Affective Leadership Practices:

A Framework for Studying Affect and Leadership from a Schatzkian Practice Approach

By

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Abstract

In this study, I develop a new research avenue through which the leadership phenomenon can be better understood. I do so by developing a novel framework for studying leadership and affect from a Schatzkian practice approach.

I developed this framework through a dialogue between theory and my empirical study. The empirical part of my research consisted of a seven-month ethnographic study in one nonprofit service organisation in Israel. I built the theoretical part of this framework by integrating and further synthesising the literatures on affective practices (Wetherell, 2012) and leadership-as-practice (Carroll, Levy, & Richmond, 2008; Raelin, 2016c) based on the practice theory of Theodore Schatzki (1996, 2002). I have called this integrated conceptual framework *affective leadership practices*.

The methodological part of my framework was developed through an experimental process, in which I used different methods and occupied different organisational positions. I found that the method of "apprenticeship", which entails the active participation of the researcher as a practitioner in the practice that is being studied (Wacquant, 2004, 2005, 2015), was very appropriate to use as the primary research method. This method allows the researcher to generate valuable embodied understanding of the practice that is being studied, while gaining great sensitivity to power relations.

This theory-method package (Nicolini, 2017) that I have developed has served me as a heuristic device, a synthesising framework for empirical research. It offered me a certain way to see and analyse leadership and affect (Reckwitz, 2002). Through my data analysis, I illustrate the type of understandings that this framework makes possible to generate. I illuminate the type of normative realities that prevail in the organisation that I studied, and offer nuanced understandings of the ways in which leadership and affect are involved in the construction and reconstruction of these realities. I illustrate how this takes place in reciprocal processes of affective influence that involve multiple human and non-human participants, through which organisational realities are constantly being reproduced, modified, and even resisted.

My analysis also illuminates the embeddedness of leadership and the organisation where it manifests in the wider local context. This allows us to comprehend why the organisational realities that I investigated turned out to be in the way they are, who is empowered in these realities, and what effects these realities generate in their local context.

The research tools that I have developed in this study and this type of analysis that can be generated with them offer researchers critical, holistic, and situated understandings of leadership and the organisations it transpires from. It places the affective human body and its relations with other human and non-human participants in leadership at centre stage.

Keywords: Practice Theory, Theodore Schatzki, Leadership-as-practice, Affect, Emotion, Affective Practices, Ethnography, Embodied Research Methods, Apprenticeship

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Chapter 1: Introduction

In my research, my main interest is to develop new research avenues through which the leadership phenomenon can be better understood.

My interest in the study of leadership has emerged under the influence of multiple voices within and outside academia. Through my university education and by reading work of academics as well as practitioners, I was socialised into the understanding that leadership is a process of social influence which has the capacity to produce significant effects in the world (e.g. Bryman, 2013; Parry, 1998; Rost, 1993; Yukl, 2013). With this understanding that leadership is a powerful social phenomenon, in my study I was interested to further explore this phenomenon and the ways that it matters in organisations.

In the early stages of my PhD I immersed myself in the vast academic literature on leadership to become more familiar with this topic. I have engaged in readings of various dominant theories on leadership, like theories on leadership styles and competencies (e.g. Avolio, Gardner, Walumbwa, Luthans, & May, 2004; Bass, 1990; Conger & Kanungo, 1998), and cognitive approaches to leadership (e.g. Lord & Brown, 2001, 2004; Lord & Emrich, 2000; Schyns & Meindl, 2005). As I was reading this work, I felt a certain unrest growing in me. I felt that the way in which many of these theories view leadership is as something that leaders do to followers to improve organisational effectiveness. I did not like this distinction between leaders and followers in which leaders are perceived as competent, and followers are viewed as somewhat less capable. In addition, I did not like the instrumental manner in which leadership was being studied for the sake of improving organisational efficiency. Finally, I felt that the local contexts of the investigations were not receiving enough attention in these approaches to leadership.

In the first year of my PhD studies, I took some time to reflect on these issues that I encountered, and revisited the original motives that drove me to pursue a PhD in

organisation studies. I reflected that my original aspiration in pursuing a PhD was to generate illuminating and critical understandings of organisational phenomena. I realised that if I wanted to stay loyal to my original research agenda, my research on leadership needed to take a different path.

I started to engage in readings of literatures that adopt a more relational way to understand leadership, as a phenomenon that is socially constructed in its local context (e.g. Carroll et al., 2008; Crevani, 2011; Hosking, 2007, 2011; Raelin, 2016c; Uhl-Bien, 2006; Uhl-Bien & Ospina, 2012a). I liked this relational way of investigating leadership because I felt that it offered a holistic view of leadership, as a collective and fluid phenomenon that is shaped in the local context it emerges from. A specific relational approach that triggered my interest is the *leadership-as-practice* approach (Carroll et al., 2008; Raelin, 2016c). This emerging approach suggests that investigating leadership from a practice approach can advance a more democratic and situated understanding of leadership, with sensitivity to its material nature. I was intrigued by the research possibilities that such an approach can offer to the ways that we investigate and theorise leadership. I decided to delve deeper into the theoretical foundations of this approach to learn more about it.

I learned that a practice approach is an umbrella term that refers to practice theories of various scholars, such as Bourdieu (1977), Giddens (1984), Schatzki (1996, 2002), and Reckwitz (2002, 2017). While the specific focus of these theories can differ from one another, they all share the understanding that social life consists of and is best understood in terms of social practices. The focus in a practice approach is on everyday material activities that take place through the human body, and in relation to other material non-human elements like artefacts and physical space. Looking at the application of practice theory, I learned that in recent decades there has been an increased interest in the study of practice theory in various disciplines across the humanities and the social sciences, in a trend that came to be known as “the practice turn” (Schatzki, Knorr-Cetina, & Savigny, 2001). In the field of organisation studies,

practice theory was widely adopted and applied in various research domains, such as: accounting (Ahrens & Chapman, 2007), strategy (Chia, 2004; Chia & Holt, 2006; Samra-Fredericks, 2003; Whittington, 2003), organisational knowledge and learning (Gherardi, 2006; Nicolini, Gherardi, & Yanow, 2003), marketing (Schau, Muñiz, & Arnould, 2009), technology (Orlikowski, 2000), and leadership (Carroll et al., 2008; Raelin, 2016c).

I decided to adopt a practice approach to my investigation of leadership, as a research avenue that has the potential of generating illuminating understandings of leadership. From my engagement with the literature on leadership-as-practice, I learned that this approach is emerging and in its early stages of development. Consequently, the theoretical tools that currently exist in this literature to study leadership from a practice approach are relatively underdeveloped (Kempster, Parry, & Jackson, 2016; Raelin, Kempster, Youngs, Carroll, & Jackson, 2018). Considering the need to further develop the analytical capabilities of the leadership-as-practice approach, a main objective that I aimed to pursue in my work was to develop theoretical understandings to be relied on to study leadership from a practice approach.

In developing such theoretical tools to study leadership from a practice approach, I was particularly interested to offer sensitivity to the affective texture of leadership in the investigation. The context of my desire to study affect is the wider "affective turn" (Clough & Halley, 2007) that is taking place across the humanities and the social sciences, in which scholars from various disciplines study affect in their fields to produce interesting understandings (e.g. Anderson, 2009; Gherardi, 2017; Massumi, 2002; Reckwitz, 2012; Thrift, 2008). In the field of organisation studies and also in the field of leadership, the study of affect and emotion is not very developed (Iszatt-White, 2019). The small body of work that does exist on leadership, affect, and emotion, tends to study affect and emotion in leadership from an entity perspective, as discrete ingredients in leadership (as was discussed by Blackmore, 2011; Iszatt-

White, 2019). This perspective has been criticised for its lack of ability to properly comprehend the ways in which affect and emotion are involved in leadership, and for the instrumental manner in which these phenomena are being treated (Blackmore, 2011; Fineman, 2000, 2005, 2008; Iszatt-White, 2019). With my study I wanted to investigate affect in a more holistic manner, to better understand how the human body participates in leadership.

Overall, I can conclude that in my research I was looking to study leadership from a practice approach with sensitivity to its affective texture, in order to generate theoretical understandings on leadership and affect that can offer us critical and holistic ways to study leadership in organisations.

To carry out my investigation, I have formulated my main research question as follows:

What can we learn about leadership and affect when studied from a practice approach?

To answer my main research question, I have developed a novel framework.

The Framework

The main product of my study is the novel framework that I have developed. The framework offers a set of theoretical and methodological tools to study leadership and affect from a practice approach. I developed this framework through a dialogue between theory and my empirical study. In choosing the setting for my empirical study, I followed the advice of Nicolini (2012) who recommended that social scientists choose a research site in which "the topic in question is a prominent feature of a day's work . . . and can therefore be studied 'in vivo' by social scientists" (Nicolini, 2012, p. 141). It has been reported that the emotional dimension in nonprofits that provide human services is relatively intense (Sass, 2000). For this reason, I chose to carry out my practice-based study on leadership and affect in a nonprofit

organisation that provides human services. My empirical study took place as a seven-month ethnographic study in one nonprofit organisation in Israel which provides one main service: camps for children with chronic illnesses and disabilities.

The theoretical part of my framework is grounded in the practice theory of philosopher Theodore Schatzki (1996, 2002). I found the practice theory of Schatzki to be particularly suitable for my research because his theory offers rich conceptual tools to conduct a practice-based investigation of social life, with sensitivity to its affective texture, to power relations, and to the materiality of both humans and non-humans. Based on this practice theory, I integrated the work of social psychologist Margaret Wetherell on affective practices (Wetherell, 2012) together with the literature on leadership-as-practice (Carroll et al., 2008; Raelin, 2016c). I called this integrated conceptual framework *affective leadership practices*. Its main theoretical tenets served as the analytical tools that I have used to study affect and leadership from a Schatzkian practice approach. By using these theoretical tools to analyse my empirical data, I gained various theoretical insights on affect and leadership. Based on these theoretical insights, in turn, I was able to further develop the theoretical tools that constitute this framework. This process of developing my conceptual framework is reflected upon in this thesis to share the development of my theoretical thinking.

The methodological part of my Schatzkian framework was developed as a quest to answer calls that were issued in the fields of leadership (Kempster et al., 2016; Ospina, Foldy, Fairhurst, & Jackson, 2017) and affect (Wetherell, 2014) to develop methods to study leadership and affect from a practice approach. To pursue this quest, I have formulated my secondary research question as follows:

What methods should we use to study leadership and affect from a practice approach?

My search for methods took place through experimentation with different research methods and with different positions that I occupied in the organisation. I started my

study as a guest researcher in the organisation, and eventually became an official practitioner with defined responsibilities and supervisors. In this experimental process, I found that the method of "apprenticeship", which entails the active participation of the researcher as a practitioner in the practice that is being studied (Wacquant, 2004, 2005, 2015), was very appropriate to use as the primary research method. This method allows the researcher to experience affective leadership practices as an official practitioner, and in this way to generate valuable embodied understandings of this phenomenon while gaining greater sensitivity to power relations. I also found that interviewing and documentary research (Ahmed, 2010; Schultz, 2010) were very suitable to use as complementary research methods. With the data that I generated using these methods, I have been able to better illustrate the aesthetics of the practice that I studied to readers. With interview quotes, pictures, and video links, I have illustrated how the participation in the practice that I studied felt, sounded, and looked like. In addition, based on my interview data and the analysis of secondary documents, I have also been able to offer readers a good understanding of the wider social context of my study.

This theory-method package (Nicolini, 2017) that I have developed has served me as a heuristic device, a synthesising framework for empirical research. It offered me a certain way to see and analyse affect and leadership (Reckwitz, 2002). Through my data analysis, I illustrated the analytical and critical power of this framework, and the type of understandings that can be generated with it. I illuminated in my analysis what type of normative realities prevail in the nonprofit camp organisation that I investigated. These were the normative realities of joy, love, and inclusion. Then, I offered nuanced understandings of the ways in which leadership and affect are involved in the construction and reconstruction of these realities. I illustrated how this takes place in reciprocal processes of affective influence that involve multiple human and non-human participants. For example, I illustrated how various symbolic affective artefacts in camp, like public monuments, choreography, and team chants, constantly affect the participants to embrace the normative reality that prevail in

camp of love, joy, and inclusion. In my analysis I illuminated how much power is exerted over the participants in these processes. At the same time, I also illustrated how the participants are not passive followers who simply embrace this knowledge and automatically reproduce it. Instead, I have illustrated how these participants constantly negotiate through their affective bodies and in relation to one another the meaning that is being produced, to re-articulate and re-shape their organisational realities. Through this type of analysis, I illustrated how in the process of leadership, that takes place as reciprocal flows of affective influence that circulate among human and non-human participants, organisational realities are constantly being reproduced, modified, and even resisted.

In my analysis I also illuminated the embeddedness of leadership and the organisation that it manifested in in its wider local context. This allowed me to comprehend how the organisational realities that I studied turned out to be the way they are, who is empowered in these realities, and what effects these realities generate in their local context.

The value of this type of analysis is in offering critical, situated, and holistic understandings of leadership and the organisations it manifests in. It allows us to comprehend the situated meanings and effects that leadership produces in organisations and in its wider social site of investigation, and to appreciate how multiple human and non-human participants are involved in these processes.

Contributions

The contributions of this study are multiple. The most significant contribution that this study offers is to the field of leadership, through the novel framework that I have developed and the insights that it can generate. This framework offers researchers a set of theoretical and methodological tools to empirically investigate leadership in organisations. Through such an investigation, researchers can gain situated, holistic, and critical understanding of leadership and the organisations it manifests in. The

sensitivity that this framework offers to affect in the investigation makes it possible to better understand how knowledge is being produced and negotiated in leadership, in a process that always takes place through the affective human body and in relation to other human and non-human participants. This framework also makes it possible to appreciate the collective nature of leadership. This allows researchers to generate more democratic understandings of leadership, as a phenomenon that involves multiple participants and is not restricted to selected heroic individuals. These ways of studying leadership that this framework offers are inherently ethical. The participants are not being treated as variables to be manipulated, and are not being labelled as leaders who "can" and followers who "can't" (Raelin, 2016a, p. 149). Instead, they are all being treated as valuable members of the organisation that all contribute to the construction of their organisational realities.

Another contribution of my study is in further introducing the practice theory of Schatzki (1996, 2002) and its analytical potential to the field of organisation studies. While a practice approach has been applied rather extensively across various disciplines in this field, the application of the practice theory of Schatzki is still very much in its infancy, with a few theoretical and empirical studies building on his work (Loscher, Splitter, & Seidl, 2019). These few studies that build on Schatzki's practice theory in the field usually rely on his work in different ways to investigate their organisational phenomena of interest. My study further develops this emerging literature by illustrating additional ways in which Schatzki's practice theory can be interpreted and operationalised to generate critical understanding of organisations. Based on my reading of Schatzki's practice theory and together with my chosen methodological tools, I illustrated how it feels, sounds, and looks like to be a member of the organisation that I studied. I offered first-hand embodied understandings of the possible relational positions, identities, and meanings that are available for the participants to occupy in this organisation, and of the ways in which the participants constantly negotiate them through their actions.

Finally, my study also offers methodological contributions by answering calls in the fields of leadership (Kempster et al., 2016; Ospina et al., 2017) and affect (Wetherell, 2014) and developing innovative research methods that can be used to study leadership and affect from a practice approach. By using the method of apprenticeship as the primary research method in this study, I also contribute to emerging discussions in the field of organisation studies on the possible research opportunities that embodied research methods can offer to the field (Bispo & Gherardi, 2019; Thanem & Knights, 2019).

Structure of the Thesis

In this introduction, I have presented an overview of the novel framework that I have developed to study leadership and affect in organisations. I discussed my main motivations to develop this framework, and the ways in which it was developed in my research. In addition, I articulated the main value of this framework, and the contributions that this framework offers to the field of organisation studies.

In the second chapter of this thesis, I discuss the conceptual framework that I have developed to study affect and leadership from a Schatzkian practice approach. I situate this framework in the relevant literatures, and share the process through which my theoretical thinking was developed.

In the third chapter, I outline the methodological framework that I have developed. I discuss how this framework works together with my conceptual framework as a theory-method package (Nicolini, 2017) to study affect and leadership from a Schatzkian practice approach. In the fourth chapter, I offer details on the local context of my ethnographic study.

The fifth chapter of my thesis is dedicated to my data analysis. In this chapter, I rely on my theoretical tools to analyse the empirical data that I have generated in my ethnographic study. This chapter illustrates how I have used my novel framework in

my empirical investigation, and the type of insights that I was able to generate with it.

In the sixth and last chapter of my thesis, I offer a general discussion of my research. I start by discussing the conceptual framework that I have developed in my study. I share the process through which the framework was developed, and discuss its main value and contributions to organisational theory. In the section that follows, I discuss the methodological framework that I have developed. I share my quest to find appropriate methods to study affect and leadership from a practice approach, and discuss the insights that I have generated in this process. Finally, I conclude this chapter with a general discussion on the main contributions of this research, its possible limitations, and potential avenues for its future development.

Chapter 2: Conceptual Framework

In this chapter, I offer details on the conceptual framework that I have developed to study affect and leadership from a Schatzkian practice approach, and situate it in the relevant literatures. This conceptual framework was developed through a process of continuous dialogue between theory and data, during which I refined my theoretical thinking. This process is reflected upon in this chapter, to share the various insights that I have gained and decisions that I have made which have contributed to the creation of this framework.

In part I of this conceptual framework, I discuss my chosen ontological approach, and offer details on the practice theory of Schatzki (1996, 2002) that I chose to adopt in my research. I then integrate the practice theory of Schatzki with the work of affect theorist Margaret Wetherell (2012) into one theoretical construct, that offered me the analytical tools to investigate the affective texture of the social site.

In part II of this conceptual framework, I situate my practice-based view of leadership in the wider leadership literature, and discuss how I conceptualise leadership practices based on the work of Schatzki (2002) and the literatures on relational leadership (Uhl-Bien, 2006) and leadership practices (Carroll et al., 2008; Raelin, 2016c). Then, I review the current literature on leadership, affect and emotion, to situate my work in this literature.

In the final section of this conceptual framework, I integrate my conceptualisations of affective practices and leadership practices that are grounded in Schatzki's practice theory, into one coherent framework which I call *affective leadership practices*. I summarise the main tenets of this framework, and explain what type of research questions it makes possible to explore in an empirical investigation of affect and leadership.

Part I: The Affective Texture of the Social Site

The ontological stand that we adopt influences the way that we carry out the entire research process, starting with the research questions that we ask, the theories that we build on, and the methodologies that we adopt. Therefore, I choose to open this thesis with an ontological discussion, to share the basic ontological assumptions that have influenced my research process.

In discussing ontology, I would first like to define what ontology is. The word ontology has its origins in two Greek words: *onto*, which means being or existence, and *logy* which means study (Ontology, 2019). So, the meaning of the word ontology is the study of being and existence. The main question that ontology addresses is: What is the nature of being and existence? While this is the meaning of the term ontology, my interest as a social scientist is in discussing social ontologies, because social ontologies are the basic ideas that underlie social theories. The meaning of the term social ontology is broader than the meaning of the term ontology that I have outlined above. It refers to the study of the nature of social co-existence (Epstein, 2016, 2018; Schatzki, 2016). The main questions that social ontology addresses are: What is the nature of human co-existence? And: How do human lives hang together? We can see that the questions of social ontology include the basic questions of ontology regarding the nature of existence and how people construct their reality, and expand them to ask: What is the nature of human co-existence? And: How do individual lives hang together to form the social? These ontological questions are further discussed next.

The Ontological Approach of Practice Theory

My chosen ontological approach of practice theory, or a practice approach, has emerged as an alternative to a social ontology known as individualism (Schatzki, 2000, 2002, 2003). In an individualist approach, which can also be understood as a positivist approach (Al-Amoudi & O'Mahoney, 2016), the ontological questions of:

What is the fundamental nature of social being? And: How do human lives hang together? are answered in terms of individuals. Social life is understood as an aggregate of discrete individuals that are hanged together via causal and contingent relations. These relations do not change the inherent meaning of these individuals' being (identity), which is stable and isolated from its context. The most basic way to understand social being and social reality in this ontological approach is by reference to individuals, whether it is to their behaviours in the objectivist approach, or to their cognitive schemes in the subjectivist (constructivist) approach. Any social event or phenomenon such as: family, a stock market crash, government, an economic system, organisations or an interaction on the street is understood as a constellation of interrelated discrete individuals, and therefore should be explained by reference to these individuals: their behaviours, states of mind, and relationships (Schatzki, 2000, 2002, 2003). In organisation studies, this ontological individualistic approach is very popular. Various organisational phenomena are often theorised and studied with reference to individuals and their competencies, skills, and mental models (Sandberg & Tsoukas, 2011, 2016; Schatzki, 2000, 2002, 2003).

A practice approach offers an alternative to these individualist ideas (Sandberg & Tsoukas, 2011, 2016; Schatzki, 2000, 2002, 2003). According to Schatzki (2000, 2002, 2003), a practice approach is a type of site ontology. Site ontology is a family of ontological approaches that view social life as intrinsically tied to the site it transpires from. A practice approach views this site as social practices. Social practices are nexuses of activity that include both doings and sayings, and these practices are the site where intelligibility is articulated and where people are socially constructed. A practice approach is to a great extent based on the ideas of philosophers Martin Heidegger and Ludwig Wittgenstein, who both argue that social life is best understood in terms of social practices (Sandberg & Tsoukas, 2016; Schatzki, 2002). To gain a better understanding of the main philosophical claims of a practice approach, I briefly review the ontological ideas of these philosophers.

Martin Heidegger (1929/1996) developed his existential ontology around the fundamental question, What is the meaning of being? (Al-Amoudi & O'Mahoney, 2016; Sandberg & Tsoukas, 2011, 2016). In contrast to the individualist ideas that were reviewed earlier, Heidegger argues that people do not exist in isolation from the world as discrete entities, and become familiar with the world only through a process of inquiry. Instead, people are always already entwined (internally related) with the world. The meaning of being is not an inherent essence, like a pre-given property, but is constructed in the fundamental state of being-in-the-world. As their most basic mode of existence, people are immersed in the world in various social practices such as shopping, working, and celebrating, and the meaning of being is inherently tied to these practices (Bartky, 1979; Sandberg & Tsoukas, 2011, 2016).

Philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein shares similar lines of thought with the work of Heidegger, and was concerned with questions such as: How do we use language and how do we make meaning? As a way to address these questions, Wittgenstein (1953/1968) discussed the possible ways that people follow rules. He illustrated that it is incorrect to assume that people follow rules by interpreting them, because if this is the case, then any given rule can potentially have an infinite number of interpretations, and will therefore need an infinite number of instructions that will clarify how to interpret it. This problem is known as the infinite regress paradox. To solve this paradox, Wittgenstein argues that people are "obeying the rule and going against it" based on tacit knowledge that is gained in practice (Wittgenstein, 1968, §201; as cited in Curry, 2000, p. 102). Wittgenstein discussed how rule following and meaning making is not an inner process of interpretation, but is grounded in our practical engagement with the world in publicly accessible activities. It is in the different practices we participate in, like driving, parenting, and teaching, that we gain tacit knowledge on how to follow rules and how to act in specific situations. Therefore, our understanding of the world is grounded is everyday practices (Curry, 2000; Sandberg & Tsoukas, 2016).

Practice theory is grounded in these ideas of Wittgenstein and Heidegger, and looks at social life as intrinsically tied to the context it transpires from, a context that is understood as social practices. Based on this approach, the meaning of people (who someone is, i.e. identity) and the meaning of things (what something is) is constructed in social practices (Nicolini, 2012). For example, a person can gain the identity of an actor in the social practice of acting. If this social practice ceased to exist and was forgotten, there would be no more actors or people who could be understood as such. Similarly, the meaning of non-humans will always be understood in relation to social practices. A hammer, for example, can be understood as a tool, a prize, or as a symbol of people in power, all depending on the social practice it is associated with (Nicolini, 2012). The same is also true for phenomena that are not directly set up by humans. Tornadoes and earthquakes, for example, can be understood as interesting natural events in the social practice of scientific research, and can also be understood as destructive forces in relation to many social practices that are carried out by humans (Schatzki, 2002). Therefore, the identities of people and the meaning of things are not pre-given, but depend on the social practices they participate in. Furthermore, these identities and meanings are multiple, never fixed, and in a constant state of becoming (Nicolini, 2012; Schatzki, 2002).

In this approach, when we ask the ontological questions: What is social reality and what is the fundamental nature of being? And the epistemological question: How do we know social reality? The answer is social practices. Social reality consists of social practices in which lives hang together and everything gains its situated meanings. Therefore, social reality is best understood in terms of social practices. The way that we will be able to understand the situated meanings of any actions, interactions, or use of language, therefore, is only in the social practices they transpire from (Nicolini, 2012; Sandberg & Tsoukas, 2011, 2016; Schatzki, 2002).

So far, I have discussed my chosen social ontology of a practice approach and its main philosophical claims. Next, I share the process through which I came to adopt the practice theory of Schatzki (1996, 2002) as my specific chosen practice approach.

Choosing an Appropriate Practice Approach for my Study

The term a practice approach is an umbrella term that includes several detailed theories on social practices, like the work of Bourdieu (1977), Giddens (1984), and Schatzki (1996, 2002). In my research, I have initially adopted a general view of social practices, which defines them as "routinised activities". This general view of practices was outlined by Reckwitz (2002) in his widely cited review article, in which he suggests a general definition of social practices as "routinized type of behaviour" (p.249). While he also maintains that activities that are irregular and rare can constitute social practices, in his review article he repeatedly defines social practices as routinised activities. Similar to this general view of Reckwitz (2002), many studies in the field of organisation studies have adopted this general view of practices as routinised activities, to investigate practices in their specific research domain. In my research I was influenced by this wide tendency to conceptualise practices as routinised activities, and chose to adopt this general view of practices and to treat it as the basis of my practice-based study. I initially liked this general view of social practices as routinised activities and saw it as preferable to more detailed versions of practice theory. This is because I felt that while this view of practices as routinised activities is aligned with the ontological approach of practice theory, at the same time it is also open enough to allow me to let my empirical phenomena to take the lead in my understanding of leadership and affect from a practice approach. I was worried that if I adopted a practice theory that was too detailed and stiff, this could direct my investigation to inquire into very specific topics and to ask very specific research questions that I was not necessarily interested in studying. Instead, I preferred a general view of social practices as routinised activities, as I believed that this view could enable me to ask more open research questions, and to give more room to my

empirical study to teach me about the phenomena that I was interested in studying. As I started my empirical study and looked to identify and analyse social practices as routinised activities, I encountered many difficulties. I found that while this view enabled me to identify social practices, it did not enable me to properly analyse them. So at the beginning of my empirical study, I identified a social practice based on this view, but I could not explain how the various doings and sayings in the practice were linked. I needed to be able to answer the questions: What links the various activities and the human and non-human participants in the practice? How are they connected? And: Why do these activities repeat themselves? In addition, I did not know how I could include the affective norms that I was interested in studying in this view of practices as routinised activities. Finally, I also did not know how to account for rare activities, if they could also be considered as part of social practices, and if they did then, how so?

After I reflected on these problems that I encountered at the beginning of my empirical study, I realised that the reason I did not know how to answer these questions was that I had entered my empirical site without packing enough conceptual tools in "my backpack", worrying that it would be too heavy. I knew that I needed to look for a more robust practice theory that could enable me to analyse social practices, and not only to identify them.

After some extended readings where I looked into various versions of practice theory, I found that the practice theory of Schatzki (1996, 2002) could best serve my needs. Schatzki developed his practice theory as a creative interpretation of the work of Heidegger and Wittgenstein, and outlined it mainly in his two books, *Social Practices: A Wittgensteinian Approach to Human Activity and the Social* (1996), and *The Site of the Social: A Philosophical Account of the Constitution of Social Life and Change* (2002). According to Reckwitz (2002) and Nicolini (2012), Schatzki is the practice theorist who has developed the most comprehensive and detailed versions of

practice theory. I found Schatzki's work to be very relevant for my research for several reasons.

To begin with and most generally, I found Schatzki's theory to be suitable for my research because while his practice theory is detailed and offered me a rich conceptual framework to investigate the social phenomena that I was interested in studying, it is also open and abstract enough that I could offer my own interpretation of it and appropriate it to my own specific research needs.

Secondly, I liked Schatzki's work because he offers analytical tools to investigate the normativity that characterises social practices, which explains why and how the various doings and sayings in the practice hang together in certain ways.

Thirdly, in his theoretical framework Schatzki addresses the affective texture of the practice which has been widely neglected by other practice theorists. As one of my main interests in this research is to conduct a practice-based investigation of affect, I found his work to be very relevant to my research.

Fourthly, in his detailed framework, Schatzki addresses a variety of other concepts that I was interested in investigating, like the role of both humans and non-humans as participants in social practices, sensitivity to power, and theoretical tools to analyse the relational positions of the participants.

And finally, I found his work to be relevant to my research because his framework offers sensitivity to the dynamic nature of social practices and to aspects like dynamic flows of influence and social interactions between the participants, while at the same time making it possible to gain a contextual and practice-based understanding of these interactions and their embeddedness in their wider social context.

For these reasons, I decided to adopt some of the main tenets of Schatzki's practice theory, and to use it as the basis of my conceptual framework.

Looking at the acceptance of Schatzki's practice theory in the field of organisation studies, the application of his work in the field is still in its infancy, with a few

theoretical and empirical studies building on his work (Loscher et al., 2019). Due to the nature of Schatzki's practice theory, which is both overwhelmingly detailed and abstract at the same time, the few empirical studies in the field that build on his work usually adopt selected theoretical concepts from his practice theory and interpret them in different ways. Therefore, the application of Schatzki's practice theory in the field of organisation studies can be characterised as both emerging and diverse. With my study, I chose to adopt the main tenets of Schatzki's practice theory and other theoretical concepts of his that I found relevant for my study, and to offer a certain interpretation of these concepts. My unique reading of Schatzki's practice theory further develops the existing emerging literature which builds on Schatzki's work, by illustrating additional ways in which his theory can be used to gain critical knowledge of organisations. The affordances of the interpretation that I offer of Schatzki's work are illustrated through my empirical study in Chapter 5, and are further discussed in Chapter 6 of my thesis.

In the following section, I discuss in detail the theoretical ideas that I chose to adopt from Schatzki's work, and the way that I chose to interpret these ideas in my study. These theoretical ideas that I discuss next serve as the basis of my conceptual framework.

The Site of the Social: Schatzki's Practice Theory

In this section, I outline my interpretation of the main tenets of Schatzki's practice theory. These principles that I discuss here serve as the fundamental analytical tools that I use to investigate affect and leadership from a Schatzkian practice approach.

The way that I have interpreted Schatzki's practice theory is through an engagement with my empirical study. The empirical phenomena that I was investigating have enabled me to gain a good understanding of his theoretical ideas, and a further dialogue between theory and my empirical data has generated a certain interpretation of his work.

Schatzki has elaborated his practice theory mainly in his two books (Schatzki, 1996, 2002). In the latter book, Schatzki (2002) explains how his practice theory should be understood as a type of social ontology, which he calls "the site of the social". In theorising his social ontology, Schatzki's main concerns are to investigate questions that inquire into the nature of social co-existence, and to explore how human lives hang together. In my interpretation of Schatzki's practice theory, I chose to further stress the performative nature of social practices, as a phenomenon that produces knowledge and realities. I have produced this interpretation through a conversation between my empirical study and various writings on practice theory. During my empirical study, I came to appreciate how knowledge is constantly being produced in the practice that I was investigating. I reflected on this empirical phenomenon while further engaging with the work of Schatzki and other practice scholars like Silvia Gherardi. In her work, Gherardi (2018a, 2019) states that she seeks to "leave behind questions about ontology (what practice is) for questions about performativity (what practice does)" (Gherardi, 2019, p. 2). By asking what practice does, Gherardi (2018a, 2019) means that she is interested in inquiring how practices enact and produce realities and knowledge. Through this dialogue that I was having between my empirical study and the work of Schatzki and Gherardi, I realised that I can use Schatzki's practice theory to both address ontological questions that inquire: What are leadership and affect as social practices? and also address epistemological performative questions that inquire: What do leadership and affect do as social practices? And: How do they produce knowledge and realities?

The conceptual tools that can be used for such an investigation are outlined in the following discussion.

What are social practices? and what do they do?

According to Schatzki (1996, 2002), the site of the social consists of social practices and material arrangements, and it is against social practices that all things become intelligible. This separation that Schatzki suggests between practices and materiality is not ontological but analytical. Practices and materiality exist in the same reality, and are separated in Schatzki's thought to emphasise the importance of materiality to the constitution of social life, and to offer the analytical tools to investigate the relations between materiality and activity. In my work, I do not find this analytical distinction between practices and materiality easy to work with, and furthermore, I find that it directs the investigation to inquire about the relationships between materiality and practices, which is not my main research interest. For these reasons, in my work I adopt a more general view of Schatzki's work that includes materiality as the participants in social practices. This does not change the meaning of his theory, it only modifies the analytical focus of the investigation to be more general and open.

Social practices are theorised in Schatzki's thought as "the nexus of doings and sayings" (Schatzki, 1996, p. 105). Both doings and sayings are considered to be bodily activities, and hence the focus here is on the human body. This nexus of actions which we refer to as a social practice, is organised according to four main principles: practical understandings, rules, teleoaffective structure, and general understanding (Schatzki, 2002). These four principles organise social practices, and link all the doings and sayings in a given practice to hang together in a certain way. Schatzki (2002) has described this as follows:

> As indicated, practices are organized nexuses of actions. This means that the doings and sayings composing them hang together. More specifically, the doings and sayings that compose a given practice are linked through (1) practical understandings, (2) rules, (3) a teleoaffective structure, and (4) general understandings. Together, the understandings, rules, and

> teleoaffective structure that link the doings and sayings of a practice form its organization. (p. 77)

To say that actions are organised or linked in a certain way to be associated with a specific practice, is to say that various doings and sayings express or take account of similar understandings, rules, and teleoaffective structure (Schatzki, 1997, 2002).

So far, we have learned that every social practice is organised according to practical understanding, rules, teleoaffective structure, and general understanding, and that these four principles together are referred to as *the practice organisation*. Next, I discuss each one of these organisers in further detail.

The first organiser of social practices, practical understanding, refers to the tacit know-how of how to act in specific situations. It is the ability to identify the doings and sayings that belong to a certain practice, and the ability to perform these doings and sayings and also to respond to them. Practical understanding in Schatzki's own words is: "knowing how to X, knowing how to identify X-ings, and knowing how to prompt as well as respond to X-ings. All participants in a practice are able to perform, identify, and prompt some subset of the practice's doings, sayings, tasks, and projects" (Schatzki, 2002, pp. 77-78). Practical understanding is unreflexive know-how that is gained in practice and enables the participants to competently participate in a certain practice.

For example, in the social practice of driving, the practical understandings that organise this practice are knowing how to operate a vehicle, knowing how to attribute the correct meanings to the doings of other drivers and traffic signs on the road (like the meaning of turn signals and brake lights of other cars on the road, and the meaning of stop signs), and knowing how to respond to the doings of the other drivers as well. This way, practical understanding is organising the social practice of driving; all the participants know the meaning of doings and sayings in this context, and know how to respond to them and also to perform them themselves.

The second principle that organises social practices is explicit rules. By rules, Schatzki means

> explicit formulations, principles, precepts, and instructions that enjoin, direct, or remonstrate people to perform specific actions. To say that rules link doings and sayings is to say that people, in carrying out these doings and sayings, take account of and adhere to the same rules. (Schatzki, 2002, p. 79)

Looking again at the example of driving, it is clear that the participants (drivers) are carrying out their actions in relation to the traffic rules where they drive. Even if they disobey these rules and exceed the speed limit for example, this will always be in relation to these local traffic rules. So rules also organise the doings and sayings in a practice. This way, most of the cars will follow the general instructions of the practice and will not crash into one another.

The third principle of the practice organisation is its teleoaffective structure. According to Schatzki (2002), a teleoaffective structure is "a range of normativized and hierarchically ordered ends, projects, and tasks, to varying degrees allied with normativized emotions and even moods" (p.80). As the meaning of the Greek word *telos* indicates, the "teleo" part of the teleoaffective structure refers to the ends of the practice. Each social practice exists to pursue a goal, an end, and usually multiple ones, and the participants can be more or less aware of these ends. The teleological aspect of this concept is based on Schatzki's reading of Heidegger, who argued that the fundamental state of being-in-the-world is always directed towards something, so that in their entwinement with the world, people are always projecting towards certain futures and ends. To the ends of the practice, Schatzki ties the various projects and tasks that should be performed to pursue these ends, and the type of emotions that should be experienced while performing these tasks.

For example, the practice of national memorial days for fallen soldiers pursues ends such as patriotism and remembering the fallen soldiers. In participating in this practice for the sake of these ends, people pursue projects like attending a memorial

service, and for the sake of this project, they carry out tasks like singing the national anthem, saluting the flag, and standing a minute in silence to remember the dead. All these tasks that people carry out are accompanied by certain emotions that are appropriate to experience and perform on this occasion, which correspond with the practice ends. From this example, we can see that the concept of teleoaffective structure foregrounds the ends of the practice and the affective norms that are tied to these ends, and portrays every activity that takes place in the practice as corresponding to these ends and affective norms.

With his notion of the teleoaffective structure, Schatzki incorporates affect as an integral part of his framework, and is one of the only practice theorists who does so. The fact that affect is included in the core of Schatzki's practice theory makes it possible to conduct a practice-based investigation of any social phenomenon while maintaining sensitivity to its affective texture. Since one of my main interests is to conduct a practice-based investigation of affect and leadership, I find this concept to be highly relevant for my research.

Moving forward in reviewing the principles that organise social practices, the fourth and last organiser is general understanding (Schatzki, 2002). General understanding is the fundamental state of being that corresponds with the practice's ends, and answers the question: What are we all doing here? This can be more or less reflexive. In the social practice of driving, for example, the general understanding that usually exists is that we all want to get somewhere safely, and therefore our driving activities will be organised accordingly.

These four organisers of social practices are not prominent in the same way in different social practices; some practices will have clear explicit rules while their affective norms will be more open to interpretation (like driving for the most part), while other practices might not have explicit rules but will have the understandings and the teleoaffective structure that will organise them (like an angry mob performing a lynching, for example). In any case, these four organisers of social

practices are present in different intensities, and are not distinct from one another but exist in conversation with each other. So when we look at practices which are more affective (like the social practice of holiday celebration, for example) usually, not only will the teleoaffective structure be affective, but also the understandings, rules, and the ends of the practice will also be.

These four principles that constitute the practice organisation represent the normativity of the practice. It is against this normativity that everything in the practice gains its meaning, and against this normativity that the participants construct their meaning. Since the participants in a certain practice all take into account the same normativity, this normativity links them together (both physically and mentally), and from here comes the social ontological conclusion that human lives are linked together in social practices, and social co-existence transpires from practices.

This normativity is the knowledge that the practice carries with it and produces. Social practices are publicly accessible activities that manifest the norms of the practice that they constitute, and these norms are knowledge, certain ways to know and understand the world. Through the manifestation of this normative knowledge, these norms are being reproduced and carry on the practice in space and time. From here comes the epistemological-performative understanding that social practices produce knowledge and realities. For example, in the practice of a memorial service, the norms of the practice that we are here to show respect for the dead and for our country, carry and produce the knowledge of unified national identity and patriotism. In this way, the practice organisation that Schatzki theorises can be understood as the normative knowledge that the practice produces, which links the participants to hang together in certain ways.

As for the participants in social practices, Schatzki (2002) stresses that social practices consist of people, artefacts, organisms and things of nature. While artefacts are "products of human action" like cars and houses, organisms are "life forms other than

humans" like dogs and viruses, and things of nature are "nonliving entities whose being is not the result of human activity" like mountains and rivers (Schatzki, 2002, p. 22).

While Schatzki includes both humans and non-humans in his practice framework, he maintains asymmetric relations between them, where humans hold the upper hand. He positions his approach in contrast to Latour's (2005) actor-network theory, where humans and non-humans are attributed an equal status.

Schatzki (2002) defends his approach with the logic that our focus of investigation is social existence with a specific focus on humans (and not the sociality of non-human species). For this reason, we investigate social practices which humans carry out. Sure, social practices include and are connected to non-human elements like artefacts, organisms, and things of nature, but the meaning of these non-human elements will be attributed to them by humans. "Objects lack the capability to institute meaning" (Schatzki, 2002, p. 117), and we are not interested in understanding the sociality of non-human species and how they make-meaning. We are instead interested in exploring the nature of human social existence. Schatzki is not claiming that non-humans do not have agency and the capacity to bring changes in the world, because non-humans can have direct effects on human activity and can cause human action, like when there is an infrastructure failure or a natural disaster that affects humans. What Schatzki is arguing is that the meaning of these non-human elements or events, and the significance they hold, will always be in relation to humans and the social practices they carry out. For these reasons, Schatzki does acknowledge the importance of non-humans, but only reminds us that our focus is on the sociality of humans, and therefore humans will take precedence and will not be perceived as equals to non-humans (Schatzki, 2002, 2010).

So far, I have discussed how social practices are organised activities that produce normative knowledge, which links its human and non-human participants to hang together in certain ways. I then clarified the weight that Schatzki attributes to humans

in relation to non-humans in his social analysis. I now review some of the relations that can be constructed between these human and non-human participants in their participation in social practices.

1. Causal relations

Causal relations are formed among humans and non-humans when "one entity's actions [is] making something happen", and also when "one entity's actions or conditions [is] leading to another entity's action(s)" (Schatzki, 2002, p. 41).

2. Spatial relations

In spatial relations, I refer to the location in objective physical space that human and non-human entities occupy in relation to one another, such as: "further from, closer to, in the vicinity of, next to, between, inside, and outside" (Schatzki, 2002, p. 43).

3. Intentional relations

Intentional relations are formed when humans perform actions, emotions, thoughts, and beliefs towards other humans or non-humans in a given practice.

4. Prefigurational relations

Prefigurational relations refer to the ways that different entities that compose social practices (people, artefacts, organisms, and things) enable and constrain each other's actions. Here, Schatzki (2002) is directly building on Foucault, and ties this concept of prefigurational relations to Foucault's idea of power. Schatzki (2002) cites Foucault (1982), stating that: "To govern . . . is to structure the possible field of action of others" (Foucault as cited in Schatzki, 2002, p. 45). Based on this idea, Schatzki (2002) asserts that power is manifested when human or non-human participants in social practices enable or constrain each other's actions. Schatzki emphasises that not only can people enable and constrain actions, but artefacts, organisms, and things also have the ability to do so. Schatzki (2002) then concludes that "the ubiquity of the mutual enablement and constraint of such components, individually and collectively, bespeaks the propitiousness of Foucault's infamous claim that power is everywhere"

(pp.45-46). In my work, I find the fourth type of relations, prefigurational relations, to be of great importance. This is because I adopt Foucault's claim that power is everywhere, and wish not to ignore power in my practice-based analysis of affect and leadership.

These four types of relations that are constructed among the material human and non-human participants in their participation in social practices, are some of the possible ways that the participants can be ordered in relation to one another. As these participants construct various relations among one another, they also construct their relational positions, identities, and meanings.

These relations, positions, and meanings that are constructed among the participants are influenced by the normativity of the practice, which is the practice organisation. Schatzki (1996, 2002) has stressed that it is at this point that his theory differs from Latour's Actor Network Theory. Similarly to Latour (2005), Schatzki examines the various relations that humans and non-humans can construct through activity. Schatzki differs from Latour by looking at activity as governed by the practice organisation, while Latour does not adopt such a practice lens in his investigation, and does not perceive the activities in his theory as governed by any type of practice organisation.

The normative practice organisation influences the way the participants are ordered in relation to one another, and the possible positions, identities and meanings that are available for them to occupy in relation to one another. While the practice organisation, which represents the norms of the practice, influences the way the participants are ordered and positioned in relation to one another, the participants, in turn, constantly negotiate the way they construct their meaning, their relational positions, and identities in relation to the other participants in "endless becoming" (Schatzki, 2002, p. 233). In this way, we can see how this practice theory enables us to inquire into the ways that a social order in a certain social site is being maintained and reproduced through the social practices that constitute this site. This takes place

as the practices in this site order their participants in certain ways in relation to one another, and attribute to them certain relational positions and identities to occupy. At the same time, we can also see how the construction of the social order is not static, but is in constant becoming and constantly being negotiated by the participants through their bodily participation in the practice, with the potential to modify the social order and even change it. A change in the social order can take place when the activities that once constituted the practice do not express or take into consideration the practice organisation anymore. This can lead to social change, where the practice can expire and be replaced by new practices. A famous example of an incident where people resisted existing social practices and triggered social change, is the small group of African-American men and women in the United States who refused to leave their seats in the bus, and "interrupted the reproduction of segregation – in practice" (Nicolini & Monteiro, 2016, p. 2).

So far, I have elaborated on Schatzki's view of the site of the social. I have discussed how social life is constituted by social practices that carry with them normative meaning. In these practices, humans and non-humans are ordered in relation to one another in different ways, to construct relational positions, identities, and meanings, which are constantly being negotiated by the human participants in endless becoming. I now turn my focus in on people, and on how we theorise them in Schatzki's practice theory.

I have previously mentioned that people are socially constructed in social practices. I discussed how people, as carriers of practices, are influenced by the practices they participate in, and at the same time influence these practices in return with their actions. A topic I have not discussed yet is what governs people's actions, and why they do what they do.

In the following section, I would like to complete my account of Schatzki's practice theory, by discussing what, according to Schatzki, governs people's actions, and how in this view Schatzki incorporates agency into his practice theory.

Practical intelligibility

According to Schatzki (1996, 2002), what governs people's actions is the *practical intelligibility*. Practical intelligibility is the sense of what to do next that governs people's actions; it is the understanding of which actions are appropriate to carry out in a given context, based on which people carry out their actions. Schatzki argues that people gain this sense of what is next and the understanding of which actions are appropriate to perform in a given situation in social practices. People will do whatever makes sense for them to do, and this sense-making that governs their actions is mostly shaped in practices. It is in the practices that people are immersed in that they gain understandings of the appropriate ends, emotions, and projects to pursue, and these normative understandings shape their meaning-making and govern their actions. It is important to emphasise that since people are immersed at any given moment in a bundle of different social practices, their sense of what is next, and which actions to carry out, is influenced by this bundle of practices and not only by one specific practice. This way, it can make sense for a person to pursue ends of a certain practice while participating in a different practice (like pursuing self-promotion while doing charity work). So the practical intelligibility that governs people's actions is shaped by multiple practices at the same time, all of which influence the way people make meaning and carry out actions. While the practical intelligibility that governs people's actions is mostly shaped in the social practices that people are immersed in, the immediate bodily and mental conditions that people are in can also influence their practical intelligibility and the sense of what is next. For example, a person's bodily condition (such as illness) or their fear of bears can influence a person's sense of what is next to the extent that they will decide to stay in the car and read a book, instead of joining a hike with their friends (Schatzki, 2017).

With this concept of practical intelligibility, Schatzki (1997) wishes to emphasise that what governs people's actions is not identical with the practice organisation that

governs social practices. Schatzki (1997) points out that this contrasts with the practice theory of Bourdieu (1977, 1990). In Bourdieu's practice theory, the practical understandings that govern practices in a given field are mirrored by the habitus that governs people's actions, and therefore people are relatively directed by the practice they participate in. In Schatzki's theory, on the other hand, not only that it is not just the practice organisation of one given practice that influences people's actions, since people are immersed in multiple practices at the same time that influence their meaning-making and actions, but other factors like bodily conditions can also govern people's actions.

Since what governs people's actions is shaped by multiple practices and other bodily and mental conditions, it is not possible to know at any given moment what action a person will carry out and do next, and there is always a sense of openness in practices and the actions that constitute them. People can conform with the practice they participate in, but can also modify and potentially change it. So we can see that there is a lot of room for agency in Schatzki's theory. To properly use this term, I would like to define it first. According to Schatzki (2017), the term agency can have three possible meanings: (a) agency means acting; a person's agency is their activities (b) agency means choice, choosing among options , and (c) agency is effect on the world, the difference people's actions make in social affairs. With Schatzki's concept of practical intelligibility, he theorises people as not completely directed by the specific practice they are immersed in, but as having the agency in the second sense to choose (whether consciously or subconsciously) what action to perform next, and also have agency in the third sense to resist the practice they participate in and bring a change in the world. This way, although people are immersed in social practices that shape their meaning-making and actions, this view of Schatzki is open-ended and people have options to choose from that are opened to them in the bundle of practices that they are immersed in. This view of the social is not as a predetermined set of actions, but a continuity of actions that are never predetermined and are influenced by a mix of different elements all at once.

With this discussion on practical intelligibility and agency, I have covered the main tenets of Schatzki's practice theory that I adopt in my research. In the last part of my discussion that follows next, I sum up the main tenets of Schatzki's practice theory that have been discussed so far.

Summary

In this section, I have discussed how the work of Schatzki can be used to analyse the social world and gain understandings of the nature of social co-existence and the nature of knowledge production. In Schatzki's thought, social life is constituted by social practices, which are organised activities that carry with them normative knowledge. In these normative practices, humans and non-humans are linked together and ordered in certain ways in relation to one another, to construct their relational positions, identities, and meanings, which they constantly negotiate in a relational and dynamic manner.

From these understandings, we can see how Schatzki's practice theory is both an ontology and an epistemology, since social practices are the bedrock of social existence, and they produce realities, knowledge, and identities, and order the participants in relation to each other in certain ways.

In my study, I use Schatzki's framework that I have outlined in this section, to investigate affect and leadership from a Schatzkian practice approach. In the sections that follow next, I elaborate on my understandings of affect and leadership, and discuss how I rely on Schatzki's practice theory in investigating these phenomena.

Affective Practices

In this section, I outline my practice-based understanding of affect and emotion, which I ground in the practice theory of Theodore Schatzki and in the work of social psychologist Margaret Wetherell. I found the practice theory of Schatzki to be a particularly suitable framework to use in conducting a practice-based analysis of affect. This is because, as I previously discussed, with the concept of the

teleoaffective structure Schatzki offers the conceptual tools to investigate the affective norms that govern practices. While Schatzki offers researchers the ability to investigate the affective normativity of the social site, he does not offer us any systematic account of how to theorise and explore the affective experiences of people in this site. Therefore, I needed to look elsewhere for such an account. I found that the work of social psychologist Margaret Wetherell fitted well with my needs. In her practice-based theorisation of affect and emotion, Wetherell offers conceptual tools to analyse the affective experiences of people in practices. Since Wetherell's work aligns with Schatzki's thought, I integrated their work together to investigate the affective texture of the social site. In this way, I used Schatzki's elaborated practice theory and its sensitivity to the affective normativity of practices, together with Wetherell's account of people and their affective experiences in practices. I further elaborate on this in the following sections, starting first with reviewing the practice-based view of Wetherell (2012) of affect and emotion, and then integrating her work with the practice theory of Schatzki (2002) to offer my definition of the integrated concept of affective practices.

Wetherell's conceptualisation of affect and emotion

Margaret Wetherell is a social psychologist from the field of discourse studies, who has a great interest in theorising and empirically investigating affect and emotion from a post-structuralist approach. In reviewing the main tenets that I adopted from Wetherell's work on affect and emotion, I first discuss the wider contemporary literature on affect and emotion, and then situate her work within this literature.

The literature on affect has been significantly developed in recent years, in a trend known as "the affective turn" (Clough & Halley, 2007). This trend took and is still taking place across the humanities and the social sciences. Scholars from a wide range of disciplines such as philosophy, sociology, history, social psychology, neuroscience, and human geography are expressing an increased interest in the study of affect in their field, with a primary focus on the human body. Such affect scholars have

explored how the human body participates in the social world, both in relation to other bodies and also in relation to other non-human elements such as physical space, environment, artefacts, and technologies (e.g. Anderson, 2009; Gherardi, 2017; Massumi, 2002; Reckwitz, 2012; Thrift, 2008).

The popular way to theorise affect within the affective turn is influenced by the work of prominent affect scholars Massumi (2002) and Thrift (2008), who differentiate the terms affect and emotion, and associate the two terms with two contrasting meanings. In this view, affect is seen as a wild and mysterious bodily force, that responds directly to events with no mediation of intelligible meaning-making. Philosopher Brian Massumi (1995, 2002) theorises affect as an "intensity" which is autonomous and operates outside talk and language. Human geographer Nigel Thrift (2008) with his non-representational theory theorises affect as an excess to talk and meaning-making; in his approach affect can travel directly between bodies with no mediation of intelligible awareness. The theory of affective atmospheres by human geographer Ben Anderson (2009) further builds on this approach, and looks at affect as a kind of contagious force that can circulate across bodies and physical environments.

In contrast to this idea of affect as an excess, a wild, pre-cultural, unbidden, and mysterious force, emotion is theorised by affect scholars such as Massumi (1995, 2002) and Thrift (2008) as domesticated, intelligible, and conscious meaning-making, which is socially informed and largely innate. When facing the classic body/mind dichotomy, these affect scholars have placed affect solely in the "body" category, and separated it from emotion in the "mind" category (Greco & Stenner, 2008; Wetherell, 2012, 2013a).

This approach that views affect as an excess to talk and meaning-making, and the distinction between affect and emotion, has been criticised by several scholars (i.e. Burkitt, 2014; Greco & Stenner, 2008; Reckwitz, 2012) including Wetherell (2012), who have all expressed their concerns and pointed to some fundamental problems

with this line of thought. Greco and Stenner (2008, p. 11) have protested against the separation of the terms affect and emotion, stating that "insisting on this terminological distinction is not inherently helpful, and may actually obscure more than it clarifies at a conceptual level". Various other scholars like Burkitt (2014), Reckwitz (2012), and Wetherell, McCreanor, McConville, Barnes, and le Grice (2015) have echoed this statement, and called for conceptual integration of affect and emotion as a means of advancing both theory and methods.

Among these critical voices, Wetherell is a strong opponent to this separation of the terms affect and emotion, and to the view of affect as an excess that operates outside meaning-making, talk, and language. According to Wetherell, the conceptualisation of affect as an autonomous bodily force that just "happens" to passive people, like a sneeze, or like stating "I don't know what got into me" (Wetherell, 2013b, p. 228) is "unsustainable"(Wetherell, 2013a, p. 349). Wetherell was determined to refute this view of affect as a bodily autonomous force, and to find a better way to theorise affect. In her book *Affect and Emotion: A New Social Science Understanding*, Wetherell (2012) has taken this challenge upon herself, and through a painstaking review of various literatures in multiple disciplines such as biology, neuroscience, philosophy, sociology, and psychology, has offered an alternative conceptualisation of affect and emotion. Wetherell (2012) has explained in her book how, in a practice-based view of affect and emotion, it is not possible to treat the body as disconnected from the mind and from meaning-making, and to think that there are mysterious intensities that can circulate in the air and somehow make people happy or ecstatic. In a practice approach, people carry out embodied activities under the influence of the practices they are immersed in, and are not just "hormonal apes . . . non-consciously reacting . . . like schools of fish or flocks of starlings, incomprehensibly wheeling, pulsing, moving, reacting, as body speaks direct to body" like Massumi and Thrift view them according to Wetherell (2008 as cited in Wetherell 2015, p.149). In a practice approach, people are understood to be intelligent creatures who carry out

embodied activities under the normativity of practices through a process of meaning-making, which can be more or less tacit.

Based on a practice-based view of affect and emotion, Wetherell (2012) has argued that affect and emotion should be understood as overlapping terms, where affect is not a wild autonomous force, and emotion is not disconnected from bodily reactions. Instead, "embodied responses to events and meaning-making occur in synchrony" (McConville, Wetherell, McCreanor, & Barnes, 2014, p. 5). Affect and emotion, according to Wetherell, are best understood when investigated as "embodied meaning-making" in the social practices they transpire from, in which they are socially constructed. Wetherell (2012) has supplemented her practice-based argument by pointing out that recent findings in the fields of psychology and neuroscience also indicate a similar conclusion: the body and intelligible meaning-making are not distinct, and in an emotional episode, the body, the mind, emotion, and cognition all work together in a vibrant and complex process (e.g. Barrett, 2009; Barrett, Winkielman, & Niedenthal, 2005; Niedenthal, Barsalou, Ric, & Krauth-Gruber, 2005; Russell, 2003; Scherer, 2005; Scherer, 2009).

Practice theorist Andreas Reckwitz (2012) has similar ideas to Wetherell on the conceptualisation of affect and emotion, and argues that these two concepts are overlapping, and should be developed together: "affects/emotions are neither an inner possession of individuals nor are they mere outward signs, 'expressive' gestures made in public. They are bodily reactions and they are enabled/restricted by interpretative schemes at the same time" (Reckwitz, 2012, p. 251). Reckwitz (2012) has adopted Latour's term and describes the conceptual integration of affect and emotion as a "cultural material hybrid" (p.247), in which the culture and the body are integrated together.

In my research, I follow Reckwitz (2012), Burkitt (2014), Greco and Stenner (2008), and Wetherell (2012), and treat affect and emotion as overlapping terms that can be used interchangeably. Although I do not differentiate the terms affect and emotion,

I prefer to use the term affect in my work for semantic reasons. While the term emotion usually refers to an internal state (e.g. having an emotion), the term affect as a verb is understood as a form of influence in relation to others (e.g. to affect or being affected), and therefore is a more appropriate term to use in my relational investigation of the social world. Nevertheless, this not to suggest that affect is fundamentally different in its meaning from emotion. In treating affect and emotion as overlapping terms, I adopt Wetherell's practice-based view on affect and emotion. I view affect and emotion as embodied meaning-making that is socially constructed in practices, and therefore can become intelligible when explored within these practices.

In her practice-based theorisation of affect and emotion, Wetherell has adopted a general view of practices as routinised activities. She has focused on exploring social practices which are more affective, which she termed *affective practices*, and explored how the affective experiences of the participants are constructed within these practices. She looked at how the participants perform affect (as embodied meaning-making) in relation to the affective normativity of the practice, and how, with their actions, they have the agency to reproduce the practice and to resist it. To sum up her approach in her own words, "Affective practice is a figuration where body possibilities and routines become recruited or entangled together with meaning-making and with other social and material figurations" (Wetherell, 2012, p. 19). In my work I follow this view of Wetherell, and look to explore how people perform affect and emotion as embodied meaning-making in relation to the normativity of the practices they participate in.

To illustrate this approach, I offer details of an empirical study on affective practices which was carried out by Wetherell, McConville, and McCreanor (2019). As part of their research project on affective practices of national commemoration in Aotearoa New Zealand, the researchers focused on the affective practice of ANZAC Day. They looked at the various ways that people chose to participate in the practice

and to engage in acts of quiet resistance. ANZAC Day is a public holiday in New Zealand which commemorates the failed invasion of the Gallipoli peninsula during the First World War by the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps (ANZAC), and has been extended to cover the remembrance of all New Zealand armed service work and war casualties (Wetherell et al., 2019). There is a growing critique of ANZAC Day for the lack of representation of the Māori people who lost their lives in the New Zealand wars (1845-1872) where they fought Crown incursion on their territories, and there is also critique from peace activists against the glorification of war (Wetherell et al., 2019). ANZAC Day commemorations typically take place in the form of a highly choreographed affective service, which includes strong normative elements like prayers, marching bands, the national anthem, and a minute of silence, which according to Wetherell et al. (2019), are all designed to generate a sense of unified national identity. The researchers focused on the way that various New Zealanders engage with this day, and emphasised acts of quiet resistance. The method used in this study was "go along interviews", where the researcher walked alongside the participants and took part in the activities they chose to carry out during that day. The study illustrated various acts of quiet resistance that took place during the day, where participants for example chose to participate in the service, but tried to resist the strong affective normativity that was imposed on them, with quiet acts of dissent like: rolling the eyes, yawning excessively, and mumbling things like: "[This is] complete bullshit" (Wetherell et al., 2019, p. 11). Other participants performed resistance by choosing not to attend the service, and instead put the day to a better use by catching up on some housework, like defrosting the freezer. In these go along interviews which were also video recorded, the researchers illustrated how the participants performed resistance to the powerful hegemonic affective practice of ANZAC Day, and that these subtle acts of resistance took place as embodied meaning-making, where the body and the mind were involved. In addition, the researchers illustrated the power of a practice approach in offering a contextual understanding of resistance and agency, as they described the wider bundle of

practices the participants were immersed in, like practices of pacifism and social activism, as resources the participants drew on in making alternative meanings in that day.

We can see in this study that Wetherell et al. (2019) both explored the normative elements of the affective practice of ANZAC Day and its hegemonic power, and at the same time looked at how different participants resist this practice by refusing to embrace the emotions that were prescribed to them for that day, and by doing so resisted power in various subtle ways.

So far, I have discussed how Wetherell's practice-based view of affect and emotion enables us to understand affect and emotion as embodied meaning-making that is constructed in specific social practices, in which the participants are influenced by the practice but also have the possibility to resist and change it. In addition to building on this view of Wetherell that I have outlined here, I also embrace the emphasis that she puts on the relationality of affective performances. This emphasis on the relationality of the emotional experience aligns with the view that people are relational creatures who always experience their existence in relation to others, and therefore also emotions, which are socially constructed, are always directional, and experienced in relation to others. As proposed by Harré (1986), emotions "are about something . . . we are afraid of . . . mad at . . . jealous of" (p.8). As Wetherell (2015) has emphasised the relationality of the affective performances, she further discusses the relational positions that these affective activities construct among the participants. In her discussion, she refers to the work of Sara Ahmed (2004) , who argues

> Through reiteration, affective performances materialize and fix the 'nature' of subjects and objects and the boundaries between them. That is, because an emotion is 'about' an object, it also constructs an object as a particular kind of thing. Equally, the emotion constructs the emoting subject as a particular kind of entity. (Ahmed as cited in Wetherell, 2015, p. 157)

So according to Wetherell (2015) affective activities are relational, and this relationality constructs the other and the self as a particular type of "thing", and forms their relational positions and identities.

Loveday (2016) has built on the work of Wetherell, to illustrate how people who participate in the affective practices of judgment and shame construct relational positions of inclusion in and exclusion from a social group. The study took place in institutes of higher education in the UK, and was carried out by conducting interviews with the participants. The participants, who identified themselves as working class people, shared that they had experienced affective performances of judgment by people from a higher class. This took place as repeated comments on their working class accent, such as, "Your accent is disgusting . . . you sound stupid" (p.1148), or "She can't even speak properly" (p.1145), which constructed the working class people as a type of negative entity, as "disgusting" and "stupid", and attributed to them an inferior position in relation to the superior position of people from a higher class. In response to these affective performances of judgment, many of the participants felt shame in such a profound way that they internalised it into their sense of self-worth, and it became who they were and influenced their decisions and relationships. So we see here how the affective practices of judgment and shame were carried out through affective performances that the participants "did" in relation to others to construct relational positions and identities which reinforced social inequality and patterns of inclusion in and exclusion from a social group.

In this section, I have offered details on the main tenets that I adopt from the work of social psychologist Margaret Wetherell and her practice-based view of affect and emotion. I have discussed how in her view affective practices are social practices which are more affective, in which people perform affect and emotion as embodied meaning-making in relation to the normativity of the practice and in relation to the other participants, to construct relational positions and identities. I have discussed

the sensitivity that Wetherell offers to power in her work, and the ability to explore how power is manifested and negotiated by the participants in affective practices.

In the next section, I offer my own theorisation of the concept of affective practices based on the work of Schatzki and Wetherell.

Integrating Wetherell and Schatzki

To begin with, similar to Wetherell, my basic understanding is that affective practices are social practices which are more affective. It is true that all social practices are affective to a certain extent, and therefore all social practices can be perceived as affective practices. Nevertheless, when I use the term affective practices, it refers to social practices in which the affective texture is more intense. I choose to use the term texture to describe affect, and not other terms like affective dimension, for example, because I want to emphasise that affect is not a discrete entity that exists in a separate dimension, and only occasionally interacts with other dimensions in life. Instead, I want to make it clear that affect is an integral part of social life, both of its normativity and of the human experience in it, and therefore texture is a better term to describe the affectivity of human life. In exploring social practices which have a stronger affective texture, this means that the affective normativity of the practice will be more intense, and also the affective experiences of the people who are influenced by this normativity are likely to be more intense (Schatzki, 2002; Wetherell, 2012). As to what we consider to be affective, and what should be counted as an affective practice, this is a question for the participants to answer. This is because there is no "universal keyboard" (Lutz & White, 1986) to affect, and its meaning is situated and transpires from a local context. Therefore, the identification of what sort of activities should count as affective will be for the participants to decide.

Now that I have explained my most basic view of affective practices, I further explain how I integrate the work of Wetherell and Schatzki to suggest my own conceptualisation of affective practices.

With his elaborated practice theory, Schatzki offers a detailed framework that can be used to investigate social life, with sensitivity to the affective norms that govern practices. He has theorised social practices as organised activities that carry with them normative knowledge and consist of humans and non-humans, that through their participation construct and negotiate their mutual relations, positions, and meanings. A topic that Schatzki does not elaborate on is the affective experiences of humans in social practices, and how people experience affect and emotion in their participation in practices.

The work of Wetherell, on the other hand, offers a detailed and theoretically robust account of the affective experiences of people in practices, which are described as embodied meaning-making. Wetherell has stressed how affect and emotion as embodied meaning-making are socially constructed in practices, and are always performed in relation to others to construct relational positions and identities. The practice theory that she builds on in her work is a general view of practices as routinised activities. I previously discussed how I found this view to be difficult to work with, because it is merely a descriptive definition that does not offer many theoretical tools to analyse practices and their participants.

In looking to investigate affect from a practice approach, I chose to integrate the comprehensive practice theory of Schatzki and the sensitivity that it offers to the affective norms of the practice, together with the work of Wetherell and her theoretically robust account of the affective experiences of people in practices. When put together, the work of these two scholars are both aligned and compatible. The work of Wetherell can be seen as an elaboration on the affective experiences of people in Schatzki's practice theory, and Schatzki's work can be seen as an elaboration of Wetherell's general view on social practices. Either way, the work of these two scholars both align and complete one another, and based on both of their theories which I have discussed here, I integrate their work and define affective practices as:

Organised affective activities that consist of humans and non-humans and are performed towards certain ends, to construct mutual relations and positions among the participants.

Affective practices are affective activities which are governed by the practice organisation and consist of humans and non-humans, which through the affective activities they participate in construct mutual relations, positions, and meanings. While the practice organisation and its understandings, rules, and teleoaffective structure have a great influence on the affective activities of the participants and the various relations, positions, and meanings that are constructed, the participants constantly negotiate the positions and meanings that are produced in a relational and dynamic manner. Examining the concept of affective practices in my work, I constantly ask: In what ways do the participants do and experience emotion in relation to others (including non-humans), and what relational positions and meanings are being negotiated in these affective performances?

In this section, I have integrated the work of practice theorist Theodore Schatzki and his theorisation of the site of the social, together with the work of affect theorist Margaret Wetherell and her practice-based view of affect and emotion. I have discussed how the integration of the work of these two scholars offers a powerful theoretical construct that generates sensitivities to the affective texture of the social site, both to its normativity and to the human experiences in it. I have offered my definition of this theoretical construct, and called it affective practices. I rely on this construct in my study to conduct an empirical practice-based investigation of affect. Since my interest is in investigating both affect and leadership from a practice approach, in the next part of my conceptual framework I discuss my practice-based conceptualisation of leadership.

Part II: Leadership

The second part of my conceptual framework is divided into three sections. In the first section, I offer an overview of some major streams of research that exist in the leadership literature, and situate my leadership-as-practice approach in this literature. In the section that follows, I outline my practice-based conceptualisation of leadership, and explain how I ground it in the practice theory of Schatzki. In the final section, I review the literature on leadership, affect, and emotion in the field of organisation studies, to discuss major trends and situate my research in this literature.

Leadership Overview

In this overview I build on Endres and Weibler (2017), Crevani and Endrissat (2016), and Uhl-Bien (2006), and organise the different leadership approaches that I review according to their basic ontological assumptions. The two ontologies according to which the different leadership approaches are organised are entity ontology and process ontology.

Entity ontology is a different term to describe the approach of ontological individualism that was discussed in the ontological discussion in the opening of this thesis. Entity ontology is influenced by the natural sciences, where knowledge that is produced is claimed to represent an objective truth. The basic understandings in this approach are that the self is stable and detached from the outside world. Social reality can be accurately and objectively represented by using the appropriate scientific tools. In exploring social reality in this approach, the researcher will not "contaminate" the data, and the objective essence of leadership will be captured (Endres & Weibler, 2017; Uhl-Bien, 2006).

The other ontological approach that this review is based on is a process approach, which can also be understood as site ontology. The fundamental understandings in this approach are that people are not discrete entities, but their identities are

constructed in their local site. Site, or process ontologies, can be practice theories, which view the site as social practices. Other ontological approaches like social constructionism can also be seen as a form of site ontology, where the site is not necessarily practices but is more generally understood as the local context in which people are socially constructed. In a process ontology, reality is not perceived as stable, but in constant change. This is represented in Heraclitus' famous claim, "It is not possible to step into the same river twice, [because you are changing and the river is changing]" (Simpson, 2016, p.168). Furthermore, this approach assumes that the self is relational and constructed in a dynamic process in relation to others. In this approach, there is no such thing as an objective knowledge of social reality, but instead the researcher and the participants together co-construct knowledge in a dynamic process (Endres & Weibler, 2017; Uhl-Bien, 2006).

In this review, I first start by discussing the entity approach to leadership. This approach is called "entity" because it views its subjects of study as discrete and stable entities that are detached from their local context. In this view, individuals, dyads, collectives, and even relationships are treated as entities that are largely unaffected by their external environment, and have causal and predictable relations with one another. Leadership is portrayed as a set of defined variables with linear relationships. Context is controlled for, and results are generalised to the wider population. The aim of this approach to leadership is to find the ideal leadership styles, competencies or skills that will achieve effectiveness with maximum profit for the organisation (Crevani & Endrissat, 2016; Endres & Weibler, 2017). Under the entity approach to leadership, Endres and Weibler (2017) have differentiated between two main schools of thought: the objectivist and the subjectivist (constructivist) approaches. While these two approaches adopt an entity ontology and look to find the objective essence of leadership, they choose to do so in different ways.

The objectivist approach is influenced by scientific naturalism and explores what leadership behaviours and styles produce the most effective leadership. Under this approach can be included theories such as transformational leadership (Bass, 1990), servant leadership (Greenleaf, 2002), authentic leadership (Avolio et al., 2004), and leader-member exchange (LMX) (Graen & Uhl-Bien, 1995). The LMX theory, for example, looks at how individual competencies of leaders and followers (like transformational leaders and agreeable followers) determine the quality of their relationships, which then predict effective leadership. This theory assumes that the self is stable and that individuals are not shaped by their relationships, but instead individuals are shaping their relationships and realities with their stable competencies (Crevani & Endrissat, 2016).

The subjectivist approach, on the other hand, is influenced by cognitive psychology. It looks inside the individual's mind and uses mental models and information-processing schemes to theorise how leaders' and followers' identities are related to leadership competencies. In this approach can be included various works that explore leadership competencies based on leaders' and followers' identities (e.g. Hogg, 2001; Lord & Brown, 2001, 2004; Lord & Emrich, 2000; Rush, Thomas, & Lord, 1977; Schyns & Meindl, 2005).

These two approaches mirror each other in the way that they choose to study leadership, as the objectivist approach looks for the ideal leadership behaviours and styles that exist out there, and the subjectivist approach looks inside the individual's mind to make universal rules about what makes effective leadership (Endres & Weibler, 2017). The goal of these two bodies of work is similar: to find the ideal skills and competencies of leaders that enable them to achieve leadership effectiveness, and to explain and predict how and why this can be achieved. Work from these approaches usually use quantitative methods like surveys, with findings that are then generalised to the entire population (Crevani & Endrissat, 2016; Endres & Weibler, 2017).

The entity approach to leadership has a few limitations that I wish to discuss. To begin with, this approach tends to focus on individuals and their actions and relationships as determining effective leadership and pays less attention to leadership as a collective phenomenon. Furthermore, these individuals and their relationships that this approach focuses on, are viewed as separate from their surrounding environment. Not much consideration is given to how the local context (such as political, historical, and economic conditions) may affect leadership. With these static and decontextualised assumptions about the nature of the self, much of the work that adopts this approach theorises leadership as a set of variables with clear linear connections that can be neatly represented in flow charts. While these models might offer a snapshot or represent moments of how leadership unfolds, the rich processual and contextual nature of leadership remains largely unexplored in this approach (Crevani & Endrissat, 2016; Endres & Weibler, 2017; Uhl-Bien, 2006).

In addition to the lack of sensitivity to the collective, dynamic, and contextual nature of leadership, there are also some problems that can be associated with the values that undergird this entity approach to leadership. A common understanding in this approach, is that heroic leaders need to do something to followers in order to improve effectiveness. Leaders are expected to be superior individuals who, with the sole power of their competencies, transform followers and organisations. These unrealistic expectations of leaders have been criticised by Meindl, Ehrlich, and Dukerich (1985) for attributing too much agency to leaders, while ignoring other contextual factors that are beyond leaders' control. In addition, scholars like Liu (2017) and Kempster and Parry (2019) have pointed out that this elevation of leaders above followers implies that power should be vested with heroic leaders over weaker followers to pursue organisational goals. These scholars criticise this view for being morally questionable (Liu, 2017), and a form of bullying (Kempster & Parry, 2019).

This is in general the entity view of leadership, in which both the objectivist and subjectivist schools of thought look to use their scientific tools to find the most ideal

leadership identities, styles, and competencies that can achieve maximum effectiveness. As I have reviewed the entity approach to leadership, I now turn to review the leadership theories that are based on process ontology.

Process ontology assumes that social reality and knowledge are relational and in a constant state of becoming. The self and social reality are socially constructed, and the researcher is visible in the research process and is expected to bring to surface his or her subjectivity as a participant in the construction of the data (Uhl-Bien, 2006). In this approach, there is a strong emphasis on process and on context. Researchers usually use qualitative methodologies like ethnography, where they become embedded in the local site and the context receives great attention. Under this process approach can fit studies that are associated with relational leadership (Uhl-Bien, 2006) and leadership-as-practice (Carroll et al., 2008; Raelin, 2016c).

Before I compare the work on relational leadership and leadership-as-practice that are based on process ontology, I would like to make a brief comment about the way that I use these terms. The terms relational leadership and leadership-as-practice are often considered to be umbrella concepts which represent leadership theories that adopt both an entity and process ontologies. According to this understanding, for example, leadership theories that investigate relationships with an entity ontology, like LMX (Graen & Uhl-Bien, 1995), are considered to be an entity perspective on relational leadership (Crevani & Endrissat, 2016; Endres & Weibler, 2017; Uhl-Bien, 2006). In this review and in my research in general, I conceptualise and use the terms relational leadership and leadership-as-practice as approaches that adopt a process ontology. Since I have chosen to organise this review according to the underlying ontologies of the different leadership theories, and not according to the leadership labels that are often attached to them, the leadership theories that are often labelled as the entity approach to leadership-as-practice or relational leadership (like LMX) are included under the entity ontology. The purpose of this is to focus our attention on the process-based perspectives of relational leadership and leadership-as-practice

that I adopt in my research, and to review the main differences between these two approaches and other entity-based approaches to leadership.

Looking at the relationships between these theories, leadership-as-practice (Carroll et al., 2008; Raelin, 2016c) has followed the earlier work on relational leadership (Uhl-Bien, 2006), and shares with it its relational and processual understanding of the self and social reality. These two approaches both share the understanding that reality is socially constructed, and that the self and all social knowledge is fluid and relational. In the context of leadership, these two approaches shift our attention from the leader-centric understanding of leadership, to the study of leadership as a collective achievement (Carroll et al., 2008; Crevani & Endrissat, 2016; Uhl-Bien, 2006). While both relational leadership and leadership-as-practice share this relational and processual understanding of leadership, the focus of these two approaches is different.

The work on relational leadership (Uhl-Bien, 2006), which has emerged from the social-constructionist tradition, calls to move away from the focus on individuals, and instead look at the "space between" (Bradbury & Lichtenstein, 2000) and investigate relationships and social interactions. Here the focus is on how different people participate in leadership as a dynamic process and how they make meaning in relation to one another with an emphasis on the local context (Uhl-Bien, 2006; Uhl-Bien & Ospina, 2012a).

The work on leadership-as-practice (Carroll et al., 2008; Raelin, 2016c) is grounded in practice theory, and aligns with the understanding of relational leadership that leadership is a relational and dynamic process. The basic assumptions that underlie the leadership-as-practice approach are that social reality consists of social practices in which all humans, non-humans, and their relations gain their situated meanings. Therefore, according to this approach, a focus on leadership practices can enable us to achieve a holistic and contextual understanding of leadership, its participants, and their various relations to one another (Crevani & Endrissat, 2016; Raelin, 2016b).

So, while relational leadership has a more general interest in investigating social interactions between the different participants in leadership as a relational and dynamic process, the leadership-as-practice approach calls for studying leadership, including these social interactions, from a practice perspective. According to this practice-based view, a focus on social interactions as detached from the social practices in which they take place, loses much of the local context and situated meanings, as all that is social gains its situated meaning in social practices.

In regard to the aim of the inquiry, both relational leadership and leadership-as-practice are not interested in studying leadership merely for the purpose of improving the profitability of the organisation, but are interested in better understanding leadership as a powerful social phenomenon (Crevani & Endrissat, 2016).

While the focus of inquiry is different in these two approaches of relational leadership and leadership-as-practice, in both approaches there is an emphasis on process and on context, and leadership is viewed as a collective achievement that is studied with qualitative research methods.

To conclude this ontology-based review of different approaches to leadership, we can see that the fundamental understanding of social reality and the nature of leadership differ across the entity and the process approaches to leadership, and often so is the aim of the inquiry. While the process-based perspectives of relational leadership and leadership-as-practice study leadership as a dynamic, relational, and collective process with the aim of gaining better understandings of leadership, the entity approach to leadership investigates leadership as stable individual competencies and skills with the goal of improving leadership effectiveness.

In this section, I have overviewed two ontological approaches that are widely used in the study of leadership: the entity approach and the process approach. I have reviewed prominent streams of leadership research that have adopted these ontological approaches, and situated my practice-based approach to leadership in

relation to these different research streams. This discussion and overview which I have conducted in this section, is further summarised in Table 1 in the following page.

Table 1: Leadership theories overview

Ontological approach	**Entity**		**Process**	
Leadership approach	**Objectivist**	**Subjectivist-constructivist**	**Relational leadership**	**Leadership-as-practice**
Assumptions about reality	Reality is discovered and exists independently from subjectivity	"Reality is constructed through subjective mental representations residing within the individual" (Endres & Weibler, 2017, p. 220)	Reality is socially constructed and is in a constant state of becoming	Reality is socially constructed in practices and is in a constant state of becoming
Knowledge claims	Discovering the true 'essence' of things, finding the universal rules of leadership		Knowledge is co-constructed between the researcher and the participants in a relational process of interpretation, is situated in the local context, fluid and open-ended	Knowledge is co-constructed between the researcher and the participants through the social practices they are immersed in, is fluid and open-ended
Origins	Scientific naturalism	Cognitive psychology	Anthropology, sociology, philosophy	
Focus of research	Leadership styles, leaders and followers' characteristics and competencies	Cognitive information processing schemes and mental models to explain and predict leadership identities and skills	Social interactions and relationships	Social practices
Dominant leadership theories	Transformational leadership (Bass, 1990), leader member exchange (LMX) (Graen & Uhl-Bien, 1995), authentic leadership (Avolio et al., 2004)	Leader and follower identity (Lord & Brown, 2001, 2004; Lord & Emrich, 2000), implicit leadership theory (Rush et al., 1977; Schyns & Meindl, 2005), social identity theory of leadership (Hogg, 2001)	Relational leadership (Crevani, 2011, 2018; Hosking, 2007, 2011; Uhl-Bien, 2006; Uhl-Bien & Ospina, 2012a)	Leadership-as-practice (Carroll et al., 2008; Raelin, 2016c)
Methods	Mostly quantitative surveys or experiments, statistical measures of variables		Mostly qualitative interpretive methodologies like ethnography, with methods like interviewing and participant observation	
Goal of investigation	Improving leadership effectiveness and organisational performance		Improving organisational performance, offering new perspectives on leadership	

From this general review of the leadership literature, I proceed in the following section to discuss in further detail my chosen approach of leadership-as-practice.

Leadership-as-practice

In my understanding of leadership-as-practice (or leadership practices), I draw on the literature on leadership-as-practice (Carroll et al., 2008; Raelin, 2016c), and also on the literature on relational leadership (Uhl-Bien, 2006) which has preceded it. I do so because some of the ideas regarding the relational nature of leadership are well articulated in the work on relational leadership by scholars such as Crevani (2018) and Hosking (2011), and therefore I find it important to include it in my conceptualisation of leadership practices.

I first start with discussing the work on relational leadership (Uhl-Bien, 2006) that I draw on in my study. The body of work on relational leadership has theorised leadership as a collective and ongoing social process that is constructed through a dynamic flow of influence between people. This dynamic flow of influence that characterises leadership takes place in a relational and mutual manner between all the different participants, to shape and reshape the leadership process. Furthermore, this process is situated, and is constructed in the local context it emerges from (Crevani & Endrissat, 2016; Dachler & Hosking, 1995; Uhl-Bien, 2006; Uhl-Bien & Ospina, 2012a). Crevani (2018) has advanced our understanding of this processual nature of leadership, by conceptualising leadership as "the ongoing production of direction" (p.83). In her view, leadership is a relational process of influence in which directions are constantly produced by the participants to shape "movement and courses of action" (Crevani, 2011; 2018, p. 89; Crevani, Lindgren, & Packendorff, 2010). Hosking (2007) has conceptualised relational leadership as an "empty process" (p.245) through which leadership as a relational phenomenon should be investigated, and not as a leadership theory *per se* with prescriptions for its ideal qualities (Hosking, 2011). This way, instead of treating leadership as an ideology with guidelines

regarding its ideal content, relational leadership is understood as a lens through which the phenomenon of leadership in all of its various forms should be examined.

In my conceptualisation of leadership practices, I adopt the ideas presented above, in which leadership is conceptualised as a collective and relational process, where a dynamic influence constantly flows among the participants to produce directions. This view places emphasis on the local context and on the dynamic process of leadership as an ongoing achievement. With these ideas in mind, I now turn to review the work on leadership-as-practice, and discuss how I theorise the concept of leadership practices based on these bodies of work.

The literature on leadership-as-practice has emerged from the work on relational leadership, and adopts a practice approach to study leadership as social practices (e.g. Carroll et al., 2008; Denis, Langley, & Rouleau, 2010; Endrissat & Von Arx, 2013; Kempster & Gregory, 2015; Raelin, 2011, 2016a, 2016c). Although I have already briefly overviewed this in the previous section, I find it important to discuss in more detail the question: Why should we study leadership as a social practice? Since the foundations of the leadership-as-practice approach are in practice theory, social practices are understood to be the most holistic way to gain knowledge of various social phenomena, including leadership. When we adopt a practice approach, we can achieve a more contextual understanding of leadership as a situated phenomenon that gains its meanings, and produces its effects, in the local bundle of practices it transpires from. In addition, a practice approach to leadership is holistic in a sense that it incorporates all the different participants in the leadership process into its analysis, and does not look to fragment leadership into discrete entities (Endrissat & Von Arx, 2013; Schatzki, 1996, 2002).

In the field of leadership there is an increased interest in studying leadership from a practice approach, as evidenced by a recent edited book on leadership-as-practice (Raelin, 2016c) and various other influential publications on the topic (e.g. Carroll et al., 2008; Denis et al., 2010; Endrissat & Von Arx, 2013; Kempster & Gregory, 2015;

Raelin, 2011; Raelin, 2016a). When looking at leadership from a practice approach, we do not view leadership as residing in heroic individuals, or as a process where competent leaders influence incompetent followers, but as a collective practice that is carried out by participants (Crevani et al., 2010; Kempster & Parry, 2019; Raelin, 2016a, 2016b). According to the leadership-as-practice perspective, there is no need for the leader and follower labels and their associated assumptions that leaders are "those who know . . . or can" and followers are "those who don't or can't" (Raelin, 2016a, p. 149). Instead of looking for leaders, followers, or their relationships, we will look at collective leadership practices as our basic unit of analysis. This way, neither individuals nor relationships are at the focus of our inquiry, but rather leadership practices in which all participants and their relationships gain their situated meanings. In addition to this emphasis on the collective nature of leadership practices, and to the understanding that leadership practices are our basic unit of analysis, a practice approach to leadership also places emphasis on materiality (Sergi, 2016). This interest in materiality in the leadership-as-practice approach aligns with a wider trend in the field of leadership to explore the materiality of both human and non-human participants in leadership (e.g. the special issue on "the materiality of leadership" in the journal *Leadership*, edited by Pullen & Vachhani, 2013. Also see the work of Hawkins, 2015; Ladkin & Taylor, 2014; Ropo & Salovaara, 2018). This emphasis on materiality in a practice approach to leadership stems from the understanding that social practices are not merely mental constructs that are found in people's heads, but are publicly accessible activities that consist of embodied humans and material non-humans, and take place in a material space. As such, leadership practices are material phenomena that are carried out by embodied humans and material non-humans.

The ideas I presented above from the work on leadership-as-practice portray leadership as a collective social practice which consists of participants, and not of leaders and followers. This view places emphasis on activities and materiality, and

with leadership practices as our basic unit of analysis, we are able to study leadership in a more holistic and contextual way.

So far, I have reviewed the main principles that I adopt from the work on relational leadership and leadership-as-practice. In my theorisation of leadership practices, I build on these principles from the leadership literature, with a Schatzkian-based understanding of social practices. To reiterate, based on Schatzki (2002), I have theorised social practices as organised activities that consist of humans and non-humans, which are performed towards certain ends and construct mutual relations, positions, and meanings among the participants.

Building on these main tenets from the relational leadership (Uhl-Bien, 2006), leadership-as-practice (Carroll et al., 2008; Raelin, 2016c), and practice theory (Schatzki, 2002) literatures, I define leadership practices as:

Collective organised activities that consist of humans and non-humans, in which a dynamic flow of influence produces directions to pursue certain goals.

These collective activities that constitute leadership practices are organised according to practical understanding, rules, teleoaffective structure, and general understanding. The participants in these leadership practices are both humans and non-humans, which through their participation construct various relations, positions, and meanings among one another (Schatzki, 2002). In this view, leadership practices are not conceptualised as stable entities. Instead, they are viewed from a processual approach as process of "endless becoming" (Schatzki, 2002, p. 233). Leadership practices are constituted through the dynamic relations, positions, and meanings that are constructed among the participants, and the ever-changing directions that are being produced. I wish to emphasise that this understanding and definition of leadership practices is not a theory about a new and ideal type of leadership arrangement, or a suggestion for what leadership should be like. Instead, it is a practice-based perspective on how to conduct leadership research (similar points have been made by Crevani et al., 2010; Hosking, 2007). This definition of leadership

practices offers a set of theoretical tools that makes it possible to investigate leadership from a processual approach, and to generate sensitivity to its collective, situated, relational, dynamic, and material nature.

Moving forward to examine some empirical work that is based on the concept of leadership practices, I present here two selected studies, and specify which aspects of these studies I adopt and further develop in my own research.

Denis et al. (2010) adopted the leadership-as-practice approach, and explored the execution of a change initiative in a hospital in Canada. Through a case-study approach, the researchers looked to identify and analyse the main leadership practices that had contributed to the execution of the change initiative. The leadership practices that took place to achieve this change initiative were identified as a negotiation process, a fundraising event, and a financial report initiative. These leadership practices were then further explored to illuminate their dynamic, collective, and situated dimensions.

Another study of the creative industries by Dovey, Burdon, and Simpson (2017), adopted the leadership-as-practice approach and looked to explore the production of the TV show *The Code*. Similar to the research strategy that was used by Denis et al. (2010), the researchers in this study looked to identify and analyse the leadership practices that contributed to the success of the TV production. Three main leadership practices were identified as playing a part in the successful production of the TV show, and were described as wise partnering, collective visioning, and stakeholder empowerment. These leadership practices were analysed through a processual perspective to illustrate their dynamic nature, and to illuminate how they were in fact not separate practices, but instead intertwined in such a way that each practice enabled and reinforced the other.

These two studies on leadership practices by Denis et al. (2010) and Dovey et al. (2017) are relevant to my work for several reasons. To begin with and most importantly, I adopted the research strategy that was taken in both studies to

investigate leadership. In both studies by Denis et al. (2010) and by Dovey et al. (2017), the researchers first identified a project, a service, or an initiative that was executed in the organisation, and then further explored the leadership practices that contributed to the accomplishment of this project or service. In my study I followed this strategy and started my investigation by focusing on an ongoing service offered in an organisation. In looking to investigate practices within this service, I did not limit my investigation to focus only on practices that produce "positive" effects, like was done in the studies mentioned above, but kept an open research focus and was ready to investigate practices that may produce other types of effects as well.

The second aspect in these studies by Denis et al. (2010) and Dovey et al. (2017) that aligns with my view of leadership practices is the collective nature of their inquiry. Both studies treated leadership as a collective achievement and included all the different stakeholders that were involved in the project in their investigation of leadership. I adopted a similar approach in my work, and did not limit my inquiry only to official managerial roles.

In this section, I have reviewed the bodies of work that I draw on in my understanding of leadership, and offered my definition of leadership practices based on this literature. Since my interest is in studying leadership and affect, in the section that follows I offer an overview of the literature on leadership, affect, and emotion in the field of organisation studies, and situate my work in this literature.

Leadership, Affect, and Emotion

In the first part of this section, I review dominant frameworks that are widely used to study affect and emotion in leadership and in organisations, and discuss my own approach in relation to these significant bodies of work. In the rest of this section, I focus on additional work on leadership, affect, and emotion that investigates these phenomena from a relational perspective, and discuss in what ways I build on this work.

Emotional labour

A dominant framework that is widely used to investigate emotions in organisations is the work of Hochschild (1983) on emotional labour (Grandey, Diefendorff, & Rupp, 2013). This body of work illuminates the emotional norms that exist in organisations, and explores the work on emotions that organisational members perform to meet these emotional norms. For example, in her seminal research, Hochschild (1983) investigated the emotion work that flight attendants perform to meet institutionalised expectations of them to be friendly, polite, and cheerful, and to enhance the status of the customer. Hochschild has defined this emotion work as *emotional labour*, which is performed to "induce or suppress feeling in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others" (Hochschild, 1983, p. 7). She criticises emotional labour that is expected of employees as part of their job, and looks at it as the commodification of emotions that are traded in the market as commercial products. Hochschild warns against the negative consequences that emotional labour can have on employees, such as alienation from the self as people become estranged from their authentic feelings, and high risk of burnout. In the field of leadership, this concept has been applied in various studies to investigate the emotional labour that leaders perform in the workplace, and the ways that this can increase our understanding of leadership in organisations (e.g. Cherry, 2017; Iszatt-White, 2009, 2013; Samra-Fredericks, 2013).

I see my study as extending the work of Hochschild (1983), in further illuminating the ways that organisational members perform emotions in relation to the affective norms that exist in their organisations. At the same time, I wish to articulate how my work differs from the work on emotional labour. The work on emotional labour investigates the emotion work that employees perform to meet the affective norms that prevail in their organisations, and the possible consequences they may endure as a result. In my research, I adopt a practice approach to investigate not only the ways that people comply with the affective norms in their organisations, but I explore

how they more actively negotiate these norms to reproduce, modify, and even resist them. My focus is on investigating how this process of negotiation of the affective norms takes place through the human body, and in relation to other human and non-human participants. Therefore, I situate my study as aligning with the critical perspective on emotions that the work on emotional labour offers, while at the same time holding a different research focus. As I have articulated how my work should be understood in relation to the body of work on emotional labour, next, I review another dominant framework that is used to study emotion in organisations and in leadership, which is known as the emotional intelligence framework.

Emotional intelligence

The concept of *emotional intelligence* (also known as EI or EQ) was developed from earlier concepts such as social intelligence (Thorndike, 1920) and multiple intelligence (Gardner, 1983), and was popularised by Goleman in his best-selling book *Emotional Intelligence* (Goleman, 1995). While there are various definitions of the concept of EQ, it can be generally theorised as "the set of abilities (verbal and nonverbal) that enable a person to generate, recognize, express, understand, and evaluate their own and others' emotions in order to guide thinking and action that successfully cope with environmental demands and pressures" (Van Rooy & Viswesvaran, 2004, p. 72). Goleman developed this concept through his research into the factors that can predict organisational success and leadership effectiveness, and found that "emotional intelligence proved to be twice as important" as IQ in predicting "star performance" and in identifying effective leaders in organisations (Goleman, 1998, p. 83). Goleman (1995, 1998) argued that the major components of emotional intelligence at work are self-awareness, self-regulation of one's emotions, motivation, empathy, and social skills, and asserted that "nearly 90% of the difference" between star performers and average ones could be attributed to variance in these components of EQ (Goleman, 1998, p. 84). Following Goleman's work, the concept of EQ has penetrated the public discussion and awareness, and

references to emotional competencies and emotional intelligence are quite common among the general public. Within the business sector, various corporate managers have embraced EQ as part of their leadership philosophy; as Nick Zenuik, a senior executive in Ford Motor Company illustrated when he said, “Emotional intelligence is the hidden competitive advantage. If you take care of the soft stuff, the hard stuff takes care of itself” (as cited in Dulewicz & Higgs, 2000, p. 348). As the concept of EQ was incorporated into our daily lexicon, various business consultants and HR specialists began to offer EQ training programmes to employees and potential leaders, and have used EQ as a tool for assessment and recruitment of employees.

In the field of leadership, the concept of EQ by Goleman (1995) and Mayer, DiPaolo, and Salovey (1990) has been strongly embraced by the research community. Various studies in the field illustrate how EQ is a “positive leadership characteristic [that] enhances management abilities” (Vitello-Cicciu, 2003, p. 29), and is a significant factor that contributes to leadership effectiveness in organisations (George, 2000). Recent reviews indicate that EQ is currently one of the most dominant frameworks that are used in the study of leadership and emotion (Ashkanasy, Humphrey, & Huy, 2017; Gooty, Connelly, Griffith, & Gupta, 2010; Rajah, Song, & Arvey, 2011). The research methodologies that are used to study EQ are quantitative, using various surveys and questionnaires to measure and assess the different factors of EQ. The goals of these studies are to identify and train star performers and to increase leadership effectiveness.

Criticism of emotional intelligence

A strong opponent of the EQ framework is Fineman (2000, 2005, 2008), who raised several concerns about the theorisation and implications of this concept. To begin with, Fineman generally disagrees with the application of quantitative methodologies to the study of emotion, and argues that it is problematic to assign numeric value to such an abstract and dynamic concept as emotion. Instead, he believes that qualitative methodologies are more appropriate to investigate the uncertainties and

tensions that are inherent in the emotional experience. Fineman also stands against the positive psychology agenda that guides much of the conceptualisation of EQ, and the focus on positive traits like optimism or empathy as a means of achieving success. In contrast to this positive view, Fineman argues that not only is it problematic to separate so-called good emotions from bad emotions, but in certain cases bad emotions in the workplace, like anger, can actually enhance effectiveness. He asserts that good and bad emotions are "two sides of the same coin" (Fineman, 2005, p. 13). Fineman also warns against the political consequences of quantifying emotion, as people that score low on EQ can be seen as less valuable by organisations and can become subjects to emotional training in dedicated programmes. Furthermore, this evaluation can act as a self-fulfilling prophecy that may influence employees' identities and reduce their self-esteem.

In my own view of leadership, affect, and emotion, I agree with the points made by Fineman (2000, 2005, 2008). I question the ability of quantitative methodologies to properly explore the dynamic and complex nature of the emotional experience, and have some reservations regarding the way that leadership and emotion are theorised in the EQ framework. This framework is used to study emotions as individual properties, with a universal set of rules for success that widely neglects local context and variance across different social groups. The EQ framework assumes homogeneity across such social differences, and views emotions as generic skills that can be learned and developed. This framework is also used to differentiate leaders who score high on EQ from followers who achieve lower scores. Such a view of superior leaders and generic understanding of emotions does not settle with my notion of leadership as a collective achievement, and of emotions as relational and socially constructed phenomena. Another point that I wish to make concerns the political and ethical implications of the EQ framework. In making this point, I refer to Fineman's (2000, 2005, 2008) approach and his proposition implied in the question: "Should we, as social scientists, take a more proactive stance on what we feel is wrong about an employment culture, where emotion is just another variable of the market

economy?" (Fineman, 2001, p. 234). As I previously stated, I find it problematic to study leadership and emotion in an instrumental manner for the sake of improving organisational performance. I believe that it is unethical to assign the participants in leadership scores on their emotional performances or emotional abilities as a form of organisational labelling and assessment. It seems that organisations have found new ways to exploit and categorise employees through application of the EQ framework, and I do not believe that this research direction can enable the proper study of emotion in leadership, nor is it ethical towards organisational members.

I have reviewed two dominant frameworks that are widely used to study emotion in leadership and in organisations, emotional labour and emotional intelligence, and situated my research in relation to these bodies of work. Next, I review some other popular conceptions of leadership, affect, and emotion which are based on positivist ontology and are mostly quantitative.

Other positivist frameworks on leadership, affect, and emotion

Additional popular theories in the field of leadership which include emotional components are theories on leadership styles, such as transformational leadership (Bass, 1990), charismatic leadership (Conger & Kanungo, 1998), authentic leadership (Avolio et al., 2004), servant leadership (Greenleaf, 1970), and leader-member-exchange theory (LMX) (Graen & Uhl-Bien, 1995). In my ontology-based leadership overview in a previous section, I have discussed how such theories on leadership styles and competencies can be associated with an entity approach of leadership. This approach is based on a realist ontology and studies leaders, followers, and emotions as variables that can be objectively analysed and manipulated to improve performance. For example, according to the theory of transformational leadership (Bass, 1990), competent leaders can emotionally influence followers to transform their values and goals to align with those of the leader and the organisation, and by so doing can improve performance. Similarly, other leadership theories such as authentic leadership (Avolio et al., 2004), theorise how leaders who are perceived as

more authentic can facilitate legitimacy and trust among followers, which can in turn increase leadership effectiveness. These various types of theories of leadership styles assume that leadership is a process in which leaders influence followers to improve performance, and include emotions as elements that can assist in improving performance. As I have discussed earlier, such an instrumental and entity-based approach to leadership and emotion does not align with my research approach, since I view leadership, affect, and emotion as a collective and relational process which should be studied in an ethical and holistic manner. Other positivist frameworks such as the affective events theory (Weiss & Cropanzano, 1996), emotional contagion (Barsade, 2002; Bono & Ilies, 2006), and the contagion-interpretation model (Van Knippenberg & Van Kleef, 2016), adopt a similar approach to the one of leadership styles, and study leadership, affect, and emotion quantitively to improve organisational effectiveness.

So far, I have reviewed the main frameworks that are currently used to study leadership, affect, and emotion, and have discussed how I situate my work in relation to this literature. In the following section, I review smaller bodies of work that study leadership, affect, and emotion from a relational approach, and discuss the ways that my research is builds on this work.

Additional research on leadership, affect, and emotion from a relational approach

In addition to the literature on emotional labour and various quantitative frameworks that I previously discussed, there are smaller bodies of work that study affect and emotion in leadership from a relational approach.

The body of work on aesthetic leadership (Hansen, Ropo, & Sauer, 2007) views leadership as an aesthetic and relational phenomenon that takes place through the human body and includes non-humans as well (Ladkin & Taylor, 2014; Ropo & Parviainen, 2001; Ropo & Salovaara, 2018; Ropo & Sauer, 2008; Ropo, Sauer, & Salovaara, 2013). According to Hansen et al. (2007), “Aesthetic leadership is concerned with sensory knowledge and felt meaning associated with leadership

phenomena" (p.552). Various studies associated with this body of work have demonstrated how the process of leadership unfolds as the participants make meaning through their bodies and in relation to other bodies, material artefacts, and the physical environment around them (Bathurst & Cain, 2013; Biehl, 2018; Fisher & Robbins, 2015; Kupers, 2013; Ladkin, 2013; Ropo & Salovaara, 2018; Ropo et al., 2013). While affect and emotion were not widely studied in this body of work, the emphasis of this approach on the aesthetics and materiality of leadership is very relevant for my work, and therefore I situate my research as building on this work. I further develop this work by focusing on the affective texture of leadership, and exploring how we can understand leadership better through this type of inquiry that is conducted from a practice approach.

The small body of work on affective leadership also investigates leadership and affect from a relational approach (Knights, 2018, 2019; Liu, 2017; Munro & Thanem, 2018). This work studies affective leadership with a predominant interest in ethics, arguing that ethical leadership should be perceived as the affective, loving, and caring relationships between the different participants in leadership. According to Knights (2019), "Affective leadership can transform organizations into ethical, spiritually uplifting and joyful modes of collective action and commitment" (p.93). With my research, I share a similar interest with the work on affective leadership in exploring the affective texture of leadership. I further develop this work by applying a practice lens to the investigation to explore the type of insights that a practice-based study of leadership and affect can offer us. While my study and the work on affective leadership share similar research interests, there is one significant point of difference between our studies. Unlike the work on affective leadership, I do not view my research as a new leadership theory about what leadership should be like. Instead, I view the framework that I am developing as an "empty process" (Hosking, 2007), a set of analytical tools with which leadership and affect can be empirically explored. Leadership and affect may be manifested in the empirical site as loving and caring relationships, but may also be manifested as relationships that are abusive and

destructive. With the theoretical tools that I am developing in my research it is possible to conduct an empirical practice-based investigation of leadership and affect and explore how these phenomena are manifested in the empirical site, and what effects they produce in that site.

From this review of the literature on leadership, affect, and emotion, it became clear to me that there is a strong tendency in the field of leadership to study affect and emotion from positivist perspectives, with various frameworks like emotional intelligence that are used to measure how emotion can enhance leadership effectiveness. Iszatt-White (2019) has commented on the dominance of positivist approaches in the study of leadership and emotion, stating:

> It is (for me, at least) a rather depressing premise of this genre of research that emotions—so lately invited to join the management party—remain a hanger-on, lucky to get a look-in to our thinking at all and definitely handmaidens of the more central construct of rationality. Our understanding of emotions is as a resource or tool (with affordances, to be performed) or as an encumbrance or liability (with risks, to be managed), rather than integral and holistic to us as human beings (to be felt or listened to). (p.45)

In her critical analysis of research on emotion in the fields of leadership and management, Blackmore (2011) discusses the reasons for the strong positivist tendency in research on leadership and emotion. She notes that the field of leadership has included emotion into its investigations by building mostly on traditional psychology and brain science theories—which were mobilised particularly through Goleman's EQ framework—while excluding other, more critical streams of research, such as feminist social theory, critical organisational theory, and the sociology of emotions from its conceptual framework.

Iszatt-White (2019) comments that the study of leadership and emotion from a relational and holistic approach is "a call made by Meyerson (2000) but which has yet to be taken up in any truly integral, holistic sense" (p.55).

With my research on leadership and affect as social practices, I contribute to the effort to increase knowledge about leadership, affect, and emotion from relational and holistic perspectives. In my practice-based study of leadership and affect, I deliberated what would be the best way to study leadership and affect as social practices. Initially, I determined that I would study leadership practices and affective practices separately, and then explore their relationships and what these two types of practices can teach us about one another. My initial research strategy was to first identify a project that takes place in an organisation, and then to explore the leadership practices, characterised by a process of influence, that influenced the execution of the project. Once such a project and leadership practices were identified, I wanted to identify affective practices that took place in the project, and to explore the relationships between these leadership practices and affective practices. As I started my empirical study, I noticed that the affective practices that I identified were also characterised by a dynamic flow of influence, and therefore realised that leadership and affect can be studied as integral parts of the same social practice. When I went back to reflect on my conceptual framework, I realised that it was wrong to try and study leadership and affect as two separate social practices, because affect is an integral part of every social phenomenon, including leadership, and while we can foreground the affective texture of leadership, we cannot study affect as a separate phenomenon from leadership. Therefore, during my empirical study, I realised that in my study I should investigate leadership and affect as integral parts of the same social practice.

To achieve this investigation of leadership and affect as the same social practice, I needed to integrate the concepts of leadership practices and affective practices into one theoretical concept. In the next section that concludes this conceptual framework, I offer details on how I have integrated my practice-based theorisation of leadership and affect into one theoretical concept, which I call *affective leadership practices*.

Integrated Conceptual Framework: Affective Leadership Practices

In my research, I have adopted a practice approach as my chosen ontology and epistemology. This approach views the social world as constituted by social practices which form its local context, and against which all things become intelligible. I have discussed how, by adopting a practice approach to our investigation of the social world, we can achieve holistic and situated understandings of social life and the various social phenomena that constitute it. With the goal of gaining theoretical understandings of leadership and affect that can offer us holistic ways of studying these phenomena, I have formulated my main research question as follows:

What can we learn about leadership and affect when studied from a practice approach?

To answer my main research question, I have developed a novel framework. In this chapter, I have shared the process of developing the core part of this framework, which took place through a continuous dialogue between theory and my empirical data. I have reflected on how, at the beginning of my empirical study, I realised that my original conceptualisation of practices as routinised activities was not suitable for my research, and how I decided to adopt the practice approach of Schatzki (1996, 2002) instead. I shared that the reasons for choosing Schatzki's practice theory as my guiding theoretical approach were that his work offered me rich conceptual tools to analyse social practices, with a focus on the specific topics that I was interested in studying. These topics included the ability to investigate both humans and non-humans, with sensitivity to power relations between them. In addition, his work also offered sensitivity to the material, affective, dynamic, and relational nature of social life. I also reflected on how, through a further engagement with my empirical study, I chose to foreground the epistemological-performative elements in Schatzki's practice theory. In this way, I was able to rely on his practice theory to analyse processes of knowledge production that took place in my empirical site. Overall, I used Schatzki's practice theory as a set of conceptual tools that enabled me to

investigate both what things are and how they are manifested in the social site, as well as what things do and how they produce knowledge in that site.

Since my interest was in studying affect and leadership from a practice approach, I integrated the practice theory of Schatzki with the existing literatures on affective practices and leadership practice, to suggest a Schatzkian conceptualisation of these two phenomena.

I have discussed how the integration of the work of Schatzki (1996, 2002) and the sensitivity that it offers to the affective norms of the practice, together with the work of Wetherell (2012) and her practice-based view on affect and emotion, offers a theoretical construct that makes it possible to analyse the affective texture of the social site. Based on their work, I have defined affective practices as:

Collective organised affective activities that consist of humans and non-humans and are performed towards certain ends, to construct mutual relations and positions among the participants.

Drawing on practice theory (Schatzki, 2002) and on the literatures on relational leadership (Uhl-Bien, 2006) and leadership-as-practice (Carroll et al., 2008; Raelin, 2016c), I have defined the concept of leadership practices as:

Collective organised activities that consist of humans and non-humans, in which a dynamic flow of influence produces directions to pursue certain goals.

These were the first steps that I took in finding and synthesising the appropriate conceptual tools that could enable me to study affect and leadership as social practices. From a further engagement with my empirical study and more reflection on my philosophical assumptions, I came to realise that the most appropriate way to investigate affect and leadership from a practice approach is as integral parts of the same social practice. Therefore, I wanted to integrate my practice-based conceptualisation of affect and leadership into one theoretical construct. Integrating

my Schatzkian conceptualisation of affective practices and leadership practices that I have outlined above, I define affective leadership practices as:

Collective organised affective activities that carry with them normative knowledge and consist of humans and non-humans, in which a dynamic flow of influence produces directions to pursue certain goals.

This definition represents my conceptualisation of affect and leadership as integral parts of the same social practice. According to this definition, affective leadership practices are collective organised affective activities that carry with them normative knowledge. These activities are characterised by a dynamic flow of influence that produces directions, and their participants are both humans and non-humans. Through their participation in these practices, the participants are being ordered in certain ways to construct relational positions, identities, and meanings, which they constantly negotiate in relation to one another in endless becoming. This definition of affective leadership practices that I have suggested here represents my conceptual framework. It offers analytical tools to empirically investigate affect and leadership as a social practice. I wish to stress that this definition of affective leadership practices is an ontological and epistemological definition of this phenomenon. This means that with this definition, I theorise the nature of existence of this phenomenon, and its involvement in knowledge production. This definition should be understood as an empty process that does not specify the type of knowledge that is produced in affective leadership practices, or the type of effects that these practices generate in their local site. These situated understandings regarding the empirical manifestations of this phenomenon and its effects in its local site will be generated through an empirical investigation, using the theoretical tools that I have outlined here. With the rich analytical tools that I have detailed in this conceptual framework, it is possible to conduct a practice-based investigation of leadership and affect in any empirical site, to explore the following questions:

What are affective leadership practices and how do they manifest themselves in the empirical site? Who are their participants? What is the normative knowledge and social order that characterises such practices? In what ways is this normative knowledge being produced in these practices? Who is empowered in the process? In what ways do the participants negotiate the knowledge that is being produced to reproduce and even resist it?

These are some of the questions to be explored when using this framework to empirically investigate leadership and affect from a Schatzkian practice approach. In Chapter 5, I use my conceptual framework to analyse my empirical data, to illustrate what an empirical practice-based analysis of leadership and affect looks when using my conceptual framework, and to share what possible insights can be gained from such an investigation. Based on the theoretical insights that I generate in my data analysis, in turn, I further articulate the conceptual framework and the theoretical tools that constitute it. Before I present my data analysis, in the next two chapters I discuss the methodology and methods that were used in my empirical investigation, and offer details on the local context of my empirical study.

Chapter 3: Methodology

In my conceptual framework that has preceded this chapter, I have discussed how practice theory should be understood as a social ontology and epistemology. According to this approach, social life consists of and is best understood in terms of social practices. This means that according to a practice approach, the way to gain knowledge of any social phenomenon is by investigating it within the social practices it transpires from in which it gains its situated meanings. The choice of methodology in a practice-based study should work together with these epistemological assumptions, and enable us to study the social in terms of social practices (Bispo, 2015; Nicolini, 2012, 2017). Therefore, in designing my empirical investigation of leadership and affect, I was looking for a methodology that would enable me to study leadership and affect as social practices. My goal was to find the most suitable methodology that could offer me sensibilities to study practices according to the way that I have conceptualised them in my conceptual framework. Here, I outline these main principles of social practices that I have discussed in the theoretical part of this thesis, and discuss how these principles have guided my choice of the most suitable methodology to study leadership and affect as social practices.

- *Social practices are our unit of analysis*

  The fundamental understanding that guides our investigation when adopting a practice approach, is that all that is social transpires from social practices which form its context, in which everything gains its situated meaning. For this reason, we do not look to understand social phenomena by investigating the actions of discrete individuals, but instead look at social practices as our basic unit of analysis (Nicolini & Monteiro, 2016). In this way we can avoid the pitfall of fragmenting and decontextualising social phenomena, and instead achieve a holistic understanding which emerges from the local context. Coming from this approach to organisational studies, we will investigate

practices and not practitioners, for example, leadership practices and not leaders (Nicolini, 2009, 2012).

- *The focus is on everyday material activities*

  Practices are everyday embodied activities that also involve the participation of material non-human elements including artefacts, organisms, and things of nature. These activities are carried out through the body and involve non-human elements, and are all out there for the world to see. This means that we are not looking for inner mental models or other experiences that take place in people's heads, but are looking for publicly accessible activities; practices are in people's heads only by virtue of their existence as publicly accessible performances (Schatzki, 2002). So the focus here is on public, everyday material activities.

- *Practices are collective and are carried out through social interactions*

  Social practices are collective because they are shared among different people and involve more than one person. In this sense practices are understood as social, since they bring people together and link them to one another. While social practices can be carried out by individuals in isolation (e.g. reading a book, watching the news), they are still collective and social in the sense that they are shared among many people. In my study I am interested in studying practices that are carried out by groups of people of various sizes, because I want to investigate the social interactions between the participants, with an emphasis on the affective activities that they perform in relation to one another. In studying social interactions, we can gain insights into patterns of relationships between organisational members, and learn about the relational positions that they construct in relation to each other (Nicolini, 2009; Yanow, Ybema, & Hulst, 2012).

- *Social practices are dynamic*

  Social practices are in "endless becoming" and are constantly maintained and modified by their participants (Schatzki, 2002, p. 233). This means that we adopt a processual approach to the social world, and see it in constant movement and not as stable and static. This entails that, in this approach, humans have the agency to both maintain social practices and also to potentially modify and change them.

- *Social practices are organised activities and their existence depends on their repetitiveness*

  I have defined social practices as activities that are organised according to: practical understanding, rules, teleoaffective structure, and general understanding. This practice organisation is the normative agreement against which all the activities in the practice are carried out (Schatzki, 2002). Since the activities in a certain practice take into account the same normative agreement, these activities tend to repeat themselves, and through these repetitions this normative agreement and the practice are carried on. While in my conceptual framework I have discussed the analytical advantages of defining practices as organised activities and not as routinised activities, it is important to keep in mind that: a) practices primarily manifest themselves as routinised activities, and b) the repetition of social practices is the way that practices are carried on and therefore the social order is maintained and social reality is reproduced. Therefore, in my investigation of social practices I keep in mind that practices tend to repeat themselves, and that these repetitions are the way that social practices are maintained and carried on.

- *Reflexivity and knowledge claims*

  In a practice approach, knowledge is seen as socially constructed between the researcher and the participants through the social practices they participate in. This means that as researchers, we do not investigate social practices as if

> we exist outside of the world and objectively report the social practices that our subjects of study participate in (as we would have done in the positivist tradition). Rather, as researchers, we are also immersed in social practices as are our participants. Therefore, the social practices that the researcher and the participants are immersed in need to be illuminated and reflected on, so that we can better understand how we made meaning and constructed the data in relation to one another in these practices. Examples of social practices that the researcher and the participants are immersed in are the practices of academic research, gender, religion, nationality, volunteering, and working.

To sum up the points that I have outlined above, in looking for a suitable methodology to study leadership and affect as social practices, I wanted to find a methodology that would enable me to study social practices as my unit of analysis and not to break them into their components. Furthermore, I wanted to be able to explore practices as material, everyday routinised activities, that take place through collective social interactions in a dynamic manner. I wanted to have these sensitivities for practices while also having the ability to engage in reflexivity and to bring to the surface the social practices that I as a researcher and the participants are immersed in through which we construct our meaning. Following various practice scholars such as Nicolini (2009, 2012) and Gherardi (2012), I have found that ethnography is a very appropriate research methodology to use in studying social practices. In what follows, I discuss in further detail how the methodology of ethnography can enable the researcher to study social practices according to all the principles that I have outlined above, and I elaborate on what ways I have used this methodology in my practice-based study.

Ethnography and practice theory

Ethnography has been widely adopted among prominent practice scholars in the fields of organisation studies (Gherardi, 2012; Nicolini, 2009, 2012, 2017) and sociology (Bourdieu, 1977; Jonas, Littig, & Wroblewski, 2017; Schmidt, 2017;

Wacquant, 2004) as the preferable research methodology to use for studying social practices. In the field of organisation studies, the methodology of ethnography is referred to as *organisational ethnography*, which is the ethnographic study of organisations (Neyland, 2008; Ybema, Yanow, Wels, & Kamsteeg, 2009). Organisational ethnography is a certain way of doing and writing up research, in which the focus is on everyday experiences of people working in organisations. The researcher typically becomes immersed in the organisation that is being studied; they spend extensive periods of time in the organisation forming relationships with organisation members and becoming familiar with the local environment. By using a set of methods that includes participant observation (with varying degrees of participation), interviewing, and analysis of secondary sources, the researcher generates "thick descriptions" and contextual understanding of the phenomenon that is being investigated (Geertz, 1994; Neyland, 2008; Prasad, 2005; Ybema et al., 2009). As I wanted to be immersed in the empirical site and to gain deep understandings of the organisation, I chose to conduct my study in a single ethnographic site of inquiry (Neyland, 2008). Ethnography as the chosen research methodology enables the researcher to be physically located within the field for long periods of time, and therefore to be as close to action as possible on a regular basis. This makes ethnography particularly suitable for studying social practices, because it offers the following sensitivities to the principles of social practices that I have outlined earlier:

First, the fact that the researcher is located as close to action as possible can offer sensitivities to the material nature of practices and to social interactions, which include both embodied humans and material non-humans (Ybema et al., 2009).

Second, the fact that the researcher is located within the field on a regular basis can enable them to collect rich data on every day routinised activities that take place in the organisation, and to gain insights on the shared ways in which people participate in social practices (Nicolini, 2009; Yanow et al., 2012; Ybema et al., 2009).

Third, the long periods of time that the researcher spends within the field, offer sensitivity to the dynamic nature of the practice, and the ability to explore how practices are constantly being maintained and modified by their participants in endless becoming (Ybema et al., 2009).

Fourth, the extensive periods of time that the researcher spends in the field can offer a good understanding of the local context of the investigation. The researcher can investigate the wider bundle of political and historical practices that the participants and the organisation are immersed in, which gives meaning to the specific practices that are investigated in the organisation (Yanow et al., 2012; Ybema et al., 2009).

In addition to the reasons that I have mentioned above, ethnography is a suitable methodology to study social practices because, when adopted with an interpretive perspective, it can allow the researcher to engage in reflexivity and to unearth the bundle of social practices that the researcher and the participants are immersed in and through which they make meaning (Yanow et al., 2012; Ybema et al., 2009). The practices that the researcher and the participants are immersed in are discussed in the next two chapters of this thesis, to offer a better understanding of the ways that meaning was constructed in this research.

To conclude this section, I have chosen to use the methodology of ethnography in my practice-based study on leadership and affect, because this research methodology makes it possible to study social practices in a holistic way as the unit of analysis, with sensitivity to their collective, material, relational, dynamic, and situated nature. Furthering this discussion on my chosen methodology, I would like to discuss the specific research methods that I used in my ethnographic study to investigate leadership and affect from a practice approach.

Methods

In my ethnographic study, one of my goals was to answer calls by prominent scholars in the fields of leadership (Kempster et al., 2016; Ospina et al., 2017) and affect (Wetherell, 2014) and to develop appropriate methods to study leadership and affect from a practice approach. Therefore, with my secondary research question, I inquire:

What methods should we use to study leadership and affect from a practice approach?

I have addressed this question by experimenting with the methods of participant observation (with varying degrees of participation), interviewing, and documentary research (Ahmed, 2010; Schultz, 2010). In my research design I have relied on documentary research as a complementary research method, while treating both interviewing and participant observation as my primary research methods. This has enabled me to find out through my empirical study whether interviewing or participant observation were more suitable to use as my primary research method, and to explore what type of knowledge I could generate with these different methods.

In the discussion that follows, I review the research methods of participant observation, interviewing, and documentary research, and elaborate on the specific ways that I used them in my study. In addition, I also reflect on the type of data that I was able to generate with these methods, and discuss the ways that these different types of data enabled me to study leadership and affect from a practice approach.

While I start to reflect in this chapter on the type of methods that I found to be the most appropriate to use in studying leadership and affect from a practice approach, in Chapter 6 that closes this thesis, I engage in an elaborated discussion on my search for methods and share the various understandings that I gained in my process of investigation. In my discussion on the research methods that I have used in my study, I first start by discussing the method of participants observation.

Participant Observation

Participant observation is typically used as a primary research method in organisational ethnography (Neyland, 2008; Ybema et al., 2009). By being located within the organisational field on a long-term basis and carrying out observations (with varying degrees of participation), the researcher can gain first-hand understandings of organisational realties and obtain a good grasp of the complexities of organisational life (Ybema et al., 2009). Prominent practice scholars find ethnographic observations to be particularly suitable to study social practices, because practices manifest themselves as everyday activities, and by being in the field for extended periods of time researchers can get close to activities and observe how they unfold in everyday life (Bispo, 2015; Gherardi, 2012; Nicolini, 2009, 2012; Nicolini et al., 2003; Nicolini & Monteiro, 2016; Schmidt, 2017). Practice scholars Gherardi (2012, 2019) and Nicolini et al. (2003) emphasise that in using observations as the chosen research method, researchers should not limit their sensory inquiry to only using their eyes to visually observe the practice that they study. Instead, they should use the full range of their senses to gain knowledge of the practice that they study, so that they also inquire the practice through sound, smell, taste, and touch. This approach is known as *aesthetic inquiry*, in which aesthetic knowledge that is gained through the senses is considered to be a legitimate source of knowledge about the phenomenon that is studied (Strati, 1992, 2003, 2007). In alignment with the aesthetic approach, which relies on the human senses to generate data, Gherardi (2018b) discusses how the affective experiences of the researcher and the participants should also be considered as a legitimate source of knowledge of the practices that we study. She termed this idea *affective ethnography*, which is both a research method and a style of (affective) writing. In the ways that I have described above, researchers can use observations to gain aesthetic, affective, and embodied knowledge of the practices that they investigate. While researchers can carry out these observations as passive and remote observers, they can also adopt a more active position in the field and conduct these observations as active participants.

Various practice scholars and other scholars in the field of organisation studies have discussed the different research opportunities that may arise when the researcher is adopting the position of an active participant in the practice that is studied (Ginkel, 2017; Moeran, 2009; Müller, 2017; Wacquant, 2005, 2009).

Moeran (2009) described how in his ethnographic study of a Japanese advertising agency, the shift "from participant observation to observant participation" (p.137) enabled him to gain access to the "backstage" of the organisation and therefore to valuable inside information about the agency, which would not have been available to him if not for his active role as a participant.

In her writings on affective ethnography, Gherardi (2018b) argues that a more engaged position of the researcher, who does not study the phenomenon merely as a "fly on the wall", but instead aims for "being with, being in between, and becoming with" the phenomenon and its participants (Gherardi, 2018b, pp. 11-13), can enable the researcher to generate valuable embodied and affective data on the phenomenon that is studied, which can offer great insights into the phenomenon.

Müller (2017) conducted a practice-based ethnographic study of ballet dancing by adopting the role of an active participant in a ballet class. She reflected on how adopting the role of a participant and "literally becom[ing] the phenomenon" (Müller, 2017, p. 137), enabled her to gain direct access to the embodied experiences of the participants and to the aesthetic and embodied knowledge that the practice carried with it, which were not always available to her to investigate through passive observations.

In my experimental search to find appropriate methods to study leadership and affect from a practice approach, I treated the method of participant observation as one of my primary research methods. With the hope of gaining the research opportunities that were discussed by the scholars mentioned above, I carried out my observations mostly as an active participant in the activities that I was investigating. My observant participation centred on the organisational service that I chose study, which is the

camps that my chosen organisation offers to children with various illnesses and disabilities. I aimed to be as engaged as possible in the activities that constituted camp, so that I would be able to generate valuable aesthetic, embodied, and affective data through my participation in these activities. In my observant participation I paid special attention to the affective performances of the participants (who included myself), and to our social interactions and processes of influence that took place among us. In addition, I also observed the ways that non-human elements such as artefacts and physical space participated in the activities I took part in. I have documented the data that I have produced in my observant participation using fieldnotes and tape recordings. During my days at the organisation I took fieldnotes and recorded my reflections in locations at the organisation where I was not visible to others, like in the bathroom, and in remote areas on the organisation property. At the end of the day when I arrived home, I took more extensive fieldnotes and recorded my reflections about the day that I had experienced in further detail. Since the commonly spoken language in Israel and in the organisation that I studied was Hebrew, much of my written and recorded fieldnotes were taken in Hebrew. Another way that I documented my experiences in the organisation was by taking pictures and videos of the different activities that were carried out in the organisation. The many written and recorded fieldnotes that I took and the various photos and videos that I produced during my ethnographic study offered me rich data on the daily activities that took place in the organisation. The process of translating these written and recorded fieldnotes that I produced from Hebrew to English took place during my empirical study and in close proximity to its completion. In my translation process of these materials, I was less interested in merely translating my fieldnotes word by word from Hebrew to English. Instead, I was interested in conveying the rich meaning of the experiences that I discussed in the fieldnotes of my participation in different organisational activities (Al-Amer, Ramjan, Glew, Darwish, & Salamonson, 2016). To do so, I triangulated the various sources of data that I produced on the different activities that I investigated: my written and recorded fieldnotes, and the many

photos and videos that I produced during my study (Regmi, Naidoo, & Pilkington, 2010); I relied on these different sources of data, together with my memory as a powerful research tool (O'Reilly, 2009), to share my reflections in English on how it felt, looked, and sounded like to participate in the activities that I was investigating. This type of translation process allowed me to convey in my translation much of the aesthetic and contextual qualities of the knowledge that I produced in my observant participation.

So far, I have begun to share how I used participant observation as the primary research method in my study. I have discussed how I aimed to be as engaged as possible with the organisational activities that I was investigating, and observed these activities mostly as an active participant. In addition, I have also shared how I documented the rich aesthetic and affective data that I produced with this method, and discussed the process through which I translated this data into English. Next, I further discuss the different positions from which I conducted my investigation as an observant participant, and the research possibilities that such positions offered me in investigating affective leadership practices.

I carried out my observant participation from two different organisational positions. I started my ethnographic study as a guest researcher with no official role, and as my research progressed, I managed to gain further access and became an official practitioner in the organisation. In this process, I became so engaged with the service that I studied, that I came to develop a strong sense of membership and identification with the organisation and its mission, and gradually "went native" and adopted "the specific ways of seeing, talking and feeling that make a person a member of a specific practice" (Nicolini, 2012, p. 227). These positions that I occupied in the field, as an official practitioner and a native participant, were discussed by prominent sociologist and practice scholar Loïc Wacquant. He referred to this type of inquiry as the method of *apprenticeship*. Wacquant (2004) used this method in his well-known Bourdieusian ethnographic study in a boxing gym, where he adopted the role of an apprentice

boxer. In his book *Body and Soul: Notebooks of an Apprentice Boxer*, Wacquant (2004) illustrated how over the course of his ethnographic study, he transformed from a novice apprentice to a professional boxer. In this process, he acquired embodied dispositions and a habitus of a boxer, which enabled him to understand through his body the shared ways that members of the practice make meaning and understand their world. In such a way, Wacquant was able to penetrate the logic of the practice. Wacquant (2005) discussed how this method of apprenticeship that he used in his study is a valuable "mode of knowledge transmission" (p.465), in which the researcher becomes a practitioner in the practice that is studied and, through the body, generates knowledge of the practice. Wacquant (2005) described this type of inquiry as *carnal sociology*, which is "sociology not of the body (as social product) but from the body (as social spring and vector of knowledge)" (p.445); the embodied and affective experiences of the researcher are considered to be a valuable form of knowledge of the practice being studied. This type of embodied inquiry that Wacquant suggests shares similar understandings with the literatures on aesthetic inquiry (Strati, 2007) and affective ethnography (Gherardi, 2018b) that I have mentioned earlier, with the acknowledgment that the embodied experiences of the researcher are a valuable source of knowledge. Unlike the literatures on aesthetic inquiry and affective ethnography, which do not specify the position that the researcher should adopt in the field, the method of apprenticeship emphasises that the researcher should generate embodied knowledge of the practice as a practitioner and a member of the practice that is studied. Wacquant (2005) argues that "gaining membership in [the] group" that is studied and going native "can be an invaluable methodological springboard" and provide valuable insights into the practice that is being studied (p.466).

Schatzki (1996) has also addressed the question of whether or not to go native, and similarly to Wacquant, advises practice researchers to go native:

> This interweaving of understanding and activity underlies an existential dilemma that many anthropologists report facing during fieldwork: to go or not to go native . . . If the fledgling anthropologist is to sharpen and extend their grasp, she too must be exposed to and participate in these practices; she must to some extent become one of them. Since the more unreservedly she does this the profounder her grasp of the sought understanding becomes, one of her professional raisons d'etre counsels her to resolutely *go native* [emphasis added]. (Schatzki, 1996, p. 94)

This position that Wacquant and Schatzki advocate for, of going native, stands in contrast to the Anglo-American tradition that cautions anthropology students not to go native (as was discussed by Wacquant, 2009). For example, Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) have warned that going native may cause the researcher to lose their scientific perspective and instead naively report the practice that is being studied with no critical analysis. Another possible problem that the authors identified in going native, is that the close relationships and loyalties that the researcher forms with the participants may influence the researcher to generate findings that the participants will perceive as favourable, and avoid findings that may be disapproved by them. Wacquant (2009) acknowledged these pitfalls that are associated with going native, and therefore recommends researchers to:

> go native, but *go native armed*, that is, equipped with your theoretical and methodological tools, with the full store of problematics inherited from your discipline, with your capacity for reflexivity and analysis, and guided by a constant effort, once you have passed the ordeal of initiation, *to objectivize this experience and construct the object*—instead of allowing yourself to be naively embraced and constructed by it. Go ahead, go native, but come back a sociologist! [emphasis appeared in the original text] (Wacquant, 2009, p. 119)

So we can see that while Wacquant (2005, 2009) and Schatzki (1996) advise practice researchers to go native, Wacquant (2009) emphasises that researchers need to go native armed with their theoretical and analytical tools, and with the capacity to distance themselves from the practice and critically reflect on it.

These recommendations of Wacquant (2005, 2009) and Schatzki (1996) to become a member in the practice and to go native were implemented in my empirical study, in my gradual transformation from a guest researcher to a native practitioner. This more engaged mode of inquiry allowed me to experience for myself how it feels like to be a participant in camp, and to generate rich carnal data on the everyday activities that constituted camp. While I appreciated the various research opportunities that this more engaged position offered me in gaining knowledge of the phenomenon that I was studying, I also had to find ways to avoid the pitfalls that are associated with going native which I have discussed above.

Ybema and Kamsteeg (2009) have suggested several useful strategies that can assist in distancing oneself from the practice and "making the familiar strange" (p.101) in order to maintain critical reflexivity. One possible strategy is to physically move out of the field and break friendship bonds, so that the researcher can distance herself from the practice and gain a more critical perspective. Another strategy that can assist in maintaining a critical perspective is "distancing by immersion" (Ybema & Kamsteeg, 2009, p. 112), in which the immersion of the researcher and her access to "backstage" performance that may conflict with "frontstage" appearances, may provide the researcher with critical insights on the practice that is being studied.

In my study, I used the strategies that I have presented above to avoid the pitfalls of going native and to maintain a critical lens to my investigation. In addition, the fact that I was deeply engaged in readings of various practice theories during the time of my data production offered me the opportunity to view the service that I was studying through different theoretical lenses, and therefore to gain some more critical perspective on this service (this multi-perspective strategy for reflexivity was

also discussed by Alvesson, Hardy, & Harley, 2008). Furthermore, this deep engagement in theoretical reading at the time of my data production was a constant reminder of the theoretical tools that I was "armed with," which enhanced my capacity to critically report on and analyse the activities that I studied.

In conducting a practice-based investigation of affect and leadership as an observant participant in the ways that I have described here and gradually going native, I generated a great deal of my empirical data based on which I was able to identify and analyse an affective leadership practice at my empirical site. This mode of inquiry allowed me to experience for myself how the practice that I was investigating influences the meaning-making of the participants, and to gain an embodied understanding of the type of knowledge that this practice carries with it. The more that I participated in this practice and occupied a more engaged position in the field, the better I was able to understand this practice: the ways that knowledge is being produced and negotiated in this practice, the profound effects that this practice has on its participants, and the ways that power is involved in these processes.

In this section, I have reviewed the method of observant participation that served as the primary research method in my practice-based ethnographic study. Next, I review the method of interviewing that I used in my ethnographic study, and discuss in what ways this method enabled me to study affective leadership practices.

Interviewing

Interviewing can be a central method in organisational ethnography to gain knowledge of the phenomena under study (Schwartz-Shea & Yanow, 2009). Ethnographic interviews are conducted within the field of investigation during prolonged field studies and are based on ongoing relationships that are formed between the researcher and the participants. The interviews are often carried out as an open exchange of views that gives room for the participants to share and explore together with the researcher the meaning that they place on events in their lives (Sherman Heyl, 2001). In my exploratory search for methods, I treated interviewing,

together with participant observation, as the primary research methods in my study. My decision to rely on interviews as a primary research method was influenced by an existing tendency in empirical practice-based studies on leadership and affect to use interviews as the primary research method. I presumed that the reason so many empirical practice-based studies on leadership and affect use interviews as their primary method is that this method is particularly appropriate for investigating these phenomena. In this section, I briefly review some of the empirical practice-based studies on leadership and affect that I engaged with before I began my empirical study, to discuss how interviews were used in these studies and how this influenced the way I chose to use interviews in my own research. In reviewing these studies, it is important to note that currently there are few empirical studies on leadership practices and affective practices, and these literatures are still emerging. I first start with reviewing empirical studies of leadership practices, and then proceed to review empirical studies of affective practices.

Dovey et al. (2017) studied the leadership practices that contributed to the production of a television show. The authors conducted interviews with the participants in these leadership practices, assuming that "[The participants] would be the custodians of privileged knowledge; that their lived experience of the phenomenon under research would have facilitated unique insights into the practices through which the creation of this innovative product had been achieved" (Dovey et al., 2017, p. 27).

Ospina and Foldy (2010) used narrative-style interviews as their chosen research method, to learn from stories of leaders about the leadership practices that foster collaborative work in social change organisations.

In the two empirical studies on leadership practices that I have presented above, the method of interviewing was very popular and was used as a means to learn from the participants about their lived experiences in leadership practices. Looking to learn from empirical studies on affective practices, I have found that similar to the

literature on leadership practices, interviewing was the primary method that was used to study affective practices.

In her study on the affective practices of judgment and shame in institutes of higher education in the UK, Loveday (2016) used narrative-style interviews to elicit stories from the participants about their affective experiences in the affective practices that she studied. Similarly, Li (2015) used interviews to learn about the affective practice of "zhongxing" (neutral gender) in urban China. Both authors also used these interviews as a platform to observe the affective performances of the participants during the interviews, which they treated as valuable data offering insights into the practices they studied.

From these empirical studies on affective practices and leadership practices, I learned that interviews are used to both gain knowledge of participants' experiences in the practices under study, as well as a platform that enables the researcher to observe the affective performances of the participants. In my study, I took a similar approach as the empirical studies that I reviewed, and used the interviews as a space where the participants could share their affective experiences in the organisation, and could discuss processes of influence that they were regularly involved in. I also treated the interviews as a platform that allowed me to observe the affective performances that the participants enacted during our conversation, and treated these performances as a valuable source of data. I wish to reflect here that prior to and at the early stages of my empirical study, I was under a strong impression that in my search for methods I would probably end up relying on interviewing as my primary research method. At the time, I had some serious doubts that it would be possible to access much of the affective experiences of the participants and the processes of influence that they were involved in using any other method besides interviewing. I speculated that these experiences would remain mostly hidden and rather hard to observe, and therefore believed that only through a dialogue with the participants, during which these experiences were elicited and discussed, would it be possible to study them.

Nevertheless, since one of my research goals was to find suitable methods that could be used to study affective leadership practices, I did not decide a priori on a specific research method that would be used exclusively as the primary method. Instead, I treated both participant observation and interviewing as my primary methods, with the understanding that I would learn from my field experience which method fitted best to my research needs.

With this understanding that I would treat interviewing as one of my primary research methods, I designed the interviews in a way that would allow me to rely on them as my primary source of information. My pool of interviewees consisted of 47 members of the organisation, and included both paid employees and well as volunteers. These interviewees were associated with different social groups that existed in the organisation, and occupied different professional roles, genders, ethnicities, and religions. The purpose of choosing a diverse group of participants was to generate sensitivity to different ways that people who were associated with different social groups might have understood and experienced the organisational phenomena that I was investigating. The interviews were conducted in Hebrew, since Hebrew is the commonly spoken language in Israel and is my native language as well. The interviews, of 40-90 minutes' duration each, were tape recorded and carried out throughout my ethnographic study over the course of seven months. These interviews were carried out in the physical location of the organisation that I studied. At the initial stages of my ethnographic study, my interviews were coordinated by senior members in the organisation per their request. These senior members approached potential interviewees on my behalf, and scheduled the specific time and place where the interviews would take place. As my study progressed and I developed closer relationships with organisation members, I received much more freedom and was able to approach potential interviewees myself, and to decide together with them on the time and location where the interviews would take place. In my study I chose to focus on one specific service that my chosen organisation offers, which is camp. I offer further detail on camp and on the reasons I chose to study it in Chapter

4 on my research site. A main factor that was involved in my selection of interviewees was their level of involvement in camp. Therefore, I divided organisation members into two main groups, based on their level of involvement in camp. The first group included those who participated in the daily activities that were carried out in executing camp. The second group included those who supported the administrative aspects of camp, but were not involved in its execution on the ground. I chose to focus on the first group of organisation members in my investigation of leadership and affect. I was interested to learn from their experiences how leadership and affect were manifested as social practices in the daily activities that constituted camp. I was interested to rely on the experiences of members of the first group of participants as well as members of the second group to understand the wider social context of my investigation. To gain these understandings, I carried out 31 interviews with members of the first group, and 16 interviews with members of the second group. The interviews that I conducted were semi-structured, and were carried out as a conversation with the participants in which I asked to learn from their experiences and their involvement in camp. In the interviews with the first group of participants, I followed Dovey et al. (2017) and did not use the term leadership, but instead inquired about my conceptualisation of leadership as a process of influence that produces directions. I did so because I wanted to reduce as much as possible the influence of the prevailing discourse on leadership as a superior and heroic phenomenon, on the participants' own stories (Crevani et al., 2010; Morley, 2013). To investigate how leadership and affect are manifested in camp, I asked the first group of participants questions such as:

- Which members in this organisation typically influence your daily work in camp? in what ways is this influence manifested in your daily activities?
- What aspects and events in your daily work do you find to be more emotional? Can you further elaborate on that?

In our conversation I encouraged the participants to share their experiences in delivering this service and to elaborate on aspects which they deemed important to our conversation. In inquiring about the local context of my study I interviewed both groups of participants. I asked questions such as:

- Can you please tell me a bit about yourself? Why did you choose to work/volunteer here?
- Tell me about your role here and your areas of responsibility
- How would you explain the unique atmosphere that characterises this organisation?
- How has this organisation and camp affected your life?
  (see detailed interview protocol in Appendices A and B)

I asked these questions to obtain a general understanding of the social practices that the participants were immersed in which influenced the ways they made meaning of their work in the organisation. I also asked these questions to understand the administrative and educational work that was involved in carrying out the service that I chose to focus on; I hoped that this could offer me better understandings of this service and the activities that constituted it. Finally, I asked these questions to understand how the work in the organisation and more specifically in delivering the service that I focused on affected the lives of organisation members.

In addition to the ways that I have discussed so far, I also treated the interviews as a platform to observe how the participants enacted the affective experiences that they shared. I treated these affective performances as a valuable source of data, and paid attention to elements like the body language of the participants, their facial expression, and their tone of voice. I took brief notes during the interviews of these performances of the interviewees that I observed, and once the interviews were completed, I took more extensive written and recorded notes of what I observed and felt during the interviews.

I have discussed how I designed and carried out the interviews that took place throughout my ethnographic study. Next, I would like to discuss how I relied on the data that I generated with the interviews in my study.

The 47 interviews that I conducted with various members of the organisation were first transcribed to Hebrew word for word (verbatim), including pauses, affective expressions, and other contextual comments, and then translated into English. The translation process took place as a dynamic dialogue between the recorded interviews, the Hebrew interview transcriptions, my notes and reflections of the interviews, and the English translation that I was generating (as was discussed by Regmi et al., 2010). This recursive process allowed me to preserve the context of my conversation with the participants as much as possible in my translation, and to convey the meaning of the rich experiences that the participants shared in the interview (Al-Amer et al., 2016; Regmi et al., 2010). At the next stage, I closely examined the English transcripts that I produced. I identified several themes that emerged from the data, which corresponded with the interview questions that I asked. These themes included the types of affective experiences the participants had shared, processes of influence that took place in the organisation, the reasons for working or volunteering in this organisation, and the effects that the work had on the participants' lives. I generated a great amount of data with the many interviews that I conducted, and was convinced that the answers to my main research question were hiding somewhere in the long pages of transcriptions that I produced. I thought that if only I looked close enough in the interview transcripts and analysed them in a manner that was rigorous enough, I would be able to find the answers to my main research question. My struggle to identify and analyse affective leadership practices based on my interview data lasted for many months, but despite my best efforts, I was not able to use interviewing as my primary research method to study affective leadership practices. I was not able to identify any affective leadership practices based on the interviews that I conducted. Even once I identified such practice through my observations, the interviews did not assist me in understanding the processual

ways in which this practice was manifested in my empirical site. The dynamic, ever-changing, and material nature of this practice was to a large extent lost in the interview data, and therefore interviewing could not serve as my primary research method. Instead, I used my interview data as a supplementary source of information, which enabled me to gain better understandings of the wider local context that my chosen organisation was imbedded in. I gained better a understanding of the context in three main ways. First, based on the interview data I was able to gain a general understanding of the social practices the participants were immersed in. This allowed me to understand some of the resources the participants drew on in making meaning of their work in the organisation. Second, based on the interview data I was able to trace social practices in my site of investigation that were connected to the affective leadership practice that I chose to study. These related practices, to a great extent, explained why this affective leadership practice took place in the way it did. Finally, the interviews also allowed me to understand what effects the affective leadership practice that I studied generated in its local context. In addition to the understandings of the local context that the interviews allowed me to generate, my interview data also enabled me to better illustrate some of the topics that I was discussing. I achieved this by including in my analysis of the service that I chose to focus on selected interview quotes, in which the participants shared their reflections about their participation in this service. These points that I have discussed here are further elaborated in the last chapter of my thesis, to offer an in-depth discussion on my search for methods and the insights that I gained in the process.

Having reviewed the method of interviewing, next, I review the method of documentary research that I used as a complementary research method in my study.

Documentary Research

The method of documentary research refers to the analysis of documents such as reports, publications, and visual sources, which contain information about the phenomenon that we wish to study (Ahmed, 2010; Schultz, 2010). Bispo (2015) has

argued that such sources can offer valuable information about the social practices that we study. In my research, I produced and analysed documents in different ways and in different phases of my research. Prior to the beginning of my ethnographic study, I analysed documents such as official websites, news reports, and academic reports as a means to learn about my research site, which is the nonprofit sector in Israel and the specific organisation that I studied. As I started my ethnographic study and gained more access to the organisation, I gained further access to internal documents, such as official and unofficial guidelines and other assessment tools. Based on these documents, to a large extent, I was able to explain how the practice that I studied was materialised, and which other related practices influenced the practice that I studied. In addition, photos and videos of various activities that took place in the organisation that I studied were used in my data analysis as a way to visually illustrate to readers the practice that I focused on, and were also used as a platform that granted me repeated access to some of the activities that I analysed (Bispo, 2015; Pink, 2013). The information that was obtained from these various types of documents is presented and further discussed in Chapter 4 on the research site and in Chapter 5 on the data analysis.

To conclude, so far, I have reviewed the methodology of organisational ethnography that I used in my study, and discussed the reasons I found this methodology to be particularly suitable for my study. Then, I continued to discuss my quest to find appropriate methods to study leadership and affect from a practice approach, and reviewed the various methods that I used in my study. I shared how, through an experimental process, I found that the method of apprenticeship was a highly appropriate method to use as the primary research method in my study, while interviewing and documentary research were very appropriate to use as complementary methods. In Chapter 5, I illustrate the type of data that I was able to generate with these methods, and the ways that I analysed this data with my analytical tools. In Chapter 6 that closes my thesis, I explicitly address my secondary

research question, and engage in an elaborated discussion on my search for methods, with an emphasis on the ontological foundations of my study.

In the following section, I discuss the ethical considerations that constituted an integral part of the design and the execution of my research.

Ethical Considerations

Neyland (2008) contends that "all social science research involves ethics of a kind, but due to the intensity of ethnographic field relations, ethics can be particularly important (and difficult) for ethnographers" (p.140). Ethnographers conduct their investigation by immersing themselves in the lived realities under study for an extensive period of time; they become involved in the everyday lives of people living in these realities and form close relationships with them. These relationships need to be founded on moral and ethical principles of trust, respect, mutuality, commitment, and empathy (ASA, 2020; Neyland, 2008; Ybema et al., 2009).

In the design and execution of my research I aspired to meet my ethical commitments towards my participants by following the ethical framework that is detailed in the Victoria University of Wellington's Human Ethics policy. My research design was approved by the university's Human Ethics Committee for meeting its high ethical standard (approval number 0000025724). In the execution of my ethnographic study I made efforts to treat my participants with care and respect, and to avoid harming or exploiting them in any way. I provided the organisation with information about my research, and obtained its consent to carry out my research as a volunteer in the service that it offers. The process through which I negotiated access to the organisation is discussed in detail in Chapter 5. My volunteering in the organisation and the assistance that I offered in executing its service was also my way of contributing to the organisation. I made my role as a researcher known to all members of the organisation including the recipients of the service. In my investigation of this service, my focus was on the work that organisational staff

members carry out in delivering the service. The recipients of the service, which were families and children with various medical conditions, were not the focus of my study. In my data analysis I offer only minimal mention of them to allow readers to understand the local context of my study. Any mention of these service recipients in my research involved consultation with them in which they gave their informed consent. I offered all members of the organisation both oral and written information about my study (see Appendix C). Organisation members were informed that they had the option not to participate in my study, and that participation was completely voluntary. I obtained individual consent from the participants to carry out observations of their daily work in the organisation and to conduct interviews with them. The participants also gave their individual consent to allow the researcher to use visual recordings for research purposes, allowing the inclusion of various photos and videos in this thesis. The participants were told that they had the option to withdraw from my study for any reason at any time before the beginning of my data analysis. All the participants in the interviews signed a research agreement with the researcher (see Appendix D), in which they could leave their contact information to receive a copy of my published thesis.

My ethical concerns also revolved around protecting the privacy of the organisation and the participants as much as possible. To do so, in my research I chose not to mention the name of the organisation that I studied, even though a request for anonymity was not set by the organisation. The participants were assured that their names would not be used in the research so as to protect their privacy, and that the information shared in the interviews would be available only to the researcher and her supervisors. Furthermore, efforts have been made to remove any identifiable details from information obtained with the interviews and observations, so that participants cannot be easily identified. The data that was generated during this research was protected using reliable security measures, using passwords and secured servers to store this information.

Another ethical consideration that I engaged with in my study concerns my position as a critical researcher who was also an insider in the organisation. As a volunteer in the organisation I was exposed to the "backstage" of the organisation that was normally not available to outside guests (Moeran, 2009, p. 137). I often faced the dilemma in my writing as to how much I should share of the organisational life that I took part in. On the one hand, I had to always keep in mind that my research should not harm or jeopardise the reputation of my participants in any way. On the other hand, one of the fundamental principles that guided my research was to maintain a critical lens to my analysis, which may not always put the organisation that I studied in a positive light. As was discussed by Fine and Shulman (2009), there is no one simple way to tackle this challenge. In my study I maintained my critical perspective by focusing in my analysis on illuminating the norms that prevailed in the organisation, and illustrating how these norms were manifested and negotiated in the different activities. At the same time, I maintained the dignity and privacy of my participants by avoiding as much as possible reporting information that could be traced back to specific individuals and make them identifiable.

So far, I have discussed the methodology and the mix of methods that I used in my study, and discussed the various ethical considerations that I incorporated into this study. Next, I offer details on the research strategy that I used together with the theoretical and methodological tools that I have discussed so far, which guided me during my data production and data analysis.

Research Strategy

In the process of my data production and data analysis, I followed several research strategies. First, I followed a strategy used by leadership scholars Denis et al. (2010) and Dovey et al. (2017). These scholars first identified a project or a service that took place in the organisation, and then investigated leadership practices within the service. In a similar way, I started my study by first identifying a main service that the

organisation that I studied offers. This service was the camps that my chosen organisation offers to children with various medical conditions. Once such service was identified, I relied on the research strategy of "zooming in and out" by Nicolini (2009) and on a strategy discussed by Bispo (2015) to further investigate this service. In this section, I discuss the main principles that constitute these strategies. In the section that follows, I discuss the ways that I used these strategies, in tandem with my analytical approach, to carry out my data analysis.

Nicolini (2009) suggested the research strategy of "zooming in and out" as a suitable technique to study social practices in organisations. Nicolini (2009) recommended researchers to adopt an ethnographic approach to studying social practices, and argued that a study of social practices should be "focusing on the lived practices of work, zooming in on their accomplishments and zooming out on their relationships" (Nicolini, 2009, p. 134). By first zooming in on the accomplishments of social practices, researchers become immersed in activities that take place in the organisation, and generate a deep understanding of these activities. Based on these understandings, researchers can identify the phenomena that they are interested to study. In the next stage, researchers can identify the social practices that these phenomena transpire from. They can do so by investigating what type of normativity characterises the activities that these phenomena manifest in. This can give them a good idea of the types of social practices that these activities constitute. Finally, researchers can use their chosen practice framework to analytically zoom in on these practices and analyse them with their analytical tools, to understand what these practices are and how they unfold in real life (Bispo, 2015; Nicolini, 2009).

Additional zooming in and out movements can be conducted to gain better understandings of the local context of our investigation. This can be achieved by zooming out of the specific social practices that we focus on to trace other social practices that are related to the practices that we are studying, and then further zooming in and exploring them. These related practices can assist us in explaining

why the practices that we study take place in the way they do and not differently, and what effects they generate in the world. A final way to use this strategy is by zooming in and out between data and theory, as a way to create a dialogue between our empirical study and our theoretical framework. In following this strategy, a recursive zooming in and out movement is constantly taking place between and within practices, to explore the situated accomplishment of practices and the connections between them. According to Nicolini (2009), the result of using the zooming in and out strategy together with the practice framework of choice

> is, or should be, a convincing and meaningful description of what a practice is . . . why the practice is practised in the way it is, and how it came to be this way, why it is not different, what the consequences and effects are that this state of affairs produces in the world at large, what is different and who is empowered or disempowered in the process. (Nicolini, 2009, pp. 122-129)

In addition, Nicolini (2009) argues that the application of the zooming in and out strategy together with ethnography as the chosen methodology can enhance the *ecological validity* of the research. The term ecological validity refers to "the capacity of social science to capture the daily conditions, opinions and values, attitudes and knowledge base of those we study as expressed in their natural habitat" (Nicolini, 2009, p. 135). While the zooming in movement enables the researcher to get close to action and to offer detailed descriptions of the practices that are studied, the zooming out movement is used to offer a wider contextual understanding of these practices. Therefore, recursive zooming in and out movements are the optimal way to maintain ecological validity in the research.

In the section that follows, I discuss how I relied on this research strategy in tandem with my analytical approach, to analyse the empirical data that I have produced in my study.

Data Analysis

The analytical approach that informed my data analysis can be described as *theoretical sensitivity* (Orland-Barak, 2002; Strauss & Corbin, 1990; Thistoll, Hooper, & Pauleen, 2016). The concept of theoretical sensitivity "indicates an awareness of the subtleties of meaning of data. One can come to a research situation with varying degrees of sensitivity depending upon previous reading and experience" (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 42).

In my research, the conceptual framework that I have outlined in the first part of my thesis offered me theoretical sensitivity in my data analysis. It equipped me with theoretical tools to explore certain theoretical questions concerning leadership and affect. Specific questions that I explored in my data analysis concerned the relationships between leadership and affect, and the ways that leadership and affect are involved in processes of knowledge production that take place in the organisation. I explored these theoretical questions through a constant dialogue between my conceptual framework and my empirical material. This dialogue has enabled me to develop my theoretical thinking, and to further refine my conceptual framework.

Having described my analytical approach, next, I share the process through which I produced my data analysis. This process took place in several stages, and was informed by the research strategies of Nicolini (2009) and Bispo (2015) that I discussed in the previous section.

In the first stage, I organised all the data that I generated in my ethnographic study together. This included my transcribed interviews, my field notes, the various photos and video that I took, and various secondary documents that I collected. I organised this vast data set according to different activities that took place in camp. In this way, for example, I organised in one file all my field notes about the activity of organised dancing that I participated in, together with various photos and videos that I

produced of this activity. I also added to the file relevant interview transcriptions and other secondary documents that offered information about this activity. In a similar way, I created files for several activities that took place in camp, and organised in these files all the relevant information that I have had on these activities.

In the next step, I went through all the different sources of information that I have had on different activities that took place in camp, and looked to identify manifestations of leadership and affect in these activities. I considered activities that involved relational processes of influence and were characterised by salient affective texture as manifestations of leadership and affect. I put a circle around the different manifestations of leadership and affect that I have identified in the data, which mostly consisted of the data that I generated as an observant participant. This type of embodied data offered me carnal and vibrant accounts of the ways that leadership and affect were manifested in the various activities that I participated in. In addition, various photos and videos that I took of these activities have offered me some repeated access to this data. I found that leadership and affect were manifested in the data in the same ontological and epistemological manner, as reciprocal flows of affective influence that circulated among human and non-human participants to produce directions. In this way, for example, I found that leadership and affect were manifested in the activity of organised dance as reciprocal flows of affective influence that circulated among the choreography, the dancers, and the face-paint, to produce a very strong direction of excitement, joy, and inclusion.

As I identified the ways that leadership and affect were manifested in different activities, in the next stage, I was looking to identify the social practice that leadership and affect transpired from. I did so by asking: what is the normativity that characterises the activities that leadership and affect were manifested in? i.e., what types of general understandings, rules, and teleoaffective structure characterise these activities (Schatzki, 2002)? I found that the different activities in which leadership and affect were manifested in all shared the same normativity: the

normative knowledge of love, joy, and inclusion. By investigating educational activities that took place in camp, I have identified this normativity as the normative knowledge that prevails in camp. In this way, I have identified camp to be the social practice that leadership and affect were manifested in. I refer to this practice as affective leadership practice.

In the next and final stage of my analysis, which I present in Chapter 5, I relied on the theoretical tools that constitute my conceptual framework to conduct a practice-based analysis of affect and leadership in camp. I zoomed in on specific activities that I have participated in during camp, and offered nuanced analysis of the following research questions:

What normative realities characterise camp? How are leadership and affect involved in the construction of these realities, to reproduce, modify, and even resist them? Who are the human and non-human participants? Who is impowered in these realities? How is power involved in these processes?

By conducting further zooming in and out movements between the practice of camp that I have investigated and other related practices in the social site, I was able to explain why camp takes place in the way it does, and what effects it generates in its local context. I relied mostly on data that I generated with the interviews to carry out these zooming in and out movements. During the interviews, I learned about the educational, administrative, and operational process through which camp is being executed. Based on such information, I was able to identify a social practice that is linked to camp and has a great influence on the way that it takes place. In addition, during the interviews the participants also shared the social positions they associate themselves with and the ways that camp has affected their lives. By examining these effects that camp generated in the participants in relation to the wider historical and political conditions that characterise the social site, I was able to appreciate whether camp perpetuates or resists these social conditions. In this way, I was able to comprehend what effects camp generates in its local context.

These zooming in and out movements described here did not take place in clear and separate stages. Instead, they were carried out simultaneously as a constant dialogue between the local accomplishment of the practice of camp that I focused on and the wider bundle of historical, political, and organisational practices that camp transpires from.

Chapter 4: The Research Site

Based on a practice approach, I view the research site as consisting of bundles of social practices that form its local context, against which all things at that site become intelligible. Therefore, in this chapter I review the social practices that form the local context of my research site, against which the affective leadership practice of camp that I focus on becomes intelligible. I open this chapter by first reviewing the local country of the investigation and the salient practices that I have identified in the country which are relevant to my study, and then gradually zoom in and reviewing the practices that are relevant to my study in the local sector, organisation, and service that I chose to focus on. In addition, I also discuss the reasons why I chose to conduct my study specifically in Israel, in the nonprofit sector, and why I chose to focus on a certain service that the organisation offers.

This chapter on the research site is important in understanding the local context where my ethnographic study took place. In the subsequent chapters on the data analysis and the discussion, I revisit the practices that are reviewed here to critically discuss why the affective leadership practice that I investigate takes place in the way it does, and what its effects are in its local context.

Israel

I first start by explaining why I chose to conduct my ethnographic study in Israel. Then, I offer detail on some prevalent social practices in Israel that are relevant to our understanding of the affective leadership practice that I focus on in my study.

Why Israel?

There are two main factors that influenced my decision to conduct my ethnographic study in Israel, both of which concern my position as an Israeli-born international PhD student. The first factor was my ability to negotiate access to organisations. At the time when I was ready to start my empirical study, I had lived in New Zealand for less

than two years, and can reflect that I was not confident about my social skills and cultural sensitivity in this local context. Furthermore, I had quite a limited social network in New Zealand. Due to these circumstances, I suspected that the task of gaining access to a local organisation in New Zealand and getting close to the participants in that organisation would be quite a challenging one. In contrast to my situation in New Zealand, as an Israeli-born international PhD student, I was situated in a strong position to negotiate access to local organisations in Israel. This is because, based on Bourdieu's notion of cultural and social capital, I can say that the embodied dispositions that I have acquired during my socialisation in the local culture in Israel since birth, like my native language and behaviour, enabled me to be identified as a group member and as a trustworthy person in Israel, which significantly enhanced my chances of gaining access to local organisations (Bourdieu, 1984, 1986; Edwards, 2004; Weller, 2004). In addition, the fact that I was a PhD student in New Zealand also enhanced my cultural capital and my social status in this field, since such an advanced academic degree is highly regarded in Israel, and the fact that I was pursuing it in New Zealand (which has a good reputation in Israel) added more to its prestige. Considering all these forms of capital that I had in Israel, I predicted that it would be easier for me to gain access to a local organisation in Israel, and to be able to get close to my participants as well.

Another factor that influenced my decision to conduct my field-study in Israel, was my likely ability to interpret the data that would be generated in my empirical study. It is argued by scholars such as Liamputtong (2010) and Merriam et al. (2001) that deep cultural familiarity of the researcher with their research site can enable them to conduct a culturally sensitive investigation, with the ability to better interpret both verbal sayings, like culturally-bound phrases, and also non-verbal cultural cues, like body language and facial expressions. In my research I was interested in investigating affective leadership practices with a focus on the affective activities of the participants: both their affective sayings, like the use of emotion words and tone of voice, and also their affective doings, like affective gestures and body language. Due

to my deep familiarity with Israel and my profound understanding of the social norms and language that prevail in this context, I was in a position to offer a culturally sensitive and contextual interpretations of the situated doings and saying of the participants in this empirical site. So far I have discussed the benefits of being familiar with the research site, but the scholars mentioned above also acknowledge the pitfalls that are associated with such familiarity, like taking things for granted, not elaborating on important issues, and having "blind spots" in the research. I acknowledge that such risks exist in conducting research in a familiar environment, but my outsider position as an international student who has spent over six years living in overseas countries assisted me in mitigating such risks. In the years that I have spent in New Zealand and in Taiwan, I have been exposed to cultures and social norms different from those that prevail in Israel, which have offered me the opportunity to look at my own country and culture with the eyes of an outsider, and to more critically reflect on the prevailing social practices and shared understandings that exist in Israel. Such a position is discussed by Suarez-Delucchi (2018), who is a Chilean-born UK academic who went back to her home country Chile to conduct her ethnographic study. In reflecting on her work, Suarez-Delucchi (2018) argues "for recognising the powerful positioning created when returning as an outsider to a country where one used to be and still is an insider" (p.209). Suarez-Delucchi explained that the years that she spent overseas allowed her to examine her own culture with the eyes of an outsider and with "critical reflection" on the culture that was very familiar to her (p.208).

To conclude, I can say that I chose to conduct my ethnographic study in Israel due to my strong position as an Israeli international PhD student, which not only enabled me to gain access to organisations and participants more easily, but also allowed me to interpret my empirical findings in a manner that is both culturally sensitive and critical at the same time.

So far, I have discussed the reasons for choosing Israel as my empirical site. In the next section, I offer more detail on the country with an emphasis on some prevalent social practices that exist in the country, against which the affective leadership practice that I study becomes intelligible. Before I offer further details on Israel, I would like to emphasise that based on my practice-based ontology, I do not believe that there is one objective way to describe reality, but instead any social site can be described in multiple and even conflicting ways. Therefore, I wish to stress that the details that I offer here and in this dissertation in general are only one version of multiple social realities, and that the positions from which I conduct my investigation are as an international PhD student, a female, and a secular Jewish Israeli.

The local country: Israel

Israel was founded in 1948 as a democratic state and consists of a diverse population from various religious, ethnic, cultural, and social backgrounds. The population of Israel is 9 million people, of which 74.3% are Jewish, 20.9% are Arabs, and 4.8% are Druze, Circassians, and others. The vast majority of the population in Israel identifies as Jewish, while around 20% of the people are Muslims and 2% are Christians. The most common languages in Israel are Hebrew (around 50% native speakers), Arabic (around 20% native speakers) and Russian (around 15% native speakers) (Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, 2019). While there is no official separation between the various social groups that exist in Israel, these groups tend to maintain their own identities and to live in separate communities (Fleischer & Gal, 2007).

Since its foundation, Israel has experienced many wars with its surrounding Arab countries, in a lasting conflict that is known as the Israeli-Arab conflict. The relations between the Jewish and the Arab populations in Israel are influenced by this conflict, and there is tension and a lack of integration between much of the Jewish and Arab populations in Israel. Due to the constant threat to the security of Israel, military service is mandatory in Israel, with the possibility of exemption for some specific social groups and for people who are not mentally or physically fit to serve. Since

military service is highly regarded among the majority of Israeli society, as it is perceived as good citizenship and as "sharing the burden," there is an alternative option for people who cannot serve in the army but still wish to contribute to society. Such an option is the national youth service. This national service is voluntary and lasts from one to two years; the volunteers are between the ages of 17-24 and receive small allowances, accommodation, and food as part of their volunteering program. The volunteers in the national youth service mostly volunteer in various public and nonprofit institutions that contribute to society, like institutions for youth and women at risk, and institutions for disabled children and elderly people. While the national youth service was originally designed as an alternative option for military service, people that intend to serve in the army can also volunteer and do a year of national youth service before their military service, and this is a trend that has become more popular in recent years (Fleischer & Gal, 2007; Ministry of Labor Social Affairs and Social Services, 2019; Sherer, 2004). The social practice of national youth service is a prevalent social practice in Israel. I have mentioned it here because some of the participants in my study are volunteers in a national youth service program, and therefore some background details on this practice are essential to our contextual understanding of the research site. In addition, I have mentioned the social practice of the Israeli-Arab conflict here so that the social positions of the participants (as Arabs, Jews, and other ethnic minorities) and the way they are included, excluded, and relate to each other in my empirical study, can be better understood against this complex social reality in this local context.

We have learned about the reasons I chose to conduct my ethnographic study in Israel, and have gained a better understanding of some prevalent social practices that exist in the country that are relevant to my empirical study. Next, I further zoom in and offer more details on the nonprofit sector in Israel.

The Nonprofit Sector in Israel

In this section I first start by explaining the reasons I chose to conduct my study in the nonprofit sector, and then offer further details on the nonprofit sector in Israel with an emphasis on specific social practices that are relevant to my study.

Why the nonprofit sector?

In looking for an empirical site that would be suitable to study affective leadership practices, I was looking for "perspicuous settings," which according to Nicolini (2012) are "real world settings where the topic in question is a prominent feature of a day's work . . . and can therefore be studied 'in vivo' by social scientists" (p.141). Since I am interested in studying affective leadership practices and investigating the affective activities of the participants, the type of "perspicuous settings" that fit my research topic are settings where affect "is a prominent feature of a day's work" (p.141). It has been reported by Sass (2000) that the affective dimension of nonprofit organisations that provide human services is relatively intense, and for this reason I found the nonprofit sector, and specifically non-profits that provide human services, to be suitable settings in which I could investigate affective leadership practices.

I have detailed the reasons why I chose to conduct my ethnographic study in a nonprofit organisation that provides human services. In the following section, I offer further details on the nonprofit sector in Israel, and focus on specific social practices that exist in the sector that are relevant to my empirical study.

The nonprofit sector in Israel

I define the nonprofit sector in Israel according to the Johns Hopkins University study[1] as structurally organised, private, not distributing profit, self-governing, and non-compulsory (Salamon et al., 2012).

The nonprofit sector in Israel is a major force in the local economy, an industry that contributes 5.8% of the country's GDP. The nonprofit sector in Israel is relatively dependent on the government as its main source of income, with 50% of funding arriving from government sources (Hazan, 2018) compared to the global average of 32% according to the Johns Hopkins study (Salamon et al., 2012). The rest of the income in the nonprofit sector in Israel is generated by fees that comprise 34.1% of the total income, and philanthropy that contributes 15.2% of income (Hazan, 2018).

The type of activities that are most common in the nonprofit sector in Israel are service activities, which account for 89% of the total activities that the sector offers, and include housing, social services, education, and health care. The remaining 10% of the activities that the sector offers are expressive activities, which include sport and recreation, arts and culture, interest representation, and advocacy. This makes the relative share of service activities in the nonprofit sector in Israel higher compared to other countries around the world, as the global average in the nonprofit

[1] The Johns Hopkins University study (Salamon, Sokolowski, Haddock, & Tice, 2012) is the latest publication in the long-term *Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project* (CNP) from Johns Hopkins University that investigates nonprofit sectors around the world. In 2003, Johns Hopkins University, together with the UN Statistics Division, issued the *UN Nonprofit Handbook* (United Nations, 2003) to offer guidelines to national statistical agencies on how to define and measure nonprofit sectors in a reliable and comparable way. The report by Salamon et al. (2012) draws on national statistical data from 16 countries around the world which complied with the UN Nonprofit Handbook, and compares different parameters in the nonprofit sectors of these countries.

sector according to the Johns Hopkins study stands at 73% service activities, and 22% expressive activities (Salamon et al., 2012).

The fact that the nonprofit sector in Israel is relatively dependent on the government and offers mostly service activities can be tied to the privatisation process in Israel that started in the 1980s. As part of this process, the government outsourced some of the services that it used to provide to nonprofit and forprofit organisations, and this to a great extent can explain the large share of government funding of the sector's total income, as well as the fact that the primary activities that the sector engage in are service activities (Shiffer, 2018).

Looking at additional features of the nonprofit sector in Israel, the sector is a major employer in the country, with a workforce that makes up 12.7% of the country's total workforce. While 11.2% of Israel's workforce are nonprofit paid employees, 1.6% of the country's workforce are nonprofit volunteers. This makes the relative size of the nonprofit workforce in Israel the largest among the countries that were compared in the Johns Hopkins University study[2], where the average size of the workforce was 7.4% of the total workforce in a country (Salamon et al., 2012). Although Israel proportionately has the largest nonprofit workforce compared to other countries in the John Hopkins study, the share of volunteers in its nonprofit workforce is relatively low. While 1.6% of the workforce in Israel were nonprofit volunteers, the global average in the John Hopkins study was 2.2%, and only Thailand, Portugal, and Belgium had a smaller share of volunteers in their nonprofit workforce compared to Israel (Salamon et al., 2012). It is important to mention that the Johns Hopkins University study (Salamon et al., 2012) only includes formal volunteering in nonprofit

[2] The countries that were compared in this parameter included: Israel, Australia, Belgium, New Zealand, United States, Japan, France, Norway, Portugal, Brazil, Kyrgyzstan, Czech Republic, and Thailand.

organisations in its measurement, and does not address forms of informal volunteering that are not done through organisations, like helping community members, family, or friends. Since the social practice of volunteering is very relevant to my empirical study, I was interested in gaining a more comprehensive understanding of the practice of volunteering in Israel, including both formal and informal volunteering. In the ILO manual on volunteer work,[3] volunteering was defined as "unpaid non-compulsory work; that is, time individuals give without pay to activities performed either through an organization or directly for others outside their own household" (International Labour Office, 2011, p. 13). Based on this definition, I looked at formal and informal volunteering in Israel, and how it could be understood in comparison with other countries around the world.

According to the Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, in 2017 1.1 million people volunteered in Israel (both formally and informally), which accounts for around 20% of the adult population. While 44% of the volunteers volunteered for an organisation (formally), 42% volunteered privately (informally), and 13% volunteered both formally and informally (Dovrin, 2018). In comparison with other OECD countries around the world, these figures on volunteering in Israel are relatively low and this aligns with the findings in the John Hopkins University study by Salamon et al. (2012) on the low share of volunteers in the nonprofit workforce in Israel. Among the countries with the highest volunteer rates (which includes both formal and informal volunteering) are New Zealand, the United States, Canada, and the Netherlands, where around 45-50% of the adult population volunteers (Corporation for National and Community Service USA, 2018; European Volunteer Centre, 2012; Stats NZ, 2016; Turcotte, 2015). Other countries where the volunteer rates are lower but

[3] The ILO manual on the measurement of volunteer work was developed by Johns Hopkins University in cooperation with the International Labour Organisation (ILO) to define and measure volunteer activity around the world.

volunteering is still relatively popular are Germany, Finland, Switzerland, and Denmark, where around 35% of the adult population volunteers both formally and informally. An example of a country where the volunteer rate is lower than Israel, is Spain, where only 12% of the adult population volunteers (European Volunteer Centre, 2012). From these figures we can see that the social practice of volunteering is not a prevalent one in Israel, where only 20% of the adult population volunteers (both formally and informally) compared to a 35%-50% volunteer rate in many of the other OECD countries.

To conclude this review on the nonprofit sector in Israel, it can be said that this sector is a major force in the local economy and a significant employer as well. Compared to other countries around the world, the nonprofit sector in Israel relies mainly on paid employees, is relatively dependent on the government, and provides mostly service activities.

So far, I have shared the reasons I chose to conduct my ethnographic study in the nonprofit sector in Israel, and have offered details on the country and on its nonprofit sector. In the next section, I further zoom in to review the specific organisation that I chose as the site of my ethnographic study, and discuss the main practices in the organisation that are crucial to understanding this empirical site.

The Organisation

The organisation which I chose as the site of my ethnographic study is a nonprofit organisation in Israel that offers one central service: a free camp experience for children with chronic and life-threatening illnesses. This organisation became fully operationalised in 2011, and its sources of income derive mainly from philanthropy, and to a smaller extent also from government funds and fees. The organisation is a member of an international network of camps for children with various medical conditions that operates in 30 countries around the world. While each organisation that belongs to this network operates independently and has its own board of

directors and sources of funding, they all follow the international regulations of the network and are subject to an evaluation by the network. This association in the international network of camps makes the organisation that I have focused on and the social practices that are carried out in it a highly controlled and regulated site, where the organisation follows and enforces the mission, values, policies, and procedures of the international network in its daily operations.

The organisation consists of a board of directors who are volunteers, and around 25 paid employees who are the administrative staff who work all year long to plan and prepare the camps that the organisation offers. In addition, the organisation also consists of the staff that operate the camps, who are mostly volunteers, and to a lesser extent also paid employees. Unlike the relatively low volunteer rate in Israel compared to other countries around the world, the volunteer base in this organisation is very significant and keeps increasing each year, and in 2017 it consisted of 1,200 volunteers. The great majority of these volunteers volunteer as staff members in camp for relatively short periods of time, and therefore the turnover of these volunteers is very high.

In looking to investigate affective leadership practices in this organisation, I followed the research strategy that was used by Denis et al. (2010) and Dovey et al. (2017), in which they chose to focus in their investigation on a specific project or service that the organisation that they studied offered. In my study, I chose to focus on the main service that my chosen organisation offers, which is camp, and looked to explore leadership and affect from a practice approach in camp. In my inquiry I chose to focus on the daily activities that constitute the camp experience and not on the activities that the administrative staff carry out to design and support the execution of camp. There were two main reasons that were involved in this decision. First, I found the activities that were carried out in camp to be highly affective, and therefore identified camp as "perspicuous settings" in which affect "is a prominent feature of a day's work" (Nicolini, 2012, p. 141), and therefore can be more easily studied. In addition,

I chose to focus on the daily activities that are carried out in camp and not on the work of the administrative team, because I found the activities that take place in camp to be more accessible, with a greater potential for observation and even participation. For these reasons, I chose to focus in my ethnographic study on the camp experience that this organisation offers. While I focused on the camp experience and the activities that are carried out in it, I also conducted many interviews with the administrative staff in the organisation in order to better understand camp and the practices that constitute it. Next, I offer more details on the service that I chose to focus on in my study, which is the camps that this organisation offers.

Camp

As I previously mentioned, camp is the main service that my chosen organisation offers. The explicit mission of camp, which is aligned with the mission of the international network of camps that this organisation is associated with, is to offer free of charge camp experiences for children with chronic diseases and disabilities, where children can celebrate life, make new friends, and just be kids. The camps are designed to fully accommodate children with approximately 50 types of chronic and life-threatening illnesses, which include, for example, medical conditions such diabetes, haemophilia, hearing and seeing disabilities, cancer, ALS, and cerebral palsy (CP). The camps that this organisation offers operate all year round with around 40 camps that take place a year, and the duration of each camp is up to a week. Each camp is designated to accommodate a specific type of illness or disability. The purpose of this is to allow children to make friends with other children with similar medical conditions, and also to adapt the camp and its medical support and activities to each medical condition that it accommodates. There are three types of camps that this organisation offers. The first type is the independent camp, which is designed to accommodate children with balanced medical conditions who can attend the camp independently with no need for a caretaker. Examples of possible balanced medical

conditions that this type of camp can accommodate are diabetes, epilepsy, and hearing and seeing disabilities. The second type of camp is designed to accommodate children who cannot attend the camp on their own, and are accompanied by their family members. Possible medical conditions that this type of camp can accommodate include, for example, chronic illnesses such as ALS and CP, in which the children often use wheelchairs or other walking aids and are not independent. The third type of camp that this organisation offers is camps for children with various medical conditions and disabilities who attend special education institutions, such as schools for children with special needs and boarding schools. These children attend this camp together with the educational staff in their school, and together with the social counsellors, they enjoy the camp experience.

The physical location of camp is a rural part of Israel, on a property that stretches across 250 acres, and encompasses all the buildings and sites that are designated for the different activities that take place in the camps. Such buildings and sites include the arts and crafts building, library, dining hall, medical-centre, swimming pool, sport-centre, sleeping cabins, adventure park, horse-back riding facilities, petting zoo, and camping area, and also includes the administration building where the administrative employees work.

The participants in camp

The participants in camp consist of the organisational staff who operate camp and the children who attend camp (the "campers"). In alignment with the inclusivity policy of the international network of camps, there is a strong emphasis in camp on inclusivity of both staff members and the campers. People that are associated with all social groups in Israel, such as different religions, ethnicities, and social backgrounds, are encouraged to participate in camp.

The staff members who operate camp consist mainly of volunteers and to a lesser extent also of paid employees, and hold various positions in camp, such as: social counsellors, workshop instructors, nurses and doctors who work in the medical

centre, and kitchen staff. The social counsellors constitute the great majority of the staff members who operate camp, and they work the most closely with the campers. Their main role is to participate in all the activities in camp together with the campers, and to communicate to the campers the spirit of camp, which is to have fun and celebrate life. Both campers and social counsellors sleep on site during camp in designated sleeping cabins. The vast majority of the social counsellors are volunteers, and these volunteers belong to two main groups: "the occasional volunteers" and "the commune".

The occasional volunteers volunteer on a short-term and temporary basis, and normally attend only one, and sometimes several camps a year. The social background of these volunteers and their motivation for volunteering is fairly diverse, but most of them are in their early 20s, and are highly motivated to dedicate themselves to the camp and to the children. In each camp participate between 10-25 occasional volunteers, depending on the number of campers.

The other type of volunteers are the commune members. The commune is a group that consists of 20 boys and girls between the ages of 18-21, who live on site in camp for the duration of a whole year. This group does a year of volunteering in camp as part of their voluntary national service, which takes place before or instead of the mandatory military service. This group is referred to by the organisation as "the commune," because similar to the communes in the Israeli Kibbutz,[4] the commune members in camp live in a communal lifestyle in a flat social structure with no hierarchy over one another. They share many aspects of their lives such as food and

[4] The Kibbutz is a cooperative form of settlement in Israel that was founded by Socialist and Zionist youth movements that immigrated to Israel from Europe in the early and middle part of the 20th century. The settlers in the Kibbutz lived in communes and equally shared most aspects of their lives, like work, clothes, income, and even the children, who were raised by designated Kibbutz members and not by their biological parents.

accommodation. This practice of doing a voluntary year of service before or instead of military service is very prevalent in Israel, and is rooted in the shared agreement in the country regarding the importance of national service.

These two groups of volunteers which I have discussed here: the occasional volunteers and the commune, constitute the majority of social counsellors in camp. In addition to these volunteers, the organisation also hires paid employees to serve as social counsellors at times of need, and especially in the summertime when camps are larger in size. Another group of paid employees in camp are the four team leaders, who hold the position of supervisors over the social counsellors and the campers, and normally hold this position for a period of a year. Like the social counsellors and the campers, the team leaders also sleep on site during camps.

The supervision ratio of social counsellors to campers in the summer camps is usually 2:3, so that for every three campers there are two social counsellors. The number of campers and social counsellors changes each camp, and on average consists of 50 children and 35 social counsellors, who are divided into four teams and are supervised by the team leaders.

These are, in general terms, the details that are required to understand the nonprofit organisation and the service within this organisation that I chose to focus on in my ethnographic study.

To conclude this chapter on the research site, I have offered details on the local country where my ethnographic study took place, and gradually zoomed in to review the local sector, organisation, and service that I focused on in my empirical study. In doing so, I have explained why I chose to conduct my study specifically in the nonprofit sector in Israel, and why I chose to focus on the camps that this organisation offers to children with chronic illness and disabilities. In addition, in reviewing the local research site I specifically mentioned practices that are crucial to our understanding of camp, like the practices of conflict and national service in Israel, and the practice of volunteering and membership in an international network of camps. I

revisit these practices that I have mentioned here in the following chapters on the data analysis and discussion. Through zooming in and out movements between the affective leadership practice that I focus on and the practices that I have mentioned here, I explain why the affective leadership practice that I investigate takes place the way it does, what its effects are in its local context, and how it perpetuates or resists the existing social conditions in the local social site.

The following chapter of my thesis is dedicated to analysing affect and leadership in camp from a Schatzkian practice approach, using the conceptual tools that I have detailed in my conceptual framework.

Chapter 5: Investigating Leadership and Affect in Camp from a Schatzkian Practice Approach

Figure 1: Social counsellors and campers during a summer camp in my chosen organisation

Preface

In this chapter, I rely on my conceptual framework to conduct a practice-based analysis of leadership and affect in camp. I share the ways that my theoretical thinking on leadership and affect is developed through my analysis, and the type of critical understandings that I gain on the empirical site of the investigation. This chapter unfolds according to the following structure:

First, and before I start my data analysis, I discuss how I gained access to the organisation and to camp. I offer an understanding of the unique nature of my chosen research site, and the type of access negotiation that was required to gain access to this site.

Then, I start my data analysis by examining educational activities that take place in camp. I examine these activities because they "pry open the logic of the practice" and make explicit the normative knowledge and realities that camp produces (Nicolini, 2009, p. 125). In discussing the type of normative realities that the social practice of camp produces, I start to illustrate how affect and leadership are involved in the production of these realities.

In the rest of this chapter, I continue to use my analytical tools to conduct a practice-based analysis of affect and leadership in camp. In my analysis of camp, I rely mostly on data that I generated as an observant participant. I apply my conceptual tools to these data that I generated in my participation, to offer readers an embodied, affective, and aesthetic understanding of how affect and leadership are manifested in camp, and how these phenomena participate in the production of realities in camp. This analysis illustrates what the affective leadership practice of camp is, and what it does in the empirical site.

The data that I generated with my interviews and the various documents that I collected and produced in my research serve me in my analysis as a complementary source of knowledge about camp. These data enable me to explain why camp takes

place in the way it does, and what effects it has on its participants. This way that I rely on the interviews and documents like organisational reports is visible to the most part in my data analysis, as I usually explicitly mention when I rely on these sources in my discussion.

In addition, I use the data that I generated with interviews and documentary research to better communicate to readers some of the activities and topics that I analyse. I do this by including selected quotes from interviews to illustrate specific points that I discuss, and by using pictures and videos to illustrate the material, relational, collective, and affective nature of the activities that I analyse.

I present my analysis of camp from the two main positions that I occupied in the organisation during my seven-month ethnographic study. The first part of my analysis is presented from the position that I occupied in the first period of my ethnographic study as a guest researcher with no official role in the organisation. The second part of my analysis is presented from the position that I occupied in the final period of my study, as a legitimate staff member in the organisation with an official role there. I share with readers the type of data that each position enabled me to generate, and the insights that I managed to gain from these positions on the affective leadership practice of camp.

In presenting my analysis of camp from these two positions, I offer a first-person account of these activities and describe them in present tense. This allows me to better communicate to readers my embodied and affective experiences in the activities that I have participated in, that always took place through my body and in relation to the other participants. This way, I use the methodologies of carnal sociology (Wacquant, 2004, 2005) and affective ethnography (Gherardi, 2018b) not only as a way of generating affective and embodied data, but also as a style of affective writing, that communicates to readers how the participation in the practice has felt, smelled, looked, and sounded like, so that they can understand how I rely on this embodied data in my analysis.

It is important to stress that the analysis that I offer in this chapter and the data that it relies on were constructed through the social practices that I was immersed in, that include the practice of being an international PhD student, being a female and being a secular Jewish Israeli. Therefore, my analysis should always be understood in relation to these practices that have influenced my meaning-making.

With the practice-based analysis of leadership and affect in camp that I offer in this chapter, I illustrate how I used my Schatzkian framework to carry out an empirical investigation, and share the type of insights that I was able to generate.

Negotiating Access to the Organisation and Camp

In the autumn of 2018, while I was in the middle of my second year of PhD studies in New Zealand, I decided to contact the nonprofit organisation in Israel that I have described in the previous chapter. This organisation offers one central service: a free camp experience for children with chronic and life-threatening illnesses. At the time, I was only generally familiar with the work that this organisation does, and did not have any personal contacts in that organisation. I decided that the best person to contact would be the CEO, and therefore sent an email to the CEO. In this email, I introduced myself and my research, and shared my intentions to volunteer for a period of several months in a nonprofit organisation in Israel. I wrote that I was interested in academically investigating the services that this organisation offers, and the various activities and projects that are carried out in that organisation. I asked the CEO if he would be interested in cooperating with my research, and also suggested meeting with him in person in order to further discuss this opportunity. I realised just how important this email would be for gaining an initial access to this organisation. Therefore, I utilised all the social capital that was available to me in this empirical site, by spending a good amount of time consulting with family members in Israel on the best way to introduce myself and my research in this email. Within a few days of sending the email, I received the response of the CEO. In his short reply, he

wrote, “I would be happy to help and to assist in your research; you can get in contact to schedule the meeting.” My ethnography study in Israel was on! I packed my things, booked a flight, and started my journey from New Zealand to Israel to take my first steps in my ethnography study. When I arrived in Israel and recovered from the jet lag and the severe heat, I reached out to schedule the meeting. The meeting with the CEO went very well, and he was happy to cooperate with my research and to allow me to conduct my ethnographic study as a volunteer in his organisation. At the end of the meeting, he introduced me to a senior member in the organisation to discuss further details about my volunteering there. And this is where things got difficult. Unlike the smooth and welcoming entrance to his organisation that the CEO had offered me, this meeting with this senior member of the organisation, as well as other contacts that I had with several other members of the organisation, involved some (justified) suspicion on their part as to my intentions in their organisation. The process of gaining their trust, and with it further access to the organisation, was ongoing, and required continuous negotiation efforts.

In the meeting that I had with that senior staff member, I expressed my desire to become a volunteer social counsellor in camp, and at the same time to conduct interviews with various members of the organisation and to conduct observations as well on various activities that take place in camp. I was told that being a social counsellor is a very demanding job that it is not for everyone, and that I should first start as a guest observer, and we would see how things went from there. I was also asked to send this staff member an information page about my research, so that this could be sent to all the administrative staff in the organisation as an invitation to participate in my research (Appendix C). I agreed, and we decided on the time when I would start my observations. Within a few days, I received an email from that senior staff member with a detailed schedule of camp, in which the activities that I would be allowed to observe were highlighted. In addition, I was also told that my interviews with various social counsellors in camp would be coordinated for me by this staff

member, and that I would be given further information on the exact time and location where these interviews would take place.

This was only the first round of my access negotiations with the organisation. Before each camp, which took place in the organisation on a weekly basis, I had to negotiate my access to that camp with various organisation members, and to also discuss the specific role that I would hold in that camp. The fact that I did not simply gain access to the organisation (as I had initially expected), but had to constantly renegotiate this access on a weekly basis, added to my anxiety, not knowing if I would be allowed in camp the following week, or if for some reason, I would lose my access for good. Despite my concerns and anxiety, as time went by, I managed to gain the trust of various organisation members who were rather suspicious of my presence there in the beginning, and eventually managed to gain full access to camp as a social counsellor.

In this chapter on the data analysis, I describe my experiences in camp from these two main positions that I have occupied in this empirical site, as a guest researcher and as an official staff member in camp, and share the type of data and insights that I was able to generate from these positions on affect and leadership in camp. Before I share my experiences and analysis of camp from these two positions, I first review the educational activities that take place before each camp starts. I examine these activities to discuss what type of knowledge and realities the practice of camp produces, and to start to illustrate how affect and leadership participate in the production of these realities.

Educational Activities in Camp

There are several educational activities that take place in the organisation on a regular basis before each camp starts. This training is needed because the organisation accepts new volunteers every week who have no prior knowledge of camp to serve as social counsellors, and they need to be trained and socialised into

the organisation in short periods of time. These repeated activities of training and educating novices into the organisation offered me valuable research opportunities. Such research opportunities are discussed by Nicolini (2009), who argues that

> valuable insights can be reached if one manages to zoom in on the activity of novices, apprentices, and learners . . . senior members will often feel a moral duty to explain, illustrate, and teach features of the current practice to novices. In so doing, they will pry open the logic of the practice, something that a researcher can appreciate. (p.125)

The fact that I had access to educational activities that take place in camp on a weekly basis was a great opportunity for me to investigate how the organisation explicitly communicates to its volunteers the goals of camp, and the main norms, rules and understandings that prevail in camp. In this way, these educational activities "pry open" the normative meaning that camp produces (Nicolini, 2009, p. 125), and make explicit the practice organisation of camp. To remind you, according to Schatzki's practice theory, the practice organisation consists of four principles: practical understandings, rules, teleoaffective structure, and general understanding (Schatzki, 2002). These four principles together constitute the normative meaning that camp as a social practice produces, and against this normative meaning all things in camp gain their situated meaning. By investigating the educational activities that precede camp and the practice organisation of camp that is manifested in them, it is possible to explicitly see what normative knowledge and realities camp produces, and also to begin to understand how affect and leadership are involved in the process of the production of these realities.

There are two main educational activities that take place before camp starts: an online tutorial and an orientation day. First, I discuss the online tutorial and what I have learned from it.

Online tutorial

Several days before my first camp starts, I receive an email from the organisation that is addressed to all the social counsellors who will volunteer or work in that camp. The email details when and where camp starts, and has a link to an online tutorial that contains all the relevant information about camp. In the email, it is specified in red bold letters that: **"to avoid any misunderstandings, the completion of the online tutorial software before camp starts is a must."** The email is concluded by advising the social counsellors to "get plenty of rest before camp starts, and expect a week of laughter, joy, and excitement!"

As I read this email, I am filled with excitement about the upcoming camp, and also become curious about this online tutorial, and what is so important about it that its completion before camp starts is a must. I click on the software and discover that this tutorial tells the story of camp with relevant information about the organisation, camp, and the specific medical condition that the upcoming camp will accommodate. In addition, and most importantly, this tutorial conveys loud and clear the norms and rules of camp, and how the social counsellors are expected to think, feel, and act in relation to other organisation members and children in camp.

According to this tutorial, the overall mission of camp is to celebrate life, and this mission is achieved by implementing the main core values of love, respect, and safety. This mission and the principle values of camp are illustrated with the symbols in Figure 2. These symbols constantly appear throughout the tutorial, as they are the logo of camp and the organisation.

Figure 2: The logo of the organisation and camp ("Logo", 2018)

These values and the guiding norms of the organisation are further expressed in the tutorial in a narrated video that offers a glimpse of the camp experience. In this video, the main norms of camp are narrated as follows:

> In camp, children can be who they are, feel loved, accepted, and not feel different. They can meet other children with similar medical conditions, and make new friends. This camp is about being part of something big that unites everyone, and it's about feeling belong. Without criticism, with no competition, and with no judgment. In a safe and respectful environment, surrounded by joy and lots of love.

In the rest of this tutorial, it is outlined in great detail what is expected from social counsellors in their work with the children, and in their work with other organisational members. In short, the idea is that the social counsellors are there to convey to the campers the spirit of camp which is love, joy, acceptance, and celebrating life, and to be there for them and participate in all the activities together with them. At the end of this tutorial, there is a quiz to be filled to ensure understanding, which asks about the topics that were discussed that include the core values and norms of camp, and the role description of the social counsellors.

As I complete this tutorial, I feel a bit relieved to have a better idea of what to expect of camp, as I have no prior knowledge of camp or what it is like to work with children with illnesses or disabilities. At the same time, I also notice how detailed the instructions are on how to think, feel, and act in camp, so that a strong element of control and order in camp is pretty clearly manifested in this online tutorial, whose completion before camp starts is mandatory to all participants.

I see this tutorial as one of the non-human participants in camp, an artefact, that has a very clear function of producing affective normative knowledge. As a reminder, artefacts are "products of human action" (Schatzki, 2002, p. 22), and this tutorial is an artefact that explicates to the participants the goal of camp, and the norms and rules that guide camp. The goal of camp is to celebrate life together with children

who have illnesses or disabilities, and the guiding norms in camp are love, joy, acceptance, and tolerance. At this point, I can only suspect that this is the main normative knowledge that characterises camp, and I am about to find this out for myself through my participation in camp.

The orientation day

The second educational activity that takes place regularly before each camp starts is the orientation day. The orientation day takes place a day before camp starts, and its purpose is to produce normative knowledge that will educate all the people who will serve as social counsellors in the upcoming camp (the volunteers, commune, and paid employees) about the mission, norms, and rules of camp. Another purpose of this orientation day is for all the staff members who will participate in camp to get to know each other, as they will work very closely as social counsellors during camp.

I attended many orientation days during my ethnographic study in camp, and will now describe the first orientation day that I attended in detail. My analysis of this orientation day and the insights that I generated from this day can more generally apply to all the orientation days that I attended, because these orientation days follow an almost identical schedule and convey the same meaning to the participants.

In my writings about my participation in specific activities during this orientation day, and more generally in camp, I follow the ethnographic writings of Wacquant (2004), and describe my experiences in the present tense. This way, I am able to better convey to the readers my lived experiences in this site, and better communicate the moment to moment nature of my bodily, affective, and sensual experiences.

My experiences in the orientation day

My first orientation day takes place in the summertime in Israel, and starts on Sunday morning. As I pass through the gates of the organisation, I make my way to the administration building where all the social counsellors have been instructed to meet. At the entrance of the building, I see the volunteer manager who greets me with a

smile and says that she is very happy to meet me. She instructs me to enter one of the rooms in the building, and to take a seat while we wait for the rest of the volunteers to arrive. There are around 25 chairs that are organised in a circle in the room, and a table with 25 T-shirts stamped with the organisation logo that say “Staff” on the back, and a corresponding number of name tags. As I examine the table with the T-shirts and name tags, the volunteer manager approaches me and offers me a T-shirt and a name tag with my name. She says that although I am only a guest here, she doesn’t want me to feel like I don’t belong. I feel relieved to know that I will not stand out from the other social counsellors in camp, and think to myself that by adopting a similar appearance as the other social counsellors in camp, I might be able to gain further access to camp. I decide to take a seat on a bench at the entrance of the administration building, so that I will be able to better see what is going on. I notice that gradually, the volunteers are starting to arrive at the administration building all sweaty from the hot weather outside, carrying big backpacks and suitcases with clothes for the week of camp. The volunteer manager stands at the entrance of the building, and greets each and every one of them by their names, gives them a hug, and tells them how happy she is to see them here in this camp. The volunteer manager and these volunteers already know each other, because they have met once before in a personal interview that took place as part of the screening process of volunteers for camp. I notice that the affective performances of the volunteer manager towards the new volunteers affect everyone and put a smile on everyone’s faces, and in this way make us all feel welcomed into this organisation.

The volunteers that attend this camp are fairly young, roughly in their mid-twenties. I notice that there is an equal mix of young men and women, and that about half of them are Arab and half of them are Jewish. Most people do not know one another, and most of them look a bit dazed and uncomfortable, because they have just arrived in a new place and they do not know anyone yet. Once the last of the volunteers finally arrives, I can see that this group of volunteers now consists of around 25 people. The volunteer manager asks us to gather together in the room and sit in a

circle, and to first watch a video about this organisation and camp. She explains that this video talks about another camp that belongs to the same network of camps that we are associated with, and that this video applies to our camp as well. I have attached here a link to this video that we watched on the orientation day, to offer readers access to the data that I will discuss and analyse here.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HZOhFdP1BTE (TeamHoleintheWall, 2008).

After the video is finished and the lights in the room are turned on, it is clear that there is not a dry eye left in the room. I am deeply affected by this video, and feel that I now understand why the social counsellors are here, what the value is of what they are doing, and what is expected of them to do: to have fun with sick children and to bring them love and joy, that is all. As an affective artefact, this video has communicated to all of us very clearly what camp is all about, and affected us to embrace the strong affective norms and the affective goals of camp. As we all dry our eyes and try to pretend that we didn't cry, a member of the administrative team who watched the video with us says that she cries every time she watches this video, although she has already watched it numerous times. She says that the thing we all need to keep in mind for this upcoming camp is that "these children come here to camp and their lives are very complex, and you need to remember that you come here from that simple place of making these children feel good; that is all that is expected of you." From the affective performance of this staff member, I learn once again what the affective norms and goals of camp are, and that as a participant I am strongly encouraged to adopt these norms and to reproduce them during my participation in camp. As the activity continues, we start with a round of introductions, and each of the volunteers tells a bit about themself and about their reasons for coming to volunteer in this camp. Many of the volunteers say that they heard about this camp from friends who had volunteered here before and told them how great it is, and therefore have decided to come and try it for themselves. Some of the volunteers share that they have already volunteered here before, and love

camp and the organisation so much that they could not wait to come back and volunteer again. A few of the other volunteers share that the reason that they came to volunteer in this camp is that they are students and receive school credit for this volunteering from their university. As my turn arrives, I introduce myself, and say that I am also a student, and that I will be joining some of the activities in camp during the week, as part of my research on nonprofit organisations in Israel. Since there are other students among the volunteers, and at this point no one knows each other anyway, I do not feel like I stand out or do not belong to the group.

In the next part of the orientation day, the volunteer manager tells us that it is time to take a tour around camp. She says that the camp property is very large, and that the tour will last for around an hour. She reminds us to bring a hat and water with us, since it is a very hot day. She shares with us that during the tour that she led with the volunteers the previous week, she actually fainted because she did not drink enough water. We all gather outside the administration building, and start following the volunteer manager on the tour around camp. As I make my way along the walking paths of camp (Figure 3), the first thing that catches my eyes is a very vast lawn, with three gigantic monuments that are placed at the top of it: a heart, a tree, and a sun (Figure 4). The volunteer manager explains to us that these monuments are in fact the logo of camp, and represent the mission of camp, which is love, joy, and acceptance.

Figure 3: Walking paths in camp

Figure 4(a)-(c): Three affective artefacts

In my practice-based study of camp, I look at these gigantic artefacts as some of the non-human participants in camp, whose purpose is to produce very clear symbolic meaning. This meaning is the normative affective meaning that characterises camp: the idea that we are all here to be in a state of love and joy, for the purpose of celebrating life together with sick children. The fact that this meaning is manifested in such a public and explicit way in camp using these massive affective artefacts illustrates how normative the meaning that camp produces is; there is not much room for us to interpret why we are here or how we should achieve the goals of camp. With these affective artefacts that are always there in front of our eyes, the organisation constantly communicates to us which specific goals and norms in camp we need to follow, and in what ways we are meant to follow them: by being in a state of joy and love together with the children. These gigantic affective artefacts literally

materialise the meaning of love and joy that camp aims to produce, and so in this orientation day, I again, clearly understand what the normative knowledge is that camp as a social practice produces: to be in a mode of love and joy together with sick children.

As we continue the tour, the volunteer manager explains to us what the different buildings are that we see as we walk around camp: the arts building, the library, the swimming pool, and the medical centre. She says that the medical centre is open 24 hours, and has a team of a doctor and nurses who are always there for the kids. We continue the tour and enter the cafeteria. It is a large hall that has five rows of long tables, each of which is marked according to a different colour: red, yellow, orange, blue, and green. These colours represent the colours of the different teams in camp, and during the meals each team sits at its own designated table. As we stand together in the cafeteria and listen to the explanations of the volunteer manager, the kitchen manager comes out of the kitchen. She smiles and looks very happy to see us, and says that she came to welcome us to camp. She looks at all the volunteers, and as she recognises a few volunteers who have volunteered in camp before, she gives them a hug and a kiss and says how happy she is to see them here again. The volunteer manager explains to us that the staff in this organisation are very happy to see people come back to volunteer, and this is how the returning volunteers are treated by the organisation. I notice both from the way that the volunteer manager has greeted all the volunteers when they first arrived to camp, and also from the affective performances of the kitchen manager towards the returning volunteers, just how strong the affective norms are in this organisation, and how much the volunteers are being valued and cherished by this organisation.

As we say goodbye to the kitchen manager and exit the cafeteria, the tour goes on and we continue to make our way around camp. The volunteer manager explains to us that the buildings that we see on our right are the sleeping cabins where the social counsellors as well as the campers will sleep during camp. In the same way that the

tables were arranged in the cafeteria, the sleeping cabins are also marked according to the colours of the different teams, and the teammates of each team sleep together in their designated cabin (Figure 5 and 6). In this way, the teammates of the different teams sleep in the orange, red, blue, yellow, and green cabins. There are also the purple cabins that accommodate the commune members, who stay in their designated cabins all year long.

Figure 5(a)-(b): Sleeping cabins in camp, marked according to the different team colours

Figure 6: Inside a sleeping cabin

The fact that both the tables in the cafeteria and the sleeping cabins are arranged in different teams, makes me realise that membership in a specific team in camp probably has a lot of meaning. This symbolic meaning is manifested in the colours of the different teams that decorate the tables in the cafeteria, as well as the sleeping

cabins. As we continue the tour around camp, the volunteer manager explains to us that there is a very strong emphasis in camp on inclusivity and accessibility, so that there will be no activity or facility that children will not able to attend and participate in. The whole camp is accessible to wheelchairs, including the swimming pool, the adventure park, and the zipline, so that in this camp the illness or disability of the children will not stand in their way of celebrating life. Even the different trees that are planted in camp, the volunteer manager tells us, are types of trees that no one can possibly be allergic to. Our last stop on our tour is the welcome centre. The welcome centre is the facility that is built in front of the main gate of the organisation, and is the place where the welcome reception for the children takes place on the first day they arrive. As I look around me, I notice that the mission of camp, celebrating life, is written in three languages on some of the walls in the welcome centre (Figure 7). Like the affective monuments that I have noticed earlier on the lawn, which communicate the normative meaning of camp of love and joy, this artefact once again communicates the mission of camp to the participants in the most explicit way possible: it is written on the wall. The fact that this camp mission is written in three different languages — Hebrew, Arabic, and English — also communicates the norm of inclusivity of camp to all social groups, which this organisation strongly adopts.

Figure 7: A wall at the welcome centre

The volunteer manager explains to us that tomorrow when camp starts and the children arrive at camp and get off the bus, we will stand in two rows and welcome

the children with joy and excitement under our bridge of hands. She demonstrates to us how to do this, and we all try and follow her instructions. The tour now comes to its end, and we are instructed to return to the room where we all first met for our next session with the administrative staff. We are also told that we will now get to meet the other social counsellors who will participate in this camp with us, the commune members and the paid employees. As we return to the room and take our seats, a group of around 30 people enters the room all cheerful and full of energy. They look quite young and they all seem like very good friends who have known each other for a while. These are the commune members, who consist of twenty young men and women between the ages of 18-21, and around ten paid employees in their early to mid-twenties. I can sense the big difference between these groups of social counsellors, which consist of new volunteers that just met, and the commune members who have lived in the commune together for almost a year now. I wonder to myself how these gaps between the groups will be handled in camp, and I am just about to find this out in this session. The session has now begun as a member of the administrative staff enters the room and asks us all to be quiet. We do a round of introductions of all the different social counsellors who are present in the room, a group of around 55 people, and each one of us is asked to say their name, and the first thing that they like to do when they wake up in the morning. This activity is quite entertaining, and helps to break the ice between the more experienced commune members, the paid employees, and the new volunteers, and we are now ready for the session to begin. A member of the administrative staff tells us that now we will be introduced to the main rules and norms that exist in this organisation. The first norm that is covered in the presentation by the administrative member is that in camp all social counsellors are equals; they all have the same responsibilities and are treated in the same way. So despite the fact that some of the social counsellors are volunteers who have just arrived, and some of them have lots of experience in camp, there is no difference in camp between these groups and they all have the same status. The second norm that is discussed is that the purpose of us being here is to

celebrate life together with the children, and therefore we "leave the illness at the gate," as the administrator says, and do not discuss the illness with the campers, unless they bring this topic up. The idea, we are told, is not to ignore the fact that these children suffer from chronic illnesses, but to focus on the positive in camp and to generate happy and joyful experiences. The rest of the presentation covers the main rules of camp, which specify the specific ways that we should act around the children. The social counsellors are not supposed to be alone in a room with the campers, and are not supposed to express physical affection like hugs and kisses. Only side-hugs and hi-fives are allowed. In addition, the social counsellors are not allowed to receive any presents from the campers, and are not allowed to stay in touch with the campers after the camp finishes.

The rules and norms that are explicitly discussed in this session, indicate that there is a strong emphasis in this organisation on inclusion and flat structure among the social counsellors, so that there is no difference between novices and more experienced social counsellors, and everyone is treated as equals. In addition, the guiding norms in camp are to focus on the positive and on having fun here and now, and not to directly address the illness of the children.

So far, I have discussed and analysed from a practice approach the educational activities that take place before camp starts. I next sum up this analysis to discuss what the practice organisation of camp is, and why it is important to my practice-based study of affect and leadership in camp.

The practice organisation of camp

In this section, I chose to analyse educational activities that take place in camp, because these activities "pry open the logic of the practice" (Nicolini, 2009, p. 125) and make explicit the practice organisation that characterises it. This practice organisation is the normative knowledge that camp produces, which links all the doings and sayings in this practice to hang together in a certain way. It has a major influence on the ways that the participants construct their meaning in this practice.

In gaining a good grasp of the practice organisation that governs the activities in camp, we can become familiar with the type of normative realities that camp produces. In addition, we can start to understand how affect and leadership are involved in the construction of these realities.

Before I discuss the practice organisation that characterises camp, I first remind you how I have theorised the practice organisation based on Schatzki's practice theory. The practice organisation that governs the activities in a given practice consists of four principles: practical understandings, rules, teleoaffective structure and general understandings. Practical understanding is the practical knowledge of how to carry out actions, and how to identify and respond to the actions in a certain practice. Schatzki argues that the practical understandings in a practice are tacit and unreflective for the most part, and therefore will not be analysed here. The second principle of the practice organisation is rules. Rules are "explicit formulations, principles, precepts, and instructions that enjoin, direct, or remonstrate people to perform specific actions" (Schatzki, 2002, p. 79). The third principle of the practice organisation, the teleoaffective structure, is the affective norms of the practice that are tied to the practice's ends. The fourth and last principle of the practice organisation is general understandings, which is the state of being that responds to the question, What are we all doing here in this practice? These four principles together constitute the practice organisation of every given social practice, and this practice organisation can be understood as the normative meaning, the shared agreement, and the normative knowledge that the practice produces. Based on my discussion of the educational activities in camp, I can say that the practice organisation of camp consists of the rules and explicit norms of tolerance, inclusion, and a focus on the positive. The teleoaffective structure of camp is the strong affective norms in camp, which are tied to the affective goal of camp, which is celebrating life together with sick children. The general understanding in camp, is that we should all be in a state of mind of celebrating life. This is the normative practice organisation of camp. These norms of love, joy, inclusion, and tolerance are the

normative affective realities that are produced in camp. These normative realities have a strong influence on the ways that the participants make their meaning in this practice, and the ways that social interactions and artefacts become intelligible to the participants.

As I have illuminated the type of normative realities that are produced in camp, I have also started to demonstrate some of the ways in which affect and leadership are manifested in this practice to participate in the construction of these realities. I demonstrated how various affective artefacts, like the online tutorial, camp video, affective monuments, and team colours, as well as the affective performances of various staff members, constantly communicate to the participants what the affective norms and goals of camp are, and affect them to embrace these norms and to further reproduce them. In this manner, I have started to illustrate how the affective realities of camp are being produced and reproduced through relational processes of affective influence, that involve human and non-human participants. In my study, I conceptualise leadership as a phenomenon that produces directions through reciprocal processes of influence, which involve human and non-human participants. Therefore, I understand the relational processes of influence that I have begun to analyse here as manifestations of leadership. I have begun to illuminate in this analysis the affective nature of leadership, and its central part in producing organisational realities. Due to this inseparable nature of affect and leadership, I refer to leadership as affective leadership, to acknowledge and foreground the affective nature of this phenomenon.

In my analysis so far, I have illuminated the affective normative realities that characterise the social practice of camp, and started to illustrate how affective leadership is involved in the production of these realities. In this manner, I have begun to illustrate how camp can be understood as an affective leadership practice, a social practice in which affective leadership is manifested to constantly produce and negotiate the normative affective knowledge that characterises it. In the sections

of my analysis that follow, I proceed to focus on specific activities that I have participated in at camp. I offer nuanced understandings of how affective leadership is manifested in these activities through its human and non-human participants to constantly produce and negotiate knowledge and directions in camp. In illuminating the ways affective leadership participates in processes of knowledge production that take place in camp, my analysis also offers a wider understanding of the social context that this phenomenon is embedded in. I offer critical understandings of why this affective leadership practice takes place the way it does, and what effects it produces in this local context. This analysis that I offer next is based on my experiences from the two main positions that I have occupied in the field: as a guest researcher and as an official staff member. I share the type of data and insights that I was able to generate from each position.

Investigating Camp from the Position of a Guest Researcher

In this section, I share my experiences in camp from the position of a guest researcher, which I occupied for a period of four months. I share my embodied and affective experiences from this position, and discuss and analyse from a practice approach what this can teach us about affect and leadership in this empirical site.

As I have briefly discussed earlier, my ethnographic study in this nonprofit organisation in Israel required an ongoing effort to negotiate access, which took place on a weekly basis from camp to camp. Once I received the blessing of the CEO to conduct my ethnographic study there, I also received permission from a senior member of the organisation to attend one camp, and from there my presence was to be further negotiated. In the camps that followed for a period of four months, I managed to gain access as a guest researcher to five camps that took place in this organisation. My ethnographic study started in the summertime in Israel, during which period the organisation offers summer camps for children with balanced medical conditions, who can attend camp with no need of a caretaker. Medical

conditions that the summer camps accommodate include epilepsy, diabetes, haemophilia, neurological disorders, blindness/limited vision, and deafness/limited hearing. Usually the illnesses of the children in these summer camps are less visible, compared to the medical conditions of the children in the family camps, which are more visible since many of these children are dependent on wheelchairs and require constant care. The duration of the summer camps is around six days, and each camp accommodates a different medical condition. The staff members in these camps consist mostly of the social counsellors. Some of them are volunteers who change every camp, and the rest are the more permanent staff—the commune members and the paid employees—who remain constant during the summer period. Camp takes place according to a very detailed schedule, and many of the activities are similar or even repeat themselves in each summer camp. An example of a summer camp schedule is attached in Appendix E. The schedule for camp is created by members of the administrative staff in the organisation, and specifies for the participants the content of the activities that will take place in camp, and the place and time that these activities will be carried out. In this way, the schedule for camp is an artefact that exercises a lot of power over the participants in camp, as it "enables and constrains" their activities in camp (Schatzki, 2002, pp. 44-45). As I will further illustrate later on in my analysis, the schedule is not the only means by which the organisation exercises power over the participants, as there are other artefacts and techniques that the organisation uses to manifest its power to instill its normative meaning in this empirical site. The first day of camp is Sunday, when all the social counsellors gather together for the orientation day, and on Monday the campers arrive and camp officially starts and lasts until Friday. The campers, the social counsellors, and other staff at camp sleep onsite during camp in the sleeping cabins. The participants in camp include the social counsellors, the campers, other staff in camp, and a few administrative staff of the organisation. The social counsellors in an average summer camp will normally include around 25 volunteers, the commune which consists of 20 members, and around 10 paid employees. In addition, there are

approximately 70 children who are the campers in camp, and other staff in camp like: the medical team, the workshop instructors, and the team leaders. So overall around 130 people participate in an average summer camp. In each camp the participants are divided into 4-5 teams. The volunteers, commune members, and paid employees who serve as the social counsellors in camp are divided equally among the teams. So, in each team there are more or less the same number of volunteers and commune members. Each team has a team leader, who is the supervisor of the social counsellors and the campers for the duration of camp, and each team has its own colour: red, yellow, blue, orange, and green.

So far, I have discussed some background information that is relevant for understanding my experiences in the summer camps as a guest researcher. Next, I share my affective and embodied experiences in these camps, to offer a practice-based analysis of affect and leadership in camp. In this analysis of my experiences in camp, I focus on three main activities that take place in camp on a regular basis: the welcome reception, organised dancing, and the goodbye activity, and describe and analyse these activities in detail. The detailed analysis of the welcome reception and the organised dancing takes place in the current section in which I analyse camp as a guest researcher. The analysis of the goodbye activity takes place in the following section, in which I analyse camp as an official staff member. I chose to zoom in on specific activities that take place in camp, and not to settle only for a general description of camp, because I want to offer a more nuanced understanding of how affective leadership is manifested in this specific site. I want to discuss in detail the dynamic affective performances that take place between the participants in relation to one another. I want to analyse the flow of influence that circulates between the human and non-human participants to produce directions, and to discuss the moment-to-moment ways that the participants negotiate the normative meaning that the practice produces, and the positions and identities that are opened to them in this practice. The reason that I chose to focus particularly on these three activities is that the affective texture of these activities and the dynamic flow of influence that

characterise them are very salient, and therefore enable me to identify and analyse affective leadership in camp more easily. The detailed analysis of these activities that I have participated in as a guest researcher are from the first camp that I attended in the organisation, to share my lived experiences in these activities.

Experiencing camp as a guest researcher

I attend my first camp in the organisation by joining the orientation day, held on Sunday for all the social counsellors participating in the upcoming camp, a group of around 55 people. I have already started to describe this orientation day in the section where I discuss the educational activities in camp. Despite the fact that I do not have an official role as a social counsellor in that camp, but occupy the position of a guest researcher (a fact that I made known to the other participants in the introduction session), on this orientation day I do not feel significantly different from the other participants in camp, and more or less fit right in with everyone else. This is because almost half of the participants in camp, the new volunteers, are new to that organisation themselves, and some of them are students as well. The fact that my physical appearance and my age seem similar to the other social counsellors also allows me to mingle fairly easily with the rest of the participants. I value the fact that I have the ability to be perceived as a staff member in camp like the other participants, because this offers me the potential to participate in the activities in camp together with the other participants, and not only observe these from the side. In this way, although I am not an official staff member in camp yet, I can still potentially investigate camp as an observant participant, and not only as a passive participant observant.

The first part of the orientation day includes the tour around camp and the sessions about the rules of camp. When these sessions are finished, all the social counsellors are divided into five teams and are sent to have a team meeting with their team leader. At this point, I approach the leader of the red team, and ask her if it will be possible for me to join her team for a while. I explain that I am here as a guest

researcher and therefore not officially assigned to any of the teams. The team leader looks very surprised and suspicious at the same time, and says that it is okay for now but she will have to receive an approval for this from the camp manager. I am pleased that she has allowed me to join her team. At the same time, I am also a bit overwhelmed by the number of people that I need to go through to gain access to this camp: first the CEO, then the senior member of the organisation, the volunteer manager, the team leader, and now, as I just discover, also the camp manager. During the rest of the orientation day, the social counsellors in each team plan together some of the activities that will take place during camp, such as introduction games, goodbye activities, trivia games, and so on. I spend a few hours helping members of the red team to plan some of these activities, and in so doing generate data as an observant participant. In the evening of the orientation day I return home, and go back to camp the next morning.

Monday morning has arrived, and it is the first day of camp! Today, I wear the camp T-shirt that I received from the volunteer manager the day before and my name tag, and make my way to the organisation. As I pass through the gate of the organisation and walk towards the welcome centre at the entrance of camp, I find there all the social counsellors, a group of around 55 people, setting up an arch of balloons and decorating the place and themselves for when the children will arrive two hours later. Many of the social counsellors put face paint on their faces, and decorate themselves with colourful ribbons and bracelets according to the colour of their team: red, blue, yellow, orange, or green. It is the first day of camp and the excitement is in the air! I say hello to everyone and join the teammates of the red team, which I have joined a day earlier, to set balloons together in an arch. Although I did not sleep there during the night, at this point most people are still not very familiar with one another, and I quite easily mingle with the crowd. As I assist the red team in putting the balloons together, I hear a sharp voice calling my name. It is the senior member of the organisation with whom I previously discussed my role, calling me to approach her. She says that she wants me to meet the camp manager who is standing next to her.

The camp manager seems to me like a very authoritative figure, and as she gives me a thorough look, I become a bit intimidated by her. In her assertive voice, she says, “Well, I see we haven’t been properly introduced yet. I am the camp manager. I have heard that you will be joining us for a while. So, how do you want to do this? I see that you have joined the red team now.” I really don’t know what to say, as I am not sure how the hierarchy works here yet, who is in charge, and I surely don’t want to piss anyone off, so I reply, “I don’t know, what did you have in mind?” She replies, “You can be with the red team today, and every day during this camp you will be joining a different team.” I agree. I get the impression that she is suspicious of my presence there and does not trust me. Interestingly enough, as camps went by and she became accustomed to my presence there, she became friendly and very supportive of my research, so much so that she even made efforts to help me to coordinate some of the interviews that I conducted with various members of the organisation!

As I return to the red team, a member of the commune puts loud music on through big speakers, and I see people start dancing. The songs are highly rhythmic and are both in Hebrew and in Arabic. At first, I see that around 20 people gather at the welcome centre and dance to the sound of the music in a spontaneous style. Then, a few commune members tell everyone to gather together to form a big circle, and two commune members stand in the middle of the circle and demonstrate to the people in the circle the choreography of the dance moves. I see that the people in the circle repeat the dance moves of the choreographers in the middle of the circle, so that now everyone is dancing in the same way and share the same movements. Gradually, I see more people joining the circle, so now around 30 social counsellors are dancing, all wearing the same camp T-shirts, wearing face paint and decorated with ribbons and bracelets with their team colours. All these social counsellors are dancing together to the sound of the rhythmic music as one big body, jumping together, waving their hands and arms together with big smiles on their faces. I notice that this organised group dancing has a really powerful effect, as everyone moves together as

one body manifesting joy, happiness, and unity. As I watch this large group of social counsellors dance together at the welcome centre, I do not feel very comfortable joining them. This is because it is just my second day at the organisation, and I am not so sure about my status there and if, as a guest researcher, I should be participating in this type of activity or not. In addition, I am not confident at all about my dancing skills, so I think that maybe it will be for the best if I do not join this dancing activity. Therefore, I choose not to participate and take a seat on a bench close to where everyone is dancing and observe them from this spot. Only a few minutes pass by, and one of the social counsellors approaches me and sits next to me. She smiles at me and asks, "Is everything alright? Why are you sitting here on the side and not joining us dancing?" I am not sure if she is a commune member, a volunteer, or a paid employee, since I do not know people very well at this point in my ethnography yet. Only later do I find out that she is a paid employee with a lot of experience as a social counsellor in camp. I answer her, "I don't know, I guess I'd rather sit here because I am not a very good dancer." She smiles and says that that is alright, and gently takes my hand and leads me to the dancing circle, which is becoming larger by the minute and now consists of around 35 people. In this group I see commune members, as well as new volunteers and paid employees. I also notice that there is a roughly equal number of Jews and Arabs in this group. I start dancing with everyone, following the dance moves of the people at the centre of the circle, and actually feel relieved that this dance is so choreographed, because as I mentioned earlier, I am not a very good dancer. We all jump together and move our bodies in the same way with big smiles on our faces, jump to the left, jump to the right, turn, and wave our hands in the air. This is so much fun! This activity is very physical and intensive, so my heart is pounding, I am sweating, and I feel an adrenaline rush going through my body. As I dance, I look at the more experienced dancers to repeat their dance moves, and become even more excited when I notice the pure joy and excitement of the other volunteers who are dancing with us, who, like me, are experiencing this activity for the first time. As we all repeat the dance moves of the choreographers in the middle

of the circle, we constantly make eye contact with one another with big smiles on our faces, so that we perform these dance moves in relation to one another and constantly send and receive feedback to one another (Figure 8).

Figure 8(a)-(b): Dancing in the welcome centre

As I dance together with the other social counsellors in the circle, I feel energised, I feel intense joy, and I feel a sense of belonging. No one cares why I am here or who I am, we are all here together for one single purpose: to celebrate life together with sick children. I can feel how this is both physical adrenaline and my mental state all at the same time; I think, feel and do joy and excitement all at the same time as embodied meaning-making, but not in isolation, but constantly in relation to the other dancers in the circle (Wetherell, 2012). These intentional and spatial relations that we construct in relation to one another in this activity, where we perform emotion in relation to one another and occupy space in the same way with our identical body movements, construct our relational positions and identities as equal members of this organisation (on intentional and spatial relations, see: Schatzki, 2002, pp. 42-44; Wetherell, 2012). In this manner, I feel how these affective performances of joy and excitement, which we perform in relation to one another, position us all as equals in the group, with no difference between novices and more experienced staff members, and no difference between the different social groups that we are associated with. As we carry out these affective dance movements in relation to one another to occupy space and perform emotion in certain ways, we

constantly negotiate in “endless becoming” the meaning that we make of this activity, and the relational positions and identities that we gain in relation to one another in (Schatzki, 2002, p. 233). The fact that we are all decorated with artefacts such as ribbons, face paint, and bracelets, and that we all wear camp T-shirts, adds more to the excitement, as these artefacts manifest the symbolic meaning of joy, celebration, and team membership, and intensify this affective experience for us. In this way, as I dance in the circle in relation to the other social counsellors, I experience through my body and mind an intense flow of affective influence that circulates among the participants and the affective artefacts, to produce a very strong direction of joy, excitement, and inclusion among us all. I have previously discussed how I perceive leadership to be a phenomenon that is characterised by reciprocal flows of influence that produce directions (Crevani, 2011, 2018; Crevani & Endrissat, 2016; Crevani et al., 2010; Dachler & Hosking, 1995). Therefore, the experiences that I describe here can be understood as manifestations of leadership, and illuminate the affective nature of this phenomenon, which is constituted by embodied affective humans and symbolic artefacts. This affective leadership manifests as dynamic flows of affective influence, which circulate among the human and non-human participants in this activity to produce directions. As I dance with everyone in the circle to perform affect in relation to the other dancers and experience an affective flow of influence that circulates among us all, one of the social counsellors dancing next to me, who is a member of the red team that I joined a day earlier, approaches me. He asks me if it would be okay for him to paint my face with the colours of the red team and to put a red ribbon around my head. I agree, and as I dance with everyone with the colours of the red team on my face, I feel at once an increasing membership in the organisation and membership in the red team, which has now accepted me as one of them. In this way, the strong element of inclusion was communicated to me not only through the choreographed dancing which created the feeling of “we-ness” between all the dancers (Chandler, 2011, p. 871), but also directly through the more experienced social counsellors, who first recruited me to join the activity, and then enhanced my

membership through the artefacts of the ribbons and the face paint. At this point, I decide to document this moment with a picture, and become a bit amused to see how shocked I look on the second day of my ethnography (Figure 9).

Figure 9: The researcher during the organised dance, second day of ethnography

After I dance with the group for a while and take a short break to catch my breath, I notice that something in me has changed. I am still the same Avigail, but at the same time I am also something else, I am transformed. I know that this is partially due to the adrenaline that still runs through my body, but at the same time I know that it is more than that. Before, I was anxious and insecure about my status in camp, and now, I am in an intense state of joy and excitement, and I feel deeply connected to the group. I feel that we are all equals and on the same level, and that now I fully embody the norms and goal of camp, which are to celebrate life through love, joy, and excitement, with an emphasis on inclusion of all social groups.

Thinking about the strong normative knowledge that was produced in this activity, and how this was achieved, I believe that the primary way that the normative meaning of joy, excitement, and unity was produced in this activity was through the artefact of choreography. As was previously mentioned, artefacts are "products of human action" (Schatzki, 2002, p. 22), and the artefact of choreography was used in this activity as a tool to transmit the normative knowledge of camp of—joy, excitement, and unity—directly into the participants' bodies.

This idea of choreography as "a form of knowledge creation" (Kolo, 2016, p. 37) and a means to generate bodily knowledge was discussed by Kolo (2016) in her work on

organisational aesthetics. She traced this idea of choreography as a form of social influence all the way back to Plato,

> who in his Laws that were concerned with an ideal way of administering a state described the artistic form of choreia (the etymological basis from choreography as a compound of ”graphein” and “choreia” – Mullen, 1982). The citizens would learn the structures, rules, and behaviour in this society through choreia as a unity of words, music, and dance. Plato’s model of ideal society in form of a choreia would be inscribed in the bodies of the citizens and transferred into their everyday life. (Kolo, 2016, p. 42)

In Plato’s model, choreography is used by the state as a very effective tool to administer its rules and norms directly into its citizens’ bodies, and in this way to influence their lives. My own experience as a participant in the activity of organised dancing echoes this idea of Plato; the nonprofit organisation that I studied uses the choreography of the dance as a means to administer in a very immediate way, with no need of discourse and language, its norms and goals of—celebrating life, joy, and unity—directly into the dancers’ bodies. In this way, the organisation influences the actions, thoughts, and feelings of the dancers and promotes compliance. From various interviews that I conducted with commune members as well as with administrative staff members in the organisation, I discovered that in their training and educational sessions, the commune are taught how to perform these choreographed dances, and are explicitly instructed to perform these organised dances during camps and to actively recruit the new staff members to join them. In this way, the commune members, who serve as social counsellors in camp for the duration of a whole year, keep reproducing through the choreographed dancing the normative knowledge of joy, excitement, and inclusion that exists in camp.

This activity of organised dancing was so normative that the participants did not have much room to negotiate which dance movements they would perform and how; there was only one way that all the participants could perform these dance moves,

and they had to perform them all at the same time. So the content of the knowledge that was transmitted into the participants' bodies through the choreography of—joy, excitement, and unity—was very much specified by the organisation, with not much room to negotiate it. Furthermore, not only was the content of the knowledge that this activity carried with it highly regulated by the organisation, other means to negotiate and resist this normative knowledge, such as not participating, were not really an option for the participants. As I have illustrated from my own experience, although I attempted to not participate in this activity, I was nevertheless actively recruited by the more experienced members, who used peer pressure to ensure my participation, and then instructed me as to which specific dance moves I should perform and how. We can learn from this that the element of power is very salient in this activity, and is manifested very clearly through this artefact of choreography. The fact that the choreography is an artefact that enables and constrains the activities of the human participants demonstrates Schatzki's idea of pre-figurational relations. Schatzki (2002) theorised pre-figurational relations as relations of enablement and constraint between the human and non-human participants in social practices, and argued that this type of relation is the way that power manifests itself in the site of the social (Schatzki, 2002, pp. 44-45). Thus, we can see how the artefact of choreography manifests power over the participants in a very distinct way, as it very clearly enables and constrains their bodily activities, and in this way administers normative knowledge directly into their bodies. The other artefacts in this activity, which include the physical space of the welcome centre, the affective writings and symbols on the walls, the face-paint, ribbons, and bracelets, are also used as a means to manifest the meaning of camp of—joy, excitement, and membership—and affect the participants to embrace this meaning.

While the various affective artefacts that I have discussed above are used by the organisation to generate the normative knowledge of love, excitement, and inclusion, this knowledge is not transmitted by these artefacts to the participants in isolation, but is mobilised among the human and non-human participants as they

embrace this affective knowledge into their bodies, and perform emotion in relation to one another. As this normative meaning of love, joy, and inclusion is administered into the participants' bodies through the artefacts, and is mobilised among the participants in their relational performances of emotion, a dynamic flow of affective influence is constantly circulating among the human and non-human participants in this activity. The symbolic affective meaning of the artefacts generates and intensifies this affective experience, and the constant feedback loops among the participants mobilise flows of affective influence between the human and non-human participants to produce very strong direction towards the goal of camp, which is to celebrate life. This direction that is produced in this activity is so intense, that I felt how I embodied the norms and goals of the organisation into my body by the time I had finished my participation in this activity. In this way, in the activity of organised dancing, affective leadership is manifested as the human and non-human participants constantly affect one another to reproduce and negotiate the normative affective knowledge that prevails in camp of joy, excitement, and unity. The effects of this activity on the participants are very profound, so that in their embodied participation the participants come to embrace the affective normative meaning of camp, and further reproduce it with their actions.

I have offered a detailed practice-based analysis of affect and leadership in the activity of organised dancing. I would now like to continue my analysis and to focus on the activity of the welcome reception, which directly followed the organised dancing that took place at the welcome centre on the first day of camp. So Let's go back to that first day of camp which I started to describe earlier.

I am at the welcome centre and I have been dancing with the other social counsellors for a while now, and as I look toward the entrance of the organisation, I notice that the bus with the campers is entering the gate. They are here! The campers are arriving! A few commune members call all the social counsellors and instruct us to stand in two rows under the arch of balloons, to start with the welcome reception to

welcome the children as they get off the bus and enter the welcome centre. I recall that we have been shown during the orientation day and also in the online tutorial video how to perform this activity, and know that this activity is very normative and takes place in the same way at the beginning of each camp. We all follow the instructions of the commune members, and stand at the entrance of the welcome centre in two rows facing one another. As the first camper enters the arch of balloons and walks between the two rows, I see the more experienced social counsellors lift their hands up in the air to form a bridge, and yell, “Woohoooooo welcome!” I then join them together with the other volunteers, and as the next camper enters and walks under the arch of balloons, we all lift our hands up in the air and yell, “Welcome!” As the campers walk through our bridge of hands, they look very excited, and I feel like now camp has finally begun! Campers who walk through under our bridge of hands arrive at the reception desk, where they are assigned to their teams and receive a bracelet with the colours of their team. In this way, similar to the process that the social counsellors went through not too long ago, the campers are assigned a new identity as members of a specific team in camp. Below is a video link and some pictures in the following page (Figure 10), to better illustrate what this activity looks like.

A video of the welcome reception: https://youtu.be/-76hnR8cl3A (AM, 2019b).

Figure 10(a)-(c): Social counsellors and campers during the welcome reception

We keep performing this welcoming reception to welcome the children who get off the bus and enter the arch of balloons, and I notice just how much the children are moved by the way that we welcome them into camp. I also notice that a small crowd of people gather around us at the welcome centre and watches us welcoming the campers with big smiles on their faces. I see in this crowd members of the administrative team, members of the medical team, and other staff in camp, and they all look very excited and some of them also take pictures. Their presence there and the feedback that I receive from them as I welcome the campers make me feel like what we are doing now is really important, that we are highly valued for this work that we are doing, and our contribution is well acknowledged. In this way, the constant feedback that I receive both from these bystanders as well as the campers, who all look very excited and appreciative of our affective gestures, intensifies this experience for me, and I feel like there is a constant flow of affective influence that circulates among us all, and influences us to fully embrace the spirit of camp: to

celebrate life together with the campers! The fact that all the social counsellors stand in two lines which face one another in this activity literally puts all the social counsellors on the same line in relation to one another, and constructs our spatial relations and our relational positions of equals. Furthermore, the fact that we perform this affective activity towards the campers, who in turn do not know which of the social counsellors are in the commune, which ones are paid employees, or which ones are new volunteers, feels like the ultimate equalizer: we are all social counsellors in camp and share the same status. It is in this way that the intentional and spatial relations that are constructed among the social counsellors and the campers in this activity position the social counsellors as equal members of the organisation. In these affective performances of the welcome reception which positioned us all as equals and enhanced my identity as a valued member in the organisation, I constantly made meaning against the normative meaning of camp that I have learned in the educational activities. My general understandings were that I was here for the purpose of celebrating life together with the campers through joy, excitement, and inclusion, and this was the meaning that I attributed to my embodied experiences, and constantly reproduced this meaning with my actions. The various artefacts that participated in this activity—the choreography, the signs on the wall that literally said “celebrate life,” the colourful ribbons and face paint—were used to produce and further intensify this meaning of love, joy, and inclusion. We then embraced and further mobilised this affective meaning through our relational performances of emotion in relation to one another, to generate a dynamic flow of affective influence that was circulating among all of us to produce a very strong direction of celebrating life.

These manifestations of affective leadership in this welcome reception activity had a transformative effect on its participants. One of the social counsellors, who was a paid employee in camp, described this effect very well in an interview that I have conducted with him. He said, “The welcome reception is a professional way to get everyone into the spirit of camp. It’s like jumping into the deep water in the

swimming pool, and from there you just keep on swimming." I believe that this quote describes very well the effects that this welcome reception activity has on its participants, and the means by which these effects are achieved. The welcome reception more or less instantly gets everyone to embrace the spirit of camp, and is indeed a professional way to administer the meaning of camp to the participants; it takes place regularly at the beginning of every camp when the campers arrive, and all the social counsellors are required to participate in this activity. As I gained further access to the organisation and got access to the regulations of the international network of camps that this organisation follows, I discovered that there is an explicit guideline from the international network to perform this welcome reception to welcome the campers on the first day of camp. So we can see here that the activity of the welcome reception has its origins in the international network of camps, which makes sure that the camps that are associated with its network will regularly perform this activity. In this way, the normative meaning that this activity produces is systematically being reproduced, and being administered into the participants' bodies on a regular basis. It is clear that this welcome reception activity involves a lot of power that is exercised over the participants through the choreography and the explicit requirement to participate, and also involves power that is exercised over the organisation by the international network of camps, with the explicit regulation to carry out this activity in each camp regularly.

After having participated in the two activities of the organised dancing and the welcome reception which followed one another, I feel transformed. I feel like now I fully embody the norms and goals of camp of celebrating life through love, joy, and inclusion. In both of these activities, I constructed my meaning in relation to the normative knowledge of camp that I learned in the educational activities, and in this way the affective artefacts gained and constantly produced the meaning of joy, excitement, and membership. This affective and normative meaning was constructed and performed in bodily and material activities in relation to the other participants, to further produce and mobilise an affective flow of influence that circulated among

all the participants to produce the direction towards the goal of camp, which is to celebrate life. In the two activities that I have discussed so far, I have illuminated the affective nature of leadership, and illustrated how affective leadership constantly produces, reproduces, and modifies the normative meaning of camp of love, joy, and inclusion. I illustrated how these processes of knowledge production take place through a reciprocal process of affective influence, that involve both the human and non-human participants. In addition, I have illustrated the transforming effects that these manifestations of affective leadership had on the participants, who came to adopt the norms and goals of camp through their embodied participation in these activities.

Once these two activities are over and all the campers have arrived, the members of each team, which now consist of the social counsellors, the campers, and the team leader, gather together for some introduction games. I continue the day with the red team, and we all go to find a shady spot to start the introduction games. At this point, the team leader has a list with all the campers' names, and the different members of the team do not know each other yet. The team leader asks everyone to form a circle, and asks that each team member in their turn will say their name and will make a movement with their body. After each participant says their name and does their unique movement, the rest of the team repeats it and also repeats the names and movements of all the people that did it before. In this way, we get to know each other a bit better and break the ice, and learn the names of the teammates with whom we will spend the rest of camp together. Right after this game finishes, we start another game. This time, the team is divided into two groups, and the goal of the game is to chase the members of the other group and catch as many people as possible. This game is so much fun! As we run back and forth on the big lawn and try to catch as many people as we can, there is direct touch and interaction between all team members. Through our body and our movements, we perform joy, excitement, and fun in relation to one another to constantly affect one another and become connected to one another. By the time that we finish these two introduction games,

I feel like we are already a team. I feel happy but also a bit exhausted, as it is now midday and we have spent the last two hours running around and playing games in the hot Israeli sun. We now start to make our way to the medical centre, where each camper in their turn goes to register with the medical team and shares with them relevant information about their medical condition. While each camper is registering with the medical team, the rest of the team waits in the resting area in the medical centre, which does not resemble a hospital but looks more like a fun zone for children, with sofas, pillows, dolls, and many different games. I notice that some of the team members sit on the floor and play board games. Other campers play with a ball which is now passed around the team members waiting in the resting area. Once all the children have registered with the medical team, we start to make our way to the cafeteria to eat lunch. As we walk on the footpaths towards the cafeteria, we see and hear the yellow team loudly chanting their team's song: "The yellow team is the best! Not the red, not the blue, only the yellow team rules!" Our team leader and some of the social counsellors on our team answer to them with our own chants "The red team is the best! The red team is the best!" The other campers and social counsellors on the red team join them in these chants, and I feel like it is pretty much official that we are now a team. These team chants took place regularly in the summer camps that I participated in, and as with the other artefacts that I have discussed earlier, these chants can be understood as an affective artefact used by the organisation to produce the meaning of being a member of a certain team, and affect the participants to embrace this meaning with a great deal of power that is exerted over them in the process. This identity and meaning of team membership is produced through these team chants as they are being performed in relation to the other teams, to construct intentional relations and relational positions of membership in different teams. The positions and identities that are constructed here are of team membership, but this does not contradict the relational positions that were constructed earlier between the social counsellors and the campers of equal members in camp, as these identities and positions go hand in hand; each participant

in camp is first and foremost an equal member in camp, and at the same time is also a member of a certain team, which functions like their family for the duration of camp. We perform these chants for a while in relation to the other teams that we meet on our way to the cafeteria, and eventually we arrive at the cafeteria. It is a large hall that is filled with long tables that are marked according to the different team colours. Each team eats lunch at its designated table with the other team members. I take a seat with the red team, and eat lunch with them. I notice that during lunch time, and all throughout camp, people only talk about matters that relate to camp and to the here and now experience. People do not talk about politics, religion, their work, or their other occupations outside camp, but only focus on the camp experience. Furthermore, the organisation has the policy of "leaving the illness at the gate," so that the social counsellors know that they are not supposed to talk with the children about their illness, unless the campers themselves bring this topic up. After lunch, I notice that a group of people gather together at the cafeteria and form a circle. Members of the commune call everyone to join the circle, and someone puts loud music on. I join the circle, and think that this is the same activity of organised dancing that we did at the welcome centre before the children arrived, but this time, the children are here, and that makes a big difference. The circle now is huge, around 60 people, consisting of the social counsellors, campers, other staff in camp, and some of the administrative staff as well. There are three commune members at the centre of the circle who are demonstrating the choreography of the dance, and we are all repeating their body movements to the sound of the music. This is such a powerful activity! We all dance together and move as one body, and as the dance continues more people are joining in and the circle becomes bigger and bigger. I feel like this activity not only energises me and fills me with joy, it also makes me feel more connected to the other people that are dancing with me. We are all positioned as equals to one another in this activity and are on the same level, and we are all members of the same thing, of this organisation and camp. Furthermore, I feel like there is an immediate satisfaction in performing this activity with the campers,

because the goal of camp is to celebrate life together with the campers, and this is exactly what we are doing here in this activity of organised dancing. We experience and perform intense joy and excitement in relation to one another, and celebrate life in a reciprocal process of affective influence. Once the organised dance is over, one of the administrative staff members in the organisation approaches me. She tells me that she as well as other staff members have watched me dancing, and they all think that it is really great that I am participating in the activities together with the other social counsellors. This incident with the administrative staff member makes me feel like the organisation rewards compliance with its normative activities through positive feedback. I also recall how this compliance was reinforced through peer pressure not too long ago, when I was recruited to participate in the organised dance in the welcome centre by a more experienced staff member in camp. As camps went by, I reflected to myself that it is in this way that the organisation reinforces the reproduction of the normative knowledge that prevails in it, through "peer pressure, . . . instruction[s], corrections" and positive rewards (Nicolini, 2012, p. 166).

In my analysis so far, I have chosen to focus on two specific activities that I participated in during camp, which are the organised dancing and the welcome reception, and to analyse them in detail. My experiences which I have described in these two activities of joy, excitement, and inclusion—which were constructed through reciprocal processes of affective influence—also repeated in many of the other activities that I participated in during the different camps that I attended. During this period, I gained an increasing membership in the organisation and in the different teams that I joined, so that other organisation members treated me as a welcomed member in the organisation, and the organisation became a rather central part of my identity. After each such camp that I participated in was over, I felt an intense "high" that I have never felt before. The chants of the different teams were stuck in my head, my whole body was sore from the physical effort, and my mind was in a state of euphoria. In this manner, through my ongoing participation in camp as a guest researcher for several months, I managed to gain first-hand knowledge of the

ways that affective leadership is involved in the construction of the normative realties that prevail in camp, and came to embody and embrace for myself the central norms and goals of camp of joy, excitement, and inclusion.

In examining the effects that the affective leadership practice of camp produces in its local site, I was interested to learn from the participants about the ways that they negotiate the meaning of inclusion that camp produces. From interviews that I have conducted with various staff members in camp, who came from unique social backgrounds or were associated with various ethnic or religious minorities in Israel, I learned that despite their worries of not fitting in in camp, their experiences in camp were of belonging and feeling included, with no room for judgment or criticism. When I zoomed out of this normative reality of inclusion among all social groups that camp produces to examine the wider social site of the investigation, I found that this reality comes in contrast to the other social practices that exist in this social site. While in Israel there is tension and lack of integration between some of the social groups that live in the country, and especially between Jews and Arabs, camp brings all these social groups together and unites them around the same norms and goals, and by doing so resists the social practice of conflict that prevails in Israel and promotes social change.

In this section, I have conducted a practice-based analysis of affect and leadership in camp, which was mostly based on knowledge that I generated as a guest researcher in camp. In my analysis I have illuminated the affective nature of leadership, and illustrated how affective leadership manifests as reciprocal flows of affective influence, which constantly produce, reproduce, and modify the normative affective knowledge that prevails in the social practice of camp. For this reason, the most holistic way to understand this phenomenon of affective leadership is as an affective leadership practice, because it is always against the social practice that it transpires from and in relation to other practices in its local site, that affective leadership gains and produces its situated meanings. In analysing the ways in which affective

leadership is involved in processes of knowledge production that take place in camp, I offered critical understandings of the normative realities of joy, excitement, and inclusion that prevail in camp. I illustrated the various techniques that are used in this organisation to produce and reinforce the reproduction of these normative realities. These various techniques include the participation of affective artefacts like the choreography, the team chants, and the affective monuments, which all produce normative affective knowledge and affect the participants to embrace this knowledge and further reproduce it. Other human participants, like the more experienced members in this practice, systematically reinforce the reproduction of this normative knowledge through various forms of social pressure that include sanctions, corrections, and positive rewards. In this manner, I have illuminated the various means by which this normative affective knowledge is being produced in this practice by its humans and non-human participants, with sensitivity to power that is exerted over the participants in this process. At the same time, I also demonstrated how the participants negotiate this normative knowledge through their bodies and in relation to the other participants, to constantly affect one another and further reproduce and modify the knowledge that is being produced with their actions. In this way, the social order that camp facilitates is in a constant state of becoming, and is constantly being constructed and reconstructed in the process of affective leadership in which various humans and non-humans are involved.

While analysing camp from the position of a guest researcher has enabled me to generate valuable insights about affect and leadership in camp, at the same time I also felt like there were some aspects of these phenomena that I did not have access to in this position. Since I did not sleep on site, but left camp each evening and returned the next morning, I was not present for all the activities that took place in camp. I was not there for the activities that took place late in the evening, like the nightly meetings of the team leader with the social counsellors, and was not there for the informal talks of the social counsellors in the sleeping cabins before they went to bed. So by being a guest researcher in camp and not a social counsellor, I lost some

of the camp experience. When I returned each morning to camp, I felt like the team that I was joining was not the same, and that something had happened overnight that I could not fully explain. In addition, since I experienced camp as a guest researcher, I was not able to fully address elements of power that I was interested in investigating. While in my analysis so far, I did demonstrate how a practice approach offers sensitivities to power, at the same time, in my position as a guest researcher I did not have any official supervisor or any defined responsibilities, and therefore could not experience for myself this type of power relations in camp. I also suspected that there might be other insights that I would be able to generate about camp when studied from the position of an official social counsellor, and therefore knew that in the next stage of my ethnography, I needed to investigate affect and leadership in camp as a social counsellor. For this reason, I made continuous efforts for several months to negotiate access to camp as a social counsellor, and within four months of my ethnographic study, I managed to finally become a legitimate social counsellor in camp. In the following section, I use my conceptual tools to analyse my experiences in camp which I have generated from the position of a social counsellor, and share what new insights this position has enabled me to gain on affect and leadership in camp.

Investigating Camp from the Position of a Social Counsellor

After several months of joining camps in the organisation as a guest researcher, the time has finally come, and I have managed to become an official social counsellor in camp! In this final period of my ethnographic study, I participated in three camps as an official social counsellor, and the process of negotiating access to each of these camps took place several weeks before each camp started. Unlike the summer camps in which I participated before as a guest researcher, where the children attended camp independently without their families and had balanced medical conditions like epilepsy and diabetes, the camps that I attended as a social counsellor were for

children who were not independent and had more serious medical conditions. Possible medical conditions included ALS (amyotrophic lateral sclerosis) and CP (cerebral palsy), where the children are usually in wheelchairs and in need of constant care. The children that have these medical conditions attend camp together with their siblings and parents, and the purpose of these camps is to give attention to and to celebrate life together with the whole family, and not only with the sick children.

A few days before my first camp as a social counsellor starts, I receive an email from the organisation with details on this camp and a link to the online tutorial. I am so excited! I cannot wait to see how camp will be like this time from the position of a social counsellor, and what new insights I will be able to generate from this position. I attend the orientation day, which takes place one day before the families arrive, and receive a very warm welcome from all the administrative staff in the organisation. They all tell me how happy they are to see me in this camp, and how great it is that I am able to volunteer in this camp as a social counsellor and not only as a guest. The commune has changed since the last camp that I attended, as the previous commune completed their year of voluntary national service, and a new commune has started. As all the social counsellors gather together for the orientation day to get to know one another and to be briefed on the upcoming camp, I realise that in this camp the volunteers and the commune have more or less the same amount of experience, since the commune has just started their year of service. Once we undergo all the usual activities of the orientation day, which include: the tour around camp, the briefing about the rules of camp and the characteristics of the specific illness that this camp will be accommodating, we are divided into four teams. In each team there are about ten social counsellors, including one team leader. I get a really good vibe from the team that I am assigned to, and also get a very good impression of the team leader, who seems very friendly and nice. The team leader tells us that there will be five families who will be assigned to our team, and for each family there will be two social counsellors who will be with them for the duration of the whole camp to carry out all the activities together with them in camp. For several hours during the rest of

the orientation day, we plan together various activities that the team will carry out during camp, like introduction games, trivia games, and goodbye activities. In the evening of the orientation day, all the social counsellors gather in the cafeteria for a song competition between the different teams. Each team receives two songs, and needs to match the lyrics of one song with the melody of another song, and to perform this with matching body movements. Each team performs this hybrid song in its turn on the stage in the cafeteria in front of all the other social counsellors, and there are four judges who sit in chairs in front of us and rate our performances to decide which team will win. This activity is hilarious, and I can really feel the energies and excitement in the air. When my team's turn arrives, we enter the cafeteria loudly singing our team chant, and then perform on the stage the hybrid song that we have prepared with matching body movements. As we all sing and jump together on the stage, we embrace the idea that now we are all part of one team that is here to celebrate life, and perform this normative knowledge in relation to one another through our body movements. In these affective and relational performances, where we perform "being a team," joy, and unity in relation to one another, we constantly affect one another to become more connected and united. In this way, through my participation in this activity, I get to experience for myself how the normative understandings that prevail in camp of team membership and unity are being embraced by the participants through a reciprocal process of affective influence. Although I just met these people several hours ago, and do not even remember the names of most of them, as we perform this activity in relation to one another and to the other teams, we affect one another to construct our relational positions and identities of being a team, and almost instantly shift from being strangers to being like a family. I included in Figure 11 in the following page pictures of my participation in the activity that I discuss here, to illustrate some of the aesthetic qualities of this activity.

Figure 11(a)-(c): Social counsellors during the song competition; researcher is third to the left

I believe that our intense affective performances of joy in relation to one another are visible in Figure 11 above, and it is also possible to see the strong affective connections that have formed between the team members at the end of this activity, in Figure 11(c). This was the type of activity that I did not have access to as a guest researcher, because this activity took place late in the evening, and participation was available only to official members of the team. By participating in this activity as a social counsellor, I could better understand how the normative knowledge of unity and inclusion is being materialised in camp, and how within only a few hours, a group of strangers is transformed into a team.

As this activity comes to an end, we all go to bed in the sleeping cabins, to get some rest before the families arrive the next day. The following morning, we all wake up

very excited and finish up some last preparations before the families arrive a few hours later. I join my team and we all go to the sleeping cabins of the families who are assigned to our team, to make the beds in their rooms and make signs on the doors with the names of the families. As I assist my teammates in completing this task, my team leader tells me that she was informed over her radio that a senior member of the organisation is looking to speak with me, and that I need to go now to the administration building to find her. I start walking towards the administration building, which is about fifteen minutes' walk from the sleeping cabins, and on the way there wonder to myself what this is all about, and if there is something wrong. In the administration building, the senior member of the organisation who was looking for me tells me to enter her office, and that she needs to talk with me about the family that I will be assigned to in this camp. She tells me that although normally there are two social counsellors assigned to each family in camp, in my case for various reasons, I will be alone with the family during camp, with no other social counsellor with us. She tells me that the organisation feels like they can trust me with this task because I am more mature than the other social counsellors, and also because I already have had several months of experience in camp. She tells me that she is always there if I need anything, and that if I feel uncomfortable with anything, I should let her know. I tell her that this arrangement is fine by me, and that I will be in touch if I need anything. On the one hand, I feel very empowered by her vote of confidence in me. She makes me feel like a valued member of the organisation, and that means a lot to me after all these months of attending camp as a guest with no official membership. At the same time, I also feel a bit terrified, because not only is this the first camp that I am attending as a social counsellor, and this is the first camp for families that I have ever attended, I will also, as I just found out, need to spend this camp with the family all by myself with no other social counsellor with me. With these mixed feelings of empowerment and terror, I make my way to the welcome centre, to meet all the other social counsellors and welcome the families that will arrive soon. At the welcome centre, I meet all the social counsellors, who are busy

decorating the place with balloons and themselves with face paint and colourful ribbons. Because this is a new commune and this is the first camp that they are experiencing in their year of service, I feel that, like me, they are all very excited and anxious at the same time. As we all decorate ourselves with face paint and ribbons, one of the commune members walks around the social counsellors and paints our hands with the logo of camp: a heart, a sun, and a tree. In having these symbols painted on my body in this way, I feel like I truly embody the meaning of camp of love, joy, and inclusion, and that I am ready to start celebrating life together with the families. Figure 12 below illustrates my experiences at the welcome reception that I have started to describe here.

Figure 12(a)-(b): The researcher at the welcome centre on the first day of camp

While I am excited for this camp to begin, I also feel a bit stressed during the welcome reception, not knowing what the camp or the family that I am assigned to are going to be like. I notice that I did not have this feeling of anxiety during previous welcome receptions that I attended, and know that the reason is that in previous camps I did not have any official responsibilities, and did not need to worry much about the campers. I think to myself that it would have been nice to participate in an organised dance right about now, because I know that it would probably have a positive effect on me. As if he was reading my mind, I see that a member of the commune is putting loud music on through big speakers, and is telling everyone to form a circle. We all start dancing together to the sound of the rhythmic music, following the body

movements of the dancers in the middle of the circle, and I immediately feel more relaxed. This is exactly what I needed! I feel the adrenaline running through my body and all the worries and the tension that I have had before go away. This group dance makes me feel good, positive, and like I am a part of a living and breathing organism, a community. It is not only me anymore, with my worries and anxieties about what this camp is going to be like. I am a part of a group who are all experiencing the exact same thing as I am. This physical relatedness and our choreographed movements bring me to an affective state where I feel the "we-ness;" we are all part of the same thing, and I know that everything is going to be all right. After we dance this way for a while, the families start to arrive, and each pair of social counsellors goes to the parking lot to meet the family assigned to them. When they come back from the parking lot, the rest of the social counsellors wait for them in two parallel rows, and welcome them under a bridge of hands as they walk into the welcome centre. As we welcome the children and their families with our usual welcome reception, one of the children that goes under our bridge of hands specifically catches my eye. His physical appearance shocks me so much that I have to look away so that I do not burst in tears. He is completely paralysed in a wheelchair, and able to move only his fingers that control the joystick of his wheelchair. I was not mentally prepared at all for this type of visibility of the children's illness. As I look away, I notice that some of the other social counsellors look away as well. We do not want to spoil the fun for everyone with our tears. Later on when I discuss this camp with some of the administrative and medical staff in camp, they say that they were not aware of this visibility of the illness of the children in this camp, because the families that attended this camp did not share this with them, and that is why the social counsellors were not informed about this during the orientation day. But interestingly enough, within a few hours the social counsellors, including myself, got used to it, and the visibility of the children's illness was not an issue anymore. They were just children with their families who came to this camp to celebrate life, that is all. This was their place to feel safe and normal again. While the families and the children continue to arrive to

the welcome centre, some of the social counsellors continue to perform the activity of organised dancing, and this time include the families who have arrived. As I am dancing together with the social counsellors in the welcome centre, I notice that a father is sitting not too far from us with a big smile on his face, and his little girl is sitting on his lap. He points towards our group that is dancing, and asks her if she wants to join. With great excitement she answers yes! And together they join the circle and dance with us with great joy and excitement. That is such a satisfying moment for me, which really illustrates the immediate satisfaction that the social counsellors get in their work. The purpose of camp is to celebrate life together with the campers, and to see this father and his daughter adopt the spirit of camp and celebrate life this way, makes me feel that our goal is being achieved, and that the fruits of our hard labour are manifested in front of our eyes. As I dance with the group and have these thoughts in my head, my team leader interrupts them and tells me that the family that I am assigned to has arrived and that I should go and meet them at the parking lot. When I go to the parking lot to meet them, all the worries that I had before and all the tension that I felt are all gone. The activities of the organised dancing and the welcome reception made me feel confident and happy, and this is the way that I introduce myself and lead the family to walk under the bridge of hands and enter camp. On this first day of camp we all get to know each other better, and I almost immediately fall in love with the family that I am assigned to. I admire the way that the single parent copes with the serious medical condition of her child, who is in a wheelchair and is in constant pain, and I start to get to know the siblings in this family a bit better as well. At night-time, once the first day of camp is over, I go to my sleeping cabin and start to get ready for bed. In the room there are other social counsellors who are also volunteers, and we start chatting about the experiences that we had today and about the impression that we have of the families and children that attend this camp. One of the volunteers comments, “It is difficult for these parents now, but wait to see the difficulties that they will have when these children grow up, and they will still need to provide them with constant care.” “These children will not

grow up," says another volunteer in the room, "because of their illness, these children are not expected to reach adulthood." The room becomes silent as we all stare at each other with a look of shock and horror on our faces. "I didn't know," says one of the volunteers with tears in her eyes. "I didn't know, why didn't they [the organisation] tell us that?" I feel like I am starting to tear up myself as other volunteers in the room agree that they had no idea either that the life expectancy of these children is shorter. No one says anything after that. We do not discuss this issue any further, and we all go to bed. We know that camp is not about that, not about analysing the illness of the children, and that we should not be focusing on that. I think that we all understood that it would not be possible for us to offer the families an experience of fun and joy, if we spent the few days that we have together grieving over the fact that many of these children have only a few more years to live. So we all prefer to repress this heart-breaking discovery, and to go to bed and continue with camp according to plan.

The next morning, we all wake up and meet the families that we are assigned to (which I often refer to as "our families") for breakfast. I pick up my family from their sleeping cabin, and we start to make our way to the cafeteria to get some breakfast. At the entrance to the cafeteria, I come across one of the senior members of the organisation, who looks very happy to see me. He tells me that it is so great to see me here in this camp as a social counsellor, and that he really appreciates my great contribution to this camp. After breakfast, I discuss with the family which activity we would like to do next, and we decide to go to the swimming pool. In the swimming pool, we meet other families that all have children with similar medical conditions, whose children are also in wheelchairs. The parent in the family that I am assigned to tells me that she will carry her child in her arms and in this way they will enter the swimming pool, and I can meet them there. As I am about to enter the pool, the volunteer manager approaches me all smiles and gives me a big hug, and tells me that it is wonderful to see me here, and thanks me for everything that I am doing in this camp for these families. She also mentions that the reason that I was chosen to

be all by myself with this family is that the organisation trusts me, and knows that I will be able to deal with this task. I thank her, and as days go by in camp and I receive similar gestures of gratitude from various members of the administrative team during camp, I feel more and more like I am a valued member in the organisation, a volunteer whose work and contribution is highly cherished.

For the rest of camp, I continue to carry out various activities together with the family, and we participate in activities such as horseback riding, the zip line (Figure 13), the petting zoo, and the climbing wall. It should go without saying that all these activities, like all the facilities in camp, are designed to be accessible to wheelchairs and to children with various medical conditions.

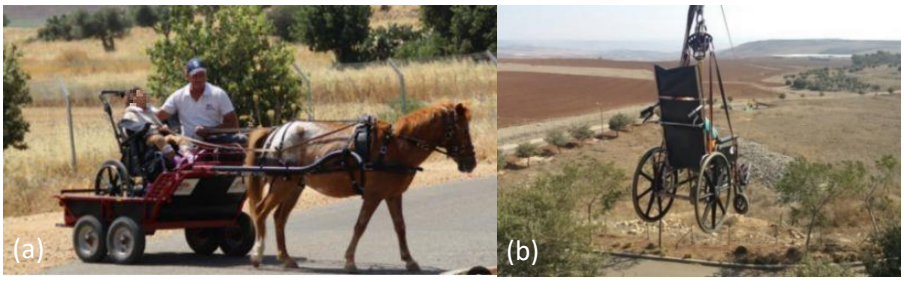

Figure 13(a)-(b): The activities of horseback riding and the zipline in the camp for families

Participating in these activities all day together with the family is a bit tiring, but at the same time also very satisfying. I will not forget the look of joy on the child's face when she finishes doing the zipline with her wheelchair. Although initially she did not want to do this activity and looked pretty uncomfortable being strapped into the chair, when she finishes this activity she is in a state of absolute joy, and it seemed, if only for a few moments, as if she is not in pain anymore, and just celebrating life and having fun. As part of the schedule, my team, which includes five families and nine social counsellors, meets several times a day for team activities, and every night before we go to bed, all the social counsellors have a meeting with the team leader. These nightly meetings with the team leader are the place for the social counsellors to share the experiences they have had during the day, and for the team leader to

connect with the social counsellors and to hear if there are any issues to be discussed. My experience in this camp is of having a very supportive and empowering team leader, who is always there smiling and giving the feeling that she really appreciates everything that we are doing in camp, and that she is there for us for everything that we need. The days go by really fast in camp, where we are constantly busy with the different activities. Before we know it, it is already the last day of camp, and we have to say goodbye. In this last day of camp, the whole team, which consists of the five families and the social counsellors, meets outside one of the sleeping cabins for a goodbye activity. We all sit in a big circle, and the two social counsellors who prepared this activity explain to us the instructions for this game. They place a pile of heart-shaped papers in four different colours on a table in the middle of the circle, and say that each one of us can take as many hearts as we want, and that we need to give the hearts to other people in the circle. The four colours of the hearts stand for four different meanings:

 Red heart- someone who moved me

 Blue heart- someone who helped me

 Green heart- someone who I want to thank

 Yellow heart- someone who made me laugh

We start playing this game, and each participant in their turn takes a few hearts from the pile, and gives them to other people who sit in the circle. As the participants give the hearts to other people in the circle, they share the story of how the person receiving the heart has moved them, helped them, or made them laugh. The people who receive the hearts, in turn, usually respond in a very emotional way, laugh, smile, and give a hug to the person who gives them the heart. These affective exchanges of hearts affect not only the giver and the receiver of the hearts, but affect all the other participants who witness their affective performances as well. In this way, while people are exchanging hearts and sharing their emotional story, all the other participants in the circle become affected, and I can feel how there is a flow of

affective influence that circulates between us all, which makes me really appreciate the great experiences that we have had in these last couple of days in camp. Then, one of the social counsellors on the team gives me a blue heart, and says that I really helped her in this camp, and that this camp would not have been the same without me. She gives me big hug, and I feel deeply moved by this gesture and even tear up a bit. When my turn arrives, I give a heart to someone in the group who helped me during camp, and we hug and I thank her. I feel like these heart artefacts really materialise the affective meaning that this activity is manifesting, and that this reciprocal exchange of hearts among the team members facilitates an affective flow of influence that circulates not only between the giver and receiver of the hearts, but also among all the participants who are present in this activity and witness their affective performances. It is in this manner that this activity encourages us to reflect on the affective experiences that we have had during camp, and to perform affective gestures in relation to one another. In these affective exchanges, an affective flow of influence circulates among us, and produces a strong direction of cherishing our shared experiences together. While this flow of affective influence took place all throughout camp as we were carrying out the various activities together, this goodbye activity intensified this affective flow of influence and generated very normative affective meaning in the participants of cherishing camp. This was achieved through the instructions of the game, which encouraged us to reflect on our shared experiences together and to generate positive memories of camp, and then to express these memories as affective gestures in relation to one another. The heart artefacts further materialised the affective meaning of this activity, and the reciprocal exchange of the hearts mobilised this affective meaning among all the participants. In this manner, the normative affective meaning of cherishing camp was produced and mobilised among us all in this activity. This activity illustrates some of the ways in which affective leadership is involved in processes of knowledge production that take place in camp to produce and mobilise affective meaning among human and non-human participants in a dynamic and relational manner.

Once this camp is over, I return home and experience an overwhelming feeling of joy and excitement, which is much more intense than the feeling that I had after the camps in which I participated as a guest researcher. A few days after this camp was over, I receive a thank you email from the organisation which includes the thank you card presented in Figure 14.

Figure 14: Thank you card from the organisation for my participation in camp ("Card", 2018)

In this card, the organisation thanks me for my contribution to camp, and includes personal feedback that the family which I was assigned to has written. In their feedback, the family wrote,

> The social counsellor that was assigned to us in this camp was with us the whole time, listened to our problems, played with the children, and made sure that we all had a good experience at every single moment. In these days in camp that we spent together, we felt like one big family.

The card ended with the following words, "This organisation is happy to congratulate you for joining our family, and highly appreciates and cherishes your great contribution." This thank you card, together with the intense joy that I felt after this camp was over, further enhances my identity as a valued and cherished member in the organisation, and I feel like I have strongly come to embrace the normative affective meaning that camp produces of joy, unity, and membership.

My participation in this camp as an official social counsellor offered me several valuable research opportunities which were less available to me as a guest researcher. First, as a social counsellor I gained better access to the activities that

took place in camp. This allowed me to gain a better understanding of the ways in which affective leadership is involved in the production and negotiation of the normative meaning that prevails in camp of joy, excitement, and membership. Second, investigating camp as a social counsellor offered me sensitivity to power relations, since as a social counsellor I have had an official supervisor. The supportive relations that I had with my supervisor in this camp enhanced my experiences in camp of love, joy, and inclusion. Finally, investigating camp as a social counsellor also enabled me to better understand the profound effect that this practice has on its participants. In my case, camp had become a central part of my identity, and I developed a strong sense of membership and identification with the organisation and its mission.

This strong membership in the organisation that I develop in the first camp that I attend as a social counsellor is further enhanced in a normative activity that I attend several days after this camp is over. This activity is the annual Volunteer Day. All the volunteers who ever volunteered in the organisation are invited to this event, with the purpose of thanking them for their contribution and enhancing their membership in the organisation. In this event that I attend hundreds of people participate, and I am warmly welcomed by the administrative staff and the commune members, who are all very happy to see me. When I arrive at the organisation and walk towards the welcome centre, the commune members all stand in two rows under the arch of balloons and put their hands up and shout, “Welcome!” I walk under their bridge of hands and enter the organisation. I am deeply moved by this gesture, which is usually performed towards the campers on the first day of camp, and in entering the organisation this way, I feel like I have returned home. In this event, I get to meet many of the volunteers that I have met in previous camps, and in this way, the organisation makes us all feel like we are a part of one big and happy family. I include here a video link to highlight moments from an annual Volunteer Day which took place at the organisation, to illustrate the way that the volunteers are welcomed at

the welcome reception, and to share the type of joy and togetherness that is produced in this day. https://youtu.be/9vut0NToqw0 (AM, 2019a).

In a speech that takes place during this event, one of the volunteers, who is a young Arab-Israeli male, says a few words on behalf of all the volunteers in camp. He says,

> I have volunteered here many times, and the thing that is so special about volunteering in this camp, and so different from other places, is that you, as a volunteer, go through a very empowering experience. Unforgettable. An experience that reaches you in your deepest places, and affects you for the long run. An experience that allows you to feel true success and happiness, to make a kid smile, and to be a part of a very meaningful week for him, to become like a big brother to the campers, and to make unforgettable memories with the campers. To see these kids have fun, forget about their illness, gain tools and become more mature: these are the things that you can see, do, and receive only in this organisation. We have celebrated and continue to celebrate life, together with our extended family here in camp.

His words are received by the audience with very loud applause, and many people in the crowd get up on their feet, cheer, and clap their hands with great enthusiasm. The words of this volunteer explicitly express the normative meaning that is being produced in camp of joy, excitement, and membership, and by manifesting this normative affective meaning of camp in his speech in this annual event for the volunteers, this meaning is being further reproduced. In such a way, the normative meaning that characterises the social practice of camp is being carried on by publicly accessible activities that constitute it, which demonstrate to the participants in camp the desirable ways to think, feel, and act in this practice.

Several days after I attend this annual event for the volunteers, I participate in another camp as a social counsellor. The experiences that I have in this camp are quite different from the experiences that I had in the previous camp that I have described here, and I will share them to discuss the new insights that I was able to

generate in this camp. Similar to the previous camp that I have described and analysed here, this camp that I participate in as a social counsellor is also for families, where the great majority of the children are in wheelchairs and suffer from serious medical conditions. Since this camp is taking place towards the end of my ethnographic study, and not too long after my previous camp has ended, I can say that I am a bit tired in this camp, and my body is a bit sore from the intense physical activities that I have participated in during the many different camps that I have attended. At the same time, I am still very much motivated to participate in this camp, and to explore what new insights this camp will enable me to generate. I can also reflect that in this camp my identity as a member in camp and in the organisation is at its peak, where due to all the camps and the Volunteer Day that I have participated in, I feel like a loved and cherished member in the organisation. In this physical and mental state that I described here, I attend this camp as a social counsellor.

On the first day of camp at the orientation day, I meet all the members of the commune and the administrative staff, who are all very thrilled to see me again. I also get to meet the new volunteers in this camp, and during the orientation day we all get to know each other better, and plan together the activities that will be carried out during camp. In this camp, I am assigned to a family together with another social counsellor, and I get a very good impression of the teammates that are assigned to my team. At this point, I also get a good impression of the team leader, who is new in the organisation and whom I met once before in a camp that she has attended as a volunteer. As with my experiences in the previous camps that I have shared, the days in camp go by very quickly, and we are constantly busy with the different activities. I find this camp to be a bit more challenging for me, because unlike the family who I was assigned to in the previous camp, in this camp the children in the family are highly energetic, and the relationships between the parents as well as the children are pretty tense and complex as well. This, together with my physical exhaustion, do not make this camp any easier for me. At the same time, I do my best to keep up, and am really grateful to have another social counsellor to share this

experience with. On the first night of camp, we have our first team meeting with our team leader, and every social counsellor shares the experiences that they have had during the day. Most people share a happy moment that they have experienced during camp, or express their love for the family that they are assigned to. Since I know from previous camps that the team meeting is the safe place for the social counsellors to share not only their positive experiences, but to also share the difficulties and challenges that they have encountered during the day, when my turn to speak arrives, I decide to share with the group some of the challenges that I have had during the day. I say that like everyone else, I am very fond of the family that I am assigned to, but at the same time, I also find it a bit challenging to deal with the complex relationships that exist between them. Before I even manage to complete my sentence, the team leader interrupts me, and says that we are not here to judge the families, but we are only here to offer them positive experiences and to celebrate life. She then asks if anyone else has a positive experience that has happened to him or her during the day that they want to share with the group. Once the meeting is over and we all go to the sleeping cabins and get ready for bed, I reflect a bit about this meeting and the comment from the team leader. I feel like I was being silenced, and that my voice was being taken from me. While I know that camp is all about offering positive experiences to the campers, this does not mean that we cannot share our difficulties and help each other to deal with them. Although this incident does bother me a bit, I do not spend too much time thinking about it, since my experiences have been so good and positive so far, and I reckon that if I need to talk with anyone about my difficulties, I can always talk to the other girls in my sleeping cabin, or talk with any of the other social counsellors on my team.

The next day, we all get up and continue to carry out the different activities of camp. In one of these activities, I go to do the zipline together with the other social counsellor who is with me and with one of the children of the family who we are assigned to. We all climb up the stairs and reach the top of the tower, where we get ready to start the zipline. Since there can be only two people who can do the zipline

at the same time, I stand and watch as the other social counsellor and the child do the zipline together. As I am watching them going down the zipline, our team leader, who it turns out is standing behind me, asks me, “Why are you not doing the zipline? Are you afraid of heights?” I answer her that there can be only two people doing this activity at the same time, and therefore I have enabled the other social counsellor to do it with the child. I do not make much of this comment, and when the child and the other social counsellor have completed this activity, we all make our way to the cafeteria to get some lunch. At the entrance of the cafeteria, I come across our team leader again, who tells me that she needs to have a word with me. She takes me to a quiet spot near the cafeteria, and says,

> I just wanted to ask you if everything is all right? Because I noticed that you haven’t been participating in all the activities with the campers. I know that during the summer camps you were a ‘fly on the wall’ and watched us from the side, but now you are actually a social counsellor, and you should know the difference and actually participate in all the activities with the campers; this is what is expected of you.

I feel so overwhelmed by her remark that I find it hard to speak, but I do manage to reply. I say that I am not sure what she is talking about, since besides the incident in the zipline where only one social counsellor could have participated, I have been participating in all the activities together with the campers. As my team leader walks away, I feel like I am about to burst into tears. I feel that my whole identity as a loved and cherished volunteer has just been shattered into pieces in front of my eyes. Did she just compare me to a fly? I realise that the reason she has been there with us this whole time in the different activities is not to support us, as I initially thought, but to monitor us. I had thought that what I was doing here was holy work, and that my contribution was highly appreciated, not that I was here because I was obliged to do anything. I know that I need to find a place where I can be alone and process everything that has just happened, so I walk behind the cafeteria and take a seat on

a chair behind the dumpsters where no one can see me. I sit here for about an hour, crying and trying to make sense of this whole incident, but the more I think about it, the less sense it makes. In the many months and many camps in which I have participated, whether as guest researcher or as an official social counsellor, I have always felt like my voluntary contribution to camp and to the organisation is highly appreciated by everyone involved. I have never felt like I am obliged to do anything; on the contrary, I was always empowered to participate and felt proud to be included in this important mission of offering a joyful experience to sick children. In contrast to this meaning that I have had of camp as an empowering place, and to my understanding that I am a valued and cherished volunteer in camp, which has become a rather central part of my identity, the team leader has attempted to force upon me the identity and relational position of an obedient subordinate, who is there to do her job and to follow orders. These two conflicting identities of being a cherished and loved volunteer versus being an obedient subordinate just do not settle with me, and this clash of identities causes me to experience existential anxiety (Segal, 2010), in which the meaning of my being in camp does not make sense to me anymore. This existential crisis that I experience in these painful moments behind the dumpsters of the cafeteria leads to a temporary breakdown in the practice of camp that I participate in, where I can no longer carry on in this practice in the same way that I did before. Although I try to work this out with myself and try to find a way to carry on in this camp, I just cannot. I feel like this camp is over for me. I cannot continue to be emotionally invested in this camp, when everything that I thought I knew about this practice and about myself in this practice is so profoundly shaken. By sharing this incident with the social counsellor who is assigned with me in this camp, I get some emotional support and am able to go through the final days in camp, but although I am physically there, I feel torn up inside, and for me this camp is over.

When the last day of camp arrives, the whole team meets together to carry out the traditional goodbye activity that takes place at the end of each camp. We all sit in a big circle, which consists of the five families and the ten social counsellors who are

assigned to them. We all sit in this circle facing one another, and each pair of social counsellors sits next to the family that they are assigned to. In this circle are also the children who suffer from very serious medical conditions, who are there in their wheelchairs or on mobile beds connected to their medical equipment. The instructions of this game are simple: each family and social counsellor in their turn needs to share with the group their experiences in camp and to say a few words about it. The first to speak is a family who we actually did not hear much from during camp, who mostly kept to themselves during the various team activities that we had together. The father of this family, who now speaks in public for the first time since camp has started, says in a very emotional tone that he wants to thank this organisation and the social counsellors in this camp from the bottom of his heart for the wonderful experiences that they have had during this camp, and that he does not take anything that was done for his family for granted. He then says that all the social counsellors from this camp are invited to his home, and that he would be happy to host us and help us with anything that we may need. I am affected by his warm words and the deep emotions that he has expressed for the first time in this camp, and I notice how the other people in the circle become affected as well. Once the father has finished speaking, the social counsellors who are assigned to his family also say a few words to the family and say how amazing this camp was for them, and then give the family a picture that was taken with them on the first day of camp, where you can see the family and the two social counsellors with the logo of camp—celebrate life—in the background. This affective artefact, together with the affective gestures of the family and the social counsellors towards one another, affect the whole team sitting in the circle, and I feel how we all become more emotional and appreciate more the experiences that we have had in this camp together. The other families and social counsellors who are assigned to them speak this way each one in their own turn, and exchange the picture that was taken of them together on the first day of camp. As the other participants witness their affective performances in relation to one another, they are all affected, and a dynamic flow of affective influence circulates

among everyone and affects the participants to become more emotional and to cherish camp. In one affective performance that constitutes the emotional peak of this activity, a mother starts talking, and as she thanks all the social counsellors for the amazing work that we are all doing here, her voice breaks and she starts crying. As she is crying in a very emotional way, I notice that many other people in the circle start crying as well. At this point I look away; I do not want to cry. I do not want to be engaged with this anymore. Due to the existential crisis that I have experienced not long ago, I cannot continue to embrace the normative affective meaning that camp produces, and cannot be emotionally invested in this anymore. So I look away. I try to reject this affective flow of influence that is attempting to affect me and to administer in me the affective meaning of camp. I suppose that this is my way of restoring some of the agency that was so aggressively taken from me not long before, and to show myself that I still have a choice whether to participate in camp or not, and that I still have a choice whether to embrace the normative affective meaning of camp or not. And I choose to resist it; I choose to exercise my agency and to negotiate this meaning that is being mobilised in this affective flow of influence that this activity is generating. Later on, when my family's turn to speak arrives, I whisper to the other social counsellor who is with me to speak on behalf of both of us, and to give our picture to the family on behalf of both of us. I do not want to say anything, I do not want to be emotionally engaged with this anymore. These "quiet acts of resistance" that I have performed in this activity, in which I have resisted the normative affective knowledge that was being produced in this activity through my affective performances (or lack of them), are discussed by Wetherell et al. (2019). In their study on the affective practice of ANZAC Day, they illuminated how various participants resist and actively negotiate the normative affective knowledge that is produced in the ANZAC Day memorial service, through their affective performances. Some of these participants attended the service, but during the service resisted the strong affective normativity that was imposed on them by quiet acts of dissent, like rolling their eyes, yawning excessively, and mumbling things like, "[This is] complete

bullshit" (Wetherell et al., 2019, p. 11). Other participants performed resistance by choosing not to attend the service, and instead putting the day to better use by catching up on some housework, like defrosting the freezer. The authors discuss how these quiet acts of resistance are the subtle ways the participants negotiated the normative affective knowledge that is produced on this day, by refusing to embrace the emotions that were prescribed to them for this day.

With my quiet acts of resistance that I performed in this goodbye activity at the last day of camp, I exercised my agency as a participant in this practice to negotiate and resist the normative affective meaning that this activity was so efficiently producing. I can say that I partially succeeded in my attempts to reject the normative affective meaning that was generated in this activity, since, despite my best efforts, I did become a bit moved by the affective gestures of the other participants. My quiet acts of resistance illustrate cases in which the participants exercise agency to resist the reproduction of the normative affective meaning that camp carries with it. The other affective performances of the participants, like the mother who started crying and other participants who performed very affective gestures, and also other participants who were less expressive in this activity, illustrate how each one of these participants exercises agency to negotiate meaning in their own way. In this way, this process of negotiation of meaning is dynamic and in "endless becoming," where the participants in their affective performances constantly re-articulate the meaning that they make of this practice, and negotiate their positions and identities in relation to one another.

When this activity is over, we still have half a day to spend with the family before they leave camp. In this little time that we have left together, I notice how the family is not the same. The nervous faces that the parents have had during most days of camp are replaced with smiles. I can see how their state of mind has changed to becoming grateful for the camp experience that they have had here, and how happy they are to spend with us the little time that we still have together. I can see the great transformation that this goodbye activity has made in them, and sense how the

whole dynamic between us is different and much more relaxed. When the day is over and it is time to say goodbye, the whole family gives me and the other social counsellor that is with me a big hug, and the mother bursts into tears and says that she will never forget what we did for her in this camp, and that we are always invited to visit them in their home.

When I return home from this camp, I am not in the same state of euphoria and intense joy that I have experienced in previous camps. While I do appreciate the warm words and the affective gestures that the family has performed towards us on the last day of camp, and also appreciate the wonderful social counsellor who was assigned to this family together with me, I do not feel like I embody the affective meaning of camp of love, joy, and inclusion. Instead, this experience somehow "passes me by" and does not influence me that much. At the same time, as the days go by and I have some time to further reflect on this camp and on the experiences that I have had, I feel like the existential crisis that I experienced in camp is over, and that my sense of identity as a loved and cherished member in the organisation has been restored. I realise that the behaviour of that team leader and the relational positions and identities that she tried to force upon me do not represent the whole organisation, and since I have so many other sources of positive feedback to draw on, my overall identity as a valued volunteer is restored.

Looking back and thinking about the new insights that this camp enabled me to generate, I can say that only through my time in this camp, did I truly come to appreciate the ways that my team leader and our power relations are involved in processes of knowledge production that take place in camp. I realised that the fact that in previous camps I had very supportive and empowering team leaders has encouraged me to embrace and further reproduce the norms and goals of camp. In this camp, on the other hand, my team leader and her vulgar display of power towards me caused me to try and reject the normative meaning that camp was producing, with partial success. The power element in camp was further illuminated

to me, as I realised that the different norms in camp regarding participation in the different activities, and also the norms regarding the affective performances that are expected of us, are more than just strong recommendations as I had initially assumed. These norms in camp more strongly resemble rules, in which there is a very clear agreement regarding the way that the participants are expected to act, think, and feel while they participate in this social practice.

To sum up my ethnographic study in this organisation, which I have carried out over a period of seven months, I can reflect that from my experiences in camp, both as a guest researcher and as an official social counsellor, I gained profound understandings of affect and leadership in the social practice of camp. I learned how affect and leadership are manifested in this practice, and how they are involved in the construction of the affective realities that this practice produces.

In my time in the organisation as a guest researcher, I came to appreciate the affective texture of leadership. I learned that leadership is inherently an affective phenomenon, and therefore this phenomenon can be understood as affective leadership, to acknowledge and foreground its affective nature. I learned that affective leadership is involved in processes of knowledge production that take place in the social practice of camp that it transpires from, to reproduce and negotiate the normative realities that characterise camp. I also learned how these processes of knowledge production that affective leadership is involved in take place, through reciprocal and dynamic processes of affective influence that involve both human and non-human participants.

During the period in which I investigated camp as a social counsellor, I was able to gain better access to camp and to the different activities that constitute it. This enabled me to gain a more nuanced understanding of the processes through which affective leadership produces and negotiates knowledge in camp. The fact that, as a social counsellor, I had an official supervisor and responsibilities also offered me good sensitivity to power relations, and to the ways that they are involved in processes of

knowledge production that take place in camp. Finally, in experiencing camp for myself as a social counsellor, I came to appreciate just how intense this whole experience is, and what a strong effect it has on the participants.

Leaving the Field

After a period of seven months, during which I participated in a total of eight summer camps both as a guest researcher and as a social counsellor, conducted 47 interviews with various members of the organisation, and generated data using various forms of documentary research, it was time for me to leave the field and to start processing my data. I knew that it was time to leave, because the insights and the experiences that I generated in my participation in the different activities in camp started to repeat themselves, and I knew that my data production had reached its point of saturation (Gobo, 2008). In addition, my decision to leave the field was also supported by practical considerations, as it was time for me to go back to New Zealand and start the next stage of my work.

On the day that I left the organisation, I scheduled a meeting with all the administrative staff in the organisation. I prepared a giant heart-shaped thank you card to present to the administrative staff and a few snacks. In the card, which I read in front of the administrative team in our meeting, I thanked each and every one of them for welcoming me into their organisation and into their lives. I thanked them for treating me in such a loving and caring way throughout my time there. I finished the card with the following words: “People say that you can leave camp, but camp never leaves you. Today I am saying goodbye, but I will take this camp together with me to New Zealand, and it will always stay with me.” As I said these final words, my voice broke, and it sounded as if I were about to cry. This was when the whole administrative team started clapping their hands with great enthusiasm and with big smiles on their faces. I could see that my affective gesture really moved them, and everyone became a bit emotional after that. The CEO was the first to speak, and said

a few warm words about my time there. The rest of the staff members followed his lead, and each one of them told a personal anecdote about my time there, and about how much they appreciated my contribution to their organisation and to camp. Once all the participants had spoken, the CEO has suggested that we should all go to the massive heart artefact to take a picture together. By looking at this picture that we took (Figure 15), I thought to myself that even if I tried, I could not find a more perfect way than this to conclude my ethnographic study on affective leadership practices.

Figure 15: The researcher (in the middle) with members of the administrative team, last day in the organisation

This picture and the words that I said on this final day when I have left the organisation illustrate how immersed I had become in the practice that I had studied, and how I in fact went native. In following practice-based scholars like Schatzki (1996) and Wacquant (2009), I argue that this process of going native was necessary for me. It allowed me to gain understandings of some of the ways in which the participants in the practice construct and negotiate their meaning, and to understand how these processes take place in a material, dynamic, and relational manner, in which power relations and power struggles are always involved. At the same time, I can also say that the year that has passed since I have left the field, together with my theoretical

tools which I have further developed in this period, have enabled me to distance myself from the practice and to engage in critical reflexivity. Thus, I was able to conduct my analysis in this chapter as a practice-based researcher who is also a former participant, and not as a naïve participant. In this way, I have followed the advice of prominent sociologist and practice scholar Loïc Wacquant, who urged practice researchers to "go ahead, go native, but come back a sociologist!" (Wacquant, 2009, p. 119).

Chapter 6: Discussion and Conclusions

In the chapters that open my thesis, I have outlined the conceptual and methodological frameworks that I developed for studying affect and leadership from a practice approach. In the chapters that follow, I have explained the context of my empirical field study, and used my conceptual framework to analyse my empirical data.

In this chapter, I offer a discussion on the theoretical and methodological work that I carried out in previous chapters, focusing on the following topics:

In the section that opens this chapter, I address my main research question, which inquires, *What can we learn about leadership and affect when studied from a practice approach?* I share the various theoretical understandings that I gained in my practice-based study on leadership and affect, and draw on these insights to further articulate my conceptual framework. I discuss the main value and contribution of this framework, and situate it in the relevant literature.

In the section that follows, I address my secondary research question, which inquires, *What methods should we use to study leadership and affect from a practice approach?* I discuss the mix of methods that I found to be highly appropriate to use to study leadership and affect from a practice approach, and share the process through which I gained these understandings.

Finally, in the section that concludes this thesis, I sum up the theoretical and methodological work that I have carried out in this thesis. I discuss the various contributions of this thesis, its possible limitations, and opportunities for future development.

Main Research Question: What Can We Learn About Leadership and Affect When Studied from a Practice Approach?

In my thesis, my main goal was to produce theoretical understandings on leadership and affect. I aimed that such theoretical understandings would serve as theoretical tools to study leadership from a practice approach, with sensitivity to its affective texture. I aimed to do so because the leadership-as-practice approach is still an emerging approach in its early stages of development, and there is a need to further develop its analytical power (Kempster et al., 2016; Raelin et al., 2018).

I have developed my theoretical tools to study leadership and affect from a practice approach in two main stages: prior to my data analysis, and through my data analysis.

In the stage that preceded my data analysis, which I outlined in the first part of my thesis, I developed the foundations of my conceptual framework. I did so by integrating the practice theory of Schatzki (1996, 2002) with the work of Wetherell (2012) and with the literature on leadership-as-practice (Carroll et al., 2008; Raelin, 2016c). I called this integrated conceptual framework *affective leadership practices*. The practice theory of Schatzki (1996, 2002), which stands at the basis of this framework, offered me rich analytical tools to investigate social practices. Based on this practice theory, I could explore how practices produce knowledge and realities, and how the participants are being ordered in these practices to construct certain relational positions, identities, and meanings, which they negotiate in endless becoming. By integrating the work of Wetherell (2012) on affect and emotion with the practice theory of Schatzki (1996, 2002), I was able to offer sensitivity to affect in my investigation. Based on this view of social practices, I understood leadership as a dynamic process of influence that manifests in these practices to produce directions towards certain goals.

These were the main theoretical tools that constituted the conceptual framework that I have outlined in the first part of my thesis. In this core framework, there were

two main theoretical tenets that remained rather abstract and unarticulated. The first tenet is the precise nature of the relationships between leadership and affect. At that point of the investigation, I held a general understanding that affect is a texture in leadership, and my thinking was not developed much beyond this initial point. Another tenet of this framework that remained rather unarticulated at that stage, is the ways that leadership is involved in processes of knowledge production that take place in the social practices it transpires from.

Through my data analysis, as I used my conceptual framework to analyse my empirical data, I was able to articulate these theoretical tenets and to further develop my conceptual framework. The process of articulating the abstract parts of my framework took place throughout my data analysis. By analysing various activities that took place in camp, I was able to gain an appreciation of the affective nature of leadership, and comprehend the ways that it is involved in processes of knowledge production that took place in camp. I found that leadership manifested in these activities as reciprocal flows of affective influence that circulated through the bodies of the participants and in relation to other symbolic affective artefacts, to constantly negotiate the normativity of camp to reproduce and modify it. In this way, I was able to produce theoretical understandings through my data analysis, and to rely on them to further articulate my conceptual framework.

Since my theoretical thinking was developed through my data analysis, I find it necessary to update the definition to affective leadership practices that I have offered at the first part of my thesis. In this final step of articulating my conceptual framework, I define affective leadership practices as:

Collective organised affective activities that carry with them normative knowledge, in which the human and non-human participants affect one another in a reciprocal process of affective influence to reproduce, modify, and resist this knowledge in endless becoming.

By using the theoretical tenets that constitute this framework to analyse my empirical data, I illustrated the type of insights that this framework makes possible to generate. First, in my analysis I illuminated what type of normative realities prevail in the organisation that I have investigated. I did so by analysing educational activities that take place in the organisation, because they "pry open" the normativity of the practice and make it explicit (Nicolini, 2009, p. 125). I illustrated how the normative realities that prevail in the camp organisation are the realities of love, joy, and inclusion.

Once I have illuminated the type of normative realities that prevail in the organisation, I offered nuanced understandings of the ways that leadership and affect are involved in the endless construction and reconstruction of these realities. I illustrated how leadership manifests as an affective, embodied, and material phenomenon, that constantly negotiates the normative knowledge that prevails in camp. I illustrated how these processes of knowledge production that leadership is involved in take place in camp, through reciprocal flows of affective influence that circulate among embodied humans and material non-human participants.

For example, affective symbolic artefacts in camp, such as public monuments, face-paint, and choreography, constantly produce the normative meaning that prevails in camp of joy, excitement, and inclusion, and affect the human participants in camp to embrace and reproduce it. Various human participants, like the more experienced staff members in camp, reinforce the reproduction of this normative knowledge by using various forms of social pressure, such as positive rewards, sanctions, and corrections, to communicate to the participants the desired ways to think, feel, and act in the practice. In this way, various artefacts and experienced staff members in camp affect the other human participants to embrace the normative knowledge that prevails in camp and further reproduce it. This illuminates the great deal of power that is exerted over the participants in these processes of knowledge production that take place in camp, in which the organisation enables and constrains the actions,

thoughts, and feelings of the participants using the various affective techniques that I have outlined here, with minimal tolerance for any diversion from the affective norms. Despite the great deal of power that is exerted over the participants in these processes of knowledge production that take place in camp, the participants are not passive followers who simply embrace this knowledge and automatically reproduce it. Instead, I have illustrated how these participants constantly negotiate through their affective bodies and in relation to one another the meaning that is being produced, and the relational positions and identities that they wish to occupy in this practice. In such a manner, these participants further produce knowledge, and participate in the endless reconstruction of the organisational realities that they are immersed in. In the ways that I have outlined here, I have illustrated through my empirical study the ways that leadership and affect participate in the endless construction of organisational realities. This takes place through reciprocal flows of affective influence that circulate through the affective human body, and in relation to other bodies, affective symbolic artefacts, and physical space, to constantly reproduce, modify, and even resist the normative realities of camp.

By conducting zooming in and out movements and tracing trails of connections between the camp organisation that I studied and other related practices in the social site, I was able to understand why camp takes place in the way it does, and what type of effects it generates in its local context. I found that the international network of camps that this organisation is associated with is the origin of the normative realities of camp. By issuing detailed guidelines and ensuring compliance, the international network of camps specifies the organisation what normative realities should prevail in camp, and outlines some of the activities through which these realities should be produced. In addition, by tracing trails of connection between camp and other related practices in the social site, I was able to appreciate how camp and the realities of joy, love, and inclusion that prevail in it resist the social practices of conflict that prevail in Israel, and in so doing promote social change in this social site.

This type of analysis that can be generated with my conceptual framework offers organisational scholars critical, situated, and holistic understandings of leadership and the organisations it manifests in. We can understand what normative realities and social order prevail in the organisation that we investigate, and gain nuanced understandings of the ways that leadership and affect are involved in the construction and reconstruction of these realities.

The ability that this framework offers to investigate leadership within the social practices it transpires from makes it possible to gain situated understandings of leadership. Social practices are understood as the local context of the investigation in which all things become intelligible. By investigating leadership within the organisational practices it is immersed in, we can comprehend the local meanings that leadership produces in organisations. We can explore how this takes place as multiple human and non-human participants constantly negotiate the normative realities that prevail in the organisational practices they are immersed in, to reproduce, modify, and even resist organisational realities. While this type of investigation offers nuanced and situated understandings of leadership, this framework also makes it possible to appreciate the embeddedness of leadership and the organisation it manifests in in its wider local context. This allows us to comprehend how the organisational realities that leadership manifests in turned out to be the way they are and not differently, who is empowered in these realities, and what effects these realities generate in the local site of the investigation.

The sensitivity that this framework offers to affect in the investigation allows us to generate better understandings of the leadership phenomenon. We can appreciate how leadership manifests as a reciprocal process of affective influence that always takes place through the affective human body as “embodied meaning-making” (Wetherell, 2012), and in relation to other bodies and affective symbolic artefacts. The appreciation of the affective nature of this process makes it possible to better understand the ways that knowledge is being produced and negotiated in leadership,

and this way to gain better understandings of leadership. This view offers an alternative to the mainstream literature on leadership, affect, and emotion, which largely studies affect and emotion as discrete ingredients in leadership that can be controlled and predicted (e.g. George, 2000; Van Knippenberg & Van Kleef, 2016). With the view that my framework offers, on the other hand, affect and emotion are being studied as an integral part of leadership, the nature of this phenomenon, and by so doing offer us a more holistic understandings of these phenomena. The appreciation of the affective nature of leadership was previously discussed by scholars like Knights (2018, 2019). My study extends his work and further develops it by offering detailed practice-based theoretical tools to study leadership with sensitivity to its affective nature.

These holistic, situated, and critical ways of studying leadership and affect in organisations that I have discussed so far allow us to appreciate the collective nature of leadership. Leaderships is a process of reciprocal affective influence that involves multiple participants, who all contribute to and participate in the construction of their organisational realities in a collective manner. This offers us a more democratic way of understanding and studying leadership (Woods, 2016). It enables us to break the chains of the leader/follower dichotomy that prevails in the leadership literature, and not to restrict processes of influence to only selected members of the organisation. This view of leadership that I have outlined here as a collective phenomenon resonates to various degrees with several different streams in the leadership literature, which study leadership as a collective (Denis, Langley, & Sergi, 2012; Yammarino, Salas, Serban, Shirreffs, & Shuffler, 2012), distributed (Gronn, 2002), shared (Pearce & Conger, 2003), and relational (Uhl-Bien, 2006; Uhl-Bien & Ospina, 2012a) phenomenon. My study extends these literatures by applying the practice lens to the investigation with a specific focus on affect and emotion. This enables us to generate sensitivity to the affective nature of leadership, and to gain situated and critical understandings of this phenomenon.

The ways of studying leadership that I have discussed so far are inherently ethical. The participants are not being treated as variables to be manipulated, and are not being labelled as leaders who "can" and followers who "can't" (Raelin, 2016a, p. 149). Instead, they are all being treated as valuable members of the organisation that all contribute to the construction of their realities. Furthermore, by illuminating the ways that the participants constantly affect one another and produce effects that are experienced by all of them, the participants are encouraged to reflect on the ways that they influence themselves and others as they practice leadership. In this way, this framework promotes a more ethical way to practice leadership.

To conclude this section, so far, I have discussed the conceptual framework that I have developed in my thesis. I shared the ways that I have generated my theoretical understandings through a constant dialogue between theory and my empirical study, and illustrated through my empirical study the type of understandings that this framework makes possible to generate. I articulated the value that this framework offers to organisational theory and practice, and situated it in the relevant literatures. While the main goal of my study was to develop this conceptual framework, my secondary goal was to develop the appropriate methodological tools that can be used together with these conceptual tools to carry out an empirical investigation. In the section that follows, I discuss the set of methodological tools that I have developed in my study, and the ways it can be used together with my theoretical tools as a "theory method package" (Nicolini, 2012, 2017) to study leadership and affect from a Schatzkian practice approach.

Secondary Research Question: What Methods Should We Use to Study Leadership and Affect from a Practice Approach?

The second part of my framework consists of the set of methodological tools that I have developed to study leadership and affect from a Schatzkian practice approach. I have developed my methodological framework as a quest to answer my secondary research question, which addresses calls issued by practice scholars in the fields of leadership (Kempster et al., 2016; Ospina et al., 2017) and affect (Wetherell, 2014) to develop methods to study leadership and affect from a practice approach. I designed my empirical study in a way that would enable me to experiment with the methods of participant observation, interviewing, and documentary research. I treated both participant observation and interviewing as my primary research methods, with the purpose of finding out through my empirical study the most appropriate way to use these methods to study leadership and affect from a practice approach.

While I did not decide in advance which method would be the primary research method that I would use in my study, my assumptions and expectations at the beginning of my empirical study were that interviewing would probably end up serving as my primary research method to study leadership and affect from a practice approach. I came to develop this strong bias towards interviews under the influence of many qualitative empirical studies that I had reviewed on various forms of collective and relational leadership, which mostly used interviewing as their preferable research method. This tendency was demonstrated in a recent review by Fairhurst, Jackson, Foldy, and Ospina (2020) on research methods that are used to study collective leadership in its different forms. Among the 935 empirical articles that were included in this review, almost all of which were qualitative, 39% used interviewing as their chosen method, 30% relied on secondary data, 20% conducted surveys, and the remaining 11% used other methods, such as experiments, participant observation, and discourse analysis (Fairhurst et al., 2020). In a similar vein, various empirical studies that I reviewed in the small body of work on affective

practices also tended to use interviewing as their preferred research method (e.g. Li, 2015; Loveday, 2016). I have speculated that the reason interviews are so popular in these studies on leadership and affect, is that the influence processes that characterise leadership and the affective experiences of the participants are probably pretty difficult to access by relying solely on observations. Therefore, I assumed that their study requires a process of active reflection through a dialogue between the participants and the researcher, which can enable the participants to bring their experiences to the surface and discuss them in a collaborative manner with the researcher.

Despite the high hopes that I had for this method of interviewing in my study, I was not able to rely on my interview data as my primary source of information in studying leadership and affect as a social practice. My interview data did not offer me sufficient understandings of the dynamic, reciprocal, and material manner in which leadership and affect are manifested in organisational activities. With the interviews I was only able to gain a general and rather static picture of processes of influence that took place in the organisation, and to gain a general appreciation of the strong affective texture that existed in the organisation. As I turned to inquire why my interviews had failed me in producing the core data that I was looking for about the manifestations of affect and leadership as social practices, I realised that the reason was that interviews lack sensitivity to the ontological nature of the phenomena that I was investigating. In my study I understood affective leadership practices to be activities that are carried out by human and non-human participants, and involve dynamic and reciprocal processes of influence that take place among them. The interviews that I conducted with the participants distanced me from the everyday activities that took place in the organisation, and put me in an isolated space in which I attempted to learn about these activities from the reflections of the participants. This resulted in my inability to fully appreciate the collective, material, reciprocal, and ever-changing nature of these activities. The interviews only offered me a glimpse into a rich and colourful world that existed out there in the everyday activities that

took place the organisation, but I could not grasp the full colours and complexity of this world with the interviews. These lessons that I learned from my experimentation with the method of interviewing in my empirical study are discussed by Bispo (2015) and Nicolini (2012). These scholars argue that the method of interviewing is not an appropriate primary research method to use in studying social practices, because this method fails to capture the dynamics, complexity, and aesthetics of social practices, and is not able to include non-humans into the analysis (Bispo, 2015). Since I became aware that much of the aesthetic, material, and dynamic nature of leadership and affect is lost in the interviews, I did not use the knowledge that I generated with the interviews as my primary source of knowledge on affective leadership practices. In this way, I avoided the creation of an "academic Frankenstein" in my study, whereby the methods that are chosen and the type of data that is generated do not properly align with the ontological foundations of the research (Bispo, 2015, p. 318).

Instead, my core knowledge of the manifestations of leadership and affect as a social practice was generated with the method of participant observation, which I found to offer great sensitivity to the ontological nature of this phenomenon. Unlike the method of interviewing, which distanced me from organisational activities and by so doing reduced my ability to gain knowledge on leadership and affect, the method of participant observation allowed me to get close to these activities and thus to gain a good understanding of the ways that affect and leadership are manifested in them. In fact, by carrying out my participant observations mostly as an observant participant (Moeran, 2009), I was able to get so close to these activities and to the manifestations of leadership and affect in them, that I "literally became the phenomenon" that I was investigating (Müller, 2017, p. 137), and was able to feel and experience through my body how leadership and affect are manifested in the organisation.

This research method of embodied participation that I used in my study shares commonalities with various methodological labels such as: affective ethnography

(Gherardi, 2018b), embodied practice-based research (Gherardi, 2012, 2019; Nicolini et al., 2003) aesthetic inquiry (Strati, 1992, 2003, 2007), carnal sociology, enactive ethnography and apprenticeship (Wacquant, 2004, 2005, 2015), which all share the understanding that the researcher should aim to learn about the practice that is studied by generating through their body embodied, aesthetic, and affective knowledge on the practice.

In my study, I used the method of active embodied participation as my primary research method, and did so from two different positions that I occupied in the organisation: as a guest researcher and as an official practitioner. This enabled me to understand the nuanced differences that exist between the methodology labels that I have mentioned above, and to learn which of these labels fits best to my type of study.

During the period that I participated as a guest researcher, which took place during the first part of my ethnographic study, I did not have any official role or responsibilities in the organisation, but was still allowed to participate in various activities that took place in camp. In my embodied participation in the activities that constituted camp, I experienced through my body the type of realities that camp produces and the ways that affect and leadership are involved in the construction of these realities. As I was dancing with the other participants in the activity of organised dancing and as I was participating in the goodbye activity on the last day of camp, I was constantly affected by various affective artefacts that participated in these activities and by affective performances of other human participants, so that I experienced through my body the normative realities that characterise camp of joy, excitement, and inclusion. I then further negotiated these realities through my body and in relation to the other participants to affect them back. In this manner, during my participation in various activities that took place in camp, I constantly negotiated knowledge in relation to the other human and non-human participants, so that we constantly affected one another in a reciprocal, material ,and ever-changing manner

to produce directions and construct the realities that we were immersed in. In such a way, I learned through my body to appreciate the affective nature of leadership, and learned how this phenomenon constantly produces and negotiates knowledge in camp. The more that I participated in this practice of camp, the more that I came to adopt the unique ways of thinking, feeling, and acting that characterise the members of this practice, and gradually became a native participant in this practice (as was advised by: Schatzki, 1996; Wacquant, 2005, 2009). This process of going native allowed me to fully "perform the [practice]" (Wacquant, 2015, p. 1) that I was investigating, and in this way to gain a better understanding of some of the ways in which the participants in this practice make their meaning and participate in the construction of the social realities that this practice produces. In the ways that I have described so far, I used the method of observant participation in the first part of my study to learn through my body to appreciate the affective nature of leadership, and to learn how this phenomenon constantly produces knowledge and realities in camp in a relational, dynamic, material, and collective manner.

In the second part of my empirical study, I used the method of observant participation from the position of an official practitioner in the organisation with defined responsibilities and supervisors. This type of inquiry is known as apprenticeship (Wacquant, 2004, 2005, 2015). What distinguishes this method of apprenticeship from the other methodological labels that I have discussed earlier—affective ethnography (Gherardi, 2018b), embodied practice-based inquiry (Gherardi, 2012, 2019; Nicolini et al., 2003), and aesthetic inquiry (Strati, 1992, 2003, 2007)—is that this research method specifies the position that the researcher should adopt in the field, and that is the position of an apprentice practitioner. In my ethnographic study, through my experimentation with different research methods that I used and with different positions that I adopted in the organisation, I found that the method of apprenticeship enabled me to generate the most holistic understanding of leadership and affect as a social practice. This is because, while this method offered me the ability to become an active participant in an affective

leadership practice and to produce embodied and processual knowledge of this phenomenon as I have previously discussed, it also offered me a few additional research opportunities that I outline next.

To begin with and most importantly, the method of apprenticeship offered me the ability to gain great sensitivity to power in my practice-based study of leadership and affect. This is because as an apprentice practitioner, I had an official supervisor, and therefore took part in power relations that I was not able to experience as a guest participant. In most of the camps that I participated in as a practitioner, my supervisors were very supportive, and I felt like this, among various other factors, enabled me to reproduce the affective normative knowledge that was being produced in the activities that constituted camp. On the other hand, in the camp where I experienced power struggles with my supervisor, I felt like this constrained my ability to reproduce the affective normative meaning that was being produced in camp, to the extent that I was rejecting and resisting this meaning through my absent affective performances. In this manner, in the period that I participated in camp as an official practitioner, I learned to appreciate how power relations are embedded in processes of knowledge production that take place in camp. Furthermore, my experiences of power struggles as an official practitioner also allowed to gain first-hand understandings of ways that leadership can manifest as embodied resistance, in an attempt to disrupt the reproduction of normative affective knowledge that takes place in camp.

Another research opportunity that the method of apprenticeship has offered me, is better access to the affective leadership practice that I was investigating. As an official practitioner with defined responsibilities, I participated in all the activities that were part of the schedule in camp, and experienced for myself the many challenges, struggles, and moments of satisfaction that the other members in this practice experience as part of their daily work. This enabled me to experience the reality of camp in its full colours, and to better understand how these realities are being

constructed and how knowledge is being produced and negotiated by the participants in the different activities.

Finally, as a practitioner in camp, I was also able to better appreciate the profound effects that participation in this affective leadership practice has on its participants, since during my continuous participation in camp I became fully recruited and came to strongly adopt the goals and norms that prevail in this practice.

Due to the various research opportunities that I have outlined here, which include not only the ability to produce embodied, aesthetic, and affective knowledge on the affective leadership practice that is being studied, but also the ability to gain better access to this practice and its effects with great sensitivity to power, I found the method of apprenticeship to be a highly appropriate primary research method to use in studying affect and leadership from a practice approach. In my study, it was not easy to gain this position in camp of an official practitioner, and it involved a continuous negotiation effort that lasted for many months. As was noted by Wacquant (2015), “It takes social spunk and persistence to burrow into a suitable position of observant participation and reap its rewards . . . but tenacity pays off” (pp. 2-6), and in finally succeeding in my access negotiation and becoming an official practitioner in camp, I was able to reap the fruits of my hard labour, and appreciate the ways that this type of inquiry could enable me to generate the most holistic knowledge on leadership and affect.

Looking at the application of embodied research methods in the field of organisation studies, it has been pointed by Bispo and Gherardi (2019) and Thanem and Knights (2019) that embodied forms of inquiry are not widely used in this field, and that a discussion of the possible research opportunities that such a mode of inquiry can offer to the field has started to gain a momentum only in recent years. In light of this growing interest in embodied research methods in the field of organisation studies, with my research I contribute to this discussion by sharing the many research opportunities that the method of apprenticeship can offer to the investigation of

leadership and affect in organisations, and by illustrating some of the ways that this method can be used in an empirical study.

So far, I have shared my research journey through which I found the method of apprenticeship to be a highly appropriate primary research method to use in studying affect and leadership from a practice approach. On this journey, I have also learned that the methods of interviewing and documentary research are very suitable to use as complementary research methods to study leadership and affect from a practice approach. With these methods I was able to produce valuable complementary knowledge on affect and leadership as a social practice, which has enabled me to better understand and discuss this phenomenon in the following three ways:

To begin with, using the methods of interviewing and documentary research, I was able to illustrate and better communicate some of the embodied knowledge that I generated in camp. This was achieved by including selected interview quotes about the participants' experiences and reflections in camp to illustrate specific topics that I discussed; in this way I was able to portray a richer picture of camp using the participants' own words. In addition, I also used non-textual documents like photos and videos to communicate to readers the material, relational, collective, and affective qualities of the various activities that I discussed. This method of documentary research and the visual documents that I collected and produced with it also enabled me to preserve some of the raw data that I generated in my study, and in this way to gain repeated access to it.

Another way that the methods of interviewing and documentary research enabled me to gain a better understanding of the affective leadership practice of camp that I was investigating, was by allowing me to comprehend why this practice takes place in the way it does. During my interviews, in which administrative staff and commune members shared with me the operational, administrative, and educational process through which camp is executed, I learned that camp needs to follow a guideline book that was created by the international network of camps that this organisation is

associated with. This guideline book, which I obtained during the interviews, outlines the different ways that camp needs to be carried out, and specifies that camp needs to pursue the norms and goals of love, joy, and inclusion. This, to a great extent, explains the origin of the normative affective knowledge that is produced in camp, and the main reasons why this practice takes place in the way it does.

Finally, with my interviews I gained a better understanding of camp as I learned about the profound effects that this practice has on its participants. While I was able to appreciate these effects from my own observant participation in camp, I was interested in examining how the normative meaning of inclusion is negotiated among participants from different ethnicities, religions, and genders. I learned that all my interviewees, who occupy a wide range of social positions, have all strongly adopted the idea that they are all united and included in camp in the same manner. In examining these normative realities of inclusion that camp produces in relation to the wider local context of the investigation, I learned that camp resists the social practice of conflict that prevails in Israel, and in so doing promotes social change in this social site.

In these three main ways that I have outlined here, I used interviews and documentary research to produce complementary knowledge on the practice of camp that I was investigating, which allowed me to better communicate the material, relational, collective, and affective nature of this practice, and to explain why this practice takes place the way it does, and what its effects are in its local context.

With these methodological insights that I generated in my study, my journey to develop my methodological tools and answer calls to find suitable methods to study leadership and affect from a practice approach (Ospina et al., 2017; Wetherell, 2014) has come to its end (for now). In this journey, through continuous experimentation with the methods of observant participation, interviewing, and documentary research, I found that the method of apprenticeship is a highly suitable primary research method to use in studying affect and leadership from a practice approach.

This is because it enables the researcher to participate in the organisation as an official practitioner and to generate embodied and affective knowledge; based on this knowledge, it is possible to identify and explore in a holistic manner how leadership and affect manifest as a social practice, with better access to this practice and great sensitivity to power relations. At the same time, in my journey I also found that the methods of interviewing and documentary research are very appropriate to use as complementary research methods to study affect and leadership as a social practice. These methods make it possible to produce complementary knowledge which can assist in illustrating and communicating the aesthetics of this practice to the readers, and can enable us to better understand why this practice takes place the way it does, and what its effects are on its participants.

Looking at the progress that has been made in the literature since the calls for methods were issued (Ospina et al., 2017; Wetherell, 2014), it is evident that while some new studies on these topics have been published (e.g. special issue on collective leadership edited by: Ospina, Foldy, Fairhurst, & Jackson, 2020; Raelin, 2019; Wetherell et al., 2020), as was pointed by Fairhurst et al. (2020), there is still much to be done and the road ahead of us is still long. Therefore, with my study I take these literatures one step further in this long quest for methods, by illustrating through my empirical study how the method of apprenticeship, which has not been widely used in these literatures, together with interviews and documentary research, can be used to study leadership and affect from a practice approach.

General Discussion and Conclusions

So far in this chapter, I have addressed my primary and secondary research questions. I started by sharing the way that I developed my theoretical framework through a dialogue between theory and data, and discussed the main value of this framework and its contribution to the literature. In the section that followed, I answered my secondary research question, and shared the process through which I developed my methodological tools to study affect and leadership from a Schatzkian practice approach.

In this section that concludes this thesis, I discuss the main contributions of my thesis, and sum up the theoretical and methodological work that has been carried out in it. In addition, in this section I also discuss some of the possible limitations of my study, opportunities for its future development, and conclude with some final remarks.

Framework Summary and Contributions

The main contribution of my study is the novel framework that I have developed and the various insights that it makes possible to generate. This novel framework and the conceptual and methodological tools that constitute it should be understood as a theory-method package (Nicolini, 2012, 2017) to study affect and leadership from a Schatzkian practice approach. I found the term "package," which was used by Nicolini (2012, 2017), to be a particularly suitable label to describe the framework that I have developed, because

> the idea of a package of theory and methods emphasises that, for studying practices, one needs to employ an internally coherent approach where ontological assumptions (the basic assumption about how the world is) and methodological choices (how to study things so that a particular ontology materializes) work together. (Nicolini, 2012, p. 217)

The theory-method package that I have developed in my study is grounded in the practice theory of Theodore Schatzki (1996, 2002), where my basic ontological

assumptions, the theories that I chose to adopt and the methods that I chose to use, all work together to offer one coherent framework to study affect and leadership from a Schatzkian practice approach. I found the practice theory of Schatzki (1996, 2002) to be particularly suitable for my study, because this theory offers rich conceptual tools to investigate the social site, with sensitivity to its affective texture, to power relations, to the materiality of both humans and non-humans, and to the dynamic nature of social life.

The theoretical part of my Schatzkian framework was developed in two main stages, through a constant dialogue between theory and my empirical study. In the first stage, which preceded my data analysis, I integrated the literatures on affective practices (Wetherell, 2012) and leadership-as-practice (Carroll et al., 2008; Raelin, 2016c) based on Schatzki's practice theory. I referred to this integrated conceptual framework as *affective leadership practices*. Through my data analysis, as I used the theoretical tools that constitute this framework to analyse my empirical data, I was able to generate further theoretical understandings on leadership and affect and to further develop my conceptual framework. In the final step of articulating my conceptual framework, I defined affective leadership practices as: Collective organised affective activities that carry with them normative knowledge, in which the human and non-human participants affect one another to reproduce, modify, and resist this knowledge in endless becoming.

To these theoretical tools that represent the theoretical part of my framework, I tied appropriate methodological tools that work together with them in a coherent manner. My search for methods took place as a quest to answer calls that were issued by practice scholars in the fields of leadership (Kempster et al., 2016; Ospina et al., 2017) and affect (Wetherell, 2014) to develop methods to study leadership and affect from a practice approach. Through experimentation with different methods and with different positions that I occupied in the organisation, I found a mix of methods that works well with the ontological assumptions of my study. I found that the method of

apprenticeship (Wacquant, 2004, 2005, 2015), which entails active participation of the researcher as a practitioner in the practice that is being studied, is highly suitable to use as the primary research method to study affect and leadership from a practice approach. This is because as a practitioner I was able to participate in an affective leadership practice and in this way I got so close to this phenomenon that I "literally became the phenomenon" (Müller, 2017, p. 137), and understood through my body the process through which knowledge is generated in this practice. In addition, as a practitioner I was also able to experience power relations with my supervisors, and in this way generated better sensitivity to power in my study. As for complementary methods, I found that the methods of interviewing and documentary research (Ahmed, 2010; Schultz, 2010) can offer valuable complementary knowledge on the practice that is being studied. With the data that I generated with these methods, I was able to illustrate the aesthetics of the practice that I studied to readers, and to explain why this practice takes place in the way it does, and what its effects on its participants are.

The theoretical and methodological tools that I have outlined here constitute the theory-method package that I developed to study affect and leadership from a Schatzkian practice approach. I see this novel framework that I have developed as a "heuristic device, a sensitizing framework for empirical research . . . [it] opens up a certain way of seeing and analysing" leadership and affect (Reckwitz, 2002, p.257, in his discussion on practice theory). With the tools that constitute this framework, it is possible to explore the following questions:

How do affect and leadership manifest as a social practice in the organisation and who are its human and non-human participants? What type of realities and knowledge does this practice produce? In what means are these realities being produced? How do the participants negotiate this knowledge and realities in relation to one another to reproduce, modify, and resist these realities? Why does this

practice take place in the way it does? Who is empowered? What effects does this practice generate in its local context?

These questions enable us to investigate affect and leadership within the organisational practices they transpire from, and in so doing to gain situated and critical understandings of affect and leadership and of the organisations they are manifested in. We can appreciate what types of normative realities prevail in the organisation that we investigate, and explore the ways that leadership and affect contribute to the production, reproduction, and modification of these realities.

The sensitivity to the affective nature of leadership that we offer in our investigation makes it possible to gain more holistic understandings of leadership. We can understand how the affective human body participates in leadership to produce and negotiate affective embodied knowledge, both in relation to other bodies and in relation to other symbolic affective artefacts. In addition, this view also offers a more democratic way of understanding leadership. Leadership is understood as a collective achievement in which all participants contribute to the leadership process, and not as the property of selected individuals. Furthermore, these ways of understanding leadership are inherently ethical. The participants are encouraged to acknowledge the ways that they affect other participants in the leadership process with their actions, and by doing so, these participants can become more accountable for their actions. This includes not only the ways that the participants treat their own human bodies and other humans, but also the way that they treat other non-human participants like the environment, which is constantly being affected by human actions.

These understandings that I have discussed here can be generated by using this framework to zoom in on specific organisations, and explore the manifestations of affective leadership practices within these organisations. Through further zooming in and out movements between the affective leadership practices that are investigated and other social practices that are connected to these practices in the social site, we

can generate additional critical understandings of the organisation. We can understand why the organisational realities that we investigate turn out to be the way they are, who is empowered in these realities, and what effects these realities generate in their local context. In the ways that I have discussed here, the framework that I have developed can be used as a heuristic device in an empirical investigation, to generate critical understandings of organisational realities and comprehend the ways that leadership and affect are involved in the endless construction and reconstruction of these realities.

So far in this section, I have discussed how I find the Schatzkian framework that I have developed to be the main contribution of my thesis, and I have summed up its main theoretical and methodological tenets. I then discussed the type of understandings that this framework makes possible to generate on affect and leadership and on the organisations they are manifested in. Next, I would like to discuss further the various contributions that my work offers to the body of work on leadership-as-practice, and more generally to the field of organisation studies.

I first begin with reviewing the contribution that my study offers to the body of work on leadership-as-practice (Carroll et al., 2008; Raelin, 2016c). As was discussed by various leadership scholars, the literature on leadership-as-practice is still emerging and very much in its early stages of development (Raelin et al., 2018). Therefore, there is a need to develop theories (Kempster et al., 2016) and methods (Kempster et al., 2016; Ospina et al., 2017) that can be used to study leadership practices. In addition, it was also pointed out in recent discussions that the work on leadership-as-practice should be further developed to find ways to generate sensitivities to power in the investigation (Raelin et al., 2018). Considering these needs that currently exist in this body of work, with the novel framework that I have developed I offer multiple contributions to this literature. I offer rich theoretical and methodological tools to study leadership practices, with sensitivity to the affective nature of the practices and to the ways that power is manifested in these practices.

Furthermore, the fact that I have carried out an empirical investigation using my novel framework, contributes to increasing the scarce empirical knowledge that currently exists on possible ways that leadership practices can manifest themselves in the empirical site (Raelin et al., 2018). In addition, my empirical study also illustrates how to use the theoretical and methodological tools that constitute this framework in an empirical investigation, and illustrates the type of empirical insights that can be generated with this framework.

Looking at the contribution of my study to the wider field of organisation studies, I have identified three main contributions.

My first contribution is in further introducing the practice theory of Schatzki (1996, 2002) and its analytical potential to the field of organisation studies. Currently there are few theoretical and empirical studies in the field that build on Schatzki's work (Loscher et al., 2019). These studies usually adopt different sets of Schatzkian concepts and interpret them in different ways to investigate their organisational phenomena of interest. Schatzki's practice theory was used, for example, to explore how practitioners define competency in their work (Lindberg & Rantatalo, 2015), to redefine organisational phenomena in terms of practices (Ahrens & Chapman, 2007), and to conduct a practice-based analysis of larger organisational phenomena such as whole markets and industries (Jarzabkowski, Bednarek, & Spee, 2015). In my research I chose to use a set of Schatzkian concepts as the basis of my theoretical framework, and through an engagement with my empirical study generated a certain interpretation of these concepts. My reading of Schatzki's work joins the existing emerging literature which builds on his work and further develops it, by illustrating additional ways in which Schatzki's practice theory can be interpreted and operationalised to investigate organisational phenomena. Based on my reading of Schatzki's practice theory and together with my chosen methodological tools, I illustrated how it feels, sounds, and looks like to be a member of the organisation that I studied, and how the social order that characterises this organisation is

constantly being reproduced and modified though the actions of the participants. I illustrated how power is manifested in the process of production and modification of organisational realities, and what are the roles of non-human participants in the constitution of these realities. While I relied on my reading of Schatzki's work to investigate the ways leadership and affect are involved in the construction of organisational realities, other studies can use my interpretation of Schatzki's work and the analytical possibilities that it offers to carry out an investigation of other organisational phenomena.

Another type of contribution that my study offers, is supplementing my reading of Schatzki's practice theory with the work of Wetherell (2012). While the practice theory of Schatzki offers rich conceptual vocabulary to investigate the constitution of social life through practices, the work of Wetherell offers the theoretical tools to better understand the experiences of humans in these practices as embodied meaning-making, a process in which body, mind, emotion, and cognition are all intertwined. When combining the work of these two scholars together, we receive a powerful theoretical construct that can be used to investigate social life and its various social phenomena, with great sensitivity to its affective texture.

The last type of contribution that my study offers to the field of organisation studies, is in illustrating the power of the method of apprenticeship (Wacquant, 2004, 2005, 2015) in generating profound understandings of organisational phenomena. Embodied research methods have not been widely used in this field, and a discussion of the possible opportunities that such methods can offer to the field has started to gain momentum only in recent years (Bispo & Gherardi, 2019; Thanem & Knights, 2019). With my study, I contribute to these emerging discussions by illustrating the research opportunities that the method of apprenticeship offers the researcher. It allows the researcher to perform the phenomenon that is being studied as an official practitioner, and in this way to generate valuable embodied understanding of this phenomenon while gaining sensitivity to power relations.

As I have summed up the main theoretical and methodological work that I have carried out in this thesis and discussed its various contributions, the next topic that I discuss in this chapter is the possible limitations of my study.

Limitations

I see the limitations of my study as the possible "blind spots" that the framework that I have developed may fail to illuminate, and the possible critical questions that cannot be answered with this framework. Earlier in this discussion, I outlined the main questions that this framework enables us to ask, which are mainly concerned with the investigation of the ways that leadership and affect are involved in the construction and reconstruction of organisational realities. While this area of investigation offers a critical perspective on leadership and on the organisations it transpires from, and enables us to understand leadership in a more democratic and ethical manner, there are other areas of investigation that are less likely to be illuminated with this framework. One example of such an area, is the investigation of the type of emotion work that employees carry out in order to meet high emotional demands and strong affective norms in their organisations, and the possible consequences, such as emotional burn-out, that they may endure as a result (as was explored by Hochschild, 1983). The framework that I have developed offers less sensitivity to such topics. It is more focused on investigating the ways that these affective norms are materialised, and exploring how they are further negotiated by the participants through their embodied performances. Similar to the critical understandings that can be generated with the questions that the work on emotional labour (Hochschild, 1983) enables us to address, other questions that can be asked with other frameworks can illuminate other important aspects in the empirical phenomena that I have investigated. For this reason, I acknowledge the fact that the research scope of my framework is limited to generate certain types of understandings while overlooking others, and therefore further stress that I see this

framework as a heuristic device, a lens which offers particular research tools to answer particular research questions.

Future Directions

In this thesis, I have developed a novel framework for studying affect and leadership from a Schatzkian practice approach. Since this investigation is only in its initial stages, there are several exciting research avenues that can still be explored.

One possible avenue for future investigation is to use this framework that I have developed to investigate affective leadership practices in different types of organisations and different social contexts than that which I have focused on in my study. This can offer us enlightening understandings of the research site that is chosen and of the ways that leadership is involved in the production and negotiation of organisational realities in that site. Furthermore, this empirical investigation can also generate additional theoretical insights on affect and leadership, which can contribute to our theoretical understanding of these concepts and to the further development of this framework.

Another possible avenue that can be taken for future investigation, is to modify and further develop this framework as needed to investigate other types of social phenomena apart from leadership. It is possible to use the theoretical tools of Schatzki (1996, 2002) and Wetherell (2012) together with the methodological tools that I have outlined in my framework to conduct a practice-based investigation of various social phenomena. In this thesis I have discussed and illustrated the research possibilities that these theoretical and methodological tools offer in gaining critical understandings of social life. These include the ability to investigate how both humans and non-humans are involved in the dynamic process of construction and reconstruction of social realities, with sensitivity to the collective, relational, and material nature of this process. To gain the analytical possibilities that this framework offers, other studies can use the core part of this framework to conduct a practice-based analysis of their phenomena of interest. Furthermore, similar to the way that I

have integrated the work on leadership-as-practice with the work of Schatzki (1996) and Wetherell (2012), other theories can be integrated with the work of these scholars to offer specific sensitivities to the particular topics that the researcher is interested in studying. This can be carried out, as long as the ontological approach of these theories aligns with the philosophical assumptions of this framework.

Overall, similar to the way that I perceive social reality, I see the development of this framework as a process of endless becoming and continuous learning. Every theoretical and empirical study that will use this framework will further develop it, to enrich our understanding of the phenomenon that is being studied and of the organisation that it transpires from.

Concluding Remarks

The aim of this study was to develop new research avenues through which leadership can be better understood. The research avenue that I chose to pursue is developing a novel framework for studying leadership and affect from a Schatzkian practice approach. Through my data analysis, I illustrated the type of critical understandings that this framework makes possible to generate. I illustrated how we can understand what type of social order and normative realities characterise the organisation that we investigate, and comprehend how leadership and affect are involved in the endless construction and reconstruction of these realities. Furthermore, I illustrated how we can critically explore how these organisational realities turned out to be the way they are and not differently, appreciate who is empowered in these realities, and comprehend what effects these realties generate in the participants and in the wider local context. This type of investigation offers critical, holistic, and situated understandings of leadership and the organisations it transpires from. It places the affective human body and its relations with other human and non-human participants in leadership at centre stage. It is my hope that the framework that I have developed in this study will be used in other empirical studies, to explore the ways

that leadership is manifested in different empirical sites, and to investigate the type of effects that it generates in these sites.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Interview Schedule with Social Counsellors/Team Leaders

Area	Questions
Understanding the social practices the participants are immersed in	• Can you please tell me a bit about yourself? Why did you choose to do a year of social service/volunteer/work as a social counsellor/team leader in this organisation?
Identifying patterns of influence	• Tell me about your role here as a social counsellor/team leader • Which other members in the organisation typically influence your daily work in the organisation? And in what ways is this influence manifested in your daily activities? • [Question for the more permanent social counsellors (commune, paid summer employees and team leaders)]: How does it feel to work with the volunteers who change from week to week?
Investigating the emotional texture of the work	I would like to hear more about the emotional dimension of your work here: • What aspects and events in your daily work do you find to be more emotional? Can you further elaborate on that? • How does it affect you on the emotional level to work with children with chronic illness or with children with special needs? • What are the most satisfying aspects of your work? And the most challenging ones? And how do you cope with them?
Understanding the effects that the work has on the participants' lives	• As a commune member/summer employee/volunteer/team leader- what does it mean for you to be a social counsellor/team leader in camp? • How has this organisation and camp affected your life?

שאלון למדריכים חברתיים וראשי קבוצה

*דף זה נכתב בלשון זכר אך הוא פונה לזכר ונקבה כאחד

נושא	שאלות
הבנת הרקע של המשתתפים	• תוכל בבקשה לספר לי קצת על עצמך? מדוע בחרת לעשות שנת שירות/להתנדב/לעבוד בארגון זה כמדריך חברתי/ראש קבוצה?
זיהוי דפוסי השפעה בארגון	• ספר לי בבקשה על תפקידך בארגון כמדריך חברתי/ראש קבוצה • אילו בעלי תפקידים בארגון משפיעים על עבודתך היומיומית? כיצד השפעה זו באה לידי ביטוי? • [שאלה למדריכים חברתיים עם יותר ותק בארגון (קומונה, עובדים בשכר, מדריכי קיץ וראשי קבוצה)]: איך זה מרגיש לעבוד עם מתנדבים שמתחלפים משבוע לשבוע?
הבנת המימד הרגשי של העבודה בארגון	אני מעוניינת לשמוע על הפן הרגשי של העבודה פה: • כיצד זה משפיע עליך באופן רגשי לעבוד עם ילדים עם מחלות כרוניות ומסכנות חיים, או עם ילדים בעלי צרכים מיוחדים? • מה הכי גורם לך סיפוק בעבודתך פה? מה הכי מאתגר אותך? כיצד אתה מתמודד עם אתגרים אלו?
הבנת ההשפעה שיש לעבודה בארגון על החיים של המשתתפים	• כחבר בקומונה/מדריך קיץ/מתנדב/ראש קבוצה- מה זה אומר בשבילך להיות מדריך חברתי/ראש קבוצה בכפר הנופש? • כיצד העבודה בארגון זה ובכפר הנופש משפיעה על חייך?

Appendix B: Interview Schedule with Administrative Staff Members

Area	Questions
Understanding the social practices the participants are immersed in	• Can you please tell me a bit about yourself and how long you have been working here? Why did you choose to work in this organisation?
Inquiring into factors that can offer better understandings of camp	• Tell me about your role here and your areas of responsibility • With which other people in the organisation do you work on a regular basis and how? • What is, in your opinion, a successful camp? And what needs to happen in order to achieve this? • What do you think about the unique atmosphere that characterises camp? How would you explain it?

שאלון לעובדי המנהלה בארגון

*דף זה נכתב בלשון זכר אך הוא פונה לזכר ונקבה כאחד

נושא	שאלות
הבנת הרקע של המשתתפים	• תוכל בבקשה לספר לי קצת על עצמך? כמה זמן אתה עובד בארגון זה? מדוע בחרת לעבוד בארגון זה?
הבנת העבודה של צוות המנהלה במטרה להשיג הבנה טובה יותר של מחזורי הנופש	• ספר לי בבקשה על תפקידך בארגון ועל תחומי האחריות שלך. • עם אילו בעלי תפקידים בארגון אתה עובד באופן שוטף וכיצד? • איך היית מגדיר מחזור נופש מוצלח? מה לפי דעתך תורם להצלחה כזו? • מה אתה חושב על האווירה המיוחדת שקיימת בכפר הנופש? כיצד היית מסביר זאת?

Appendix C: Invitation to Participate in Research

Research on leadership and emotion in the nonprofit sector in Israel

I invite you to participate in my research on leadership and emotion in the nonprofit sector in Israel, which will focus on this specific nonprofit organisation.

Who am I?

My name is Avigail Maggeni, and I am currently pursing my PhD degree in the School of Management in Victoria University of Wellington in New Zealand.

What is the purpose of this research?

The purpose of this research is to investigate leadership and emotion in the nonprofit sector from a relational approach, in order to better understand the collective, relational, and contextual nature of these phenomena. The main idea is to learn from the activities that take place in the organisation and from interviews with organisational members how leadership and emotion are manifested in this organisation, and what this can teach us about these phenomena.

What does this research involve?

During the next couple of months, I will volunteer in this organisation and will take part in its ongoing activities. With permission, I will:

- Carry out observations of day-to-day activities in the organisation and of interactions between organisational members
- Keep a detailed personal research journal of daily experiences in the organisation
- Record day-to-day organisational activities with photos and videos

- Carry out personal interviews with organisational members

This research will be used as part of a PhD thesis which will be submitted to Victoria University of Wellington. The research may also be used for academic publications, conference presentations, and public reports.

Ethical research practices

The names of the participants will not be included in this research. I will make efforts to remove any identifiable details from information obtained with the interviews and observations, so that participants cannot be easily identified. Information shared in the interviews will be confidential and will be available only to the researcher and her supervisors.

The information that will be generated in this project will be used only for research purposes. It will be protected using reliable security measures, and destroyed five years after the completion of this project [December 2024].

This research has been approved by the ethics committee of Victoria University of Wellington (approval number 0000025724) and meets all the necessary ethical criteria of the highest standard.

How do we participate?

In the next couple of weeks, I will personally approach you to share with you more information about my study and to offer you to participate in it. Participation is completely voluntary, and it is possible to withdraw from this study at any time before the data is analysed December 2018 without having to give any reason.

Please do not hesitate to contact me if you have any questions.

Thank you in advance for your cooperation,

Avigail Maggeni

Email address: avigail.maggeni@vuw.ac.nz

Phone number: 054-2640513

הזמנה להשתתפות במחקר

TE WHARE WĀNANGA O TE ŪPOKO O TE IKA A MĀUI
VICTORIA
UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON

מנהיגות ורגשות במגזר השלישי בישראל

* דף זה נכתב בלשון זכר אך הוא פונה לזכר ונקבה כאחד

אני מזמינה אותך להשתתף בעבודת המחקר שלי בנושא מנהיגות ורגשות בארגונים ללא מטרות רווח בישראל. בחרתי להתמקד בארגון זה כארגון לדוגמא, המוביל בעשייה הייחודית שלו למען ילדים ממגוון שכבות האוכלוסייה.

מי אני?

שמי אביגיל מגני, ובימים אלה אני עושה עבודת דוקטורט בבית הספר למנהל עסקים באוניברסיטת ויקטוריה בוולינגטון, ניו זילנד.

מהי מטרת המחקר?

מטרת המחקר היא לייצר הבנה הוליסטית וקולקטיבית של מנהיגות ורגשות בארגוני המגזר השלישי בישראל. הרעיון המרכזי הוא ללמוד מהפעילויות השונות שלוקחות חלק בארגון ומראיונות אישיים עם עובדים ומתנדבים בארגון, כיצד מנהיגות ורגשות באים לידי ביטוי בארגון זה, ומה זה יכול ללמד אותנו על תופעות אלו.

כיצד המחקר יתבצע?

בחודשים הקרובים אתנדב בארגון זה ואשתלב בפעילויות השוטפות. בהינתן הסכמה, אבצע:

- תצפיות על הפעילויות השוטפות בארגון ועל אינטראקציות חברתיות בין חברי הארגון
- אתעד ביומן אישי את חוויותיי היומיומיות בארגון
- אתעד פעילויות באמצעים ויזואליים
- אבצע ראיונות אישיים עם חברי הארגון

מחקר זה ייכלל בעבודת הדוקטורט של החוקרת אשר תוגש לאוניברסיטת ויקטוריה בוולינגטון. כמו כן, עבודת מחקר זו עשויה להיכלל בפרסומים אקדמאים ובכנסים אקדמאים.

קוד מחקר אתי

שמות המשתתפים לא יצוינו במחקר זה. החוקרת תעשה מאמצים להסיר מהמידע שיופק באמצעות התצפיות והראיונות פרטים מזהים העלולים לסייע בזיהוי המשתתפים. תוכן הראיונות ישמר חסוי ואנונימי, ולא ידווח לאף גורם בתוך הארגון או מחוצה לו. המידע אשר יופק במחקר זה יהיה בשימוש אקדמאי בלבד, ויושמד חמש שנים לאחר סיום המחקר [דצמבר 2024].

מחקר זה אושר על ידי ועדת האתיקה של אוניברסיטת ויקטוריה (מספר אישור 0000025724) ועומד בכל הקריטריונים הנוגעים לביצוע מחקר בצורה אתית ומוסרית.

כיצד משתתפים?

בשבועות הקרובים אפנה אליך באופן אישי כדי לחלוק איתך עוד מידע על המחקר ולהציע לך להשתתף בו. ההשתתפות היא על בסיס התנדבותי בלבד, וניתן לבטל את ההשתתפות בפרויקט בכל עת וללא מתן סיבה עד דצמבר 2018.

מודה לך באופן אישי על שיתוף הפעולה,

אביגיל מגני

טלפון: 054-2640513 דואר אלקטרוני: avigail.maggeni@vuw.ac.nz

Appendix D: Ethnographic Interview Research Agreement

PhD research on leadership and emotion in the nonprofit sector in Israel

Interview research agreement

The participant approves that he/she understands and agrees with the following:

- The topic of this research has been explained to me by the researcher.
- My participation in this research is completely voluntary, and I can withdraw from this study at any time until the end of 2018.
- My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I can ask questions at any time during the interview.
- I understand that I always have the option to decline to answer any question that is asked during the interview if I do not wish to answer it.
- I agree that the interview will be recorded by the researcher, for the purpose of analysis.
- I understand that any information that I share during the interview will remain confidential and anonymous. My name will not be included in this research, and only the researcher and her supervisors will have access to the interview recordings and any notes.
- I understand that the results of this study and selected interview quotes will be included in the PhD thesis of the researcher, and may also be used in academic publications, presented at conferences, and discussed in public reports.

Name of the researcher: Avigail Maggeni, School of Management, Victoria University of Wellington

Name of the participant:

Signature:

Date:

Contact information:

For any questions, you can contact Avigail at the email: avigail.maggeni@vuw.ac.nz, or at the phone number: 054-2640513

Thank you for your cooperation,

Avigail Maggeni

עבודת דוקטורט בנושא: מנהיגות ורגשות במגזר השלישי בישראל

טופס הסכמה לראיון אישי

המרואיין מאשר שהבין ומסכים עם הסעיפים הבאים:

- נושא הפרויקט הוסבר לי על ידי החוקרת.
- אני מבין שהשתתפותי במחקר היא על בסיס התנדבותי בלבד, ושיש באפשרותי לבטל את השתתפותי במחקר בכל עת עד לסוף שנת 2018.
- שאלותיי נענו לשביעות רצוני, ואני מבין שבאפשרותי לשאול שאלה בכל זמן נתון במהלך הריאיון.
- אני מבין שאיני חייב לענות על אף שאלה שתשאל במהלך הריאיון במידה ואיני חפץ בכך.
- אני מסכים שהריאיון יוקלט על ידי המראיינת, לצורכי עיבוד המידע וניתוחו.
- כל מידע שאחלוק במסגרת הריאיון יהיה חסוי ואנונימי ושמי לא ייכלל במחקר. תוכן הריאיון ישמר חסוי, לא ידווח לאף גורם בארגון ויהיה זמין רק לחוקרת ולמנחיה.
- אני מבין שמסקנות מעבודת חקר זו וציטוטים נבחרים מהראיונות יכללו בעבודת הדוקטורט של החוקרת. כמו כן, יתכן שמסקנות מעבודה זו יכללו בפרסומים אקדמאים ויוצגו בכנסים אקדמאים.

שם המראיינת: אביגיל מגני, הפקולטה למנהל עסקים, אוניברסיטת ויקטוריה בוולינגטון.

שם המרואיין: _____

חתימה: _____

תאריך: _____

פרטי קשר: _____

לכל שאלה ניתן לפנות לאביגיל מגני במייל: avigail.maggeni@vuw.ac.nz או בטלפון: 054-2640513

תודה רבה על שיתוף הפעולה,

אביגיל מגני

Appendix E: A Typical Summer Camp Schedule

<table>
<tr><th></th><th>Sunday</th><th>Monday</th><th>Tuesday</th><th>Wednesday</th><th>Thursday</th><th>Friday</th></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>Orientation day</td><td>Welcome day</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>Goodbye day</td></tr>
<tr><td>07:30-08:00</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>Waking up
Check out from cabins</td></tr>
<tr><td>08:00-08:30</td><td></td><td rowspan="2">Breakfast/medical check in for volunteers</td><td colspan="3">Waking up and getting ready</td><td rowspan="2">Breakfast</td></tr>
<tr><td>08:30-09:00</td><td></td><td colspan="3">Good morning activity</td></tr>
<tr><td>09:00-09:30</td><td>Picking up commune members and volunteers from the bus stop</td><td>Last preparations/ 9:30 the medical team arrives</td><td>Breakfast</td><td>Breakfast/ 9:30- ‘how are you doing’ talk for the volunteers with the volunteer manager</td><td>Breakfast- pancakes picnic</td><td rowspan="2">Team goodbye activity</td></tr>
<tr><td>09:30-10:00</td><td rowspan="4">Orientation for the volunteers</td><td rowspan="3">Preparing the reception in the welcome centre/orientation in the medical centre for the medical team
-Welcome reception for the campers in the welcome centre
-Campers medical check in
-Campers orientation
-Campers check-in at sleeping cabins</td><td rowspan="3">Camp fair</td><td rowspan="2">Orange team-adventure park/Red team-theatre/Blue team-dogs/Yellow team- music & getting ready for end-of-camp event</td><td rowspan="3">Swimming pool camp activity</td></tr>
<tr><td>10:00-11:00</td><td rowspan="2">Goodbye activity for camp and departure</td></tr>
<tr><td>11:00-11:30</td><td rowspan="2">Closing camp facilities and staff departure</td></tr>
<tr><td>11:30-12:15</td><td rowspan="2">Orange- dogs/Red- music & getting ready for end-of camp event/Blue-adventure park/Yellow-theatre</td></tr>
<tr><td>12:15-12:30</td><td rowspan="2">Break & getting ready after the swimming pool</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>12:30-13:00</td><td rowspan="2">Lunch + Check in in sleeping cabins for volunteers</td><td>Camp musical activity</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>13:00-13:30</td><td colspan="5">Lunch</td></tr>
<tr><td>13:30-14:00</td><td rowspan="3">-Introduction for all staff members in camp (volunteers, paid employees and commune)
-Learning the rules of camp
-Learning about the medical condition that this camp will accommodate</td><td rowspan="2">Organised dance in the dining hall</td><td rowspan="3">Break & getting ready for the swimming pool</td><td rowspan="3">Break</td><td rowspan="3">Team activity/ ‘thank you’ talk for the volunteers with the volunteer manager</td><td rowspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td>14:00-14:30</td></tr>
<tr><td>14:30-15:00</td><td>Introduction activity and going through camp regulations</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>15:00-15:30</td><td rowspan="5">-Assignment to teams
-Working in teams: Preparing team activities for the rest of camp</td><td rowspan="3"></td><td rowspan="3">Orange- theatre/Red-adventure park/Blue- music & getting ready for end-of camp event/Yellow- dogs</td><td rowspan="3"></td></tr>
<tr><td>15:30-16:00</td><td>Fire drill</td><td rowspan="2">Swimming pool</td><td rowspan="2">Camp activity</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>16:00-17:00</td><td>Break</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>17:00-17:30</td><td rowspan="3">Activity for the entire camp</td><td rowspan="3">Showers after swimming pool</td><td rowspan="3">Orange- music & getting ready for end-of camp event /Red- dogs/Blue-theatre/Yellow- adventure park</td><td rowspan="2">Break & phone calls to parents</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>17:30-18:00</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>18:00-18:30</td><td></td><td rowspan="2">Preparations for end-of-camp event</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>18:30-19:00</td><td>Camp activity before dinner</td><td>Camp activity before dinner</td><td>Break</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>19:00-20:00</td><td colspan="6">Dinner</td></tr>
<tr><td>20:00-20:30</td><td rowspan="2">Continue working on team activities</td><td rowspan="2">End-of-day activity</td><td rowspan="2">Making tie-dye shirts activity</td><td rowspan="2">End-of day activity</td><td>End-of-day activity</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>20:30-21:00</td><td rowspan="3">End-of camp activity & party</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>21:00-21:30</td><td rowspan="2">Fun activity for all the social counsellors</td><td></td><td rowspan="2">End-of-day activity</td><td rowspan="2">Chillout activity</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>21:30-22:00</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>22:00-22:30</td><td></td><td colspan="4" rowspan="2">-Taking medicine at the medical centre at the end of team activity
-Free time, get ready for bed
-Bed time: 22:30</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>22:30-23:00</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>23:00-23:30</td><td></td><td colspan="4" rowspan="2">Team meetings</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>23:00-00:00</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
</table>

לו"ז לדוגמא מחנה קיץ

	א	ב	ג	ד	ה	ו
	יום אוריינטציה	יום קליטה				פרידה
07:30-08:00						השכמה וצ'ק יאוט
08:00-08:30		ארוחת בוקר/צ'ק אין רפואי מתנדבים		השכמה והתארגנות		ארוחת בוקר
08:30-09:00				פעילות בוקר טוב		
09:00-09:30	איסוף קומונה ומתנדבים	סגירות אחרונות/9:30 הגעת צוות רפואי	ארוחת בוקר	ארוחת בוקר/9:30- שיחות מה נשמע למתנדבים	ארוחת בוקר- פיקניק פנקי"קים	פעילות פרידה קבוצתית
09:30-10:00						
10:00-11:00	אוריינטציה למתנדבים	הכנת הוולקום סנטר/אוריינטציה צוות רפואי	יריד קהילתי	קבוצה כתומה- פארק אתגרי קבוצה אדומה- תיאטרון. קבוצה כחולה- כלבים, קבוצה צהובה- מוסיקה+התארגנות לאירוע סוף הנופש	פעילות קהילתית בריכה	פעילות פרידה קהילתית ופיזור חניכים
11:00-11:30		קבלת פנים לחניכים בוולקם סנטר, צ'ק אין רפואי חניכים, אוריינטציה חניכים, התארגנות בחדרים חניכים				סגירת הכפר
11:30-12:15				כתומה- כלבים. אדומה- מוסיקה+התארגנות לאירוע סוף נופש. כחולה- פארק אתגרי. צהובה- תיאטרון		
12:15-12:30					הפסקה+ התארגנות אחרי בריכה	
12:30-13:00	ארוחת צהריים + התארגנות בחדרים מתנדבים		פעילות מוסיקלית קהילתית			
13:00-13:30		ארוחת צהריים				
13:30-14:00	היכרות צוות מחזור הנופש [מתנדבים, עובדים, קומונה], חוקי הכפר, הכנה סוציאלית ודגשי הדרכה					
14:00-14:30		הרקדה חדר אוכל	הפסקה והתארגנות לבריכה	הפסקה	פעילות קבוצה/תודה למתנדבים	
14:30-15:00		פעילות היכרות ותקנון				
15:00-15:30	חלוקה לצוותים. עבודה בצוותים: הכנת פעילויות לשאר השבוע			כתומה- תיאטרון. אדומה- פארק אתגרי. כחולה- מוסיקה+התארגנות לאירוע סוף נופש. צהובה- כלבים		
15:30-16:00		תרגולת שריפה	בריכה		פעילות קהילתית	
16:00-17:00		הפסקה				
17:00-17:30		פעילות קהילתית	התארגנות אחרי בריכה	כתומה- מוסיקה+התארגנות לאירוע סוף נופש. אדומה- כלבים. כחולה- תיאטרון. צהובה- פארק אתגרי	הפסקה+ טלפונים להורים	
17:30-18:00						
18:00-18:30					הכנות לאירוע סוף נופש	
18:30-19:00		פעילות לפני הערב	פעילות לפני ארוחת הערב	הפסקה		
19:00-20:00	ארוחת ערב					
20:00-20:30	המשך עבודה בצוותים	פעילות סוף יום	טאי-דאי	פעילות סוף יום	פעילות סוף יום	
20:30-21:00						
21:00-21:30	פעילות גיבוש מדריכים חברתיים		פעילות סוף יום	פעילות צ'ל-אאוט	אירוע סוף נופש+ מסיבה	
21:30-22:00						
22:00-22:30	חלוקת תרופות במרכז הרפואי בסיום פעילות הקבוצה. זמן חופשי, התארגנות לשינה. כיבוי אורות ב:22:30					
22:30-23:00						
23:00-00:00	ישיבות צוות					