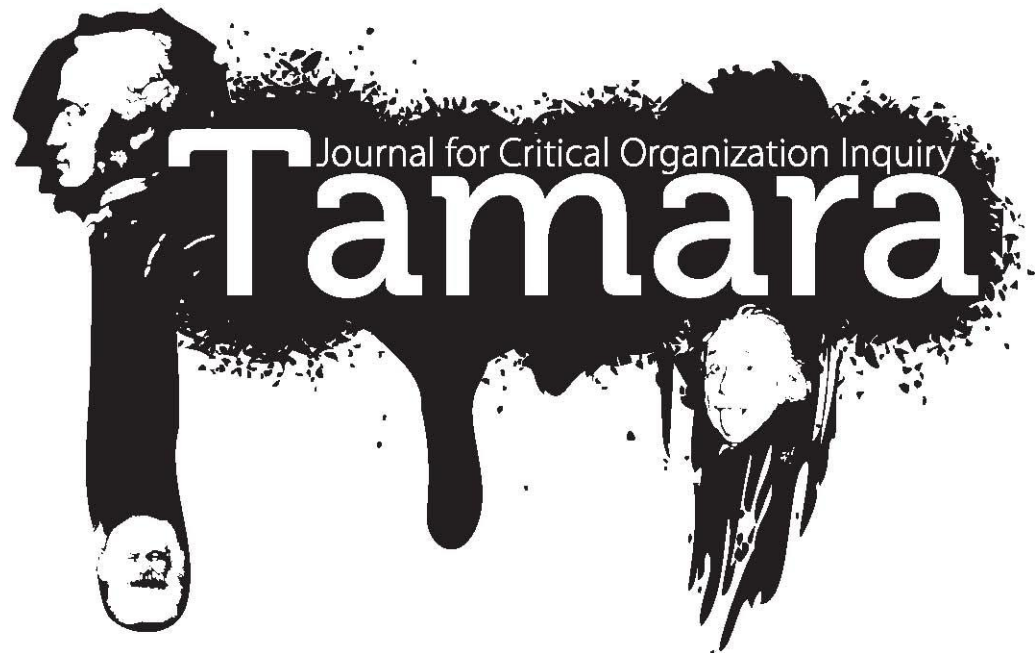


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Organizational ethnography: an interaction analysis of identity work through the study of other-orientation and storytelling practices in a leadership development forum

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Abstract

Contemporary organizations feature absence of boundaries and are increasingly defined by loose couplings, pluri-vocality and network configurations. What Foucault (1995) addressed as a former society of discipline is transformed and replaced into what Deleuze (1995) refines as a society of control that incorporates its subjects into new and ever-changing lines of subjectification. This transformation of dispositifs (Deleuze, 1992; Foucault, 1980) and authoritative discourses (Bakhtin, 1982) that compose (and is composed of) a contemporary way of living induces in other words new types of embodied organizational knowledge and ways of organizing, which have consequences for how subject positions are (re)configured in everyday corporate lives. Such identity work is rarely studied in local discursive practices of today's modern and emergent corporations. The aspiration in the present article is to scrutinize local practices in a dialogue based leadership development forum in university settings. This provides insights into the lived lives and identity work in Aalborg University representing a temporary, polyphonic and cross-disciplinary research project in a modern corporation. The project was an example of a loose-coupled and temporary arrangement/organization that invited a diverse group of participants to engage in the co-production of knowledge in/on leadership communicative practices. The participants were professional leaders from diverse organizations in the North of Jutland together with researchers and candidate students from the study programs of communication and philosophy at Aalborg University.

The article is structured into four parts: In **section 1**, the purpose of the research is outlined and some of the socio-political circumstances are sketched. This involves a) a description of how I am inspired by an organizational ethnographic gaze involving auto-ethnography that enables me to use my personal insider knowledge as one of the initiators and

researchers involved in the leadership forum and b) an unfolding of some of the crucial learning processes in my PhD work connected to my embeddedness in the organizational realities of Aalborg University. Through this rather subjective narrative I demonstrate and reflect the understanding of meaning-making and identity work as filled with messiness and ambiguities, which also permeates the underlying assumptions in the article. Hereafter follows c) a short presentation of the leadership forum linking up to how it can be framed through the lenses of governmentality and dialogicality.

In **section 2** the analytical framework for zooming in on close-up analysis will be elaborated. Contrary to traditional dialogue analysis I study dialogue as an embodied place-bound phenomenon. I will argue how the chosen perspectives supplements each other and allow one to study embodied dialogue/interaction and identity work in situ that bring about insights into the Deleuzian lines of subjectification.

In **Section 3** I zoom in on the interactional plane displaying close-up analysis of three data extracts. The analysis reveals how different embodied setups in the leadership forum prompt diverse embodied interactional patterns that open up for diverse forms of identity work. For instance I will show how a dialogue round generates a loose and messy interactional pattern that seem to give space for diversity (cp. centrifugal forces) and for all participants to negotiate opinions and accommodate otherness.

Finally in **section 4** I zoom out and discuss the close ethnographic research findings through the lenses of dialogicality and governmentality. This outlines how the analytical findings give insights into the Deleuzian lines of subjectification that emerge in the research forum. Further I discuss how it seems to be difficult to maintain the multi-voiced aspirations when using structured methods that are often used in qualitative research settings and consultancy work. Hereto I reflect on whether the dialogical and multi-voiced ideals call for a new set of procedures that follow acquired changes in organizational mindsets. I argue for how this knowledge informs future designs within pluri-vocal participatory research setups and consultancy work with the aim to create more egalitarian and multi-voiced designs.

Section 1: narrowing down the research

Organizational ethnography: a dialogical leadership development site

The article represents an attempt of doing organizational ethnography by studying the situated procedures and processes of a concrete development setup. It aims to give an in-depth and up-close understanding of how the 'everydayness' in a development forum is accomplished. The author was a part of the originators of the forum and carries thereby knowledge and experience from an insider as well as an outsider perspective. This gives rise for an auto-ethnographic dimension, as I can inform the analysis with contextual insider knowledge that cannot be detected by merely looking at the video data (Baarts, 2010). For instance we will see, in the analysis of the two data extracts, how my experience from the forum gives rise for understanding the participants' shared references to earlier events in the forum. These come into play through *virtual semiotic fields* that emerge in the situation through the participant's *gesture work* (Kendon, 2004a) and speech accomplishments as part of the *contextual configurations* (Goodwin, 2000) of the interactional setup. The inspiration that I draw from Auto-ethnography allows me to exploit my personal experience in combination with the empirical material. In this process I will relate reflexively to my experience and attempt to keep a certain and demanded degree of analytical distance (Baarts, 2010). As such this allows me to straddle an emic and an etic perspective as I study the interaction from the perspective of both an insider (a person within the culture) and from my point of view as a scientific observer (Pike, 1954).

Recently, scholars in the field of organizational ethnography have pointed out how insights derived from ethnographic studies in organizations have been underestimated and underrated in the dominating field of contemporary organizational research. Instead it has foregrounded expert and concept inducing perspectives that often overlook the concrete processes and the potentials that being sensitive toward local organizational accomplishments can provide (Luthans et al., 2013). According to Bannan, Rowe and Worthington (2012) it is time to reclaim the potential of taking an ethnographic approach to doing organizational research.

The methodological approach is inspired by what Nicolini (2009a, 2009b) addresses as a 'tool-kit logic' and a metaphorical movement of 'zooming in and out' between diverse theoretical perspectives and aspects of meaning making. This entails that a gamut of perspectives are gathered as means for understanding and reflecting dialogic practices in a leadership forum, spanning from theories of a rather high level of abstraction (e.g. Foucault, Deleuze) to perspectives for micro level analysis (e.g. Bakhtin, Linell, Bamberg). Moreover, the analysis zooms in on situated dialogic encounters and based on the close-up analytical findings, the author zooms out - 'trails connections' and 'shifts theoretical perspectives' - to place the empirical findings to relevant broader circumstances and explore what can be learnt. As such the analysis

outlines how the ethnographic gaze and zooming in on situated dialogic encounters can provide insights into important aspects of how identity work and stories are co-authored in a dialogue-based leadership development forum. Scholars point to how such development forums and the consequences of dialogic conduct in-situ are rarely scrutinized (Bager, 2013, 2014, 2015; Linell, 2009; Phillips et. al., 2012; Phillips, 2011).

The interaction analysis is conducted of video data from the forum combined with an ethnographic aspiration that informs the analysis with aspects of the author's subjective (auto)-ethnographic knowledge. The analytical framework for close-up analysis is based on a Bakhtinian view on dialogicality and draws on Linell's (2009) quadruple that assists the Bakhtinian gaze into interaction analysis. This is combined with close-up analytical tools drawn from theory on storytelling in a combination of Bamberg's (2004, 2006) concept of 'small stories' supplemented with Boje's understanding of 'temporal multiplicity'. The analysis also focuses on embodied aspects of interaction (Goodwin, 2000; Kendon, 2004a). All in all the multi-perspectival theoretical 'tool-kit' allows the ethnographic analysis to focus on diverse dimensions of organizational interaction that also aspires to study identity work. It opens up for an analysis of other-orientation and position work, which provides insights into the Deleuzian lines of subjectification in the moments of actualization.

A theoretical conceptualization of the leadership forum

My main starting point for understanding the leadership forum is the works of Bakhtin. He gives me a lens to grasp the moment as a 'unique once-occurrent being-as-event' (Bakhtin, 1993: 2): a unique participatory time-space in which new meaning emerges. A Bakhtinian perspective entails that all utterances, discourses and dialogue (as for instance this article) have to be understood situationally in the *here* and *now*. Furthermore the moment and its meaning-making practices entail temporal multiplicity as it always invoke voices from the past, present and in anticipation of the future (Bakhtin, 1982, 1993). These aspects provide good reason for me to stop for a moment and dwell on some of the particularities and subjective circumstances that have informed the becoming of the present article.

The article and the focus on the lived lives in a contemporary modern organization – The university of Aalborg - have emerged as an entangled consequence of my current combo-position as a teaching assistant professor and PhD scholar as well as from my life in general. The forum emerged through dialogue between three researchers: me, a senior lecturer (both of us from the department of communication and psychology) and my former boss from a municipal in Northern Jutland. We all carried theoretical and practical leadership experience and shared idealistic aspirations to co-author plurivocal and cross-disciplinary knowledge about leadership communicative practices. A part of our idealistic ambition was to address and oppose some critical elements of mainstream organizational and leadership practices based on concept-inducing and top-down perspectives. As an alternative we aspired to enact a dissensus and dialogue based forum in which a diversity of voices was invited and in which local knowledge was build from the participants' experiences with leadership practices. We aimed to enact what Deetz terms as *dialogic studies* (Deetz, 2001, Bager, 2014, 2015). This was co-accomplished through inviting a diverse group of participants spanning from cross-disciplinary researchers, candidate students and professional leaders (from here on denominated as research participants). 10 leaders were recruited from diverse organizational contexts in Northern Jutland and they were engaged in diverse tasks such as banking, production, Danish defense, municipality etc. The three initiators held experience with action research (AR) and had trust in the co-production of knowledge by combining theory and practice and in collaboration between researchers and organizational members through research and dialogue based spiraling development processes (Frimann & Bager, 2012, Bager, 2014). This idea of the leadership forum is illustrated belowⁱ:

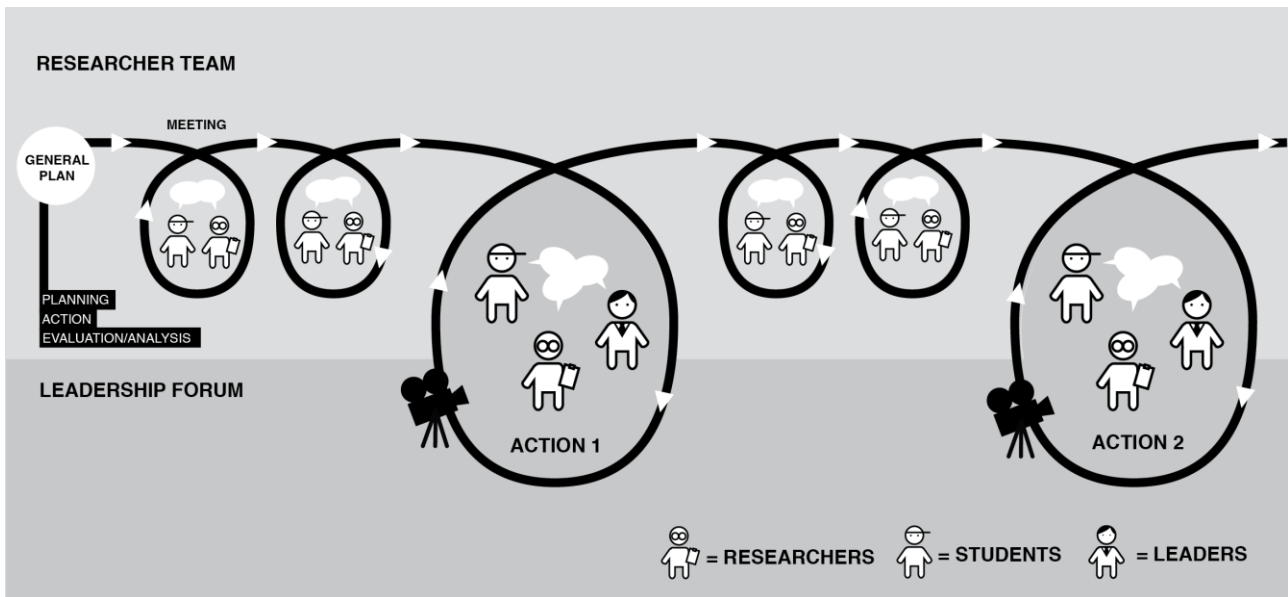


Figure 1: the leadership forum. The figure illustrates the processual dimension of the forum and shows the three different types of participants

It turned out that we ran into several unforeseen complications. It was quite a challenge to operationalize the ideals of dialogic studies and to enact plurivocality and dissensus even if we had good intentions of doing so. I turned to dialogicality and governmentality studies for inspiration to reflect and frame this challenge. This combination allows me to see organizations as sites for ongoing struggles between restraining (centripetal) and enabling (centrifugal) forces in a complex embodied power play. For Bakhtin there are always these two diverse forces at play in interaction: the centrifugal forces open up for diversity and bring about surpluses of seeing, whereas the centripetal forces unite and uniform when they close down for diversity and strive for unity and common grounds. Both forces are always simultaneously present with varying intensity in any utterance and act (Bakhtin, 1982). The Bakhtinian dialogicality demands a fundamentally dialogic worldview in which continuous battles of consciousnesses, voices and discourses partake in dialogue and (re)construction of situated organizational meaning making and identity shaping practices and on a longer term authoritative discourses (Bager, 2013, 2014; Bakhtin, 1982). Organizations are constantly (re)configured by a multiplicity of often opposing embodied voices, discourses and knowledge forms that crystallize through time into more or less concrete authoritative discourses (Bakhtin, 1982, 1993).

These authoritative discourses are very similar to what Agamben, Deleuze and Foucault have referred to as *dispositifs* (Deleuze, 1992; Foucault, 1995). *Dispositifs* are where power relations become concrete. They foster certain corporate communicative practices and actions (Agamben, 2009; Bager, 2013; Deetz, 2001; Deleuze, 1992; Foucault, 1995; Iedema, 2003; Jørgensen, 2007). *Dispositifs* are seen as “a set of strategies of the relations of forces supporting, and supported by, certain types of knowledge” (Foucault, 1980: 196) that “always imply a process of subjectification, that is to say, they must produce their subject... [related to] ... a set of practices, bodies of knowledge, measures, and institutions that prescribes to manage, govern, control, and orient, in a way that purports to be useful, the behaviors, gestures, and thoughts of human beings” (Agamben, 2009: 11). In organizational realities as in university settings a complex network of *dispositifs* and authoritative discourses seek to prescribe what should take place in concrete situations as for instance in the leadership forum.

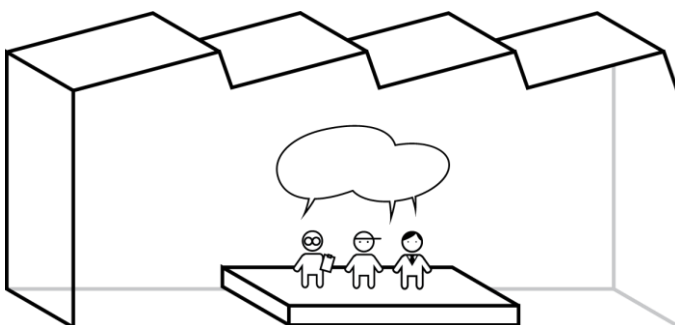


Figure 2. The forum in university settings. The figure illustrates the forum involving the three different participant types embedded in the organizational context of Aalborg University.

Dispositifs are the material and immaterial manifestations of power relations but yet they cannot be said to belong to anybody. They are closely tied to knowledge and the crystallization (reification) of certain knowledge forms that we take for granted and that subtly direct us in everyday (organizational) life (Bager, 2014). I choose to follow Deleuze's refinement of Foucault's thoughts on dispositifs as he focuses particularly on lines of subjectification. He further claims that Foucault himself did not pay analytical attention to these lines of subjectification and left it to his followers (Bager, et. al., forthcoming; Deleuze, 1992). Deleuze sees dispositifs as a multi-linear ensemble composed of lines: lines of visibility, lines of enunciation, lines of force and finally lines of subjectification (Deleuze, 1992). These lines are non-constants "... but follow directions, trace balances which are always off balance, now drawing together and then distancing themselves from one another" (Deleuze, 1992: 159). Deleuze coins lines of subjectification as lines of escape and as "a process, a production of subjectivity in a social apparatus [*dispositif*]: it has to be made, inasmuch as the apparatus [*dispositif*] allows it to come into being or makes it possible. It is a line of escape. It escapes preceding lines and escapes *from* itself" (Deleuze, 1992: 161). This resembles Bakhtin's trust in our innate capacities of being creative creatures that have agency to transform lines of subjectification and authoritative discourses into new ones. (Bager, 2013; Bager, et. al, forthcoming) These creative activities take place in situated everyday interactions and are traceable in the following analysisⁱⁱ.

The forum as an attempt to counter mainstream leadership development practices

In Bager, Jørgensen and Raudaskoski (In press) we frame the leadership forum as an attempt to set up a forum to counter mainstream ways of enacting leadership developmentⁱⁱⁱ. We further argue for a methodological combination of Foucault's thoughts on governmentality as refined by Deleuze and Agamben with Bakhtinian dialogicality assisted by tools from Membership categorization analysis. This combination was chosen in order to stretch the Foucauldian gaze into an analysis of concrete interaction. This allowed us to see trajectories of dispositifs in situ that govern the participant's actions and thereby transcend the interaction. For instance we found that restraining (centripetal) forces came into play when an experienced researcher occupied the well-known position of the teacher that knows about theories and possesses the right answers and the rights and obligations to induce these on students and when one of the leaders occupied the role of the 'good' student asking questions and accepting the teacher's answers and to be corrected. This interaction can be said to be closing down for the intended invitation for diversity of voices and perspectives (Bager, et. al., In press). This suggests how knowledge forms (dispositifs and authoritative discourses) very easily guide our actions in disagreement with intended ideals. In other words it seems very easy to get lost in accommodating new and counter-active knowledge forms and discourses as means for shaking things up in governing dispositifs and call for diversifying (centrifugal) forces of interaction in order to create the Deleuzian lines of escape.

In Bager (2014) I argue, by drawing on a wide range of scholars that embrace dialogicality in organizational studies, that the lens of dialogicality demands a shift in organizational attitude (Barge & Little, 2002; Iedema, 2003; Jabri, et. al., 2008; Shotter, 2011). It shifts the mainstream focus on organizational coherence, linearity and fixed subjectivities towards inconsistencies, battles of voices/discourses and ever-moving subjects and practices that are co-accomplished and (re)constructed in interaction. In interaction subjects constantly embed and master diverse and often opposing voices and discourses and we are dependent on each other in meaning making. I will return to this point and demonstrate it in the analysis. These reflections give a plausible explanation as to why it was difficult to enact the intended ideals of dissensus and pluri-vocality. Even though we purposefully aimed to foster centrifugal forces of interaction as means for the co-creation of knowledge we fell into the pitfall of reproducing the very same organizational norms, we intended to oppose – norms that have crystallized into embodied authoritative knowledge forms, discourses and dispositifs that we naturally drew on as a part of our discursive repertoires in university settings. Apparently it takes time and self-reflective efforts to create new lines of escape and changes in organizational attitudes. This also applies when one aims to turn them into new and desirable practices that can possibly create more egalitarian dispositifs that open up for diversity and a multiplicity of voices in decision making practices. It calls for an ethical demand to scrutinize our research practices to reflect upon how we actually enact the intended ideals and learn from these practices^{iv}. As we also noted (Bager, et. Al., In press) we analyzed one setup out of several in the forum and the embodied discursive configuration naturally affected this particular strip of interaction. Later on I will analyze video-extracts from two different setups that show other patterns of interaction. For instance we will see how centrifugal forces appear in and out of interaction in a dialogue round.

It is not my goal to judge whether dialogue that takes place has beneficial or restraining consequences for the participants nor whether the researchers live up to the intended dialogic and countering ideals. On the contrary the

aspiration is to see what is actualized in dialogue and which rituals, procedures (cp. the ethnographic aspiration) that emerge and characterize the embodied forum: What happens in the moments of actualization when students, researchers and professional leaders engage in a researcher staged development forum in university settings?

Section 2: Framework for close-up analysis

Getting closer to the analysis of identity work in situ – Linell's quadruple

Until now the ethnographic analysis has operated on a rather idealistic level. In what follows I dig further into the frame for close-up analysis that serves to zoom in on the interactional plane that will be elaborated in the next section of the article. This displays how I combine following perspectives: 1) a four coordinate quadruple for analysis of interaction and other-orientation (Linell, 2009) with 2) three levels of positioning analysis for scrutinizing the narrators small story efforts (Bamberg, 1997; Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008) combined with temporal multiplicity (Cunliffe et al., 2004) and finally 3) elements from contextual configuration (Goodwin, 2000) and gesture studies (Kendon, 2004a). As we will see these perspectives compliment each other and allow me to pursue a multimodal analysis that considers diverse semiotic resources as co-constituents of the interaction. It also serves to stretch the Deleuzian and Bakhtinian gaze into the micro-generic processes of interaction.

As noted Bakhtin focuses on the actualization of dialogue and all communication genres (or activity types) and situated encounters have their particularities that cannot be understood and determined out of context. Situated interlocutors always borrow words/voices/discourses from others (past, present, and future) (Bager, 2013; Bakhtin, 1982, 1986; Linell, 2009). Otherness, 'alienness' and the others' 'strange' perspectives are important features when we accumulate knowledge about the social world and ourselves, as we always live on the border zone of somebody else's consciousness/discourse/voice. The individual is an other before he is a self. We always speak 'with a sideward glance' as we draw on voices from outside and inside the creative event (Bager, 2014; Bakhtin, 1982, 1986; Linell, 2009). When we encounter others we always borrow words/voices from others and give them new life and new flavor so to speak. We are thus always entangled subjects that affect and get affected by the social interaction we are part of. Linell's quadruple allows me to study otherness, which, as we will see, gives insight into the trajectories of dispositifs and authoritative discourses that emerge in the forum.

Linell draws up a quadruple based on Bakhtin's dialogicality in which he obviously emphasizes Bakhtin's notions of the dialectical relationship between situational interaction and the social world when he refers to discourses outside of situated interactions that play an important role as we always invoke past, present and anticipatory voices (Bakhtin, 1986, 1982; Linell, 2009). For instance, the quadruple is housed in a time-space continuum that represents the notion of addressivity: Any word/utterance/discourse is "directed toward an answer and cannot escape the profound influence of the answering word that it anticipates" (Bakhtin, 1986: 272). Specifically the coordinate 'we' (socioculture) is interesting as the authoritative discourses and dispositifs are represented by the generalized others invoked by the participants. The participants can be viewed as subjects in processes accommodating diverse and often opposing voices that produce vision surpluses through the systematic and ongoing accommodation of otherness. Thus they are dependent on each other in meaning making, identity creation and co-production of knowledge (Bager, 2013, 2015): "In dialogical terms we could say that parties appear as 'coauthors' of each others' contributions" (Linell, 2009: 73).

Linell's quadruple consists of four coordinates that should be taken into account when analysing interactions. The quadruple has four coordinates I=ego, you=alter, it=object, we=socioculture (Linell, 2009: 93-95) that characterize situated interaction. The coordinates 'I' and 'you' are the co-present interlocutors as shown in figure 3:

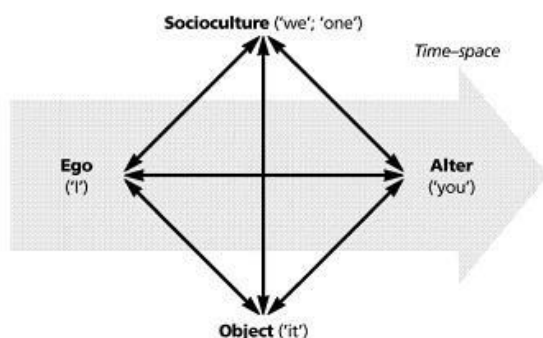


Figure 3. Linell's quadruple (Linell 2009: 95)

The coordinates in the quadruple function as a way of paying attention to the other-orientation that emerges. Thereby it works as a recurring analytical device that allows me to harvest the processual dimension of other-orientation displaying patterns/trajectories of the different kinds of others invoked. As mentioned above, Linell offers Bakhtin's 'words with a sideward glance' as an example of how 'third parties' can be present in any interaction situation. Third parties can vary from co-present overhearers to abstract ideologies that are possible to be oriented to in any interaction situation. He also pays attention to how both the material and the verbal dimension of othering play parts in dialogue and meaning-making. For instance we will see how an interview setup affects the interaction and the participant positions (participation framework) and the stories/positions that emerge in the Leadership forum.

The concept of small stories as represented by Michael Bamberg^v offers yet an interesting analytical gaze that brings me even closer to the study of particularities of interaction. The underlying assumptions here are on the same note as dialogicality how interlocutors create and construct identity and a sense of self through every-day interaction (Bamberg, 1997; Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008). According to Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008) small story analysis offers a window "... into the micro-genetic processes of identities as 'in-the-making' or 'coming-into-being'" (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008: 3). Reading a strip of interaction... "... as 'small story' can reveal aspect of identity construction that would have otherwise remained unnoticed" (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008: 393). To Bamberg narratives are one discourse genre among many others such as argumentations, explanations etc. These are used by subjects as an "attempt to make sense and signal this 'sense' to others" (Bamberg, 2004: 354). When studying small stories focus is on fragmented and fleeting subjects that co-create identity in interactions with others. This is opposed to what Bamberg addresses as the traditional way of looking at big stories in which more coherent and linear narratives are pursued with a beginning, middle and an end. (Bamberg, 1997; Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008)

Bamberg (1997) seeks to link two approaches for doing narrative analysis namely what he terms as a traditional, structural approach with a more performance-based approach. The first tends to start the analysis from what is said (and the way it is said) and works towards answering why it is said and its meaning. The latter focuses more on how it was performed "as a main index for what the narrative as an act of instantiation means to the performer" (Bamberg, 1997: 335). This coupling is reflected in the three levels of positioning analysis. Bamberg stresses that this focus of analysis represents a slightly different orientation that changes the more traditional question of whether the speaker is complicit with or countering dominant discourses or narratives or whether the speakers engage in countering those. Instead he shifts focus to "how speakers employ narratives to juggle claims as to who they are that are hearable *both* as complicit with as countering" (Bamberg, 2004a: 363). The question is how they create a sense of self and identity that maneuvers simultaneously between counter and complicit established narratives (cp. authoritative discourses and dispositifs) that give guidance to one's actions and constrain and delineate agency (Bamberg, 2004a). In other words it gives me an analytical orientation that pays attention to the lines of subjectification that emerge in the forum in the schism between counter and complicit narratives/discourses. In combination with Linell's quadruple and focus on other-orientation this allows me to look at the interaction and capture the heteroglossic nature of identity work.

The frame pays sensitiveness towards other-orientation and how the participants position themselves through talk in order to work up positions that complicit or counter dominant discourses. In line with Bakhtin and Linell, Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008) have in recent work noticed that these complicit and counter discourses (voices) fluctuate and are not always clearly separable. (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008; Bamberg, 2004) It brings the possibility to study how the interlocutors/narrators/participants position themselves in relation to a multiplicity and often contradictory set of discourses (voices) (cp. heteroglossia) by which they are positioned through narrative efforts. Bamberg thinks of the construction of counter claims as the flip-sides of master narratives that goes hand-in-hand in interaction with complicit and cannot always be clearly distinguished. (Bamberg, 2004) By the same token it is noted in dialogicality that communication is pointed toward shared knowledge and dialogue is a site for identification as well as differentiation from others (co-present and distant). This implies taking the perspective of the other but also interpreting and responding on one's own terms. (Linell, 2009: 86) It is through intense entangled interactive struggles between positions, discourses and voices that identity work is accomplished. He also emphasizes that counter narratives are not something we 'have' that pops up in for instance certain situations such as research or therapeutic settings and can be taken as reflective of people's authentic selves. They become real in interactive situations. Identities emerge in the data as a part of 'doing' complicity and resistance as interactive co-accomplishments. (Bamberg, 2004a) Bamberg (2004) also emphasizes the role of the audience as he suggests that we as researchers should carefully consider the role of such. (Bamberg & Andrews, 2004)

Bamberg's findings: that youngsters narrate the same story differently in different contexts addressed to different audiences resemble what David Boje^{vi} has identified in organizations: that employees narrate themselves differently across contexts with different audiences (Boje, 2010). Boje arrives at this conclusion this from the field of literature studies and philosophy. Based on these findings they both challenge the traditional Beginning, middle and end (BME) approach to narrative analysis. They both claim that these dominant approaches tend to foreground linearity and overlook important and 'messy' features of storytelling practices. I find that Bamberg's focus on small stories has resemblances with Boje's concept of living stories. Cunliffe, Luhman and Boje (2004) elaborate what they term as temporal narrative (TN) that comes close to the Bakhtinian understanding of time. They also argue for temporal multiplicity and critique dominant narrative traditions because of their linear and objectifying understanding of time. Following thoughts of Ricoeur and Satre they set out to re-story the notion of time within narrative studies. This gives rise for a historical being-in-discourse approach that on the one hand considers the past, present and future entangled dimensions of interaction and on the other hand insists on researchers to carefully reflect their concept of time as it inevitable affects the research findings. (Cunliffe et al., 2004; Strand, 2013)

Temporal multiplicity is an interesting dimension to add to traditional ethnographic approaches as they tend to focus on understanding the here and now in local single-case studies (Marcus, 1995). We do something here and now, but we do it as a result of our embeddedness in dispositifs, authoritative discourses and in anticipation of the future. As we will see I will show how the participants in the forum position themselves in relation to voices and discourses from the past, in the present and in anticipation of future events and according to research purposes in the forum, thus showing how temporal multiplicity emerges and affect the interaction and its meaning-making and identity shaping processes.

Bamberg's interest in counter and complicit discourses is closely tied to power and hegemony and he presumes that if we get to know more about how and when in interaction such discourses that run counter to hegemonic discourses emerge, we can strategically become smarter at designing processes that challenges more hegemonic discourses. He does this in order to create more egalitarian reciprocity and universal moral (Bamberg, 2004a). In such statements I detect a clear affinity to thoughts of Bakhtin and Deleuze as well as to the ethnographic purview to bring about skeptical thinking and invite for scrutiny of the taken-for-granted assumptions of organizational cultural phenomenon. (Bate, 1997; Morey & Luthans, 2013) In Bager, Jørgensen and Raudaskoski (In press) we argue how Bakhtin's warnings about the dangers of monologist discourses and worldviews that is historically crystalized through time and in his endorsement of dialogic ways of communication. This reveals a convergence of interests and an embedded ethics of dialogue, discourse, dispositifs and in this case ethnography with a normative hope to overcome history and possible create less restraining dispositifs. So paying closer attention to the micro-generic processes of interaction and the emergence of counter discourses through the study of otherness, positioning and identity work can become an interesting aspect when we aspire to follow the Deleuzian suggestion to look for new weapons against regimes of control (Deleuze, 1995) and the Bakhtinian invitation to open up for diversity and centrifugal forces in interaction (Bakhtin, 1982, 1993).

As also pinpointed by Bakhtin, Linell and Bamberg the third parties invoked in interaction and storying can be of non-human character and imbedded in the material setup as we for instance will see blackboards, posters and post its as part of the educational environment in the data. They do not however present a specific way of analyzing those contextual elements. I draw on elements from Goodwin (2000) and his way of looking at the situations as a contextual configurations affected by all the semiotic resources invoked. For Goodwin stories are organized as multi-party interactive fields, in which not only the talk of the speaker, but also the stance and embodied actions of hearers, characters cited in the talk who are present, etc. play a crucial role. Goodwin's concepts combined with Kendons (2004) analytical concepts for gesture work will be drawn upon in the analysis as they become relevant.

Section 3: Zooming in on analysis of other orientation and small story efforts

The 3 data extracts for analysis are drawn from two different setups in action 1 – from an interview setup (B) and a dialogue round (C) as pictured in the model below:

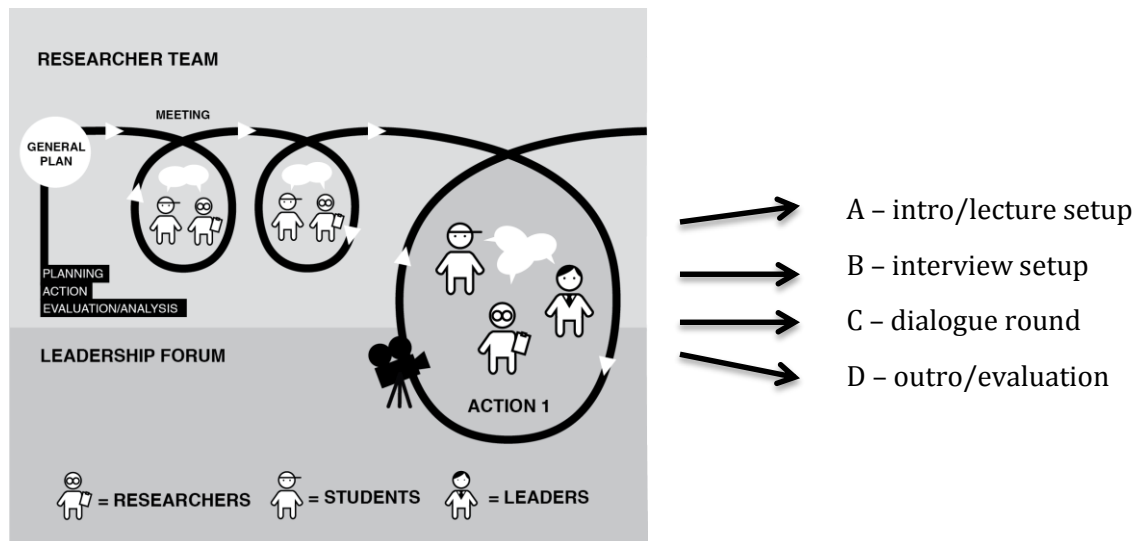


Figure 4: Action 1. The figure illustrates the 4 different setups in action 1

In the subsequent positioning analysis I will follow Bamberg's (1997) 3 levels of positioning analysis and supplement with inspiration from his and Georgakopoulou (2008) refinement of such. For instance I draw on their ways of asking questions, which adds precision in the leveled research questions. As a natural consequence of our different data materials and diverse research agendas I adjust the levels to fit my aims.

Positioning analysis of an interview setup, level 1: who are the characters and how are they relationally positioned?

In order to answer the question of the first level of positioning analysis I will explain the embodied interactional setup as a part of the research agenda. This is slightly different from how Bamberg (1997) and Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008) use analysis level 1 as they focus more on the content dimension of narration. This is a result of our different data materials and research purposes. I focus on video data and analysis of the embodied interactional co-accomplishments and in addition I bring the (auto)-ethnographic gaze to the analysis. My research agenda together with the selected data clips open up for an embodied interaction analysis of how the co-present others are positioned according to one another and not so much on how characters within the storyline is positioned. My subjective (auto-ethnographic) knowledge is reflected as I continuously inform the analysis with insider information on the research scopes and agenda. Thereto I can place what goes on in situated dialogue to actions that happened in the forum prior to the selected data-sequence as a consequence of my embeddedness in the research process. Moreover I present some of my reflections reported in a reflection journal as part of the documentation-process during the research process (For further elaboration see: Bager, 2015).

The first data clip analyzed is drawn from action one - the interview set-up (marked as D in the sketch above). The purpose of the interview involves that one of the researchers interview a leader about her (his) views on leadership and her (his) role as leader and invites her (him) to account for her (his) views and practices. The interview is number three in line and is attempted to follow the guidelines of a narrative interview setup as for instance represented in narrative therapy by Michael White (2005). In such a setup the interviewer invites for the interviewees own stories and accounts with an attached silent witness and an out-sider witness-group. The basic task in this method is to focus on narratives/stories (discourse) and not on inner psychological processes. The ideal is to help the interviewee to see the thick or dominant descriptions in her/his story efforts and to construct alternative thin descriptions that can possible provide agency through externalization and become part of 'new' thick descriptions^{vii}.

There are 11 co-present others in a rather complex interview set-up as sketched below:

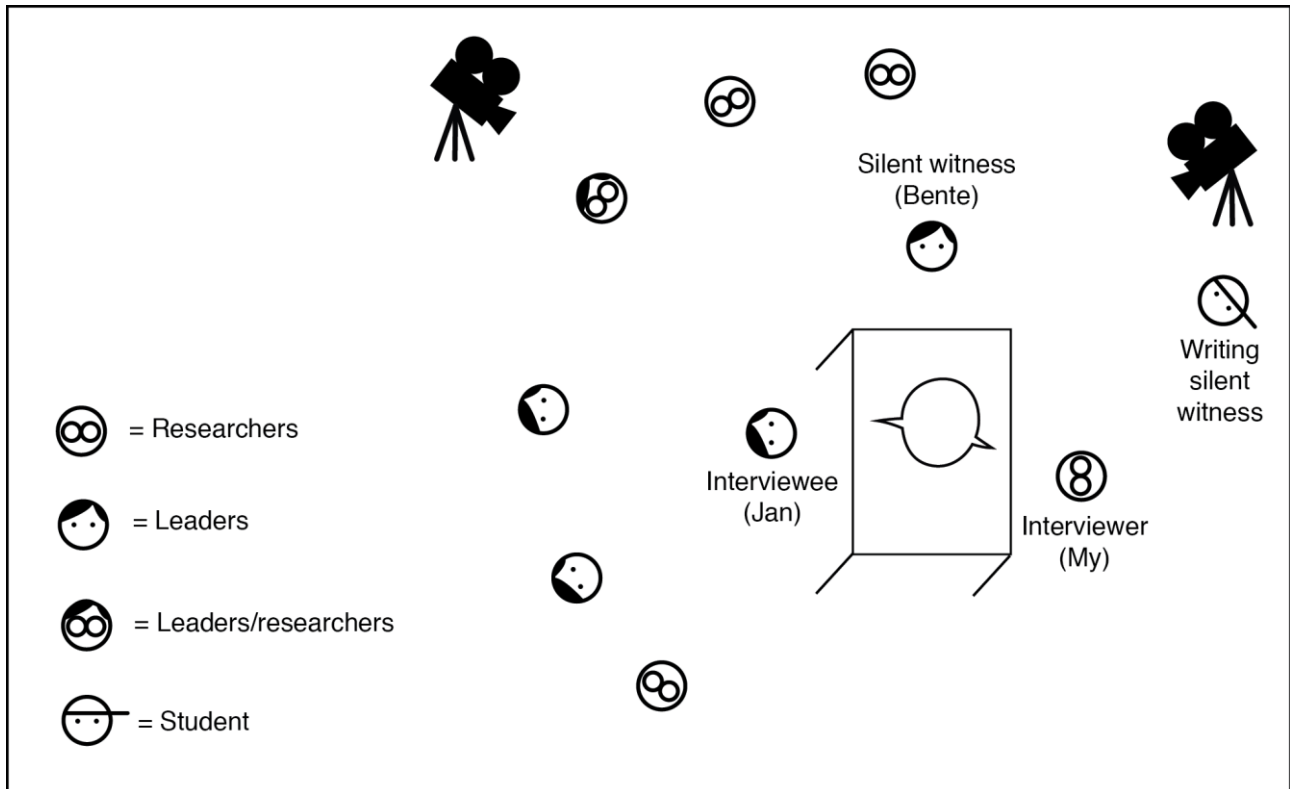


Figure 5: The interview setup. The figure displays the interview setup and how cameras and the 4 different activity types are located in the room.

The 11 co-present others count five professional leaders, one who is both a researcher and leader, four researchers and one candidate student. They partake in 5 different types of activity-positions that were pre-determined by the researcher team, which play a crucial part in directing and setting the scene of the interaction. The activity positions have earlier been explained by one of the researchers acting as a mediator at that point. The interview is number three in line and all the interviews position different participant-types as follows:

Primary co-present interlocutors:

- Researcher – in this case My: interviewer
- Leader - in this case Jan: interviewee
- Leader – in this case Bente (Be): silent witness
- Peripheral co-present others:
- Student – in this case Karolina: writing silent witness
- The rest of the co-present others: observers/listeners
- Moderator – in this case Johannes: timekeeper

The analytical focus will mainly be on the primary interlocutors – the trio in the middle of the scene and more precisely on My (interviewer and the author) and Jan (Interviewee). This is a natural consequence as the material arrangement of the setup furthers that all verbal actions as one of the semiotic resources in the data extract takes place between the interviewer and the interviewee. Nevertheless it is important to take the whole setup into account. We will now enter the scene and its moment-for-moment particularities.

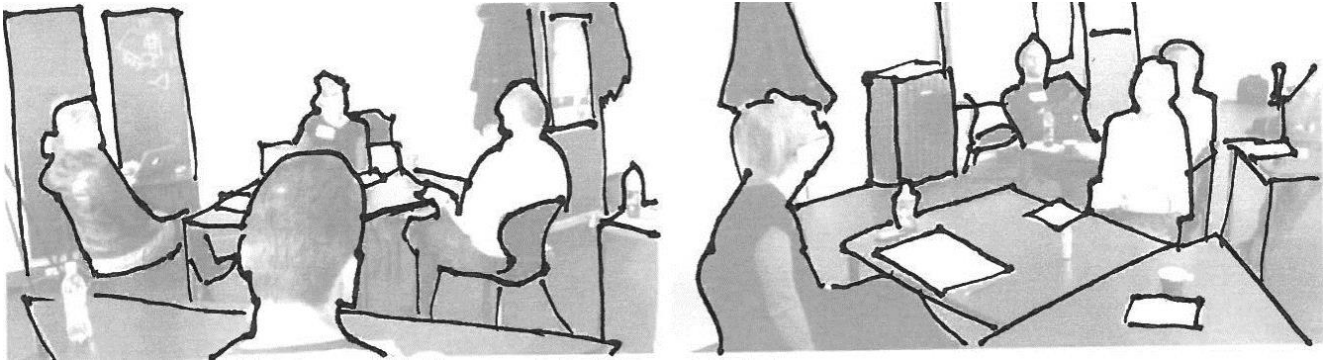


Figure 6: Contour picture of the interview setup.

The institutional specificities of the interactional setup in a university classroom are evident through: the table setup, papers and pens on the tables, blackboards in the background. Furthermore the research setup reveals itself by the audio recorders and cameras. These are all semiotic resources that have consequences for the interactional situation. The table-formation as a semiotic resource plays a part in the configuration and positioning of the primary actors – the trio - in the middle of the setup as a center of everybody’s attention (also the non-human actors as for instance the cameras and audio recorders). The pre-determined activity-positions and the material setup are clear signs of the interaction as a research setup, which I will pay further analytical attention to in analysis level 2.

The transcribed data extract below is situated app. 11 minutes into the interview and thereby in the closing part. Jan has just accounted for his own versus his employee’s expectations to him as a leader and how he sees his own success as a leader as dependent on effects in his team and in relation to the employees he leads.

Transcript 1^{viii}:

(1) My = Interviewer (My), Jan = Interviewee (Jan), Bente = silent witness (Be).

Figure 7. Transcript 1. Extract from the interview setup.

1 My: yes (.) have you heard about [anything here today (.)] [that such (.) may inspire you to (.)
2
3
4
5
6
7
8 well [that have inspired you (.) in some way (.) relative to [that (1.0)
9
10
11 Be: pen to the paper that lies on the table in front of her, elbow on table, moves the hand) [((moves right hand holding a
12
13 Jan: a:h: (1.0) h: (.) jah: I: I think [I (.)] it is always interesting [((scratches his left ear - folds hands in front)
14
15 [to] get some=
16 My: [mm]
17
18 Jan: some theoretical framework=
19 My: =mm=
20
21 Jan: [on (.) ah because it giv' a eh (.)] it giv' a eh it giv' such a picture [of where=
22
23 [((separates hands)) [((gathers hands))
24 Be: [((moves her hand up under her chin))
25 My: =mm=
26 Jan: =[where I find [myself [I eh]
27 [((pointing his left hand and finger, draws a l in the air in front of him, places hands in lap))
28 [((the male person behind Jan leans back))
29 My: [yes]
30 Jan: well what kind of [situation [is it]
31 [((his hands in front of him like grasping a ball))
32 My: [mm]
33 Jan: I have also been hit by [lean]
34 [Makes a move with his hands like throwing a ball to his right side
35 My: [yes]
36 Jan: and all [these [err eh]
37 [((gathers his hands in front of him
38 [makes a move with both his hands like throwing a ball))
39 My: [yes [yes yes]
40 [((nods her head a couple of times))
41 Jan: that that it lies in a certain [quadrant=
42 [((makes a move with both hands like throwing a ball))
43 My: =yes=
44 =in a [model (.)] that that I did not (.) this I have not seen before=
45 [((makes a move with both hands like throwing a ball))
46 My: [=mmm
47 [((shakes her head))
48 Jan: and -that- I think is actually very [interesting eh=
49 [((points with his left hand and moves it from left to right and back))
50 My: =mm
51 Jan: and and could (.) place [that: place it in a context=
52 [((moves the left hand pointing up in front of his head in a soft shape))
53 My: =yes=
54 Jan: =because that gives a [sense of when (.)] should I maybe [communicate in -one- way because here eh=
55 [((holds both hands in front of his chest like holding a ball
56 [moves both hands like moving a
57 My: =mm=
58 Jan: =eh (.)] I find myself somewhere here in the quadrant and=
59 My: =mm=
60 Jan: =some (.)] some other place in the quadrant (.) then I should choose another (.)
61 My: yes
62 Jan: another view

Figure 7. Transcript 1. Extract from the interview setup.

I will now turn to the content dimension of the narration between the to primary co-present interlocutors: In the first utterance My is asking Jan a question (l. 1) that changes Jan's ongoing account of how he sees a successful leader as dependent on the effect (s)he has in her/his team and among her/his employees. My's question changes the content of the storyline from Jan's self reflective accounts and links it up to previous events in the forum. In doing so My invites Jan to relate his account of the successful leader to what has been going on during the day. This triggers Jan to invoke third parties from earlier on that day through his verbal references to 'theoretical framework' (l. 15), 'lean' (l. 29), 'quadrant' (l. 37) and 'model' (l. 40). Jan gestures actively throughout the sequence and his gestures support and underline the content of his narration and thereby serve a referential function. For instance when he immediately after referring verbally to 'theoretical framework', points his left hand and finger and draws a l in the air in front of his chest while accounting that it gives him a sense of where he is positioned in relation to his leadership practice. In doing so he invokes what can be termed a *virtual semiotic resource* that orients to a distant third party namely a model presented by the researchers as a part of the introduction in the beginning of the day. According to Kendon (2004) these gestures can be interpreted as 'depiction' through which Jan creates an object (the model) in the air. The model referred to is Deetz's (2001) model consisting of four quadrants that he draws up in order to situate four different ways of framing and enacting

communication by researchers in the field of organizational studies. Earlier on that day the researchers used this model as a meta-communicative mean to position the forum and the research ideals to enact dialogic studies. The model is therefore a shared reference by all the co-present others in the interactional situation. When Jan talks about the model he utters. *'I have also been hit by Lean' (l. 29)* by doing so he creates a storyline in which he positions the concept of lean (a well-known management technique employed to streamline organizational processes) as something that can hit him. His gestures support the narration by *enactment* (Kendon, 2004b) as he clenches his hands and makes a move as if he throws the concept lean to his right side. When something or someone hits it usually hurts or comes very sudden. As such Jan align with the researchers positioning of the concept lean as a management technique belonging to the functionalist quadrant and has a tendency to reduce the complexity inherent in organizational reality.

Before tapping into level 2 and 3 of the positioning analysis I will display second bit of transcription that follows immediately after the interaction situation captured in transcript 1. My asks where Jan would position himself in relation to the model and the transcript below captures his answer.

1 Jan: Well: well [i actually sat when Jørgen he went through that then I sat (then)=
 2 [[(right hand to his forehead scratching in 3 seconds, hands back in lap)]
 3 My: =mm=
 4 Jan: =just a short moment then (.) ahh that that there is no one (that would want=
 5 My: =no=
 6 Jan: =to know) that out there in the real world [there]
 7 My: [[no]
 8 [[(shakes her head)]]
 9 Jan: out there it's not like [that]
 10 My: [[mmm]
 11 [[(nods)]]
 12 Jan: [as you cycle around in this [then]
 13 [[(points his left pointing finger in front, drawing a l shape starting in the bottom left side
 14 and moves it upward and back to the starting point and back in lap)]
 15 My: [yes]
 16 Jan: [eh: (0.3)
 17 My: [[(nods)]]
 18 Jan: [a- anyhow eh m (.) it gives (it)
 19 [[(right hand touches his left thumb, moving it up pointing all five fingers up in the air in front of him)]
 20 My: [[yes]
 21 [[(nods)]]
 22 Jan: a [realization and I
 23 [[(moves his hand a notch up in the air in a quick gesture)]
 24 Jan: I [think ↑]
 25 My: [yes]
 26 Jan: I think [I find myself [just]
 27 [[(right hand touches his left thumb)]
 28 My: [mm]
 29 Jan: [somewhere at (.) at a version two and a version three=
 30 [[(moves his right pointing finger in front moves it up and down three times starting from the bottom)]
 31 My: [[(nods three times)]
 32 My: =yes=
 33 Jan: = So I have [I]
 34 My: [mm]
 35 Jan: I have much eh I have much [focus on that I have my [toolbox (.)
 36 [[(both hands in front like grabbing a ball stretching his fingers out)]
 37 [[(moving both hands to the right and up and down
 38 towards the table)]
 39 My: mmm=
 40 Jan: =with some different things I have [read books by [Foucault]
 41 [[(moving his hands up and down a couple three times)]
 42 My: [[yes]
 43 [[(nods her head)]
 44 Jan: and things like that right (.)
 45 My: [yes
 46 [[(one of the male listeners outside of the camera angle clears his throat)]
 47 Jan: but I can not pick these [tools and models up=
 48 [[(clenches both hands)]
 49 My: [-no=
 50 [[(Shakes her head)]
 51 Jan: and pull them down over (-) a [eh]
 52 [[(moves both his clenched hands forward in two pulling gestures)]
 53 My: [[no]
 54 [[(shakes her head)]
 55 Jan: any=
 56 My: =mmm=
 57 Jan: =reality outside

Figure 8. Transcript 2. Extract from the interview setup.

Within the storyline in extract 2 Jan creates a narrative in which he distinguishes between ‘*out there in the real world*’ (l. 6) and the ‘*reality outside*’ (l. 57) as opposite to the present context in university settings. When he is asked to position himself according to Deetz’s model he narrates how he do not believe that people in the ‘*real world*’ (l. 6) ‘*would want to know*’ (l. 4 - 6) about it as it is not like that and ‘*as you cycle around in this (then)*’ (l. 12). Hereby Jan invokes the *third distant party* ‘*one*’ representing people out there in the reality placing himself and people out there as opposite to people in the present university settings and the ‘non-real’. Again Jan’s gesture work supports the storyline through invoking the *virtual semiotic resource* depicting the model. Hereto Jan’s gestures underline the cycle movements by *enactment* (Kendon, 2004b) that unfolds the embodied action of cycling in relation to the model. These gestures indicate that out there in the ‘*real world*’ Jan do not believe one can position oneself clearly according to the model, as practice requires otherwise – *cycling around* in different approaches to organization and communication indicating that the reality is not like captured in the model and maybe not that neatly organized ‘*out there it’s not like that*’ (l. 9). Subsequently he however builds on the narrative launched in extract 1 as he utters ‘*a-anyhow eh it gives it a realization*’ (l. 18 - 22) after which he positions himself ‘*somewhere at at a version two and a version three*’ (l. 29). These quadrants represent respectively functionalist and interpretative studies according to Deetz (2001). He links this up to his focus on his ‘*toolbox*’ (l. 35). Next he builds on the storyline in which he distinguishes between the reality and the university setting as opposites. This time by connecting ‘*things I have read books by Foucault*’ (l. 40) followed by ‘*I can not pick these tools and models up and pull them down over (..) a eh any reality outside*’ (l. 47 - 57). Jan invokes the third distant other - Foucault - and couples what he has read by Foucault in the past with Deetz’s model and positions these as not applicable to ‘*any reality outside*’. Foucault was mentioned as a part of the intro and he thereby orients back to earlier events in the forum. Jan’s gestures are once again interesting as he enact the pulling gesture referring to how these ‘*tools and models*’ cannot be picked up and pulled down over ‘*any reality outside*’. By doing so Jan opposes the university setting as represented in the concrete forum as for instance through concepts presented in the intro to the reality outside. He creates a distinction between theoretical concepts and models belonging to the university non-real world, in which he is on a visit, and the reality outside in the real world in which the abstract concepts often do not apply.

Level 2: How the speaker/narrator positions her-/himself (and is positioned) within the interactive situation? And how according to the audience? How is the relation between the participants managed? And how does the interaction constitute as research?

Jan’s turns take up most of the two sequences and are only interrupted by My’s minimal responses. My uses a lot of verbal and nonverbal minimal response as she for instance in data extract 1 uses *yes* (l. 25, 31, 35, 39, 49,57) accompanied by nods (l. 36), *mm* (l. 13, 16, 21, 28, 42, 46, 53, 55) and one *mmm* (l. 42) assisted by shaking her head (l. 43). Extract 2 roughly follows this interactional pattern. According to Schegloff (1992) these minimal responses can indicate active listening and play important roles as conversation supporters, which often indicate that the interlocutors align with each other and the content of the storyline. As such this sequence is exemplary when it comes to the turn taking pattern. There is almost no overlapping utterances or other repair work going on besides from My’s minimal response lapping over some of Jan’s words. This indicates a polite and structured conversation that can be a plausible consequence of the professional interview setup and the co-present others as explained further down.

My positions herself as the one who asks questions and can change subject and Jan maintains the participation framework (Goodwin, 2000) by answering and thereby positions himself as the good interviewee. Thereto he positions himself as being the good student as he (in extract 1) creates a storyline in which he sees something other than before he met the model and that he finds this *interesting* (l. 44) and something he has not seen before (l. 40). His gesture work supports this as it indicates that he can relate to the model in an embodied way as he draws the model in the air and physically positions himself (via his hand gestures) as he talks about the different quadrants (l. 23, 47). However in clip 2 he narrates how models and tools like the Foucauldian thoughts and Deetz’s model cannot be applied in the real world and thereby he indirectly questions the practical usefulness of the content of the forum so far. At the same time he narrates how these models and concepts is *interesting* and give a *realization*, which indicates that he has accommodated new knowledge and surpluses of seeing according to which he can reflect his everyday actions.

The research purposes become evident first of all via the semiotic resources (such as the table formation, cameras and audio recorder) as already mentioned. It also becomes evident through the interactive flow of turns that constitute Jan as the one who answers questions and accounts for his views on leadership. My and Jan seem to align themselves with the positions of the interviewer and interviewee and co-enact the participation framework: the interview setup. As such the

research setup as operationalized through the interviews positions My as the helper and Jan as the one being helped, which comes close to a therapeutic and/or coaching session. It also becomes evident when My is changing the subject (*l. 1*) and thereby adds an extra element to the intentions of a traditional narrative interview. She can be said to go beyond the scope of the interview situation as she invites Jan to link his accounts up to earlier events and to reflect whether he has heard something that has inspired him earlier on that day. This is a part of the research agenda. As such My positions herself as the good researcher towards the other co-present others that link the interview up to the aims of the research project.

The setup is rather complex when it comes to the co-present others that are not directly active in the interview – the co-present audience. My and Jan have to manage to position themselves in relation to a diverse group of co-present participants and at the same time concentrate on the storyline of the interview managing claims about their identity. Firstly according to the silent witness (Bente) who is not particularly active in the clip even though she sits in the trio and in the middle of everybody's attention. Jan and My know that she is to give her account of what she has heard in the interview afterwards, which positions her with the rights to interpret what has been said. Then according to the silent writing witness that is re-semiotizing (Iedema, 2003b) the content of the interview and narration into writing for following research means. Finally the embodied setup positions the peripheral co-present others as observers and thereby fairly inactive. So, the embodied setting furthers a rather high degree of complexity that they have to navigate in their self-representations: My as a PhD student has to manage her pre-set position as interviewer and researcher in relation to more experienced colleagues and the other research participants. Jan has to manage to maintain face in front of the embodied research setup and towards the other leaders. It can be said to be a lot at stake for both My and Jan in the interactional situation which possible explains the very polite and well-structured interview. There seems to be a lot at stake identity wise for the direct interlocutors: keeping good appearances, maintaining positive self-images in relation to a rather complex interactional setup (Goffman, 1955) and participation hierarchy. As such the participation framework is rather researcher structured which seems to prompt a rather neat and tidy interactional pattern.

Level 3: How do narrators position themselves to themselves? Who am I in all this?

I will now turn to how Jan positions a sense of self-identity vis-à-vis master narratives (authoritative discourses and dispositifs) and make these relevant for the here-and-now. Through this he create 'a particular kind of person'. (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008) Jan can be seen as juggling two different storylines: one according to which he can be seen as being a leader in the real world dealing with real problems according to which he needs concrete tools. He positions the present university settings as the non-reality opposed to practice that so far has not inspired him to change his everyday practices as leader in the real world. In this storyline he positions himself as someone who knows about practice as opposed to researchers that know about theory and concepts. In the other storyline he positions himself as the good interviewee and student wanting to be helped to perform differently and move to another quadrant (in Deetz's model). Yet he speaks from a more functionalist perspective in which he positions theory, models and concepts such as the Foucauldian thoughts and Deetz's model as something existing in the un-real as opposed to the reality of his everyday life as a leader, which requires concrete tools for action. As such he reproduces a dominant discourse: that in universities we do not deal with real life problems and some of our idealistic concepts and theories is not suitable for practice and cannot be imposed upon any *reality out there*. He also taps into a well-known challenge and discourse within management literature about how operational tasks and models for quick fixes often get prioritized in favor of developmental goals and long term processual tools for reflective development (Bager, 2014; Bager, et. Al., In press).

I will now turn to the positioning analysis of a data extract of a dialogue round (C in figure 9) that follows after the section of interviews. As we shall see the embodied interaction in this sequence is quite different from the interview setup.

Positioning analysis of a dialogue round, level 1: who are the characters and how are they relationally positioned?

The purpose of the dialogue round was to sum up on what the research participants have heard during the day in order to identify themes, topics and common denominators with the aim to present it in plenum afterwards. The 11 participants were split into two mixed groups. As such there were no pre-scripted activity positions.

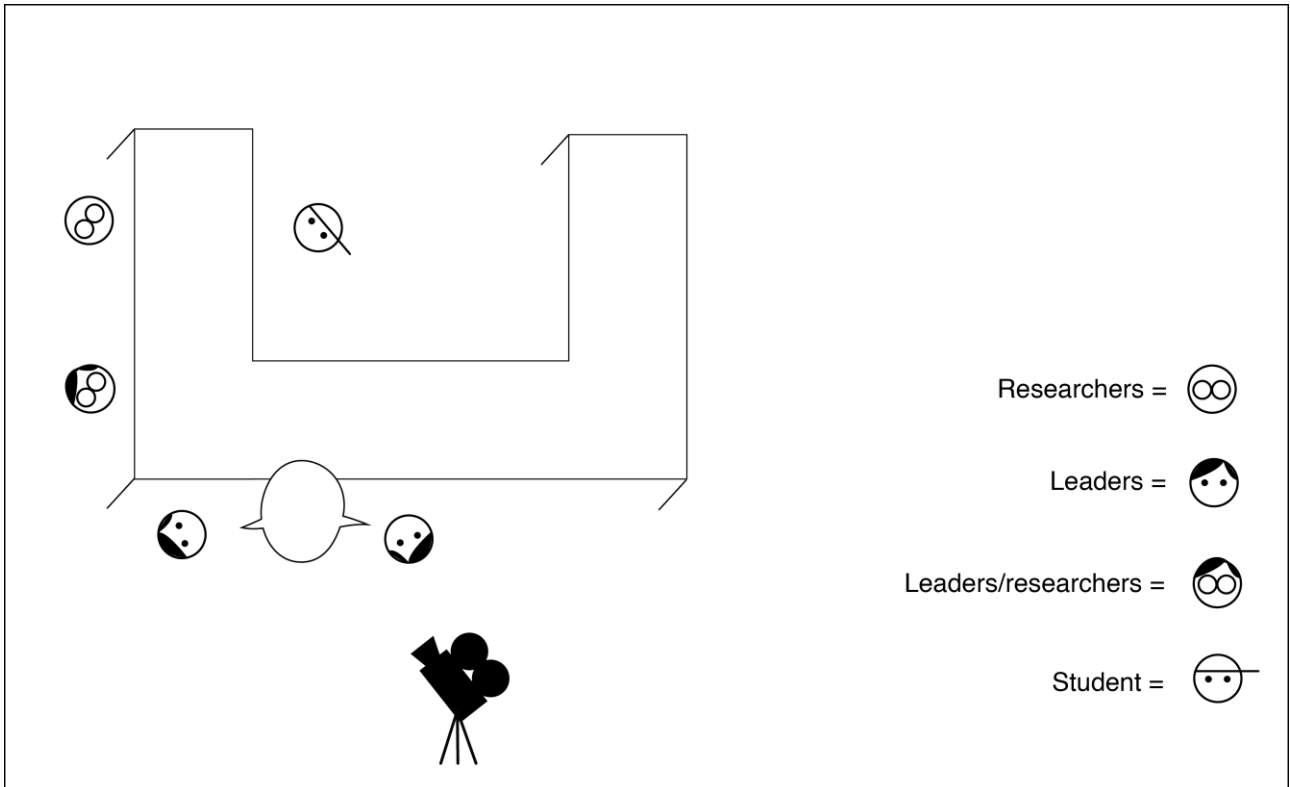


Figure 9. The dialogue round setup. The figure displays the dialogue round setup and how cameras and the 4 different activity types are located in the room.



Figure 10. Contour picture of the dialogue round.

In the front left side moving clock wise: Bjorn (BJ), Johannes (JS), Jorgen (JØ), Karolina (KA), Maja Marie (MM).

The picture gives an idea of how Bjorn (front left side) and Maja Marie (front right side) are oriented toward one another. Johannes and Jorgen seem to look toward them while Karolina is writing something on a piece of paper. The chosen strip of interaction, transcribed below, taps into a rather action packed discussion, in which all four participate actively. They argue whether there are differences between ‘leadership’ and ‘leadership communication’, and between ‘communication’ and ‘ideas’. As earlier the embodied setup takes place in a university classroom, which is evident through the table formation and the posters, post its, papers, folders and pens on the tables. The participants were

encouraged to use some of these tools for presenting purposes. The interaction immediately before the clip is characterized by overlapping talk and several incidences of increased intonation. Bjorn and Maja Marie argue whether there is a difference between communication and leadership communication, as Johannes takes his first turn in the transcript (l. 1).

The transcribed sequence takes place app. 4 minutes into the dialogue round.

1 JS: but but but [one might land it at something and then say
 2 [((gazes towards MM and B))]
 3 BJ: (gazes towards JS)
 4 JS: that (l.0) well [enacting leadership or being
 5 [((both hands in front making three circling movements))]
 6 BJ: [((reaches for a cup and drinks))]
 7 JS: a [leader and do one's job consists in a very very high degree
 8 [((both hand in front shakes them up and down))]
 9 of communicating in different ways (-) and then there might also be some other things as as you say
 10 [[BUT but but much of this fills]
 11 [((moves his hands up and down))]
 12 MM: [but it is also true what Bjorn says] in some way (.) that either we have (.) also in relation to whether you
 13 look at [acting as a form of communication (.) because this can [be]
 14 [((hands in front like grabbing a ball, moves them up and down))]
 15 JS: [YES-YES] but it is yes precise[ly]
 16 MM: [because] then it is an expression of some[thing]
 17 JS: [yes]
 18 MM: and if this expression is 'equal' to [communication then it is 'leadership' [so you just thought it]
 19 [((hand in front like grasping a ball shaking them up and down))]
 20 JS: [BUT] [but] but=
 21 MM: =[[VERY] large=
 22 [((makes a wide circle movement with both arms))]
 23 JØ: [((moves his right hand to his forehead))]
 24 JS: =anything you could imagine
 25 BJ: [((leans back in the chair))]
 26 JS: laying in [the toolbox is also for example [problem solving techniques or how
 27 [((hands in front, palms up, shaking it up and down))]
 28 [((both hands in front circling them around))]
 29 do I motivate employee x to do something for themselves (.) this and that or (l.5) stra- different strategies for making
 30 'something happen' or something like [that]
 31 MM: [yes yes] but-but Bjorn also thinks
 32 JØ: [((turns over pages of paper in front of him))]
 33 BJ: [((gazes towards MM))]
 34 MM: (.) well (partly something like [(??)]
 35 BJ: [do you] know what I [think]
 36 [((makes a sweeping gesture with his right arm))]
 37 JS: [IT shall then be expressed]
 38 [(?? overlapping unclear utterances from JS and MM for 4.1 sec.)]
 39 JØ: [((moves his hand from his forehead and turns over a page on the table in front of him))]
 40 BJ: [yaehhh (??)]
 41 MM: [AND YOU THINK] it [mu:ch mu:ch [broader=
 42 [((makes a wide circling movement with both arms))]
 43 BJ: [((makes a wide sweeping movement with his right arm))]
 44 JS: [((drinks from a cup))]
 45 BJ: =yes=
 46 [((gazes towards MM))]
 47 MM: =you also think that [what I do and what I stand for in reality is a [communication out to my employees=
 48 [((both hands in front, palms upwards, moves them up and down twice))]
 49 [((sweeps both hands outwards))]
 50 BJ: =yes=
 51 MM: =eh: [with out me having to articulate it=
 52 JS: [((nods))]
 53 JS: =yes [yes]
 54 BJ: [yes]
 55 MM: [or put] it in a form to [to get it it eh (delivered)]
 56 BJ: [you're right]

Figure 11. Transcript 3. Extract from the dialogue round.

Content wise we see a quite interesting example of how two storylines are unfolding simultaneously. Johannes's utterance (l. 1) can be seen as an attempt to shift focus and lay out another storyline to be followed in dialogue. He suggests 'to land it at something' (l. 1) and lays out that 'there might also be other things' (l.9) to the job of being leaders besides from 'communicating in different ways' (l. 9) In Johannes's attempted embodied storyline he talks about and depicts a 'toolbox' (l. 26) in which 'anything you could imagine laying in it' (l. 24 - 26) is 'problem solving techniques' (l. 26), tools to 'motivate employee x to do something for themselves' (l. 29) and 'different strategies for making something happen or something like that' (l. 29 - 30) Here he invokes distant third parties through known management techniques. But Maja Marie stays with the just occurred argument between her and Bjorn and lays out a different storyline in which she interprets Bjorn's earlier utterances. She cuts of Johannes's turn by uttering 'yes yes but but Bjorn also thinks well partly something like' (l. 31 - 34) thereby she can be said to attempt to stay on track with the earlier storyline ahead of Johannes's interference. To this Bjorn applies 'do you know what I think' (l. 35) followed by overlapping utterances

between Maja Marie and Johannes. Maja Marie raises her intonation saying '*AND YOU THINK it much much broader*' (l. 41) enacting broader with her circling arm gestures (l. 42). To this Bjorn's embodied response is to accept Maja Marie's interpretation by enactment seemingly mirroring her arm gestures making a wide sweeping movement with his right arm (l. 43) and by saying 'yes' (l. 45). As such they co-create a storyline in which '*what I do and stand for*' (l. 47) as a leader '*is a communication out to my employees*' (l. 47) '*without me having to articulate it*' (l. 51) '*or put it in a form to get it delivered*' (l. 55). This can be seen as an example of dialogue consisting of two competing storylines and in which the storyline co-created between Maja Marie and Bjorn seems to trump the one offered by Johannes.

Level 2: How the speaker/narrator positions her-/himself (and is positioned) within the interactive situation? And how according to the audience? How is the relation between the participants managed? And how does the interaction constitute as research?

The interactional pattern here is quite different from the well-structured pattern in the interview setup. Here we see a lot of overlapping utterances and a part (l. 34 - 41) where Johannes's and Maja Marie's utterances are overlapping to such an extent that it becomes impossible to decode what is actually said in more than 4 seconds. Thereby the embodied interaction is messier and appears more action packed than in the interview setup. As already laid out Maja Marie and Johannes seem to narrate two different storylines and the one 'followed' is the one co-constructed and negotiated between Bjorn and Maja Marie. This is managed by overlapping utterances in which Maja Marie in the end raises her voice and gazes at Bjorn whereafter she receives his embodied confirmation through his gesture work and verbal utterances. This positions Maja Marie and Bjorn in a kind of co-authoring alliance in which their storyline gets to take over and be the one continued. Johannes is thereby positioned as the one who did not get his storyline and his attempt to change subject interactional accepted.

It is interesting to notice that the audience setup is less complex and without attached pre-scripted activity-positions such as in earlier interview setup. As such the 'democratic' embodied setup opens more up for all participants to participate and seems to give more space for centrifugal forces of interaction. Although in some sense one can claim that Johannes's attempt at changing lines that gets overruled indicates that centripetal forces are also at play (cp. Dialogicality in which the two forces are simultaneously present in dialogue). Nevertheless it gives space for arguments to be discussed and challenged and for all the participants to co-author and accommodate surpluses of seeing.

The dialogue round embodies a material setup that differs from the interview round and does not involve an audience design with attached direct listeners that can overhear what goes on. Nevertheless the other group is present in the opposite end of the room and can possibly overhear/-see what goes on in dialogue. Jorgen and Karolina are not saying anything in the clip and can thereby be seen as a kind of audience. They are however verbally partaking in dialogue in other sequences of the dialogue round that are not analyzed here due to space concerns. Jorgen is turning pages, writing at post its, moving post its around and Karolina is writing on papers which indicate that they partake in dialogue even though they do not verbally participate. As such they act out research purposes embedded in the setup noting things on paper and post its as they were encouraged to do. The research purposes also becomes evident through the post its, cameras, posters etc.

It is not obvious who are the researchers in charge of the form and who are the professional leaders in this sequence. In the interview setup it was rather obvious who managed the form in the pre-positioned interview.

Level 3: How do narrators position themselves to themselves? Who am I in all this?

The dialogue consists of two competing storylines in which the storyline co-created between Maja Marie and Bjorn gets continued. This positions Maja Marie and Bjorn in a kind of co-authoring alliance in which their storyline gets to take over. Johannes is thereby positioned as the one who did not get his proposed storyline concerning other tools than communication interactional accepted. Maja Marie and Bjorn co-author a storyline in which Maja Marie interprets Bjorn's view on leadership communication as closely tied to the leader's personality and what one 'stand for' (l. 47). As such this represents a dominant discourse in which personalities of leaders are important and a storyline is created in which leadership communication and communication cannot be separated. The discourse that emerges can be said to oppose the one just laid forward by Maja Marie (before the transcribed sequence). In this sense competitive discourses are present and co-exist in interaction. Maja Marie seems to position herself as a person who is interested in the other's strange perspective and Bjorn is helping out to maintain this participation framework by confirming Maja Marie's interpretation. He thereby positions himself as the one who allows this interpretation. Jorgen's and Karolina's silent enactment of the

research purpose positions them as good research participants ensuring that post its get produced in order to make the following presentation in plenum. Summing up the participants enact an interaction order (Goffman, 1983) in which it is allowed to have diverse stances and attitudes towards leadership and in which it is allowed to challenge and interpret one another's views – thereby counter and complicit discourses co-emerge.

Section 4: analysis summery and discussion

The ethnographic analysis shows how strong the scenic incumbency can be and how the two diverse pre-set interactional setups invite the research participants to interact in quite different ways, which furthers different lines of subjectification and forces of interaction. In the interview setup we saw a rather researcher controlled and complex interview and audience design that furthered a rather polite and well-structured interactional pattern between interviewer and interviewee. In analysis of data extract 1 and 2 I noted how subject positions emerge in the interview round that seem to be rather researcher controlled: Jan was positioned as the one being guided and My (the researcher) as the one who guided. Jan was positioned to answer My's questions who was positioned and positioned herself as the one to ask questions and the one who can change the emerging storylines in line with the research aims. The complex embodied audience design that put the interview-trio in the spotlight of everybody's attention possible influences the rather polite and well-structured interactional pattern. As such My and Jan seem to align with the researcher controlled interaction order positioning themselves as good research participants.

On the contrary the dialogue round prompted more complex and action packed participation frameworks in which it was allowed to challenge diverse views and discourses on leadership and communication. Maja Marie and Bjorn are seen to co-author a storyline in which Maja Marie interprets Bjorn's earlier utterances and view on leadership and leadership communication as inseparable. Thus they invoke an authoritative discourse within leadership studies concerning how the personalities of leaders are important features and in itself a part of (leadership) communication. This discourse was counter to the storyline Maja Marie laid out just before. The setup did not include pre-scripted activity-positions as we saw in the interview setup and it allowed everybody to actively partake verbally. So, the two diverse setups prompt different participation hierarchies and positions whereas the former clearly indicates who are the researchers and the researched. In the latter dialogue round this researcher/researched participation hierarchy is not obvious. One might say that the centrifugal forces of interaction were given more space in the dialogue round than in the more researcher controlled interview setup. This even though Johannes did not get his attempted change of storyline interactional accepted, which indicates the co-presence of centripetal and centrifugal tendencies in the heteroglossic nature of interaction.

Zooming out: discussion

The ethnographic gazing gave insights into the everydayness in a loose-coupled organization within a contemporary organization – Aalborg University - that gathers a diversity of participants in shared meaning making and knowledge producing practices. The ethnographic glance informed the analysis with my subjective knowledge from being an insider (initiator of and participant) in the research process. This subjective touch provided important features and what can be framed as 'contextual situatedness and reflections' to the analysis that might otherwise pass unnoticed. In my opinion (in line with Bakhtinian thinking) these insider information are crucial, without which the analytical account would have been context free and blind to important situated specificities. The analysis thereby represents a methodological movement between 'inward' and 'outward' research (Baarts, 2010) that brings my own lived experiences in touch with an analytical more distant lens and allows me to straddle the before mentioned emic and etic perspectives. All in all the analysis brought about glimpses into procedures and rituals in the everydayness of a developmental learning setting in university context. As such we have seen what the accomplishments of certain knowledge forms, authoritative discourses and dispositifs look like as they foster certain corporate actions in the development forum (cp. Governmentality and dialogicality). We saw how well known qualitative methods such as an interview setup and a dialogue round was acquired and the analysis indicates that methods that cultivate accommodation of otherness not necessarily open up to centrifugal forces of interaction suiting the research aims. This indicates that it seems hard to operationalize the ideals of dialogic studies (Deetz, 2001) and enacting the ideals of plurivocality even if we had good intentions. As noted it seems to require a profound change in attitude to challenge dispositifs and lines of subjectification in organizational studies, as well as in the society in general. A range of scholars point to how mainstream management techniques and procedures enacted in a range of organizational practices such as in development forums, educational settings, coaching settings etc. tend to foreground linearity, coherence and pre-fixed identities rather than the plurivocal and diversifying ideals.

It is not my intention to evaluate the situations as such, but it becomes evident to me how difficult it can be to stay

multi voiced when employing well-known developmental methods as for instance a complex interview setup that directs and governs the interaction and the lines of subjectification that they allow. I wonder whether the pluri-vocal aspirations in developmental and learning settings call for a brand new set of research resources and methods that break the traditional norms, authoritative discourses and dispositifs. This is not to be understood as if I claim that all methods acquired are to open up for diversity and centrifugal forces, as both forces are simultaneously present and serves diverse aims. As also noted by Phillips (2011) and Linell (2009) all organizational decision making practices have to straddle centrifugal and centripetal forces. The ethnographic analysis provided a glance into an attempt to activate pluri-vocal ideals at a stage where we might not yet realize the full implications of such (cp. the before mentioned change in organizational attitude). As a Danish philosopher Kierkegaard wisely uttered *life must be lived forwards but understood backwards* - the analysis is produced precisely in anticipation of a future getting smarter at designing pluri-vocal processes that opens up for diversity.

Concluding remarks

The analytical framework allowed me to do a reflective and critical ethnographic study of the everyday-ness in the leadership development forum. The assembled theoretical perspectives have emerged out of different research traditions and focuses on different aspects of meaning-making and interaction. Yet they have similarities that comprise an interesting analytical frame. For instance they can come in handy in different dimensions of analysis and give me a full framing of interaction spanning from philosophical, ideological perspectives and into concrete tools for analyzing the here-and-now. The recurring assumptions that tie together these perspectives are a mutual aspiration to challenge dominant monologist and unifying approaches in research (and in society) that can be said to position the subject as a multi faceted ambiguous phenomenon rather than a linear already fixed entity. The recurring assumptions that permeate the chosen perspectives are a joint effort to challenge and counter dominant/authoritative discourses and approaches to research that favors big stories, unity, coherence and linearity and further lock subjects into stable and already pre-fixed entities. As an alternative they aspire to capture the complexity, messiness, ambiguity and multiplicity inherent in every-day interaction and identity accomplishments. The opposed approaches tend to overlook the importance of in-situ accomplishments by foregrounding more abstract and 'superior' patterns of interaction. The present effort is precisely to bridge between those who zoom in on the local accomplishments of interaction and identity and those who focus on more abstract discourses. (Bager et. al, In press)

The ethnographic analysis calls for more research and study of micro-generic processes of leadership and organizational developmental processes. As analytically shown the procedures and techniques acquired in such forums affect the organizational interactional patterns and the meaning making and identity creating practices thus giving space for certain lines of subjectification and subject positions. As a means for researchers and change agents who design and act out participatory developmental processes to be ethical and responsible it can be beneficial to study their participatory practices. By doing so it becomes possible to learn what is produced in the actualization of such - in anticipation to possible become smarter at designing more egalitarian participatory development processes.

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ⁱ For further elaboration on the forum and the methodological basis chosen by the aspired democratic research team see (Bager, 2014; Frimann & Bager, 2012) In Bager (2014) you will also find an idealistic and theoretical critique of the research teams inspiration from the dialogic tradition of action research, that for instance freezes the participants in pre-described roles as for instance stage-directors and actors that can possibly foster centripetal forces in interaction and prevent new positions to emerge in interaction.

ⁱⁱ The Deleuzian refinement of Foucauldian governmentality differs from more negative and restraining readings of governmentality as found in works of scholars such as Agamben (Agamben, 2009).

ⁱⁱⁱ We addressed critical elements in leadership practices and invited the participants to address these. For further elaboration see (Bager, 2014, 2015, Bager et. al., In press).

^{iv} Dialogue has also become a dispositif that we often take for granted as a natural positive phenomenon throughout decision making practices in today's society that are often not studied in its actualization. This research contributes to a growing body of research that questions dialogue as a natural positive and incites for scrutiny of such practices in order to ethically reflect on the consequences of such.

^v Bamberg was one of the front figures that brought discursive psychology to the study of narratives. Bamberg draws on inspiration from ethnomethodology and conversation analysis in his small story approach (M. Bamberg, 2004a).

^{vi} Boje Handbook of antenarrative (2011) is said to be the first volume to offer a systematic examination of non-traditional narrative inquiry in the management realm, organizing and developing its approach.

^{vii} The method is based on socialconstructivism with inspiration from systems theory and discourse analysis. As the purpose of this article is to analyse how identity work in the leadership forum is accomplished I will not go into further details about the theoretical assumptions behind the method.

^{viii} I follow the Jeffersonian conventions for transcription (see Jefferson in Atkinson & Heritage, 1984).