I highlight three limitations according to this enterprise.

I. ROMANTICISM

Although romanticism can occur in terms of projecting our own 'third party definitions' onto practitioners as suggested in section 8.2.3., there is also a danger of romanticising the sector of interest (Meindl 1995 p. 229). Indeed, sport in general is often idealised in society as a 'force for good' (Douglas and Carless 2011 p. 9). This romanticism can result from: athletes being viewed as role models or 'super humans' (Hoberman 1992 p. 25); the desire of young people to become sports men or women (Relvas, Littlewood et al. 2010 p. 176); and the fallacy that sport is a 'glamorous' industry (Roderick

and Gibbons 2014 p. 153). However, recent concerns in the United Kingdom have highlighted that within a number of national governing bodies of sport there exists 'toxic cultures', predicated on bullying, favouritism, or physical and sexual abuse (Grey-Thompson 2017 p. 23). Similarly, physical and mental health issues may arise from the extreme precarity many athletes, support staff, and administrators, experience with only a few individuals at the top level making exorbitant amounts of money (Roderick 2006 p. 245, Kalleberg 2009, Thompson, Potrac et al. 2015 p. 991).

As a chartered Sport & Exercise Psychologist, and having worked in a number of national bodies for sport, I would like to think I am not naive to many of the dubious, and sometimes archaic, actions that can occur. Furthermore, I certainly experienced events at Hibernia I felt were morally questionable, as in any organisation, but nothing illegal or unethical (Smets, Burke et al. 2014 p. 14). I am aware though my history within sport, and my burgeoning relationships with players and personnel at Hibernia, may have made me reticent to depict any scenes I felt would damage those involved, or indeed bring rugby into disrepute (Fletcher, Rumbold et al. 2011, Roderick, Smith et al. 2017). A corporeal approach therefore, owing to its strong relational slant, may romanticise the setting, ensuring researchers are hesitant in 'bringing back the news' on questionable behaviours in organisations (Van Maanen 2011b p. 219).

II. IMPORTING MERLEAU-PONTY

Merleau-Ponty (1964b p. 159) suggests that utilising another's philosophy ensures any 'commemoration is also a betrayal'. He advises that we always run the risk of misinterpretation with our best hope to be aligned with the 'trajectory' of the ideas rather than seek absolute adherence (Merleau-Ponty 2007c p. 61). With his career spanning thirty years, a 'commemoration' or 'betrayal' of Merleau-Ponty's philosophy is also based on what era of his work you engage with. The current research is not a faithful adherence therefore to his philosophy but something more in the 'spirit' of his thinking, deployed to 'relearn' the world by placing leadership 'once more before our gaze' (Merleau-Ponty 2007c p. 65-67). In addition to misinterpretation, however, potential weaknesses in his ontology may inadvertently be imported into this thesis, three of which are worth mentioning (Ingold 2011 p. 228).

Initially, Sheets Johnstone (2011 p. 237-238), a Husserlian phenomenologist, suggests Merleau-Ponty's work lacks 'transparency' in terms of his ontology and how it was devised. Moreover, she argues his idea of chiasmatic flesh moved him away from phenomenological traditions. Certainly, Merleau-Ponty's work is opaque, compounded further by his book specifically relating to 'flesh', 'The Visible and the Invisible' (1968), left unfinished upon his death. However, it must be noted that his 'fleshy' ontology was not an 'eleventh hour' philosophical breakthrough, but evolved over his lifetime based on Heideggerian as well as Husserlian thinking (Carman 2008 p. 120).

In addition, Coole (2007a p. 197), a corporeal scholar, suggests that Merleau-Ponty fails to differentiate gender in his process, homogenising the body as a singular 'form'. My own research did not centre masculinity either for example, but the focus was more methodological than critical. Similarly, Merleau-Ponty did not centre gender, although such a focus is not necessarily incompatible with his ontology (Butler 2005 p. 163). Gender though would need to be reformulated to reflect a non-bounded epistemology which incarnates society into its conception of the body (Grosz 1994 p. 103, Coole 2007a p. 197).

Furthermore, Evans and Lawlor (2000 p. 19), reflect that Merleau-Ponty's talk of flesh and chiasmic crossing carries a distinct christian overtone, analogous to images of the crucifixion. It is difficult to extrapolate how this played a part in the research, considering the team is located in a christian country, the sport is steeped in that religion, and I had a similar upbringing (Landes 2013a p. 63). Such religious symbolism may, however, have caused themes around sacrifice to be drawn out further than perhaps if another phenomenology was deployed.

III. A RECONSTRUCTED TALE

Wacquant (1995 p. 491) points out in relation to his study on the Woodlawn Boxing Gym in Chicago, that ethnography can never be a 'depictive re-counting' but rather is a '(re)construction' of the standpoint of those involved. Similarly, in how the players at Hibernia express leadership, a 'natives point

of view' is difficult to obtain as it is *always* mediated through myself, the researcher's, representation. In particular to the thesis, I believe this creates two sub-limitations.

First, the research does not provide a 'distilled' version of leadership that can be applied universally, as expression is a highly situated concept both for participants and researchers (Wood 2005 p. 1116, Landes 2013b p. 84-85, Denzin 2017 p. 12). Any research from a fleshy perspective will not propose therefore a 'menu' or 'checklist' on what is 'good' leadership generally. Instead, such a perspective attempts to show what leadership felt like for the players *through* the researcher's body i.e. a story of 'flesh and blood' (Ciulla 1995 p. 13, Lincoln 2010 p. 6). I still believe the expression of leadership at Hibernia can resonate with other organisations, supporting them to develop their own 'fit' when it comes to good leadership (Kempster, Jackson et al. 2011 p. 320, Grandy and Sliwa 2015 p. 11). The ambition is of course for practitioner reflection rather than a prescriptive map, and I provided Hibernia with a report post research to aid such reflexivity. I do understand however that such paced and intensive reflection may not play into the various language games and time pressures that inhabit professional team sports, or the wider business fraternity (Schön 1991 p. 242).

Second, I acknowledge that the research is not as vocally polyphonic as it could be, owing to the exclusion of the voices of the wider staff, particularly the head coach (Arnold, Fletcher et al. 2012 p. 320). However, the coaches

saw the research process as focusing on the players not themselves, perhaps a form of self imposed 'silence' (Brown and Coupland 2005 p. 1063). There is much value, however, from speaking to all involved, whether groundskeepers or physiotherapists, to grasp leadership in its more 'unsayable', rather than elitist, forms (Harding, Lee et al. 2011 p. 928, Martin and Learmonth 2012 p. 287). In solely focusing on the players I may have equated sports leadership with elitism - the 'men', rather than the 'man', at the top (Barker 1997 p. 347). This suggestion becomes strengthened when we reflect that Hibernia contained male, mostly white, and often privately educated, players. There is a danger then of glorifying professional sports' 'front stage', at the expense of its broader workforce, thus implicitly suggesting sports leadership is a masculine domain (Goffman 1959 pp. 32-33, Alvesson and Spicer 2012 p. 384).

9.4. Future research

I. COMPARATIVE STUDIES

It is worth reflecting that the research setting here was inherently team based. By this I mean that the 'product' in question (competitive rugby) is delivered through a structured, collective, effort. The expression of leadership as a highly communal and situated enterprise would seem appropriate then considering how 'expert' work is enshrined within this team ethos (Pearce, Manz et al. 2009b p. 234). Furthermore, there is also a growing industry approach in rugby to try and encourage all players to act as 'leaders' irrespective of whether they are captains, experienced players, or highly

talented 'mavericks' (Manz, Shipper et al. 2009c p. 241, Johnson, Martin et al. 2014). As a team orientated sport therefore, that wishes to develop leadership in more shared forms, three potential pathways may be expanded on for future research.

Initially, not all teams will operate as Hibernia do within other industries, with greater potential role diversity and self-direction than in rugby (Seers, Keller et al. 2003 p. 83). Similarly, other workplaces may contain teams brought together on a more short term basis to complete some designated work task or project and then may disband (Manz, Pearce et al. 2009a p. 178). Like all team sports therefore, rugby may be unique in terms of similarity of skill set and time together. It would be interesting then to compare Hibernia with teams from other industries and investigate if different concepts of what makes a 'team' also influences how leadership comes to be expressed in these organisations (Ford and Harding 2007 p. 479).

Second, team sport like rugby may also express leadership differently to individualistic forms of work. For example, within sport, this may include archery, athletics, boxing and so forth. The term 'leadership' may carry alternative expressions in such sports, perhaps relating more to authenticity (Ford and Harding 2011 p. 266), acting as role models (Henriksen, Stambulova et al. 2010b p. 126) or the constraints through financial dependency on sponsors (Harding 2014 p. 392).

Finally, irrespective of whether the production of work is centred around team or individual contexts, leadership is always a 'tenant of time and context' (Leavy and Wilson 1994 p. 150). The manner in which leadership is expressed will change over time, even within the one organisation like Hibernia. As well as different forms of teams being examined, or individualist types of work, a time-based study would also prove interesting to show how the expression of leadership changes in a temporal fashion within a singular site (Schatzki 2009 p. 38).

II. ACTION RESEARCH

Although the research strove to stand alongside the players as much as possible, the ethnography did not start from a collaborative endeavour. Future work could look to cement a sensual perspective as highly participatory by adopting more action research forms of inquiry (Reason 1994). Although these forms are as diverse as ethnography, depending on ontological assumptions and the focus of inquiry, its adoption would be useful in three ways. First, it enhances initial engagement by exploring and finding solutions to daily problems faced by practitioners (Stringer 2014 p. 41). In Hibernia, the coaches acted as gatekeepers which may have elicited some reticence from players on first engagement. Working alongside the players to identify their challenges around leadership in a more concise manner may have helped foster this engagement more rapidly.

Second, action research also fits into the practical, applied, nature of performance sport (Nesti 2010). Access into sport is often predicated on the 'contribution' of researchers to the performance aspect of the work. For example, British Rowing use the aphorism 'Will it make the boat go faster?' to question what contributions researchers, scientists and coaches can make to performance (Hunt-Davis and Beveridge 2011). This aphorism is loaded though as we often have no way of knowing what will, and will not, make athletes 'go faster' indirectly or otherwise. It is a sentiment well shared in sport however, and it is important for researchers to demonstrate they *can* contribute so any uncertainties around engagement are overcome (Fifer, Henschen et al. 2008, Ripamonti, Galuppo et al. 2016). Finally, highly collaborative forms of action research, which focus on developing 'inquiry groups' may fit well with both team based contexts and an epistemological position that suggests knowledge emerges from a *shared sense* of what is occurring (Reason 1999 p. 211).

9.5. Conclusion

The conclusion chapter has looked to highlight that although a carnal LAP contributes to leadership along both methodological and theoretical approaches, it carries with it a number of limitations as well as potential future opportunities. Certainly, applying a sensual perspective to other sports would prove useful considering such work inherently centres the body as the point of production. It must be noted however that most forms of work centre sensuality in some manner, although the forms involved may vary. An ability to explore work generally in a sensual manner helps avoid regurgitating rationalist, reductionist and representational accounts of other organisational topics. Merleau-Ponty's ontology therefore achieves greater mobility owing to its application to methodology than if it was directed solely towards theorising a phenomenon.

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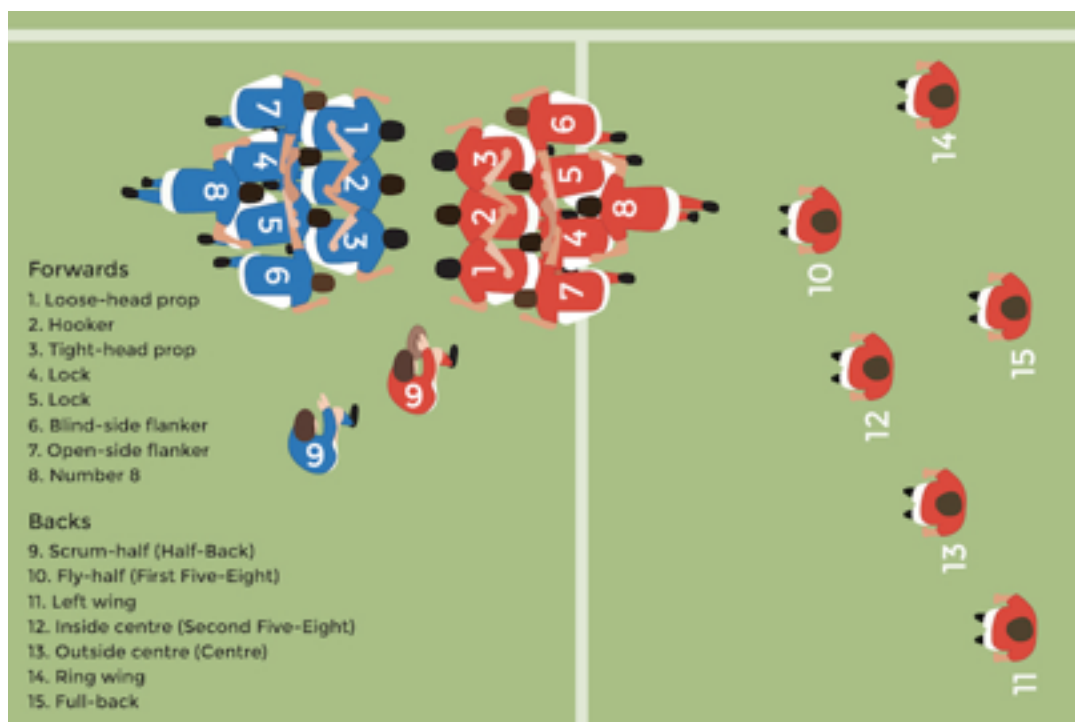
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Appendices

Appendix 1: Outline of rugby union team playing positions



Appendix 2: Example of Hibernia weekly schedule

<table><tr><td>M</td><td>monitoring</td></tr><tr><td></td><td>hard</td></tr><tr><td></td><td>moderate</td></tr><tr><td></td><td>light</td></tr><tr><td></td><td>recovery</td></tr></table>		M	monitoring		hard		moderate		light		recovery	<p>Triforce - Monday 16th January</p> <p>Check with Medical Team</p>										<p>Please ensure that all monitoring is completed at least 20 minutes prior to your first session or meeting.</p> <p>Please give yourself plenty of time for Injury Review, Strapping, Monitoring & Individual Preparation each morning.</p> <p>Rugby Shorts & Camo Rugby Rugby Top for All Rugby Sessions & Team Run</p>										<p>IP = Individual Preparation M = Monitoring CAR = Conditioning & Robustness IWR = Improvement Window UM = Unit Meeting FRM = Front Row Meeting NHP = Neural & Hormonal Primer DL = David Lloyd Health Club AR = Active Recovery / Pool / Spin / Light UB Weights</p>																			
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Appendix 3: Leaders and lieutenants

Pseudonym	Position	Brief
Leaders		
Earl	Scrum half	a short, powerful, scrum half who had come through humble rugby origins to work his way into the professional game. An extremely passionate and empathetic player, Earl epitomised loyalty to his team mates and the project they embarked upon.
Dru	Winger	Dru had an excellent tactical awareness of the game. He also was extremely good at bringing players together through rational argument and provided a strong 'bridge' to represent the players to the coaching and support staff
Craig	Winger	A highly talented winger who was often viewed as a 'maverick' by the team. That is to say he was highly creative as well as being a top class athlete physically. He also was willing to speak his mind off the pitch also 'calling out' when standards were not being met.
Barry	Prop	For all his size, Barry was fairly quiet and gentle to be around when off the pitch. On it though, he was known for his extraordinary work rate alongside an impressive use of his physicality. He felt he epitomised leading by actions rather than words.
Calum	Flanker	A large flanker coming in at 6 foot 6, Calum was also an extremely cerebral and reflective player. He had a strong interest in classical works coupled with a forthright and pragmatic view on how work should be conducted.
Lieutenants		
Séan	Full back	a small, powerful, full back, Sean was known for putting his body on the line for his team mates. A very engaging and passionate person off the field, he reflected that he needed to sometimes be a bit of a 'prick' on the field in terms of 'noising' people up. A very loyal player who was known for his work rate and dislike of moaning.
Ben	Hooker	An intelligent hooker who made the most of his physicality through a high work rate and reading of the game. Former captain of the team he had worked hard to ensure standards on and off the field were met each day. He already had identified a future career in coaching.
Phil	Lock	Now coming towards the end of his career, Phil was a former Six Nations winning captain alongside playing at the top level in both southern and northern hemisphere rugby. His role was more to mentor others and contribute to leadership through his previous experiences.

Pseudonym	Position	Brief
Gavin	Centre	A true stalwart of the team, Dylan acted a strong mentor for other younger players operating within his position and was happy to share his knowledge with others. On and off the field, he was very vocal about what was expected of himself and others.

Appendix 4: Research information sheet

Leadership in Pro Rugby: Player Information Sheet

What is the focus of the research?

The focus of my research is to examine player driven leadership. In that sense, I am interested in how leadership is developed, understood, and practically accomplished via the players at Hibernia. In essence, I am interested in what leadership 'looks like' day to day for the team.

How does this involve the leadership group?

In trying to understand the players' perspective on leadership, the group seems a good place to start. I do understand that leadership does not reside solely in leaders however, so I am happy to take direction from the group on what aspects of daily Hibernia life is worth examining.

What am I asking of the group?

My research is being conducted in four ways.

1. Observation - this may involve team meetings, games, training etc or any setting you as players feel is relevant for how leadership gets 'done'.
2. Interviews - I also would like to interview the leaders and their supporting team mate three times across the year. The aim here is to get an understanding of how leadership is developing at various time periods during the season. Each interview would last around an hour with names changed and anonymity assured in the process. I am hoping to conduct this with all of the 6 leaders and their supporting team mate. In doing so by the end of the season I would have 36 interviews.
3. Leadership meetings - it would also be interesting to record and transcribe leadership meetings at your discretion. Again the aim here would not be looking at what one person said specifically but general themes that emerge. I will also take notes in these meetings and feed them back anyway.
4. Photo elicitation - I may ask you between interviews to take pictures of what you think are 'leaderful moments' that occur. Such moments may be something you feel sums up leadership in the club. The aim is it provide a specific focus of conversation in the interviews but also these photos will be put together for form a 'leadership map' at the end of the season to display how it looks within the Hibernia.

What if I want more information?

The research is not compulsory and if you feel it's not for you then that is no problem. I can understand that time is tight and many other aspects of rugby life come

into play. I would say though that the study does not present specific risks to you individually as my interests are in how the team see leadership from a generic perspective. I am happy to discuss things further though if you have any questions. My details are as follows.

T: +44 (0)7501 9500 10

E: william.mcconn@strath.ac.uk

Participant Information

- That he has read the information provided
- He doesn't have to take part - in that sense the idea is to interview three times so can only do one etc.
- That the information is anonymous but not confidential - if quoted a pseudonym will be used. In that sense I may use what is said in my write up but I don't share it with anyone else in the team in advance.
- That it will be recorded and transcribed - the transcription will be passed back to him for comments and reflections.
- Transcriptions and recordings are stored on the secure server at Strathclyde
- Right to withdraw - can occur at any time during the interview
- Risks - none, and anything that may give an advantage to competitors like tactical discussions etc is not included.

Appendix 5: Hibernia Pass



Appendix 6: Field note structure

(based on Emerson, Fretz et al. 2011)

1. Initial expressions
2. Things that 'strike you' - significant - caused 'strong emotions' in you. Are others reacting the same?
3. What others react to in setting as 'significant' or 'important'
4. Description - being as systematic as possible. Focusing on the 'how'
5. Anomalies not a bad thing.

Turning jottings into fieldnotes

1. Jot down what you feel are key components of observed scenes, events or interactions. These can act as 'markers' to recall the scene.
2. Jot down sensory details about the scenes or interactions - focuses on things you may generally forget - trial and error.
3. Avoid characterising scenes or people through generalisation or summaries - try to be specific to the context.
4. Go for as much detail as possible - direct quotes, peoples physical reactions etc.
5. Try to capture peoples emotional responses - tempting to try and 'psychologise' and explain what caused it - focus on the description though as cause may be heavily multi faceted.
6. Use jottings to signal your general impressions or feelings even if you are unsure of the relevance at the time

Embedded in the notes:

1. **Asides ()** - reflective pieces that raise questions, clarify or interpret elements of the notes. (use parenthesis like dashes, brackets). In relation to 'feel' or emotional reactions. 'hunches'.
2. **Commentaries (CM:)** - longer and more elaborate. Put on separate paragraph from field notes to distinguish. What terms and events mean to members, make initial connections between current observation and prior field notes and point in direction of where to observe next. Turning points in relationships etc. Use it to compare and contrast incidences. Help identify gaps in understanding
3. In-process memos - sustained analytic writing. Help provide insight, direction and guidance. so can bullet it as 'field note' and 'memo' (like built in analysis). Useful for exploring connections. Need to balance it against writing field note
4. Jottings - Jot down what you feel are key components of observed scenes, events or interactions. These can act as 'markers' to recall the scene.
5. Summary paragraphs - end of each set of fieldnotes.

Appendix 7: Original field notes example²⁸

Day 11 - 23rd of August

On arriving I came into reception and met with one of the rugby development officers. He was blowing up balls and I made a comment about him having all the good jobs. 'They are for the Canada squad' - I asked why was that and he went on to say that they were given some balls, kit and equipment (I wasn't really able to ascertain whether this for training or as some form of a welcome gift). He wasn't sure it would be a great game though 'they will be putting out a weak side and so will we'. 'It will be good for Albion RFC!' I suggested. 'Oh for them definitely'. He told me a bit more about how he played for Ayr himself and was away at Darlington that weekend on a preflight (I reflected how important it was for everyone to have some rugby involvements off the field - it was like demonstrating your passion to them) (as I was talking - I stood next to the reception looking towards the gym, I could see Craig talking to Harry and Harry looking in our direction. There was something unsettling about it and I felt slightly self conscious they were talking about me - I have no reason really to think that, and whether it was for ill or not it doesn't really affect me).

As I was standing there Graham and Keith walked by with coffee and asked me if I was coming upstairs. I said I was. I talked more to Craig for a bit and then walked upstairs to the Engine Room. I said hello to Graham and Keith, and Robbie briefly as he dropped in. They had arrived back into Hibernia late last night - 12 o'clock. Graham asked me if I had seen the game - I said I had. 'We should have won it at the end....that dropped ball wasn't great. You cannot make mistakes like that at this level of the game. It frustrated us'. He went on to say 'we also highlighted to the players that Harlequins like to take quick taps - and during the game they did exactly that and scored a try from it! They just switched off!!' Graham seemed to think there was good things in there but some basic errors that need to be stamped out. Both Keith and him were looking forward to having a half day today - Graham said he was picking up his daughters from somewhere while Keith said he was off for a haircut - 'its the first opportunity for an appointment I have had in weeks!'. Graham looked puzzled - 'what you couldn't find anywhere you could get an appointment?! But there is loads of Turkish barbers in the city!'. Keith clarified 'no the first time I am able to get an opportunity to get one!'. Graham seemed to empathise with this aspect and we spent the next few minutes talking about the price of hair cuts and how Turkish barbers get the hair out of your ears. Graham seemed to like it suggesting 'you do feel great afterwards though!'. They talked about the players for a bit and then Keith mentioned to Graham that 'Dru will be out for 6 months with an op'. 'Pretty bad news' he reflected. I chirped in to clarify this was Dru and it would be down south in Coventry. He agreed. 'He seems okay about it but its not great'. There was a silence here and the topic changed. I went on to ask what was happening this week and Graham forwarded on the schedule - 'its a quiet week with the players being away he said. Only nine players or so'. I said this was grand and I would go out to meet them in a half hour or so.

I went upstairs to get my jacket and as I walked through the gym area I noticed Earl coming out of the players canteen bit. He said hello and jogged off and as I looked through the glass I saw Dru sitting at a table on his own with a bottle and a coffee. I went in and said hello. I asked him how his day was going. He told me about the

²⁸ Pseudonyms and masking applied

skills work etc but pretty quickly he told me about the operation. He repeated a few times he was okay about it, but I decided to take a seat to the side of him (up till that point I was standing casually while he was sitting). He went on to say at least he was dealing with it. He had been plagued by injuries a fair bit which was frustrating. He would be out for up to 6 months. It was around 3 days in hospital and then he would fly back. I asked would someone be helping him with that aspect and he suggested that the physio would probably go back with him. 'The surgeon has even said Michelle can sit in on the operation if she likes - so it helps her with the recovery process'. I asked if he had anything planned during the next few months - 'I am doing some coaching down at Kildare RFC. I really enjoy it actually. They are a young squad...only about 21-21 so its fun to work with them'. I mentioned that I knew the coach there and he seemed quite excited about this. He told me how the coach had worked with him at Albion from a young age. He seemed unsure why he had taken the job at Kildare but respected him quite a bit (I had known this in fairness as I had read an interview with Dru in rugby world stating his appreciation to the coach). Towards the end he asked me if I would still like to meet and discuss his move from the Academy - I said I would and he asked 'should I just ring you or that...can I have your number?'. I didn't mind passing on my number and he gave me a quick call to confirm. (There was something in there as if he wanted to chat further...). I said I better get out to the field and he agreed he better get on with his gym session.

I walked across to the astro turf and Robbie was by the sidelines with Michelle. They were leaning against the fence chatting away. Robbie and I chatted about being away out on Saturday night and we updated Michelle about how it went and how Robbie had stayed out till 6. I joked that we left when he met the Northern Irish girls - his failure to even remember them provided further joking and laughter.

CM: In this moment I felt extremely comfortable for the first time. It felt like a workplace Monday morning updating a colleague about some antics we got up to. Michelle also had opened up that bit more to me and was less hiding on her phone when I was around. I am also conscious that this is not my work! The relaxed atmosphere may have been helped by the small number of players and also that Keith and Graham were the only coaches there - perhaps neither are none for their authoritative stance (see Harry's scrum cap).

Michelle lent back and looked across at the team. There was about 9 players doing passing drills and evasion. 'Earl has his scrum cap on' she said to Robbie and I generally, 'but Harry is without his. he knows I am the only one who will say it to him!'. As Harry came closer she asked 'where is your scrum cap?!'. Its over there he said with a grin pointing to his bag 'its too windy you know!'. Knowing well that was a poor excuse and grinned at her. She rolled her eyes a bit but knew there was little she could do. As the players came on and off the pitch for water and the like I noticed only Alex shook my hand - the others did not, indeed there was not even an acknowledgement (on reflection I didn't take this personally - was barely acknowledged either- but what was interesting was whether they maintained this practice away from the coaches eye - particularly James - Dru had mentioned later that James had introduced it from his time in France - they shook hands (although I suggested they probably actually kissed). Yet this is a cultural thing in France. Dru did mention in his later meeting it was weird at first - 'a year or so' - but then had got

used to it. I had noticed for some time now though that the players were much more prolific in shaking my hands in front of certain people - James mainly - and it increased when I was in physical proximity to him. The practice seems to only get maintained fully in his presence - its almost like they want to do what pleases him to help their chances of selection etc.).

The players did seem relaxed more so than last week - Robbie would later reflect on this too over a cup of tea although this was a mix of things - perhaps being deselected for some? injury for others? some like Craig and Tom are frustrated at the SRU protecting them from certain games when they just wanted to get out there?

Craig the DO joined us for a bit and we talked about the weekends game. Michelle suggested there was generally a good feeling about how it went - how we were missing at least three key players that would have made the difference. Robbie and Craig seemed to agree (I reflected this was a different view than Kenny had expressed earlier...).

After the skills session Robbie did a fitness session that involved tuck jumps and sprints. He mentioned as he was getting his stuff together that it was Pierre's work and it was always hard to justify someone else's work to the players! They seemed to get on with okay although Graham got a slagging for moving Robbies cones by accident and the players kept telling him different places where to put them (he laughed and ignored asking Robbie directly but it all reflected that relaxed atmosphere).

When we walked inside. I chatted with Robbie - I asked if he and Pierre had replaced two guys before them. he said they had -both the assistant S & C's changed. He went on to say that Craig had 'let one go'. I pulled a face at him and he laughed and suggested 'yeah not the most comfortable that one!'. I said 'thats pro sport I suppose...you can get cut at any moment whether you are the player, coach or staff member'. He nodded in agreement.

Dru was downstairs with his phone and we agree to go across to the cafe. (I wondered that I saw players there from time to time and perhaps this was 'off site' enough for them to speak more candidly - at one stage I noticed Dru went for the comfy seats in the corner where often the players sat. They were occupied though). As we sat down I asked him about his transition in the first team. It was there but the conversation was heavily mixed up with the role of psychology in sport and also his injury. He told me how he had come through Albion, getting a two year academy contract first (the first year was agreed to play 7s - something he enjoyed as he travelled the world with it). He also talked about where he lived and what his girlfriend did (retail - although she wanted to get more into the communications side of things but was unsure where to start).

He did wonder if there was something wrong with him regarding injury - he had mentioned how Barry never got injury - but then he had 'pedigree' with his Dad and

brother being players. the dna was there perhaps or being brought up more athletically. He was the only one of his family who played rugby. I said it was tempting to see him as the source of the problem but this was dangerous thinking - crap things happen to all of us and the main thing is how we respond to them.

I said that previously he had played through the pain - he mentioned he had problems with his hip for two years taking ibuprofens each day. Even in a 10 game run in which he played well he was in a lot of pain - I suggested that not 'pushing it aside anymore' and looking for a way to engage it now, rather than waiting was a sign of progress and becoming responsible for his response!

He said overall he was feeling positive about things. He had been talking to Don about doing some psychology group. I tried to give him some advice around this (perhaps I shouldn't) and that it was useful to keep it educational or lean it towards more performance aspects. He mentioned the players in the locker room would laugh at these things. He was unsure why psychology was not important to them. There was even talk of why there was no psychologist in place - I said the main thing in selling it was looking at all the top performers that use it. He asked if any clubs in Ireland used psychology and I suggested there was Enda at Leinster and Kelly at Ulster (U20s anyway). (I did wonder though if he is really trying to sell psychology to the players or spiritually. I noticed Dons friendliness with the minister when he was in the other day so it may be dangerous for him to wrap psychology and spirituality up within the same breath. This is the lens *he* and Don may be using to view psychology but I mentioned that others would need to engage in it in different ways). (he mentioned a book a book called 'Clarity' by Jamie Smart - i did warn him to be careful of prosaic self help).

At the end of the chat I suggested I was happy to help provide things but it would be best led by the players themselves.

CM: I have concerns about the duality of my position here. I am happy to talk psychology but this is not the reason I am in there. Sometimes the desire to help and engage people may box me off or some may label me - in some ways I cant help this and having a background in sport psychology comes with pros (entry; knowing the environment; better engagement with players) and negs (psychologise the context; players disengage with me owing to stigma; get distracted by other work). Its not about being a good to bad thing to have - i simply have to deal with as best I can and continually clarify my role to the players. 'You cannot wear two hats!' seems to ring through here - I can dabble a bit but be aware of 1. how i position myself in the environment and 2. how the players may wish to position me (i.e. some may keep referring back to my psychology part to justify or legitimise what they are trying to do).

Summary

Although a quiet day it was quite interesting. It was interesting to see how the players responded to the position of authority not being around or indeed being left behind during the pre season friendlies - withdrawal, disengagement, overly relaxed etc. It was all there to see in a way. It did provide me with some opportunities to take some pictures of the office though which was useful. also perhaps the quiet space also allowed Dru a chance to engage with me but not in front of others. He is need-

ing some support at the moment as well - I need to not go into SP mode too much although perhaps stop at a sympathetic ear.²⁹

²⁹ These field notes are masked and anonymised.

Appendix 8: Sample of monthly feedback to head coach James and Ru

Leadership-as-practice: Month 2 Reflections (September 2015)³⁰

Focus for month: players' perspective

September for me was about trying to get closer to the players' perspective. Considering that the focus is leadership within the player cohort this seems useful but there are a number of challenges in relation to this position. First, although permission was granted for me to access the team, I am conscious that player's themselves do not provide this consent. In that sense they have a right to refuse to chat with me, discuss aspects of their performance, and so forth. I understand this cannot be forced on players and I would rather they felt comfortable in participating, or not, as the case may be.

Second, there is a large number of players to speak to. It is therefore impossible to speak to all regarding leadership but getting various perspectives from beyond the leaders' group can be useful to triangulate what is occurring. Some of the other players that I have chatted with generally have come from recommendations within the leaders' group in order to get these other perspectives. Individual discussions around leadership therefore are coming from a 'snowballing' approach in which one player or staff member recommends speaking to the next.

Third, it is important that the players (and staff by default) understand that my work is not an 'exposé' or 'fly on the wall' style report. Such an approach is neither ethically acceptable or practically sufficient. The story of leadership I am trying to tell needs to be done 'with' people rather than 'about' people. In such a way the story of how the players lead day to day will be conducted through me but those involved need to feel comfortable, and also feel they have contributed, to how the story was told. I will address this point further in 'Next steps'.

Summarised points of reflection:

Even with the above challenges, the players were open to discussions in a number of ways. Such discussion highlighted two things:

- A. That leadership goes beyond the leaders: Although there are assigned 'leaders' from the team, there is a large amount of players individually and collectively engaging in their own forms of leadership. Much like in conflating leadership and management within many organisations, it may also be incorrect to confuse 'leaders' specifically with 'leadership' generally. Such confusion

³⁰ Masking and pseudonyms are also applied to this document.

may obstruct the good practice that can often be occurring within such teams.

- B. That leadership is multiple (i.e. many things) but not plural (everything): Certainly there is the argument that leadership is nothing more than a 'proxy' or 'categorical error' and that numerous actions within an organisation could be viewed as 'everything and nothing'. Yet, in looking at practice and speaking to those involved leadership is a certain number of things but not everything. Leadership within the players carries a number of meanings that are played out in practice, but there is some congruence of belief between the players involved to what such enactments are. Although I need further information from formal interviews and analysis to confirm these areas, at present these seem to include:

1. Leadership as supportive:

A number of the players mentioned that they felt their role was to help 'lead' another member of the team. Often such support involved a more experienced individual working with a younger player and at first I thought this was mentoring. Some felt though this went beyond mentoring to individual leading as it was not just about providing feedback to others but also creating a supportive structure both personally and professionally. Generally though there seems to be a 'hierarchy of leading' with players supporting each other peer-to-peer as well as first team to academy. Supportive leadership therefore seems to be about augmenting the weaknesses of others in order to allow strengths to flourish collectively.

2. Leadership as setting standards:

I am not sure if leadership is viewed as a disciplinary force but it certainly seems to be involved in 'setting standards' or 'non negotiables'. This aspect seems to vary in how its delivered. At times, it is more about reminding players of the importance of the culture within the team, while at others it seems more about 'caring'. Caring in this sense is about caring for your team, your team mates, but also caring about doing what is needed to win. In such a situation there will always be frustration from some that others don't care enough. Yet, rather than animosity, many such players look for new ways to increase such 'caring' in those around them. For me, there is a lot of overlap between leadership and 'being a good professional' within the team.

3. Leadership as role modelling:

Interestingly many of the examples of leadership that are provided by players are around people not doing anything 'spectacular'. To be specific, it is more the traditional aspect of leading simply through personal behaviours. This interlocks with personal standards and it has a very tangible aspect. Such behaviours could be more training specific around timekeeping, work rate, communication with others, being a 'student of the sport' and so forth. Such noted behaviours occur off the park as well via signing autographs, visiting clubs, meeting local school children, raising money for charity, developing educational opportunities and quite a bit more. In essence, the old Ralph Waldo Emerson adage of 'what

you do speaks so loudly I cannot hear what you say' is certainly true here. In summary, its what you 'do' that defines the person and the player.

4. Leadership as sensemaking:

I was tempted to say that leadership is decision making, but much of the discussion is about making sense of complexity or 'mess' as much as choosing between various alternatives. In that way some of the leadership aspects involved finding out what the question is as much as any answer. For example, in relation to developing the idea of 'family' and 'history' within the club, some of the players had to identify what this meant to players overall before deciding on a course of action. It is tempting in such instances to simply 'act', but such actions can have detrimental, or counter productive, effects if there is not some idea of what is trying to be achieved. One player reflected to me that, 'working hard is not enough, you need to work smart as well' to suggest that leadership was about developing a 'map of the territory' as much as actually 'doing' things.

Next Steps:

Feedback Sessions

Up till this point most of the research has revolved around observation and informal interviews. Although this will continue, I would like to review the 'first phase' of the research and also remind people of its purpose, my ethical obligations, what the final output might look like and some initial reflections. I was hoping therefore to provide three mini-presentations back to the leader's group, the coaches, and also the support staff to update them on how things are going. This would only maybe be a 20 minute chat from myself and then maybe 10 minutes of thoughts from those attending.

Formal Interviews

The formal interviews will commence asap. This will consist of the leaders and four others who are identified as contributing. I am conscious however that players can opt out of such interviews and ethically this needs to be factored in for me. The hope is that this ten will be interviewed three times across the research to help show how leadership progresses and moves in meaning throughout the season. I will need to agree in advance timings and availability to schedule a meeting room at Athletic Park. Interviews will last no more than 1 hour and will be recorded and transcribed. Each player will receive the transcription back so they can comment on any of the content.

Shadowing

Through observation it is easier to ascertain what is the very obvious work being done, but not necessarily the large amount of 'invisible work' conducted by many in the organisation. Such work may involve preparing reports, collecting information on opposing teams and so forth. Shadowing may be one way of knowing more about this invisible work and how it contributes to leadership.

Basically, shadowing involves staying with a particular staff member for the day (or couple of days depending on how comfortable) to see what their work

looks like. It doesn't have to be a game day, and in fact a more routine, 'mundane', day gives me a better insight into what their work usually looks like. Of course the person I am shadowing can ask me to step out of any meetings etc during that time. I may ask questions from time to time on their work but the main thing is not to interfere in any way. At the end of the day I will go off and type up my observations from that day and feed these back to the person in question for us to discuss, and them to make comments on. It would be great to get a selection of people who interact with the players regularly i.e. coaches, physiotherapists, S & C etc but this depends on the individuals involved.

Identifying Critical Friends

As time goes on and I begin to produce some written material that will go into the PhD it is useful to have a number of 'critical friends' within the organisation to look over the work. The aim here is that if I have mis-represented the team in some way I can get feedback from a number of internal perspectives. Such a role involves, particularly at the end of the research, reading some of my material, so I do appreciate that such a 'friend' may place a time commitment on those involved.

Reciprocity

The staff and players within the club have been exceptional in allowing me access to their work and conversations. I would at least like to offer something further back in relation to this engagement. I do understand that this may be based on a matter of trust, in addition to the parameters laid out by the University of Strathclyde's ethic board. Anything that is delivered within a leadership perspective, however, is deemed to be acceptable (as opposed to utilising an additional professional role) and I am also willing to contribute generally if that is needed.

For example, two such ideas may be the following:

Leadership Lunches

I thought it may be useful to provide something as a collective to the players and staff regarding leadership theory and practice. It may be just a brief discussion around what leadership looks like to those involved, but it may help disseminate some good practice in addition to developing innovative solutions to ongoing problems.

Leadership Development

Although I cannot be a practitioner as such within the role, I could still utilise some of those skills in one to one leadership development with some of the players. I had thought that some of this individual work could be done with some of the younger players coming into the team, perhaps to support them to become the 'leaders' of the future. Just a thought but it would allow me to still understand leadership from another position but support some players along the way.

Appendix 9: Consent Form Template

Consent Form

Name of department: Strategy and Organisation

Title of the study: A study of leadership practice within a professional rugby team

- I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet for the above project and the researcher has answered any queries to my satisfaction.
- I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the project at any time, up to the point of completion (February 2016), without having to give a reason and without any consequences. If I exercise my right to withdraw and I don't want my data to be used, any data which have been collected from me will be destroyed.
- I understand that I can withdraw from the study any personal data (i.e. data which identify me personally) at any time.
- I understand that anonymised data (i.e. data which do not identify me personally) cannot be withdrawn once they have been included in the study.
- I understand that any information recorded in the investigation will remain confidential within the team and no information that identifies me will be made publicly available.
- I consent to being a participant in the project
- I consent to being audio and/or video recorded as part of the project

(PRINT NAME)

Signature of Participant:

Date:

‘Hibernia’ Leadership Group Personal Constructs of Leading

Participant:	
Date:	
Time:	
Audio Recorded:	
Transcription (if required)	

Construct 1:



+	Go od Lea der #1	Go od Lea der #2	Ave rag e Lea der	Poo r Lea der #1	Poo r Lea der #2	Self No w	20 18- 19 Self	■
1a.	Ranked and photographed?							1a.
1b.	Notes?							1b.
1c.								1c.

Construct 2:



+	<i>Go od Lea der #1</i>	Go od Lea der #2	Ave rag e Lea der	<i>Poo r Lea der #1</i>	Poor Lead er #2	<i>Se lf N o w</i>	201 8- 19 Self	-
2a.	Ranked and photographed?							2a.
2b.	Notes?							2b.
2c.								2c.

Construct 3:



+	Go od Lea der #1	Go od Lea der #2	Ave rag e Lea der	Poo r Lea der #1	Poo r Lea der #2	Se lf No w	201 8- 19 Self	—
3a.	Ranked and photographed?							3a.
3b.	Notes?							3b.
3c.								3c.

Construct 4:



+	Good Leader #1	Good Leader #2	Average Leader	Poor Leader #1	Poor Leader #2	Self Now	2018-19 Self	-
4a.	Ranked and photographed?						4a.	
4b.	Notes?						4b.	
4c.							4c.	

Construct 5:



+	Good Leader #1	Good Leader #2	Average Leader	Poor Leader #1	Poor Leader #2	Self Now	2018-19 Self	
5a.	Ranked and photographed?							5a.
5b.	Notes?							5b.
5c.								5c.

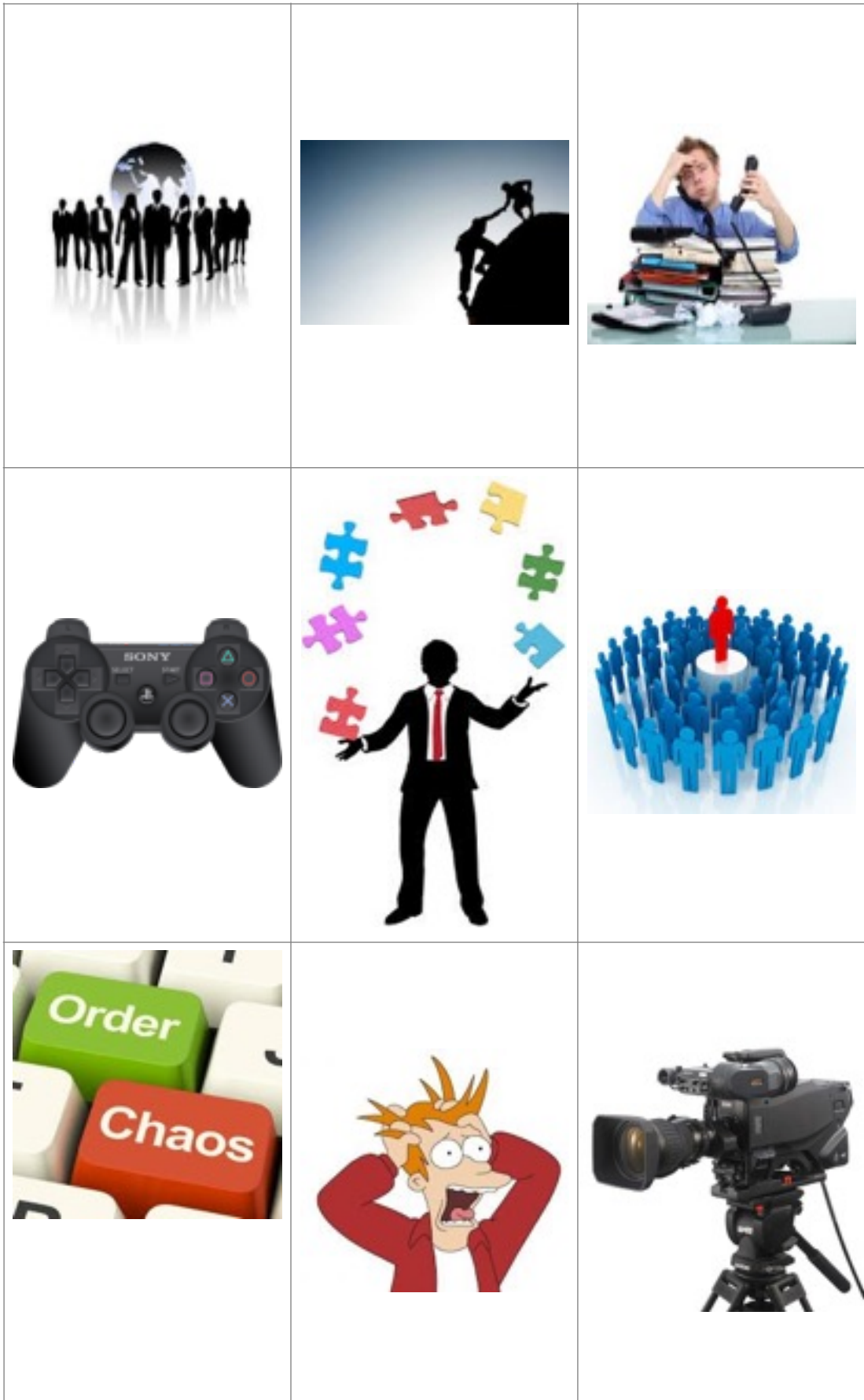
Construct 6:



+	Good Leader #1	Good Leader #2	Average Leader	Poor Leader #1	Poor Leader #2	Self Now	2018-19 Self	-
6a.	Ranked and photographed?							6a.
6b.	Notes?							6b.
6c.								6c.

The Repertory Grid 'elements'







Player Feedback: Earl³¹
Personal Constructs (beliefs) of Leading

Player:	
Good' Leadership (+)	Poor' leadership (-)
Construct 1:	
<p>Selfless <u>What this means:</u> Selfless can mean two things. First, this refers to putting the team first. The picture of the mountain climber represented this well with 'everyone helping each other up'. Second, selfless doesn't just mean putting the team first, its also 'personal' in how you help people around the club, contribute to off field stuff, packing way balls and the like. Earl highlighted that this can be really hard - for example he highlights how another player who wasn't getting 'much love' in terms of selection didn't cease in his efforts in training. In such moments it may be easy to try and put yourself on display in various ways but this player stuck to what he viewed as the 'right way' to train and contribute to the team. Earl highlighted its easy to have a 'selfless philosophy' when you are being regularly picked by coaches and starting big games, but it becomes really tested when things are not going so well for you.</p>	<p>Selfish <u>What this means:</u> Putting yourself first soley at the expense of others. Sometimes this is not about what happens on the field. Players too can throw others 'under the bus' to protect themselves in various ways. It can result in a culture of 'blame' however.</p> <p>Likewise, even 'motivational talks' can have that element - like a form of 'mouthing off but its all about them'. In that way inspiring players may not be great leaders.</p> <p><u>What this looks like:</u> Earl felt overall that 'putting yourself first' in that way was not sustainable. Sometimes it was obvious at the most benign moments.</p>
Ranking: Selfless (top) to Selfish (bottom)	
Construct 2:	

³¹ Anonymised

Player:	
Good' Leadership (+)	Poor' leadership (-)
<p>Measured/thought out</p> <p><u>What this means:</u> Elements of this relate to being positive as well. Looking like you enjoy it.</p> <p><u>What this looks like:</u> For Earl this be simply 'getting everyone up' and being a 'breath of fresh air'. In effect its about being positive in two ways. First, by 'looking like you are enjoying it', and having a 'smile on your face'. Second, it is referring to others in a positive way highlighting their strengths and success rather than any drawbacks - shouting 'don't fucking make any mistakes' is hugely counterproductive in this regard.</p> <p>Sometimes it's simply not being 'moany'. and being supportive to others and reassuring them. Certainly somedays you have to leave people alone as something may be happening but you try to judge that as you go.</p>	<p>'Hot headed'/rash decisions</p> <p><u>What this means:</u> This refers to unnecessary snap decisions but also sits together with being negative as well.</p> <p><u>What this looks like:</u> This scan manifests itself in failing to see the 'bigger picture'. He says of those individuals who are in leaderful positions, that they can simply pay lip service to the idea of being measured. He recounts one story of a table being kicked over and being shouted at to 'keep your fucking composure' as such an example.</p> <p>In addition, it can also be about making rash judgements on others without fully getting to know them. It's dismissing what they can or can't do, do or don't think, without sitting down to talk it through with them. Certainly, everyone can 'lose their cool' in training or games with tired bodies, but if you cross your own standards you need to be able to make amends in some way. Even of others don't see it.</p>
<p>Ranking: Measured/thought out (top) to 'Hot headed'/rash decisions (bottom)</p>	
Construct 3	

Player:	
Good' Leadership (+)	Poor' leadership (-)
<p>No one person bigger than the club</p> <p><u>What this means:</u> Epitomised in the phrase 'hardest working club', it involves knowing what you are working for. Sometimes this may mean not getting some personal attention but as Earl states 'you don't get the credit you deserve but what credit do you want'. He continues 'if I can help our club be a better club that's all you really care about</p> <p><u>What this looks like:</u> This is basically about 'putting your all into everything' when you are here. I asked Earl if there was a line between looking after yourself and others. He reflected that it wasn't about a 'line' as such but rather 'there is a time and a place for both' but you must always begin with that question about how things may impact on the club. Everyone has to begin from this collective 'wavelength' or 'otherwise the whole thing falls down'.</p> <p>Earl is honest when he says that of course he has an affinity with the city but 'I play as much for the thing we have created...that's what is special'. So when things go wrong they feel they have let each other down, the club down, as this is what they have created together.</p>	<p>Not 'buying' into what the club stands for</p> <p><u>What this means:</u> This is a failure to buy into the club, not just as a historical institution, but also the 'thing' created as a group of players.</p> <p><u>What this looks like:</u> This can be seen sometimes with players jumping from club to club ('journeyman pros') but not buying into the club. Earl stated that there is a professional side to things. It's a 'short career' so it's understandable that players may want to chase a contract, but 'when they are here, they are here'.</p> <p>Similarly, a lack of 'work rate' and being 'lazy' can also be a tell-tale sign. Work rate is a defining principle of the team. Even the squad members who may have a tendency to being lazy will get 'pulled along' by the overall work ethic, so it's a real sign when guys don't want to work. Also a lack of effort can be reflected in guys 'shirking responsibilities', those other things that may need to be done like social duties, visiting clubs, or corporate stuff.</p> <p>Work ethic is important then in terms of both consistency but having your own robust approach to what such 'work ethic' looks like in practice (i.e.. the personal standards you might have) .</p>
<p>Ranking: No one person bigger than the club (top) to Not 'buying' into what the club stands for (bottom)</p>	

Player:	
Good' Leadership (+)	Poor' leadership (-)
Construct 4:	
<p>Supportive</p> <p><u>What this means:</u> In essence, this means being there for someone.</p> <p><u>What this looks like:</u> It can take on different guises. Certainly this can involve the 'arm around the shoulder' but also sometimes its about 'asking more of you'. This may be done even in a direct or harsh way by others but its that belief you can do better, you can <i>be</i> better. Its about having <i>faith</i> in another that they will go from strength to strength.</p> <p>Sometimes being supportive also means having the 'awkward conversations' or displaying congruence in a certain belief. This involves a form of 'nipping in the bud' and having things out on the table even though they can be quite difficult. To be supportive you need also to be willing to say, after some deliberation, that some action by another was inappropriate. In many ways this involves a form of personal courage to put your beliefs about the good to the team at the forefront of the discussion.</p>	<p>Temperamental</p> <p><u>What this means:</u> This is treating people different depending on the circumstances Earl highlights that sometimes those deemed to be leaders often take on the approach of being 'supportive when it suits them'. This is a bit like treating people as objects, as in requiring them to do what you think they 'should' and if they fail you drop them badly or show little interest in them. Such objectification, or using them to achieve what <i>you</i> want, of others, is the opposite to being supportive.</p> <p><u>What this looks like:</u> A lack of support can reveal itself when a player has had a 'bad game'. Rather than sitting down with the player and looking through everything, its easier to avoid him, 'ignoring it and hope it goes away' when these are the times that support (in whatever form) is most needed.</p> <p>Often too it could be revealed being 'two-faced'. For example this can involve telling one player he is great and others are less so with all the players in that position. Such conceit also can be naive as players always talk to each other. Those deemed as leaders therefore cannot simply rely on supposed 'charm' in this instance as it can quickly become 'charmless' through collective dialogue.</p>
Ranking: Supportive (top) to Temperamental (bottom)	

Player:	
Good' Leadership (+)	Poor' leadership (-)
Construct 5 & 6:	
<p>Ambition</p> <p><u>What this means:</u> Players do want to be 'selfish' in some ways, in terms of 'wanting to get better all the time', but we both reflected there was a need to separate out ambition as a construct here. Earl reflected that ambition may be the 'selfish side of me' that 'hunger to get better'. The importance was keeping this ambition in check, and not allowing it to damage other people in some way or the club as an institution as well. In that sense, unchecked ambition could quickly lead to selfishness in which a line gets crossed somewhere.</p> <p><u>What this looks like:</u></p> <p>.</p> <p>Sometimes he states the problem with ambition is looking elsewhere and thinking you are hard done by. It's getting wrapped up in the money you 'should' or 'ought' to be earning which can distract you from on field performances. Earl suggests though 'you are only worth what people want to pay for you'. Following the money therefore may be counter productive to developing your personal talent. Earl suggests that really rugby teams are built on an 'ambitious project' not personal ambition</p>	<p>Getting Comfortable</p> <p><u>What this means:</u> Basically Earl said this is 'turning up and picking up your paycheck - just being a part of it...a passenger almost'</p> <p><u>What this looks like:</u></p> <p>Earl highlighted how such comfortability was a shame at times. Some players are just happy to come along and be a part of the squad perhaps without fully realising their potential. In some ways this can become a wasted opportunity for both the team and the player.</p> <p>You could also see players 'comfortable-ness' during a contract year. Some players, when their contract is up, would suddenly up their level of effort in training and games. We discussed that this was a cynical way to approach the sport, and also could be easily spotted by other players. In some ways it was a much worse sin for players with less ability to try most of the time, than players who had great ability to only demonstrate effort when really pushed. It reflected badly on how such players saw the collective 'project'. He says that once such players had their new contract they would often return to putting their 'feet up'.</p>
Ranking: Ambition (top) to Getting comfortable (bottom)	

Appendix 11: Meeting notes from external organisation

Doxa Law and Hibernia Leadership Exchange Meeting - 29 August 2016³²

Overarching themes (quotes from Martin and Jim at Doxa Law)

1. *'We did what the opposition would not'*

Topic: Martin recounted that in 2008 during the financial crash many law firms were laying off staff. Rather than suffer the loss of knowledge, the decrease in motivation and the costs incurred from redundancies, HM decided to take 25% of their revenue and reinvest it into 20% of their staff to retrain them as required. The benefit was an organisation able to exit the crash better, but also they have received 'solid loyalty' from their staff since then. They reflected it greatly helped to develop reciprocal trust.

Learning Point: HM reframed a threat and saw it as an opportunity to get ahead of their competitors. It would have been easy to follow others such an approach would have prevented them from getting ahead. Simply doing what others did was not worthwhile. They used the financial crash to develop a huge competitive advantage but this came from believing in, and trusting, their workforce. Such a movement also required trust from the staff within the company that such retraining was worthwhile. Within the literature this is called 'frame breaking' i.e. doing what is not commonly done to create advantage.

Related Reading: 'Organisational Frame Bending' by Nadler and Tushman

Topic: HM demonstrated that it was important that you 'don't believe the press'. In that sense their turnover increased from £5m in 2003 to £25m in 2008. Numerous awards followed but it could have been tempting at this point to simply rest on their achievements. Yet, they are constantly looking for ways to improve and this may actually involve altering the structure of things. For example, they changed their rules within the firm to give non-partners the equivalent status as partners. Rather than simply superficial change, the firm went against dominant practices to change the actual structure of the organisation.

Learning Point: Change can exist at different levels of depth, which can be referred to as single and double loop learning, terms coined by Chris Argyris. Single loop involves changing processes like that of individual positions or introducing new technology into the company. Such change however often doesn't get to the root of the problem. On the other hand, double loop learn-

³² This document is also masked and anonymised.

ing often involves refining theories and assumptions about how the company, and the world, works. Often you need to get a 'philosophical shift' in order to elicit the change required. As Martin alluded to, if the rules are preventing innovation and growth, change the rules!

Related Reading: Interview with Chris Argyris: <http://www.strategy-business.com/article/9887>

2. *'We will not tolerate people not working together'*

Topic: HM felt that in dealing with a complex environment, the idea of the individual leader was ineffective for such a 'messy' world. In essence, leadership was a complementary process which involved deep knowledge about personal strengths and limitations. Within a group of leaders this complementary process was referred to as 'covering each others weaknesses'. Both Martin and Jim reflected that it took a huge amount of self-knowledge to be in this position. At times you need to know yourself well enough to say 'I am not the best person to deal with that client'. High performance of any kind is too complex to be led through a single individual's competencies. It is the *blend* of individual attributes that matters. In such a way leading is a collective, not an individual, endeavour.

Learning Point: Leaders cannot be all things to all people. The strength of leadership comes through the group. A huge amount of this is down to the idea of 'Know thyself' - the importance of personal growth and reflection. Only through such a process do you begin to know your strengths and offset your weaknesses. You need to tailor how you lead according to who you are as a person, rather than try and be something you are not - leading authentically is a key aspect in ensuring this 'blend of competencies'.

Related Reading: See HBR review article on the Authenticity Paradox

Topic: Lorne remarked that in waiting for a formal setting or appraisal, important advantages can be lost. In that sense, leadership can involve the 'small conversations' perhaps even more so than those inspirational speeches or meetings that occur. HM feel it is important to invest heavily in internal leadership development rather than necessary going externally. They place a large focus on young leaders knowing thoroughly how the business aspects of law works, alongside a willingness to cross-fertilise ideas from other companies or industries. Such small conversations' in HM are therefore built on a deep knowledge of the environment, knowledge of the strengths of their staff, and knowledge of how to apply different approaches depending on the situation.

Learning Point: Leadership is not solely about personal aspects of the individual. In that way being a good leader is only one part of leadership that also involves context, 'followers' and purpose. When all of these aspects interact we then get leadership or a 'leaderful moment'. It is important then to

see leadership not as some heroic, romantic, notion but rather something that happens day to day, often in subtle and surprising ways.

Related Reading: See Joe Raelin's article 'We the leaders'.

3. *'What gets measured gets done'*

At one stage Martin put up a slide showing the brand pillars of the organisation. He suggested these builders represented:

- driven by client needs
- driven to innovate
- driven to try harder
- driven by partnerships

What was noticeable was all of these elements were a process not an output. It was not about targets like client numbers, bottom line, case resolutions etc but rather 'how we do things around here'. Martin reflected that you cannot indulge in a 'race to the bottom' (be the cheapest) - rather, he suggested rather than being a 'trained monkey' sufficing in your job, you constantly look for ways to add quality to your work on a daily basis.

Learning Point: The point here is that any measurement does not necessarily revolve around outputs or objectives, but that we also must think broader about how we develop measures that contribute to this final goal. For example, perhaps HM in their drive to innovate included practices like external site visits, research teams, and innovation acquisitions. The focus therefore must always be on the process with the four drives highlighting what will contribute to their culture from a long term perspective.

Related Reading: See 'Culture is not the culprit' article from HBR

Topic: Both Martin and Jim recounted their thoughts on the leadership development programme that gets implemented at HM. This programme looks at developing leaders under 30 years old through various educational, assessment and exposure criteria. At times they suggested that they didn't select those who were the top of their class at University. It is not about 'being the best lawyer to be the best leader'. More importantly it was looking at whether these individuals could 'fit' into the organisation. Even then some of those going through the leadership development programme 'might not make it' into some management role but are still retained within the organisation for their honesty and desire to deliver. In that way HM aim to 'celebrate' all individual contributions and reinforce the idea that it is a 'place of opportunity for all'.

Learning Point: A key part for me here was the split between daily leading and leadership development. Lorne highlighted how leaders could be trained, not born, but this involved having development opportunities and learning built into the activities of such leaders. One useful concept here is 'reflective

practice'. Reflective practice does not solely involve off site education, but also looking at how reflection-in-action is built in to your day to day work. An extension of such practice is called 'integrative thinking' which involves the ability to stand back and reflect on two potentially opposing decisions.

Related Reading: See Roger Martin talk about integrative thinking at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xJw1gKG1JCY>

4. 'If you are not showing where you are going to take them, why should they stay?'

Topic: Martin recounted the story of the 'three diggers' to illustrate the importance of knowing what you are contributing to. These diggers all reflected different work that is carried out - we can see our work as simply 'digging a trench', 'building a wall', or 'building a cathedral'. Martin pointed out that in order to get the best from others, money was not enough of an incentive. People needed to feel they were contributing to something greater than themselves (i.e. 'the cathedral' or 'vision'). It's not simply enough to say what the vision is though, or just how to get there, HM needed to show what this vision 'looked like' in daily work i.e. the various sectors, how they engaged with clients etc.

Learning Point: The diggers story tied a lot in to the discussion later around motivation. You can only get so far with extrinsic, short term, solutions whether this is salary, status, rewards and so forth. Something intrinsic needs to be developed long term in the work force. There is a saying by Antonine de Saint-Exupery, the french writer and aviator:

'If you want to build a ship, don't drum up people to collect wood and don't assign them tasks and work, but rather teach them to long for the endless immensity of the sea'.

Leadership will always be more than the individual leader therefore and is forged through what is being created collectively i.e. that 'greater' aspect.

Related Reading: See the 'Curse of the Superstar CEO' HBR article

Topic: During the presentation, there was some discussion on the demise of Kodak as an independent entity. Basically, Kodak had felt that photographers would never want to use the touch screen technology that was being developed. They were right, but they did not foresee that the market would not be photographers but everyone who had a phone. In the end, Apple took some of Kodak's staff and went on to develop the successful technology that is in the iphone. Kodak, even though they were coming from a position of commercial strength, had failed to see the changes happening around them.

Learning Point: Leadership and change are constantly intertwined. In many ways a large part of leadership can often involve managing change or the 'meaning' connected with change. Sometimes such management can involve reframing threats into opportunities, creating positive solutions or taking cal-

culated risks. The most important thing though is understanding what is happening in the environment around you. Like Kodak it is easily to get caught up in our day to day workings forgetting we are subject to larger social pressures that can enhance, or damage, performance.

Related Reading of interest: See Ahn and colleagues 'From Leaders to Leadership'

Appendix 12: Example of 'notes on notes' and Audacity output

Notes on Notes

Day 1 - Monday the 1st of August

- How 'fluff' got his name
- Upstairs/downstairs discord - 'mess'
- JM - logistics, 7s, upgrades and helping the players to 'settle in' (TV and car)
- JM next to door of James office - players and everyone else drop by all the time
- 'visual culture' in the office
- JM - distanced himself from coaches role to get closer to the office
- Trying to get things done on a 'budget' e.g. nutritional support
- £5m of 9m budget on salaries - 600k for his budget
- unit meeting (I think) - like listening to a different language

On the pitch:

- Graham telling me to grab a spare jacket off the hook
- Craig kicking a football and being 'playful'
- Overawed at amount of handshaking - exhausting
- the various coaching styles at work
- Michelle Qs and quietness - one her phone too (shy??!)
- Gap in where supportive staff stood
- Albert and Conor sitting on a tackle bag flying a drone
- Albert - 15 years kit manager - hard to transfer gear about now with pitch being redone
- Keiths move to coach - tough transition - pre season as particularly hard. missed playing
- Everyone remarking on how busy it is - later more about prep for games (pre season seems to be by far the main development window!)
- Joking with Geo
- Sense of isolation, or of being isolated from MB
- 'Warrior Time'

Meeting Courtney

- private room - her work on building relationships, happy to have a 'central' role
- the 'mother of the place' even though only 28 (makes me cringe as I read this a bit)
- 'its all our jobs to win' - frustrated that not just players job and everyone needs to work hard (but players get the money!)
- Her job to 'link' with other groups
- Collecting the office cups - 'short straw' - eager to help
- (seemingly not enamoured with her own team)
- (opened up quite quickly)

TM

- leaders announcement? not happen
- 'if only the council saw this' - games inside
- Announced co-captains
- Barry and Adam struggle with the sporting challenge
- (does Ru miss the bants with the players?)
- Ops meeting
- Ru and Paul 'hiding' in the top deck eating a sandwich
- Dual captains as unusual - popular in southern hemisphere

- Player and coach feedback on leaders as similar (I always wondered if the coaches selected them or at least vetoed them? never showed either the form players were given or how the selection process took place?)
- If leaders are still the same after 'initial discussions' (between Ru and James - again suggestion not democratic)
- the players to carry more of the load 'the sooner the better'
- Some players hating the rain - 'then he checks his bank balance'
- Players wife arrives into the November weather as not the best
- Hard to ask 'missus and the kids to travel the globe'
- Marriage provides pros (structure) and cons (individual responsibility and time)
- Giving Brad his place
- The feeling that everyone must be seen to be contributing something
- (am i here as a 'snitch'?)
- (an org of two halves. Ru, Paul and Courtney as 'brokers'?)
- ('doing' environment - prided over all else)
- (Sports D comparsion - based more on 'passion' than technical skills)
- Questions for myself

Audacity output - tagged concepts

Barry

158.990336	158.990336	Sweeper for himself
208.360789	208.360789	Future self - Juggling
248.949419	248.949419	Construct 1
265.377109	265.377109	Lot of effort in - working and doing their jobs
287.440896	287.440896	Working together as a team - positive
304.655019	304.655019	Working together - 'calling each other out' 'improving your idea'
328.422741	328.422741	'Calling each other out' = giving out wrong messages, not explaining yourself well
362.195627	362.195627	Making things clearer for the group - he needs to be sure
377.443669	377.443669	Relationships with players - needing to speak to the coaches - trainings been too hard, been too easy
396.973397	396.973397	As leaders - need to call anyone out across the club - its not a popularity thing but its easy to fall down that trap
422.270293	422.270293	Team and club you cannot please everyone - even yourself which is not nice - if they take it personally away from Athletic Park thats their problem
441.100971	441.100971	If you worry about what you say to people, offending people, nothing will get done - dont say to be spiteful
480.160427	480.160427	Starts talking about weights on the bar? I need an extra 10 kilos to S & C (practical)
506.287445	506.287445	Need to be able to call yourself out first - making mistake in defense example - need to have that 'respect' 'trust their opinion more'
539.492352	539.492352	If a back said to jump higher in a lineout that wouldnt mean anything - its not positive or constructive
576.236203	576.236203	Opposite to working together =
594.761045	594.761045	5 man line outs vs 6 man line outs = having that conversation in front of each other and why
619.533653	619.708416	Cant be offended if your idea gets cancelled -
648.238421	648.238421	Sounds like being open honest and transparent?
655.010475	655.010475	'whats the best outcome for us to have this done' 'research'
670.476971	670.476971	'so its not the best thing for Will, or the best thing for Barry, its the best thing for (thuds the table)'
685.768704	685.768704	You might think oh Barrys so difficult but you will go away with that done
711.109291	711.109291	'workman like'
732.342955	732.342955	Construct 1: individualistic
740.950016	740.950016	People working together vs people being individuals
768.169301	768.169301	Everyones involved, everyone knows their job. colours are lineout, scrums, defense... and the middle is the club...protected
790.757376	790.757376	Thats having it in action (referring to the pictures here) 'need to step out and do....cover tackle...make that effort (for each other)
814.088192	814.088192	So thats everyone training doing it daily, and this is the heat of the moment
821.253461	821.253461	'dark times' - 'he knows to trust him as he has done his training'

834.579115 834.579115 'if he hasn't done his training properly..'
 851.443712 851.443712 'it's too late, he's dropped it and we are dead...we've
 lost our chance'
 866.604373 866.604373 the importance of the two arms and what that symbol-
 ises
 883.905877 883.905877 'no matter what you have achieved or who you are you
 have to work'
 889.279829 889.279829 'working for the opportunities you have been given'
 919.863296 919.863296 'juggling everything'
 944.898048 944.898048 'I do but I don't...if I find I do that I'll lose that'
 957.699413 957.699413 I just don't think it's me (collective?)
 975.437824 975.437824 'Getting three buses to training all that kind of
 stuff' (about getting here)
 998.375424 998.375424 'yeah but you need some of this - someone like Ru is
 more of that' 'brings people together'
 1033.633792 1033.633792 Needing a blend of strengths
 1055.916032 1055.916032 Average leaders - people who know systems and
 things - 'they know what they need to know and don't go anything above that' Not
 something off the cuff
 1081.387691 1081.387691 'We are going to change that and that' 'What?! We
 have not practiced that before!'
 1116.995584 1116.995584 This guy, doesn't know what he is doing, doesn't learn it
 and doesn't really care that much
 1130.190165 1130.190165 And they will try and help these people and bring them
 up to here
 1153.477291 1153.477291 choosing to be (lost) not knowing
 1166.453419 1166.453419 shows you don't care
 1176.240128 1176.240128 they are good rugby players but..sometimes it works
 they get away with it but the big games, the small details (nice quote here)
 1210.930517 1210.930517 people make mistakes and if you know that
 person...the most rewarding thing as a leader,
 1239.766357 1239.766357 Even when he has messed it up, you know he's tried 'it
 makes you want to spend more time with him, to take him up' (the need to know
 people individually - 'empathise')
 1298.442923 1298.442923 people like 'poison' to a team (Alex Ferguson) (blam-
 ing others)
 1311.462741 1311.462741 'I am late cause Will came in' (how you can get used
 as an excuse!)
 1320.637781 1320.637781 'when they have a good game they let other people
 know about it' think - you going to do some tackling??
 1341.652992 1341.652992 'two things, blaming other people and showing off'
 1365.158571 1365.158571 How players can spin - 'games when the detail is not
 required, can tackle, ball carry and that, they will go up there' (nice this)
 1375.425877 1375.425877 Taking a photo
 1391.416661 1391.416661 'will try and do two, it's quite interesting'
 1407.538517 1407.538517 Construct 2
 1430.432427 1430.432427 'that have their best interests in the team'...believe
 works for the team
 1441.792000 1441.792000 effort - just want to do their roles
 1463.855787 1463.855787 Starts describing different roles but all working for the
 same company...together...groundsman, player, coach, (doing extra)

1501.036544 1501.036544 'id be gutted with myself if I came in and treated...the
 guy cleaning the track, if I just threw a water bottle, and just left it for him to pick up'
 1520.741035 1520.741035 'that would be the worse thing I could do' 'Id rather
 play terrible, than walk in...and someone was to say Barry hi are you doing and to
 walk past them'
 1547.042816 1547.042816 'it might sounds a bit much' (he gets very passionate
 here) 'id genuinely be disappointed in myself'
 1563.951104 1563.951104 'Ive seen these people (above others) and its disgust-
 ing' 'Id say not a lot here, but...'
 1586.626560 1586.626560 The guy that coached me when I was younger...they
 dont get any credit...I was one of them, they were one of them and its still the same
 now
 1601.874603 1601.874603 'if you didnt have them you wouldnt be who you are'
 1604.932949 1604.932949 'its just respect'
 1609.695232 1609.695232 my mum had a big say in that -
 1626.341376 1626.341376 sitting brother down and saying 'if you ever call any-
 one...'
 1635.603797 1635.603797 way my gran is as well
 1639.667029 1639.667029 I'd put that as my number one
 1647.924565 1647.924565 Dont work hard cause you'll lose all of this - 'a fear' not
 sure if its a real fear or one I tell myself
 1678.551723 1678.551723 'everyone feels a part of it'
 1684.581035 1684.581035 sometimes ironically people view me as that - 'dont
 want to be involved with it'
 1697.819307 1697.819307 people seeing him sit outside of it
 1700.921344 1700.921344 stuff like media, twitter
 1714.115925 1714.115925 people put out thanks to the fans...if they dont see that
 1718.528683 1718.528683 signing autographs for ten year olds
 1736.835072 1736.835072 family saying 'people will see what they want to see'
 1755.228843 1755.228843 the furstation of some people being 'seen' more than
 others - people who shout the loudest
 1756.845397 1756.889088 Saracens and the shit people dont see (T.S.P.D.S)
 1776.069291 1776.069291 'luck enough that Hibernia is made up of good
 people'rare...these peopel drift in and out
 1824.959147 1824.959147 'these people pay to come and see me, they have
 jobs...they may be struggling with money....least I can do the kids'
 1835.619669 1835.619669 'we have just lost and the kids are freezing cold, its a
 friday night, what am I doing the rest of the weekend'
 1850.692949 1850.692949 'if you are making a wee kid happier, inspiring them
 maybe'
 1867.644928 1867.644928 Is that not a deep connection? (the cold of december)
 1887.218347 1887.218347 But is that just not people? If I was at a different club
 would I not do the same?
 1894.208853 1894.208853 And times it can be tough - you come in after a game
 and you are sore...I cant...which it happen..emotionally you cannot face people
 1911.379285 1911.379285 But then, I have nothing on the rest of the week..what
 are Albion rugby club doing?
 1918.631936 1918.631936 Media today, Barry do you fancy doing it? Sponsors
 lunch it would be good to get your PR up....nah, he never wants to do anything
 1938.817024 1938.817024 whereas if its loads of kids clubs on Hibernia TV I
 would be like yep!

1974.992896 1974.992896 The other would be blaming people...not accepting responsibility...maybe a bit of ego
 1989.454507 1989.454507 'the younger guy has done better than me'
 2018.508800 2018.508800 Me - the speed of the professional game
 2049.310720 2049.310720 Sticking to what works for you sometimes even if it doesnt work straight away....you want quick fix answers, maybe I should hang out the wing, get a big ball carry, and everyone will think I am a good ball carrier...
 2075.262976 2075.262976 change but dont lose yourself
 2086.797312 2086.797312 has come in...quicker in the line out...line out competition
 2116.419584 2116.419584 Line out jumping not my main strength if I am to be honest...main strength is working...(invisible stuff)
 2131.973461 2131.973461 Said to, want to improve my jumping, learn how to call..
 2137.696939 2137.696939 they are just fun, competitive, drills... can I do some extra drills
 2156.309163 2156.309163 I can see the results coming..but if he (Scott) hadnt come along, my lineout is okay...
 2170.989227 2170.989227 Can respond in two ways..hes got the better..
 2179.596288 2179.596288 I was challenged...Oh Barry!
 2190.693717 2190.693717 If a young prop beat the old prop people would be 'whoa'
 2226.301611 2226.301611 Leadership happening at invisible moments