

Reflections on Current Directions in Leadership

Research:

A reflexive-ethnographic examination of leader–follower and group dynamics in an International Human Rights Based Organization

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ABSTRACT

This study problematizes the down play of heroic perspectives in the currently rising critical and post-heroic leadership research. It argues that compromising either the critical or the post-heroic perspectives in favour of the other would constrict or mislead our understanding of the social influence of leadership processes. This study calls for maintaining the theoretical uniqueness of both perspectives in order to enhance new understandings and broader knowledge claims.

Therefore, the study adopts a reflexive-ethnographic examination of the leader-follower and group dynamics, in an International Human Rights Based Organization. The overall aim is to develop an understanding of how individuals in an International Organization like *Global Peace Organization (GPO)* cope with the universal scope of their organization and the diversity in their work environment. This aim is fulfilled through examining self-narratives generated by the participants in their day to day interactions. To facilitate the coherence between the two leadership perspectives in this examination, a dialectical dimension is enhanced by extending the emerging tactics of reflexivity and intertextuality to the various stages of research.

The critical perspective then reveals a context-driven approach in the self-narratives where participants use their particular worldviews to interpret dilemmas and conflicts originating in their work. Conflicts between participants and their leaders also reflect power interplays based on crafting a sense of we-ness / us in self-Other encounters. However, an added perspective on interpersonal relations suggests the significance of the single factor where the less secure participants tend to mask their resistance with creative impression-management strategies. This eventually transforms their insecurities into more positive attitudes and behaviours which repositions them as informal leaders in their groups.

Key Words

Leadership Research, Innovative Methodology, Leader-Follower Agency, Social Identity, International Organizations, Insecurities, Multiplicity, Context.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ASIA	Applied Social Identity Theory
CM	Content Management
GCC	Gulf Cooperation Council
GLOBE	Global Leadership and Organizational Behaviour Effectiveness
GPO	Global Peace Organization
HR	Human Rights
HRBA	Human Rights Based Approach
HRE	Human Rights Education
IET	Inter-group Emotions Theory
IO	International Organization
KSA	Kingdom of Saudi Arabia
LFR	Leader-Follower Relations
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender rights
LS	Leadership
PDS	Programme Developing Sector in GPO
Pomo	Postmodernism
SCT	Self-Categorization Theory

SIDE	Social Identity Model of Deindividuation Effects
SIT	Social Identity Theory
SSS	Service and Support Sector in GPO
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UDHR	The Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WCHR	World Conference on Human Rights
WPHRE	World Programme for Human Rights Education

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Research background

The relevance of leadership to organizational performance was not always clear or was even taken into consideration (Lieberson and O'Connor, 1972; House and Baetz, 1979: cited in Parry, 2011; Day, 2014). Many scholars challenged such relevancy in favour of 'historical, organizational and environmental forces' (Kaiser et al., 2008:54; cited in Parry, 2011). It took time and hard scholarly efforts to establish that relevancy is actually present. Day and Lord (1988) affirm this, stating: 'Available evidence suggests that leadership can explain upward of 40 percent of the variance in organizational performance when evaluated using appropriate outcomes and time lags' (cited in Day, 2014:3).

Day (2014) further stresses that the study of leadership in organizations continues to enjoy growing popularity both among academics and practitioners. This is evident in the increasing publications on leadership theories and research in various disciplines. It is also apparent that there is a demand in organizations to detect and tackle their leadership shortfalls. This leads to the industry of leadership consultancy thriving. Storey (2011) points out that strategic leadership initiatives continued to flourish considerably between 2000 and 2010. He further highlights examples of major bodies which undertake these initiatives - such as the NHS and the Civil Service in the UK (Ibid: 16).

Amidst organizational studies, the popularity of leadership studies is nevertheless also contested because of the continuous shifts in its core construct. Such contesting arose gradually with the new post-heroic and non-authoritarian approaches towards understanding leadership. As many eminent scholars in the field pursue a deeper understanding of the notion of leadership, the very

existence of leadership is occasionally questioned (Gemmill and Oakley, 1992; Ciulla, 1998; Grint, 2005; Goethals and Sorenson, 2006; Ladkin, 2010; Alvesson, 2013; Haslam et al, 2011).

However, these apparent doubts over leadership's existence are conversely perceived as signs of its scientific and scholarly dynamism. For example, Day (2014) acknowledges the constant change in the core constructs of leadership as evidence of its growth, evolution and flexibility to change. Storey (2011:9) translates leadership's vitality in more practical terms by highlighting leadership as: 'the answer to a host of hugely complex, large-scale and endemic problems in the public sector' - specifically as reported by the Cabinet Office (2000).

This dynamism develops an extensive body of literature which I incorporate as two main classifications for the purpose of this study. The first relates to the classic leader-centric (*Heroic*) perspectives and the second to the new leadership process approaches (Parry and Bryman, 2006; Day, 2014). I also identify the main shift between the two schools in the problematization of the unidirectional, authoritarian perspectives of leadership in the classic school. However, in the process of this problematization some, if not many, of the original insights established in the classic leader-centric debates seem to face the risk of being downplayed. Therefore, my study adopts some of these new directions while remaining appreciative to the originality of the insights in the classic perspectives. Furthermore, the task of understanding leadership has long recognized concepts of self and identity through a considerable body of research. The research ranges from themes about leaders' influence on followers' actions to the follower's self-concept and identity (Shamir et al., 1993; Lord and Brown, 2004; van Knippenberg et al., 2004; Collinson, 2003, 2005). Other scholars (Haslam and Reicher, 2007) highlight that the concepts of self and identity are becoming a core

interest in organizational studies. They stress that: 'it is also clear that this interest is proving enormously fruitful leading to significant theoretical and practical advances in the study of almost every aspect of organizational life' (Haslam and Reicher, 2007: 135).

Nevertheless, concepts and the relationships between culture, leadership and identity remain areas of intense debates in the field of organization studies (Avolio et al., 2009; Hofstede, 2002, 2006; McSweeney, 2002; Javidan et al., 2006). Bass (1990) brings into attention the delicate links between leader-follower relations and the dynamics of multinational organizations in terms of cultural and national differences. Another approach in leader-follower relations brings power, ethics and social contract into sharp focus (Hollander, 1998, 2006; Ciulla, 1998, 2006; Hicks, 2005; Price and Hicks, 2006). However, culture and identity issues are discussed too vaguely in these considerations - which is an issue this study attempts to address.

Moreover, the recent critical approach towards leadership studies now proposes new territories to explore in the leader-follower agency. For example, Collinson (2014) suggests that envisaging leadership dichotomies as multiple and intersecting dialectics would resolve complex issues in leader-follower dynamics. Examples of such issues are asymmetrical power relations and identity issues (Collinson, 2003, 2005, 2006). In the same vein, Fairhurst (2001) also suggests that problematizing established dualisms in leadership literature is one way in which to establish dialectical perspectives. She contests established thinking traditions like 'either-or' and adopts new lines of thinking like 'both-and'. Both proposals are adopted in this study's theoretical and analytical approach towards examining the identity and leader-follower dynamics in its case study.

The proposal for dialectical approach in leadership studies resonates with calls for innovative approaches in studying identity as well. For example, Ibarra et al. (2014) criticizes the dependence on the basic identity processes such as categorization and identification in examining identity issues. Hogg (2006) additionally calls for integrating linguistics from a postmodern stand into the examination of identity issues. In particular, he highlights the need to expand social identity theory (SIA) through such integrative approaches. Social identity theory nevertheless, is constantly developing in its own right both in theory and practice (Haslam, 2014).

This study examines these proposals for the purpose of extending new levels of analysis that include both the interpersonal as well as the group dynamics in its case study (Haslam et al., 2011). This examination then enhances the exploration of two types of self constructs: personal and social, hence identifying a wider range of relations and context. This is in accord with attempts by Haslam et al. (2011) to redefine leadership from this perspective as a joint process between leaders and followers, as a group. In their proposal, context, followers, power and transformation are significant leadership dynamics.

However, the social context in their new proposal draws attention to the complexity in group dynamics. For example, Ibarra et al. (2014) signals some of these complexities as the group's prototype qualities, multiple identity groups or groups with vague inner boundaries. This study considers such complexities in order to generate clearer insights into the personal and social constructs in its case study on an international non-profit organization that I call *Global Peace Organization (GPO)*.

A wider significance of this study is attached to the fact that the case study is based on an international non-profit organization that operates on Human Rights

based programmes. Attention to international organizations (IOs) is relatively recent although their autonomy and competition with formal organizations were observed several decades ago (Cohen et al., 1972; Cyert and March, 1963: cited in Simmons and Martin, 2002). These observations mainly depict IOs agencies in terms of mobilizing political agendas and decision making in the form of soft law (Cohen et al., 1972; Cyert and March, 1963). However, Olsen (1997) points out other forms of IOs autonomy i.e. their agency as 'creators of meaning and of identities' (Cited in Simmons and Martin, 2002:193).

To relate this significance to leadership, I first identify IOs within their position in the non-profit sector. Over the past several decades, organizations in the non-profit sector have been undergoing cycles of growth and decline in terms of size, exposure and influence. In the process, a generation of non-profit organizations with a sophisticated level of organizational experience is developed (Smillie and Hailey, 2001). However, little is done in exploring this experience in the light of the latest understanding of theories and practices of leadership - or organizational studies in general (Lewis, 2014; Murphy, 2011). This study then explores these shortcomings in this sector, using GPO as its case study, with a focus on its complex, multicultural working environment (Carlson and Schneiter, 2011; Cartwright, 2000).

1.2. Case study

This study is designed with the aim of developing an understanding of how individuals in an IO like GPO cope with the universal scope of their organization and the diversity in their work environment. The niche of the study's position is based on leader-follower dynamics along with recognizing followers as an indispensable part in these dynamics. The preliminary analysis of fieldwork reveals that a group of senior employees (followers) tend to interpret their daily

work challenges through discursive self-narratives. The constant self-crafting suggests their capabilities as independent identity entrepreneurs (Ibarra and Barbulescu, 2010; Sveningsson and Alvesson, 2003; Ashforth and Johnson, 2001; Haslam et al., 2011).

Global Peace Organization (GPO), is a multi-cultural, multi-national, non-profit organization based in Europe. GPO adopts a Human Rights Based approach in its global developmental programmes. GPO's general approach is to promote global peace in developing world countries through scientific knowledge and cultural awareness. There are around 1200 employees in GPO, all from different cultural backgrounds and holding diverse educational and scientific qualifications and expertise.

GPO consists of two operational bodies: the 'Programme Developing Sector' (PDS) and the 'Service and Support Sector' (SSS). PDS works on developing initiatives that support governmental sectors across the Globe while SSS provides administrative supporting services to PDS.

The focus of my study is on three culturally diverse units in SSS which have been introduced to new senior management from outside the organization. I call these units: unit1, unit2, and unit3 and they under a department I call Content Management. The units' three teams vary in their national, cultural and ethnic backgrounds. Additionally, they vary in expertise, education, language competence, age and gender.

Figure1.1 illustrates the organizational structure of GPO, highlighting the two operational bodies PDS and SSS and their main functions. The figure also demonstrates the locations where my presence in the organization manifests. The units with red outlines are the three units I examine. However, as shown, I

move across all the main bodies in the organization in a manoeuvre aimed at establishing professional and social associations for the purpose of my study.

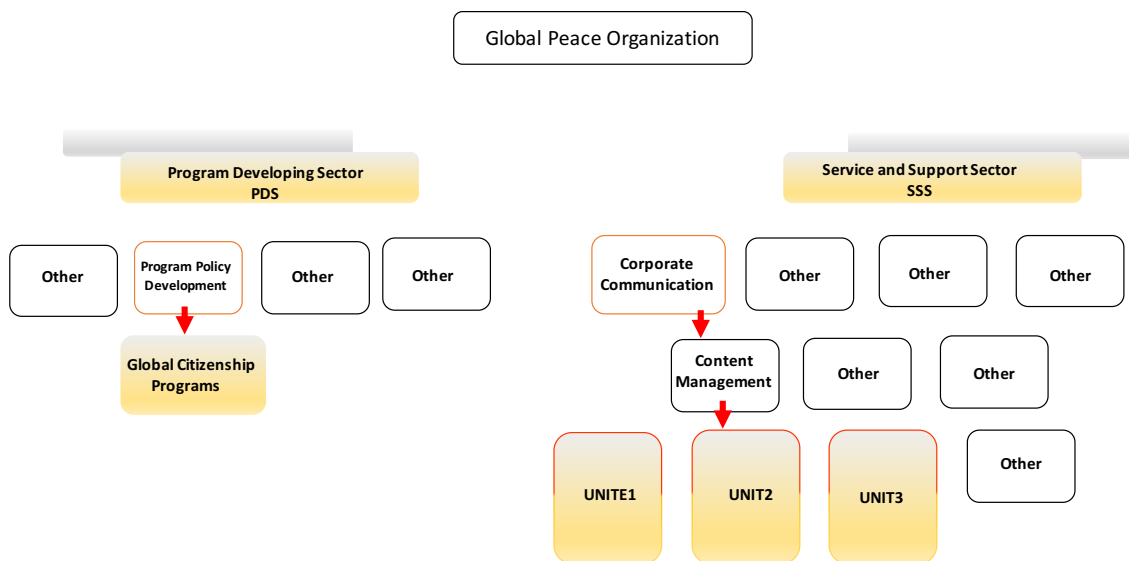


Figure1.1 Organizational structure of GPO (Source: author; modified for ethical reasons)

1.3. Aims and objectives of research

The main aims of this study are twofold: the first is to develop an understanding of how individuals in an IO like GPO cope with the universal scope of their organization and the diversity in their work environment. The second aim is to then explore the coping strategies in the identity dynamics and power interplays in the day to day leader-follower and group interactions of the three units, where leaders are individuals with formal and informal supervision responsibilities and the followers are those being supervised. The dynamics here are forces that mobilize individuals towards or away from groups.

The study then sets four specific objectives (1 to 4) where objectives (1 and 2) relate to the first aim and objectives (3 and 4) address the second aim:

1. Objective one. To develop a holistic understanding of the case study by providing a descriptive account of GPO. This will consider its universal scope of work, the diversity and practices in the three culturally diverse units, their physical layout and the sample of the study. As such, objective

one chiefly builds the platform for researching the objectives (2 to 4) and so overlaps with them across the study phases.

2. Objective two. To construct an account of self-narratives within participants' daily individual and group interactions. This objective is fulfilled through establishing multiple accesses, collecting dilemmatic narratives, mapping and contrasting the conflicts and tensions across these narratives.
3. Objective three. To identify the main logics and strategies used by the participants with which to relate to other individuals and groups. This objective thus considers aspects such as detecting the different self-representations and interpretations given by the participants regarding their day to day challenges and dilemmas. The type and extent of contexts used in their interpretations will also be outlined as will identifying the relationship between social realities and the categorizing process.
4. Objective four. To examine whether (and how) emotions influence participants' attitudes and behaviours - and hence their leader-follower interactions. Considerations for this purpose will be to detect associations of emotions, attitudes and behaviours at individual and groups levels. Identifying the power relations and ethical issues within the leader-follower interactions will also feature here. Table 1.1 demonstrates the aims and objectives of the study:

Aims	Objectives	How
<p>Aim 1 To develop an understanding of how individuals in an IO like GPO cope with the universal scope of their organization and the diversity in their work environment.</p>	<p>1. To develop a holistic understanding of the case study by providing a descriptive account of GPO.</p>	<p>This will consider its universal scope of work, the diversity and practices in the three culturally diverse units, their physical layout and the sample of study.</p>
	<p>2. To construct an account of self-narratives within participants' daily individual and group interactions.</p>	<p>This is fulfilled through establishing multiple accesses, collecting dilemmatic narratives, as well as mapping and contrasting the conflicts and tensions across these accounts.</p>
<p>Aim 2 To explore the coping strategies in the identity dynamics and power interplays in the day to day leader-follower and group interactions.</p>	<p>3. To identify the main logics and strategies used by the participants with which to relate to other individuals and groups.</p>	<p>a. Detecting the different self-representations and interpretations given by the participants regarding their day to day challenges and dilemmas. b. Outlining the type and extent of contexts used in their interpretations. c. Identifying the relationship between social realities and the categorizing process.</p>
	<p>4. To examine whether (and how) emotions influence participants' attitudes and behaviours - and hence their leader-follower interactions.</p>	<p>a. Detecting associations of emotions, attitudes and behaviours at individual and groups levels. b. Identifying the power relations and ethical issues within the leader-follower interactions.</p>

Table 1.1 Aims and objectives of the study

1.4. Structure of study

This study consists of seven chapters including this introduction, chapter one. Chapter two extends readings on the specific topic of leader-follower dynamics and identity issues within leadership in order to inform the current study. These readings build on the introductory review in chapter one that broadly classifies the current leadership literature into leader centric perspectives and leadership process approaches. Chapter two then critically examines the shifts in conceptualizing and examining identity issues in leader-follower dynamics across the two literature classifications.

Chapter two also presents a review of leadership cross cultural studies, namely: Hofstede's cultural dimensions (1984) and *Global Leadership and Organizational Behaviour Effectiveness* (GLOBE) (2004). Thus the chapter revisits the different debates on the two projects in order to create a theoretical guidance for the cross cultural aspects of this study.

Chapter three picks up on the Social Identity Approach (SIA) as the theoretical approach for this study. The principles of Social Identity Theory (SIT), (Tajfel and Turner, 1979), and the Self-Categorization Theory (SCT) and the works of Turner (1985) and Turner et al., (1987) are set out as the theoretical foundations of SIA. The social identity model of deindividuation effects (SIDE), (Lea and Spears, 1991; Reicher et al., 1995) and Inter-Group Emotions Theory (IET), (Smith et al., 2007; Seger et al., 2009) are also set out as the conceptual focus for the purpose of this study.

Chapter four describes the methodology developed for the purpose of conducting the study. It demonstrates the ontological and epistemological assumptions underpinning the research approach, and research design of the study. It also presents a detailed account of the setting access process, stages of fieldwork, identifying gatekeepers and participants, and the data collection techniques.

Chapter four also demonstrates a focus on the classic school of ethnography through extending its original anthropological insights to the current study. This is to reinforce the epistemological stand of ethnography as a methodology and not only a method (Davies 2008). Hence the chapter presents central ethnographic concepts such as Thick description (Geertz 1973), Thick Interpretation (Denzin 1989), and representations of field experiences. The chapter then elaborates on the ante-narrative approach (Boje, 2001) and

narrative logics (Fairhurst, 2007) as complementing aspects along with SIA approach.

Chapter five and Chapter six are analytical presentations of a series of discursively produced 'narrative selves' at work. Chapter five discusses the cultural / organizational selves, while Chapter six presents the emotional selves. The discussion shows how these selves are intertwined, and are a product of the different organizational narratives that are occurring within the units' understudy. Chapter seven presents an integrative discussion where key themes are drawn from the analysis of chapters five and six. This chapter aims to present the findings of my study and the literature of leadership studies. It then presents a summary of the key findings as structured around the research objectives. It also presents the contribution which this study is making to the current body of knowledge. Finally, it demonstrates the limitations and the future research directions of the research.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

This chapter aims to present the theoretical basis for this study and advocates the choice of theoretical and methodological approaches discussed further in Chapters three and four. This presentation pays close attention to the new directions in leadership research that are based on problematizing the dominant leader centric perspective. However, it also takes into account the concerns raised, namely that broad considerations such as context and audience, enhanced by these new directions, might risk the significance of the 'single factor' as a leadership dynamic (Haslam et al., 2011:21).

This chapter thus adopts a dialectic approach (Alvesson and Sandberg, 2013; Collinson, 2014) in its review of the literature and starts with a summary in section 2.2 of the major new directions in current leadership studies. This section is, in general, aligned with objectives three and four presented in section 1.3. The specific new directions related to this study will be extended further in sections (2.4.4, 2.4.5 and 2.4.6).

Section 2.3 examines cross-cultural leadership studies as an area that needs to be enhanced in current leadership studies. It focuses on Hofstede's cultural dimensions (1984) and House et al. (2004): (GLOBE). In particular, the examination revisits the debates on the two projects for the purpose of sensitizing the inquiries of this study, developing a theoretical lens through which to problematize the new directions in leadership studies. The characterizing of culture on self-or-Other perceptions (Smith, 2006), individual/national levels of analysis (Javidan et al., 2006) and the self-and-group referenced constructs (Fischer, 2006) are significant ideas in initiating the intended process of

sensitization. Hence the alignment of this section with the overall aim of this study will serve to develop an understanding of how individuals in an IO, such as GPO, cope with the universal scope of their organization and the diversity in their work environment.

Following this, section 2.4 extends two repeated themes in the cross-cultural leadership review, namely leader-follower relations - and to some lesser extent - group dynamics. As such it demonstrates them in six thematic presentations: power based, contractual, transformational, discursive and group based. The presentations consider the conventional and critical approaches in leader-follower literature and thus aims to enhance a dialectical examination of the literature. This review is aligned with the second aim and objectives three and four presented in section 1.3. Figure 2.1 broadly maps the research directions visited for the purpose of developing the theoretical basis for this study.

Finally, section 2.5 presents a description on how the research inquiry is formulated for the purpose of providing a significant contribution to the literature of leadership. It therefore presents the three interrelated tactics used in its dialectic examination of the leadership literature namely, problematization, reflexivity and intertextuality.

Figure 2.2 demonstrates a relational diagram of the different parts of the literature and the theoretical concepts used to inform the research. Table 2.3 supports this demonstration by highlighting the connections across the chapter sections: 2.2, 2.3, and 2.4.

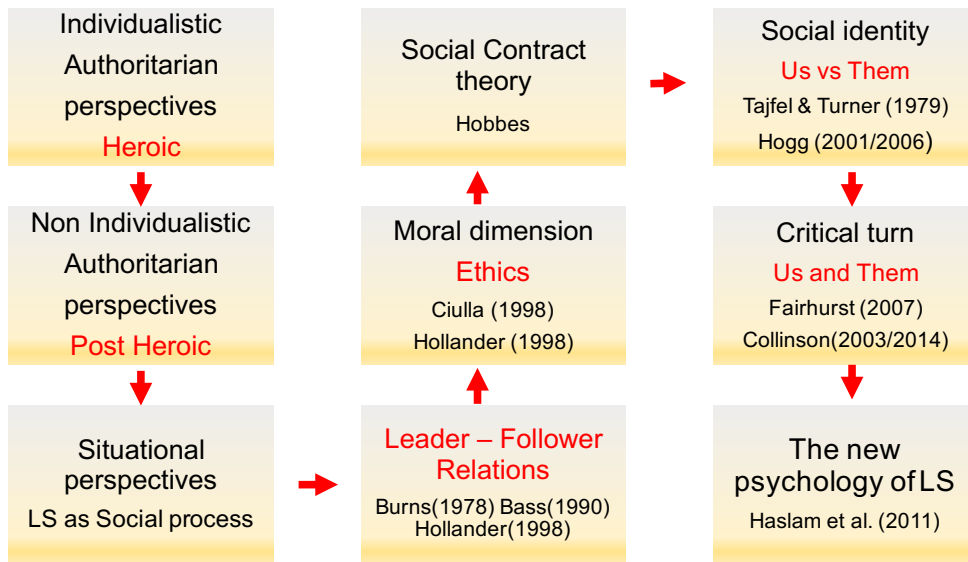


Figure2.1 The main research directions examined in this study (Source: author)

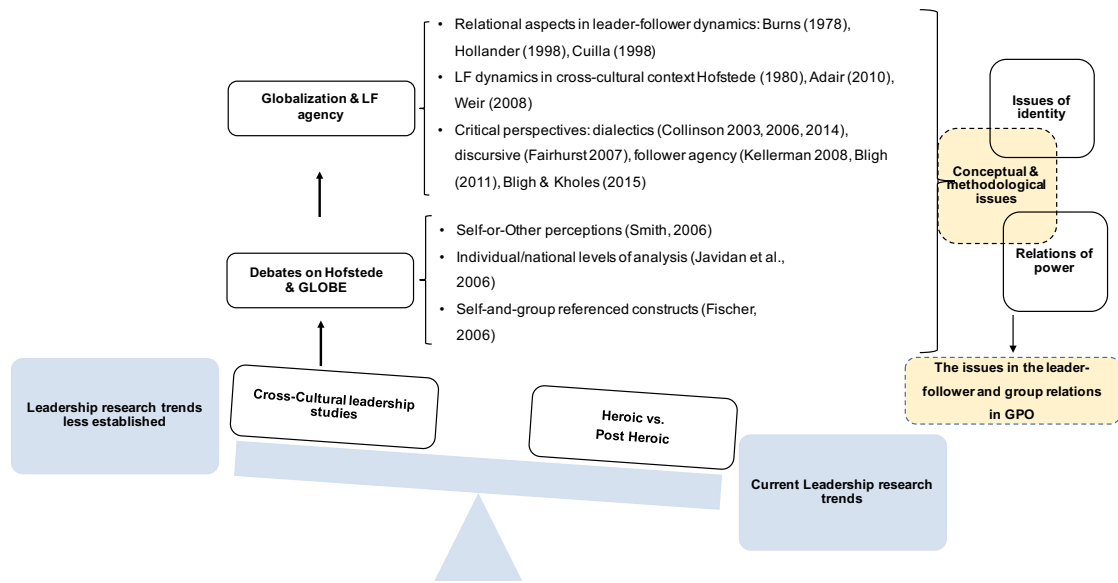


Figure2.2 A relational diagram of the different parts of the literature and the concepts used to inform the research (Source: author)

Section	Highlights
<p>Section 2.2 The major directions in leadership studies</p>	<p>a. Sets an overall scene of the current trends of leadership research.</p> <p>b. Identifies cross-cultural leadership studies as a less established trends in the above scene.</p>
<p>Section 2.3 Cross cultural leadership studies</p>	<p>a. Re-examines debates on two landmark projects that exert a significant impact on the cross-cultural leadership studies: Hofstede (1984) and GLOBE (2004).</p> <p>b. Highlights the conceptual and methodological issues raised in the debates.</p> <p>c. Highlights cross-cultural dynamics identified in debates such as: self-Other perceptions (Smith, 2006), individual/national levels of analysis (Javidan et al., 2006 and intergroup/international relations (Fischer, 2006).</p>
<p>Section 2.4 Globalization and leader-follower agency</p>	<p>a. Expands the identified cross-cultural dynamics through issues of power and identity in cross-cultural leader-follower relations.</p> <p>b. Highlights the conventional and critical research approaches to these issues in the leader-follower literature (Burns, 1978; Hollander, 1998; Ciulla, 1998; Collinson, 2003, 2006, 2014; Fairhurst, 2007; Kellerman, 2008; Bligh, 2011; Bligh and Kholes, 2015).</p>

Table 2.1 Highlights of the theory connections across the chapter sections: 2.2, 2.3, and 2.4

2.2. The major current directions in leadership studies

Leadership studies are originally established within the leader-centred approach or what is often called ‘great man’ theory. This approach is criticized for being too static and limiting individuals within fixed attributes such as intelligence or sensitivity. A situational perspective then emerges and is associated with a contingency theory where the latter enhances popularity. However, this perspective is also criticized for giving less attention to group interaction (Parry and Bryman, 2006; Crevani, 2010; Haslam et al, 2011).

Another perspective emerges in tandem with the situational perspective, i.e. identifying leadership in the leader-follower interactions. The perspective of

leader-follower interactions overlaps with the situational perspective in two areas: the first being in the 'context-specificity of behaviour' and the second being the equal role of followers in leadership dynamics. Both areas are cast in the traditional leader centred approach (Haslam et al, 2011; Crevani, 2010).

A dominant debate at the heart of the leader-follower approach concerns, occurs over transactional and transformational leadership. Transformational leadership is identified by Burns (1978) as the core of leadership in that it lies in the relationship between the leader and his / her followers:

We must see power and leadership as not things but as relationships. We must analyse power in a context of human motives and physical constraints. If we can come to grips with these aspects of power, we can hope to comprehend the true nature of leadership - a venture far more intellectually daunting than the study of naked power (Burns,1978: 11).

Transactional leadership on the other hand, is identified by Bass (1985:20) as occurring when the leader: 'pursues a cost benefit, economic exchange to meet subordinates' current material and psychic needs in return for contracted services rendered by the subordinate'. So the obvious distinction between transformational and transactional leadership is that the first is a social relationship and the second is a contractual relationship between the leader and the followers (Bass, 1990).

The common theme of authoritarian formal leaders in the previous three perspectives is lately being challenged by non-authoritarian / non-individualistic leadership approaches. These new approaches could be categorized in two main forms: one being relational and the other being collective. Relational leadership pays attention to the social-psychological process of constructing organizational realities and identities by the leaders (Cunliffe and Eriksen, 2011; Uhl-Bien, 2006; Crevani et al., 2007; Crevani, 2010).

Collective leadership on the other hand identifies leadership 'as a collective activity rather than as doings of formal leaders' (Crevani, 2010:78). The core concept in this approach is in the shared / distributed responsibilities of decision making / tasks between several individuals. Examples of these perspectives are: shared leadership (Pearce and Conger, 2003; Lambert, 2002; Carson et al., 2007); collaborative leadership (Collinson 2007, Collinson and Collinson 2009), and distributed leadership (Gronn, 2009; Parry and Bryman, 2006).

It is important to emphasize here that the core principle in shared, collaborative and distributed leadership is that leadership can be a group activity rather than individualistic. Hence their importance to this study lies in their collective and non-authoritarian perception of leadership practices. This is opposite to the individualist and authoritarian perception in the conventional leadership literature (Crevani et al., 2010; Uhl-Bien, 2006).

The collaborative and relational approaches are, however, criticized as being too simplistic to provide a solid perspective towards understanding or researching leadership. Generating deep insights on leadership requires more than simply sharing leadership responsibilities among individuals or looking at leader-follower dynamics as oppositional binaries (Fairhurst, 2001; Collinson, 2005; Collinson, 2014; Crevani, 2010; Haslam et al., 2011).

Burns (1978) draws attention to three concepts that are left out in approaching leadership: one relating to the relationship between leader and follower, a second to the social influence of this relationship - and finally, to inspiring followers rather than merely meeting their needs:

Leaders hold enhanced influence at the higher levels of the need and value hierarchies. They can appeal to the more widely and deeply held values, such as justice, liberty and brotherhood. They can expose followers to the broader values that contradict narrower ones or inconsistent behaviour. They can redefine aspirations and

gratifications to help followers see their stake in new, program-oriented social movements (Burns, 1978:43).

This then resonates with the proposal by Ciulla (1998) that developing leadership ethics will enhance leadership studies. In her proposal she highlights how ethics as a point of discussion is limited, or even absent, in leadership literature such as Bass and Stogdill (1990), Gardner (1990) and Rost (1991).

This study carefully considers the four suggestions in Ciulla's (1998) proposal. The first is to design a multidisciplinary approach in conducting the proposed line of studies. The second is to adopt the relationship between leader and followers as a perspective towards studying leadership. The third is to consider the autonomy of followers and leaders in their relationship. The fourth is to conceptualize morality as a dimension of leadership rather than a part of it. The latter also requires equal consideration of the beliefs, values and needs of leaders and followers. (Ciulla, 1998; Calas and Smircich, 1988; Gardner, 1990)

Hollander (1998) highlights the ethical challenges in the leader-follower relationship and stresses the place of values in the leadership process. He refers to the views of Hodgkinson (1983), Gardner (1990) and Rost (1991), and emphasizes leadership as a process that is fraught with ethical challenges. He then associates these challenges with concepts like self-Other perception, mutual identification and social contract theory. For example, he explains the concept of mutual identification as a prospect of two-way influence on the part of both leader and followers. He then follows this with Cantril's (1958: 129) statement: 'the leader must be able to perceive the reality worlds of followers and have sensitivity to guide intuitions, if a common consensus and mutual trust rather than 'mere power, force, or cunning' are to develop and prevail.'

Another angle in examining the relationship between leaders and followers is in the context of their social group. Haslam et al. (2011) criticize what could be seen

as a simplistic understanding of group processes. They point out that it has been accepted that reasons for joining groups are to like the task of the group, to like the people in the group and to fulfil their needs through the group. These personal motives and needs then, add up to fulfil mutual needs as the group members develop interdependent activities. A suggestion here is that a sensible reason for individuals to join groups seems to lie in Burns's (1978) concept of transformational leadership. Haslam et al. (2011) then comment on this view: 'Psychologically speaking, an important feature of this analysis is that it renders the group itself analytically superfluous' (Ibid: 47). Therefore, their next highlight is: 'it appears that people sign up because they want to and because at a group level they believe it is the right thing to do' (Ibid: 48). Groups, in their view, are more than the individual sum of their parts. Individuals' decisions to join or leave groups are not made by virtue of mere personal needs. In other words, the decisions to stay or leave groups are neither simply rational nor purely personal (Nicholson, 2001; Turner et al., 1984; Wann and Branscombe, 1990; Lewis, 2003).

Such approaches to leadership reveal how paradoxes and contradictions are embedded in leadership dynamics. Therefore, I conclude this brief review with Collinson (2014) proposing a dialectical approach towards studying leadership. He suggests that envisaging leadership dichotomies as multiple and intersecting dialectics would resolve complex issues in leader-follower dynamics. Examples he gives of such issues are power relations and identity issues.

In the same vein, Fairhurst (2001) suggests that problematizing established dualisms in leadership literature is one way of establishing dialectical perspectives. She contests established thinking traditions like 'either-or' and calls for new lines of thinking like 'both-and'. This proposal is adopted in this study in

its theoretical and analytical approach towards examining the dynamics of interactions in its three units.

Finally, Gronn (2009, 2011) describes the changing lines of thinking in leadership literature as a 'pendulum effect'. By this pendulum effect he means the recurring rise and ebb in literature between the leader-centric in opposition to the distributed / collective leadership perspectives. He then proposes that leadership is a 'hybrid configuration' that considers leaders and followers at individual as well as collective levels of analysis.

Furthermore, Gronn (2011) argues that hybridity remains a concept that is rarely engaged in contemporary leadership studies. The concept of hybrid practices of leadership has been historically established (Ferguson, 1991; Freeman, 2003; Gronn, 2011). Additionally, the concept has been developed in different research domains, such as cultural products and traditions (Smith, 2004); NGOs (Schwabenland and Tomlinson, 2008); management and organization studies (Frenkel and Shenhav, 2006), and multinational corporations (Frenkel, 2008). This study considers the concept of 'hybrid configuration' as a point of comparison through the examination of leadership dynamics in its case study.

The above is an overall review of the current trends in leadership studies which are mainly relevant to objectives three and four (presented in section 1.3). In spite of the dynamism in these currents, cross-cultural leadership studies do not seem to have an established presence among them. The following section then re-examines debates on two landmark projects that exert a significant impact on the cross-cultural leadership studies of Hofstede (1984) and GLOBE (2004). The review aims to highlight the conceptual and methodological issues encountered in the cross-cultural leadership research which respond to the aim of this study: to develop an understanding of how individuals in an International Organization

like Global Peace Organization cope with the universal scope of their organization and the diversity in their work environment.

2.3. Cross cultural leadership studies

Contemporary leadership theory and research are principally based on, and developed within, Western traditions of thinking. However, globalization in organizations has led to a growing area of interest, i.e. leadership in cross cultural contexts. This field developed a considerable body of research over the past several years. Yet, examining leadership through the influence of cultural factors reveals the need, not only for new conceptual frameworks, but also creative research methods that match such a demanding task (Avolio et al., 2009; Gelfand et al., 2007; House et al., 2004; Brodbeck and Eisenbeiss, 2014).

Dickson et al. (2003) reflect on the attention to cross-cultural leadership through detecting its growing visibility in Leadership literature:

In the first edition (Stogdill, 1974), cross-cultural leadership is barely mentioned. By the second edition (Stogdill and Bass, 1981), an entire chapter on cross-cultural issues in leadership had been added, spanning about 25 pages. By the third edition (Bass, 1990) that chapter had expanded to over 40 pages. Now, close to 15 years later, it would be essentially impossible to prepare a single chapter that presented an exhaustive account of the research on cross-cultural issues and leadership (2003:730).

However, Dickson et al. describe leadership research as a tricky endeavour due to leadership's constantly changing concepts and the lack of unified definitions. Therefore, adding a cross-cultural component to the mix makes the whole process even more complex. Hence without a workable framework to guide cross-cultural leadership research, there is likely to be little coherence in the research being conducted.

As an illustration, Bass (1990) points out the differences in the concept and meaning of leadership, stressing that what is acknowledged as good leadership

will also vary from one culture to another. For this purpose, Bass raises important questions such as: How do managerial decision-making practices and leadership styles vary in different cultures? Are some dimensions of leadership universally relevant while others are culturally relevant? In his search for cultural distinctiveness, Bass kept note of the common universal tendencies among cultures and countries.

Universal tendencies are also detected through examining the influence of globalization and internationalization, a demonstration of which is when Miner (1984) describes the influence of globalization on leadership, stating:

The internationalization of institutions affecting leadership continues to grow. For example, the traditional Japanese values of lifetime commitment are becoming less important. In diverse countries like Argentina, India, Israel, Nigeria, and Pakistan, employment in business and industry has resulted in many converging values (cited in Bass, 1990:760).

Avolio et al (2009) highlight two distinct areas of leadership research within a cross cultural context: comparative leadership and global leadership. Global leadership focuses on leaders who lead efficiently across various cultures, such as international leaders or leaders in multinational organizations. Although this area receives a great deal of attention in both academia and the popular press, nevertheless, the notion and approach to global leadership remain undefined (Avolio et al., 2009). The approaches range from conceptualizing global leadership as deep knowledge of a certain culture or cultures to envisaging it as set of competencies and/or field experiences (Mendenhall, 2001; Van Dyne and Ang, 2006: cited in Avolio et al., 2009).

In their review of cross cultural leadership, Brodbeck and Eisenbeiss (2014) indicate that little is found published representing sound empirical research on global leadership - while more is presented in popular literature (such as

Goldsmith, 2003; Green et al., 2003; Lane, 2004). Examples of the former are: Kets de Vries and Florent-Treacy (2002), Adler (2008), Mobley et al. (2011) (cited in Brodbeck and Eisenbeiss, 2014:658).

Comparative leadership, on the other hand, focuses on leadership effectiveness in different cultures. It also can be explained as the dimensional views of direct or moderate cultural impact on leadership (Brodbeck and Eisenbeiss 2014:658). This is represented in early studies and still forms a major area of research. Examples of academic literature are: Bass (2008), Dickson et al. (2003), Dorfman (2004), Gelfand et al. (2007), Kirkman et al. (2006) (cited in Brodbeck and Eisenbeiss 2014).

2.3.1. Hofstede's cultural dimensions and GLOBE

Hofstede's Cultural Dimensions and GLOBE are two landmarks in cross cultural organizational studies. Avolio et al. (2009) highlight the point that GLOBE has attracted numerous critiques and discussions as one of the most ambitious cross cultural leadership studies. They then highlight that, in spite of the remarkable progress in the cross-cultural leadership literature, nevertheless, critical issues still remain unresolved. The most significant issue would be in addressing the term culture itself which is still a highly debated area among scholars; then comes the relationship between culture and leadership which brings with it many methodological and conceptual challenges (Van de Vijver and Leung, 2000: cited in Avolio et al., 2009).

Hofstede's work on cultural dimensions (1984, 2001) has great influence on studying culture in key research fields such as management, leadership, teamwork, psychology, and communication (Taras et al., 2012). Hofstede (1984) classifies cultural differences in a measurable structure. Hofstede (2006:883) states: "cultural differences between modern nations could be meaningfully

measured and ordered along a discrete set of dimensions, representing different answers to universal problems of human societies". The empirically driven dimensions are: Power-Distance related to inequality, Uncertainty-Avoidance related to dealing with the unknown and unfamiliar, Individualism-Collectivism related to interpersonal interactions and Masculinity-Femininity related to emotional gender roles (Ibid).

In 1991, another study, *Global Leadership and Organizational Behaviour Effectiveness* (GLOBE), envisaged and led by House, investigates cross cultural leadership through testing 27 research hypotheses in 951 organizations from 62 countries. The project consists of three phases. Phase one engages the development of research instruments. Phase two examines the impact of nine cultural dimensions on leadership in the target countries. In Phase three, the focus is on specific leader behaviours to subordinates' attitudes and performance.

GLOBE relates to three major cross-cultural research projects conducted during the 1990s and early 2000s. The first is the World Values Survey which is based on a European Values Survey conducted in the 1980s and extended by Inglehart who is a US political scientist. A second is the Survey of Values, conducted by the Israeli psychologist Schwartz (1992, 1994) on samples of students in 54 countries; and of elementary school teachers in 56 countries. A third is by Smith et al. (2002) which is a study of 'event management', where 7,000 department managers in 47 countries are asked how they handle eight common work events in organizations (Hofstede, 2006:882-883). Hofstede further highlights the potential to explore more significant links between the latter study and GLOBE.

GLOBE expands Hofstede's cultural dimensions into nine dimensions, some of them well-known intercultural research tools, some redefined according to the

goals of the project - and some newly improved. These tools are: Performance Orientation, Uncertainty Avoidance, Humane Orientation, Institutional Collectivism, In-Group Collectivism, Assertiveness, Gender Egalitarianism, Future Orientation and Power Distance. All cultural dimensions are conceptualized as practice and as values. Grove (2005) relates most significant findings to the consistent comparison in the study between participants' values and their practices.

Furthermore, GLOBE establishes a classification of 10 regional clusters in order to understand: 'the similarities and differences among the GLOBE societies using a more holistic approach rather than focusing on similarities and differences among these societies one dimension at a time' (House et al., 2004:178). Each cluster contains a number of societies; the 10 clusters were: Anglo (7 societies), Latin Europe (6), Nordic Europe (3), Germanic Europe (5), Eastern Europe (8), Latin America (10), Sub-Saharan Africa (5), Middle East (5), Southern Asia (6) and Confucian Asia (6) (Ibid).

Hofstede (2006) summarizes the project as follows:

GLOBE thus produced $9 \times 2 = 18$ culture scores for each country: nine dimensions 'as is' and nine dimensions 'should be'. In addition, and in line with House's initial research focus, GLOBE collected scores on six dimensions of leadership: Charismatic/Value-based, Team oriented, Participative, Humane oriented, Autonomous and Self-protective leadership. These six dimensions were based on a factor analysis of data collected in a pilot phase. In Chapter 21 of the book, leadership scores are related to country clusters and culture dimensions (Hofstede, 2006: 883).

2.3.2. The debate between Hofstede and McSweeney

Perhaps McSweeney (2002) is one of the most established critical writings on Hofstede's (1980) model of national cultural differences. In his reading, McSweeney explores the implications of theorizing culture as national through

examining the empirical identifications of multiple national cultures, as proposed by Hofstede (1980). Consequently, he challenges the five methodological claims made by Hofstede in his research, starting with the latter's definition of culture as: 'implicit; core; systematically causal; territorially unique; and shared' (McSweeney, 2002: 91).

To sum up McSweeney's presentation of this definition: national culture is 'implicit' - meaning it is subjective and not observable or recorded (Lukacs, 1971; Crane, 1994). It can rather be seen as the 'software of the mind' (Hofstede, 1980: cited in McSweeney, 2002:91). As a component, it is central, 'core', in a wider global and sub-national culture, where it acts as a highly independent variable that is 'systematically causal'. Furthermore, it is a single entity that is 'Territorially unique' and dominates any diversity within its unique culture. Finally, it is 'Shared', possibly by the commonality of its members - or by the standardization of its heterogeneous components. The latter puts forward two alternative meanings of 'sharedness' by Hofstede, as McSweeney argues.

Principally, McSweeney stresses the exaggeration in Hofstede's claims and highlights Hofstede's shortcoming in evaluating 'the adequacy of his 'findings'' (Ibid:112). He opposes what Hofstede describes as 'a true paradigm shift' (1998: 480) with descriptions such as: 'imagined communities' (Anderson, 1991). Another critique he puts forward is Wallerstein (1990) being: 'sceptical that we can operationalize the concept of culture . . . in any way that enables us to use it for statements that are more than trivial' (p. 34: cited in McSweeney:2002).

McSweeney lists a few suggested ways to evaluate the model: one way, for example, is to compare it to more recent proposals on national culture (Schwartz, 1992). Another way is to contrast Hofstede's notion against more established notions on culture (such as the one proposed by Geertz, 1973). However,

McSweeney questions Hofstede's research methodology and raises questions such as: 'Are Hofstede's identification claims warranted? What is the quality of his evidence? What presuppositions does he rely on and are they justified?' (McSweeney, 2002:90).

McSweeney supports his critique with other critiques of Hofstede's work such as: Banai (1982), Triandis (1982), Robinson (1983), Korman (1985), Lytle et al. (1995) and Cray and Mallory (1998), Anderson (1991), Wallerstein (1990) (cited in McSweeney, 2002: 113).

Hofstede (2002) comments on the critique of his work by stating that:

It also caused very mixed reviews: Some enthusiastic (e.g. Eysenck, 1981; Triandis, 1982; Sorge, 1983), some irritated, condescending, or ridiculing (e.g. Roberts and Boyacigiller, 1984). I had made a paradigm shift in cross-cultural studies, and as Kuhn (1970) has shown, paradigm shifts in any science meet with strong initial resistance (Hofstede, 2002:1).

Hofstede sums up the critiques against his work as follows: namely that surveys are not the best tool with which to measure cultural differences and that nations are not the best units for studying culture. Furthermore, national cultures cannot be reduced to the data of one company or to only four or five dimensions. Finally, the data is old so the findings are outdated.

Responding to McSweeney's critique, Hofstede comments that the critique focuses on the analysis of IBM data while ignoring the validation of the findings on another set of data. He then supports this point by saying that this validation stimulates other academic projects - proving that his work gives opportunities to develop other ongoing analyses. He then gives illustrations on straight replications of the same questionnaires on different populations:

After the completion of the 2001 edition, new large-scale replications were published on civil servants (Mouritzen and Svava, 2002) and on employees of a multinational bank (van Nimwegen, 2002). Replications usually confirm most, but not all of the

dimensions, but different replications confirm different dimensions (Hofstede, 2002:4).

Hofstede (2002) also rejects what McSweeney describes as rigidity in the mono-causal link between national cultures and actions within nations. He elaborates on his proposal (1980) that the concept 'mental programme' include 'values' and 'culture', saying that:

CULTURE DOESN'T EXIST. In the same way values don't exist, dimensions don't exist. They are constructs, which have to prove their usefulness by their ability to explain and predict behaviour. The moment they stop doing that we should be prepared to drop them, or trade them for something better. I never claim that culture is the only thing we should pay attention to. In many practical cases it is redundant, and economic, political or institutional factors provide better explanations. But sometimes they don't, and then we need the construct of culture (Hofstede, 2002: 5).

Hofstede also points out that McSweeney listed some of his studies as references but without justifying them in the actual critiques. Hofstede specifically highlights one of these unused references e.g. Hofstede et al., (1990) which is a study on organizational cultures conducted in the 1980s. His argument was that this study 'tried to identify the values component that differentiated organizations within the same country rather than similar organizations across nations' (Hofstede, 2002:5). The findings contrast the original hypothesis indicating weak value components in contrast to strong differences in practices. Therefore, McSweeney's claim of rigidity is once again rejected.

I hesitate to agree with Hofstede's (2002) claim that his study on cultural dimensions is a paradigm shift in cross-cultural studies. Hofstede's attempt to support his claim with Kuhn (1970) pointing out that paradigm shifts are strongly resisted at their beginning does not seem convincing enough (Hofstede, 2002:1). However, I agree with Hofstede's overall defence against the critiques about the opportunities it gives to stimulate similar academic projects (Hofstede, 2002). This study significantly made use of the critiques as well as conceptual

considerations of Hofstede's cultural dimensions' study (Hofstede, 1984, 2002, 2006; McSweeney, 2002; Javidan et al., 2006). For example, the debate over conceptualizing culture (McSweeney, 2002) is one of the points of interest evident in the findings of this study (see section 7.2.1). Furthermore, this study particularly considers the critique regarding measuring the cultural differences and national cultures (McSweeney, 2002).

2.3.3. The debate between Hofstede and the GLOBE authors

In turn, Hofstede (2006) challenges GLOBE through raising several methodological and conceptual points. One is that leadership survey measurement is not credible as its information is provided by the leaders and not their subordinates. In the same vein he questions the items of the questionnaire which seems to him highly abstract and not engaging daily organizational activities. Another point related to this critique is that the questionnaire is theory driven, where the literature includes his 1980 book and statistical data. Another critique on the research design is that, although it targets a highly international population, yet its design and analysis are conducted only by researchers educated and trained in American universities and hence contain the risk of ethnocentric bias.

Javidan et al. (2006), answers Hofstede's responses: for example, the ethnocentric claim is addressed by the fact that the 160 scholars of GLOBE are from among 62 cultures which are referred to as country co-investigators (CCIs). This is further confirmed by: "CCIs reported on face validity, understandability, and relevance of the culture and leadership items in their cultures... They reported on all concerns they had about using any particular item in their culture" (Ibid:898).

On the point of operationalization of values and practices, Javidan et al. (2006) stress that GLOBE differentiated between cultural values and practices. Their justification is that national culture can be broadly defined as 'values, beliefs, norms, and behavioural patterns of a national group' (Leung et al., 2005, cited in Javidan et al., 2006). They further support their opinion with their in-depth review of the literature on culture in relation to practice - which reveals that most of the research measured national or societal culture on the basis that set of value signal out in any culture (Bianchi and Rosova, 1992; Schwartz, 1996; Bond and Chi, 1997; Barnea and Schwartz, 1998; Schwartz and Bardi, 2001: cited in Javidan et al., 2006).

GLOBE's authors also point out their choice to overlook two untested assumptions of Ecological Values and Hofstede's Onion Diagram. Instead, GLOBE takes Schein's (1992) view of culture as a product of collective attempts to address two sets of group issues: external adaptation and internal integration. Their justification is that they seek a broader definition of culture as proposed by Herskovitz (1948) who defines culture as the man-made part of the environment. They further stress that culture evolves as a collective adaptation to ongoing challenges, surviving in the face of external threats and opportunities and managing relations among its members (Javidan et al., 2006).

2.3.4. Redirecting the debates

The debate between Hofstede (2006) and Javidan et al. (2006) is extended by many analysts. Smith (2006) narrows down the focus of the debate into four findings. The first is related to characterizing cultures either on the basis of aggregated self-perceptions or on the basis of aggregated perceptions of others in one's society. Smith points out that the two perceptions are not equivalent procedures. Furthermore, he points out that the number of dimensions of national

culture that can be usefully studied must be proportional to the limited number of nations available for comparative analyses.

In his third point, Smith highlights that although Hofstede and Javidan et al. appear to differ on optimal ways of aggregating individual-level data to the national level, both appear to have done so in a way that does not prevent detection of differing relations between items at different levels of analysis. Finally, he concludes that clarity is needed regarding the ways in which national wealth relates to other aspects of culture. It is a major component of contemporary national cultures, and must be retained as an element within nation-level analyses.

Smith then highlights Fischer's (2006) study in examining the correlation between self- and culture-referenced values. Fischer (2006) conducts two studies for the purpose of answering two questions: To what extent do self- and culture-referenced measurements correlate at a cultural level? How do self- and group-referenced constructs relate to self-reported behaviour at the individual level? The two studies use: "the best-validated and established measure of values at both the individual (Schwartz, 1992) and cultural (Schwartz, 1994) level." (Cited in Fischer 2006:1420)

The first study conducts different examinations of the correlations of pre-classified values using self- and culture-referenced ratings at the cultural level. Examples of such values are: embeddedness values, affective autonomy values and intellectual autonomy values. The second study focuses on two different sets of behaviours in relation to self- and culture-referenced ratings. The two sets are: universalism-related behaviours and conservation-related behaviours. Fischer (2006) states that the studies relate the magnitude of these correlations to the value dimension under study.

Smith (2006) also concludes that if Fischer's results proved replicable then they would guide us on how to survey cultural variations. However, if focus is contained within basic and normative aspects of culture, then the Hofstede and GLOBE procedures are equally appropriate. Yet, if our focus is upon those aspects of culture where the GLOBE and Hofstede measures of values diverge, a choice is required. The Hofstede measures may prove more useful in predicting behavioural frequencies. The GLOBE value dimensions can prove more useful in studying aspects of intergroup and international relations (Ibid).

In addition, one of the important findings of the cross-cultural dimension in leadership studies is identifying the need for competent global leaders. Adler and Bartholomew (1992) outline the need for competent global leaders within the overall context of global human resource development in transnational firms. First they differentiate between what they call traditional international managers and transnationally competent managers. Subsequently, they state that changes need to be implemented in global human resource managements at two levels: individual skills and systematic frameworks.

They further elaborate on the recommended changes in the individual skills under five headings: in the first, transnational managers must understand the worldwide business environment from a global perspective. In the second, transnational managers must learn about the perspectives of many foreign cultures, as well as their tastes, trends, technologies, and approaches to conducting business. In the third, transnational managers must be skilful at working with people from many cultures simultaneously. At the fourth level, similar to prior expatriates, transnational managers must be able to adapt to living in other cultures. At the fifth, transnational managers interact with foreign colleagues as equals, rather than from within clearly defined hierarchies of

structural or cultural dominance and subordination (Adler and Bartholomew, 1992:53, 54).

The debates consequently draw attention to concepts of self-Other perceptions, individual and national levels of analysis, and intergroup/international relations as important cross-cultural dynamics (Javidan et al., 2006; Smith; Fischer, 2006). The following section thus expands these dynamics under the theme of globalization and leader-follower agency in order to develop its review of cross-cultural leadership research and thereby serve the aim of this study.

2.4. Globalization and leader-follower agency

Terpstra (1978) (cited in Bass, 1990:762) highlights the cultural elements affecting leader-follower relationships: language, values, attitudes, beliefs, education, social organization, technology, wealth, politics, and law. Eventually, in concluding his detailed chapter on culture and leadership, Bass (1990:803) states that: "Although internationalization proceeds apace as we become a unified global economy, cultural and national differences continue to have a strong effect on leader-follower relationships." He further emphasizes that the cultural dimensions of consequence to leadership in a given society include traditionalism, particularism, collectivism, and idealism compared to setting value on modernity, universalism, individualism, and pragmatism. He also stresses that the impact on leader-subordinate relations in the multinational firm are affected by whether the firm is ethno-centric, polycentric, or geocentric and whether the individuals involved are from the parent country of the organization, the host country, or a third party country.

However, Avolio et al. (2009) place special emphasis on levels of analysis in cross cultural leadership research. They stress that many researchers fall into

the assumption of using the country as a substitute for culture and hence create a false level of analysis. They state this view saying:

This applies to the development of explicitly cross level theoretical models as well as the use of appropriate statistical techniques. Although the relevance of levels is widely recognized, the implications of cross-level analysis are often not reflected in the research design in this literature, particularly when it comes to ensuring a sufficient number of cultures are included to conduct the analysis (Avolio et al., 2009:439).

The earlier demonstration of cross-cultural studies reveals the recurrence of two themes: leader-follower relations and, to some lesser extent, group dynamics (Javidan et al., 2006; Bass, 1990). Both themes are central to the current study and hence this section will demonstrate them jointly under a single theme: leader-follower agency.

The first three sub-sections 2.4.1, 2.4.2, 2.4.3 present the conventional approaches towards leader-follower agency where power, ethics and contractual perceptions are the concrete foundations (Hollander, 1998; Burns, 1978; Ciulla, 2006; Price and Hicks, 2006). Sections 2.4.4 and 2.4.5 then present the critical approaches towards understanding the field, namely: followership (Kellerman, 2008, 2015; Bligh, 2011), dialectics (Collinson, 2003, 2006, 2014), discursive (Fairhurst, 2007) and socio-psychological (Haslam et al. 2011) approaches. These sub-sections aim to provide a comprehensive presentation of the current perspectives towards examining the issues of power and ethics in the leader-follower interactions.

2.4.1. Power based perception

Hollander (1998) stresses the perception of leadership as a process where the leader is a key figure who influences others' well-being. He further perceives how such an influence is inevitably associated with ethical challenges. In other words, Hollander emphasizes the perception on the place of values in the leadership

process (Hodgkinson, 1983; Gardner, 1990; Rost, 1991). Hollander specifically highlights self-Other Perception as a major component in leader follower dynamics, where leader and followers mutually perceive themselves in relation to one another. He then reflects on the ethical issues embedded in self-Other perception once power is abused and highlights the distance between the two in terms of honest feedback and judgment.

Hollander then extends the element of power abuse in self-Other Perception in two important concepts: power distance (Mulder, 1981) and the four corrupting influences of power (Kipnis, 1976). The former, as he explains, results from uneven access to resources, and so it decreases the fair opportunities of sharing and identification. This is one aspect of power deviation in Kipnis's (1976) following power influences: power turns to an end in itself, use of resources for self-benefit, false self-worth and devaluation and avoidance of others. Within these aspects Hollander points out one of leadership's most recognized concepts i.e. transformational leadership (Burns, 1978).

Hollander's (1998) approach is that the ethical challenges in leader follower relations are associated with the use of authority and power and he specifically pays attention to the failures in the social contract between the leader and followers. The sum total of his view is that the misuse of power and authority by a leader results in a power oriented leadership style where self-serving becomes a main feature in addition to power distance. Consequently, mutual identification becomes unattainable and as a result ethical aspects such as trust and loyalty in the leader-follower relationship are damaged. Hollander proposes a systematic understanding of leadership through evaluating the ethical implications of power and authority in the leader-follower relationship.

One of the significant implications of this view is recognizing Mutual Identification as a motif that keeps the balance of power in the leader-follower relationship. Hollander explains the concept as a two-way influence between leader and followers. Erickson (1975), Kellerman (1984), Cantril (1958) reveal similar views supporting the significance of leaders' sensitivity in understanding followers' real worlds rather than dominating with mere power (Cited in Hollander, 2009). Hollander further states: 'A good part of the imbalance in treating the leader-follower relationship arises from the lingering mythology that leaders simply exercise authority and power' (Hollander, 2009: 85).

Recognizing Mutual Identification leads to another relevant power concept in the leader-follower relation i.e. Power Dependence (Emerson, 1962). This concept is about perceptions of injustice and resentment that might accumulate by an individual with less power towards another with higher levels of power upon whom he / she has to depend. Consequently, relational elements such as mutual trust are threatened and so is the well-being which further raises issues of equity, equality, need and injustice (Deutsch, 1975: cited in Hollander 2009).

Ciulla (2006:227) follows a similar path but through raising a different question on power. She tackles the emotions of love and fear, morality and immorality on the part of leaders' vision, values, behaviours, and relationships to followers. Her question is: "What kind of power sustains leadership over time?" Ciulla reflects on the above point in what Kelman (1958:53) calls 'internalization of influence' where influence is accepted because the outcome of a behaviour is intrinsically rewarding. Ciulla (2006:227) demonstrates this in a leader-follower relationship, saying:

People can have moral power without charisma and they can have charisma without being moral. The distinction is important because charismatic leadership based on the feelings that a personality

evokes may not be as sustainable a force as the moral principle that a leader represents.

She then concludes that leaders who are moral and possess ideals such as justice, fairness, equality, liberty 'have lasting influence on people, regardless of their personalities or their proximity to or contact with followers' (Ibid).

Hollander (1998) highlights the ethical challenges in the leader-follower relationship and stresses the place values hold in the leadership process. He refers to the views of Hodgkinson (1983), Gardner (1990) and Rost (1991), and emphasizes leadership as a process that is fraught with ethical challenges. He then associates these challenges with concepts like self-Other perception, mutual identification and social contract theory.

For example, he explains the concept of mutual identification as a prospect of two-way influence on the part of leader and followers. He proceeds to follow this with Cantril's (1958:129) statement: 'the leader must be able to perceive the reality worlds of followers and have sensitivity to guide intuitions, if a common consensus and mutual trust rather than "mere power, force, or cunning" are to develop and prevail.'

Ciulla (1998) picks up on such insights into the values and ethics in the leader-follower dynamics and proposes that developing leadership ethics will enhance leadership studies. In her proposal she highlights how ethics as a point of discussion is limited or even absent in leadership literature such as Bass and Stogdill (1990), Gardner (1990) and Rost (1991).

2.4.2. Contractual perception

Ciulla (2006) examines Goethals and Sorenson's (2006) edited book *The Quest for a General Theory of Leadership GTOL* and notices the recurrence of Thomas Hobbes's theory across the book's chapters. Her justification for this emerging theme is that his theory of human nature is constructed upon elements that

explain why we need leaders. These elements are: common wants, needs, dispositions, conflict, power, liberty, equality, and justice (Ciulla, 2006: 233). In other words, Ciulla expresses this remark saying: 'We need them to give us order and security so that we can be free to pursue our wants and needs' (Ibid).

Another of her remarks is that although the conclusions differ across the chapters, there is a pattern of association between equality and the questions on morality and power. Ciulla (2006: 224) states that Hobbes examines equality both descriptively and prescriptively to conclude that people are equal in their needs and moralities as human beings. For this purpose, she presents different research approaches in an attempt to understand what a leader is: from behaviours by psychologists, to the deeds of great men related by historians, or the role of context or society in building a leader's image by constructivism. However, she perceives that the GTOL group has developed a different approach i.e. more of a dialectic process between traits and context rather than affording leaders' superiority.

It is the moral equality that she identifies as being central in the leader-follower relationship. Most importantly, she indicates the social role of institutions and organizations in empowering the leaders with extra advantages.

A demonstration from GTOL is Price and Hicks's (2006) attempt to explain the inequalities with a focus on social contract theory. The demonstration will start with Thomas Hobbes's view of 'State of Nature' in which his view of the contract places the responsibility of any inequalities on the followers. Hobbes states that: 'the followers have no one but themselves to blame for the treatment they receive from leaders' (Hobbes, 1651: cited in Tuck, 1991: 90).

A moderate approach however is what John Locke revealed: 'The power of the society, or Legislative constituted by them, can never be supposed to extend

farther than the common good, but is obliged to secure every one's Property' (Locke, 1690: cited in Laslett, 1988: 353). Price and Hicks (2006) elaborate that property is understood to be inclusively of life, liberty and estate. A third view is Jean-Jacques Rousseau's claim in his *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality*, that the individuals in the state of nature are deceived into inequalities and their initial acceptance is not original - which eliminates the idea of sacrificing equality for the common good (Cited in Price and Hicks, 2006:131).

Price and Hicks (2006:132) explain that what appears as unequal treatment is actually the act of a 'better self' that has been transformed within the broad social and political organization. The latter is what Rousseau expresses as 'he will be forced to be free' i.e. the resolution of the conflict between one's private interest and the common interest (Rousseau, 1755: cited in Morgan 2001). More elaboration is:

Sovereignty is exercised through expression of the general will, which prioritizes the common interest over the private interest of each particular citizen. The citizen who must sacrifice his private interest has no grounds for complaint because the moral liberty that characterizes obedience to the general will represent the highest form of freedom, higher even than the natural liberty he had in the state of nature (Price and Hicks, 2006:132).

Another dimension of inequality between leaders and followers is the interests of outsiders juxtaposed against the interests of leaders and followers. This is when the interests and projects of leaders and followers come into conflict with the interests and projects of members of the out-groups. Price and Hicks (2006) relate inequalities among different political, social and economic groups and the analysis of ethics and leadership. They also stress the role of globalization in producing new ethical dimensions in leader-follower relationship and out-group members.

Rawls (1971) put forward an argument that a just society is a prior step to fair and equal leadership opportunities. In other words, Rawls is proposing that leadership positions are to be equally opened to everyone and, as a result, this will limit the inequalities among group members. Price and Hicks (2006) elaborate that Rawls does not directly consider the effect of international context on his principles. They state: 'Rawls argues for a morally relevant difference between in-groups and out-groups. Justice-as-fairness is developed by looking at a particular society as 'a closed system isolated from other societies' (Ibid: 8). Next they conclude: 'Rawls thus places primary emphasis on leader-follower relationships within societies, treating as a second-level analysis the question of relations between in-groups (citizens of nation states) and out-groups (non-citizens)' (Ibid:138). An illustration of this is in Servant Leadership where Price and Hicks (2006) emphasize that Greenleaf's approach is definitely radical - however, the approach to the inequalities between the in-group and out-group is moderate. They also highlight that servant leadership might permit a rise in inequality between the in-group and out-groups. They support this by Greenleaf's (1977:14) statement:

what is the effect on the least privileged is suggestive of the Rawlsian difference principle, whereby the measure of success is increasing the well-being of the least well-off. But the additional phrase, 'at least not to be further deprived', seems to allow near indifference toward the neediest (Price and Hicks, 2006:145).

Another significant demonstration relates to the role of spirituality and religion in maintaining group cohesion and identity. A point that Price and Hicks (2006) pick up on, regarding inequalities within spiritual leadership context is:

Like other types of strong community, religiously or spiritually influenced groups may well find conservative justifications for treating themselves as different from – and in many cases, superior to - outsiders. At the same time, however, the type of spiritually diverse groups described above can model mutual respect amongst themselves (Ibid:147).

Hicks (2005), highlights the role of religion in shaping the ethical dimension and argues that ethical schools of thought are not only shaped by philosophical ideas but also with religious traditions. As an example he uses Jesus as the paradigm of the leader who serves his followers as he points out the influence of Christianity along with Eastern mystic traditions on Greenleaf's account of servant leadership. However, his main question remains: '...given the ethical diversity of public settings - whether corporate, non-profit, or governmental - how should the leader draw upon his or her religious faith as a source of ethical ideas and actions?' (Hicks, 2005:45-46). Clearly, noticed globalization is a major factor in this view, as emphasized by the Hicks's broader question: 'how a leader should draw upon her or his own worldview and values in leading a group of persons who do not embrace all (or perhaps any) of those commitments?' (Ibid:46).

2.4.3. Transformational leadership

Price and Hicks (2006) pick up the similarity between Rousseau's principle and Transformational Leadership (Burns, 1978) by highlighting their positive impact on both the leader and follower through envisaging a relationship that engages them both. The authors describe the relationship between leader and follower in the Transformational Leadership as egalitarian. However, they do point out that: "Although Burns's approach is at bottom egalitarian, transforming leaders are set apart – at least temporarily - from followers by the special insight they have into the needs and values of followers" (Price and Hicks, 2006:145). They compare the last point to Burns's justification for Franklin D. Roosevelt's use of deception during World War II.

Transformational theory, a concept coined by Jim Downton (1973) and later developed by J. M. Burns (1978), is an approach based on an ethical basis of interpersonal relationships, motives and values. Burns's approach is well

described by Fairholm (2001) as an attempt to dive into the philosophy of leadership as what it really is, not as what it reflects on others.

Burns (1978:11) identifies the essence of leadership in the relationship between the leader and his / her followers as follows:

We must see power and leadership as not things but as relationships. We must analyse power in a context of human motives and physical constraints. If we can come to grips with these aspects of power, we can hope to comprehend the true nature of leadership - a venture far more intellectually daunting than the study of naked power.

Ciulla (1998:16) elaborates on Burns's perspective, stating that it is the responsibility of the leader to help followers assess their own values and needs in order to raise them to a higher level of functioning, to a level that will stress values such as liberty, justice, and equality. Furthermore, she relates Burns's notion to the writings of Abraham Maslow, Milton Rokeach, and Lawrence Kohlberg. The themes of the mentioned writings are: human motivation, the nature of human values and moral reasoning. All three themes represent the ethical dimension in Burns's approach.

A major element in Burns's transformational theory is the distinction between transformational leadership and transactional leadership. Northouse, (2010:172) summarizes the difference as follows:

Transactional leadership refers to the bulk of leadership models, which focus on the exchanges that occur between leaders and their followers.... in contrast to transactional leadership, transformational leadership is the process whereby a person engages with others and creates a connection that raises the level of motivation and morality in both the leader and the follower.

On the other hand, transactional leadership focuses mainly on rewards or punishments in exchange for performance. Burns (1978) perceives it as an action initiated towards others to exchange valued things for a specific purpose - a process which ends once its aim is accomplished. He then states: 'A leadership

act took place, but it was not one that binds leader and follower together in a mutual and continuing pursuit of a higher purpose' (Ibid:20).

Bass (1985) approaches the aspect of transformational-transactional leadership through a new theoretical and empirical approach named the *transactional-transformational paradigm*. Bass's new approach received different reactions; some marked it as an outcome of what Burns created while others argued that the two approaches are two opposite and conflicting approaches to leadership (Khanin, 2007).

The debate over transformation and transactional leadership approaches converge on a central point in leadership literature. However, the focus of this literature is the turning point in the two approaches towards the needs of followers in the leadership process. This is also evident to a lesser extent in other approaches – such as Servant leadership (Greenleaf, 1970) or Authentic leadership (Luthans and Avolio, 2003).

Nevertheless, transformational leadership re-emphasizes the needs of the followers but in a more structured method. It empowers the leaders to not only respond to their followers' needs but also to transform them at higher levels of values and visions. Hence, it is not only serving the followers according to their needs, or being authentic or genuine within the limits of "right" and "good", it is also transforming followers on the basis of an asserted moral dimension.

To elaborate on this, Burns (1978) draws attention to three concepts that are left out in approaching leadership: one relating to the relationship between leader and follower, a second to social influence on this relationship and finally to inspiring followers rather than merely meeting their needs:

Leaders hold enhanced influence at the higher levels of the need and value hierarchies. They can appeal to the more widely and deeply held values, such as justice, liberty and brotherhood. They

can expose followers to the broader values that contradict narrower ones or inconsistent behaviour. They can redefine aspirations and gratifications to help followers see their stake in new, program-oriented social movements (Burns, 1978: 43).

Nevertheless, transformational leadership theory is criticized for neglecting the follower's needs, restricting transformational leadership to moral ends and setting up a single continuum running from transactional to transformational leadership types. Also, it is criticized for having the potential to be abused as it is concerned with changing people's values and moving them to a new vision. Finally, it is criticized for lacking conceptual clarity because it covers a wide range of activities and characteristics. Consequently, defining the exact parameters of transformational leadership turns into a difficult task (Northouse, 2010).

The theory can also be criticized for not clearly pointing out ethics as a core aspect in the leadership process and instead stressing the concept of transformation as an open-ended approach. It also restricts the process of transformation to leaders - which might not be what was originally suggested by Burns. This suggests the need to examine how transformation actually occurs, which may further suggest that leadership be considered as an effect rather than a cause.

2.4.4 The critical perspectives of leader-follower relations

2.4.4.1 Followership and follower-centric approaches

Kellerman (2008) provides a critical perspective of leader-follower relations by suggesting a shift from the leader-centric perspective to a follower-centric one. She contests that the dominating assumption that leaders are important in their own right is a mistaken belief, stating that: 'For this good and simple reason, thinking leadership without thinking followership is not merely misleading, it is mistaken' (Kellerman, 2008:23).

The followers in this proposal are defined as subordinates who respond to their superiors. The call then is that followers are developing more power and thus their position as the less powerful in the leader-follower relations is changing. This is contested in that it might only represent the hierarchical organizations in Kellerman's studies and not the complex networks and relations in contemporary organizations (Collinson, 2014; Harle, 2009; Nolan, 2009).

However, the argument for the followership perspective is based on the idea that mutual trust in leader-follower relations would lead to courageous or effective followership. The concept of courageous follower is also illustrated by Chaleff (1995) where five characteristics are suggested to define a courageous follower. The characteristics are that a courageous follower would: assume responsibility, serve, challenge, participate in transformation and would take moral action. The recognition of the active role of followers in enhancing the prosperity of organizations is one of the implications of such an argument which enhanced the growth of follower-centric approaches (Shamir et al, 2007; O'Toole, 2008; Riggio et al, 2008; Bligh, 2011).

Followership is growing into a complex area of research. Bligh and Kholes (2015:202) classify the growth of follower-centric approaches into three types, *unique yet interrelated*, streams of research: followership, followercentered approaches, and implicit followership theory (IFT). Followership approaches are differentiated from follower-centric approaches in the sense that the former focuses on followers' roles while engaged with their leaders (Uhl-Bien and Pillai, 2007). On the other hand, follower-centric approaches focus on how followers perceive their leaders (Carsten et al., 2010). This study uses the term follower-centric to indicate the three research streams.

Romance of Leadership (Meindl, 1995) is known to be the early foundation of the follower-centric approaches. Collinson (2014:40) highlights that Meindl's post-heroic approach informs the follower-centric perspective and thus enhances 'the shared and collaborative nature of leadership' through enacting followers' role in co-producing leadership. Bligh and Khooles (2015) emphasize *Romance of Leadership* (Meindl, 1995) as one of the main components in their attempt to develop new and different questions through follower-centric approaches.

Follower-centric perspectives are also criticized for being wide-ranged approaches with few empirical studies to support them (Northouse, 2015). I link this with the critique presented earlier in section (2.2) against shared, collaborative and distributed leadership. These leadership approaches are criticized for being simplistic and limited by their binary perceptions of leader-follower relations (Fairhurst, 2001; Collinson, 2005; Collinson, 2014; Crevani, 2010; Haslam et al., 2011).

However, further attempts have been developed to add more depth in the follower-centric perspectives. An example is Kellerman (2015:2) where she states her new research direction saying:

I have come to see leadership as a system consisting of three moving parts, each of which is equally important and each of which impinges equally on the other two. The first is the Leader. The second is the Follower. And the third is the Context.

Kellerman (2015:4) defines context as *distal* and *general* and further states:

Think of context as a series of concentric circles. The inner ones are your own immediate, proximate, context. The outer ones, the ones that constitute the core of this book, speak to questions such as, what are the larger forces that impinge on us all? And what are the overweening circumstances with which leaders across the board—American leaders—need be familiar if they are to be effective? When leaders come to understand this more expansive environment, they will similarly come to understand those other, less accessible components of context—ideological, political, economic, cultural, technological, and financial, among others—with which, inevitably, they have also to contend.

This perception accords with some of the objectives in this research, particularly the aspect in objective three that aims to outline the type and extent of contexts used in participants' interpretations (section 1.3).

Another point of accordance with the follower-centric perspective, in this study, is that it draws attention to the ethics in leader-follower relations. In his review of Kellerman's (2008) book: *Followership: How Followers Are Creating Change and Changing Leaders*, Harle (2009:286) highlights this point saying: 'the section on 'Bad Followership' is twice as long as that on 'Good Followership'. In fact, Kellerman (2015:1) explicitly highlights this remark saying: 'I focus as much on bad leadership as on good leadership'.

Koonce et al. (2016) dedicate a full section under the title: *Ethics, Government, and Military* in their edited book *Followership in Action: Cases and Commentaries*. In this section, interplay of power and ethics between leaders and followers are extensively examined (Reynolds, 2016; Getha-Taylor, 2016; Carsten, 2016). I tie this focus on ethics in the follower-centric approach to Ciulla's (1998) proposal for enhancing leadership studies through bringing more focus on ethics of leadership, all of which support the identification of power relations and ethical issues within the leader-follower interactions. This resonates with the aim of objective four: to examine whether (and how) emotions influence participants' attitudes and behaviours - and hence their leader-follower interactions.

Finally, Howell and Mendez (2008:26-27) propose a theoretical framework to classify different approaches to followership which is based on 'three primary antecedents' followers': self-concept, leader's expectations, and organizational factors. This role based framework suggests three role orientations for followership: an interactive role, an independent role and a shifting role. In the

first orientation, the follower complements the leader's role with competency and knowledge. In the second orientation, followers are self-determined with high skills and knowledge, and thus adequate substitutes for their leaders. The third orientation responds to demands of organizations with team-based work structures where:

Individuals are expected to adapt themselves to the team leadership structure by leading or following, and their role is often temporal and dependent on the requirements of a particular project or task (Howell and Mendez, 2008:35).

Bligh (2011:429) further illustrates the shifting role of the followers saying:

followers monitor and interpret the environment to respond to dynamic changes, actively participate in decision-making when appropriate, challenge the team, and role-model effective team behaviors.

Bligh (2011) also relates the third orientation to perceptions of leaders' and followers' identities as shifting, multiple and ambiguous (Collinson, 2005). Additionally, she highlights self-other constructions and the relational realities in leader-follower dynamics (Collinson, 2006; Uhl-Bien and Pillai, 2007). Accordingly, this informs aspects related to the self representations and narratives in objectives (2-4). The next section will explore more the shifting role of followers through exploring the perspectives around the dialectics in leader-follower interactions.

2.4.4.2 Dialectics in leader-follower interactions

The traditional views of agency regard human beings as coherent and autonomous beings with the capability of separating themselves, as individuals, from societies and organizations. However, this dualism is criticized in the post-structuralist view in favour of a more dialectic perspective where subjectivity, power and authority suggest more creativity and productivity. Hence the critical view in the post-structuralist approach argues against the conventional

functionalist paradigm in organization studies. The former argues for combining 'subject and object, structure and action and power and subjectivity' (Collinson, 2003:528). On the other hand, the latter takes their separation for granted and overlooks 'human volition and thought' (Ibid).

Collinson (2006) suggests that follower selves play a more complex role in the leadership processes than assumed. Collinson takes a post-structuralist approach and argues that 'the identities of followers and leaders are frequently a condition and consequence of one another' (Collinson, 2006:187). In the light of this view, Collinson examines conformist, resistant, and dramaturgical working selves on the part of the followers for the purpose of exploring their interactions with leaders (Collinson, 2003).

A relevant notion here is impression management (Goffman, 1959) which is regarded as an inseparable part of the organizational normal practices - such as negotiations and career strategies (Collinson, 2006: 184,186). Another relevant work by Goffman (1968) in response to Collinson's argument is the impact of identity negotiations on resistance practices in organizations. A fundamental perspective in Goffman's notion of self and society revolves around the way individuals present themselves in their normal work interactions (Goffman, 1990). Goffman (1990) believes that across interactions among individuals, information about them is 'given' and 'given off'. The difference between the two is that the former is verbal while the latter is non-verbal. The latter then, he argues, is intended to impress the audience with a desired impression of his/her identity (Ibid: 14-16). Goffman additionally does not constrain his proposal at the individual level, instead, he argues that such management is also constructed at team level.

Collinson (2006:187) also claims that 'post-structuralist analysis views the identities of followers and leaders as inextricably linked, mutually reinforcing, and shifting within specific contexts'. In other words, his suggestion is that followers may have an impact on shaping their leaders' identities. He then extends this perspective to suggest future directions for the theory and practice of leadership - where the conventions of dualistic thinking are contested in favour of more views based on the dichotomies, dialectics, and dilemmas of leadership. In the latter the identities of leaders as well as followers are 'increasingly ambiguous and blurred' (Ibid).

Gagnon and Collinson (2014) stresses that examining identities in relation to leadership is a neglected field of analysis in critical organizational studies. Furthermore, examining identities in leadership studies is still contained within limited and conventional psychological perspectives (Haslam et al., 2011). This limitation is within the two dominating areas of transformational leadership (Burns, 1978; Lord and Brown, 2004) and group prototypicality (Hogg, 2001). Both areas are based on the dominating leader centric perspectives in leadership studies, with the majority of analysis focusing at the individual level.

The critical perspective of identity is central within notions of power, knowledge, discourse and subjectivity developed by Foucault (1977, 1979). It is also a central element in newly rising critical leadership studies (Alvesson and Spicer, 2012; Collinson, 2012; Tourish, 2013). It challenges the mainstream leadership literature which grants leaders the power of decision making over the powerless followers. Critical leadership studies (CLS) adopts three central principles: followers' agency, paradoxes in leadership dynamics and identity security-seeking strategies (Collinson, 2003, 2006). On the latter Collinson (2014:37)

emphasizes that it might result in paradoxical outcomes - such as intensifying individuals' insecurities rather than solving them.

Furthermore, Collinson (2006) places emphasis on the importance of linking identity to power through aspects of 'self-regulating and multiple aspects of follower identity' as indicated in social psychological studies (Lord and Brown, 2001, 2004; Lord and Hall, 2003). Collinson draws his argument from post-structuralist views that regard individuals as social selves shaped by their complex social context (Layder, 1994; Burkitt, 1991; Giddens, 1984). Central to his approach is Foucault's argument on the influence of surveillance systems on subordinates' reproduction of disciplined and conformist selves.

This accords with Foucault's core argument for a perception of power that is unconventional, where power is not a mere *coercive* force as opposed to a positive force of *voluntary influence* (Collinson, 2006: 182). Foucault's idea is one of normalization, where individuals re-evaluate their irregularities and reform them. The accordance between Foucault's argument and Lord and Brown's idea on the self-regulating nature in identity are relevant to this study. I draw on these ideas extensively in formulating the second aim and objectives three and four presented in section 1.3.

2.4.4.3 Discursive perspectives and leader-follower agency

In the light of the above, Collinson (2014) confirms dialectical forms of analysis as future directions in leadership studies. His point is that more powerful insights on power and identity dynamics in leader-follower interactions can be revealed through such perspectives. One justification for his view is Fairhurst's (2007) proposal to overlook the definitions of hierarchy and command in leader-follower interactions into identity constructions based upon personal history, culture and context.

Fairhurst (2007) paid attention to Leader Member Exchange theory (LMX) and suggests that: 'discursive perspectives have the capacity to add nuance and detailed meaning to the character and quality of LMX' (Ibid: 3163). In her attempt to reinforce a discursive approach into leadership literature, Fairhurst (2007) suggests three main concepts. The first is to extend the unit of analysis from individuals to interactions. Her claim is that the dominating psychological perspective contains the research within a focus on cognitive functions at individual level - and neglects broader levels of analysis.

Secondly, she proposes what she calls the little 'd' discourse which reflects the micro and meso-levels of discursive talk and acts through which individuals co-create leadership processes. Thirdly, she envisages a big 'D' discourse that represents the macro-level processes of ongoing systems of thought that are embedded in historical context. The historical contexts are not mere abstracts; instead, they are generators that deliver linguistic resources to create independent notions of leadership. However, Fairhurst does not totally disregard the psychological perspective as she supports her approach with the work of leadership psychologists such as Hunt (1991) and Shamir (1999, 1994, 2005).

2.4.4.3.1 Narrative logics

In her approach, Fairhurst (2007) proposes 'Narrative Logics' for 'its strong social-psychological emphasis in the leader-member relationship' (Ibid: 2803). The term 'Narrative Logics' stands for 'the use of narrative in social interaction as well as the narrative resources that various Discourses make available to communicating leaders and members' (Ibid: 2809). Fairhurst highlights narrative psychology through elaborating how narrative approach projects the process of self-reconstruction into the future through episodic memory. Through this memory experiences, knowledge and events are recalled, reshaped and

projected onto the present and future (Bruner, 1990; Lord and Brown, 2004; Tulving, 2002; Wheeler, Stuss, and Tulving, 1997: cited in Fairhurst 2007).

The above views indicate an evolution in the ideas relating to identity and one of the influences on such evolution is the increasingly globalized workplaces. The diversity of workplaces does not only bring identity leadership issues into spotlight in leadership studies, it also reveals the complexity of socially constructing, organizing and maintaining the self. In the light of this, Ibarra et.al (2014) raise views similar to those of Haslam et al. (2011), Collinson (2006) and Fairhurst (2007) on the emerging significance of followers' identity issues. The basic identity processes (categorization, identification and identity change) are no longer sufficient to explore such issues (Ibarra et al., 2014:285).

The alternative is to consider the growing notions of the non-static processes of leadership and followership (Hunt, 2004; Uhl-Bien, 2006; Yukl and Mahsud, 2010) in extending the above identity processes (Ibarra et al., 2014). An example of such notions with a focus on identity is DeRue's (2011) proposal to shift the focus from leader and / or followers as people to the leading-following interactions themselves. This is yet another attempt to challenge the dominating 'individualistic, hierarchical, unidirectional and de-contextualized notions of leadership that permeate the existing literature' (Ibid:125).

DeRue sums up his view by emphasizing the significance of capturing the fluidity of leader-follower identities as embedded in the dynamism of their interactions. He goes on to further highlight the extended impact of such dynamism in a group context. Hence his call is: 'I join many others in calling for longitudinal research that accounts for the dynamic and temporal aspects of leading-following processes in groups' (Ibid: 124).

2.4.4.3.2 Leaders' narratives

The concept of leaders' narratives goes as far back as the ancient mythology of China, Africa, India or Egypt. Many of these narratives are regarded as 'venues for historical self-awareness and articulation of taken-for-granted realities' for the leaders of current times, stated Wong-Mingji (2009:302). I elaborate on this concept in this section as it forms a bridge between the concepts of narrative logics (Fairhurst, 2007), the concept of prototypes in SIA and the cross cultural dimension of this study. One form of leaders' narratives is 'leader memes', the word meme in the dictionary means a cultural item that is transmitted through repetition and / or replication in an analogous manner.

2.4.4.3.3 Leader memes and leadership

'Leader memes' as a leadership related concept refers to narratives on leadership prototypes as part of group survival in order to enact leadership in times of crisis. Bass (2008:4) regards the leadership themes seen in the ancient mythologies as an integral part in 'the development of civilized societies'. Zaccaro (2014) elaborates that leader memes pass leadership morals across to evoke certain reactions. He also demonstrates the various implications of the concept in contemporary management or leadership, of which examples are strategic management, leader prototypes, frameworks of military leadership to name a few.

These morals, as Zaccaro (2014:15) further demonstrates, come in the form of 'core values, beliefs, self-identities, and goal orientations of leaders and followers that in turn contribute to the differential activation of leader prototypes'. Zaccaro (Ibid) elaborates on the leader meme from historical and contemporary perspectives. He demonstrates four leader prototypes: warrior, problem-solver, politician, and teacher as reoccurring memes in historical narratives. The cultural

analogues embedded in these memes, he points out, are extended in contemporary leadership theories and models.

2.4.4.3.4 Tribal leadership memes

Drawing on the concept of leader memes I highlight the stories and poems rooted in the Arabic heritage where tribal attributes are passed on to enact leadership. Examples of such attributes are: 'generosity, the forgiveness of error, tolerance towards the weak, hospitality towards guests, the support of dependents, maintenance of the needy, patience in adverse circumstances...' (Ibn Khaldun, (1332-1406): cited in Adair, 2010).

Adair (2010:69) describes his work 'Leadership of Muhammad' as a 'biographical inquiry into one aspect of the Prophet Muhammad's life: his leadership' (Ibid: 69). Defining 'role' as a universal key concept for understanding leadership, Adair builds his reading on Prophet Muhammad's biography as the key leadership role model for Muslims. As Adair unfolds different aspects of Muhammad's life, he cannot but touch upon sensitive Arab tribal leadership dynamics. One of these dynamics is 'Asabiya', a pre-Islamic oriented concept that has been expanded by Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406) and generally refers to group or social solidarity.

Ibn Khaldun proposes Asabiya within his theory of 'Al-Umrân', translated as 'civilizations', which in turn revolves around the rise and decline of states. A core principle in this theory is that Arab societies are divided into urban sedentary societies and the nomadic/Bedouin societies. Another core principle is that social events take place in consistent manners from which their underpinning norms will turn to predictable trends. Furthermore, Ibn Khaldun limits the influence of isolated individuals over such repeated trends for the influence of a population. Hence: 'A dynasty requires large cities and towns and makes their existence

possible; in turn, they permit the development of luxury' (Khaldun and Rosenthal, 2015:16614).

Ibn Khaldun locates Asabiya as the central concept of his theory Al-Umrân. However, his use of the concept has been given different translations in English. Asabiya as a basic concept refers to: 'the quality of a person who is angry for the sake of his group and protecting them...whether they are wrongdoers or wronged' (Lane, 1984: cited in Halim et al., 2012). However, as a concept in Al-Umrân theory Asabiya is interpreted in different ways. Examples of these interpretations are: 'group feeling' by Rosenthal, 'solidarity' by Mehdi and Gumplawicz as well as Issawi, 'group spirit' by De Slane (Ibid).

Adair (Ibid:1496) elaborates further on the term saying that it: 'encompasses group cohesiveness, esprit de corps, ethos, morale, identity, confidence, discipline and collective aspiration: everything, in fact, that makes a group into a whole that is more than the sum of its parts, everything that gives it direction and impels it to seek power.' Although Ibn Khaldun's theory of Asabiya is highly debatable in Arab and Muslim thought, nevertheless, Adair's interpretation of Muhammad's leadership suggests the significance of this concept in understanding leadership in Arab culture.

However, Ibn Khaldun points out that tribal Arabs (Bedouins) are not easily led since their habitat – the desert- has made them very independent. Adair (2010:101) further comments: 'An Arab may leave the desert, but the desert never leaves an Arab'. However, it is the desert that poses the need for group power for the purposes of defence. Most importantly, Ibn Khaldun highlights the role of Islam in transforming the Arab tribal non-unity into more group-based mobilization towards unity and leadership.

Nevertheless, Adair (2010) puts forward Ibn Khaldun's argument that

emphasizes the leadership style in Arab tribalism as group based. Hence there is the constant need for the leader to sustain cooperation among his followers. This is where the Asabiya becomes central in maintaining the group spirit to surpass and lead other groups. Nevertheless, Ibn Khaldun's theory, as mentioned above, proposes that strong dynasties tend to be exposed to luxury and sedentariness which ultimately weakens the Asabiya - but only to bring on another cycle of Asabiya and power (Ibid:102).

Adair's work has been criticized for reducing the Muslim and/or Arab identity to being a Bedouin (Wilson, 2012). The critique also claims that impact of such reduction is that Adair overlooks other identity dimensions such as the culturally Arabized Arabs who have descended from Persia and Egypt (Ibid). A third critique is the fact that Adair overlooks many other observations and arguments made by Ibn Khaldun, mainly revolving around the influence of wider cross cultural factors (Ibid).

Nevertheless, these critiques seem to miss what Adair is pointing out in his presentation of Ibn Khaldun's theory of Asabiya. Adair seems to aim at an understanding of the logic of Asabiya within its original Bedouin/tribal context. The evidence of this becomes clear when he relates his quest to his early age experience with the Bedouins in Jordan. He states this in his introduction saying:

...at the age of 20 I was fortunate to serve for a year as adjutant of a Bedouin regiment in the Arab Legion, as the army of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan was then known. Arab Legion was an apt name then, however, because the 900 Bedouin officers and soldiers of the Ninth Regiment came from all the tribes of greater Arabia. The Bedouin name I was given by a company commander from the Bani Howeitat tribe on joining the regiment in Jerusalem in 1954, and by which I was known, has remained with me ever since – Sweillim. It is an affectionate form traditional among the Bani Howeitat of the Arabic name Salim, which means soundness or wholeness. You will, I hope, find my affection for my Bedouin companions of long ago reflected in these pages (Adair, 2010: 2).

Overlooking this clear intention in Adair's (2010) work and forcing a wider cross-

cultural context onto his interest in Asabiya would only make us lose an opportunity to gain some original insights into the mindset of the indigenous Arab. Therefore, I consider Adair's perspective for the purpose of understanding how the Arab population in my study navigate their inter-group and interpersonal interactions. From there, I extend the perspective to examine the other cultural groups in the study. I also link Adair's perspective to objective three which aims to identify the main logics and strategies used by the participants with which to relate to other individuals and groups.

2.4.4.3.5 The tribal and Islamic values and Leadership in Arab culture

Other attempts have been made to examine Arab tribal values in order to develop wider understanding of leadership and followership dynamics in Arab culture. For example, Weir (2008) makes an attempt to expand the Arab 'Diwan' as a decision-making form that fits aspects of all quadrants in the Douglas and Wildavsky (1982) grid/group typology of worldviews. Wier (2008:257) defines the Diwan as 'the structure of a system of administration' that is rooted in Arab history and describes it as:

a dynamic listening machine through which diversity and difference may obtain their opportunity equally with hierarchical authority. In the Diwan, the claims of authority are recognized and ultimate authority may be clearly identified. Decisions and judgements made by fathers, presidents, kings and CEOs are located and owned. (Weir, 2008:263)

The argument is that the hierarchical structure of the Diwan is not rigid. He rather claims that it permits a temporary structure of administration that allows other individualistic, fatalistic and egalitarian practices (Weir, 2008). Therefore, Weir suggests that there is an interesting managerial behaviour of decision-making conducted in Diwan. This movability in Arab Diwan is explained the fact that its seniority is only approved by the consent of all individuals involved in the process of the Diwan (Weir, 2008).

However, other studies indicate that the Arab community's acceptance of leaders is a theological foundation of leadership in Islam (Ali, 2011). Thus, the universal view of Arab Diwan managerial practices can be contested in favour of an approach that considers the particularities of the traditional Arab culture (Ali, 2010, 2011; Sabri, 2004). Ali (2011) illustrates that in Islamic societies individuals tend to identify with Islamic values in spite of the gap between their religious practices and daily practices. Ali further states:

For these people, the ideal is treated as reality and contemporary conditions are considered temporary and subject to change or disappearance. It is this widely observed attitude, which often impedes or obstructs practical transformation in the arena of politics and economy, that confuses Western observers (Ali, 2011:88).

Accordingly, the relationship between leaders and followers can be considered culturally specific where cultural values and beliefs shape socialized types of relations (Howell and Shamir, 2005). Personal identification could also be made by the followers with their leaders. Ibn Khaldun (1332–1406) demonstrates a set of values that would enhance followers' social identification with their leaders. Examples of these values are: generosity, forgiveness of errors, tolerance toward the weak, hospitality toward guests, support of subordinates, and belief in and veneration for men of religion and a desire to receive their prayers (Ibid, p. 112). In today's Arab business domain, similar attributes are still indicated as 'must have' for leaders (Asaf, 1987; Abdalla and al- Homoud, 2001; Mellahi, 2000; cited in Ali, 2011:92). This study would also suggest considering these attributes in understanding the intergroup dynamics in Arab context.

In view of this, four metaphoric types of Arab leadership are presented namely: autocratic, sheikocratic, tradition-guided (group-oriented), and spiritually enlightened (Ali, 2009, 2011). The autocratic is defined as top-down authoritative decision making with focus on results. The *Sheikocratic* where focus is on

personal connections and tribal ties where the organization is part of a leader's personal property and hence serves his and his family's interest. *Tradition-guided* (group-oriented) is tradition-driven where decisions are centralized at the top but operationalized less formally. Finally, the *Spiritually enlightened* type is closely aligned with community and highly driven by Islamic based virtues such as trust, respect and open communication.

Ali (1998) also proposes eight types of followers which leaders might recognize and understand in order to enhance the growth and prosperity of their organizations. The first form is the *Traditionalist* followers who highly rely on the leadership and believe that the absence of adherence to Islamic teachings causes serious issues. The second is *Spectator* followers who prefer routine over change and innovation. The third is the *Idealist* followers where ideas and enthusiasm dominate over goal achievement and practical judgment.

The fourth form then is the *Illusionist* followers who are either dreamers or exaggerators and refer all challenges of modern Arab societies to outside forces. The fifth type is the *Transitionalist followers* who dedicate their power to their inside groups. The sixth type is *Manipulator* followers who plan their endeavours according to the rises and declines in oil revenues. The seventh type is the *Revivalist* followers whose belief is in the traditional Islamic teaching to sustain societal uniqueness and originality. The eighth and final type is the *Existentialist* followers who nurture others' creativity through sharing and tolerance.

The review on leadership and followership in Arab world so far indicates an approach that mainly revolves around the traditional values in Arab societies. There is evidence in most of the above studies where tribalism and Islamic values seem central in their examinations (Adair, 2010; Ali, 1998, 2009, 2011; Weir, 2008; Asaf, 1987; Abdalla and al- Homoud, 2001; Mellahi, 2000). In this sense,

the cultural approach seems a suitable means to develop more understanding of the dynamics of leadership and followership in the Arab world. A clear demonstration is the attempt by Weir (2008:253) to develop a cultural-theory examination, (Douglas and Wildavsky, 1982), of the widespread practice of Diwan in the Arab Middle East.

The above studies on the tribal and Islamic values in Arab values seem to challenge the limited approaches towards understanding leadership and management practices in non-Western cultures. For example, Hofstede (1980, 2001) characterizes Arabic culture as high in tribal/familial based collectivism or high in uncertainty avoidance and low in future orientation (Chhokar et al., 2007; Kabasakal and Bodur, 2002). Hofstede (1980, 2001) also classifies Arab culture as high in power distance as hierarchical structures based on age, power and authority are accepted hence is the popularity of an autocratic management styles (Ali, 1990). Furthermore, the study characterizes uncertainty avoidance to be high and future orientation low in Arab culture due to preferring normative roles and relationships over risk taking and task accomplishment (Chhokar et al., 2007; Kabasakal and Bodur, 2002). Finally, the study considers Arab culture to be highly masculine and low in gender egalitarianism where authority is rigidly male-oriented (Jaeger, 1986; Ali and Camp, 1995; Kabasakal and Bodur, 2002).

However, Arab societies are widely diverse in terms of ethnicity, ideologies and structure and hence the above characterizations are challenged (Hickson and Pugh, 1995; Whiteoak et al., 2006). Whiteoak et al., (2006:80) further explain that:

it is notable that Hofstede (1980) provides an extremely broad classification for "Arab" consisting of Egypt, Iraq, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates. While Hofstede's research has had an extremely important impact on understanding cross-cultural behaviour, this large classification is clearly a limitation of his findings and highlights the need for additional research that is country-specific in the Middle East.

This critique can also be supported by the steady expansions in Arab world markets through global scopes which are based on Western methods and values (Ali, 1992). As a result, it has been suggested that Hofstede's cultural identifications are no more applicable to the Arab societies which are turning more individualistic and gender-egalitarian. Whiteoak et al. (2006:90) argue that societies like the Arab ones are loaded with tradition and modernity tension which mobilizes them towards social management of values and thus adapting to a more industrialized way of life.

2.4.4.3.6 Reflections on reflexivity in literature review

As an individual who belongs to the Arab-Muslim culture, I tend to compare the Western concepts on leadership with my own cultural and ideological beliefs about leadership. However, I remain mindful of any bias to my own cultural views, thus I would define reflexivity in this context as:

conscious and consistent efforts to view the subject matter from different angles, strongly avoiding the a priori privileging of a favoured one, including a focus on the details of texts (Alvesson, 2010:106)

A demonstration of this is my approach towards reviewing dynamics of 'Asabiya' in Adair (2010). My educational background in Islamic jurisprudence enabled me to follow the track of this tribal concept in three historical periods: pre-Islamic, Islamic and modern. This further enabled a comparative review between my historical reading of 'Asabiya' and the Western / modern attempt by Adair (2010). This comparison then helped in enhancing different possible interpretations of the group dynamics in the Arab sample. It also helped in creating an opportunity to contrast the Arab group dynamics with the group dynamics of the non-Arab samples.

Part of this reflexivity is my awareness of the role of language and Quranic /

Hadith texts in forming and understanding the Arab cultural heritage. Hence is the inclusion of concepts such as narrative logics, leader memes and tribal memes under the discursive perspective of leadership in this review. One implication is that many sacred Quranic texts strongly appreciate the act of following as equal to an act of leading. Such theological conceptualizations resonate with the rising Western critical perspectives on the role of followers in the leadership social processes (Collinson, 2003, 2006, 2014; Kellerman, 2008). It further provides an opportunity for wider and diverse understandings of leadership's constantly changing dynamics.

I accord this exercise of reflexivity with what Brewer (2000) describe as an 'analytical' reflexivity for the purpose of identifying the identity negotiations and the traditional logics used in the self-narratives generated by the Arab sample. Examples are in themes such as 'the temporal dimension and re-interpreting culture', 'the Other within us' which will be demonstrated in the analysis chapters five and six.

2.4.5 Leaders', followers' shared endeavour

The previous reviews then emphasize the relational element in the leader-follower agency and the identity dynamics they would generate in diverse working environments. This accords with Haslam et al. (2011) proposal in what they title *The New Psychology of Leadership*. In essence, their claim is for a process of social identity management and hence the focus is on identity leadership (Ibid: 197). Identity here is represented by self-conceptions, social or personal, which are constructed either by oneself or others. Both forms of identities, social and personal, are our means for answering questions such as: 'Who am I?' and 'Who do other people know me to be?' (Ibarra et al., 2014). The identity definitions are constructed through the social process of *Identification* or *self-categorization*, the

former being a term for identity theory, while the latter is to be found in social identity theory. Both processes reveal how our reflexive selves categorize us in certain ways in relation to different social categorizations (Stets and Burke, 2000). Haslam et al. (2011) put forward their idea saying: ‘we argue for a new *psychology* that sees leadership as the product of an individual’s “we-ness” rather than of his or her “I-ness” (Ibid:1). The authors further state their argument in different words: “a *group process* in which leaders and followers are joined together – *and perceive themselves to be joined together* – in shared endeavour” (Ibid). The authors then highlight four points of focus to translate this argument into actions namely: context, role of followers, function of power, and dynamics of transformation (Ibid:21).

There are two distinctive aspects in this proposal: the first is that a leader is approved as a leader by his or her followers once ‘understood to be “one of us” rather than someone who is “out for themselves” or “one of them”’ (Haslam et al., 2011: 2). The second aspect is a concern subtly revealed through the new directions taken in leadership studies, particularly those approaching leadership through a wide range of considerations (Ibid:21). Enhancing such aspects in the proposal indicates the systematic and established methods that the Social Identity approach would bring to studying leader-follower dynamics, particularly in diverse contexts.

For example, Haslam et al.’s (2011) earlier argument is drawn from the concept of prototypicality. They suggest four bases of social identity that would lead to effective leadership. These bases are: “being one of us”, “doing it for us”, “crafting a sense of us”, and “making us matter” (Ibid: 77, 109, 137, 165). As the bases suggest, leadership essentially lies in the ‘relationship between leaders and followers within a social group’ (Ibid: 45). It is the bond of *We-ness* that defines

leadership, and the reason that an individual level of analysis is not sufficient, as they claim.

Social identity theory (SIT) contributes to leadership studies and perhaps prototypicality is one of its most well recognized contributions (Hogg, 2001; van Knippenberg and Hogg, 2003; Ellemers et al., 2004). The idea of prototypicality is that group members who represent prototypical features of the group tend to emerge as leaders in their groups. The concept is associated with other features such as higher levels of motivation in groups (Ellemers et al., 2004), creative effort and hence creative performance (Hirst et al., 2009). In a longitudinal study, Hogg and Terry (2000) suggested that leaders develop self-interest in constructing their group identity so as to remain prototypical.

Therefore, the point of departure for the new group psychology is group level of analysis proposed by Haslam et al. (2011). The result for the group unit of analysis is an emerging theme of collective power where the authors propose two typologies of power: *power over* and *power through*. The former is within the traditional concept of power over resources, rewards and punishment. The latter is, on the other hand, that which is derived from a group's shared identity - where other group members are mobilized towards internalizing a leader's vision as their own. Another theme is the dynamics of social identity and social reality or as translated by authors: context and categories. At this point, the authors highlight the deceiving nature of the relationship between the two. They also point out the constant change in the context / social reality in order to draw attention to its complex nature and the bidirectional relationship between the two, where categories not only represent reality, but also pave paths towards how to realize and organize it.

Ibarra et.al (2014) compare social identity theory with role-based and social constructionist theory as the three main theoretical lenses commonly used in examining identity in relation to leadership. The aim of the examination is to identify: 'gaps in our current understanding of the relationship between identity and leadership processes, and pointing to new and promising research directions' (Ibid: 285). In the second part of their study, the authors extend their examination to three empirical and theoretical areas of current interest: 'transitions into, and identification with, formal and informal leadership roles; the emergence and effectiveness of leaders from "non-prototypical" groups' (Ibid).

Ibarra et al. (2014:289) acknowledge social identity theory as the lens used by 'a rich vein of contemporary scholarship' in order to examine leaders' emergence and effectiveness. Referring to the difference in the analysis level in SIT and identity theory, the authors highlighted depersonalization as a process that enhances group prototype qualities such as 'shared norms, collective behaviour, mutual influence, altruism, empathy and emotional contagion, stereotyping and ethnocentrism' (Hogg, 2003: cited in Ibid:289).

However, Ibarra et.al (2014) point out issues in adopting SIT in studying leadership within contemporary culturally diverse organizational settings. This diversity puts the concept of prototypicality into question and puts forward new claims for non-prototypical leaders. The two issues can be summarized as follows: in-group sub-identities and the notion of prototypicality itself.

Hogg et al. (2012) argue for 'intergroup relational identity' constructed by a leader through overcoming intergroup differences. The new notion is introduced as a contribution in leadership in organizations as well as SIT, where the focus on managing intergroup relations has not been addressed as a challenge in leadership (Ibid:234).

Hogg et al. also suggest that leading intergroup relational identity need not necessarily be from within the group itself. 'Fresh faces' from outside the group might lead the intergroup relational identity: 'e.g., an external hire to lead a joint venture; a CEO brought in from outside rather than promoted from a position tied to one of the organizational departments, units, or divisions'. (Ibid: 245). Ibarra et al. (2014) suggest the new notion as future direction from which to explore identity issues in multiple identity groups or groups with vague inner boundaries (Pratt and Foreman, 2000: cited in Ibid).

The second issue concerns the notion of prototypicality: it is still a matter of conflict to standardize what generates group prototypicality and the challenge is accelerated even more in diversified groups. Although broad definitions are given to suggest that revolves around a group's essence (Rosch, 1978) or a group's identity (Hogg, 2001), the specific characteristics are still difficult to grasp. A related issue that Ibarra et al. highlight is the pathologies of over-identification, especially when it risks developing 'seductive identities' (Dukerich et al., 1998; Ashforth et al., 2008: cited in Ibarra et al., 2014).

Haslam et al. (2011:21) explain that the move from a leader centric perspective is occurring in two broad overlapping new directions: situational and relational. The latter specifically explores the relationship between leaders and followers - yet with a focus on the followers. In effect, the studies in these directions provide evidence of a wave of rethinking many leadership concepts - such as its transformational qualities. Haslam et al. particularly draw attention to the potentially sensitive implications of relational direction in terms of agency and power, or to put it in the authors' own words:

But does the new-found emphasis on transformational leadership take us beyond a simple opposition between the power of the leader and constraints in that leader's world (such that, for instance, the more agency that a leader has, the less agency is accorded to

followers and the more agency that these followers have, the less is accorded to the leader), or does it simply rebalance the scales back on the leader's side? (Ibid:21)

In the light of the previous quote, the proposal of Haslam et al. (2011) seems to be seeking a balanced recognition of the roles of leaders as well as followers in the leadership process. Collinson (2014) recognizes the risk of losing such balance, but in terms of 'focusing on followers and under-estimating the hierarchical nature of power asymmetries' (Ibid: 41). His concern is that this might lead to the idea of heroic followers instead of heroic leaders and then lead to what Gronn, (2011) describes as a shift back to the opposite dichotomy, a 'pendulum effect'.

This risk is minimized, if present at all, in the proposal by Haslam et al. (2011), especially when they suggest the idea of *collective power*. Haslam et al. assert the centrality of power in the leadership process (Turner, 2005; Russell, 1938, 2004; Simon and Oakes, 2006). They also criticize the conventional form of power as being limited to the individual level and reduced to either powerful with access to resources, or powerless and dependent and in need of these resources. The authors classify this form of power as formal power that comes with formal ranks and might lead to forced compliance. In opposition to this formal form of power is *authority*, that is informal and about respect and persuasion, and hence has greater impact and is long lasting. This is because formal power can only last with more surveillance (Reicher and Levine, 1994) and / or more resources (Ellemers et al., 2004; Tyler and Blader, 2000) to retain the compliance of followers.

Haslam et al. (2011) further reintroduce the distinction between the two types of power proposed by Turner (2005) as *power over* and *power through*. The distinction classifies *power over* as the use of an external agency (such as

resources) as a motive for making people do what leaders want them to do. On the other hand, *power through* uses the agency of the group itself - that is, what the group members want to do themselves in order to mobilize and perform a desired action (Reynolds and Platow, 2003; Oakes, 2006). According to Haslam et al. (2011), the former form of power accords with the traditional perspective of power while the latter suggests that leaders and followers jointly mobilize internal forces towards a shared group identity.

2.5 Formulation of the research inquiry

Earlier in this chapter, I pointed out that current leadership research is experiencing a rise of new research directions that aim to problematize the leader centric (heroic) perspective of studying leadership. I proceeded to review some of these directions which reconsider elements such as power, context, identity discourse, and leader-follower agency in its research endeavors on leadership and organization studies (Fairhurst, 2007; Haslam et al., 2011; Collinson, 2003, 2005, 2014). The next step is to formulate a research inquiry that can rightfully direct the empirical findings towards providing a significant contribution to the literature of leadership.

Alvesson and Sandberg (2013:128) argue that there is 'a serious shortage of high-impact research in management studies'. They then relate this shortage to the 'dominance of incremental gap-spotting research in management' (Ibid). Alvesson and Gabriel (2013:245) put forward a similar argument by criticizing the 're-search' where research implications are leading to 'doing more of the same, within the same conventions'. The above arguments resonate with my quest to develop a track of provocative inquiries to lead this study into its original aims.

In one of my early drafts, I could not find a better description than 'paddling under water' for the tactics I use while developing the research inquiries. It is only now

that I can present an illustration of these tactics and envisage them within an overall process of dialectical approach in exploring the literature review. Problematization, reflexivity and intertextuality are interrelated devices that shape my tactics while examining literature on cross cultural leadership studies and leader-follower interactions (Figure 2.3).

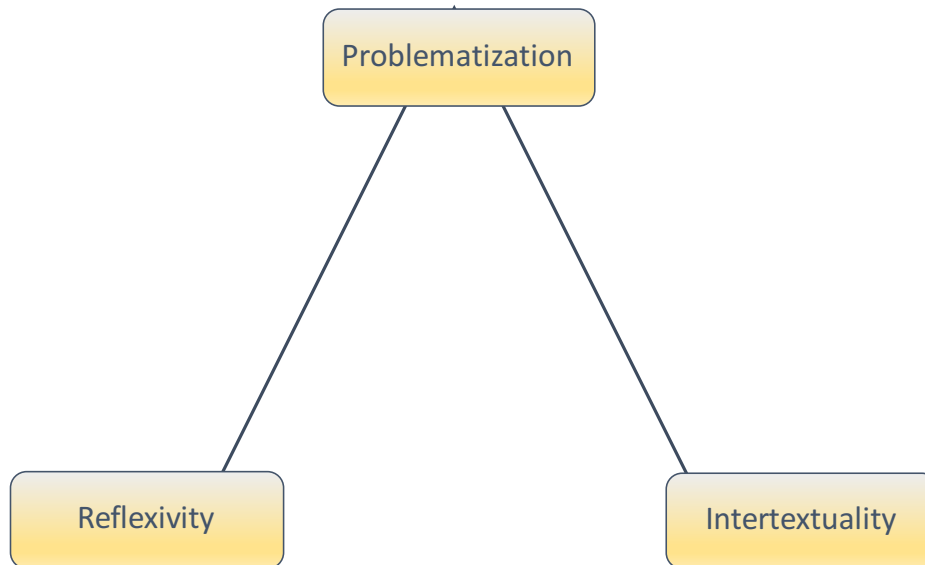


Figure 2.3 Developing the dialectic approach in the research inquiry (Source: author)

Problematization is about a researcher who perceives himself / herself as a problematizer and not a gap-spotter (Alvesson and Sandberg, 2013). This means that he / she adopts dialectical interrogation with the aim of creating a novel quest that challenges the already established assumptions - including his / her own (Alvesson and Sandberg, 2011, 2013). Hence elements such as creativity, intuition and inspiring reading are necessary for the creation of novel waves of thinking and research directions (Ibid). This resonates with Alvesson's (2010) proposal of 'reflexive pragmatism' where interpreted meanings of the data are continuously challenged and reproduced (see section 4.6).

Reflexivity initially developed through my fieldwork experience and was induced by the different ways the participants influence the multiple roles I took in the

fieldwork (see section 4.4.1). This was further refined by another reflexive dimension that occurs in developing the ontological and epistemological framework of my methodological approach (see section 4.2). My identity negotiations in both processes accord with Alvesson and Sandberg's (2013) suggestion for 'researchers' identity constructions' as a drive for more innovative research.

Intertextuality then becomes another drive that supports the above problematization process. I was initially trained in intertextuality in my education and profession as a translator. So I accord this skill with the idea of inter-textual coherence that is brought by Lock and Golden-Biddle (1997). Lock and Golden-Biddle regard inter-textual coherence as an instrument that creates opportunities of scientific contribution in organizational studies and qualitative research. They identify three types of inter-textual coherences: synthesized coherence, progressive coherence, and non-coherence.

In my approach, I consider the first and third types where the first 'cite and draw connections between works and investigative streams not typically cited together to suggest the existence of undeveloped research areas' (Golden-Biddle, 1997: 1030). On the other hand, non-coherence focuses on linking different theoretical perspectives with disagreement (Ibid). In my approach I notice that non-coherence could be a form of synthesized coherence, as one reason for not connecting certain works together would easily be the result of their disagreements.

This study therefore argues that problematizing the leader centric perspective of leadership study can raise the risk of fragmentation to the literature on leadership. By this I am suggesting that the original leadership insights might turn to empty signifiers that only serve to establish arguments for or against the new

approaches. This may further lead to weaken their theoretical uniqueness and the insights they can offer - particularly to contemporary challenges of social and organizational life. I thus propose that constructively including these original insights into the new perspectives would eliminate or minimise such risk by sustaining their theoretical uniqueness in favour of broader knowledge claims.

I partially draw my argument from the concerns of Haslam et al. (2011) over underplaying the significance of 'single factor', that is, the leader here, by widening the dynamics of leadership into broad considerations such as context and audience. They explicitly state:

Arguably, this process has been taken too far. The figure of the leader as superman may rightly have been usurped, but is it right to replace it with a picture in which the leader is, at worst, a mere cipher, and, at best, little more than a book-keeper? The danger is that we will lose those aspects of leadership that make it so fascinating and so important in the first place: the creativity of leaders, their ability to shape our imaginations and guide us towards new goals, their role in producing social change—and, occasionally, social progress. (Haslam et al., 2011: 21)

Haslam (2014) also expresses a similar concern in a different case, when he suggested that more cooperation is required between theorists and practitioners in order to develop the Applied Social Identity Approach (ASIA). In his proposal, he acknowledges the rigidity of the long established theoretical frameworks, a point that might seem contradictory to this study's argument. However, the point of interest is that he also expresses concern over turning SIT and SCT into mere tools and losing their theoretical uniqueness and the insights they can offer.

2.6 Summary

The literature of leadership is witnessing a rise in post-heroic perspectives in opposition to the dominant leader-centric perspective towards understanding leadership. However, only a few voices remain to keep us mindful of the risk of losing the balance between the two equally important directions in the field. The

purpose of this chapter therefore was to construct a dialectic review that firstly enhances a broad understanding of the current directions in leadership literature – and then establishes more specific reviews for the purpose of sensitizing the inquiries formularized for this study.

The review reveals that the current post-heroic leadership perspectives seem to propose broad considerations as leadership dynamics. Hence there are concerns over compromising the significance of the ‘single factor’ in the leadership process (Haslam et al, 2011). This review also expresses concerns over the repeated shifts between the post-heroic perspectives and the traditional leader-centric perspective in leadership literature (Gronn, 2011; Collinson, 2014).

In addition, the review identifies a gap that cross-cultural leadership research does not have a strong presence in the current scene of leadership studies in spite of its growing literature since mid 1990s. It thus suggests that this gap might be related to the considerable conceptual and methodological issues in cross-cultural leadership studies (Bass, 1990, Avolio et al., 2009, Hofstede 2002, 2006; McSweeney, 2002; Javidan et al., 2006).

The review then re-examines the debates over two landmark cross-cultural studies: (Hofstede, 1984) and (GLOBE, 1991). The examination identifies concepts such as: leader-follower relations and, to some lesser extent, group dynamics (Javidan et al., 2006; Bass, 1990). Other ideas of interest in the debates are characterizing culture on self-Other perceptions (Smith, 2006) and the self-and-group referenced constructs (Fischer, 2006). These ideas will be expanded in chapter three in which I shall review Social Identity Theory (SIA) as the theoretical approach for the purpose of examining the data.

Additionally, the review discloses the significance of the relational element in the leader-follower agency in heroic and post heroic studies alike (Burns, 1984; Ciulla

1998; Hollander, 1998; Hick and Price; 2006; Collinson, 2003, 2006, 2014). This includes the vast considerations, and re-considerations, of power, identity, culture, and mutual needs and interests in leader-follower relations. The three main directions developed are: the leadership critical perspective, mainly led by Collinson (2003, 2004, 2014) and Fairhurst (2007). This is followed by the leadership identity and psychological perspective mainly led by Haslam et al. (2011), Hogg (2006, 2012), and Ibarra et al. (2014). Finally, the leader-centric perspective with the focus on leader-follower relations and leadership ethics, mainly led by Burns (1978), Ciulla (1998), Hollander (1998), Hick and Price (2006).

At the group level, Haslam et al. (2011) give a rather subtle reference to the relational element within group dynamics in their attempt to re-define what a group means for individuals. In their suggestion, they stress that a group is more than the individual sum of its parts and refer to Burns's (1978) notion, transformational leadership, as an answer. Similar reference is also found in the Hogg et al. (2012) argument for an 'intergroup relational identity' that would overcome intergroup differences. The argument is drawn from the critique of failing to acknowledge intergroup management as a leadership dynamic in both leadership and SIT research alike. This also accords with Hogg's (2006) suggestions on relational self and relational social identity. The two concepts will be presented in greater detail in chapter three of this study.

The review on these perspectives is then aligned with objectives three and four - where objective three is set to identify the main logics and strategies used by the participants to relate to other individuals and groups. Objective four subsequently seeks to examine whether (and how) emotions influence participants' attitudes and behaviours, and hence their leader-follower interactions.

Merging the four aspects of the literature enables a comprehensive examination of the self-narratives generated by the participants in their day to day interactions. The dialectic approach in merging the different aspects enables the examination to cover the complexities of participants' social, personal and organizational realities. This therefore responds to the overall aim of this study - that is to develop an understanding of how individuals in an IO like GPO cope with the universal scope of their organization and the diversity in their work environment.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL APPROACH: SOCIAL IDENTITY APPROACH

3.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the social identity approach (SIA) as the theoretical basis adopted in the data analysis and interpretation of this study. The chapter principally aims to sensitize the reader to the ideas around self and group-referenced constructs and how they inform objectives (3-4) where objective three seeks to identify the main logics and strategies used by the participants with which to relate to other individuals and groups. Objective four then aims to examine whether (and how) emotions influence participants' attitudes and behaviours - and hence their leader-follower interactions.

Sections 3.2 and 3.3 inform objective three by elaborating on Social Identity Approach (SIA) as the theoretical lens adopted in examining the identity dynamics in relation to leadership in this study. Therefore, section 3.2 first sets the scene with a brief summary on the theoretical foundations of Social Identity Approach (SIA), principally: Social Identity Theory (SIT) (Tajfel and Turner, 1985) and Self-Categorization Theory (SCT) (Turner et al., 1987). It then presents the two self-constructs: social identity and personal identity, the relational dimension within them and demonstrates the distinction between social identification and collective action.

Section 3.3 proceeds to provide reflections on the applied dimension in SIT through presenting the Applied Social Identity Approach (ASIA), (Reicher et al., 2010; Haslam, 2014). It further addresses unresolved issues in SIA approach and the need to better understand the dynamics between the individuals and categorizing processes and proposals for new levels of analysis in SIA.

Following this, section 3.4 informs the first stage of analysis by achieving objective three and presenting the role of context in constructing social identity in the theory of Social Identity Model of Deindividuation Effects (SIDE). The section also informs the second stage of analysis and objective four, which seeks to examine whether (and how) emotions influence participants' attitudes and behaviours - and hence their leader-follower interactions. It thus presents the Inter-Group Emotions Theory (IET) which is based on a body of research on group emotions (Smith, 1993; Smith et al., 2007). Table 3.1 demonstrates the structure of this chapter:

Sections	Objectives/Results	Description/Themes
Sections 3.2 and 3.3	<p>Informs objective three: To identify the main logics and strategies used by the participants with which to relate to other individuals and groups.</p>	<p>3.2 presents:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. SIT and SCT 2. 2 self-constructs: social identity and personal identity. 3. The relational dimension within them 4. Distinction between social identification and collective action. <p>3.3 reflects on:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Applied Social Identity Approach (ASIA) 2. Unresolved issues in SIA 3. New levels of analysis
Section 3.4	<p>Informs the first stage of analysis and objective three: To identify the main logics and strategies used by the participants with which to relate themselves to other individuals and groups.</p> <p>Informs the second stage of analysis and objective four: To examine whether (and how) emotions influence participants' attitudes and behaviours and hence their leader-follower interactions.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Social Identity Model of Deindividuation Effects (SIDE) 2. Inter-Group Emotions Theory (IET)

Table 3.1 The structure of chapter three

3.2. The theoretical foundation of Social Identity Approach (SIA)

The core theoretical principles in the Social Identity Approach (SIA) are the principles of *Social Identity Theory* (SIT) (Tajfel and Turner, 1985) and *Self-Categorization Theory* (SCT) (Turner et al., 1987). Therefore, an understanding of SIA will only be acquired by comprehending these two theoretical pillars of SIA and this is the purpose of this section. This understanding is further enhanced with demonstrations of the two self-constructs: social identity and personal identity on an inter-personal and an inter-group continuum in section 3.2.3. This is further complemented by demonstrating the relational dimension within the two self constructs in section 3.2.4.

Following this, sections 3.2.5. and 3.2.6 aim to expand the presentation beyond the theoretical perspective into the mechanical processes within SIA in order to inform the interpretation process of the data. Consequently, section 3.2.5 demonstrates the relationship between social identification and collective actions. Subsequently, section 3.2.6 explores the dynamics of social mobilization within groups for the purpose of developing a further understanding of how leadership mobilizes through the processes of SIT.

3.2.1 The development of SIT

Social identity's basic idea revolves around the tendency of individuals to categorize themselves and others into different social categories that have prototypical characteristics (Tajfel and Turner, 1985). Examples of social categories are religion, profession, age, or gender. In these categories, social classification serves two main functions: defining self and defining the other. The two functions are enhanced by systematic cognitive means that redefine the social environment through re-ordered segments. As the social environment

becomes segmented, an individual is able to locate him / herself within it (Ashforth and Mael, 1989).

The concept of social identity is developed by using the notion of *Group Identification* (Tolman, 1943). One of the main principles of group identification is that identification is cognitively constructed, and behaviours are not associations to this cognitive construct, but rather either potentials or consequences (Foote, 1951; Gould, 1975; cited in Ashforth and Mael, 1989). This means that individuals only perceive their identification with their groups psychologically with no further obligation to fulfil the groups' goals (Ashforth and Mael, 1989: 21).

Another relevant principle in group identification is differentiating between social identification and internalization. Identification as a social category is a reference to the self ('I am') while internalization is to incorporate values and attitudes within the self ('I believe') (Hogg and Turner, 1987; Ashforth and Mael, 1989). However, Ashforth and Mael (1989) make a point here, that identifying self with certain values or attitudes does not necessarily mean embracing them. This point is of importance for the data narratives where participants identify themselves with their organization's universal scope without fully approving it. This responds to the first aim of this study: to develop an understanding of how individuals in an IO like GPO cope with the universal scope of their organization and the diversity in their work environment.

A new direction in SIT research is developed when Sherif (1949, 1954, 1966) initiates one of the early works on intergroup competition and hostility. In addition, Tajfel and Turner conduct a series of studies through the 1960s on the minimal conditions necessary to generate bias against out-groups. This latter is further developed in many subsequent studies, the most famous of which is Tajfel et al. (1971).

Israel and Tajfel (1972) then complement SIT by bringing a new understanding of collective action, that is, through understanding the self within the social context. In the same vein, Tajfel (1978) presents the concept of self-understanding beyond the mere view of an individual's relationship to others. His proposal is that self can be defined through groups we belong to - and hence a link between group behaviour and social identity is developed.

Moscovici (1972:22) explains that Tajfel shows normative commitment more than scientific concern towards social change, hence to Tajfel it is a science of 'movement' rather than 'order' (cited in Reicher et al., 2010: 47). Therefore, in Tajfel's view, collective acts are motives and means for the powerless to 'challenge their subjugation' (Ibid).

Reicher et al. (2010) further explain that identity became central in Tajfel's approach because his interest in group-levels of wide-scale hostility is concluded with positive interpretations of its collective processes. Reicher et al. (2010:47) highlight this in the link between social change and collective processes in SIT:

While the Holocaust defined the broad intellectual framework within which the social identity approach was developed, the more immediate background was the burgeoning of social movements based on class, but also race, gender and sexuality in the upheavals of the 1960's.

More conceptual aspects of SIT are then developed: one is its independence, meaning that social identity constitutes the individual element yet cannot be contained within any individuality. Therefore, SIT can be described as the 'substance' of what is socially structured within individuality, but only demonstrated in how large groups mobilize in 'coherent and meaningful' manners within 'shared group norms, values and understandings rather than idiosyncratic beliefs' (Reicher et al., 2010:48). Another significant conceptualization in SIT is

that the process of social identification in social identity is no less significant than the other psychological processes in individual identity (Reicher et al., 2010).

More conceptualization develops with the emergence of *Differentiation* as another psychological process that constitutes SIT. Differentiation is essentially based on inseparable dynamics of comparison. To convey this in simpler terms, differentiation is found when group members differentiate themselves along valued dimensions of comparison. This process of differentiation in particular, leads to discriminatory behaviours as evident in the minimal group paradigm. However, the behavioural outcomes are only obtained through examining the processes in context, that is, the specific belief systems and groups of interest (Reicher et al., 2010).

The concept of differentiation thus informs the dynamics of comparison used by the participants in their self-narratives. Thus, it enhances the interpretation of data in relation to aspects of objective three: detecting the different self-representations and interpretations given by the participants regarding their day-to-day challenges and dilemmas. This also outlines the type and extent of the contexts used in their interpretations and in identifying the relationships between social realities and the categorizing process.

These patterns then accord with Tajfel's conceptualization of SIT and the embeddedness of the psychological processes in their social context, hence Tajfel and Turner's (1979) focus is on the psychology of low-status groups. The target feature in such groups is their fixed boundaries which mobilize them towards creating and evaluating their existing identities. In doing so, new identities, or perhaps even multiple ones, are constructed in order to expand these boundaries - or simply escape them. This SIT paradigm adopted by Tajfel

and Turner (1979) is central to the data analysis and particularly in informing objectives three and four.

Reicher et al. (2010:50) suggest three possible strategies for this 'escape' towards a secure social change: the first is to compare the in-group with other groups; the second is to evaluate the in-group through 'flattering dimensions of comparison' and the third is to redefine the in-group membership. Taking the idea of these strategies into consideration informs other sections of analysis, such as: 5.5.4., where participants tend to redefine the inner boundaries in their groups. Another example is section 5.6 where the comparisons across the groups inform patterns of cultural selves, techno as well as human translator selves.

In the mid-eighties, SIT expands beyond its social psychology field and becomes popular in fields such as sociology and organizational studies (Hogg and Terry, 2000; Haslam, 2004). As such, an important implication for SIT in leadership is that we do not bind with others through a common link to a leader, but through a shared identification of a social category (Reicher et al., 2010). Associating this with social change Tajfel and Turner (1979) emphasize the power and resistance generated in such collective identification. This takes us to the next section, that is, Self-Categorization Theory (SCT) as the second attribute of social identity approach (SIA).

3.2.2. The development of SCT

Self-categorization theory (SCT) emerges as a response to research concerns over SIT. The exact motive is Tajfel's dissatisfaction with considering personality and interpersonal interactions as the forces moving the psychological processes in SIT. His efforts therefore aim to explore how these processes take place by paying particular attention to the role of categorization in SIT (Turner, 1985; Turner et al., 1987). The result of Tajfel's quest is the development of the self-

categorization theory as the cognitive dimension of SIT, where focus is extended from intergroup relations to group behaviours (Abrams and Hogg, 1988; Hogg, 2006; Turner et al., 1987).

SCT suggests three levels of abstract categorization of the self: personal identity, social identity and the self as interspecies (Oakes et al., 1994). Its focus is on the different levels of identification across an interpersonal and intergroup continuum. In other words, SCT aims to capture the movements between personal identity ('I vs. you') and social identity ('we vs. they') (Turner, 1982; Reicher et al., 2010). These movements are presented in conceptual components to define group membership and group life in cognitive terms - and not in the mere terms of interpersonal relations or interactions (Hogg, 2003; Hogg, 2006; Reicher et al., 2010). Therefore, and in a context-dependent manner, these processes become active leading to either an increase or decrease in group homogeneity. The three psychological processes that define SCT itself are: depersonalization, self-stereotyping and social influence.

The above presentations of the SIT and SCT theoretical presentations pave the way for presenting three conceptual aspects that are relevant in using SIA in this study:

3.2.3. Interpersonal and intergroup continuum

This section aims to develop a clearer understanding of the two ends of the continuum: social identity and personal identity. The basic definition is that the first is collective self-construal while in the latter the self-construal is idiosyncratic. The former represents 'we / us versus them' while the latter is 'I' that is not shared with other people or the inter-personal dyadic relationship 'me and you'. The importance of this presentation is drawn from the new leadership psychology

proposal of Haslam et al. (2011) and the calls to expand the levels of analysis in the field of identity, culture and leadership alike (see sections 2.3 and 2.4.6).

This narrow construct provides little room for personal identity to mobilize group processes, while group dynamics often shape and reshape personal identities and interpersonal dynamics. The social and personal identities can be as many as the context and relationships of their groups allow them to be. However only one identity dominates the construal and other socio-psychological processes, the saliency of which is also permitted by context (Hogg, 2006). This forms one of the significant considerations in the interpretation process in terms of detecting the two types of self-constructs in the self-narratives. Following up the dominant self-representation in particular, informs a systematic outlining of the type and extent of contexts used in participants' interpretations of their daily work challenges.

Many attempts are made to reach a distinction between the two self-constructs. One is Reid and Deaux (1996) that states that social selves represent collective identities while personal attributes are what reveal individual selves (and not personal identities). Reid and Deaux (1996) further stress the qualitative differences in social identities such as ethnicity, religion and politics. Another view (Cameron, 2004) rejects the idea of unitary construct of social identity and proposes that it has three separate yet related aspects: centrality to cognitive accessibility, in-group affect: *self-evaluative feeling* and in-group ties: *sense of attachment to the group*.

On the other hand, Brewer and Gardner (1996) suggest a sharp distinction: individual self being defined by personal traits, relational self being defined by dyadic relationship and collective self being defined by group membership 'us and them'. They then classify social identity into four types: the first is *person-*

based social identity with a focus on the internalization of group properties within the self-concept. The second is *relational social identity* with a focus on relations with specific others within a group context. Examples are: relational self (Brewer and Gardner, 1996) and interdependent self (Markus and Kitayama, 1991). The third is *group-based social identity*, and that is defined in the traditional sense of social identity. The fourth is *collective identity* meaning 'not just share self-defining attributes but also engage in social action to forge an image of what the group stands for and how it is represented and viewed by others' (Brewer, 2001, cited in Hogg, 2006:1844).

3.2.4. The relational dimension in self / social identities

It is 'The status of the relational self or relational social identity' that Hogg (2006:1845) finds particularly interesting. In this context, he poses a question on which of the two, from the SIT perspective, is part of the social or personal identity? Is it the relational self or the relational social self? The answer probably lies in the wider social context, Hogg (Ibid) suggests, giving culture as a demonstration - hence the relevance of his suggestion to objective three and the aspect on outlining the type and extent of contexts used in their interpretations. Hogg (2006) elaborates, stating that self-construct differs in individualist and collectivist cultures; in the former it is independent while in the latter it is interdependent / relational (Fiske et al., 1998). In other words, collectivist norms in collectivist cultures nurture social identities - unlike the individualistic cultures where the group is less important than the individual (Hinkle and Brown, 1990). However, Hogg (2006:1852-1853) despite presenting these views, goes on to question them as follows:

But is it true that social identity processes are less strong in individualistic societies? The answer is probably no-cultural norms may regulate how people interact and conduct themselves in groups, but groups still provide people with a strong sense of self,

social location, and belonging. So people in small groups with a strongly individualistic norm or local culture will, paradoxically, behave more individualistically as a function of increased identification (e.g. McAuliffe et al., 2003).

He finally considers defining the relational self in terms of personal or social identity one of the unresolved issues in SIT literature. However, he also suggests that although they may be separate forms of identity, yet they may also be one relational identity, on a personal basis in individualist cultures and a social basis in collectivist cultures. This point is of vital importance to this study considering the cultural diversity in the three contexts under examination. I am more specifically referring to the difference between the Western (individualistic) norms in unit 2 and the more Arab-based (collectivist) norms in unit1.

3.2.5. Social identification and collective action

The same context of diversity leads to the recognition of intra-group relations in the three units and thus the diverse relationships between participants' social identification and collective action. This is significant in interpreting patterns of collective resistance in units 1 and 3, as will be presented in chapters five and six. Reicher et al. (2010) suggest two ways to understand the relationship between social identification and collective action. The first is more of a mechanical process of common self-categorization where a group of individuals act similarly through a unified set of cognitions. On the other hand, the second suggested way is more related to consensus formation (Haslam et al., 1998) where individuals transform their relations and coordinate their actions through shared social identification. This suggested act of *consensualisation* proposes that identification takes place over a period of time, where different aspects are negotiated by group members before reaching a consensus.

In other words, the proposal above is that intimacy between group members is an important aspect in the intragroup relations when social identity is salient.

Trust, respect, and help among group members are all evident at times, even at the cost of personal interest. However, this is not to be considered a cause of social identification but rather as an outcome (Reicher et al., 2010:57). This is an aspect that adds a dimension of novelty to the classic assumption, in SIT, that identification is a foundation for collective acts.

The novelty lies in considering social identification as a shared process among the group members, which enables them to co-construct perceptions, actions and ultimately social power (Ibid). This is an important implication for this study as such a context of identification promotes the idea that group members do not actually need leaders in order to move forward. Furthermore, research proves that such an approach has a positive impact on the well-being of group members, both mentally and physically in terms of coping with anxiety and stress and developing optimism (Haslam et al., 2009).

However, Steffens et al. (2014a) explain that this invoking of group sociality independently from leadership does not mean that leadership is irrelevant or insignificant to social identification. It is relevant within a social group context that includes both leaders and followers and hence the relationship between leaders and followers as members of the same social category is the focus of analysis. Van Knippenberg and Hogg (2003) explain that lack of common social identity means an absence of shared norms and values and hence a prototypical leader that influences the group members. They further add that prototypical leaders change according to the demands of each group context.

Nevertheless, this latter concept proposed by (Van Knippenberg and Hogg, 2003) should not imply that leadership here is a passive process, as prototypicality is an active construction of group identity, where the constructors earn the lead to represent the rest of the group. Reicher et al. (2005), Reicher et al. (2010) and

Haslam et al. (2011) describe this process as identity entrepreneurship -or more precisely, they use the constructors: *identity and emotion entrepreneurs* since emotions are also part of the process. This approach provides an opportunity to visualize the SIT processes differently and hence extend the leadership perspectives both conceptually and analytically (Reicher et al., 2011).

3.2.6. Mobilizing social identity

The dynamics of social mobilization within groups is the gateway to understanding how leadership is mobilized through the processes of SIT. Looking at the influence of group norms on members' attitudes and actions leads us to consider concepts such as social mobilization-participation in social action groups (Hogg, 2006; Reicher, 2001; Sturmer and Simon, 2004). Social action groups (social protest) is what occurs when individuals transform their discontent into action - either to support a social good or to resist a social ill. Sympathizers then are those who become engaged and turn into participants or activists, and therefore this is another demonstration of attitude-behaviour relationship revealed by mobilization (Klandermans, 1997). It is in these mobilization dynamics where the role of leadership emerges - where certain individuals are trusted by the group members to lead their groups (Tyler and Smith, 1998).

Three processes might mobilize social identity: self-enhancement, uncertainty reduction and optimal distinctiveness (Hogg, 2006). Related concepts to these motives are ethnocentrism (Sumner, 1906), self-enhancement and self-esteem (Sedikides and Strube, 1997; Turner, 1982; Abrams and Hogg, 1988). However, Hogg (2006) points out that studies indicate inconsistent findings on relating self-esteem to group behaviour.

Such findings suggest the influence of other factors such as a heightened self-esteem, levels of strength in the identification process and / or the level of

insecurities in the group (Abrams and Hogg, 1988; Rubin and Hewstone, 1998 cited in Hogg, 2006). The point here is that self-enhancement mobilizes SIT processes, yet its association with positive group distinctiveness is not always evidenced (Hogg, 2006).

On the other hand, uncertainty reduction's association with social categorization is tighter as people eliminate uncertainties through generating prototypes that help them to make sense of who they are within their worlds and who others are in their worlds. Hogg (2006:1920) describes it as a 'validation of one's worldview and self concept'... 'The more self-conceptually uncertain one is, the more one strives to belong, particularly to groups that effectively reduce uncertainty - such groups are distinctive, with high entitativity and simple, clear, prescriptive, and consensual prototypes'. *Entitativity* means the consideration of something as pure entity, i.e., the mental abstraction from attendant circumstances. In psychology, it typically refers to the perception of a group as pure entity (an *entitative* group), abstracted from its attendant individuals.

However, Hogg (2005) indicates that the type of belief system prevalent in a group could lead to extreme prototypes such as the Protestant work ethic (Furnham,1990), and right-wing authoritarianism (Altemeyer,1998), (cited in Hogg, 2006).

The central idea in a social identity theory of leadership revolves around the influence of group norms through certain group members who are more convincing in reflecting these norms. This is where prototypicality merges and leadership is endorsed and accepted within groups (Hogg and Van Knippenberg, 2003; Van Knippenberg and Hogg, 2003). The result is that the prototypical members turn out to be the focus of consensual depersonalized social attraction thereby influencing other group members and conducting leading acts for the

interest of the group. On the other hand, this social attraction is not as effective in promoting less prototypical leaders and in effect they become deviant, marginalized and less influential (Hogg, Fielding, and Darley, 2005; Marques, Abrams, Paez, and Hogg, 2001).

3.3. Reflections

This section refines the research of objective three in terms of narrowing the focus on the aspects of day-to-day realities and occurrences in the three units. This consideration is related to the first aspect of objective three, namely; detecting the different self-representations and interpretations given by the participants regarding their day-to-day challenges and dilemmas. The aim of this section then is to become sensitized to the applied aspects in SIA in order to acknowledge the impact of daily practices by the participants in informing the analysis process. The main demonstration in this section is on Applied Social Identity Approach (ASIA), (Reicher et al., 2010; Haslam, 2014) in section 3.3.1. The significance of this presentation lies in highlighting the development of SIA from limited theoretical perspectives to the dynamics of day-to-day practices. The relevance of ASIA to this study however, remains largely within its theoretical context and in the dynamics of the development itself.

For example, in sections 3.3.2 and 3.3.3 the discussion demonstrates the unresolved conceptual and methodological issues in SIA. Examples of such issues are intergroup analysis, multiple identities in one context, relations between uncertainty and identification within ideologically based groups, and integrating SIA with other approaches.

3.3.1. Applied Social Identity Approach (ASIA)

SIA is not a mere theoretical exercise: rather, its processes generate deep insights into the practice of groups within their societies and communities

(Reicher et al., 2010). Therefore, Haslam (2014) promotes the *Applied Social Identity Approach (ASIA)* as an integrated part in the organizational and clinical research fields. This attempt is to support practitioners using ASIA with 'developing diagnostic tools, and formalizing intervention and training protocols' (Haslam, 2014: 13,14). The vision in this attempt as Haslam states is:

Indeed, here we can hope to go even further than Lewin in showing not only that good theory is profoundly practical but also that the practical domain is the furnace of good theory – a place where it is not only tested and proved but also tempered and steeled (Haslam, 2014:13-14)

Examples of supporting the practitioners to use ASIA through developing diagnostic tools are: Best et al. (2014), Cruwys et al. (2014) and Steffens et al. (in press), (cited in Haslam, 2014:13-14). Examples of enhancing the use of ASIA in practice through developing intervention and training protocols are: Haslam et al. (2014) and Peters et al. (2012) (cited in Haslam, 2014:13-14).

SIT and SCT have great impact on significant areas of research such as social psychology, business, management, education and political science. Reicher et al. (2010) state that: 'Seminal statements of SIT (e.g., Tajfel and Turner, 1979) have been cited nearly 4,000 times; while core statements of SCT (e.g., Turner, 1982, 1991; Turner et al., 1987, 1994) have altogether been cited nearly 3,500 times' (Ibid: 60,61). Although this interest in SIT and SCT has been led by social psychologists, Reicher et al. (2010) affirm that 'in total, over 2,500 of the above citations have occurred in outlets beyond the realm of social psychology' (Ibid: 60,61).

Also, although the legacy of SIT and SCT is based on theoretical bases, yet their applied significance is increasingly being proven in a wide range of studies. Haslam (2014) states that SIA is increasingly used in applied research, particularly in organizational and clinical studies which note leadership as an area

of focus in organizational studies (Hogg, 2001; Turner and Haslam, 2001).

Other examples demonstrated by Haslam (2014: 3) on practical issues approached by SIA are: 'mergers, restructuring, employee acculturation, productivity, turnover, and stress' (Ashforth and Mael, 1989; Haslam, 2004; Haslam and Ellemers, 2005; Haslam, van Knippenberg, Platow, and Ellemers, 2003; Hogg and Terry, 2000, 2001: cited in Haslam, 2014). This direction, as Haslam further stresses, indicates the significance of group power, social identity management, context and self-categorization in shaping and understanding intergroup relations and social conflict. This then demonstrates its relevance to the study's objectives three and four, and the understanding of the identity dynamics within the power interplay in the three units.

Haslam (2014) demonstrates five lessons from and for an applied social identity approach. The first is that groups and social identities have a critical impact on organizational outcomes. Secondly, individuals shape their psychology and behaviour through self-categorizations, where they generate self-representations that are embedded in context. Thirdly, powers of groups are directly linked to social identities and fourthly, social identities are enacted in deeds as well as in words. Finally, psychological intervention is always political because it always involves some form of social identity management (Ibid).

In the light of these five lessons, an overall theme emerges of the gradual evolution in the social identity approach from the mere theory of self and group conceptualization to daily practice issues. This evolution seems relatively late for a legacy that has been established for more than four decades, yet it is valued as a result of its 'relatively smooth' growth (Haslam, 2014: 13).

This smoothness indicates solidity of the growth of a new area which could be ascribed to three reasons (Ibid): the first is the systematic and well integrated

theoretical research that generates coherency (Ellemers, 2013). Secondly, the coherency develops a sense of connectivity between the different domains of studies and hence the studies are supportive to each other. Thirdly, in spite of the overall laboratory form of SIA studies, the researchers manage to remain connected to the realities of the outside world (Haslam, 2014).

However, challenges are also evident in this transition and most of them are related to the rigidity in perceiving the context of in-group relations. Haslam gives an example, saying: 'it is a relatively easy matter to conduct a study to show that by standing up for the interests of their in-group, leaders can encourage the social identification of followers and thereby lead them to engage in acts of followership' (Haslam, 2014:13).

However, he still points out a significant challenge that is related to the researcher's decision on which social identity to promote in the course of his / her study. Such a decision can either be problematic or not (Dixon et al., 2012; Hunter, 2003), depending on the focus and objective of the research. Haslam (2014:12) sums up this point saying:

Ultimately, then, we see that all practitioners have to make choices about the political priorities that inform the processes of identity management they enact. One particular contribution of the ASIA should be to bring this fact into the open, so that psychologists can have evidence-based discussions with those who use their services about the nature and consequences of these choices.

Haslam (2014) further proposes more cooperation between theorists and practitioners in order to develop ASIA. He suggests that this would be an opportunity to enhance a stronger sense of purpose. However, a challenge would also occur in the demand for the breaking of the constraints of rigid and long established theoretical frameworks - not to ignore the great risk of turning SIT and SCT to mere tools and downplay their original theoretical insights. This is not

to say there is a risk on what these theories are, but on the means of understanding them - and hence, the expectations of what they can offer (Ibid).

3.3.2. Addressing unresolved issues in SIA

Although SIA is theoretically and empirically well established, and although it is expanding to include broader dimensions, it still contains unresolved issues that need to be addressed. Hogg (2006) points out three main misunderstandings restricting SIA: the first is that SIA is still regarded as being contained within intergroup relations. Hogg agrees that this perception is true but also defends the fact that SIA has been expanded. He asserts that SIA contributed to intragroup processes and interactive groups in areas such as leadership, organizational behaviour, conformity and normative behaviour and self-conception in relation to group and intragroup phenomena (Ibid:2021).

An important point here is Hogg's (2006) view on multiple identities in one context, can they be 'simultaneously salient'... he asks. He looks at this view as another issue in SIT literature which has also been raised by other scholars (Mullen et al., 2003). Another way to raise this point is through enquiring: 'whether identities are hydraulically related to one another, so that the more one identity prevails, the less others do' (Hogg, 2006: 2035).

So what Hogg is aiming at is a group diversity that defines the construction process of the social identities within it. Hogg signifies the relation between identity processes and ideological belief systems as a potential future area for research, especially when uncertainty mobilizes strong currents of identification with ideologically based groups. Culture here emerges as another potential area of exploration: how culture influences SIT processes, relational self and group membership, whether at inter-cultural or intra-cultural levels.

Finally, Hogg (2006) and Hogg and Tindale (2005) highlight another potential

area for future SIT studies language and communication, the former symbolizing identity and the latter transmitting its dynamics. Although this area has been explored by SIT researchers it has been without including linguistics, especially from postmodern approaches. Therefore, Hogg is calling for integrative directions that bring the two approaches together.

This study offers such an opportunity as I will shortly explain in section 4.5.

3.3.3. New level of analysis

Another related point here is what SCT offers in terms of levels of analysis. SCT is about how our social behaviours are shaped through categorizing ourselves and giving meanings to these categories. From this perspective, examining SCT is examining what makes category salient and shapes category prototype. SCT argues that group-level is a reflection of social reality and not a distortion, as conventional views claim (Oakes et al., 1994 cited in Reicher et al., 2010).

This reflection is determined through category salience processes such as comparative and normative fit. The first relates to contextual differences and similarities between individuals where context determines salient category. Normative fit on the other hand is about the content of the similarities and differences (Reicher et al., 2010).

However, fit processes need to be considered with moderation because social interactions are not based on fitting people into categories. Rather, it is the logics of meaning and significance that are enhanced by fit processes, determining the salience of category with the approval of, or accessibility by, the perceiver to adopt the salient in his / her perceptions and / or actions. Reicher et al. (2010:55) further elaborate:

Categorization in a particular stimulus context is: structured by perceivers' prior expectations, goals and theories — many of which derive from their group membership and group encounters. In this

way experiences are given stability and predictability by personal and social histories.

Reicher et al. (2010) argue against the critique that SCT is more abstract and cognitivist than SIT. Therefore, they highlight the point that the cognitivist element in SCT is merely a point of departure in the SCT process. The actual act then is what comes after this departure, which they envisage in aspects such as understanding the dynamics evolving between the individuals and social categories. For example, how an individual is 'interpellated' by specific social categories and vice versa: how the social categories are 'introjected' in him or her. One way to put this is that SCT acts as a platform for understanding the belief systems that are shaping the social categories and their dynamics.

However, this does not mean that the cognitive aspect is the one and only motive in SCT. Reicher et al. (2010) emphasize the significance that the group represents for its members. This representation also needs to be extended to others outside the group, so the representation of categories is internal and external. Reicher et al. reframe this point by saying:

self-categorization theorists sometimes talk of a turn from 'the individual in the group' to 'the group in the individual'. What this means, however, is not that the one replaces the other, but rather, only if we start with an analysis of the group in the individual can we then understand the individual in the group. The reverse is impossible.

In this sense, SCT builds on what SIT has started, that is, extending social identity in the context of intergroup analysis. As such, it demonstrates processes such as social identification, stereotyping, group judgment, group cohesion and social influence in examining the SIT concept in relation to other identity levels Reicher et al. (2010).

3.4. More directions in developing SIA

The aim of this section is to build up the reflections demonstrated in section 3.3 and hence expand the understating of SIA by indicating new directions in its research. Section 3.4.1 enforces the role of context in shaping SIT, particularly in threatening contexts. The focus of the presentation is on demonstrating the social identity model of deindividuation effects (SIDE) as a response to the critique against deindividuation theory. Section 3.4.2 then reviews the impact of group-based emotions on inter-group attitudes and behaviours. The concept of inter-group emotions is approached as a developmental aspect in the theory of Inter-Group Emotions Theory (IET).

The significance of the presentations lies in informing objectives three and four, presented in section 1.3.

3.4.1. Social identity model of deindividuation effects (SIDE)

The social identity model of deindividuation effects (SIDE) is being developed as a reaction to critiques against deindividuation theory (Reicher et al., 1995; Spears and Lea, 1994). Deindividuation theory suggests that immersion in a group would lead to reduced self-awareness, if not total loss of self, which constrains the ability to regulate individual behaviour. SIDE on the other hand, downplays the role of anonymity in a social context and argues against reduced self-impact. Instead, it supports the idea of crowd behaviour regulation for the interests of the whole (Reicher et al., 1995).

In a wider view, the central concept in SIDE is formed by the role of context in constructing social identity - both in terms of shaping the SIT and limiting it. In other words, SIDE brings into light the difference between expressing group norms and between acting upon these norms in threatening contexts. SIDE then proposes two levels of analysis to contain both aspects: one is Cognitive analysis

where focus is placed on shaping identity salience. The second is Strategic analysis where focus is placed on factors shaping identity expression, bearing in mind that factors might overlap at both levels (Reicher et al., 2010).

3.4.1.1. Deindividuation theory

Deindividuation theory is originated by Gustave Le Bon (1871-1899) as a definition of the function of crowds. Le Bon's definition is later re-explored and the term deindividuation is coined to describe what happens to individuals attracted to particular groups. Most of these studies agree with identifying anonymity as the core force through which to gauge deindividuation's effects (Silke, 2003).

For example, Zimbardo (1969) suggests adding factors that go beyond mere anonymity and the loss of responsibility, such as sensory overload or lack of contextual structure. Such suggestions propose that the loss of individuality enhances loss of control, and so the result is impulsive and emotional behaviours (Zimbardo, 1969; Festinger et al., 1952). This also accords with what Ziller (1964) suggested, that is, that deindividuation is induced by specific situational conditions.

More contemporary studies extend this line of exploration, for example Diener (1980) suggests that self-regulation is enhanced by self awareness of personal values. Therefore, this awareness (and hence self-regulation) diminishes within the group context, leading to less rational behaviours. Diener also argues against the narrow focus of anonymity as the principle factor inducing deindividuation. However, his perception fails to explain how limited self-awareness would lead to disinhibited behaviour. His model is further extended by Prentice-Dunn and Rogers (1982, 1989) into a typology that distinguishes public self-awareness from private self-awareness.

I sum up the empirical findings of deindividuation with a focus on anonymity in the following major studies: the first is by Milgram (1963) where participants, covered by veils for anonymity, are asked to apply fake electrical shocks. The participants look up to the instructor as an authority figure rather than being self-aware in relation to the suffering of the participants receiving their electrical shocks. This study is considered a classic study of diffusion of responsibility.

A second study is by Zimbardo (1969) where groups of women and soldiers are instructed to apply fake electrical shocks. Those unidentifiable female participants tend to give longer shocks than the identifiable ones. But the opposite happens with the group of soldiers, where identifiable soldiers give longer shocks than the unidentifiable ones. Zimbardo suggests that soldiers might have felt isolation from their fellows.

The previous study is extended to examine aggression in prisons. In the third case, Zimbardo (1971) examines aggression in deindividuated scenarios within fake prison settings. Participants are chosen based on having normal traits and are given two roles, either that of guards or prisoners. Those who are assigned to the role of guards display sadistic behaviour against their prisoners. This observation leads to the experiment being ended in six days although it has been planned to last for two weeks. The justification given is that participants in the role of guards become immersed in their role and strong group dynamics are created. Fourthly, Diener et al. (1976), conduct a study on children where a group of them are identified through questions on their residences or parents. The other group however is left totally anonymous. Then they are left in a lady's living room with a bowl of candy. The result is that 60% of the anonymous children take more than one candy and only 10% of the identified children take more than one piece. Then

20% of both groups take more than one candy. The unexpected finding is the identified 10% who take more than one piece.

A fifth study is by Nadler et al. (1982) where two groups of individuals are measured: self-differentiated as opposed undifferentiated individuals. The focus of the differentiation is between the inner characteristics of the self and the outer social environment. The point of the examination is to measure the impact of deindividuation over the anonymity and identifiable individuals. The main findings where the focus is on transgressive as opposed to prosocial actions are:

1. Transgressive behaviours are associated with anonymity and occur more frequently in undifferentiated groups and undifferentiated individuals.
2. Self-differentiated individuals express more verbal aggression both in anonymity and identifiability.
3. On the other hand, undifferentiated individuals express verbal aggression more in anonymity. They are also less self-conscious in anonymity.

A final example is a study by Lee (2007) who examines the impact of deindividuation on group polarization, where extreme positions are induced by inner interactions and discussions. Lee observes a positive association between group identification and group polarization, which proposes the influence of deindividuation. She then further links this association to high levels of public self-awareness. Another significant observation is that positive evaluation of partners' arguments results in identification and in-group favouritism. There is strong support for the findings which propose deindividuation as a strong base for polarization; identification and aggressive behaviours in groups.

3.4.1.2. The development of SIDE

On the conceptual side, SIDE (Lea and Spears, 1995) is considered to be the latest development of deindividuation. The new input by SIDE is to emphasize the personal characteristics and interpersonal differences in groups. This is done by highlighting the relationship between social identity and two functions: the first relates to strengthening individual / group identities. The second relates to promoting specific behaviours between group members. SIDE further suggests that this could be implemented under the influence of situational factors, hence the idea of the role of context (Ibid).

Furthermore, these authors argue that a growing salient group identity ends up to become deindividuation through manipulating these situational factors. However, they argue against this manipulation and against reducing the self impact. This indicates a point of agreement between the classical and contemporary views of deindividuation: that is, that it results in *anti-normative* and *disinhibited behaviour*.

In this sense, SIDE promotes the positive side of deindividuation. SIDE further proposes two levels of deindividuation effects: the first comprises of cognitive (self-categorical) effects, and the second, strategic effects. The first type associates the effects with whether others are identifiable or anonymous to the self. On the other hand, the second type focuses on whether the self is identifiable to others (Reicher et al., 1995; Douglas and McGarty, 2001). So according to SIDE, once the individual is able to identify with a group, then he / she conforms his / her behaviour to group norms and values (Kugihara, 2001).

In the light of this, SIDE reacts to critiques of deindividuation which say that immersion in a group reduces self-awareness and so constrains the ability to regulate individual behaviour. However, it is important to highlight that this is

different from *Depersonalization*. In depersonalization, regulation of individual behaviour is present but through social identity formation.

This leads to a complex concept which is: the anonymity of in-group to out-group, where individuals hide behind group norms and step away from the responsibility of their actions and out-group sanction. On the other hand, anonymity among in-group members might decrease the opportunities of social support between them and group norms expression which would enhance out-group sanction.

The cognitive level of SIDE highlights the aspect of shaping the salient identity *depersonalization* while the strategic level detects norms expression which might be triggered by aspects such as internal / external anonymity. The emphasis however, is on the latter, strategic level, as it has been an overlooked phase. This focus on the strategic concerns over social identity based behaviours cover in-group bias, out-group stereotyping, identity salience, re-defining group membership, expressing emotions and consequences of actions (Reicher et al., 2010).

To pick up on the aspect of redefining group membership, I recall an earlier point, on the relationship between social identity and social realities. An important element here is to avoid any essentialist accounts of social realities such as promoting fixed social categories (Reicher et al., 2010). The alternative is to look at how social realities and social categories shape each other - yet without overlooking the point that categories are still constructed upon specific orientations. An example is temporal orientations, where categories are formed from journeys between *being* and *becoming* (Reicher et al., 2010). In other words, a categorization process needs to include two dimensions between groups in order to be complete: *temporal* and *interactive*.

Drury and Reicher (2009) demonstrate this on crowd events, proposing that in self-categorization, participants are reactive and proactive in re-constructing their identities. They suggest an *elaborated social identity model* of crowd behaviour, where both psychological and social change are anticipated during crowd action. Their motivating inquiry is on the change in social identities in the course of crowd action. This generates an interesting core question: 'how can my understanding of my social position change through acting on such an understanding' (Reicher et al., 2010).

The proposed answer lies in an asymmetry of understanding, on the part of each party, of the identity of the other. This asymmetrical understanding invokes a process of repositioning the Other as a function of one's own understanding, creating a disequilibrium that triggers the process of change. Drury and Reicher, (2009) refer to an incident of a group of protestors who have been mistaken by police as members of their opposition and positioned with them. The result is that the protestors had an opportunity to interact with their opponents and they reconstructed their views into views embraced by the oppositional group.

3.4.2. Inter-Group Emotions Theory (IET)

Inter-Group Emotions Theory (IET) is based on a body of research on group emotions (Smith, 1993; Mackie et al., 2000; Smith et al., 2007). The impact of social identity and the social categorization process on group emotions forms the main focus in IET. The initial idea is to understand emotions through the appraisal of the impact of a specific context for a given identity. Prejudice and discrimination towards out-groups were central in early IET studies in the sense of: what 'we' believe 'they' mean to 'us'.

IET is important to this study as an additional aspect developed within SIA, especially with SCT's impact on advancing the examination of group emotions

beyond the simple emotional / rational dichotomy. IET emphasizes the idea that group experiences are known for their passionate nature and so emotions are an indispensable part of understanding these experiences (Reicher et al., 2010). Smith et al. (2007:431) stress the same idea saying: 'When people belong to and identify with a group, one result is that emotions, often potent ones, can arise as a result of group-relevant events'.

IET can also be seen as an attempt to exceed the limited traditional perception that contains emotions within the level of individual concerns, goals or desires (Smith et al., 2007). Borrowing from appraisal theories of emotion regarding SIT and SCT, IET extends emotion from such an individual level to a group level (Ibid: 431). The initial force then becomes active when an individual identifies himself / herself with a group, after which the in-group becomes part of his/her self (Ibid). Dynamics of power are also central in inter-group emotions, for example in conflicts: powerful out-groups might evoke emotions of fear, while out-groups with less power might evoke anger. Another consideration is that high-status groups might feel resentment in threatening conditions caused by low-status out-groups, while in safer conditions the feeling might be more caring and parental (Reicher et al., 2010). This appraisal approach is extended to study inter-group relations and how these relations reflect or shape how we feel and act towards out-groups. A development in IET is that the concept of group-based emotions in the experiences of group members indicates that emotions have an impact on their inter-group attitudes and behaviours (Cottrell and Neuberg, 2005; Mackie et al., 2000; Maitner et al., 2007; Miller et al., 2004; Seger et al., 2009). This idea is advanced by suggesting a possible similarity between social consensus and emotional consensus among in-group members (Seger et al., 2009).

The idea here is that social consensus on in-group opinions and attitudes leads

to higher levels of certainty and reduced anxiety (Kelley, 1973; Turner, 1991). Seger et al. (2009:466) then suggest that emotional consensus might similarly generate *emotional well-being*. This happens by enhancing more assertive actions than those based on idiosyncratic emotions. Seger et al. rephrase their argument saying:

In other words, group-based emotions may have especially strong ties to action, if individuals draw on the informative value of social consensus as a guide to the validity of their emotions (Ibid:466).

One of the root concepts for Seger et al. (2009) is a study conducted by Smith et al. (2007), where a distinction between group-based emotions and individual-level emotion is proposed. This distinction is further associated to the degree of an individual's group identification. The approach of the study leans towards examining a group-level of several emotions, and not general emotions, within a certain context.

The overall result of the study supports 'meaningfulness, coherence, and functionality of group-level emotions' (Smith et al., 2007: 431). Therefore, an important proposal in the study is that group-based emotions have power that mobilizes group-related attitudes and behaviour - unlike individual-level emotions.

The advancement brought by Smith et al. (2007) is broadening the focus of IET from mere emotions targeting out-groups (Smith, 1993), to a wide range of positive and negative group-level emotions. This is, however regulated by four proposed criteria (Smith et al., 2007:432):

1. The distinction between group-level emotions and individual-level emotions
2. Associating the distinction with the level of group identification by an individual
3. The distribution of identified group-level emotions within the groups

4. The influence of group-level emotions on the intragroup and intergroup attitudes and behaviour.

However, Smith et al. (2007:432) additionally point out that: 'not each criterion is individually critical for establishing the reality of group-level emotions but simply that evidence supporting all four would lend strong impetus to that conclusion'. This is in accord with the findings of the study about the great flexibility individuals reveal as they adapt multiple individual and collective selves. This flexibility leads authors to envisage a process of emotion regulation, as individuals might have shifted from one group to another after associating the former with negative emotions (Smith and Mackie, 2006; Smith et al., 2007).

This leads to a suggestion regarding the functional dimension in group-level emotions that might also be expanded to wider circles of identity regulation dynamics, (Smith et al., 2007). Their particular reference is to how individuals develop fundamental ways of categorizing themselves in relation to other individuals and groups.

3.5. Summary

The main conclusion of this chapter lies in the proposal to expand the focus of SIA from mere theoretical exercises into more processual and practice perspectives (Reicher et al., 2010; Haslam, 2014). This enhanced my decision to adopt SIA for the purpose of this study, particularly because the use of SIA is growing in applied leadership and organizational studies (Hogg, 2001; Turner and Haslam, 2001, 2014).

Haslam (2014) highlights five lessons learned from an applied social identity approach which sums up most of the important concepts covered in this chapter. The first lesson deals with enforcing the critical impact that groups and social identities have on organizational outcomes. The second deals with the

embeddedness of self-categories and self representations in context and the role context plays in shaping individuals' psychology and behaviour. The third highlights the relationship between group power and social identity, while the fourth lesson stresses the equal importance of deeds as well as words in enacting social identities. The final point then is the political aspect embedded in the psychological intervention, namely in social identity management.

The chapter has also considered highlights such as that of Hogg (2006) on correcting the misunderstandings that restricted the use of SIA. This relates particularly to Hogg's reference to the increased attention to examining intragroup processes and interactive groups in areas such as leadership and organizations. Furthermore, Hogg's highlights on factors such as group diversity, belief systems, or uncertainties and the construction of social identities, is also of great significance. These references support the enhancement of the cross-cultural considerations in SIT processes, particularly in terms of the relational-self. One demonstration is the formulation of objective three, that seeks to identify the main logics and strategies used by the participants with which to relate to other individuals and groups.

Furthermore, the review repeatedly signifies the role of context in shaping self-categories and self representations. However, this emphasis has long been established in the literature - as highlighted by the work of Tajfel (1972) and Tajfel and Turner's (1979). Nevertheless, the considerations of context from leader-follower and social group perspectives are the closest to the purpose of this study. By this I am referring to the significance of the social-group context that includes both leaders and followers - in other words, the quest to consider the relationship between leaders and followers as members of the same social category as the focus of analysis (Haslam et al., 2011). The relevance of this view also ties in

with the presence or absence of shared values and norms, which draws attention to the dynamics of prototypical leadership (Van Knippenberg and Hogg, 2003).

This is aligned with the second aim that seeks to explore the coping strategies in the identity dynamics and power interplays in the day-to-day leader-follower and group interactions of the three units. This takes into account the point that the leaders are individuals with formal and informal supervision responsibilities, whilst followers are those being supervised. Dynamics then are forces that mobilize individuals towards or away from groups. This last point relates to the examination of the social group context of the leader-follower interactions, or as Haslam et al. (2011) put it, as 'We-ness' and 'I-ness' (see section 2.4.6).

The review also indicated SIDE as another aspect of developing the SIT where cognitive and strategic levels are two main components. The former detects the salient identity *depersonalization* while the latter identifies the norms of expression. On the other hand, the review of IET brings more insights on the role of group-based emotions in shaping the inter-group attitudes and behaviours. Both presentations reflected the new developments in SIT and stressed the significance of context in understanding the constructs of social identities. Hence, the intention is to use them in informing the interpretation process of the data narratives specifically for objectives three and four.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

4.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the methodological approach for this research and the methodological techniques and strategies developed to address its aims and objectives, presented in section 1.3. The chapter starts by presenting the ontological and epistemological framework in section 4.2 and the research design in section 4.3. The two sections indicate that the process of constructing the methodological approach is one of the more challenging elements of the study.

The reason for this is that my traditional Arab background is actively influencing the attempts I make to understand the Western-based discipline and practice of qualitative research. The presentation demonstrates how my attempts are associated with continuous reflections on my identity as a traditional Arab PhD female student who is working, for the first time, in an international organization based in the West.

Section 4.4 then outlines how the cultural encounters on my journey as a novice ethnographer contributed to the development of a reflexive ethnographic approach. One significant factor derived from the above is related to calls that highlight the need for creative research methods and new analysis levels in both leadership and identity studies (see sections 2.2 and 2.3).

Following this, sections 4.5, 4.6 and 4.7 discuss how the methodological challenges and opportunities continue to emerge in the field work and enhance the techniques of data construction, representation and analysis. The difference between primary, secondary and tertiary data resources is also demonstrated across the three sections. Close attention is given to the significance of text in the ethnographic data representation and analysis. Hence metaphorical concepts, engaging writing and Thick description are demonstrated in terms of

shaping the writing and analysis processes. Finally, sections 4.8 and 4.9 respectively conclude the chapter with the ethical considerations taken into account in conducting the research and a summary of chapter's main features.

4.2. The ontological and epistemological framework

Huff (2009) points out that the importance of developing the philosophical assumptions underpinning research lies in the fact that it helps the researcher to shape his / her research problems and questions - and the ways of seeking answers for these questions. However, my initial attempts of making sense of Western philosophical assumptions of ontology and epistemology were very confusing. The reason is that I was originally educated and academically trained in the discipline of traditional Islamic studies where such assumptions are tremendously different.

As my research progressed, this confusion gradually turned into a set of challenges, and then to opportunities, which led me to adopt a set of assumptions that are appropriate to the purpose of my research. Furthermore, this journey ended with what I confidently describe as a significant experience that enhanced my personal and intellectual development. As Huff (Ibid:2009) indicates, such assumptions, though usually rooted in researchers' training and the scholarly communities, are subject to change over the years as does career development. For example, although I initially adopted an interpretivist-qualitative approach, an additional, overall postmodernist stance gradually emerged with the progress of my work. I can now say that the postmodernist stance has become the fundamental philosophical scope of my work, while interpretivism is the philosophical tool. I consider the taking of such a postmodernist stance in my research a move of personal and intellectual development. The reason for this is that the assumptions of postmodernism conflict with the conservative Islamic

ideology I was trained on in my previous studies. I will elaborate the postmodernist aspects in sections 4.6 and 4.7.

Any choice of research approach is based on five philosophical assumptions made by researchers: ontology, epistemology, axiology, rhetorical, and methodological assumptions (Creswell, 2007; Denzin and Lincoln, 2011). Each assumption is a set of beliefs that is directed at a certain aspect of research. *Ontology* is what a researcher believes to be the nature of reality and *epistemology* is what a researcher believes to be the means to access knowledge about this reality. *Axiology* then, is how a researcher views the role of values in research, while *rhetoric* is the form of language used in research. Finally, *methodology* is the set of methods a researcher uses to process research (Creswell, 2007:15).

This network of assumptions leads the researcher to a paradigm or worldviews that regulate the process of her / his research. Creswell (2007:19) states: 'After researchers make this choice, they then further shape their research by bringing to the inquiry paradigms or worldviews'. The interpretivist paradigm assumes relativist ontology, meaning that realities are present in multiple forms and ought to be presented through narratives reflecting the different perspectives of the participants.

The interpretivist paradigm is also based on subjectivist epistemology where the quest for realities is initiated in the 'field' in order for the researcher to be as close as possible to the participants. The methodological procedures are inductive and emerging which leads to developing research questions and a data collection strategy along the study process in such a way as to accommodate the progress of understanding the research problem (Creswell, 2007; Denzin and Lincoln, 2005).

As for the overall postmodernist stance and interpretivism as the philosophical tool, I refer to Alvesson (2002) as one of the best reflections of how I see postmodernism. Alvesson (2002) in his statement presents how Featherstone (1988:205) sees postmodernism (pomo) as playing off the ironies, incoherencies, inconsistencies and inter-textuality of social science writing. Alvesson puts it into his words, saying: 'It has little or nothing to say on its own, but relies on others to say something which the pomo then get his or her teeth into' (Alvesson, 2002: 28).

I shall start with elaborating on the interpretivist-qualitative approach which I undertook in order to understand how individuals in an IO like GPO cope with the universal scope of their organization and the diversity in their work environment. The indicative nature of this approach enabled a close exploration of the processes of self-construct by the participants. This approach then responded to objective three, that is, to identify the main logics and strategies used by the participants with which to relate to other individuals and groups.

Angrosino (2007), Creswell (2013) and Denzin and Lincoln (2011) indicate that one way of conducting qualitative research is to go to the world 'out there' and observe the 'particularities' of the case under study in its 'natural setting':

How people construct the world around them, what they are doing or what is happening to them in terms that are meaningful and that offer rich insight. Interactions and documents are seen as ways of constituting social processes and artefacts collaboratively (or conflictingly) (Angrosino, 2007: viii, ix).

Studies of such sets lend themselves to qualitative research because this offers the researcher a means of 'soft' and open understanding as opposed to the "hard", experimental, standardizing, and quantifying' quantitative approach (Flick, 2006:17).

This element of 'soft' understanding in qualitative research enabled me to flexibly explore the organizational life of the participants and the web of their daily interactions in the complex context of their personal and professional relationships. This was mainly aligned with the aspects of objective two, namely, collecting dilemmatic narratives, along with mapping and contrasting the conflicts and tensions across these stories. (see section 1.3).

Participants' day-to-day interactions revealed the use of narrative logics to manage conflicts over identity issues. Hence my initial call was for the interpretivist paradigm as it assumes a relativist ontology of multiple forms of realities - and a subjectivist epistemology where the quest for realities is initiated in the 'field' and as close as possible to the participants (Creswell, 2013; Denzin and Lincoln, 2011).

Qualitative research adopts a naturalistic approach where it seeks to explore and understand real world settings with minimum manipulation or interference (Patton, 2001; Hoepfl, 1997; Eisner, 1991). Hence, unlike quantitative research, it places less emphasis on generalizing the results and methods of measurement such as reliability and validity. In quantitative research, generalisability stands for the reliability of the study to represent the results drawn from a specific sample into a larger population (Fine et al., 2009:613). Reliability, on the other hand is defined as 'The extent to which results are consistent over time and an accurate representation of the total population under study' (Joppe, 2000:1, cited in Golafshani, 2003). Joppe also refers validity to the ability of the research to 'truly measure that which it was intended to measure or how truthful the research results are' (Joppe, 2000:1, cited in Golafshani, 2003).

Nevertheless, generalization, reliability and validity are not totally eliminated in qualitative research but rather debated. This is because all types of research

demand some kind of quality measures (Eisner, 1991). For example, one debate associates reliability with the *purpose* of the research (Eisner, 1991; Stenbacka, 2001; Golafshani, 2003). Thus the purpose of a quantitative research is to *explain* a situation while in qualitative research it is to *understand* a situation.

In this study, the ethnographic approach aimed to create a plausible and persuasive account, from the real world, of the three units in GPO (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Stake, 1978, Eatson, 2000). This study then offers a form of generalisation that re-examines previous understandings in order to promote a new and broader narrative of its case study (Orum et al., 1991).

4.3. The research design

The research design is where the researchers links the major parts of the research together in an overall achievable plan. The main link usually is between empirical findings and the theoretical gap or problem in the literature (Ghauri and Grønhaug 2005). Mason et al., (2010:436) point out that the design process is about decisions on generating, collecting and analysing data, sampling, pilot testing and revisiting questions. The major element in research design, however, remains in directing all parts of the research towards meeting its aims and objectives.

Many classifications have been proposed to demonstrate the different research designs in qualitative research. Examples are Tesch (1990), Miller and Crabtree (1992), Jacob (1987), Lancy (1993), Denzin and Lincoln (2011) and Creswell (2007). Among them, Creswell (2007) seems to present a systematic approach in developing his classification. He explains it by saying:

I will rely heavily on two books on each approach. These are the books that I highly recommend for you to get started in learning a specific approach to qualitative inquiry. These books reflect classics often cited by authors as well as new works. They also reflect diverse disciplines and perspectives (Creswell, 2007:537).

This study considers Creswell's (2007) classification which includes the five major research approaches: narrative, grounded theory, phenomenology, ethnography and case study. Creswell describes the five approaches as a reflection of the most frequently qualitative research types observed in the social, behavioural, and health science literature.

Creswell (2007:2092) further points out that 'the entire culture-sharing group in ethnography may be considered a case'. He then highlights that while ethnography examines how the culture works, a case study seeks 'an in-depth understanding of a single case or explore an issue or problem using the case as a specific illustration' (Ibid). This then indicates the two designs as the closest to accord with the aim of this study: to develop an understanding of how individuals in an IO like GPO cope with the universal scope of their organization and the diversity in their work environment. I shall shortly present further points of accordance between the two designs and the aims of this study.

The narrative research approach additionally informs certain aspects in this study's design, namely the data collection and analysis. This accords with objective two which aims to construct an account of self-narratives within participants' daily individual and group interactions. On the other hand, grounded theory research and phenomenology are the furthest from the aims and objectives of this study. This is because the former focuses on generating a theory or a 'unified theoretical explanation' that is grounded in data (Corbin and Strauss, 2007:107), while the latter's emphasis is on describing the common meaning of a phenomenon through the living experiences of several individuals.

4.3.1. Case study approach

Management and organizational research very often uses a case study design where the case can be a single organization, a single location, a person or a

single event (Bryman and Bell, 2007). Yin (1989) points out that in management and organizational studies, the case study is an established research approach. He states that it retains 'the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events - such as ... organizational and managerial processes' (Ibid: 14, cited in Mason, 2002).

Yin (2014:1) argues that a case study approach is effective in obtaining answers for 'how' and 'why' questions and 'when the investigator has little control over events, and when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context'. The nature of the inquiries of this study accords with the first condition suggested above and thus it forms another point of accordance between the case study approach and this study (see objectives 2-4 in section 1.3).

Additionally, the point on the degree of investigator's control is another justification for the suitability of case study approach for this study. By this I am referring to the complex nature of the setting and the critical events that emerged during my fieldwork. I link this with the overall naturalistic approach in a qualitative perspective which demands minimum interference in the real world context of the setting.

Furthermore, the unit of analysis for this study is the individuals in three diverse teams in GPO and their interactions, behaviours, attitudes, and different interpretations of the tensions in their diverse work environment. This suggests the need for detailed analysis and comprehensive understanding which are recognized as qualities of case study approach (Stake, 1995, 2005, 2006; Patton, 1990).

This unit of analysis is based on the objectives of the research (1-4) in section (1.3). Yin (2014:31, 32) points out the the significance of specifying the primary research objectives in order to define the unit of analysis, stating:

As a general guide, your tentative definition of the unit of analysis (and therefore of the case) is related to the way you have defined your initial research questions', and 'selection of the appropriate unit of analysis will occur when you accurately specify your primary research questions.

However, case study approach seems to be subject to different definitions which might suggest a degree of confusion. For example, Yin (2009:18) defines a case study approach as: 'an empirical study that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and with its real-life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident, and in which multiple sources of evidence are used'. However, Yin's definition is criticized for not making which properties of context to include or exclude (Swanborn, 2010).

On the other hand, Creswell (2013:2092) defines a case study approach as: 'a methodology: a type of design in qualitative research that may be an object of study, as well as a product of the inquiry'. In his view, Creswell considers [what do you mean by saying Creswell 'considers'? Does he agree with it, disagree?] the argument proposed by Stake (2005) that a case study is a choice of what to study and not a methodology.

VanWynsberghe and Khan (2007) present another attempt in addressing whether a case study is a method or a methodology. That is to define it as a 'transparadigmatic and transdisciplinary heuristic that involves careful delineation of the phenomena for which evidence is being collected (event, concept, program, process, etc.)' (VanWynsberghe and Khan, 2007:2). This means that it transcends individual qualitative paradigms like interpretivism or pragmatism, it

is utilized in different disciplines, and finally it helps researchers to learn, discover, and focus on problem solving.

These diverse definitions seem to expand the possible forms [reasons for?] of using a case study approach. Case study strategy is also argued to be subject to the methodological underpinnings of the research (Berry and Otley, 2004). Hence, case studies range from extremely subjective case studies to extremely objective ones and could be classified as descriptive, illustrative, exploratory and explanatory (Bryman, 1974; Schell, 1992). Case studies are also classified as single, collective, comparative or layered (Yin, 2009).

It is useful to recall Creswell's (2007, 2009) earlier demonstration that ethnography examines how the culture works while a case study seeks 'an in-depth understanding of a single case or explore an issue or problem using the case as a specific illustration'. I would argue that this study lends itself to both approaches as stated in its aim: to develop an understanding of how individuals in an International Organization like GPO cope with the universal scope of their organization and the diversity in their work environment.

Furthermore, qualitative design of ethnography allows the researcher to examine the meanings of the behaviour, the language, and the interaction among members of the culture-sharing group (Creswell, 2007). This means that the examination focuses on the social behaviors of an identifiable group of people and it is not a study of the culture. This then accords with objectives (2 to 4) in section (1.3) where patterns of logics, attitudes, behaviours and emotions were sought in the interactions across the three teams. The decision is thus to integrate the two approaches, case study and ethnography, within the interpretivist framework of the study in order to expand its methodological merits and adequately fulfil the objectives of the research.

I also support my decision with the proposal by Willis (2007:240) that there are more similarities between the case study and ethnography than differences. He argues that within an interpretivist framework, researchers seek full and rich understandings and not universals in their case studies. This study thus attempts to move beyond the usual dichotomized perceptions of the two approaches in response to critiques over the lack of methodological thoroughness in case study approach (Stake, 2005; Berry and Otley, 2004).

Another critique is proposed by Klenke (2016) who presents a review on leadership studies that was conducted using a case study approach. The studies covered topics such as theory building, global leadership, and leadership and change (see table 4.1).

Author (s)	Paradigm	Type of case	Method of data collection	Context	Data analysis	Reliability Credibility
Cunningham and Jackson (2014)	NR	Single	Interviews and questionnaire with 13 Australian Green members of Parliament	Politics-to ascertain what leadership positions and processes are practiced by Green party members	Inductive	NR
Simpson (2007)	NR	Single	20 participants in organizational simulation in MBA program at British university	MBA program developmental exercise	Analysis of leadership and organizational dynamics-inductive	NR
Cha and Edmondson (2006)	NR	Single (longitudinal)	In-depth interviews with leader of advertising agency and 26 employees; observations	advertising	Case narrative	NR
Sveningsson and Alvesson (2003)	NR	Single case study conducted at both level of manager and firm	Interview with one female director of administration; annual reports	MNC high tech company; result of merger of American and Swedish organization	NR	NR

Author (s)	Paradigm	Type of case	Method of data collection	Context	Data analysis	Reliability Credibility
Greene, Black, and Ackers (2002)	NR	Multiple cases (2)	Interviews with 39 shop floor employees, documents from unions and local press	Unionized metal manufacturing plants in UK	NR	NR
McCabe (2000)	NR	Single case	Semi-structured interviews; observations	Insurance company	Inductive	NR
Martin and Beaumont (1999)	NR	Single longitudinal case	Narrative storytelling; semi-structured interviews with 22 directors, seniors and middle managers	Multinational company (MNC)	NR	Member checking; analytical generalization
Gronn (1999)	NR	Single case	Document and oral history study	Australian Mountain School	NR	NR
Mouly and Sankaran (1999)	NR	Single case	Unstructured interviews, direct observations of interim leader, scientists, and support staff	Indian R&D organization	Analytical induction	NR
Shin (1998/1999)	NR	Multiple cases	Content analysis of cases collected over a 10 year period	161 CEOs and 88 CEOs of unsuccessful Korean firms	NR	NR

Table 4.1 Examples of leadership case studies (Source: Klenke, 2016)

The main observation in the review is that the studies, which took place over 20 years, failed to report enough information about issues of ‘the underlying paradigm, reliability, credibility, and trustworthiness of the study’ (Klenke, 2016:2147). This observation is emphasized by the fact that such methodological issues have been extensively debated over the last 10 years. Another important observation stated by Klenke is that the empirical case studies in these studies:

highlight the growing concern over the number of case studies that lack an explicit guiding set of philosophical assumptions, do not denote the researcher's paradigmatic position, fail to distinguish method and methodology, or make explicit the approach to quality and rigor, or identify the researcher's analytic lens which have been expressed by several researchers (e.g., Caelli, Ray, and Mill, 2003), (Klenke, 2016:2147).

This critique adds to other traditional criticism against case study approach such as its labour intensive nature (Miles, 1979; Smith and Wilkinson, 1984). This was encountered in the process of planning and executing this study in its various stages. For example, the demands of access in the fieldwork, the need for continuous enhancement of data collection strategies and the management of the massive field notes. Moreover, a major criticism of case study approach remains in the limitation of generalization beyond the case investigated.

Issues of generalisation, validity and reliability are frequent points of debate in a case study approach (Yin, 2009; Stake, 2005; Klenke, 2016; Toshkov, 2016). Bryan and Bell (2007) point out that the different research strategies, that is, being of a quantitative or qualitative orientation, are important indications for clarifying these issues. This means that qualitative research adopts a naturalistic approach where it seeks to explore and understand real world settings with minimum manipulation or interference (Patton, 2001; Hoepfl, 1997; Eisner, 1991; Whitemore et al. 2001). Hence, unlike quantitative research, it places less emphasis on generalizing the results and methods of measurement such as reliability and validity.

Reliability, on the other hand is defined as 'The extent to which results are consistent over time and an accurate representation of the total population under study' (Joppe, 2000:1, cited in Golafshani, 2003). Joppe also refers to validity as the ability of the research to 'truly measure that which it was intended to measure

or how truthful the research results are' (Joppe, 2000:1, cited in Golafshani, 2003).

Nevertheless, generalization, reliability and validity are not totally eliminated in qualitative research but rather debated. This is because all types of research demand some kinds of quality measures (Eisner, 1991) and many researchers claim a degree of theoretical generalizability in their research (Bryman and Bell, 2007).

For example, one debate associates reliability with the *purpose* of the research (Eisner, 1991; Stenbacka, 2001; Golafshani, 2003). Thus the purpose of quantitative research is to *explain* a situation while in qualitative research it is to *understand* a situation. This study then considers its purpose as qualitative research approach that is to *understand* a situation which is stated in its aim. This study accordingly aims for a form of generalisation that re-examines previous understandings in order to promote a new and broader narrative of its case study (Orum et al., 1991). Considering the qualitative approach of the study, this generalization can be described as a naturalistic generalization (Stake, 1995). In this form of generalization, the researcher develops an understanding of a case which the reader may apply to other cases (Creswell, 2013).

This ties in with his definition of a case study as: 'an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident' (Yin 1984:18, cited in Darke et al., 1998).

4.3.1.1. Ethnography

The next decision was to complement the case study approach with a reflexive ethnographic approach, where participant observation and interviewing were the principle data collection methods.

There is no unified definition of ethnography and so it could be carried out in different forms. I initially understood ethnography in its classical form, that is: a quest to capture 'the native's point of view' (Malinowski, 1922:25, cited in Geertz, 1974). There is a colonial connotation to this view that was originally initiated by Malinowski's desire to capture tribal life, which he describes as the 'native life in all its naturalness', of the villagers without his disturbing the setting (O'Reilly, 2005: 142).

However, for the purpose of my research I defined ethnography as:

The study of people in naturally occurring settings or 'field' by means of methods which capture their social meanings and ordinary activities, involving the researcher participating directly in the setting, if not also the activities, in order to collect data in a systematic manner but without meaning being imposed on them externally (Brewer, 2000:10).

This definition stressed the proximity that ethnography provides for the researcher in order to capture the delicate details and immediate context of the daily interactions in the research site. Additionally, the lengthy daily-based association with the participants allowed me to find a balance between objective observations and my subjective insights. I managed to do this through more reflexive notes about my observations, which generated more insights into the field - as well as my own manoeuvres taken as a researcher.

I demonstrated this balancing act in the light of Powdermaker's (1966) argument that the ethnographer needs to step in and out of the society under study in his/her participant observation. Davies (2008) comments on this argument stating:

In order to incorporate such insights into research practice, individual ethnographers in the field – and out of it – must seek to develop forms of research that fully acknowledge and utilize subjective experience and reflection on it as an intrinsic part of research. Furthermore, given the contribution of the ethnographer's sociocultural context to the research, these contexts too must be considered. They become a part of the research, a turning back in

the form of cultural critique that has moral and political implications as well (Davies, 2008:5).

My theoretical interest in ethnography focused on the classic school where anthropological insights were developed by the pioneers of the field such as Geertz and Denzin. Davies (2008) points out that such insights are not well invested in organizational studies and the reason might be that the researchers tend to focus on ethnography as a method rather than a methodology that has its own epistemological stand. She criticizes the unequal relationship between the mainstream anthropology and its applied subfields. She argues:

‘it is clear that these subfields have held a very ambivalent position within the discipline’ as they are criticized for being ‘theoretically uninformed and methodologically (and sometimes ethically) suspect’ (Davies, 2008: 39).

4.3.1.2. Reflexivity

In my research I adopted a reflexive ethnographic approach which emerged as the different groups of participants tended to position me, personally and professionally, differently in their interactions and relationships. This multiplicity of positions enabled me to play different roles across the study phases.

Reflexivity in its broad meaning refers to a process of self-reference and in qualitative research it is how ‘Researchers “position themselves” in a qualitative research study’ (Creswell, 2013: 1134). This concept goes with the notion of qualitative research where one of its features is that the researcher turns to an important part of the research process and context by reflecting on his / her experiences and personal presence and interaction with the participant, both as a person and as a researcher (Angrosino, 2007).

Davies (2008) states that it is in the early 1970s that anthropologists started to display a positive attitude towards reflexivity and stopped considering it as a problem of a positivist stance. She further explains that early attempts to conceal

the role of ethnographers in the research process were impossible due to their long-term engagement in the participant observation process. The alternative introduced in those attempts is 'to minimize the ethnographer's influence in reported observations', which, she concludes, is 'primarily a matter of rhetorical style' (Davies, 2008: 11).

The debates over positioning the individual researcher in the ethnography process can be traced back to different historical points in the development of the discipline of ethnography; one is a 'self-critique' phase originated in the late 1960s when the discipline of anthropology was associated with colonial expansion. In these critiques the contributions of early ethnographic attempts were regarded as 'false' and 'unethical' as they ignored any results related to contact between the colonizers and the colonized for the benefit of colonial expansion and economic exploitation. An additional critique of these early ethnographic attempts was their judgemental interpretations of the Other (Clair, 2003; Davies, 2008).

Nevertheless, I have not limited my approach to reflexivity within self-exploration or self-examination (as important it is for my research). I have instead preferred to extend it to what Alvesson (2010) coins as 'reflexive pragmatism', of which I will elaborate shortly in this chapter. My implementation of Alvesson's approach will be evidenced in two stages of my work: one being the data construction stage, and the second being writing up the data or data representation. In other words, my approach to reflexivity could be described as associated with both representation and legitimation - or described as a combination of 'descriptive' and 'analytical' reflexivity (Brewer, 2000).

4.3.2. Thick description

Angrosino (2007) indicates that ethnographers establish their work on text and writing through developing field-notes that describe and interpret their findings. *Thick description* is an important ethnographic term that associates the description and interpretation of field-notes. I approached the concept of *Thick description* as a way to understand how reflexivity enhances *Thick description* and *Thick interpretation*. The latter is another important term developed by Denzin (1989).

In his attempt to redefine ethnography beyond the mere processes of establishing reports, mapping fields and objectively writing field-notes, Geertz (1973) borrows the philosophical term *Thick description* coined by the British metaphysical philosopher Gilbert Ryle (1949) who states:

But it is not these things, techniques and received procedures that define the enterprise. What defines it is the kind of intellectual effort it is: an elaborate venture in, to borrow a notion from Gilbert Ryle, “thick description.” (Geertz, 1977:6)

Geertz further elaborates on *Thick description* and says: ‘that what we call our data are really our own constructions of other people’s constructions of what they and their compatriots are up to...’ (Ibid: 9). Geertz calls for an active engagement with the data, an act that goes beyond objectively writing down events and develops ‘our own constructions’ in order to extend more in-depth meanings. This in effect turns the researcher into an active actor alongside the participants in the series of the events, yet with the added authority to observe the full accounts of occurrences and interpret them further in a scholarly report.

However, this authority of interpretation should not blind the ethnographer to the point that his / her account is one of many possible accounts. In other words, it is not the real account, but rather his / her scientific attempt to explore certain social situations under study. Geertz (1973), commenting on the analysis of interactions

between a Berber chieftain, a Jewish Merchant and a French commander in 1912

Morocco, says:

What it means is that descriptions of Berber, Jewish, or French culture must be cast in terms of the constructions we imagine Berbers, Jews, or Frenchmen to place upon what they live through, the formulae they use to define what happens to them. What it does not mean is that such descriptions are themselves Berber, Jewish, or French— that is, part of the reality they are ostensibly describing; they are anthropological— that is, part of a developing system of scientific analysis (Geertz, 1977:15).

Denzin (1989) dedicates a full chapter on *Thick description* in his book '*Interpretive Interactionism*' in which he provides a detailed account of the concept. This introduced *Thick description* to researchers in other disciplines which has extended its utility in other qualitative approaches, such as phenomenology and grounded theory. Nevertheless, *Thick description* remains a confusing concept as Schwandt (2007) states:

Many qualitative inquirers emphasize the importance of “thick” as opposed to “thin” description. It is not entirely clear just what thick description is, however. Most efforts to define it emphasize that thick description is not simply a matter of amassing relevant detail. Rather to thickly describe social action is actually to begin to interpret it by recording the circumstances, meanings, intentions, strategies, motivations, and so on that characterize a particular episode. It is this interpretive characteristic of description rather than detail per se that makes it thick (Schwandt, 2007:297).

Ponterotto (2006) compares Schwandt's definition of *Thick description* to an earlier attempt by Holloway (1997) and concludes that both definitions are consistent and agree on three points: the first is that *Thick description* is a confusing term. The second is that both attempts to add clarity to the term are made through contrasting it with *Thin description*. The third point is:

Both definitions emphasize that thick description involves much more than amassing great detail: it speaks to context and meaning as well as interpreting participant intentions in their behaviours and actions (Ponterotto, 2006:541).

However, this lack of clarity of *Thick description* is not evident in the field of ethnography itself; rather it is in the disciplines that borrow and extend its use as a qualitative research tool. The role of *Thick description* in ethnography and participant observation as elaborated by Geertz (1973) and Denzin (1989) are clear, though it lacks a 'unitary or singular form of definition'. Evidence of this is found in the different forms of *Thick description* introduced by Denzin (1989) such as micro, macro, historical, biographical, situational, relational, interactional, intrusive, incomplete, glossed, purely descriptive, and descriptive interpretive (Ponterotto, 2006).

In an attempt to bridge this gap Ponterotto (2006) elaborates on what he describes as a sequential link made by Denzin (1989) between *Thick description* and *Thick interpretation*. In this elaboration he points out that neither of the two concepts is possible without the other, as *Thick description* brings *Thick interpretation* into existence - while *Thick interpretation* gives credibility and validity to the *Thick description* through bringing the readers to a sense of verisimilitude of the social interactions under study within the appropriate context. He calls this latter sense of verisimilitude *Thick meaning*. He finally describes the whole process as a tree where the roots are the *Thick description*, the trunk is the *Thick interpretation* and the branches and leaves are the *Thick meaning* (Ponterotto, 2006).

I associated the concept of *Thick description* to the wider aim of this study, that is to develop an understanding of how individuals in an IO like GPO cope with the universal scope of their organization and the diversity of their work environment. The aim of the association was to enhance an established notion of culture for the purpose of this study. I drew this from the debate between

Hofstede (2002) and McSweeney (2002) on conceptualization issues in Hofstede's cultural dimensions (1984) (see section 2.3.2).

4.4. Research Context

4.4.1. My journey as a researcher

The strongest impacts that shaped this study were attributed to my sociocultural background. By this I mean: being a Muslim Arab woman from a traditional background who gained access to a high profile International Organization based in the West. This caused some cultural inconveniences for me and for some of the participants, especially as it was my first professional encounter outside my region. However, my cultural background has also prepared me to play multiple roles as a participant, for example my engagement with the Arab sample in the organization differed from my interaction with non-Arab samples. At times this caused some difficulties but on most of the occasions this multiplicity enriched my observations with a variety of insights.

For example, the Arab sample in UNIT1 (and in some other departments) were initially more open in their interactions with me on certain political or religious issues. Here my identity as a Muslim or Arab enabled me to extend these interactions and engage the participants into more in-depth conversations. My understanding of the historical context of their views of the events (or cultural quotes they used) helped me in the process of extending the interactions into richer contexts.

Another example is the awareness of the intra diversities among the Arabs which served to position me, both personally and professionally, into different roles. Furthermore, on occasions it created new spaces between "in here" and "out there" (Scholte, 1969:438); I will elaborate on this more in the analysis and discussion chapters and describe how this provided my reflexive approach with broader cultural dimensions.

On the other hand, with the non-Arabs, positioning myself in their interactions was different, especially when it came to gender. For example, some of the non-Arab male participants used to be more careful when it came to shaking hands or observing proximity with me in general. Women used to comment more on my head scarf and the gender issues in my region. Additionally, the fact that I am from a conservative part of the Arab region and having the dual identity as Saudi and Emirati opened different horizons of conversations and interactions. This was especially evident in their comparisons of United Arab Emirates as the Arab model of modern states as opposed to the more conservative Saudi Arabia.

My engagement in these different positions caused my role as a researcher go through continuous shifts which tended to be confusing and challenging at the outset. However, over time I started to develop more command over this shifting nature of my role and the participants also resolved many of their initial cultural dilemmas and started to interact with me with greater familiarity.

Another element in my dual identity as Saudi and Emirati, was in easily gaining access and establishing good relations with the participants at the onset of my fieldwork. However, in later stages of field work, this dual identity turned to a cause for tension and lack of cooperation. This was because of the change in the political climate back in my region. I am specifically referring to the Arab Spring and the political positions taken by UAE and Saudi Arabia as a result of these events. In effect, I was continuously negotiating and re-negotiating my access and relationships with the participants who belonged to, or sympathized with, Arab Spring countries.

Another element was that on my first training (and as a female from the Gulf region), I was regarded by the Arabs with respect. However, it also seemed that I was the object of their curiosity – and respect because my country was the

funder of the training programme, and because it was rare to find women from my country or status engaged in such training. People from the Gulf are associated with tourism and wealth and it was a surprise to many that I accepted the call to participate in such a demanding and long training programme.

This was augmented by the fact that the timing of my fieldwork run concurrently with a sequence of important events in GPO, both at organizational and international levels. These events ranged from changes in senior management within the organization to international political and social changes, such as the Arab Spring, and this reflected on the performance of its employees and its services to stakeholders. This last effect was mainly because of GPO's regular association as an international organization with the international conflicts around the globe.

4.4.2. Introducing the organization

I have named this organization 'Global Peace Organization' (GPO). GPO is a multilingual, multi-ethnic and multinational international organization that is based in Europe. GPO's mission is to design developmental programmes to promote human wellbeing, particularly in developing countries. To support its mission, GPO has adopted a United Nations (UN) initiative called *Human Rights Based Approach* (HRBA) in developing these programmes. It is also affiliated to HRBA with another UN initiative called *Human Rights Education* (HRE). The adoption of these two initiatives reinforces the ethical aspect of GPO's vision with its main emphasis on the Human Rights principles of equality, justice and liberty.

GPO operates through two main functioning bodies: the '*Programme Developing Sector*' (PDS) and '*Service and Support Sector*' (SSS). PDS works on developing HRBA initiatives that support governmental sectors across the Globe. SSS on the other hand provides services such as translation, archiving, event

organization and other administrative services to support PDS. Both sectors together employ around 1200 individuals from different cultural backgrounds who hold a diverse range of educational and scientific qualifications and expertise.

I gained access to both sectors on full time temporary contracts working eight hours a day. My tasks in SSS were to translate documents, terms and processing documents through computer aided translation software (machine translation). In PDS I participated in developing and evaluating educational programmes aimed at promoting Human Rights Values. My participation in the trainings was in both English and Arabic. The gap between the two work placements was one and a half years during which I maintained social and professional association with SSS through working on an external contract basis.

The focus of my study was on the three units which had been introduced to new senior management from outside the organization. My initial focus was on one unit, UNIT1, where I found the impact of the change more obvious. However, as my observations developed, I noticed that a fuller version of the events could only be understood through detecting the complex web of interactions across all the three units.

4.4.3. Access negotiations and fieldwork timeframe

The process of access negotiation and fieldwork took place in four phases. The first phase was my initial work placement as a translator in GPO. This phase experienced continuity in the following phases as participants continued to refer to critical incidents that took place during the first phase. Figure 4.1 is a demonstration of the four phases in terms of role, duration and my location inside and outside the organization.

By moving 'inside' the organization, I mean taking on translation and consultancy contracts and committing to full official working hours within GPO's Headquarters.

On the other hand, by 'outside' I mean associating with the participants only as a researcher and occasionally as a freelance translator - but mainly remaining outside the premises of the organization. The former helped in developing a strong knowledge of the day-to-day life in GPO, while the latter helped to develop a stronger rapport with the participants through enhancing deeper and longer conversations in informal settings. My association with participants, units and significant stakeholders in GPO continued, both at social and professional levels, throughout the four phases.



Figure 4.1 Access negotiations and fieldwork Timeline (Source: author)

By the time I finished my first work placement I was already well connected to individuals across the different units in SSS and to a lesser extend in PDS. I also gained an awareness of many informal conventions that facilitated the negotiations for my second training in the organization. This occurred mainly by maintaining both personal and professional connections with the gatekeepers and many of the key participants. I managed to obtain contracts as an external translator and negotiated for my field work access which was granted by the end of the year.

My access to the field work was granted on a three-month contract in *Program Policy Development*, one of the sections in PDS. My new contract included

translation as one of my tasks and so I remained in touch with the units working on content management. The final stage was a follow-up stage that lasted for two and a half months. I located myself outside the organization and settled for meeting up with the gatekeepers and several key participants in the cafes around the organization where they used to take their breaks. In so doing, I was able to conduct regular meetings with them, which lasted on average about 40 minutes. The informality of this phase provided me with more open conversations and more intimate details about their organizational lives.

4.5. Data construction techniques

The methods I used in constructing the field data were participant observation, interviewing and secondary and tertiary resources such as UN documents, Human Rights training materials, books, movies, photos, manuscripts, etc.

4.5.1. Participant Observation

I used participant observation as a data collection technique across my research; participant observation has always been associated with ethnography from its origins in classical British anthropology and the Chicago School of Sociology. Furthermore, the philosophical roots of participant observation have been historically tracked back to the historicism of the Renaissance and to the development of hermeneutics in the nineteenth century (Atkinson and Hamersley, 1994; Brewer, 2000; DeWalt and DeWalt, 2010).

I have discussed two elements of this technique in my research in the earlier section: that is, negotiating access and time. In this section I shall briefly present the two key fundamentals of this technique which are: participating and observing (O'Reilly, 2009). I shall then move to a more detailed presentation on other elements in my participant observation technique, namely writing the field-notes, and the interviewing process.

Gold (1958) and Junker (1960) identified the role of a participant observer as: the complete participant, the participant as observer, the observer as participant, and the complete observer. I identified my role with the second type: that is, participant as observer, since my identity as a researcher was open to the participants and I built relationships with them over time. Identifying my role within the above typology was considered on the basis of aspects such as: being covert or overt, the participant role, the aims of participant observation and practical consideration (O'Reilly, 2009).

The above awareness helped me in my decisions in shifting between participating and informal observation across my field work. Such decisions were always challenged by the paradox in the two angles of the technique where participating involves 'joining in activities, sharing experiences and emotions, contributing in debates and taking part in the very interactions on which social life is built' (O'Reilly, 2009: 151). On the other hand, observation takes place as 'an outsider, watching and listening, not always fully taking part, and rarely being a fully-fledged member of the community' (Ibid).

Looking back at my field work experience from this writing-up stand point, I can see how the constant shift and the tension between the two roles enriched my data with insights into what was happening in the field. By this I refer to the balance between de strangement and estrangement of which O'Reilly (2009:160) elaborates saying that:

Ethnographers need to both empathize and sympathize, to balance de strangement and estrangement. Participating enables the strange to become familiar; observing enables the familiar to appear strange.

However, participant observation as a data collection technique has its limitations, which the researcher needs to be aware of in order to minimize, or if possible, to eliminate, their impact. An overall limitation of participant observation

lies in the tendency of the researcher to become biased during the process of collecting and / or interpreting the data (DeWalt and DeWalt, 2010). Researcher bias however is part and parcel of qualitative research, where the epistemological underpinnings are subjective rather than objective (Kawulich, 2005).

Observation tends to be filtered through the researcher's gender, religion, ethnicity, age and / or theoretical perceptions. This filtration tends to take place during the three acts of observing, documenting and interpreting. Therefore, researchers are advised to enhance reflexivity as early as possible in order to establish systematic and bias free criteria for their observations and interpretations (DeWalt et al., 1998; Angrosino, 2007).

Participation, on the other hand, is subject to a different form of limitation - that is the exclusion of the researcher by the community under study (Schensul et al., 1999). The exclusion might happen for different reasons, such as the characteristics of the researcher or the community under study itself, lack of trust or shortage of time or funds with which to support the researcher (Kawulich, 2005).

I mentioned earlier in this chapter, in section 4.4.1, that in the later stages of the research namely phase three, my identity as a Gulf Cooperation council (GCC) citizen turned out to become a point of tension. The tension used to take the form of exclusion from activities and events, particularly if related to Arab Spring or Human Rights violations in the Gulf region. During this difficult time, I used to focus on maintaining the overall access to the field mainly by avoiding any acceleration of the tension (such as, for example, engaging in political arguments or insisting on access to sensitive events that concerned Human Rights violations).

It was in the follow-up phase that I explored the reasons behind these acts of exclusion. The heat of the Arab Spring had by that time been decreased and consequently, participants were able to reveal more opinions that were informative in terms of broader understandings of their coping strategies. I relate this to the encouragement by Schensul, et al., (1999) to look at exclusion as predicted part of the fieldwork, particularly during the early stages. In fact, they encourage viewing this as an opportunity to understand the community and the context associated with these exclusions. They therefore recommend that researchers explore the reasons behind these exclusions and construct meanings around them within the overall context of their research. Furthermore, this study suggests that exclusion can happen at any stage of the fieldwork depending on the context of the events.

Since this study aims to explore the coping strategies in the identity dynamics and power interplays in the day-to-day leader-follower and group interactions, participant observation seemed to be the right method for data collection (Schensul et al., 1999). The technique facilitated direct access towards attaining a holistic understanding (DeWalt and DeWalt, 2010) of the 'who, when, where, what and how' in the daily life of the three teams (Kawulich, 2005). For further validity (DeWalt and DeWalt, 2010), I validate the technique with interviews and conversations in addition to the use of secondary and tertiary resources, on which I shall elaborate shortly.

4.5.2 Writing down the field-notes

O'Reilly (2009:70) defines field-notes 'as the written record of the observations, jottings, full notes, intellectual ideas, and emotional reflections that are created during the fieldwork process.' Emerson et al. (2011) describes the role of field-notes in terms of sensitizing what has been observed in order to enable the

ethnographer to develop more insights. They actively join the two acts of 'Doing' and 'Writing' and define them as: 'dialectically related, interdependent, and mutually constitutive activities' (Ibid: 19).

Emerson et al. (2011) divide the field-notes into headnotes, scratch notes and full notes where headnotes are mentally recorded, scratch notes are brief jottings or aides-mémoires and the full notes are the detailed descriptions of the relevant events. I captured my initial observations as headnotes or scratch notes depending on the context of the happening and extended them into full notes. I used to write the scratch notes on my mobile and text myself or simply save the draft on the mobile device without sending.

I initially started writing my field-notes in phase one for the purpose of developing an autobiography of my experience as an Arab female from a conservative background operating in a Western based organization. Therefore, for the first two months I was writing, in the first person, almost everything that interested me in the city, organization, people and events. My focus was on cultural encounters and my views were those of an outsider.

As I decided to adopt the organization as my research setting I started to focus my observations within my research interest and looked at the cultural encounters as one aspect of these observations. I then developed the role of a participant observer and so my notes began to include the views of an insider. As I sought more analytical and critical views I added the third person narrative to my writing. My field-notes for the research also developed gradually from writing down a full description of the interactions in the subunits; the interactions between the participants and their superiors. I followed a chronological order of events, meetings, seminars and conferences. I also paid special attention to detailing the physical space occupied by the teams, such as their offices, the areas they

sought for smoking, coffee and lunch breaks. My notes also recorded formal and informal workplace conversations and arguments.

In order to enrich the writing style and observations, I established a habit of consistently comparing my field-notes. This practice enhanced the quality of field-notes in terms of identifying the differences and similarities between the events, interactions and conversations in the three units. One of the implications of this practice was related to the earlier point I stressed in section 4.5.1: 'Participating enables the strange to become familiar; observing enables the familiar to appear strange' (O'Reilly, 2004:160).

I wrote the notes down in notebooks in full and did not transfer them to computer except for selected parts for the analysis process. I initially drafted them in different notebooks, dedicating a separate notebook for each unit. However, as my observations developed and the events started to overlap, especially in phase three of my fieldwork, I amalgamated them all into a single notebook and highlighted each unit in a different colour. I also captured many details of time and space in over 200 photos of which I stored on an external hard drive.

I divided the pages in the style of Islamic medieval manuscripts, inspired by the transcripts I studied in my Bachelor degree. The transcripts used to have the central notes located in the middle of the page and explanations and commentaries in the margins. I wrote down the main notes in the body of the page and recorded my reflections in the lower margin with the theoretical references in the left and right margins. In the margins I also included sketches, verses of poetry and quotes in order to capture an insight or a delicate observation. Using this technique was helpful in overcoming boredom in the writing task and also in generating new insights. (see Figure 4.2 for an illustration of an Islamic medieval manuscript).



Figure 4.2 An illustration of Islamic medieval manuscript (Source: <http://wqf.me/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/Z2fM6g1.jpg>)

I used both languages, Arabic and English, in writing the scratch notes as some of the conversations and interactions originated in Arabic. While writing the fuller notes I relied mostly on English except for small segments of conversations and interactions that seemed best expressed in Arabic. However, I translated those segments roughly into English, bearing in mind the need to refine the translation at a later stage (see appendices 5, 6 and 7 for examples from the fieldwork notes).

4.5.3. The interviewing process

Interviews and conversations were another choice of data collection techniques for my study. I differentiated between the two techniques, where interviews took place on a more formal basis in terms of time, venue and duration agreed upon with interviewees. On the other hand, conversations were more spontaneous, less formal and usually initiated as a result of a significant incident or an event that took place during the fieldwork. Another difference was that the participants

occasionally gave permission to record the interviews (but not the conversations, where they only accepted note-taking). The overall permission however for both interviews and conversations was requested and granted, as I shall illustrate in the ethical considerations in section 4.8.

I refined the differentiation between the interviews and conversations based on Angrosino's (2007) idea of what he calls *ethnographic interviewing*. Angrosino points out that ethnographic interviewing is 'a kind of partnership in which the informed insider helps the researcher develop the inquiry as it goes along' (Ibid: 43). This is because the researcher becomes a part of the community through his / her role as a participant observer. Therefore, in the ethnographic interview the interviewee is not a 'source' but more like a friend. This makes the ethnographic interview conversational and open-ended in nature and so may 'well open up new avenues of inquiry that the researcher had not originally considered' (Angrosino 2007: 43).

Most of the participants I approached welcomed the option of an informal conversation but not a formal interview. I was then advised by 'Angel', one of the gatekeepers, to offer both options of formal and informal interviews in order to minimize rejection. None of those who agreed to give an informal conversation however, allowed the talk to be recorded.

Only a few participants allowed full notes to be taken, considering that the talks were extended into personal and sensitive topics. Conducting the conversations was more energy consuming since I had to be more persistent with navigating the talk in order not to lose focus. One technique that I followed here was that once an important conversation segment is obtained, I text it to my mobile phone immediately. This used to reassure the participants as they were able to revise

their talk segment before sending. I then used to extend these notes into fuller forms at home either on the same day or over weekends.

The broad focus in the interviews was on the cultural encounters in participants' daily tasks, particularly in translating culturally sensitive documents. A repeated example of such translations was: the incidents of Human Rights violations in Non-Western countries like the Middle East, Africa or Asia. Once the conversation was established, the focus then was narrowed into three less broad themes: work conflicts, leader-follower interactions and self-representations.

To conclude, 19 interviews are conducted with 13 participants, 6 of whom were key participants in the three diverse units. The key participants are identified according to their knowledge of GPO communities and work culture. By this I refer to their seniority, formal and informal leading roles, and connections across the different units in the organizations. These came from the ranks of the senior employees in the three units: 1, 2 and 3. Their diverse background of group, culture, language and expertise brought a different range of perspectives to the narratives of their units and organization.

The duration of the interviews varied, ranging from between 40 minutes to one hour; some of the interviews were broken down into more than one session on the same day and some were followed up the following day. Furthermore, 18 conversations were held with participants in all the three units. The duration of the conversations ranged between 20 minutes, (usually over breaks), and three hours - usually in informal meetings after work or on weekends (See Table 4.2 for details on type, number, languages in the interviewing process and the demographics of the interviewees).

Interviews (37) / Interviewees (24)				
Type	Interviews		Conversations	
No.	19		18	
Languages	Arabic (12) English (21) Mixed of Arabic and English (4)			
Interviewees	13		11	
Gender	Female (5)	Male (8)	Female (4)	Male (7)
	Female (9) / Male (15)			
Age range	early 20s to early 60s			
Roles	Directors (5)		Female (4)	Male (1)
	Senior employees (6)		Female (3)	Male (3)
	Junior employees (9)		Female (6)	Male (3)
	Policy makers / Program developers (4)		Female (2)	Male (2)

Table 4.2 Details of the interviews and conversations

4.5.4. The translation process

Interviews and conversations were obtained in both English and Arabic, and the Arabic interviews and conversations were translated into English. Translating the Arabic interviews varied in difficulty depending on the extent of the use of English and / or Arabic on the part of the participants. This means that some participants used both English and Arabic in the interviews and hence the load of translation became less. On the other hand, other interviews were obtained wholly in Arabic and hence it took longer to process their translation into English. Nevertheless, the delicate art of translating certain Arabic ideological terminologies, concepts and idioms into English, remained a challenge.

As a trained translator myself, I heavily censored my act of translation to avoid the risk of producing patterns of Otherness while transmitting intercultural aspects in the texts (Bhabha, 1994; Faiq, 2004; Venuti, 1996). Hence, at many points I stopped the act of translation to verify whether I am translating culturally - or translating the culture in the text. Faiq (2004:44) states that:

The cultural dimension of translation and the master discourse that underlies any intercultural translating activity generally lead to the reconstruction of the foreign text in accordance with values, beliefs, and representations that pre-exist translation in the target culture, always configured in hierarchies of dominance and marginality, always determining the production, circulation, and reception of texts.

The participants, as linguists, had a strong tendency to use controversial terms, especially those with deep cultural connotations which were deeply rooted in Islamic or pre-Islamic Arab heritage. Equally challenging was translating the Quranic verses, Hadiths and Arab poetry quoted in the interviews. The challenges were not merely linguistic, they were also the matter of added contextual and intentional layers of using these sensitive quotes on the part of the participants. Similarly, there were further challenges with phrases talking about Human Rights principles in Arabic, where careful consideration needed to be given to convey the exact meaning intended by the participants. My decisions in these challenging situations were never conclusive: re-visiting my translation was a strategy that I adopted for validating the data construction and interpretation.

4.5.5. Secondary and Tertiary resources

GPO as an organization that focuses on human and societal well-being relies heavily on Human Rights to serve this focus. GPO has a strong affiliation with United Nations texts and documents of Human Rights, such as the Human Rights Declaration. The affiliation of GPO with UN is not restricted to UN texts; there is also strong work affiliation and many of GPO's employees are ex-employees of the UN's different organizations. Other important documents are the action plans for *Human Rights Education* and the publications and training materials on the *Human Rights Based Approach*. As a result, these also served as useful secondary resources in understanding how the participants shaped their

interactions while dealing with these texts or their content. The main use of these documents was as points of reference to compare GPO's universal scope against the particular views expressed by the employees. These documents were also points of reference in my initial attempts to understand GPO's vision and mission while planning for the interviews.

Alongside the Human Rights texts, key participants often referred to particular publications in different contexts due to the nature of their profession as linguists and authors. I considered these books as tertiary resources for my data as they played a role in how the participants positioned themselves in the web of interactions across and beyond the organization. Artefacts such as paintings and sculptures both in churches and museums, and even movies were secondary and tertiary resources in this study. The participants used these artefacts regularly in generating creative narrative logics and as resistance attitudes and behaviours (see section 6.3.3.3).

Munro (1995) states that manipulation of material artefacts is an act of social interactions and sense-making activities. Material artefacts such as museums, movies, and technology artefacts were prevalent in my interactions with the key participants. The technology artefacts prominent in this context were the computer-aided translation software used by the employees. Many of the interactions and tensions that I captured centred around the use and the value of this technological artefact.

I finally applied the artefact resources to my ethnographic methodology through an early anthropological technique: an example is Malinowski who is considered 'a prolific collector and documenter, using charts, statistical summaries, photographs, lists, and maps to log the minutiae of daily life. For him everything

is data: habits, customs, speeches, myths, magic formulae, genealogies, relationships, and rituals' (O'Reilly, 2005:142).

4.6. The Writing up process

Here I would like to refer to the importance of the text in ethnography and what Geertz (1977) suggests around ethnographers developing their own constructions and becoming an active actor alongside the participants (see section 4.3.2). Also looking at what Ponterotto (2006) notes on the definitions by Holloway (1997) and Schwandt (2001) that *Thick description* is much more than great details (see also section 4.3.2). *Thick description*, as I quote him again, 'it speaks to context and meaning as well as interpreting participant intentions in their behaviours and actions' (Ponterotto, 2006:541).

Ponterotto's most important thought is on Denzin's (1989) link between *Thick description* and *Thick interpretation* which Ponterotto envisages as the *sequential link*, referring to the interdependence between the two concepts for their existence. I added all this up along with the third concept developed by Ponterotto, that is *Thick meaning* refers to the sense of verisimilitude of the social interactions under study. Ponterotto eloquently concludes the three concepts using the metaphor of a tree where the roots are the *Thick description*, the trunk is the *Thick interpretation* and the branches and leaves are the 'Thick meaning'.

I supplemented the above with the concept by Alvesson (2010) *reflexive pragmatism* where the act of challenging the interpretations is continuous and is only stopped for the intention of ending the quest (and not because it reaches an end). Alvesson (2010) defines reflexivity and pragmatism in his concept saying:

Reflexivity for me stands for conscious and consistent efforts to view the subject matter from different angles, strongly avoiding the a priori privileging of a favoured one, including a focus on the details of texts. (Alvesson, 2010: 106)

Pragmatism here means a willingness to postpone some doubt and still use the material for the best possible purpose(s). Pragmatism builds on awareness that time, space and patience are not unlimited and are a withholding of limitless reflexivity. It also means an occasional bracketing of radical doubt and self-critique for the achievement of results (Ibid: 107).

Alvesson (2010) further points out the possible impact of reflexivity over the completed text. He suggests two possible acts for the researcher - either by limiting reflexivity to the analysis process as the act 'behind the scene' or by making it a part of the end product of the text and by so providing the reader with some access to the dilemmas of his / her interpretations.

My decision was to go for a visibility of the end product of my text that includes a fair portion of these dilemmas, in order to demonstrate what Ponterotto (2006) aims at in his metaphor of the tree (above). Alvesson's second suggestion and the inspiring words of Wolcott (2002:91) to develop 'Engaging writing': 'Engaging writing can result when writers are free to break with tradition and present their findings in discovery-oriented ways'; led me to the next stage of writing up my data.

4.7. The Analysis process

The narratives of the field interviews were massive due to my long and multiple associations in the field and the many events that took place during these associations. Initially, I first wrote up the data narratives chronologically according to the phases of my access to the fieldwork (see figure 4.1 in section 4.4.3). The notes were divided into two sections: the first related to thematic scenes of the actual interactions or events captured. The second section comprised of reflective notes on the scenes within the main themes developed in the interviewing process: work conflicts, leader-follower interactions and self-representations.

The reflections were recorded in the form of as focal points, questions and some theoretical referential points. I used metaphorical language to code the field narratives with immediately provoking titles such as: tears, another round of tears, catch a thief, the star student, justified gossips, too many Arabs, the bully, smiley Hani, on the Arabian shores, on the Other coast... etc. These codes kept my initial insights of the incidents present and fresh.

I then used Nvivo (Nvivo 10 for Windows) to verify the themes developed while writing the fieldnotes. Importing the notes into Nvivo facilitated a quick and systematic access to the data in one place. The first set of Nvivo-based themes emerged from using Query options such as text search, word frequency and coding. This developed a vast list of themes (nodes) that I revisited for refining and developing more focused themes (see appendix 8). I enhanced the refining process by using the option of memos in Nvivo where I imported more of the insights and questions that I developed during my fieldwork (see appendix 7).

Further, I used visualizing options in Nvivo namely Hierarchy charts and mind maps in order to verify the connections between the themes and between the data items and enhance their visibility (see appendices 9). For example, I used to make hierarchy charts of the characters in the study sample and draw lines of connections between them within the context of their narratives and roles. This was helpful in identifying consistent patterns of relations and interactions between the participants, and the types of stories: narratives and antenarratives.

However, something appeared to remain missing in the data representation. I felt that I was merely reporting rather than capturing the real colours of the day-to-day interactions, subtle moves by the characters, twists of the events or the rise of uncertainties. Hence my decision was to expand the metaphoric language in

new ways, such as rewriting and retranslating the significant segments of the data.

This step enhanced my reflexive approach into a more systematic method. For example, metaphor is deeply rooted in the pre-Islamic and Islamic, Arab culture and discourse, which gave me greater opportunity for reflexivity - meaning that a cultural interpretation of an ethnographic tale has been enhanced through cognitive tools which include language, symbols, reality construction and theory formulation (Geertz, 1973; Lakoff and Johnson, 1980; Gherardi, 2000).

A clear demonstration of this was in re-visiting the artefacts used by the participants in their self-narratives or the photos taken in the field. For example, I conducted attempts to metaphorically re-read some of the paintings and photos. These attempts were used to generate multiple and stronger links to certain incidents or quotes from the participants. I envisage these explorations as my attempts to develop a thick description of the self-narratives constructed by the participants.

I adopted this technique by drawing on the overall approach by Morgan (2006) where he suggested that theories of organization consisted of embedded metaphors or implicit images that lead towards understanding and managing organizations. This decision was taken in the light of discussions led by Alvesson in a seminar and later a post-doctoral workshop in the University of Exeter on June 2014.

Applying the metaphorical language ultimately created an opportunity of re-reading the codes, categories and memos of Nvivo. This re-reading then generated new and multiple interpretations that led to a fuller understanding of the narratives. This was in accord with Denzin and Lincoln (2005:6) in describing

the many possible interpretations of one incident like a crystal that catches the rays but only so as to reflect them even brighter.

4.7.1. Integrating an ante-narrative approach

I have demonstrated, in chapter three, the Social Identity Approach as the theoretical lens through which to examine the data of this study. This section then aims to present the ante-narratives (Boje, 2001, 2004) and narrative logics (Fairhurst, 2007) as integrative approaches to SIA. It also emphasizes the emergent nature of this narrative dimension in the representation process and under the overall postmodern stance in the methodology. The significance of this lies in informing objective one that aims at developing a holistic understanding of the case study by providing a descriptive account of GPO. It also informs objective two, which seeks to construct an account of self-narratives within the participants' daily individual and group interactions.

4.7.2. Data representation

Brewer (2000) indicates four qualities of ethnographic data: that it comes in the form of extracts of natural language, that it is personal to the researcher; that it can be generalized in spite of its limited scope and that it tends to be massive. Most of these qualities applied to the data of this study and challenged the data management process, especially in terms of representation. A further major challenge was to develop a Thick description and Thick interpretation of the data (Geertz, 1973; Denzin, 1989).

Additionally, the data also seemed to require a representation method that does not constrain its reflexive nature. Brewer (2000) indicates that such an approach empowers the researcher with a critical attitude towards the data, the setting, the topic and the nature of interactions in the field. Hence, my aim was to maintain

this critical attitude right throughout the research process, including the analysis and writing up stages.

However, there was also the challenge of the undesirable implications of the *reflexivity turn* within ethnography, namely; the authority that can be claimed over the data and its impact over the writing up process (representation), (Silverman, 2011; Davies, 2009; Brewer, 2000). Therefore, I initially focused on the conflictive situations in the units and utilized them as a *red thread* which I spun around the narrative spindle of the field stories. This step helped to create a *story space*, a concept developed by Boje et al. (2004) who debates the different powers of narratives and ante-narratives in an imaginary dialogue with Czarniawska (1997) and Gabriel (2000).

4.7.3. Story space

Story space is defined as: 'the co-mingling, morphing, and collision of narrative, ante-narrative, story, and terse story', (Boje et al., 2004: 2). Boje envisages that the incomplete nature of ante-narratives poses the risk of what he calls a 'stampede herd', meaning that the emergence of ante-narratives might come uncontrollable (Boje, 2008, 2012, 2014). Hence, the story space not only ensures the common themes characterize numerous story lines in the data but also controls them against any uncontrollable overlaps.

By adopting an ante-narrative approach, I drew on Boje et al. (2004) who argue against dividing the power of narrating into linear meaningful plotted stories (Czarniawska, 1997; Gabriel, 2000). This argument is also supported by placing bets on the ante-narratives as pre-stories (Boje: 2001). In other words, the alternative proposed by Boje et al. (2004:3) is:

... that in a storytelling organization system, there are narratives and stories that meet Gabriel and Czarniawska's criteria, and there are ante-narratives and terse performances that meet my own criteria. They dance together in what I am calling 'story space'!

I prefer to substitute the word 'dance' with 'dialogue' and in my study this dialogue emerges through writing and re-writing the stories of the field. In this way, the tales in UNIT1 emerged in more linear forms, i.e. with a beginning, middle and end (BMEs), and hence clearer plots. The reasons for this linearity and clarity could be that I was a main character in quite few of UNIT1's incidents. Another reason could be that UNIT1 is the most restless and most resistant among other units, for reasons that I will explain in the analysis chapters. Finally, I culturally identified myself with the UNIT1 Arab team and in this way I had more comprehension of, and access to, their stories.

For almost opposite reasons UNIT2 and UNIT3 revealed pre-stories: ante-narratives. In other words, what I actually developed in these two units is placing a *bet* on turning these pre-stories into 'a full-fledged narrative', (Boje, 2001). This fits with the refined definition of ante-narratives: "bets that a pre-story can be told and theatrically performed that will enrol stakeholders in 'inter-textual' ways transforming the world of action into theatrics" (Boje et al., 2004: 756). Boje's initials recognition of ante-narratives is *Terse Story* which is only segments of events and parts of fuller plots (Boje, 19921).

4.7.4. Postmodern linguistic turn

As a result, I adopted intertextuality in the writing up and analysis processes. Intertextuality in its simplest meaning is when one text shapes another. As per Boje's definition (Boje, 2001: 91): it is 'a web of complex inter-relationships ensnaring each story's historicity and situational context between other stories'. using either meaning, it enabled me to create a 'special world of storytelling that includes antenarrating' (Boje et al., 2004:6). Furthermore, it enhanced a dialogue between the narratives and ante-narratives of the field in this special world.

I further complemented this inter-textual dialogue with Alvesson's (2010) suggestion that reflexivity can either be kept 'behind the scenes' or incorporated in the final text. The latter, as he states, invites 'the reader to see how the researcher considers various interpretations or vocabularies and confronts these, thus opening this up for the reader to consider problems, uncertainties and alternative interpretations' (Ibid: 107).

Alvesson's suggestion lines up with another call by Boje (2008) for an interactive relationship between storytellers and listeners where listeners are 'no longer static story-consumers, but producers of story space'. His way is to create an interactive relationship between narratives and ante-narratives through complex storytelling organization:

Why not treat improper stories (and ante-narrative) that are pre-plotted, terse, and even emergently incoherent in their in situ interrelationship to proper stories and narratives that are plotted and coherent? The advantage is looking more precisely at the relationship between storytellers and listeners (Ibid: 213).

This stage then was a response to the challenge of representing the data in a form that engages the readership in the real sequence of the events. Therefore, I applied a literary approach in which I employed language both as a science and an art. I focused on the use of metaphor, intertextuality and storytelling techniques in order to enhance the texts aesthetically and refine analysis processes at the same time.

My general argument here is that expressive modes such as rhetoric and fiction are legitimate rights of repertoire that add value to the analysis process and the writing up of the ethnographic text (Foucault, 1973; Certeau, 1983; Eagleton, 1983: cited in Clifford and Marcus, 1986:5). I highlight here that in writing up, I also refer the act of translating the interviews and conversations that took place originally in Arabic and in a very few incidents in French.

Finally, and for the purpose of supporting my argument, I call out the claim that the postmodern linguistic turn exercises an ‘artificial authority’ and does not tell the full truth (Crapanzano, 1986). My initial lead was Tyler’s (1986:125) statement:

a postmodern ethnography is a cooperatively evolved text consisting of fragments of discourse intended to evoke in the minds of both reader and writer an emergent fantasy of a possible world of common sense reality, and thus provoke an aesthetic integration that will have a therapeutic effect.

I support my argument with the concept of *Reflexive Pragmatism* (Alvesson, 2010), which calls for an epistemological alertness and repeated attempts to break the conventional approaches in data construction, analysis and representation. In the light of these attempts I devised literary tools such as metaphor and intertextuality to extend the data analysis to as many multiple interpretations as possible.

Table 4.3 presents the timeline of the research stages after fieldwork, namely; data management (transcribing and translating), analysis and writing up.

Research stage after fieldwork	Timeline	period
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Translating and writing up Field Notes • Transcribing and translating interviews 	December 2012- June 2013	6 months
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Managing the data: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Organizing the data per time and location ➤ Finalizing and classifying the stories in the field (narratives / antenarratives) 	June – November 2013	6 months
First stage of analysis	November 2013 – May 2015	15 months
Second stage of analysis	May 2015 – February 2016	9 months
Writing up	February 2016 – February 2017	12 months

Table 4.3 The timeline of the research stages of data management, analysis and writing up

4.8. Ethical considerations

It is essential to be aware of ethical considerations in research from the outset, so I addressed this aspect early in my research. My main concern was the ethical dilemmas induced in participants' work experiences, particularly in relation to their engagement in translating sensitive and confidential texts. I also paid attention to the different contractual agreements they had with the organization, especially in terms of their insecurities towards the renewal and length of their contracts. My focus therefore was on risks of psychological and emotional distress while talking about incidents of injustice or inequality. There was a responsibility was to show sympathy and empathy during the conversations and particularly during the distressing parts of conversations. Examples of the latter were discussions about their personal experiences, discussing sensitive ideological issues, or the political issues in their home countries.

In order to reassure the participants, I emphasized the confidentiality and anonymity of their talks and that any quotations will be retained in confidence. I also explained that data will be held and used on an anonymous basis except where explicit permission is given by them. In the interviews and conversations, I always presented the consent form and information sheet beforehand. I also explained their rights to withdraw at any point and the option of requesting the viewing of any quotations for the purpose of amendment. Another concern was the influence of language competency and diverse cultural backgrounds on participants' expressions, particularly in relation to the cultural connotations of Human Rights principles. I was therefore precise in asking questions and directing the conversations, in order to avoid any cultural and linguistic misinterpretations. The Ethical Approval form, Interview Consent form and Information Sheet are in appendix 1, 2, and 3.

Finally, interviews and conversations required special ethical concerns since many of them took place within real day-to-day interactions. Hence my research topic was made clear to the participants in prior open conversations. I also considered these prior conversations as pre-tests of their competence to add more value on the emerging themes in the data. I made this step clear for the participants and asked them to take time in evaluating the experience of pre-test conversations and then to decide whether they were willing to proceed with the actual interviews. I also explicitly requested their permission to use the pre-test conversations.

In the fieldwork however, my research demonstrated a different perspective on how to perceive the dilemmas of ethical standpoints in fieldwork. Ethical decisions proved to require different standpoints along with the fluidity of the ethnographic study. This would suggest that both the ethnographer and the participants might take different standpoints at different times and circumstances. In the light of this I would describe that my positioning in the fieldwork occurred along a continuum ranging between overt and covert, where at times I had to mask my research progress with general statements or the avoidance of answering.

For example, as the research progressed, and especially in Phase3, maintaining the overt approach all the way became challenging. One of the main reasons was the impact of the Arab Spring that made a number of gatekeepers and participants uncertain about continuing their participation and support in my research. I understood their position as it was a sensitive time and the overall atmosphere of watchfulness also made me cautious as to what to share - and to which extent.

In the light of this I found myself repeatedly renegotiating access to the different events in the fieldwork, a task which at first was very challenging. It used to concern me in terms of losing opportunities for obtaining new interviews and more data. However, it was not long before I discovered that these negotiations were data opportunities in their own right. By this I refer to the reasons behind the hesitations by some participants and gatekeepers, which turned to be part of their on-going interactions and reactions to the new events in their organizational and personal lives. Thankfully, many of these occurrences were settled, which encouraged me to go back for a follow up – a stage where the overt approach and a closer cooperation were resumed.

Another reason for the occasional covert turns in my research was the tension between some of the participants and their superiors. For example, one of the gatekeepers in Phase1 and Phase2 was a senior manager who seemed to be vulnerable and unconfident in the presence of her director. In one incident where she helped me to access a high profile meeting, her director showed up out of nowhere. Although granting the access was within the usual rules, I do not think I will ever forget how shaken and fearful the manager became. That was the point at which I realized, as a researcher, the meaning of 'protecting the participants of my research'. It was also the point at which I decided to consider her overall well-being and so I stopped requesting any visible support from her, although this support was within my agreed roles with the management of the three units.

4.9. Summary

This chapter has covered the methodological approach and method techniques and strategies adopted to fulfil the aims and objectives of this research (see section 1.3). I used interpretivism as a philosophical tool that assumed relativist ontology of multiple forms of realities and a subjectivist epistemology where the

quest for realities was initiated in the field and as close as possible to the participants.

The overall postmodernist stance of my methodological approach serves the overall aim of this research which is: to develop an understanding of how individuals an IO like GPO cope with the universal scope of their organization and the diversity in their work environment. Postmodernism regards reality as constantly changing and meanings as continuously constructed and reconstructed. The pluralistic nature of the postmodernist paradigm accords with the multiple self-representations expressed by the participants in their self-narratives (Kelemen and Rumens, 2008; Angrosino, 2007).

The chapter also demonstrated how the concept of proximity in the fieldwork has informed the epistemological stand with a critical and subjectivist process of self-reference. Thus I develop reflexive ethnography as the research methodology; this aspect of reflexivity was induced during my research process as the different groups of participants tended to position me in different ways within their relationships and interactions.

The importance of the text in ethnography was highlighted through concepts of *engaging writing* (Wolcott, 2002) and *Thick description* (Geertz, 1973). These concepts were significant in shaping the writing up and the analysis processes, and were also important in fulfilling objectives two and three. Objective two aimed to construct an account of self-narratives within the participants' daily individual and group interactions. Objective three then sought to identify the main logics and strategies used by the participants with which to relate to other individuals and groups.

CHAPTER FIVE

CASE STUDY AND STAGE ONE ANALYSIS

5.1. Introduction

This chapter aims to research aspects of objectives one, two and three outlined in the Introduction chapter of the study (see section 1.3). Objective one aims to develop a holistic understanding of the case study by providing a descriptive account of GPO. Objective two then proceeds to construct an account of self-narratives within participants' daily individual and group interactions. Objective three attempts to identify the main logics and strategies used by the participants with which to relate to other individuals and groups. The chapter therefore presents two accounts: the first forms an introductory account of the case study in sections 5.2 and 5.3. The second serves as an account of the main results of the first stage of analysis in sections 5.4, 5.5 and 5.6.

The introductory account is initiated in section 5.2 by seeking answers to objective one, which also overlaps with the remaining sections. The following sections, 5.3 and 5.4, then aim to fulfil objective two while sections 5.5 and 5.6 respond to objective three. However, section 5.4 also overlaps in fulfilling objective three.

Sections 5.5 and 5.6 present the main results of the first stage of analysis in two major themes. The first revolves around the multiple interpretations developed by the participants of their day-to-day challenges in the form of self-narratives (see section 5.5). This theme is drawn from the idea of Haslam et al. (2011) of how social realities and social categories shape each other yet without overlooking the specific orientations which shape the social categories (see section 4.4.1.2). The second theme then addresses the multiple selves adopted by the participants in their self-narratives (see section 5.6). This theme is principally

drawn from Haslam et al. (2011:1) who wrote of a *new psychology of leadership* that defined leadership as the product of an individual's "we-ness" rather than of his / her "I-ness". In this way, they conceptualize leadership in the relationship between leaders and followers within a social group. They further consider context, role of followers, function of power, and dynamics of transformation as significant leadership dynamics.

The argument of this chapter would then revolve around participants' engagement in crafting a sense of us / we-ness while interpreting their day to day conflicts with their superiors and groups. The adoption of their own cultural worldviews in using the logics of their self-narratives has signified their use of culture in re-shaping their social realities. However, it also signifies the complex relation between the self-categories and the social realities, as the participants tend to question their own cultural worldviews in the process. This complexity grows even greater as their day-to-day interactions are embedded in GPO's diverse work environment and universal work scope.

Table 5.1 demonstrates the structure of chapter five by presenting the sections in relation to research objectives and analysis results / themes:

Sections	Objectives/Results	Description/Themes
Section 5.2	Seeks answers to objective one: To develop a holistic understanding of the case study and provide a descriptive account of GPO. ❖ <i>Objective one also overlaps with the remaining sections.</i>	Description of the case study 'Global Peace Organization' (GPO) as an International Organization (IO) that operates through teams of a multinational, multilingual and multiethnic population.
Sections 5.3 and 5.4	Fulfil objective two: To construct an account of self-narratives within participants' daily individual and group interactions. ❖ <i>5.4 also overlaps in fulfilling objective three</i>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The frame story in 5.3 2. Patterns of interactions and tensions in 5.4.
Sections 5.5 and 5.6	Respond to objective three: To identify the main logics and strategies used by the participants with which to relate to other individuals and groups. Present the main results of the first stage of analysis.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Theme one in 5.5: Presents the multiple interpretations developed by the participants of their day to day challenges in the form of self-narratives. 2. Theme two in 5.6: addresses the multiple selves adopted by the participants in their self-narratives.

Table 5.1 The structure of chapter five

5.2. The case study

This section presents a description of the case study 'Global Peace Organization' (GPO) as an International Organization (IO) that operates through teams from a multinational, multilingual and multiethnic population. This presentation seeks to fulfil the wider aim of this study, that is, to develop an understanding of how individuals in an IO like GPO cope with the universal scope of their organizations and the diversity of their work environment. It more particularly aims to meet objective one, which is to develop a holistic understanding of the case study by

providing a descriptive account of GPO. This objective takes into consideration its universal scope of work, the diversity and practices in the three diverse units, their physical layout and the sample of the study.

I compiled this presentation while taking into account Alvesson's (2013) criticism of the lack of attention towards organizational realities in leadership studies; he states:

but Transformational leadership authors seldom consider the organizational literature, preferring instead to focus on the dyadic relationship between leaders and followers, thus leaving organizational reality out of the picture, and having little appreciation of the complexities of organizations (Ibid:173)

I then complement Alvesson's view with Watson (2009) who highlights the concept of 'a cultural whole' as developed by Baszanger and Dodier (2004: 13).

Watson elaborates his view stating:

So, for example, when one of us focused on managerial work within a large company for the 'In Search of Management' (Watson, 2001) study, it wasn't to 'do' an ethnography of that organization but to set the analysis of the managers within the 'cultural whole' of the business and the factory (Watson, 2009:40).

This section therefore presents the physical layout of the organization and the three units. It then presents a description of my multiple roles in the fieldwork, followed by a brief introduction to the two Human Rights training programmes. The latter has an impact on shaping participants' perspectives and views and highlights the importance of this introduction. After this, I present a description of the major events in the three units in a frame story before moving to the thematic analysis of the data.

5.2.1. The units

GPO consists of two operational bodies: the 'Programme Developing Sector' (PDS) and the 'Service and Support Sector' (SSS). PDS works on developing initiatives that support governmental sectors across the Globe while SSS

provides administrative supporting services to PDS. The focus of my study is on three culturally diverse units in SSS, which refer to as (UNIT1), (UNIT2) and (UNIT3).

UNIT1 and UNIT2's main function is to edit official texts and in-house publications across languages, principally in English. UNIT3 on the other hand works on a different scale as it focuses on computer programs to process the text editing tasks. Hence UNIT3 facilitates the work of the CM units by ensuring terminology and reference accuracies in the original documents. The units then continue processing the documents with more focus on GPO's writing conventions.

UNIT1 operates with 18 Arabic employees of which the permanent members are four senior employees: NE (Female), BR(Female), KL (Male) and FD (Male). Other members are senior employees who are regularly hired on external contracts and so considered an indispensable part of the daily events in the unit: AM, BL, SD, and AQ - all males.

There are 8 employees in UNIT2 and five are French and three are Arabs, but only six of them are permanent employees. Although in terms of numbers, UNIT2 has fewer employees, yet its importance is greater in terms of text production. This is mainly because French is the second official language in GPO, with English being the first. This means the dynamics of work are different in UNIT2 from other content management units in terms of the number of documents to process and the urgency of task deadlines.

The UNIT3team consists of 7 employees - all females; only two of them are employed on a permanent basis and both are in their fifties. The other five are younger employees and employed on temporary contracts, two of them had taken on permanent contracts towards the later stages of my fieldwork. UNIT3's team is multinational and multilingual and their tasks are assigned according to

their linguistic and computer competencies. LE is the senior and most influential member of the team as her expertise in using corpora and term-base management software was sought by all Content Management units. Table 5.2 gives details of the key people within the sample, including their code names, gender, and age.

Main characters in the three teams			
Name	Gender	Age	Team
NA	Male	60	UNIT1
NE	Female	40	
BR	Female	50	
FD	Male	40	
KL	Male	50	
AM	Male	60	
BL	Male	60	
SD	Male	40	
AQ	Male	30	
SN	Female	40	
SM	Female	20	
FA	Female	20	
ZD	Male	20	
WA	Female	30	
MA	Female	20	
JN	Female	50	UNIT2
JP	Male	50	
ST	Female	30	
HN	Male	30	
LE	Female	50	UNIT3
ZY	Female	50	
AL	Female	20	
PA	Female	30	
CL	Female	20	
SH	Female	30	
AA	Female	40	
Head1	Female	50	
Head2	Female	40	

Table 5.2 Demographic profiles of the main team members

5.2.2. The physical layout

Although I can write pages of details about my first day in GPO, physical distance stands as my first impression of the organization. GPO consists of six massive floors where each floor has four large divisions, which are in turn allocated to different departments and sections. In terms of design, GPO looks like an ancient mansion filled with hidden sections. LE (Female), one of the key gatekeepers and a senior employee in GPO, introduces me to the many abandoned corridors on my first access to the site. By the second term of fieldwork, I have become able to negotiate my way across them, saving time by taking shortcuts through different offices.

In spite of the welcoming faces of the UNIT1 team on that day (NE, BR, KL, FD and SN), the tall, grey walls of GPO's entrance seem to convey the opposite message. This message is soon confirmed by strict instructions from UNIT1's secretary SN (Female) on remaining in the allocated offices for trainees and not to *disturb* the senior employees. Although her justification is so that they may focus on meeting strict deadlines, the impression of distance remains difficult to overlook.

The UNIT1 staff are accommodated in private offices that are designed in two opposite rows. This layout seems suitable for the nature of their tasks as editing, translating and revising documents require focus and privacy, while the employees on permanent contracts are accommodated in private offices, other contractors and trainees share similar size offices in groups of three at the most. I am allocated a place shared with another trainee, 'ZD', a young man from Qatar who welcomes me with few words and, on our first encounter, seems shy.

The layout of the offices is almost identical in all three units, and there is no common room for breaks. However, the UNIT1 team appear to establish a regular

habit of breaks for smoking which tend to be extended to 20 to 30 minutes of group conversations. These breaks are regularly taken at a small patio at the exit of the unit.

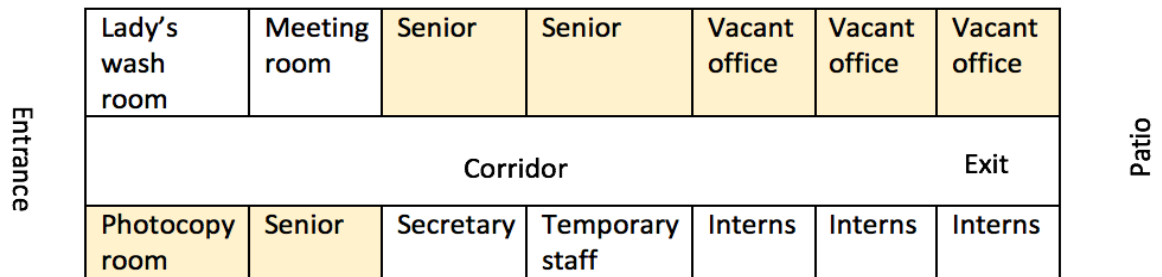


Figure 5.1 The layout of the old offices (Source: author)

Figure 5.1 illustrates the layout during the first four months, where the three teams are located in temporary mobile offices. We then all move to new offices which are spacious and brighter but more isolated from one another. Smoking becomes restricted in the areas around the offices, but this changes few gathering habits and causes arguments with the smokers who occasionally ignore the restriction. Figure 5.2 illustrates the layout of the new offices, the example is from UNIT3unit.

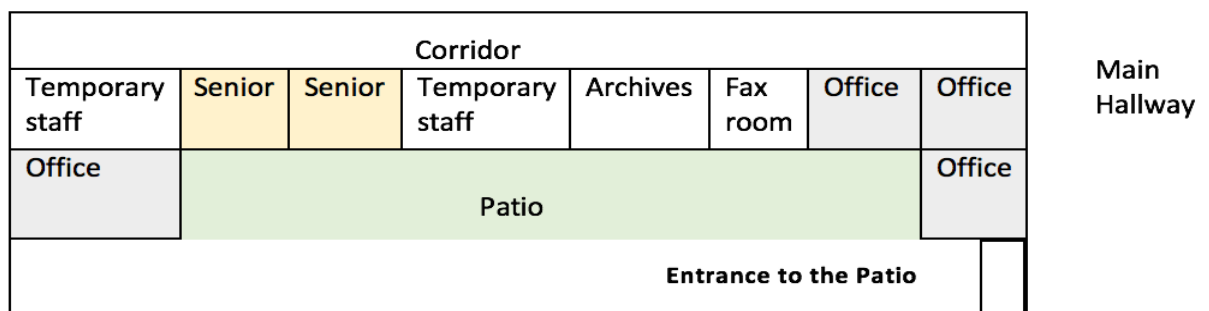


Figure 5.2 The layout of the new offices (Source: author)

I also had to familiarise myself with the four catering facilities in GPO's building. There are two cafes and two restaurants for the sole use of employees and visitors of GPO. The first cafe is on one of the upper floors while the second is located in the basement. In numerous incidents, the employees working in the upper levels used to avoid taking their coffee breaks downstairs.

The restaurants, on the other hand, are both at the top level of the building but with totally different atmospheres. One of them is an affordable buffet service and open to all employees (at which I have rarely spotted high profile figures eating). The other is a 5-star restaurant with sophisticated French cuisine, a pricey menu and waiters with 'attitude'!

The stories and conversations mainly take place in the offices of the three sub-units, their corridors, or the areas taking used by the employees for short breaks. The location of such breaks give significant insights into how the interactions are diversely shaped between the members of the three teams. The significance in describing the physical layout lies in its impact on how participants develop their interactions and perspectives both of one another as individuals and as teams. This point is relevant as evidence shows that proximity and distance are associated with forms of compliance and resistance (see sections: 6.3.1, 6.3.2 and 6.3.3)

5.2.3. My roles

The purpose of this sub-section is to research questions one and two related to objective two in terms of establishing multiple accesses to the three units and their populations. This is associated with collecting dilemmatic stories of their day to day interactions by methods of observation and interviewing. The step thus overlaps with objective one by enhancing a holistic understanding of the case study. The diversity of tasks and teams accessed in the three units helped me to adopt multiple roles as a participant as well as an observer. This then ensured suitable opportunities to relate the diversity and practices in the three units to the universal scope adopted by GPO. For example, I initially joined UNIT1 and worked on translating documents from English into Arabic. I then extended this role by moving to UNIT3 in order to focus on more technical aspects such as the

machine translation and terminology translation. As for UNIT2, my interaction with the team there is more informal, in cases where I sometimes need to become engaged professionally in their daily tasks.

This multiplicity of roles then creates further opportunities of understanding GPO by granting access to more and different settings and events. In the process, I develop an association between the concept of 'cultural whole' and my 'ethnographic situation' in the field work. As I have mentioned in the methodology chapter, reflexive and critical ethnography calls for an 'ethnographic situation' that demonstrates ethnographer's moves between the "in here" and the "out there" (Scholte, 1969:438), (see section 4.4.1).

An implication here is to extend Watson's demonstration on the impact of the 'cultural whole' on 'Thick description'. He specifically refers to Bate's (1997:1150) debate against 'quick description' and how some organizational journeys, from Bate's view, become loosely labelled as 'ethnography'. Therefore, the integrative approach that I adopt enhances the inclusion of organizational realities and hence provides greater opportunities to understand the culture and aim of a Thick description thereof (Geertz, 1973).

5.2.4. U.N. Human Rights initiatives (HRE / HRBA)

This sub-section seeks to answer objective one: to develop a holistic understanding of the case study by providing a descriptive account of GPO. This will take into consideration its universal scope of work, the diversity and practices in the three diverse units, their physical layout and the sample of the study. The focus in this section is on the universal work scope of GPO. This is fulfilled by presenting a detailed description of GPO's adoption of the universal principles in developing its international programmes and initiatives. Human Rights training programmes, namely: Human Rights Education (HRE) and the Human Rights

Based Approach (HRBA) are central within GPO's scope. Both HRE and HRBA aim at implementing Human Rights principles in the UN and GPO programmes across the world.

The significance of this presentation lies in that the basic elements of HRE and HRBA, such as UN assemblies and articles, are constantly present in participants' daily tasks. However, the employees of the three units regard HR training programmes as more than references in their daily tasks. They would rather develop an interest in the associated conceptual and linguistic dilemmas as part of their daily discourse and practice. One implication of this is in transmitting HR principles across languages, cultures and the editor's own personal and political stances.

Human Rights Education (HRE) has an older history than HRBA where Article 26/2 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR, 1948) was the starting point of Human Rights Education (HRE) as an instrument for promoting Human Rights. In 1974, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization UNESCO proposed a "Recommendation concerning Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms" (UNESCO, 1974).

Following this in 1993, the World Conference on Human Rights (WCHR) reaffirmed the recommendation. In 1994, in accordance with a suggestion by WCHR, the General Assembly proclaimed the ten-year period beginning on 1 January 1995 as the United Nations Decade for Human Rights Education. The resolution 49/184 stated that:

Human rights education should involve more than the provision of information and should constitute a comprehensive life-long process by which people at all levels in development and in all strata of society learn respect for the dignity of others and the means and methods of ensuring that respect in all societies (UN, 1995).

The General Assembly also appealed to all Governments to contribute to the implementation of the Plan of Action, to step up their efforts to eradicate illiteracy and to direct education towards the full development of the human personality as well as to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; urged governmental and non-governmental educational agencies to intensify their efforts to establish and implement programmes for human rights education as recommended in the Plan of Action, in particular by preparing and implementing national plans for human rights education; and requested the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights to coordinate the implementation of the Plan of Action (UN, 1996).

In the same resolution the General Assembly invited the specialized agencies and those administering United Nations programmes to contribute, within their respective spheres of competence, to the implementation of the Plan of Action; calling upon a wide range of non-governmental organizations and others to increase their involvement in formal and non-formal education in human rights; and requesting the existing human rights monitoring bodies to place emphasis on the implementation by Member States of their international obligation to promote human rights education (UN: 1996).

In 2004, and based on the outcomes of the United Nations Decade for Human Rights Education (1995-2004), the General Assembly of the United Nations proclaimed the World Programme for Human Rights Education (2005-ongoing) (WPHRE) to advance the implementation of human rights education programmes in all sectors. Nevertheless, WPHRE differs from the United Nations Decade for Human Rights Education in that it is structured in consecutive phases. The focus of the first phase (2005-2009) is on Human Rights Education in the primary and secondary school systems. The second phase (2010-2015) targets the sector of

higher education, human rights training programmes for teachers and educators, civil servants, law enforcement officials and military personnel (Ibid: 1996).

5.3. The frame story

This section relates to objective two by attempting to construct an account of self-narratives within the participants' daily individual and group interactions. The overall narrative at hand revolves around a central event that takes place in the department of content management i.e. assigning a new (Female) director HEAD1. This happens only a few months before my first access to GPO. The fact that she is from outside the organization, as the employees express, becomes a great source of tension in the relationship between her and them.

Another source of tension is HEAD1's close association with HEAD2 who is the director of UNIT3 and is promoted by HEAD1 to become the head of all CM units. HEAD2 is challenged by almost everyone and has very few friends in the units. In spite of this collective dislike, most of the time I am used to seeing HEAD2, as being strong, determined and always on the move across the units, doing what she thinks is right.

At first the stories of the three units seem to have started with the arrival of HEAD1 and her teaming up with HEAD2. However, as I immerse myself in the organizational life of the participants I recognize that there are other untrackable origins that are rooted in the long history of the three units. In the light of this, stories start to reveal a hybrid taxonomy in terms of structure which leads me to eventually adopt Boje's concepts of ante-narratives (2001) and story space (2004), (see section 4.5.2).

The narrative of UNIT1 is the one with more defined features in terms of identifying a clearer beginning, middle and end (Czarniawska, 1997; Gabriel, 2000), while the stories of UNIT2 and UNIT3 are fragmented with no definite

beginnings or expected ends. This shows that ante-narratives (Boje, 2001) can be found as inseparable parts of the daily organizational narratives. In my analysis I contrast the hybrid stories to bring to life a comprehensive overall narrative.

Contrasting the hybrid stories consequently show that the narratives are revolving around unresolved conflicts, either with the senior management or the superiors within the units. I will present these focal points of tension in order to establish a background for the next thematic illustration of the stories. I will begin with UNIT1 where the main instability is the on-and-off vacant post of the director. This instability starts when the ex-director of UNIT1, 'NA' (Male), whom I never met but keep hearing about, resigns after a fierce clash with HEAD1.

Soon after, NE is assigned as acting director but she is soon demoted for no clear reasons. As a result, the unit stays without a director and consequently falls into confusion. The UNIT1 team takes different approaches in dealing with the confusion and it is only after six months that the post is given to a new director from outside the organization. The new director however leaves the post in less than two years - and again the unit falls back into disorder.

In UNIT2, the conflict takes a different form: that of a triangular, troubled relationship between JN the director of the unit, JP who is a senior employee in the unit, and HEAD2. JP develops a close working relationship with HEAD2 and wins her trust; however, JN who is not on good terms with HEAD2 regards this relationship with suspicion and treats JP as a spy for HEAD2. There is more stability in this unit than UNIT1 as JN is firmly keeping the work process in order.

In UNIT3 the conflict is similar to UNIT1's but with less disorder. UNIT3 is being left without a director, at the precise time, its last director HEAD2 moves up to the post of Head of Units. This creates particular tension between HEAD2 and LE, a

senior staff member, who is seemingly the most eligible to be the new director of UNIT3. HEAD2 retains strict control over UNIT3 and keeps on directing the unit from her new post. HEAD2 and LE are longstanding colleagues and have worked together as a team for more than 15 years and as a result, their relationship remains close in spite of their conflicts.

5.4. Patterns of day to day interactions and tensions

This section aims to demonstrate patterns identified from the day-to-day interactions and tensions in the three units. The demonstration is arranged into three themes: the first is seniority and hierarchical rules which seem mainly present in the interactions between senior and junior employees. The second theme is workflow control issues and mainly present in the interactions between peers. The third theme is 'the problem of dirty hands' and it is more evident in the interactions between the employees and their superiors.

In the first pattern of interactions, junior staff are supervised by the senior staff in terms of evaluating their performance. In the second and third patterns, the supervision responsibilities are formally and informally assigned to the senior employees. For example, all the junior staff used to be guided by their senior colleagues who instructed them in their editing and translation tasks. Objective three overlaps this sub-section by initiating the identification of the main logics and strategies used by the participants in order to relate to other individuals and groups.

5.4.1. Seniority and hierarchy rules

I start this theme by presenting my early attempts to familiarize myself with the work environment in UNIT1. It is a difficult time for UNIT1 with the prompt resignation of its ex-director 'NA' (Male) after a fierce clash with HEAD1. NE (Female), one of the senior employees who becomes his successor as acting

director, is also demoted after only a few months and for no clear reasons. The UNIT1 team is not only facing the challenges of its daily tasks and resource management but also the task of training a new group of trainees on high profile sponsorships. These events keep on resonating in participants' interactions and conversations right throughout the different stages of my fieldwork.

For the first two months I associate myself with the trainee group in UNIT1 and develop a good relationship with my office mate ZD. ZD is a young man in his late twenties from Qatar. He started his training process two months before me. Our office is the furthest from SN's office which gives us an opportunity to extend our breaks in exploring other CM units. On the other hand, the other trainees confine themselves to the strict rules posed by SN. Nevertheless, the tasks assigned to me and ZD are very few, which gives us cause for concern over the quality of our training.

We reflect on ways to move our training to other locations in GPO. My preference is to stay within the CM units while ZD is more curious to explore a new department (other than content management). However, we do not know whose advice to seek for our plans; the absence of a director is confusing everybody including us, the trainees. Nevertheless, we agree to help each other by collectively exploring the possible opportunities and then seeking direct support from our training sponsor.

An opportunity arises when a group of individuals join the unit on temporary contracts. They are hired for an annual event in GPO which requires editing a large number of documents and circulars. The temporary staff bring a flow of energy to UNIT1: they are diverse in terms of age, expertise and nationality. UNIT1 starts to have more gatherings to orientate them to their new work environment.

However, in these gatherings, seniority and hierarchy seem to dominate the interactions between senior employees and the rest of the team. By senior employees I refer to those who have been working in GPO for 10 years and over. We have to apply their linguistic techniques in our daily editing exercises, although some of trainees are competent enough to suggest more novel and creative alternatives.

The following extract is a dialogue between AM (Male), a senior employee in his early sixties, and ZD (Male), my office mate.

On a break with the group of trainees, AM begins a long narrative about his years of expertise in the UN system and his guiding role in the UNIT1 team. Leading the dialogue while giving little opportunity for the trainees to speak, AM expresses rather direct views on the performance of some of the UNIT1 team. For example, he points out that they are all at an advanced level but not as good as FD who holds the highest educational degree.

He then starts evaluating the interns and praises only one of them by giving special credit to her use of 'original Arabic words' in her translation. He defines these words as:

words that are rooted in Arab culture, originated in the Quran and classic Arabic texts. I see in her a promising translator, a great translator, a heavy weight translator, he concluded in his statement.

ZD, whose command of English is the best among the trainees, tries to give a different view by saying:

But classic Arabic might make modern texts dull. Why not make the translation in simple Arabic? I personally prefer to read the original English text if the Arabic translation is too classic.

AM replies in a rather strict tone: 'What is the use of this Arabic language training programme then? (Referring to our training programme). He then continues with the same tone of voice:

Such modern views on translation compromise our cultural identity and language qualities. We don't want to end up like the English language where its expansion has compromised many of its qualities.

ZD tries to extend his view but AM interrupts him saying in an even stricter tone that he must go back to work [Extracted from field-notes in phase one, translated from the Arabic].

AM (senior) and ZD (junior) debate the use of languages and translation: AM reinforces a classic linguistic approach while ZD calls for more modern approaches. I adopt this classification from AM's own typology in the dialogue which he repeatedly uses in other conversations. So "classic" refers to the focus on the linguistic perspectives of grammar and rhetoric in the act of translation while "modern" focuses on prioritizing the message in the original text over these aspects.

AM supports his claim with views rooted in visible illustration: the Quran and classic Arabic texts - and through his expertise and seniority gives firm credit to one of the junior interns. ZD on the other hand, presents a personal preference for simpler language over classical, which seems a weak support for his modern translation approach. AM responds with another strong argument on language originality and the risk of compromising it with 'loose' approaches. Again, AM uses his seniority and brings the debate to a close.

I have not seen ZD engage in a similar debate again and I also notice that he gradually limits his attendance of the formal gatherings within UNIT1. In one of our conversations in the office, he states: 'If only my father could see the type of training I am receiving in **GPO**', he places stress on the letters G.P.O. with a tone of resentment.

However, some of the trainees are able to identify more progressive views with those dominating UNIT1 norms, and so are able to assert themselves in their interactions with the senior employees. This next extract is a debate between the senior employee FD (Male) and the trainee SM (Female).

FD (Male) is one of the senior employees in UNIT1, he is an Arab Christian and in his late forties. He gives weekly training sessions for the trainees, who are all Muslims. In one of the sessions he selects Quranic texts as a demonstration of certain grammatical rules. One of the trainees 'SM' (Female) seems unhappy with FD's selection of texts. SM is a young trainee in her early twenties from Tunisia with a head scarf and gets engaged occasionally in socio-religious debates with senior UNIT1 members. I notice that her debates do not engage any ideological confrontations and usually are taken lightly by the UNIT1 team.

I watch an unhappy SM becoming more restless, knowing that at any moment she is likely to start one of her debates. When FD refers to a controversial Quranic verse on Muslim men's right to marry four wives, saying: 'you know I have my own interpretation over what this verse might mean.' She interferences nervously: 'but sir, the Quran is not about personal interpretations. It is what Allah and the Prophet Mohammed say.' FD replies: 'but what I want to explain is through the Arabic language grammar. It gives an alternative meaning.'

The argument lasts for some time and it only ends when ZD brings to our attention that the session time is over. SM comes to see me at the end of the day and blames me for not supporting her in the argument, because we are the only two ladies wearing head scarfs. I try to avoid a new argument but she heatedly remarks:

He said what he said on purpose, don't you see the three official employees in the unit are all non-Muslims. This way they control

the Arabic writing conventions in the organization. [Extracted from field-notes in phase one, translated from Arabic]

The incident might initially suggest a religious conflict between a Muslim trainee and her Christian tutor. However, what SM's debate might also suggest is deeper concerns over the influence of employees' personal ideologies on the editing process. To her, FD is non-Muslim and so he does not have the knowledge on the science of Quranic interpretation. FD on the other hand, is used to placing high emphasis on Arabic grammar as inseparable from the act of translation into and from Arabic. He extends this emphasis even to sacred texts and seeks multiple meanings regardless of any theological considerations.

However, FD does not seem to present strong support for his claim except that grammar would enhance multiple interpretations. SM on the other hand, defends her view with a knowledge of how there are specific theological rules for constructing multiple interpretations of Quranic verses. Both of their views can be extended into many interesting directions and debates. A relevant point here is that in spite of their differences, they hold considerable respect for each other and work efficiently as a team.

My view is that FD introduces a rather traditional but safe approach to translation by focusing on the grammatical rules. His support for such an approach is that it activates different interpretations and hence broadens the editing options. SM's defence is that sacred texts are ideologically sensitive and mere grammar is not enough to handle their intricate meanings. From this perspective, the debate seems an equal one between two colleagues who seek to enhance their performance and not merely argue over religion.

Comparing this debate with the earlier one between AM and ZD indicates that FD and SM are developing a more constructive interaction. A reason might be that although they have different views they are still able to categorize themselves as

advocates for classic translation techniques. Furthermore, SM's attitude is more assertive than ZD's, and FD's is less Autocratic than AM's.

I present these extracts on tensions caused by seniority not from a negative perspective but rather as representations of the dynamics of the daily practices in the three units. Senior employees like AM are forthright in their views but junior employees like SM are able to maintain a corresponding firmness about their views. By her assertiveness, SM is able to interact within the group in UNIT1, whereas ZD confines himself to working in isolation (rather than share his innovative perspectives).

As I follow up the UNIT1 stories, NE tells me that she sometimes hires SM on an external basis. However, in one of the follow-up conversations with ZD, a year after the training, he tells me: 'I receive emails occasionally from some of UNIT1's team, but I never reply!' He then says: 'The only one that I would like to reply to is NE but eventually I do not' [Extracted from field-notes in phase three, translated from the Arabic].

These extracts are examples on the different levels of identification in UNIT1, which are present in UNIT2 as well as UNIT3. The homogeneity of the group shifts between various levels of personal identity (I versus you) and social identity (we versus they). The various associations with the translator self: classic, religious, modern, linguist, also show the overlapping processes, such as depersonalization, self-stereotyping and social influence (Turner, 1982; Hogg, 2006; Reicher et al., 2010).

5.4.2. Workflow control

It is not long before I hear the temporary employees in UNIT1 complaining that SN is controlling, not only the task assignments but also the contracts for the temporary posts. I am on my way back from my lunch break when I see AM

smoking outside the external entrance of the unit. His back is to me and when I greet him, he turns towards me and I see an angry face. I ask him if everything is 'ok', and he sharply replies:

A secretary is deciding when we come and leave... when to finish and when to start... she is acting as if she is the director. This is how it ends when an efficient person like NE is removed and things are left in the hands of a secretary. A secretary is running the unit ...if my country had not been at war, I would not have been here facing such humiliation [Extracted from field-notes in phase one, translated from the Arabic].

The tone of anger and resentment in repeating the word 'secretary' makes me reflect on how authoritative AM's comments are in spite of the fact that he is a temporary, contracted employee. Is it only anger he is expressing, or also fear of changes underlying SN's so-called control? NE did not stay long to prove any efficiency in the post, but she had been working with AM for over 15 years. Is the threat then, one against their long established alliances over these long years?

In the extract AM is expressing his anger as a person and a professional; in other words, he identifies his personal and social identity. At the level of interpersonal relations there is this sense of dependency, lack of respect, and injustice. At the other end of social identity there is this sense of professional pride, his vast knowledge and expertise are compromised over 'administrative trivia - and by a *secretary*' as he comments on another occasion.

Rejection SN's control over the internal processes and task assignments gets repeated by other external employees, as I am to hear later. Two of them I know already and they are like AM, prominent language experts who are regularly hired on external contracts. When I talk to ZD about the incident and wonder if HEAD2 as the head of units knows about these complaints. ZD replies *whispering*:

- ≈ HEAD2 is the one giving SN this authority...
- ≈ I reply: No... but why, if it is making the seniors so angry?
- ≈ ZD: SN saves herself a headache by keeping the work routine moving.

≈ Then he whispers again: I don't even think HEAD2 likes SN...
[Extracted from field-notes in phase one, translated from the Arabic].

ZD seems confident about the information he gives out, HEAD2 used to take him along on smoke-breaks and they talk in private. I know that he will get annoyed if I ask for more details, so we move on to a different subject. One thing we agree upon silently is the many alliances in UNIT1 and the rising conflicts between them: AM and NE as the senior and long established UNIT1 members, SN and FD as the relatively new employees in the unit. The latter seem to be supported by HEAD2, most probably for different ends.

However, by the time of this conversation I have already moved to UNIT3 where LE generously helps me familiarise myself with the UNIT3 team and new work routine. I am no longer a part of any trainee group, but working with two professional groups within one unit: one is made up of LE and her other senior colleague ZY. The other group consists of the five young female staff on temporary contracts, three of them on longer contracts than the others. The UNIT3 team are from different nationalities and I share my office with a young Arab staff member 'SH' (Female). She frequently joins the unit on very short temporary contracts, so I practically have the office all to myself most of the time. As with UNIT1, there is the issue of the vacant post of the director which used to be HEAD2's previous post. However, UNIT3 seems more organized than UNIT1, partially because HEAD2 keeps tight control over the unit. She handles the senior decisions of promotions, hiring, and training programmes, which causes many conflicts between her and LE. Nevertheless, the daily work processes are more or less in LE's hand and so there is no obvious disorder like the one in UNIT1. Other reasons for this stability can be related to the nature of the task distribution in UNIT3. The roles - and hence the assignments - are distributed according to the language competencies of the UNIT3 staff, since the unit is working on all the

formal languages in GPO. Additionally, the staff are all from different nationalities, so unlike the UNIT1 team, there is a weaker sense of national identity. Therefore, I notice that the interactions are more at inter group level than interpersonal relationships. The actual tension however, between HEAD2 and LE remains and I shall present more in the next analysis chapter: chapter six.

However, in UNIT3 and encouraged by LE, I have more freedom to move and meet new people in the surrounding units and departments. I focus first on other CM units and notice that they all have directors. I develop friendships with different groups of employees, all diverse in terms of age, posts and type of contracts. All the conversations indicate stability in their units but with the usual disputes over their contracts and the new attempted changes by HEAD2 and HEAD1.

5.4.3. The problem of dirty hands

UNIT2's offices are located along the same corridor as UNIT3 so I became used to come across its team regularly. HEAD2 also introduces me to JP (Male), a senior employee in UNIT2, and encourages me to learn from him as much as possible. JP is in his early sixties, seems very social and highly regarded as a linguist by HEAD2 and his colleagues. However, LE tells me that there is tension between JP and JN (Female) who is the director of UNIT2. In my conversations with JP and JN later, I observe that HEAD2 is repeatedly pointed out as a part of this tension.

I develop a good relationship with JP, visit him frequently in his office and discuss different topics. However, on one occasion, while I am in his office, JN enters with one of the senior female employees walking behind her. JN looks very worried and asks for technical assistance in translating an important document. He responds to her in a very cold tone with minimum words and without even looking

at her. She waits to hear more but he turns his face away from her in rather a rude way. She becomes embarrassed and looks as if she desperately needs his input but he seems unwilling to help. [Extracted from field-notes in phase one]

Later that week I have coffee with JN, without mentioning the incident. She commences to speak about the reason for the tension between her and JP saying: 'He takes sides with HEAD2, it's happened more than once. I will never forgive him' [Extracted from field-notes in phase one, translated from Arabic]. In spite of her affirmative tone, she still displays some desperation, like at the time of the incident in JP's office.

I hear many of the UNIT3 and UNIT2 team members describing JN as distant and unapproachable. However, in this incident I observe her as vulnerable and weak in front of JP's insistence to not cooperate fully. This incident also confirms what AM used to mention - that employees vary in their competencies, and that some are more like consultants in their field. I additionally notice this as I see team members constantly seeking advice from colleagues like LE, JP and AM himself.

On the other hand, employees like JN, NE and HEAD2 seem to lack such weight, perhaps because they are engaged in more managerial responsibilities. However, when I ask JP about this, he says: 'we should always keep the temperature of writing', meaning not to stop the actual act of translating. Yet, when I discuss his advice once with 'Angel', the director of a fourth CM unit, she subtly nods with disapproval. She then swiftly mentions that established employees always come back on external contracts after their retirement.

Angel is one of the established employees in the department, she is in her late fifties and highly respected by almost everybody I meet. My conversations with her are fewer than the ones with LE and NE, but their quality is better. She is

discrete but honest enough to pass comments that, with some reflection, reveal their coded messages.

For example, at first I could not see the connotation in her comment to JP's advice. However, later I gather it is a quick hint on why some senior employees prefer not to take managerial roles and focus on the technical tasks. The reason is that managerial roles used to take them away not only from maintaining their linguistic skills but also from being recognized as *good* translators or editors. The editors who are known to be skilful used to be re-hired on an external basis after their retirement. On the other hand, those who engage in managerial roles have fewer chances of being re-hired after their retirement. This cycle of re-hiring the retired employees is one of the reforms that HEAD1 intend to push through, as *rumoured*.

Such subtle comments are part of the ante-narratives in the three units' stories. Behind the apparent events and conflicts there are hidden stories that individuals reluctantly pass through subtle hints. Angel's hint here for example, makes me look at some of JP and AM's interactions with fresh eyes and so I give them more plausible interpretations. In this context, seeking JP's advice might not serve merely as a skill enhancement, but rather an end for personal gain. This result related to objective two that seeks to construct an account of self-narratives within participants' daily individual and group interactions.

As for JN, I would interpret her distance from employees as a strategy to maintain order in her unit. NE and two other employees tell me at later points in time that there are attempts by HEAD1 and HEAD2 to demote JN from her position. However, JN fights back fiercely and manages to sustain her post. Not only this, she is also able to stop some of the changes that HEAD1 tries to bring into force, as she proudly states in one of her conversations. Ironically, JN has a close

association with NE and few female senior employees, all of whom seem to collectively dislike HEAD2 and work against her.

It also appears that the vacant directors' posts are central to the conflicts in UNIT1 and UNIT3. Some temporary employees have, at times, referred to it as an issue of 'dirty hands'. They hint at political ends for these vacancies, ends that cannot be fully understood in this study. However, conflicts also seem rooted in the hierarchical structure of GPO, the diversity within the groups, and longstanding interpersonal conflicts.

5.5. Multiple interpretations of day-to-day challenges

This section seeks to research objective three by identifying the main logics and strategies used by participants to relate to other individuals and groups. This has been researched through examining aspects of different self-representations and interpretations given by the participants of their day-to-day challenges and dilemmas. Further analysis considers aspects of the type and extent of contexts used in their interpretations and in identifying how they relate to their social realities.

Detecting the logics and strategies used by the participants in their self-narratives reveal multiplicity as a key feature in most of the emerging themes. For example, employees construct different self-representations which reflect multiple interpretations of their incidents and daily challenges. The interpretations are rooted in two main themes: the first theme shows how employees consider the tensions within an immediate context of managerial / organizational perspectives. In effect, they seek procedural and processual solutions.

In the second theme, employees express more complex views: by complex I mean that they expand the boundaries of the daily occurrences into wider contexts - whether organizational or beyond. Another way to describe this is that

they internalize many externalities by adding dimensions such as culture, religion, ethnicity, politics and / or history.

The results here are in accord with SIDE's proposal about the central role of context in social identity construction, both in terms of shaping and limiting it (Reicher et al., 2010). The analysis then considers both levels suggested by SIDE: the cognitive level where the focus is on identity salience. The second focus is on a strategic level where the focus is on shaping identity expression. The possible overlap on both levels is also noted (Ibid), (see section 4.4.1.2).

An illustration of this is how employees adopt different approaches towards their identity dilemmas when translating and interpreting texts on the delicate cultural issues of Human Rights. As an organization that aims to foster human and societal wellbeing, Human Rights (HR) principles come at the core of GPO's vision and mission. Therefore, HR principles are a daily occurrence in employees' tasks, where they convey HR sensitive meanings between languages and cultures. Such tasks have tended to pose dilemmas at personal and social identity levels.

The data shows two main overlapping approaches that employees adopt towards such dilemmas: the first revolves around embracing HR principles as an aspect of personal and professional development, while the second involves negotiating HR principles at the abstract level of its historical and philosophical roots, and their wider social, cultural and political implications.

In the former, employees show practical interest in making these principles part of their personal identity as skills for their daily work exercise. In the latter, they engage their social identity and intellectually negotiate the cultural dimension in HR principles as provoked in their daily tasks and interactions.

5.5.1. Interpretations within an immediate context

employees like LE, KL, SH and the group of interns I meet towards the end of my fieldwork tend to bring a different flavour to the HR associations in their daily practices. LE for example always speaks with enthusiasm about UN programmes such as Human Rights Education (HRE) as part of her work. She then keeps on associating them with her day to day life concerns: two areas are her favourite: the Arab region and women's rights.

On one occasion, for example, as she is introducing me to the training programmes of HRE tailored for GPO employees, I ask her if she has received any of this training. She replies 'only informally' and before I ask her what she means by "informally", she opens up by saying: 'HEAD2 is our problem; she is taking all the good training for herself' [Extracted from field-notes in phase three].

Although her statement seems irrelevant at first, I find it interesting how she shifts to using 'our' collectively referring to herself and the UNIT3 team. LE in general tends to be reluctant to perceive her younger colleagues as part of the UNIT3group. Nevertheless, as they comment, they trust her and seek her support both professionally and personally. I have the same trust in her while working in the unit. Apart from LE it seems that the young team has not yet passed some kind of 'rite of passage' to earn the membership of UNIT3. Nevertheless, in this conversation her use of collective reference indicates her respect of their rights to equal access to HR training.

However, she explains her personal interest in this training in another conversation when she says: 'I do not see that I have developed any personal skills that help me to seek a job elsewhere. All the skills I have are in editing GPO documents but what if I want to move to a more interesting job? GPO is boring,

my friends have left and no one is talking or discussing interesting things anymore' [Extracted from conversation with senior employees in phase three].

SH expresses a similar view: she has been offered a job outside GPO but she is not able to take it. She states that she is not convinced that she has the competence to meet the new employer's standards: 'all I know is to translate the way GPO wants us to translate or to teach French' [Extracted from field-notes in phase three].

This concern over personal development is repeatedly expressed by other employees in GPO in other units and departments. For example, one of the programme developers in SSS complained once that she received the HRE training but she is not being given the opportunity to practice it. She then adds:

I also received good training but what is the use if I am not given the opportunity to apply it in my work? I often thought about leaving GPO but where to go? My experience is limited to the type of work I do here and also the benefits are not the same out there. [Extracted from field-notes in phase three].

The previous extracts are considering the immediate context through views on HR but at a personal identity level. KL on the other hand, similarly looks at the immediate context of HR but with adding a social identity dimension. KL is in his late fifties and leads a small team of editors within UNIT1. He criticizes the implementation of HR in GPO, saying:

I would say that Human Rights in the West itself is not fully implemented; it is visible and communicated but not necessarily respected - not even by people working in the field itself [Extracted from conversations with senior employees, translated from Arabic in phase three].

KL in this statement regards GPO as a Western organization and hence develops a cultural dimension in his views. For example, he goes on to say: 'While in our region the principles of Human Rights are embedded in many daily and social practices, they nevertheless are not developed and structured as in the West'.

He then adds a temporal dimension to his argument by saying:

Now I can see that there is another dimension, that is, my values are rooted in my civilization of many, many centuries, yet the HR values have been recently formed [Extracted from conversations with senior employees in phase three, translated from Arabic].

His sense of being Arab and Muslim is clearly expressed and confronted in terms of values with GPO's exercise of HR. When I ask him about the resonance of this to his professional experience, he answers:

From my experience in leading a culturally diversified team for so many years I noticed that the thing feared most by employees in such an environment is discrimination on a cultural basis - whether on the basis of religion, race or nationality. But in recent years I have also noticed that the economic backgrounds of the employees are actually a major factor for discrimination. Socially the gap between rich and poor is expanding; this is reflecting in the working environment where employees from different economic backgrounds receive different treatment [Extracted from interviews with senior employees in phase three, translated from Arabic].

An interesting point in this last statement is that he is describing his team as culturally diversified although all the members of his team are actually Arab. This might have been for different reasons, such as, that he regards that they are from different Arab sub-cultures and / or different religions or sects. Another reason might be that Otherness is so rooted in GPO's employees' discourse that it become an end in itself.

Another point here is that KL, although he represents himself as an Arab as opposed to the Western culture of GPO, he seems to question his own sense of Arabness. I am referring here to his elaboration on economy being a factor in the social gap between employees. He is precisely referring, as I gather from other conversations with him, to the economic and social gap between Arab countries. Therefore, his own sense of Arabness does not seem fully secured and hence this sense of being an 'Other' within 'us'.

This is further shown in a sense of inconsistency in his perspective, for example he admits to hiring only Arabs, claiming that it is easier to know what to expect from them as employees. This clearly contradicts his claims for equality and respect in his other statements. Nevertheless, a sight of clarity appears as he admits that: 'Listen, equality and respecting differences is not as easy as people claim, it is a very complicated process' [Extracted from interviews with senior employees in phase three, translated from Arabic]. This last justification makes sense of the multiple shifts in his representations of self and Otherness in the diverse context of his organization.

In this self representation by KL, the two self constructs of personal and group identity are present: the Arab-self and being a part of an Arab-group. Considering the two constructs in the analysis process accords with the suggestion by Haslam et al. (2011) on redefining leadership as a joint process between leaders and followers, as a group. It also brings to light the complexity in group dynamics as a context and how it shapes and re-shapes personal identities and enhances the extend of context (Hogg, 2006; Ibarra et al.2014). The following theme demonstrates the the role of extended context in shaping participants' interpretations and self-narratives.

5.5.2. Interpretations within an extended context

The previous extracts are examples of how employees approach HR dilemmas within immediate organizational context. This section shows how they extend the boundaries of these realities into wider contexts for the sake of managing the same dilemmas. The following is still from KL who extends the cultural dimension initiated in his earlier quotes to wider abstract levels:

I also noticed that the Other is not necessarily a person from another culture, race or religion; many times the Other is one of us but with different way of thinking and a different set of life choices.

[Extracted from conversations with senior employees in phase three, translated from Arabic]

KL not only combines his organizational experience to his cultural perspectives but he also does this in a rather inquisitive way. The expression 'I noticed' indicates an element of observation and search for answers. He extends this search into self critique that questions the Other within his own Arab culture. As I highlight in the previous section, this might mean questioning Otherness as a notion in itself and hence the emerging pattern of multiple Arab selves.

KL, as he extends his perspective, tackles issues of universality from humane perspectives rather than human. That means that self-identity is not only explored in the stereotyping of national, racial, religious or geographical boundaries. This is revealed in his repeated remarks over the social and economic gaps between his Arab employees. He also refers to these gaps in other conversations referring to Arabs from the rich Gulf States and those from poorer Arab countries.

Such extended perspectives are also present in NE's questioning of social realities in the Gulf States. Over one of our morning coffees, as I am expressing my fascination about a translation theory, she says: 'I see that universities in the Gulf are advanced in teaching translation. I have never come across such theories, even though I studied in Genève'. She then asks for the book containing the theory I was talking about and continues saying:

Well let's hope that your country's progress will not stop, the Arab spring is moving more towards the East, look at what is happening in Syria [Extracted from conversations with senior employees in phase three, translated from Arabic].

NE rarely talks beyond the managerial and technical aspects when we discuss translation. As I follow UNIT1's story throughout my research term, it becomes proven that she excels more than anyone else in that managerial role. Even when she is demoted, she manages to keep the unit intact through following up tasks

as well as individuals with care and support. Only twice does she raise issues outside the managerial perspective and this is one of them. I see her inquiry as an exploration of the translator self as well as the Arab self: many Arab employees that I have met had lost touch with their home countries and the Arab world during their many years of living in Europe.

When I reply that what is happening in Syria is sad, she is encouraged to say: 'We are afraid for the Christians there'. I then think of her, FD and BR as Arab Christians; I am surprised at myself over forgetting this fact. With a cautious look NE waits for my answer, which I give frankly saying:

- ≈ I don't trust any religious ideology that interferes in politics including Islamic ones, I have the same concerns like you but not only for Christians. I am concerned for everyone who doesn't agree with the Islamists in Syria or in the other troubled Arab Spring countries.
- ≈ I am surprised, I thought people in the Gulf are more religious ..., She commented

[Extracted from conversations with senior employees in phase three, translated from Arabic].

I do not attempt to explain that my response has nothing to do with being less or more religious because I do not want to influence the conversation with more of my personal views. However, her last comment indicates that perspectives on 'Otherness within us' are varied among the Arab employees. Perhaps a major reason is their different commands over the logics they use in their narratives and interpretations, or perhaps it is their personal view and differences. What matters is that this Otherness is constantly present in their conversations, as I will present shortly.

5.5.3. The temporal dimension and re-interpreting culture

The interpretations within an extended context show a pattern of temporal orientation, therefore I will continue to present them within this emerging pattern.

This pattern suggests that employees at times identify themselves with traditions as an aspect of their authenticity and / or originality in their diverse work environment. This identification is in accord with the concept of moving from 'being' to 'becoming', as suggested by Reicher et al. (2010). Reicher et al. point out that the categorization process is completed by two dimensions: temporal and interactive.

In these coming extracts, employees seem to be negotiating some traditional views in the form of classic heritage and historical events. These negotiations are performed in the form of an abstract past such as sacred texts and religious figures (social identity) as well as personal past (personal identity). For example, KL expresses temporal orientation when he says:

You told me earlier that AM has recommended some traditional readings in Arab and Islamic Management. Personally I would advise you not to restrict yourself to old books, but to study our behaviours and motives today [Extracted from conversations with senior employees in phase three, translated from Arabic].

KL's view reflects the diverse approaches by the Arab employees towards interpreting their social and organizational realities. For, unlike AM who focuses on history as the point of departure, KL emphasizes the present. He then supports his argument with what is happening in the name of Arab Spring in his country, Egypt:

'For example, we talked earlier about Arab magnanimity but today in our countries women are assaulted in broad daylight and no man steps forward to protect them' [Extracted from conversations with senior employees in phase three, translated from Arabic].

The orientation of time is also expressed through colonial awareness and Otherness. Hind is a French-Algerian young lady in her early thirties and a manager who leads a small team in the policy making department and works closely with UNIT1 and other CM units. She talks about her personal experience of educating herself in diverse schools of philosophy:

I used to say: my knowledge is the first cover for my head, the more you have knowledge, the more you read, the more you know... [Extracted from conversations with GPO employees in phase three].

Hind is setting an analogy between Islamic head scarf and knowledge, so she is reflecting the past on her present. She *re-interprets*, as she states, the Islamic teaching on the head scarf in present contexts on women's right for education. She confirms this latter by saying: 'You know girls' education is something very important even if the woman wants to stay home and not work, knowledge, as I always tell people: knowledge is the number 1 *Hijab* for Muslim women' [Extracted from conversations with GPO employees in phase three].

Hind also puts forward another temporal orientation identified with colonial awareness. In one of her narratives, she describes how a French friend tries to treat a policeman in Dubai disrespectfully but he is surprised that the policeman assertively rejects his attitude. She comments:

So my French friend got the idea that he has control over Arab people because he was confusing in his mind Magreb (Western Arab countries) and Mashriq (Eastern Arab countries) ... but what he didn't take into consideration is that people in the Middle East or in Dubai - they have never been colonized like Algeria or Tunisia... [Extracted from conversations with GPO employees in phase three]

These statements indicate how participants re-evaluate their cultural-selves in different ways and one of them is re-interpreting them in modern contexts. However, this process of re-interpretation may not necessarily mean that it is the modern context that is problematic to them. In fact, it might equally suggest that the traditions or the authenticity are the problematic end of the equation: that 'being' and not 'becoming' is what they seek to resolve (Reicher et al., 2010). Finally, this result overlaps with objective one, where developing a holistic understanding of the case study by providing a descriptive account of GPO enhanced the identification of such intricate patterns of re-interpreting culture.

5.5.4. The Other within 'us'

The extended perspective also shows employees' negotiations on the Other within their culture or 'the Other within us'. An illustration is this story by KL on one of his missions to Abu Dhabi, the capital of United Arab Emirates. He says:

... for example I once went to Abu Dhabi to a conference with colleagues of mine and I was shocked with the way we were treated in the airport by the Asian employees. Here we didn't look at it as a direct act from the Asian workers but we looked at it as a decision taken by the local authority in the country itself, with whom we share the same culture, race and religion. How could they miss that the airport is the first reflection for the visitor of their country, we were treated very badly; with no respect unfortunately. I think there is a certain bond and code of respect between the Arabs that was violated in that incident' [Extracted from conversations with senior employees in phase three, translated from Arabic].

KL, in a sense of nationalism, points to the violation of the bond of Arabness. The explicit reference to the Asian workers in the airport as 'Others' might be regarded as a stereotyping of the Gulf States' over-reliance on foreign workers, particularly Asians. Not only does this contradict KL's earlier claims for universal respect, equality and justice but also raises a question: who is the Other in his story?

Is the Other: KL and his Arab colleagues who are not respected as Arabs as he claims, in Abu Dhabi's airport? Is the Other: the *Khalijis*², the newly rich who rely on non-Arab entities rather than their own race? Are they both Others - if yes, then who is the self?

The dilemma over the Other within 'us' is only the beginning. Another story is by Jebrin who is a senior Arab employee engaged in HR and language programmes in GPO. He says:

Once... and I will not mention the name of the country but it was an Arab country I worked as a project manager, in a project funded by GPO. So when I went to inspect the venue there I saw a lot of

garbage and that the venue was not clean. I told them this is not fair, the sponsor spent thousands of dollars on the new equipment and you haven't even cleaned the floor. The man in charge replied: no, no, no, this is ok in our culture and men don't clean. They thought that because I was raised in a European country that my traditional education was weak. But I replied to him with an Islamic proverb: (Cleaning is a mirror of faith) and I insisted that the funding will be stopped until cleanliness becomes a part of the working process as a whole [Extracted from conversations with senior employees in phase three, translated from Arabic].

The extract shows Jebrin portraying his Western-Arab self. He also shows that he is alert to the possibility that this identity might be perceived as the Other by Arabs raised in the Arab region itself. He specifically identifies his originality by quoting Islamic teachings on cleanliness, and then, to further extend this guidance as a practice in the work processes. KL and Jebrin are expressing a sense of multiple Arab identities. The fluidity in moving between these selves (as selves and Other) is happening so fast and within a single context that it begs for recognition.

In one of the discussions between AM and SD, who is a junior employee on a temporary contract, SD tries to criticize FD. SD claims that FD is passive towards the on-going problems in UNIT1. AM appears approving at the beginning until SD's comments turn personal at which point he promptly interrupts SD saying:

SD, wait... what are you trying to do? I will not speak against FD. Leave the boy alone; they are raised this way... back in his country, they can't speak. They walk with their heads down and close to walls... [Extracted from field-notes in phase one, translated from Arabic]

AM here is referring to Christian Arabs in their home countries in the Arab region. His view is that FD's withdrawal from the problems in UNIT1 is related to his upbringing in his home country as a religious minority. SD seems embarrassed because I am a witness to the discussion and, also, he holds great respect for AM as I have observed in the relationship between the two employees. However, AM's tone of ending the conversation includes a gesture of guidance for SD -

which I also notice.

AM has a high competence in cultural translation which makes him one of the most established members of the UNIT1 team and so gets hired over and over for external contracts. He is regarded as an authority in the field for his command as a linguist, both culturally and linguistically. The UNIT1 team, in addition to HEAD2, used to assign the critical translation projects, primarily, to AM. This adds to his sense of Arabness and also enables him to relate to the conflicts with the new management and the dominating culture of Arabness in UNIT1.

Another aspect that can be extended here is Arabness as a bond that goes beyond religious and nationality differences. FD has a coffee maker in his office and in the most troubled times as well as in joyful ones, I used to see the senior Arab employees hosted in his office sipping coffee and discussing the latest events.

Weir (2005) explains that cultural formalities are preserved by Arabs in all aspects of life, including managerial. He then points out the 'ubiquitous' of coffee and tea rituals in Arab gatherings. He further brings in the guest hall in Arab culture 'Diwan' as a venue of all aspects of life, social, dialogue, business and 'the confirmation of informal as well as formal meanings'(Ibid:17). FD, as a Christian Arab, is not less of an Arab in this authentic sense of Arabness, in fact he is the generous host!

The above demonstrations, along with those in section (5.5.2), indicate the complex group dynamics in the units, namely multiple group identities and blurred inner boundaries (Ibarra et al., 2014). They can also support the notion that perceiving leaders and followers as a group (Haslam et al., 2011) and the role of context (Hogg, 2006) helps to enhance new understandings of leadership and

identity construction as social processes (see section 5.5.1). The next theme demonstrates the impact of these dynamics and extended context in the interpretations in expressing a sense of multiple selves.

5.6. The multiple selves

This section, as in the previous section, responds to objective three in identifying the main logics and strategies used by participants to relate themselves to other individuals and groups. It also overlaps by fulfilling objective four: to examine whether (and how) emotions influence participants' attitudes and behaviours - and hence their leader-follower interactions. However, the focus remains on objective three in spite of the overlap.

On the surface and in the formal daily interactions, employees are identified with the language designations of their units. The units are labelled by the main language in use and so employees are identified as: 'the editor of the French language', or 'the editor of the English language' or 'Arabic language' and so on. However, the more I engage in employees' daily lives, the more I notice how they constantly redefine themselves: by nationality, seniority, expertise, type of organizations they worked in prior to GPO, and / or the type of contracts they possessed within GPO itself.

Multiplicity of self representations continues to be a key theme in these redefinitions, and context also continues to be a key player in both shaping and legitimizing the constant self redefinitions. I present this final theme in two main overlapping salient representations: organizational and cultural selves.

5.6.1. The organizational selves

The translator self-identity appears salient among the multiple self-identities portrayed in the narratives of the three units. This salience ranges from representations by the *in-house editors* to secretaries shaping their performance

through claiming some linguistic knowledge. However, I highlight here that this salience is not an account by itself. It is rather part of the journey between 'being' and 'becoming' (Reicher et al., 2010) taken by the employees. In this section I present three translator self-identities that dominate the daily interactions in the three units: the national-self, the contractual-self and the techno versus human-self.

5.6.1.1. The national-translator self

In the diverse international culture of GPO, nationality seems the first line of identification among its employees. In GPO's content management department, certain units are *en-captured* by nationality identification more than others. There are two possible reasons for this: one is that the entire team in each of these units belong to the same nationality. The second reason is that the political status of this specific nationality is internationally controversial. For example, the UNIT1 team are all Arabs and the Arab international relations then, dare we say, are not at their best. Therefore, the connotations of identifying the UNIT1 employees as *Arab employees* suggest certain political and social stereotyping.

Examples of similar political and social stereotyping are also expressed on national based teams. For example, in one of LE's stories on GPO's history, she describes how the individuals in a Chinese team used to isolate themselves from other employees. She then explains that this is related to the political atmosphere in China: 'They were afraid to say anything because everything they say is monitored' [Extracted from conversations with senior employees in phase three]. Another example arises when JP comments about another Russian team: 'Russian employees don't seem interested to have a presence, because they lost their political pride' [Extracted from conversations with senior employees in phase three].

On the other hand, the rest of the units (although designated by formal languages), have multinational teams - and therefore collective national identification or stereotyping seem unlikely. Furthermore, languages like Spanish, French or English are not associated with specific countries like Russian or Chinese. For example, Spanish is the formal language of both Spain and the Latin American continent, French is the formal language of Francophone countries and English of Anglo-Saxon countries. The latter point might apply to Arabic, however this would then be debated with the emerging theme of the Arabness bond shown in the UNIT1 narratives.

5.6.1.2. The contractual self

Another form of stereotyping that seems to be categorizing employees is through the type of contracts they are on. At peak times, when large numbers of temporary employees are hired, labels like: external employee, temporary employee, or in house employee become dominant in the daily discourse across the units. I meet many employees on temporary contracts who express a great sense of injustice - especially those who have for years been promised to be moved to permanent contracts. However, permanent contract holders also express a sense of injustice and insecurity as many of them are frozen in grades which are lower than they claim to be eligible for.

The employment scheme of GPO apparently induces a hierarchical rigidity that one of the senior employees in SSS once described by saying: 'hierarchy is so rooted in GPO's history that we've lost most of its track' [Extracted from field-notes in phase three]. In UNIT3 for example, I hear many stories about a secret competition between LE, the senior member, and two younger team members. Although LE exceeds the younger staff in her expertise, networking, seniority,

she still expresses concerns over being overshadowed by them. In one of our conversations, she opens up about these concerns saying:

HEAD2 used to be the director of UNIT3 and since she was promoted the post has been left intentionally vacant. She refuses to open the post though she knows that I am qualified to take it and lead the unit. She is bringing younger staff and expects me to train them so they can take over one day. She comes every morning to the unit to take them outside with her and she chats with them but she never calls me. She is only focusing on the younger team members [Extracted from field-notes in phase one].

However, LE has a gift of turning her two attributes of seniority and insecurity into interesting stories, especially about GPO's older times. Her stories are endless and sadly, her younger colleagues show little patience in hearing them. Much of my early and important understanding of GPO's culture has been shaped by her stories. For example, on our first encounter, she takes me on a lengthy tour in the organization and enthusiastically explains GPO's history. Towards the end though, she surprises me by giving away a heavy sigh that does not match her joyful enthusiasm during the tour. She then says: 'Oh GPO has turned to an elephant graveyard' [Extracted from conversations with senior employees in phase one]. Such sudden hard-to-grasp statements form my early constructs of GPO's ante-narrative account (Boje, 2001). They also relate to objective two: to construct an account of self-narratives within participants' daily individual and group interactions.

Telling stories seems to be a way of coping with the insecurities and identity dilemmas of daily practices by many employees. In this way, they transform these insecurities and dilemmas into a flow of stories about the 'good old days', as opposed to the 'current difficult times'. The contractual self-identity is better expressed with sense of insecurity, which I will expand upon in the next analysis chapter: chapter six.

5.6.1.3. The techno versus human-self

Moving to UNIT3 helps me to access a different form of translation work, that is, machine translation. LE seems to be leading this techno practice as she develops her skills in a new translation software programme introduced to the CM department. Then, as I hear and observe, she becomes an expert in using the software and all other units ask her for help in training and sorting out technical difficulties.

This techno turn is also present in the daily debates between employees across the three units. For example, on one occasion JP describes translation saying 'there is no right or wrong in translation', meaning that there are multiple ways of translating the same text and hence come the extended debates over these ways. So, to him, translation is 'a safe job, you rarely get it wrong' [Extracted from conversations with senior employees in phase four].

However, other employees like NE, KL and FD express more ambitious views. For example, NE and KL have claimed several times that UNIT1 surpass other units handling Arabic documents in UN organizations. KL for example once stated that: 'We standardize our daily translation norms and techniques, other units in UN seek our advice on translation issues'. [Extracted from conversations with senior employees in phase three].

He later explains to me how their tasks demand the use of the same UN references used by other UN organizations, such as UN universal declarations. Hence there is constant reference to UN's website and hence their interest in the new techno tools for terminology and text corpora.

Another manifestation is the attention to the competition between machine translation and human translation. NE and HEAD2 in particular pay attention to computer based translation initiatives, hence HEAD2's focus on UNIT3 and its

younger team. During a quiet lunchtime, NE expresses how she is not happy with the Arabic setup in the translation software. She states: ‘We are doing very little in developing our text bases; other organizations are doing a better job’ [Extracted from conversations with senior employees in phase three, translated from Arabic.]

I perceive this as a race between seniority and youth – yet not in terms of age but traditions and approaches to translation. This race creates what LE describes as tension between senior editors and the UNIT3 team. She heatedly retorts: ‘they do not see us as translators, but we are translators!’ [Extracted from conversations with senior translators in phase three]. The rumour (as I hear later) is that HEAD1 is planning to develop UNIT3 to become the central unit for content management and reduce manual editing and translation to the minimum.

5.6.2. The cultural selves

The data also shows a dominant cultural dimension in employees’ self-identity narratives. In the manifestations of this cultural dimension, employees adopt a cultural sense of self and draw their views and conversations from elements such as history, nationality, ethnicity, and / or language. Then they craft their views and conversation in order to make sense of their organizational and social realities. Illustrations on this theme have already been presented in previous sections; however, this section will extend them as a conclusion for this chapter.

AM for example, to expresses direct and profound cultural views on his debates. By direct I mean straightforward comparisons between the two contexts of West and Arab cultures, and then within the Arab culture itself. Armed with his extended knowledge of history, philosophy and linguistics combines a range of logics and perspectives. This further enables him to tackle the incidents within UNIT1 and

GPO from different cultural angles.

For example, in one of his conversations he says:

But look, Human Rights in the West has been developed and structured since the 19th century, in terms of working hours ... the holidays etc. moreover, when you look at the Human Rights declaration you will see the rights' forms are developing - for example it used to be within the form of freedom of speech, education, work etc. and now new rights are being added like the homosexuals and other things. [Extracted from conversations with senior employees in phase three, translated from Arabic]

In this extract AM embodies a historian-self and establishes his debate on historical facts before extending his comparison of the two worlds. As an Arab I understand that his command of history shapes his authentic sense of Arabness - hence his recognition as an authority in the field for his command of both cultural and linguistic realms. This is what makes him one of the most established members of the UNIT1 team and the reason for being hired repeatedly on external contracts. The UNIT1 team, in addition to HEAD2, used to assign the critical translation projects, primarily, to AM.

This sense of Arabness has its implications on his interpretations of conflicts in the unit. This is an illustration of this, as he develops his previous view:

You must see the fundamental differences between our culture and their culture. The 'main' difference is that they build Human Rights on the rights of individuals while in our culture it is the right of the group; it is only now that they talk about the right of the group. Look at what happened to NE, we all stood up for her... [Extracted from conversations with senior employees in phase three, translated from Arabic]

By 'they' / 'their culture' AM is referring to Western culture and reflecting this difference on the incident of NE's demotion. So it is 'us versus them' where he claims that the UNIT1 team stood by NE as one of 'us'! So the Arabness of UNIT1 seems important to him in interpreting the incident of her demotion. This can also be extended to mean that behind the explicit 'us versus them' is an implicit 'we

are better than them’.

AM also embodies the translator self not in its organizational sense, but in a cultural sense. This is an illustration of how he historically tracks how democracy was introduced by the West to the Arab/Muslim worlds:

Now democracy was first introduced to our region in the late days of Ottoman Empire. This was when the West lost hope in turning the Ottoman Sultan Abdul Hamid to their side. Here the word democracy started to find its way and people started to hear it more often and in a political context through movements such as the Turkish Committee of Union and Progress [Extracted from conversations with senior employees in phase three, translated from Arabic]

As a professional, AM is using one of the most critical practices of translation and editing that is ‘intertextuality’. So, he is shaping a meaning for ‘democracy’ as a Western concept within a historical and political Muslim context. However, this culture is a Muslim culture (Ottoman) - but not Arab - which extends the intended meaning even more. Navigating his message through such diverse contexts shows the many cultural shifts he takes in order to shape a new meaning for democracy (and in a hybrid context).

In my mind as a listener, democracy is no longer that ‘Western’ as it gains more universality or at least loses some of its particularity. This is a possible strategy by AM for sustaining the ‘we are better than them’ attitude: perhaps to AM it is a matter of cultural pride.

As with AM, JP often extends the translator self into his cultural debates and this is an extract of one of our many cultural debates:

As Europeans we not only translate but also re-translate and we borrowed this from the Romans. Romans were interested in other cultures while Greeks were not - so they did not translate like the Romans. Greeks did not care about the foreigner. Arabs translated but did not keep the originals. Chinese explored to conquer but once they conquered they stopped exploring. Europe did not lose

interest in exploring the other cultures [Extracted from conversations with senior employees in phase four].

Not only is JP illustrating a European cultural identity through translation but also, through the critical tool of intertextuality, he is re-defining this identity. His view is embedded in logics such as theology, philosophy, history and language, all which he used to shape a cultural sense of identity. Logics around tradition are always present in JP's narratives. On one occasion, he points out that: 'Translation is derived from tradition, they have the same root in French: *traduction* 'translation' and *tradition* 'tradition', see they are pronounced similarly'. When I ask JP to explain his point, he refers me to a dictionary emphasizing that the common meaning is in 'trans' as in 'through or across': TRADITION (Fr., Engl) is from trans- ("through") and dare ("give"), TRADUCTION (Fr.) is from trans- and ducere ("lead") (a "duke" is a "leader"),

Superiority is also present in interactions within cultural selves, I am being positioned as the 'Other' on a regular basis. For example, one day I receive a phone call from JP, in which he excitedly remarks:

Hey, I have something interesting for you. It is a document I am translating now, it made me think of your research. Listen, it is a meeting between an HR expert and his team. He is reporting his trip to an Arab country where he meets the national HR committee, he is saying: 'they do not even know what HR is!'. Ohh, hahahahaha (JP laughs)... I can send you the document if you want [Extracted from conversations with senior employees in phase four]

It is not the first time that JP projects an attitude of 'us versus you' in the sense that 'we are teaching you'. The question is: teaching us what? The answer comes: 'teaching you how to be civilized', 'to exercise Human Rights as we invented it to be', 'to develop refined taste for Art: our art', and/or 'to play music: our music'. These implicit messages are passed on in many of JP's conversations, they become more explicit as we develop a stronger rapport. With only the best

intentions, it is simply how he perceives the 'us and you' when the 'you' is non-European. He simply and honestly admits it by stating: 'To me, Europe is *civilization*, this is how I know civilization' [Extracted from conversations with senior employees in phase four].

JP often embodies this enlightener-self, and often relates it to European civilization. Similarly, LE at times portrays a saviour-self where she addresses me and SH as Arab women who need to know more about liberty and gender equality. Once SH confesses in a desperate tone: 'LE gets too excited about these stories (Women Rights violation in the Arab world) and starts discussing them with me because I am Arab and Muslim, and if I don't see things her way, then she tries to force her opinions on me' [Extracted from field-notes in phase three, translated from Arabic].

This cultural identification is also present in the earlier illustrations in the extract by Hind who re-interprets cultural views in modern contexts (see section 5.5.3). A similar sense of cultural self is also presented by Jebrin's sense of being a Western-Arab (see section 5.5.4), and KL who expresses his Arabness in the sense of a nationalist (also see section 5.5.4).

These cultural selves can be transformed into an interesting typology that reads the organizational and social realities of the three units in more depth. However, for the purpose of this chapter they will be confined as self-identity expressions and strategies that the employees use to cope with these realities. Therefore, the focus remains on the fluidity in adapting multiple senses of Self and Other, the construct of narratives and logics in their representations, and the role of context in shaping it all.

5.7. Summary of the main findings

Section 5.2 in the chapter responded to objective one that seeks to develop a holistic understanding of the case study by providing a descriptive account of GPO. The descriptive account was then complemented through initiating a narrative account in section 5.3. The narrative account aimed to fulfil objective two by constructing an account of self-narratives within participants' daily individual and group interactions. It also sought answers to objective three: to identify the main logics and strategies used by the participants with which to relate to other individuals and groups.

Both sections 5.2 and 5.3 have formed an introductory account of the case study and set the scene for presenting the main results of the first stage of analysis in sections 5.4, 5.5 and 5.6.

The results of the chapter developed the argument that individuals tend to engage in crafting a sense of us / we-ness in order to interpret the uneasy relationships with their superiors and groups. In spite of the universal scope of their organization, the individuals tend to adopt their own cultural worldviews in constructing many of these interpretations. In effect, they adopt multiple personal and social self-categories that are context driven and constantly changing.

The first part of the argument resonates with the proposal of Haslam et al. (2011) of a new psychology of leadership that defines leadership as the relationship between leaders and followers within a social group. Their argument then considers: context, role of followers, function of power, and dynamics of transformation as significant leadership dynamics (Ibid:21), (see section 2.3.6). Hence, it is the individuals' sense of we-ness rather than I-ness that matters in their definition of leadership, where both the individual and the group level of analysis are important.

The main result in section 5.5 shows that participants develop multiple interpretations of conflicts with their superiors and groups through patterns of self-narratives. This emphasizes their active role as followers in shaping the leadership process with their leaders, as suggested by Haslam et al. (2011). The results also suggest that multiple interpretations are context driven, and it is also demonstrated that context is enacted from different angles and on different levels (see sections 5.5.1 and 5.5.2). This also points to the role of context as a dynamic in the leadership process as signified by Haslam et al (2011).

However, a significant result also emerges, that participants express their interpretations through narrative logics which they draw from their own cultural worldviews (see sections 5.5.3 and 5.5.4). This all generates a representation of multiple organizational and cultural selves from which they draw upon diverse ethnic, religious, cultural and organizational logics (see section 5.5).

Nevertheless, the participants also seem to question the self-representations generated by their own cultural worldviews. For example, they tend to re-interpret the cultural worldviews in different contexts (see section 5.5.3). They also attempt to re-order the inner boundaries of their groups by exploring the 'Other within us' (see sections, 5.5.1, 5.5.2 and 5.5.4). In my interpretation this means that the self-categories are not mere representations of their social realities but also a means of organizing them or perhaps even re-defining them. I have explored these social realities through analysing participants personal and social self constructs in the context of their group dynamics (Haslam et al., 2011; Hogg, 2006; Ibarra et al., 2014).

This final point reinforces the idea of the complex relationship between the social realities and self-categories as identity dynamics. This is in accord with the emphasis of Haslam et al. (2011) on the deceiving nature of the relationship

between social realities and categories. They point out constant change as a feature of social reality, and hence the perception of its complex nature. They further emphasize the bidirectional relationship between the two, where categories are means to represent, realize and organize reality (see section 2.4.6).

A significant result that runs through the sections indicates that the multiple self-representations seem associated with identity uncertainties and work insecurities. I will extend this result to the next chapter in order to fulfil objective four: to examine whether (and how) emotions influence participants' attitudes and behaviours - and consequently, their leader-follower interactions (Smith, 1993; Mackie et al., 2000; Smith et al., 2007). Extending this result in chapter six aims to amplify the response to the second aim which is: to explore the coping strategies in the identity dynamics and power interplays in the day-to-day leader-follower and group interactions (see section 1.3).

Haslam et al. (2011) criticize the new directions in leadership studies where leadership is approached from a wide range of considerations (see section 2.3.6). However, it seems that the same critique could apply to their proposal. This is enhanced by participants' insecurities and uncertainties along with the complex relationship between the realities and categories as main results in participants' self-narratives.

I will expand this important point in the final discussion in chapter seven. The elaboration would be an extended response to objective three which seeks to identify the main logics and strategies used by the participants with which to relate to other individuals and groups. It will also complement the answer to objective four that strives to examine whether (and how) emotions influence participants' attitudes and behaviours, and hence their leader-follower interactions.

CHAPTER SIX

STAGE TWO ANALYSIS

6.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the second stage of analysis of the study, it aims to fulfil objective four: to examine whether (and how) emotions influence participants' attitudes and behaviours, and hence their leader-follower interactions (see section 1.3). Smith et al. (2007) argue that intergroup emotions become part of the psychological self as individuals identify themselves with a social group (see section 4.4.2). Smith et al. (2007) further develop four criteria in order to differentiate group emotions from the same person's individual-level emotions:

Group emotions are distinct from the same person's individual-level emotions, depend on the person's degree of group identification, are socially shared within a group, and contribute to regulating intragroup and intergroup attitudes and behaviours (Ibid: 431).

In the light of these criteria, objective four formulates and seeks answers for two aspects. The first aspect is detecting associations of emotions, attitudes and behaviours at individual and groups levels. The second is identifying the power relations and ethical issues within the leader-follower interactions (see section 1.3).

The research relating to the objective and the three aspects are thematically presented in this chapter by firstly identifying the patterns of emotions in the self-representations in the participants' narratives (see section 6.2). The presentation then is extended into demonstrating the attitudes and behaviours associated with these emotions in section 6.3. The attitudes and behaviours are interpreted within the social context of the leader-follower and group interactions. They are revealed as disciplined and conformist selves (see section 6.3.1) and the dramaturgical and resistant selves (see section 6.3.2) in the narratives. The interpretations of how emotions shape the attitudes and behaviours in these selves are drawn from

Collinson (2003, 2005, 2014). The main focus is on his suggestion that insecurities are present in multiple and overlapping forms in organizations and they play a significant role in reproducing workplace selves and power relations in organizations (Collinson, 2003).

Sections	Objectives	Results /Themes
Section 6.2	Seek answers to objective four: To examine whether and how emotions influence participants' attitudes and behaviours and hence their leader-follower interactions.	Patterns of emotions in the self-representations in the participants' narratives (overt vs. covert frustrations, acts of distance, splitting self)
Sections 6.3	Considerations for this purpose will be: To detect associations of emotions, attitudes and behaviours at individual and groups levels. To identify the power relations and ethical issues within the leader-follower interactions will also feature here.	The attitudes and behaviours are interpreted within the social context of the leader-follower and group interactions as: 1. Disciplined and conformist selves. 2. Dramaturgical and resistant selves. 3. Disguised resistance.

Table 6.1 The structure of chapter six

In the light of this, the argument put forth in this chapter would be that the complex diversity in GPO, as an IO that engages heavily in international conflicts, has a serious impact on employees' leader-follower interactions. The cultural and national conflicts in their interactions would lead to a sense of personal and social identity insecurities among the followers. In order for them to cope with these insecurities, followers would reinforce their threatened self-values by generating more assertive personal and social self-representations. The new positive self-representations would eventually empower them with positive attitudes that transform the power relations between them and their leaders.

Table 6.2 is a replication of table 5.1 in Chapter five. The aim of this replication is to keep the reader connected to the main team members in the UNIT1, UNIT2,

and UNIT3. The table illustrates their demographic profiles for the purpose of providing a more enhanced and meaningful presentation of their self-narratives.

Main characters in the three teams			
Name	Gender	Age	Team
NA	Male	60	UNIT1
NE	Female	40	
BR	Female	50	
FD	Male	40	
KL	Male	50	
AM	Male	60	
BL	Male	60	
SD	Male	40	
AQ	Male	30	
SN	Female	40	
SM	Female	20	
FA	Female	20	
ZD	Male	20	
WA	Female	30	
MA	Female	20	
JN	Female	50	UNIT2
JP	Male	50	
ST	Female	30	
HN	Male	30	
LE	Female	50	UNIT3
ZY	Female	50	
AL	Female	20	
PA	Female	30	
CL	Female	20	
SH	Female	30	
AA	Female	40	
Head1	Female	50	
Head2	Female	40	

Table 6.2 Demographic profiles of the main team members

6.2. The emotional selves

The thin walls of the offices in the three units transmit most of the conversations into the neighbouring offices. One of them is unavoidable: a heated conversation between LE and HEAD2. I go to LE's office soon after HEAD2 leaves and while trying to calm her down, she bursts out crying. She repeats statements like: 'HEAD2 insists on humiliating me in front of the young girls.' She cries uncontrollably for around 10 minutes [Extracted from field-notes in phase one]. Such clashes tend to be repeated between the two colleagues and sometimes in front of the team. This is my first close conversation with LE and I notice that she openly speaks about these clashes to other colleagues as well. Another round of

crying is by NE, who bursts into tears while breaking the news about the post of director in UNIT1 being opened to candidates from outside GPO.

Such emotional incidents of open frustrations and weeping are recurring often in the units. Anger, despair and confusion appear to be feelings that participants express openly (see also sections, 5.4.1 and 5.4.2). Confusion is particularly more common among the younger employees who are on training or temporary contracts (see section 5.4.1). On the other hand, patterns of transforming these frustrations into structured actions are more noted among the senior employees as will be explained shortly (see sections, 5.5.2 and 5.6.2).

Some of the incidents are emotionally intense, to me as a researcher and a person. The tension from these encounters remains with me and accumulates even after I leave the field. One strategy I adopt in order to limit such extended emotional engagements is to perceive them within the 'participant observer oxymoron', and the tension between 'detached observer and empathetic participant' (O'Reilly 2009:157), (see section 4.5.1). Knowing that other researchers are going through similar experiences and transform them into scientific concepts helps me in regulating my own emotional engagement.

However, not all frustrations in the units are openly expressed or discussed by the participants. Some emerge in covert patterns and it requires a longer time period to identify their subtlety. For example, the other senior employee in UNIT3, ZY seems unconcerned about anything outside her constantly closed office. She is frustrated as well with the way UNIT3 has been left without a director, as I overhear her discussing it with LE several times. Nevertheless, her attitude is to shut herself in her office and keep her interactions with colleagues and superiors to a minimum.

BR in UNIT1 is similar to ZY, who draws strict boundaries both physically and

personally; physically by closing the door of her office and personally by strictly limiting her interactions with colleagues to the daily core tasks. BR is straightforward in telling us as trainees, for example, that she does not like to be visited in her office. She has the same attitude with her colleagues and I rarely see her attending their breaks or gatherings.

I also observe this covert attitude of frustration in two young employees in UNIT2, ST (Female) and HN (Male). They seem timid on a first encounter, but they soon become engaged in interactive conversations. However, they withdraw to their offices once it comes to meetings or get-togethers with their senior colleagues and / or their director JN. I have more conversations with ST than HN, and at the end she expresses her frustration with JN and surprisingly, with HN himself. Her repeated remarks indicate subtle competition between the two young employees, similar to the ones amongst the junior team members in UNIT3.

BR and ZY, though, express more freedom in criticizing senior managerial decisions as I've noted a few times. Still, their escape from the scene of daily interactions seems more a matter of their actual choice of how to express their dissatisfaction. Such covert patterns of frustration are in accord with Collinson (2003:537) who highlights the concept of *splitting self*. He explains that dissatisfied employees distancing themselves physically or psychologically is 'an alternative conformist survival practice'.

Therefore, employees in subordinate work positions, who see little opportunity for personal development, may seek to distance themselves either physically, through, for example, absenteeism and resignation, or psychologically, by *splitting self* (Ibid). Cohen and Taylor (1992) propose that employees who are distancing themselves from their organizations and escaping into a private world outside work are actually adopting an alternative conformist survival practice.

This also resonates with Collinson (2003) who references such acts to the idea of invisible resistance practices. Collinson (2003) indicates that the invisible resistance practices are understudied in comparison to visible resistance practices. He further points out that this does not mean that they would not cause similar serious effects.

I also perceive these acts of distance to be in accord with Tajfel and Turner's (1979) focus on low-status groups where the fixed boundaries of their groups mobilize them towards acts of escaping or expanding these boundaries. In this study, both acts of escaping and expanding group boundaries seem to mobilize towards a social change and result in the construct of new or multiple identities. This has been demonstrated in sections 5.5.4. and 5.6 with relation to what Reicher et al. (2010) suggests about three possible strategies for the escape: the first is to compare the in-group with other groups; the second is to evaluate the in-group through 'flattering dimensions of comparison' and the third is to redefine the in-group membership. This is also evident in this second stage of analysis and will be more clearly demonstrated in section 6.3 particularly under themes related to self-values.

6.3. Attitudes and behaviours associated with the emotional selves

Foucault (1977) argues that surveillance-based workplaces produce disciplined and conformist selves. His argument is that power and control impact on the way individuals construct their identities and relationships. In the light of this idea, Alvesson and Willmott (2002:10) suggest 'identity regulation' as a normal product of organizational control in contemporary organizations. Collinson's (2003) argument extends this idea within a broader argument that appreciates the role of subjectivity and insecurities in developing the understanding of power and identity reproduction in organizations. He further argues that understanding the

insecurities of subjectivity in the workplace would help in better understanding the reproduction and transformation of power relations in organizations (Ibid), (see section 2.3.4).

Drawing on these concepts, this section presents further interpretation of the overt and covert patterns of emotions within the social context of the leader-follower and group interactions. In the self-narratives constructed by the participants, patterns of compliance and resistance behaviours seem to be shaped by their feelings of frustrations and insecurity. These behaviours then appear to be re-shaping the power interplays between the participants. A major feature in these interplays is a sense of inequality and mistrust expressed by the participants towards their leaders and senior colleagues.

6.3.1. The disciplined and conformist selves

This subsection presents three overlapping themes of disciplined and conformist selves in the narratives, namely: selves conforming to intercultural tensions, selves conforming to organizational surveillance and selves conforming to organizational expectations.

6.3.1.1. Conforming to intercultural tensions

The sense of inequality and dissatisfaction that LE expresses (see section 5.5.1) is experienced by other UNIT3 members as well. SH expresses a similar response though coloured by the lens of her cultural background. SH is a temporary Arab employee in UNIT3 who mainly works on Arabic documents. She is in her mid thirties; she speaks very little but when she does she puts forth strong opinions. On one occasion, she talks about what happened to NA who is the ex-director of UNIT1 and left after a fierce confrontation with HEAD1 (see section 5.3). She expresses proudly that his act of resignation is a rightful Arab display of honour, she then says:

I sometimes experience this with LE, especially when she starts raising women's rights issues in the Arab world. But most of the time I let her say what she wants to say, I don't argue. [Extracted from conversations with temporary employees in phase three, translated from Arabic]

When I ask for greater elaboration she explains:

You know sometimes we receive texts on Human Rights violations in our region like the stories of the Taliban or honour crimes in the Arab world. LE gets too excited and starts discussing them with me because I am Arab and Muslim but if I don't see things her way she tries to force her opinions on me. I think that processing or translating terms and texts with value conflicts is one thing, but trying to change my perspectives on these values is another. So I keep quiet most of the time. [Extracted from conversations with temporary employees in phase three, translated from Arabic]

I understand SH's view from my own experience in working on such sensitive texts in GPO. The challenges are rarely linguistic since the HR terminologies have already been established in Arabic; rather they are in the cultural connotations of these terminologies. Encountering conflicts create ethical dilemmas of transmitting such stories only according to the international and universal norms of Human Rights.

An example from my own experience is translating cultural concepts in texts from Arabic into English. In order to do justice to the source language and culture, that is Arabic, certain cultural concepts need to be described by the fact that they are 'tribal'. However, I am advised by text revisers that the word 'tribal' has negative connotations in English and to the Western audience, especially in the context of HR violations in the Arab world.

Many of my attempts fail to convince the non-Arab audience of the fact that not all tribal norms are bad and that many of them are sources of virtue in Islam and modern Arab societies. Few of my attempts are successful but have also extended to debates far from the original argument around the positive connotations of the concept relating to tribal Arab norms. Most of the time I

encounter the usual translation dilemma of how to remain faithful, or at least equally considerate, to both the languages, cultures and target audiences.

A safe solution is to provide extended footnotes that maintain my cultural view, but I always feel that these footnotes mean that my act of translation is incomplete. One of the visiting senior employees in UNIT1 once gave up on one of the texts and remarked, in desperation: 'cultural differences are not a myth, these stories are mistranslated' [Extracted from conversations with senior employees in phase four, translated from Arabic].

Another senior employee tries to give a different resolution saying: 'we have to accept that our dilemmas are answers in themselves. It is part of our editing to say that certain cultural terms or concepts have no equivalents in the other language or culture' [Extracted from conversations with senior employees in phase four, translated from Arabic]. Perhaps SH's perspective is similar when she gives up on debating with LE when it comes to their intercultural tensions.

Collinson (2003: 542) argues that the context of the complex, globalized organizations and societies are 'not of our making or choosing'. However, he also emphasizes that as individuals we are not totally submissive to these organizations or societies. Between the two opposites Collinson argues that individuals are 'best viewed as simultaneously both subjects and objects of their societies, organizations and relations'. He then concludes:

... the challenge for critical organizational analysis is to develop new ways of examining and representing these complex and sometimes contradictory simultaneities as they are reproduced within the multiple asymmetries and insecurities of the contemporary workplace. (Ibid: 542,543)

I interpret SH's attitude as conformist and see it as being in accord with Collinson's argument (above) on how the complexity of globalized organizations and societies are 'not of our making or choosing' (Ibid: 542). A clearer

demonstration on such complexity from the extract occurs when SH emphasizes her particular perspective (as an Arab and Muslim woman) of incidents of HR violations in the Arab region. Her actual perspective in the extract, not only indicates her disagreement with LE's view of these incidents as HR violations. It also provides a strong hint about her unspoken disagreement of the overall universal perspective adopted by GPO in its HR approach.

The conformist attitude is also presented by the four members of the junior team in UNIT3: AL, PA, CL and AA (see table 6.1.). They share a single office as UNIT3 moved into a new location, but they do not seem close as a team. Every time I enter their office they are working and rarely interacting or taking breaks together. I also find that having an interactive conversation with any of them is not easy. They seldom engage in the events in GPO or even in conflicts with the new management.

The nature of their daily tasks also seems to create an atmosphere of solitude and distance in their daily work environment. Their tasks do not only demand processing long texts on computers, surfing large corpora on translation software and/or keeping up with the demands of the CM units. They are also required to resolve the intercultural tensions encountered in the process across the languages they are assigned to.

Additionally, working on translation software poses additional challenges, since the focus is limited to fixed segments of texts. Therefore, they do not have the advantage of adding footnotes or re-interpreting the context in order to rephrase the intended meanings. Nevertheless, I rarely come across debates with/between them on such encounters. The few debates that take place are more on the technicalities of using the software.

A common bond between the four young employees lies, however, in their sense of insecurity as temporary contractors. They verbally express this insecurity in their conversations - and non-verbally in the way they passively conform to all of HEAD2's commands and instructions. The morning breaks between them and HEAD2 used to be one clear demonstration that has been noticed (as well as criticized by) the rest of the UNIT3 team (see section 5.6.1.2).

These four employees are from different cultural and national backgrounds and work according to their language and computer competencies. For example, AL is African-French, PA and CL are French and AA is Russian. The diversity of their cultural backgrounds emphasizes their insecurities in terms of moving into permanent contractors in GPO. AA who has been the first to lose her post, openly expresses that her colleagues, AL and PA, have won the permanent posts and overtaken her: 'due to their nationalities and not skills or expertise' [Extracted from field-notes in phase three].

6.3.1.2. Conforming to organizational surveillance

Many of the young interns who join GPO on short term contracts display hope and optimism at the start of their training experiences. Some of them express interest in permanent contracts in GPO, and link their interest to causes they believe in, which are mostly HR based causes. Examples are: child migration, slavery or forced labour, and Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender rights (LGBT). Others however just want to add their training experience in a huge organization like GPO to their CVs and move on to more *youthful organizations*, as some of them have expressed.

ZD for example, who moves to another department towards the end of his training in UNIT1, conveys that he is *shocked*, as he terms it, with the new department.

He says:

I chose this particular department because one of its members is an authority on Human Rights policy making. But there is no life in the department, one of the young employees told me: people who come to work in GPO are those who are looking for a quiet pre-retirement time [Extracted from conversations with temporary employees in phase two, translated from Arabic].

However, ZD and other young interns used to hold interesting debates and express different angles of views about the cases they used to work on. Yet, when it comes to the realities of work they comply with the hierarchical norms of GPO, the same norms they often criticize. Sara for example, a young intern in her twenties with whom I share an office for two months, spends the whole day at her desk. When I ask her why she does not take short breaks and get to know people in other offices, her response is:

my supervisor is very nice but she is strict when it comes to punctuality. I am *afraid* that she might come and not find me in the office [Extracted from conversations with young employees in phase three].

Karl, on the other hand, is another young intern in his mid-twenties who occasionally shares the office with me and Sara. Karl seems to take every opportunity to explore the organization. On one occasion, he comes into the office from a meeting with his supervisor and seems upset and restless: 'she refused to give me permission to attend the events of the GPO's conference, she said sit and finish your tasks'. He speaks angrily while walking back and forth across the office. Before Sara or I can comment he rushes out of the office. He comes back in few minutes with a smile on his face 'she allowed me now'. Sara and I laugh and ask him what made her change her mind so quickly. He simply replies 'I insisted!' and adds no more [Extracted from field-notes in phase three].

On another occasion, I attend a seminar on leadership with him: we sit next to each other and he does not stop criticizing the presentations. The presenters are, for example, asking the young audience to move across the hall in what seems

to be an exercise on leadership. Karl is whispering: 'what leadership is this? He is moving the kids like some cattle. He is teaching them to be submissive not leaders' [Extracted from field-notes in phase three].

Yet, Karl does not keep this spirit when it comes to major decisions that might negatively affect his training. Similar to most of the interns I meet, he used to conform to the hierarchical norms of GPO, although he justifies this as a strategy to ensure extending his training. The supervision on the interns seem very strict which is in accord with what (Foucault, 1977) identifies as surveillance systems that generate conformist selves.

The Foucauldian conformist selves seem evident among the trainees in UNIT1, for example, where the attendance and interactions of trainees are strictly monitored (see section 5.4.1). One such example is that the offices allocated for them are isolated from regular employees and their supervisors, and they are continually subjected to check-up visits by SN. These monitoring practices are also evident in the many units and departments which I observe in my fieldwork. Comparing them on such a wider scale enables me to identify repeated narratives of 'disciplined and conformist selves' among the interns (Foucault 1977, Collinson 2003).

The scenes of the young interns in their daily interactions with their supervisors seem loaded with contradictions. For example, the interns' enthusiasm for GPO's role in supporting causes of justice and equality used to be challenged by the way their own roles as GPO interns are shaped by their supervisors. The control over their inspirations to enhance the rightfulness of these causes takes many forms, one obvious form being the physical restrictions on their presence and movement in the organization.

A critical form of control occurs in the way the interns are moved between their isolated offices to the real action world of 'their supervisors' offices'. This move would rightly be expressed by Karl's earlier observation in the leadership seminar: 'what leadership is this? He is moving the kids like some cattle. He is teaching them to be submissive not leaders' [Extracted from field-notes in phase three]. Sara extends this comment into remarks on the quality of tasks assigned to her as an intern in these meetings. She expresses disappointment with the significance of such *administrative tasks*, as she puts it, to her learning experience in GPO.

6.3.1.3. Conforming to the expectations of the superiors

This conformist attitude is found present in the behaviours of employees as well as interns and in yet more different forms. For example, one of the programme developers Yuri in PDS is in her mid-forties and from one of the far East Asian countries. She once comments on what she hurtfully describes as: '*Western arrogance*'. Yuri is talking about her meeting with a senior Western HR consultant who is sarcastically comparing her country's HR policies to those in Western countries. Her defence for her country is: 'how could he compare developed Western countries who are leading HR policies for decades to a developing country like mine' [Extracted from field-notes in phase three].

Perhaps her comment is raised in a moment of anger or she feels offended by the way the HR consultant spoke to her. Nevertheless, while it reflects her frustration it also seems to compound the stereotype that HR initiatives are only led by Western countries. Her defence does not convince me and it seems inconsistent with her role as a senior HR programme developer. However, her inability to confront the HR consultant due to his seniority and Western nationality is explicitly expressed in her statement.

Another incident occurs in a meeting between another HR programme developer, *Nelson*, and the national representative of an African country. The African representative simply opens the meeting by saying: 'any preaching on HR will cancel the meeting, speak wisely!' The programme developer 'Nelson', who is African too, simply obeys the instruction and speaks very carefully right throughout the meeting [Extracted from field-notes in phase three].

Nelson, who is in his early sixties, comments later that he was surprised by the request made by the representative. But much like Yuri, his comment does not convince me because the state-member representatives are known for their unexpected reactions to topics concerning HR issues in their countries. Hence, the meetings with state-member representatives are largely perceived as politically and culturally sensitive. As I have observed, GPO employees are highly conscious of this sensitivity and the potential risk on their meetings' progress.

Thus, the common attitude that I have observed among GPO employees in such meetings is the tendency to avoid provoking any kind of dissatisfaction on the part of the representatives. In fact, Nelson's conforming response seems a way to avoid an acceleration that might lead to such an undesired confrontation. In short, the representatives had the power, as the potential funders for the proposed projects, to stop such discussions and frequently they express their preference in unpleasant ways.

In the light of this, employees are more concerned to avoid the dissatisfaction of their own superiors should such confrontations with state-member representatives take place. The expectations of their leaders are to succeed in securing funds for their proposed projects and competition is fierce among the departments to accomplish this target. This is in accord with what Collinson (2003) points out, that forms of power and control shape individuals' identities

and relationships and so 'individuals tend to be preoccupied with themselves as valued objects in the eyes of those in authority, subordinating their own subjectivity in the process' (Ibid: 536).

In this case, however, the process in the two incidents is more complex because of HR's universal value in the proposed projects. It seems that the already existing conflict between individuals' particular views of HR and its universal value is accelerated through the demands of their departments and leaders. Moreover, an important responsibility in their roles is to stand up for the universal principles of HR, which is also the core vision of GPO. This latter itself reflects a moral dilemma that the employees used to raise with a great deal of frustration and feelings of powerlessness.

Another way to define these two incidents is that they present an interplay between the organizational selves of the two programme developers and their other cultural and conforming selves. For example, Nelson has a deep understanding of the diversified African culture and, as he explains later, his silence is also a tactic. It is not only the organizational norms that he has to be attentive to but also possible African norms of which any cultural violation of might be taken as an unforgivable insult by any African state-member representative. This latter example indicates the depth of negotiations between the multiple selves adopted by the participants and, in the process, the complexity of their day to day interactions.

Furthermore, this comes in line with Collinson's (2005:1430) idea of limited resistance in order to avoid sanctions by superiors. He proposes that this might lead to 'disguised and partial ways that blur the boundaries between resistance and consent'. This might be one way of understanding how participants shift between the multiple selves they adopt in their narratives and how their

representations overlap across these shifts. I will expand this interpretation in the next section: The dramaturgical and resistant selves.

6.3.2. The dramaturgical and resistant selves

In chapter four, section 3.2.2, I present how the categorization of the self in SCT develops on different levels of identification along an interpersonal and intergroup continuum (Turner, 1982; Reicher et al., 2010). Adopting the continuum in the analysis process not only helps to define new levels of analysis by refining the multiple selves represented by the participants (see section 4.3.3). It also helps in identifying attitudes of collective and individualistic resistance that are associated with the multiple self-representations across the continuum. I will present examples of these attitudes in the following sub-sections, 6.2.1 and 6.2.2. I will then present a third theme of resistance in section 6.2.3 known as disguised resistance.

6.3.2.1. Collective resistance

This theme is explored through analysing the group dynamics within participants' interactions with their superiors. The analysis included comparisons between patterns of self-references and group references in these interactions. This is guided by the proposal to extend new level of analysis that includes both the interpersonal as well as the group dynamics (Haslam et al., 2011).

An illustration of this is the transformation of some of the relationships between the senior employees and their superiors. This happens in the form of collective attitudes of resistance, an example is found in the third stage of my fieldwork when I visit UNIT1 to see NE. I meet with MA, a young intern whom I became acquainted with during my first training in GPO, in phase one. She says that she is having difficulties in finalizing her training certificate because none of the UNIT1 team consent to write her statement. She then comments that she does not care

who will write it as long as it will be stamped by senior management [Extracted from conversations with temporary employees in phase three, translated from Arabic].

I drop by HEAD2's office directly after my encounter with MA. When HEAD2 learns that I have met MA on my way in, she says with a complaining tone: 'Imagine, I went to both NE and FD, neither of them agreed to write up her certificate.' 'Bufffff, well I tried my best' she concludes with a tired voice [Extracted from field-notes in phase three, translated from Arabic].

HEAD2 seems unhappy with UNIT1's reluctance to finalize the young intern's certificate. I hear later that similar incidents take place in other units. There is also a rumour that some of the incidents are reported to the senior management of GPO. I am not in a position to learn the nature of the incidents but it seems that there is shift of power between HEAD2 and HEAD1 on the one hand and the employees across the three units on the other. This becomes confirmed when I later meet NE whose comment on writing MA's training certificate is:

HEAD2 has asked me to write it but I refused, they keep on taking interns and putting more load on our team so let them do some work as well. I have suggested to hire from our retired staff to train interns but this was refused. [Extracted from conversation with senior employees in phase three, translated from Arabic].

NE seems assertive and refers more collectively (*'our team'*, *'we'*, *'our'*) to herself and the UNIT1 team, something she seldom does. I later notice that the new UNIT1 offices are almost empty and the unit is unusually quiet. I am later told that the number of external contracts has been hugely reduced and many editing tasks are being outsourced. This causes a lot of anger among the employees. Although the in-house employees are not directly threatened by this reduction, it seems that they support their long term colleagues, the external employees, who rely on such contracts.

Another incident arises between HEAD2 and the four members of the UNIT3 junior team: AL, PA, CL and AA (see table 6.1). It starts between HEAD2 and AL, who is the prominent member in the team. AL is in her early thirties and is regarded as a candidate for a leading role in UNIT3. I do not witness the incident but what I hear from SH and LE is that HEAD2 has rebuked AL severely during one of the public meetings. AL does not speak about it but she seems hurt, sad and more silent than usual when I meet her after the incident.

PA, however, takes the initiative to display her disapproval of what happened to her colleague. PA is also in her early thirties and she and AL stand out more than the rest of the junior team. PA is straightforward in stating to HEAD2 that the team does not accept the way AL is being treated. The rest of the team supports her and I observe HEAD2 upset and attempting to clarify her position later in a closed meeting with the UNIT3 team.

The junior team starts to attend fewer of HEAD2's morning breaks and other members start to act more assertively in terms of refusing some of her requests some of which, they claim, used to be personal. I interpret this incident as a clear illustration of an overt act of collective resistance that transforms some of the intragroup emotions into a more assertive attitude. I also interpret this incident as the turning point in the juniors' team's relationship with their superiors. Therefore, I begin to compare the changing attitudes before and after this shift of power.

6.3.2.2. Individualistic resistance

This sub-section demonstrates more individualistic patterns of resistance. One illustration is LE who seems to develop a more structured attitude in handling her work insecurities and her troubled relationship with her superiors. In one of my visits to UNIT1 in the third phase of the fieldwork, I observe LE standing in front of HEAD2's office. When she sees me she says that she and HEAD2 are going

to have lunch together to discuss some work issues. I look inside HEAD2's office and I see her busy working with her secretary. The way HEAD2 is involved in her work does not indicate that she will be leaving her desk any time soon and I also notice that she is avoiding to peer outside, where LE is standing. [Extracted from field-notes in phase three].

I decide to stand with LE in the hallway until HEAD2 joins her but suddenly we see HEAD2's secretary walking towards the door and shutting it in our faces. We are surprised and LE looks disappointed. I quickly ask her if I can join her for lunch; she walks silently with me to the cafeteria. I notice that she does not express her disappointment as she usually did when I first met her. Instead she discusses the points she intended to raise over lunch with HEAD2 - which seem constructive points in terms of enhancing the work performance in UNIT3 [Extracted from field-notes in phase three].

LE seems to be carrying out serious, but solo, attempts to support the UNIT3 unit. At the same time, the junior team in UNIT3 is carrying out less serious attempts collectively and not including her or ZY. From my observations and several conversations with LE, she seems to be trying to reach out for their cooperation but with no effective response from them (except, on occasion, from AL).

A difference can be suggested between the two acts of resistance within UNIT3, in that both are induced by social identity that is being shaped from different perspectives. I am referring here to the collective resistance by the UNIT3 junior team in the previous sub-section 6.3.2.1 and the present incident between HEAD2 and LE. So while LE's attitude is provoked by her sense of social identity within her personal-self as a senior GPO/UNIT3 member, the junior team are regarding their social identity within their junior GPO/UNIT3 sense of self.

This variation of the self-representations supports Collinson's (2003) argument for the multiple and overlapping forms of selves in the organizations. It further affirms how these selves shape and re-shape the workplace selves and power relations in organizations (Ibid). However, adopting his argument on the interpersonal and intergroup continuum also confirms the difficulty in establishing a distinction between the personal-self and the social-self (see Section 4.2.3). The ramifications of such difficulty in this section lies in determining the changing emotions and attitudes that are associated with the construction of these selves. However, my notes in the later stage of phases three and four of the fieldwork indicate that LE seems to be transforming her attitudes and hence her ability to handle conflicts with her superiors and younger colleagues. This transformed attitude of hers suggests greater assertiveness and determination in her approach towards solving these conflicts. I later hear from UNIT1 that her last appeal to Human Resources has brought attention to the vacant post of director in UNIT3. The senior management has begun to raise questions on the reasons behind keeping the post vacant for such a long period.

Furthermore, in both extracts the resistance seems like the accumulation of much frustration and disappointment on the part of the participants at their superiors and both younger and senior colleagues. This suggests that the transformation of their insecurities and frustrations into more positive attitudes has been accelerated over time - which further supports the idea of constant reproduction of their selves and relations (Collinson, 2003). Therefore, time seems a force that mobilizes these insecurities towards new forms of attitudes and behaviours.

Another incident of individualistic resistance becomes evident in UNIT1 between SN and one of the trainees. Although this incident takes place in the first phase of my fieldwork, the UNIT1 employees keep referring to it throughout the following

phases. The incident takes place between SN and FA (who is the youngest trainee in the group). FA is in her early twenties and everybody sympathizes with her because of her slow progress in the training. However, some of the senior employees at times harshly criticize her work which, she shared with her colleagues, puts her down.

Although FA seems to be protected by SN most of the time, SN also tends to assign her to tasks that she does not have to do as a trainee. For example, FA is often seen running across the corridors carrying papers to other units. The young girl's dissatisfaction with these tasks is obvious to everyone in the unit. FA's officemate, WA, once commented that delivering these papers is SN's task: 'I do not know why she is making the poor girl do secretarial tasks, she is not here to do her job' [Extracted from conversations with temporary employees in phase one, translated from Arabic].

In spite of her vulnerability, FA takes a strong position in a conflict that arises between her and SN. The conflict starts when the sponsor of the training programme decides to conduct follow up interviews with the trainees on the progress of their training. However, there are rumours that one of the trainees has actually raised a complaint, accusing UNIT1 of favouritism towards certain trainees. HEAD2 and the UNIT1 team are concerned, since the sponsor is a key stakeholder. All the trainees are called for interviews with a senior representative of the sponsor. No immediate feedback is given on these interviews. It is during the last stage of my fieldwork that I am told that the second phase of the programme has been cancelled by the sponsor [Extracted from field-notes in phase four].

I am standing with my office mate, ZD, at the external exit of UNIT1. Suddenly FA rushes out of the unit, then stops and stares at us for a while. She seems in

great distress and she starts shouting:

SN wants me to go to HEAD1 and HEAD2 and say that X is the one who told the sponsor that the training is not going well. I refuse to stab people in the back, I don't betray people.... [Extracted from Field-notes in phase one, translated from Arabic].

She then rushes down the stairs towards the main exit. ZD and I go back to our office wondering what is happening. Suddenly we see a staff member from another unit running in front of our office towards SN's office. ZD and I go out to see what is happening and we hear the staff telling SN and NE that she has seen FA running in the street and crying hysterically. SN and NE turn pale and SN rushes out while NE stands speechless [Extracted from Field-notes in phase one].

The next day I meet with FA's office mate who tells me that SN managed to bring FA back to the office, calm her down and that things are settled now. FA maintains her position and everything seems normal again. One important change takes place though, and this is the UNIT1's sympathy with FA who has gained a degree of admiration. There is talk that SN suspects that one of the trainees is informing the sponsor of the shortcomings in the training. SN thinks that FA can help her in proving otherwise since FA was present during the same trainees' interview by the sponsor representative [Extracted from Field-notes in phase one].

In spite of all this, FA draws strength from her own vulnerability and takes what seems to her as a moral stand. She looks in great distress while she is resisting SN's pressure to attempt to make her speak against her colleague. Some of the trainees' state that FA has been approached due to her weak situation in the training and it was therefore expected that she would comply with the request. There were other trainees who attended the same interview so why not to ask them to explain what happened in the meeting, some of the trainees wonder.

Her officemate WA explains what she assumes to be the reason:

SN thought that FA would do whatever she asks her to do so she can stay in the training programme *but FA surprised her* she uttered the last phrase with admiration [Extracted from field-notes in phase one, translated from Arabic].

6.3.2.3. The ethical dimension

An important element in this incident is the ethical dimension- both in how FA is approached by SN and how FA resists. FA used to talk about SN with admiration, and they seemed very close on a personal level. This incident is more on the interpersonal side of the continuum (Hogg, 2006) where the ethical challenges in leader-follower dynamics seem easier to identify. According to Hollander (1998) leader and followers mutually perceive themselves in *Self-Other perception* relationships. However, the abuse of power in the relationship would lead to serious ethical issues such as the one in this incident.

I supplement this with another theoretical lens that is Collinson's (2005) argument for a dialectical approach that considers conflict and opposition as an integral part in the leader-follower relations. He states that 'Leaders cannot predict or assume followers' motivations, obedience or loyalty' (Ibid: 1435). This incident supports this argument and presents ethical commitments as grounds for such unpredictability. It also points out how asymmetrical power relations are mobilizing the leader follower dynamics between SN and FA.

In a conversation I have with FA before the incident, she talks about her country Palestine and her engagement in a charity project that supports abused women in villages. She then expresses her worries about her younger sisters saying: 'my worries for them have grown more when I saw how women were treated in the remote villages I used to visit during the project. I want better life for them' [Extracted from conversations with temporary employees in phase one, translated from Arabic].

This extract would explain FA's determination to achieve success: it is for her and for others, 'her sisters'. On another occasion she expresses her disappointment with the way her translations are rejected, she furiously exclaims: 'I do not want to be a translator, I hate translation' – then, after a pause she continues in a more subdued tone: 'but I want to pass this training programme, I do not want to be rejected' [Extracted from conversations with temporary employees in phase one, translated from Arabic].

Her statement lines up with what Collinson (2003:529) has pointed out - that human beings are 'reflexively monitoring' and 'purposive creatures'. He further explains: 'human beings and in a reflective manner separate themselves from their worlds in order to enhance a temporal awareness of their past and future'.

In the analysis, I expand on Collinson's idea (above) with the idea of temporal orientations suggested by (Reicher et al., 2010). In setting out their idea, Reicher et al. propose temporal orientations where categories are envisaged as journeys between 'being' and 'becoming'. Reicher et al. aims to propose an alternative way of understanding the interaction between social realities and social categories without overlooking specific orientations that shape the social categories (see section 3.4.1.2).

This was my reading of FA's previous extract except that she includes her sisters in her temporal orientation, or perhaps reflects on herself through them. This last also is in accord with Collinson (2003) saying: 'It also enables us not only to 'see' ourselves, but also to try to view ourselves as others may see us and to compare and contrast ourselves with others' (Ibid). The others to FA are not only her sisters but also those abused women she met in the remote Palestinian villages. Her 'being' is her slow progress in the training programme which might lead her back to Palestine and her 'becoming' would be the risk of turning into one of those

abused women. Perhaps this makes her moral rage over SN's request in the incident even more intense.

According to Boje (2001) this story can be seen as an ante-narrative in the sense that it is in accord with his definition of ante-narratives. He defines it as story where: 'The meaning of events depends upon the locality, the prior sequence of stories and the transformation of characters in the wandering discourses (Ibid: 4). However, this ante-narrative also includes a more incomplete ante-narrative, that is, the claim of whistle blowing by a trainee that triggered a follow up procedure by the sponsor. I have not been able to detect the full details of this act, especially since it is a part of the quickly emerging and fading ante-narrative of FA's resistance.

However, it is Boje's (2004) suggested concept of *story space* that helps in creating a dialogue between the two ante-narratives within the more complete stories in UNIT1, UNIT2 and UNIT3. This dialogue is then 'about multi-voiced ways of telling stories, with even ante-narrative and non-linear ones whose linear plot sequence is missing and where no one seems to mind' (Boje, 2001:9). This dialogue between the narratives enhances the detection of the asymmetrical power relations and the oppositions and disagreements in leader follower relations among the participants (Collinson, 2005). This result fulfils objective two: to construct an account of self-narratives within participants' daily individual and group interactions.

The UNIT3 junior team, for example, used to conform to the attendance of daily morning breaks with HEAD2, a few of which I attend. The conversations in these breaks are not interactive and most of the talking is left to HEAD2 and occasionally to PA who seems the outspoken member among the junior team.

Such one way interactions might mislead the leaders and perhaps deprive them of new ideas (Bratton et al., 2004) or honest feedback (Hollander, 1998) from their followers.

This section suggests that considering the ethical dimension in leader-follower relations illuminates deeper insights into the dynamics of these relations. Ethical dilemmas are not only about followers' needs in terms of equality, respect and justice in the day-to day-work interactions. As important as these values are, followers' needs and well-being may be rooted in serious causes that pertain to their personal security, as suggested by FA's narrative.

This result is in line with perceiving ethics as a dimension of leadership and not a part of it (Ciulla, 1998). This then suggests the significance of ethics in defining the concept of leadership. The idea of asymmetrical power relations between leaders and followers as suggested by Collinson (2005) is also evident in the shift of power between the participants and their superiors. However, contesting the idea of the leader as a key figure who influences followers' well-being seems difficult (Hollander, 1998). This theme supports the asymmetrical nature of power relations in leader-follower relations, yet the moral lead in their relations points to a further debate to consider on who should take this lead.

6.3.3. Disguised resistance

One of the emerging themes in the analysis relates to patterns of systematic and creative coping strategies used by the employees to enhance their self-representations (see sections 5.6.1.2 and 5.6.2). An important aspect that informs these patterns is related to objective one: considering GPO's universal scope of work in relation to the diversity and practices in the three units. I identify these patterns of creative coping strategies through the concept of ante-narrative

(Boje, 2001). This means that the examination of data includes all participants' self-narratives, even the ones outside the organization. This then illuminates the various structures of the narratives and leads to the recognition of a wider story space (Boje, 2004). This in turn offers the opportunity for interpreting new dialogues between the stories and new levels of analysis. The concept of narrative logics by Fairhurst (2007) is also incorporated as a notion that regards leadership and identity as a non-static process, which enhances new understandings, as proposed by Ibarra et al. (2014), (see section 2.4.5.1).

This integration then supports Boje's argument for an inter-textual act between the narratives and ante-narratives that transforms the world of action into theatrics. In other words, it is an act that transforms anaemic seeming organizational narratives into more lively ones. An implication in this section is identifying patterns of disguised resistance where personal experiences and expertise, leader narratives, and artefacts are devised by the participants in developing creative strategies of coping.

6.3.3.1. Reconstructing self-value

Here is a scene where JP gives a speech at his retirement farewell. As I help him in some of the preparations. I notice that he makes sure to invite as many people as possible. He also makes sure to handle every small detail of his farewell gathering which makes it the best of the few gatherings I have ever attended in GPO. His speech appears well prepared in terms of rhetoric (like the calculated pauses between sentences and stressing certain words to impress his audience). He also stands in the centre facing most of the attendees and his body language seems very theatrical.

As a result, the part of his farewell speech about his experience in GPO appears to be the climactic scene in the event: 'I have translated countless documents for

UN and GPO but I still do not feel that I have worked on my masterpiece of writing. Perhaps this will happen now that I will have more time to work on interesting writings' [Extracted from field-notes in phase one]. JP in his statement expresses a tone of resentment to the documents processed in GPO '*countless documents but no masterpiece*'. 'Countless' as in numerous acts of editing and translating but with no value. At least, this is the message that I receive as a member of the audience - and which he repeatedly confirms in our conversations across the following phases of fieldwork.

In his farewell JP is not only presenting a different professional self than the usual GPO-self. Instead, he is rather setting the stage for a new professional self that is sophisticated enough to produce a masterpiece of his life's accomplishments as a linguist. This masterpiece will be produced by a real writing act and not the less valued corporate-writing as his words hint. In this sense, JP skilfully reconstructs a new presentation of his professional self which makes retirement a new beginning and not merely the end of his career life. Perhaps this is also an end to a dull career that does not match his potentials and real skills as a translator.

I also interpret this self-presentation from the aspect of Fairhurst's (2007) idea of *narrative logics*. Fairhurst suggests that such an approach would project a process of self reconstruction into the future through episodic memory. In generating such narratives participants seem to secure a self value in critical events, such as JP's retirement for example. JP extends many of these logics especially in expressing his concerns over the future of his unit (UNIT2) and so the continuity of French as a dominant language in GPO. I will demonstrate some of these logics in sections 6.2.3.2, 6.2.3.3 and 6.2.3.4 in this chapter.

6.3.3.2. Exaggerating the self-value

Another strategy that the participants use in order to reinforce their self value is the systematic use of their expertise and knowledge. For example, both AM and JP are prone to engaging their vast knowledge of history, religion and philosophy in their self-representations (see also sections, 5.4.1, 5.4.1.2 and 5.6.1.2). However, AM's favourite technique is storytelling (of his personal and / or historical experiences). This is where employs, in a systematic manner, leader narratives from the Arab heritage with references to texts like the Quran, historic events or pre-Islamic Arab poetry.

This an extract from an interview with AM where he elaborates on Human Rights approach in GPO projects through referring to historic events. He states:

Well, it is important that you first know that all our projects are led under what is called a Human Rights based approach. So when we talk Human Rights or Western thought in general, we Arabs directly think of the word or term democracy. Now democracy was first introduced to our region in the late days of the Ottoman Empire. This was when the West lost hope in turning the Ottoman Sultan Abdul Hamid to their side. Here the word democracy started to found its movements, such as the Turkish Committee of Union and Progress [Extracted from conversations with senior employees in phase three, translated from Arabic].

I have analysed part of this extract in the previous chapter from a different perspective: that is the use of intertextuality in shaping new meanings of every day organizational realities and practices. I continue here to elaborate on how, in the same process, the value of self is reinforced and sometimes re-constructed. AM seems to be promoting his scholar-self as an established historian. His attachment to history is evident in some of his repeated statements on the significance of history. Examples of such statements as: 'History is the gate to all branches of knowledge' or 'Research is only complete when history is included' [Extracted from conversations with senior employees in phase three, translated from Arabic].

This historian-self, however is inevitably generating multiple self presentations and multiple self-Other encounters. In the above extract for example, AM's historian-self generates an Arab-self, a Muslim-self and a colonized-self. These selves are further constructed through a narrative that is envisaging an opposite Other. For example: the colonized self is in opposition to the colonizer Other (the Westerner), the Muslim self is in opposition to Non-Muslim (the Westerner) and the Arab is in opposition to the non-Arab (the Western and / or the Ottoman).

The extract also shows how AM adopts a storytelling technique to put across his self representations to his audience. The plot of logics is represented in 'we vs. them', for example: 'we Arabs', 'our region', 'late days of the Ottoman Empire', 'the West lost hope'. AM's command of history then constructs overlapping social identities: Muslim identity for the Arabs and Ottoman and then Arab identity which excludes the Ottoman. However, he does not bring a universal identity that includes the West even though his argument is about Human Rights which is adopted as a universal notion in GPO as an organization.

Such multiplicity of self-Other encounters, also seems to be suggesting an element of exaggeration in re-enforcing the self value. An example of the exaggeration is in the emphasis on history in the above statements. Another element of exaggeration is in presenting the self-Other relation, which brings the Other as only a cultural opponent rather than as a partner in creating the overall history narrative. So the logics are plotted around dichotomized relations: Arab vs. non-Arab, Muslim vs. non-Muslim or colonizer vs. colonized.

Other examples of creating self-Other encounters are repeatedly taking place in the the day-to-day interactions in the units. One example arises from KL regarding GPO as a Western organization and hence developing a perspective of self (non-Western)/Other (Western) encounter (see section 5.5.1). Yet a further

example again stems from KL expressing his national-self in the airport incident in Abu Dhabi, however in this example KL regards the Other within the Arab that is self (national Arab) / Other (non-national Arab) (see section 5.5.1). A third example is the incident between SM and FD where SM expresses a self (Muslim)/Other (Christian) encounter in her interpretation of the incident (see section 5.4.1). Furthermore, both previous extracts overlap with objective one in terms of relating the universal scope of work and the specific three units within a holistic understanding of GPO.

A common feature in this approach towards developing a sense of self / Other encounter is that participants seem to exaggerate the perception of the Other as an opponent or a competitor rather than a partner. In this sense, exaggeration seems as a strategy to survive their insecurities by enhancing self-value through the particularities of their Arab culture. This strategy is evident in the pre-Islamic Arab heritage, particularly in the Arabic poems that praise generosity, magnanimity or bravery as Arab virtues. This sense of exaggeration also resonates to the concept of 'Asabiya' as a pre-Islamic oriented concept that referred to group or social solidarity (see section 2.3.5.4).

Ibn Khaldun (1377) emphasizes the role of Islam in reforming pre-Islamic and tribal concepts such as Asabiya into more moderate forms of group unity. However, Adair (2010:101) states that: 'An Arab may leave the desert, but the desert never leaves the Arab'. The element of exaggeration in the above extracts also resonates with Adair's wise words. The references used by participants in Arab leader narratives might bring their sense of exaggeration in their perception of the Other. The reason for this is that these narratives are rooted in contexts of early Arab history, which might then revitalise the pre-Islamic concept in a more modern context.

6.3.3.3. Creating self-value outside the organization

I mentioned earlier in this chapter that individuals feeling insecure might distance themselves from their organizations by escaping into private worlds outside the work environment (Cohen and Taylor, 1992), (see section 6.2). Cohen and Taylor also regard such distancing on the part of individuals as alternative conformist survival practice by them. However, the following extracts demonstrate how creating such worlds can also be attempts to reconstruct new self-values in order to overcome work insecurities. The extracts tie in with Collinson's (2003) emphasis on the skills and creativity individuals develop in generating disguised resistance against their organizations.

As an example, JP used to regularly give references to museums and churches in his conversations. He also acted as a guide to us, myself and other trainees, in our visits to the many museums and churches in the city. On one occasion he explains that artefacts in museums: 'are not only for the eye to see but also for the mind to read' [extracted from field-notes in phase four]. On another occasion, he also elaborates that the paintings in churches are based on bible stories and so the details of the paintings are not mere art but also meaningful dialogues. He skilfully plots the logics of his conversations around such details whether they be colours, dresses, or facial expressions and / or body gestures.

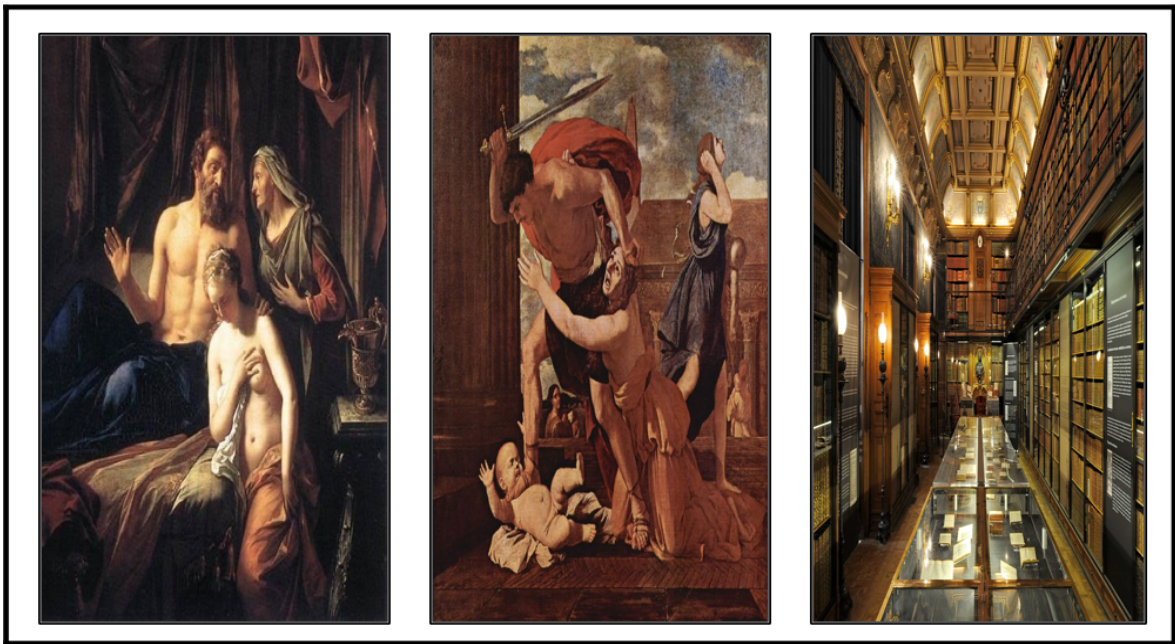


Figure 6.1 Photos of artefacts in museums visited with JP during the fieldwork (Source: author)

Figure 6.1 above illustrates three artefacts that have been developed into narrative logics by JP during visits to museums. The first and second are paintings representing two famous biblical stories: *Sarah Presenting Hagar to Abraham* and *Massacre of the Innocents*. The third image is that of the Reading Room (Cabinet des Livres) in the Château de Chantilly. The first and second paintings are examples relating to constructing logics that compare the two biblical stories in the religions of Judaism, Christianity and Islam. In the third image, the books are the main artefacts in the room and to JP their significance resonates with logics which revolve around knowledge and language.

In JP's first dialogue with me, he begins by asking about my impression of the city hosting GPO. He is a native resident of the city and he is curious to know what an Arab woman from the Gulf region would think of it, as he explains to me later. So he asks me:

- ≈ Did you like this city?
- ≈ It is a beautiful city, *I answer*
- ≈ So you like it? *he asks again*
- ≈ I can't recognize it yet, it is too multicultural, *I reply with honesty*
- ≈ Full of Arabs, right? *he retorts quickly, responding with unmistakable tone of resentment*

His response surprises me and I look directly at HEAD2 who is standing next to me. She also looks surprised by his remark and turns her face away from both of us; she is half Arab herself! I am personally not offended because I sense a tone of insecurity, in addition to the resentment, in his response [Extracted from field-notes in phase one].

As I construct more observations on the cultural diversity in GPO, JP's remark begins to make more sense. The daily activities in GPO reflect feasts that celebrate the diversity of colours, costumes, dialects and artefacts within GPO. This seems a constant reminder to GPO's employees of their diversified work environment. However, diversity has an impact on their performance where competition is highly related to their national or cultural backgrounds. For example, an Arab or Muslim employee would have higher chances of raising funds in the Arab region. Another example is that an employee from a Jewish background would be the best candidate to supervise or manage a programme related to the Holocaust, and so on.

As a result of this, fierce competition is often rife and provokes many national, religious and political conflicts. Some of these conflicts arise about trivial matters. For example, a known incident took place between the delegates of two countries which are engaged in a huge political conflict. The delegates reflect their countries' conflict in fighting over booking an event venue in GPO. In another incident another two delegates similarly fight over a table in the cafeteria while lunch is being served in an international event hosted by GPO [Extracted from field-notes in phases one and three].

Such incidents reveal the blurred boundaries between the universal approach which is supposed to exist in employees' organizational roles and the social realities around them. Therefore, JP's uncensored remark in the previous extract

can be viewed as a symptom of the confusion in his work environment. The logics of his self-narrative arising from the artefacts in museums and churches can also be interpreted as disguised resistance to this uncontrollable work environment. During the visits to these places, he seems to be seeking an environment which he can control with his native knowledge and language competence. So, through such control, he is able to construct a self-narrative of his preference.

It is later, as JP and I develop a stronger rapport, that he explicitly identifies himself as a traditional person. 'You are traditional too, that is why we get along' he comments further [Extracted from conversations with senior employees in phase Four]. He then defines being 'traditional' as having established roots in history, religion and philosophy. He also explains that the more these roots become visible, becoming perceptible to the eye, the truer they are. Hence his focus is on the material artefacts in the museums and churches, objects which he can see, communicate with and communicate to the Other.

One of the examples of the aspect of visibility is JP's previously mentioned comment on the Russian documents in GPO: 'Russian employees don't seem interested in having a presence, because they have lost their political pride' [Extracted from conversations with senior employees in phase Three] (see section 5.6.1.1). Therefore, according to JP, the translated documents are also visible end-products that carry the political weight of the target languages in the editing process. In other words, the edited documents would be significant national *artefacts* in their own right (see section 5.6.1.1).

An interpretation that I extract is the focus of these logics on the reinforcement of self-value through national and cultural traditions. For example, the sense of nostalgia and longing for the uniqueness of JP's culture is unmistakable. So are his concerns over the risk of it fading into the 'mass' of cultures, a point he raises

more than once. Another concern is the visibility of his language, French, as a main language in GPO's significant communications and high profile publications. This indicates that for employees like JP who are originally from the country hosting GPO, diversity seems to be associated with more macro worries than day-to-day micro work conflicts. JP (as an example) used to hint about political worries regarding the 'mass of cultures' in his country. He perceives political instability as a short term danger that he anticipates. The long term risk he verbalises is that the city might turn into a *museum-city* that only attracts tourists and not individuals who consider living or working there [Extracted from field-notes in phase Four].

Perhaps these macro level concerns are not real, perhaps they are a skilful strategy to reinforce self-value. Hence it can be regarded as being similar to the exaggeration aspect in re-constructing self-value in section 6.2.3.2. However, the political and national aspects in employees' insecurities become noticeable in the third and fourth phases of fieldwork. In these phases, many international conflicts are arising across the Globe with serious repercussions on GPO as an international organization. An example is the Arab Spring that has seriously impacted many of GPO's proposed projects to the Arab States. Such a broader understanding of the self-value re-construction is induced by the complex nature of diversity in GPO's work environment.

Another demonstration of re-constructing self-value outside the organization is also extended on the element of the use of artefacts in developing its logics. However, the artefacts in the next example are movies that mostly revolve around women's rights issues in the Middle East. LE used to creatively engage in long conversations over how far these movies represent the realities of women's issues in Arab and Muslim societies. For her, as she repeatedly states, it is an

opportunity to discuss the causes raised in these movies with a woman from the same region: that is me.

Here is an illustration of a movie of her choice that we watch together and which leads to a rich debate on women and religious issues in the Arab World. It is a Lebanese movie '*Where Do We Go Now?*', directed by Lebanese director Nadine Labaki (Female).

The plot of the story revolves around a village of a mixed sample group: Muslims and Christians. A series of accidents start to take place in the village which seem to be targeting the religious symbols of the two sample groups. The first accident is the breaking the cross of the Church by a boy who is trying to fix the church's speakers. Another accident takes place in the Mosque where some goats find their way inside the Mosque and damage the holy books. Both the priest and Imam urge their followers to overlook the accidents and not to accuse each other. However, their advice is ignored and Muslim and Christian villagers start fighting and blaming each other over the accidents.

In contrast, the wives and other female villagers manage to stay in harmony and start a series of attempts to lead their husbands, brothers and fathers to stop fighting. The movie presents creative visualizations of self-Other encounters in these attempts. One example is when one of the Christian wives arouses her husband's anger by wearing the head scarf (Hijab) of her Muslim neighbour. In another scene all the women in the village dress in black to reflect the unity of their sadness and pain over the rising chaos in their village (see figure 6.2).

In a third scene, the *Other* is a group of Ukrainian dancers who are travelling but have to stop in the village when their car breaks down. The contrast between them and the local women is visually striking in terms of their way of dressing and the colour of their skin and hair, which reflects two opposite attitudes towards life

(see figure 6.3). Then there is the visual representation of the Mosque and Quran versus the Church and the cross as different, if not opposite, (to some of the audience) religious symbols. Finally, there is the constant theme of gender-based Otherness between the husbands (males) and their wives (Females).



Figure 6.2 The Christian and Muslim wives in the village mourning the sad events of their villages (Source: <http://creofire.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/12/where-do-we-go-now-1.jpg>)



Figure 6.3 The Ukrainian Dancers and the Arab women in the village (Source: <http://www.independentcinemaoffice.org.uk/films/wheredowegonow?s=1&sid=5784>)

LE is very skilful in picking up such provoking visuals and turning them into engaging plots for conversations. In the process, she develops her preferred self-narrative where the dominating self is modern as in confident, independent, and happy. Her plots then always include a less free and more dependent Other that is guided by the dominating confident-self. A visual illustration would be in Figure 6.3 where the dancers strike the eye with beauty, liberty, confidence, independence, and joy. On the other hand, the two Arab women next to them seem confused and looking at their happier guests with curiosity.

LE's narratives outside the organization are brighter than those she develops within the organization and during her day-to-day organizational life. This contrast occasionally seems to feed her self-narratives inside the organization and make her organizational-self stronger and happier. Visualizing this strength in movie plots where characters come to life and dialogues represent actual scenarios of her favourite part of the world: The Middle East. One interpretation by her on *favourite* is the women's need for more empowerment in terms of independence and liberty. So there is a cause in the Middle East which her positive-self believes in (and more importantly, is willing to fight for).

I interpret these patterns as alternative ways adopted by the participants to express themselves and reinforce their threatened or compromised self-values in their work environment. Collinson (2003) indicates that where employees feel insecure or subordinated, they tend to develop heightened self-consciousness. This heightened self-consciousness makes them increasingly skilled manipulators of self, reputation and image in the eyes of *significant others* (Collinson, 2003). Therefore, the patterns are in accord with Collinson's (2003) idea of how disguised resistance could be generated through the use of creative and skilful manipulation of self-representation. The use of artefacts such as the

paintings in museums and churches or the movies help both JP and LE in constructing logics that reinforce more positive self-value. They seek these logics outside the organization but eventually the externally generated self-narratives seem to be empowering their inside self-narratives with a more positive attitude. This further ties in with Goffman's (1959) notion of dramaturgical selves, where impression management is a process of self-presentation by the presenter in order to manipulate others' impression of himself / herself (see section 2.3.4). The two examples of processing a positive self-narrative outside the organization by both JP and LE indicate how they intend to impress the younger interns and colleagues with a preferred impression of their reformed selves.

In all the above demonstrations, patterns of self and group references are detected. However, the social context in these references goes beyond the organizational setting to wider cultural and national associations. This accords with the proposals to explore the personal and social self-constructs in a wider range of relations and contexts, and consequently how personal identities are shaped and re-shaped (Hogg, 2006; Haslam et al., 2011).

6.4. Summary of the main findings

Chapter six has attempted to answer objective four and to examine whether (and how) emotions influence participants' attitudes and behaviours - and hence their leader-follower interactions. In this attempt, the chapter has sought answers to two aspects: detecting associations of emotions, attitudes and behaviours at individual and groups levels; and, identifying the power relations and ethical issues within the leader-follower interactions (see section 1.3).

The first part of this chapter has identified the complex nature in the day-to-day interactions among the participants in leader-follower as well as group interactions. Hence the themes presented emotions of frustration and insecurity

at individual as well as group levels. The latter is refined within the argument by Smith et al. (2007) that intergroup emotions can be distinct from individual emotions but remain part of the individual's psychological self. This distinction responds to the first aspect in objective four: detecting associations of emotions, attitudes and behaviours at individual and groups levels.

The main result in section 6.2 shows that while some participants express their insecurities openly, others choose to distance themselves into the privacy of their offices. In this way, they limit their interactions with their superiors and teams to a minimum. However, their distance is still an expression of their insecurity that suggests a representation of *splitting self* (Collinson, 2003) which can be regarded as a conformist survival practice. This result can also be interpreted in the wider notion suggested by Tajfel and Turner (1979) of escaping or expanding the boundaries of the existing identities by low-status groups. This result is an example of fulfilling objective four in terms of examining whether (and how) emotions influence participants' attitudes and behaviours and consequently, their leader-follower interactions.

In section 6.3, the main result is that participants' feelings of insecurity and frustration appear to be shaping conformist and resistance attitudes in their self-narratives and interactions. These attitudes are constantly changing and shifting the power relations between the employees and their leaders with added moral and cultural dimensions in most of the narratives (see sub-sections 6.3.1 and 6.3.2). This result presents an understanding of the aspects in objective four: detecting associations of emotions, attitudes and behaviours at individual and groups levels, in addition to identifying the power relations and ethical issues within the leader-follower interactions.

This result further supports Collinson's (2003) argument about the role of subjectivity and insecurities in understanding power and identity reproduction in organizations. This result additionally supports Foucault's (1977) notion of the way in which power and control influence the construction of identity and relations. Foucault's argument states that surveillance-based workplaces play a role in producing disciplined and conformist selves. This is evident in patterns of disciplined and conformist self production in narratives and interactions throughout GPO's work environment.

The result with an element of novelty that might be argued for this chapter is presented in sub-section 6.3.3. In this sub-section, results support the idea that followers develop creative narrative logics in order to re-construct their threatened personal and social self-values (Fairhurst, 2007). As an example, they turn to alternative worlds outside their organization and plot narratives around logics based on historical, cultural and cinematic artefacts. They use their vast knowledge of these artefacts to reinforce their self-values in more assertive self-narratives. This is also enhanced by defining some of these narratives as ante-narratives (Boje, 2001) and hence extending the story space (Boje, 2004) of the overall narratives.

This result resonates with Goffman's (1959) notion on impression management where a significant audience is approached with preferred impressions of self. It also supports the heightened self-consciousness exhibited by insecure employees, which makes them skilled manipulators of self, reputation and image in the eyes of *significant others* (Collinson, 2003).

Another element of novelty is the temporal dimension in such self impression strategies, as the construction and reconstruction of self-representations and power relations are often long term processes. The logics in these constructs

have a common theme that revolves around self-Other encounters - which constantly change by adopting different contexts. The element of overlapping of the multiple selves also seems to be functional, as presented in sub-section 6.3.3.

I am referring here to how the selves in the narratives who possess a positive sense of self-value empower the less confident selves in the other narratives.

To conclude, the argument put forth in this chapter regards GPO as a highly diversified IO that is also heavily engaged in international conflicts across the Globe. The results suggest that both the diversity and the global engagement have a profound impact on the leader-follower interactions among GPO's employees. This means that the two aspects generate cultural and national conflicts between the employees, which further generates a sense of personal and social identity insecurities among them. In response, the insecure employees reinforce their self-values by generating more assertive personal and social self-representations. The new positive self-representations empower them to have positive attitudes that occasionally redirect the power relations between them and their leaders.

This is in accord with the argument of Collinson (2003) that emphasizes the need for a critical organizational analysis that is able to identify the 'complex and sometimes contradictory simultaneities as they are reproduced within the multiple asymmetries and insecurities of the contemporary workplace' (Collinson, 2003:542-543). Collinson's wider argument is that globalized societies and organizations develop complex contexts which are beyond individuals' 'making or choosing' (Ibid: 542). A more important part in his argument is that individuals in these contexts need to be regarded as not totally submissive to the relations within such contexts. They are rather best understood as simultaneously being subjects and objects in the net of these relations (see section 6.3.1).

CHAPTER SEVEN

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

7.1. Introduction

At the beginning of this study I presented the argument that current leadership research is experiencing a rise of new research directions that aim to problematize the leader centric (heroic) perspective of studying leadership. I also pointed out that the new research body reconsidered power, context, identity discourse, leader-follower agency, and practice in its research endeavours on leadership and organization studies (Fairhurst, 2007; Crevani, 2010; Haslam et al., 2011; Alvesson, 2013; Tourish, 2013; Collinson, 2003, 2005, 2014). However, this new wave towards re-thinking the theory and practice of leadership seems to overlook some of the original insights and implications developed in the leader centric studies.

I further argued that downplaying these original insights might raise a risk of fragmenting the leadership literature, suggesting that the original leadership insights might turn to empty signifiers that only serve to establish arguments for or against the new approaches. This might further lead to weakening their theoretical uniqueness and the insights they can offer, particularly to challenging aspects of social and organizational life. I thus proposed that constructively including these original insights into the new perspectives would eliminate or minimise such risk by sustaining their theoretical uniqueness in favour of broader knowledge claims.

However, the argument of this study also stressed that appreciating the original insights in leader centric perspectives by these new approaches does not mean unifying their perspectives. The difference between the two understandings is that the first approach alerts one to the risk of downplaying the original insights, while those who hold the second are simply not aware of this risk. The essence

of this call then is to avoid or limit the risk of turning leadership into an empty signifier - which might be worse than questioning its very existence, as some studies have raised (Gemmill and Oakley, 2002; Kelly, 2008, 2013; Alvesson, 2013). The theoretical uniqueness of the two perspectives is equally important, so it is rather a matter of sustaining them both and not losing one in favour of the other.

The argument of this study is not new in essence, or single-handedly invented by the author of this study. Haslam et al. (2011) explicitly identifies a similar risk in their book *The New Psychology of Leadership*. The authors reveal concerns over underplaying the significance of the 'single factor', that is the leader here, by widening the dynamics of leadership into broad considerations like context and audience. They explicitly state:

Arguably, this process has been taken too far. The figure of the leader as superman may rightly have been usurped, but is it right to replace it with a picture in which the leader is, at worst, a mere cipher, and, at best, little more than a book-keeper? The danger is that we will lose those aspects of leadership that make it so fascinating and so important in the first place: the creativity of leaders, their ability to shape our imaginations and guide us towards new goals, their role in producing social change—and, occasionally, social progress (Ibid: 21).

Haslam (2014) expresses similar concern in the field of Social Identity Approach. That is when he suggests that more cooperation is required between theorists and practitioners in order to develop Applied Social Identity Approach (ASIA). In his proposal, he acknowledges the rigidity of existing long established theoretical frameworks, a point that might seem contradictory to this study's argument. However, the point of interest is that he also expresses concern over turning SIT and SCT into mere tools and losing their theoretical uniqueness and the understandings they can offer:

Such endeavours will not change the theory (SIT and SCT are what they are), but by changing the contexts in which it is encountered

they will almost certainly change the way the theory is understood and what its affordances are seen to be. The great danger here is that in this process social identity theorizing will itself be assimilated into the mainstream so that it ends up being seen simply to provide new and better tools for psychsmiths to use as they hammer away on the same old anvils in the same old forges. The great opportunity, and the great challenge, is to use the theorizing instead to develop tools that will help theorists and practitioners escape the constricted frameworks within which they currently labour so that they can work together for a new and better purpose (Haslam, 2014:14).

In the light of this argument, this study aims to develop an understanding of how individuals in an IO like GPO cope with the universal scope of their organization and the diversity in their work environment. It particularly aims to explore the coping strategies in the identity dynamics and power interplays in the day-to-day leader-follower and group interactions of the three units. Leaders are defined as individuals with formal and informal supervision responsibilities while followers are those being supervised. Dynamics are defined as forces that mobilize individuals towards or away from groups.

The study then develops an integrative Social Identity Approach (SIA) (Haslam, 2014; Hogg, 2006; Reicher et al., 2010; Haslam et al., 2011) and an ante-narrative approach (Boje, 2001, 2004) in representing and examining the data. The examination is further enhanced through multiple theoretical lenses of critical and leader-centric perspectives (Fairhurst, 2007; Collinson, 2003, 2005, 2014; Hollander, 1998; Ciulla, 1998; Price and Hicks, 2006).

This final chapter presents the main findings and draws conclusions derived from this examination, namely the first and second stages of analysis in chapters five and six. It first presents the discussion of the key findings linked to the research objectives (1-4) (section 7.2). Following this, section 7.3 presents the key contributions of this study to the general body of knowledge and theory of leadership research. Finally, the chapter is concluded with section 7.4 that

explains the limitations of this study, followed by section 7.5 suggesting directions for future research.

7.2. Discussion and main findings

7.2.1. Objective one

To develop a holistic understanding of the case study by providing a descriptive account of GPO.

Objective one seeks to develop a holistic understanding of the case study by providing a descriptive account of GPO. This takes into account its universal scope of work, the three specific CM units, their physical layout and the sample of the study. This objective is aligned with the wider aim of this study which is to develop an understanding of how individuals in an IO like GPO cope with the universal scope of their organization and the diversity of their work environment. One finding linked to this aim indicates that participants interpret the daily challenges of their work environment by using their particular worldviews in contrast to the universal scope of work adopted by GPO. This finding is confirmed by the identification of the cross-cultural dimensions across the different logics adopted by the participants in their self-narratives - and hence in their relations with their superiors and groups. This is in accord with Bass's (1990) emphasis that cultural dimensions of a consequence to leadership in a given society includes traditionalism, particularism, collectivism, and idealism, compared to the valuing of modernity, universalism, individualism, and pragmatism.

Bass (1990:803) states that 'Although internationalization proceeded apace as we become a unified global economy, cultural and national differences continue to have a strong effect on leader-follower relationships' (see section 2.4). This finding also lines up with Bass's emphasis on the impact of the type of the multinational firm (whether ethno-centric, polycentric, or geocentric) on leader-subordinate relations. GPO, which is hosted by a Western country, reflects a

mixture of the three types, which lead the multi-national participants to adopt colonial and post colonial logics in some of their self-narratives (see section 5.5.3 and section 6.3.3).

Another finding is that adopting ethnography as the methodology with a focus on the classic school generates a variety of cross-cultural insights into the participants' daily interactions. Chapter two has pointed out the conceptualization of culture as a challenge encountered in cross-cultural leadership studies (Avolio et al., 2009). The same remark is also evident in the debates over Hofstede's Cultural Dimensions (1980). One of the proposals to bring more clarity to the concept of culture is to contrast Hofstede's notion to more established notions on culture such as the one proposed by Geertz (1973), as suggested by (McSweeney, 2002:90). On the other hand, debates on GLOBE reveal more specific cultural views and differentiate between cultural values and practices. Javidan et al. (2006) justify this differentiation by pointing out that national culture can be broadly defined as the 'values, beliefs, norms, and behavioural patterns of a national group'.

Hofstede's (2002:5) response is that culture exists as a construct and is needed when economic, political and institutional factors fail to provide valid explanations. In other words, Hofstede rejects the redundancy of culture at the expense of more useful economic, political or institutional factors. Therefore, according to Hofstede, useful explanation is the key that determines when to turn to the construct of culture or other factors. However, this study disagrees with such differentiation as it is shown in its findings that such factors are shaped within constructs of culture. This is particularly evident in the logics used by the participants in their self-narratives (see for example sections 5.5.2, 5.5.3, 5.5.4, 5.6.1.1, 5.6.2, 6.3.3.1, 6.3.3.2 and 6.3.3.3).

This study therefore, principally considers McSweeney's (2002) proposal (above) and adopts Geertz's notion of culture. It further enhances the anthropological roots in Geertz's notion with proposals such as those of Davies (2008) which criticize the downplaying of anthropological insights in ethnography within organizational studies. This further enables the use of ethnography as a methodology that has its own epistemological stand rather than being a mere method.

Geertz (1973) conceptualizes culture as semiotic and in the form of webs of meanings / significance spun by man himself. Therefore, according to him, the only way to decode these webs of meanings is to interpret them and not to scientifically experiment with them. Geertz (1973:9,10) describes his idea saying:

Once human behaviour is seen as . . . symbolic action--action which, like phonation in speech, pigment in painting, line in writing, or sonance in music, signifies--the question as to whether culture is patterned conduct or a frame of mind, or even the two somehow mixed together, loses sense. The thing to ask [of actions] is what their import is'.

What then, makes Geertz's conceptualization more relevant to this study is that he argues that this system of meaning is public - in the sense that it is collectively owned by a group (Geertz, 1973:12-13).

My approach then is to establish Geertz's (1973) concept of culture through enhancing his other notion about *Thick description*. Geertz (1977:6) conceptualizes the term Thick description as an intellectual effort that goes beyond objective reports and mapping ethnographic fields. However, he also restricts this conceptualization by affirming that no Thick description would represent the real tale of the field; it is rather one of other possible tales. In my view, this might signal a shade of contradiction that makes the process of constructing Thick description confusing for researchers. This confusion would

pose a particular challenge to those using the concept of Thick description in disciplines other than ethnography (Angrosino, 2007).

This study suggests that such confusion would be minimised if the exercise of Thick description is approached through multiple theoretical lenses. For example, this study principally focuses on the importance of text in ethnography as suggested by Geertz (1977) (see section 4.3.2). This is initially enhanced in the data construction process in the field where the narrative approach is initiated (see section 4.5.2). It is then further developed in the writing up process (see section 4.6) and analysis process (see section 4.7).

Another approach to Thick description in the study is through Alvesson's (2013) proposal calling to give more attention to organizational realities in leadership studies. Alvesson criticises the exclusion of leader and follower relations from organizational realities. This is complemented by a similar proposal by Haslam et al. (2011) to examine leader-follower within the social group context. Hence their idea is that leadership is a product of "we-ness" rather than of his or her "I-ness" (Haslam et al., 2011:1). In terms of ethnography, the two proposals can be regarded within the idea of *a cultural whole* (Baszanger and Dodier, 2004; Watson, 2001, 2009), (see sections 2.4.6 and 5.2).

I validate the above use of multiple theoretical lenses by re-stating the overall aim of my study: to develop an understanding of how individuals in IOs such as GPO cope with the universal scope of their organization and the diversity of their work environment. This is similar to Watson's (2009:40) statement:

So, for example, when one of us focused on managerial work within a large company for the 'In Search of Management' (Watson, 2001) study, it wasn't to 'do' an ethnography of that organization but to set the analysis of the managers within the 'cultural whole' of the business and the factory.

I similarly point out that the aim of this study is not to “make” an ethnography of GPO but an analysis of how participants process their day to day conflicts and challenges in the *cultural whole* of GPO. The enhancement of such a multiple angle approach reveals the complex nature of contemporary organizations. GPO in particular is a clear demonstration of such complexity in that it is a multilingual, multi-ethnic and multinational organization that aims to promote the universal principles of Human Rights.

On the other hand, the findings are also attributed to the established sense of culture suggested by Geertz (1977) and his notion of Thick description. The findings suggest that anthropological conceptualization of culture reveal webs of meanings spun by the participants at both collective and individual levels of analysis. Perhaps such webs require further detection in GPO in order to provide fuller understanding of their structure. However, enough patterns are detected to prove that cultural logics in the self-narratives are employed, and frequently in creative ways, by the participants in their interpretation of their day to day conflicts.

This finding also contests Smith’s (2006) suggestion that the characterization of cultures (either in self-perceptions or in perceptions of others in one’s society) is not equal. The relational self-Other constructs in the self-narratives and their examination through SIA prove otherwise. However, the findings are not conclusive regarding his other suggestion that national culture that can be usefully studied must be proportional to the limited number of nations available for comparative analyses.

7.2.2. Objective Two

To construct an account of self-narratives within participants' daily individual and group interactions.

Objective two is directly related to the narrative approach adopted in this study. The objective seeks to construct an account of self-narratives within participants' daily individual and group interactions. This objective is fulfilled through establishing multiple accesses, collecting dilemmatic narratives, mapping and contrasting the conflicts and tensions across these narratives.

The finding linked to objective two is methodological which enhances the identification of the main feature of multiplicity in the data - as will be explained shortly. One of the main methodological findings is that the account of dilemmatic self-narratives indicates a construct of two types of narratives. One of these is the type that is completed in the sense of revealing a clear plot and staged timing: beginning, middle and end. On the other hand, there are stories that appear meaningless unless they are fitted in the overall frame story.

This dual account of stories is in accord with Boje et al. (2004) and their contention against dividing the power of narrating into linear plotted stories (Czarniawska, 1997; Gabriel, 2000). The alternative the authors propose is for a *story space* that brings the above linear plotted stories into a dialogue with the suggested criteria of pre-stories, the ante-narratives. Ante-narratives are envisaged within "bets that a pre-story can be told and theatrically performed that will enrol stakeholders in 'inter-textual' ways transforming the world of action into theatrics" (Boje et al., 2004: 756).

One example of the ante-narratives in this study is the subtle comments given by Angel in section 5.4.3 on the re-hiring process of retired employees. Another example is the change of attitude and sudden Hard-to-grasp statements by the

participants such as the one by LE 'Oh GPO has turned into an elephant graveyard' (see section 5.6.1.2). A third example is the claim of whistle blowing that triggers a conflict between FA and SN in UNIT1. I also classify the incident of conflict between the two as an ante-narrative because it rises and fades too fast for one to grasp any substantial details of the incident (see section 6.3.2.2). Gabriel (2000:20) contests Boje's (1991) initial conceptualization of ante-narratives, Terse Story, as being of anaemic quality and that the strength of his argument 'lies in its extremism'. Terse stories are defined then as stories in 'which parts of the plot, some of the characters, and segments of the sequence of events are left to the hearer's imagination' (Boje, 1991). Boje et al. (2004:3) respond with partial agreement that 'organizational stories are often more anaemic than the folkloric story and mythology'. They proceed to refine the definition of ante-narratives as: "bets that a pre-story can be told and theatrically performed that will enrol stakeholders in 'inter-textual' ways transforming the world of action into theatrics', (Boje et al., 2004b:756). They further stress that this is at times a 'terse performance' and at times 'quite poetic' (Boje et al., 2004:3), (see section 4.5.2).

Another finding linked to objective two is that ante-narratives are emerging in the account of the dilemmatic stories in different forms. The implication of this finding lies in extending the dialogue in 'story space' between the main two criteria, narratives and ante-narratives, by adding a contrasting account between the different ante-narrative forms. This provides the analysis process with fuller understanding of the events and relations shaping the day-to-day interactions in GPO's three units (for example, understanding the history of conflicts between them which indicates the temporal significance in these conflicts). Furthermore, this temporal dimension highlights the complexity of GPO as an old and established organization and the long term contracts in its employment system.

Therefore, I perceive these multiple forms of ante-narratives as an added 'multi-voiced' dialogue to the one already proposed by Boje relating to the narratives and ante-narratives.

However, the findings also indicate that over-reliance on the ante-narrative carries the risk of exhausting the analysis process and the overall representation of the data. Boje et al. (2004) already anticipate this risk in stressing the incomplete and emerging nature of ante-narratives. They describe it as 'stampede herd' effect - meaning that ante-narratives might come to emerge uncontrollably (Boje, 2008, 2012, 2014). Hence my constant re-focusing on intertextuality as a core perspective towards ante-narratives and story space to avoid both risks: stampede herd effects and over-reliance effect by on reflexivity as the methodology. The intertextuality in this context is the technique proposed by Boje (2001) in navigating the dialogue between the narratives and ante-narratives (see section 4.5.2).

This risk of losing track of the narratives in the field resonates with Alvesson's (2010) proposal for reflexive pragmatism (see section 4.6). Chapter four demonstrates that data representation requires a method that does not constrain its reflexive nature. It also highlights that such an approach empowers the researcher with a critical attitude towards the data, the setting, the topic and the nature of interactions in the field (Brewer, 2000). Nevertheless, Alvesson (2010:107) pays attention to the risk of losing track of time, space or patience in favour of limitless reflexivity - hence his idea of reflexive pragmatism, where pragmatism means 'a willingness to postpone some doubt and still use the material for the best possible purpose(s)' (Ibid:107).

In this sense, this study enhances ante-narrative dynamics such as plurivocal (many voiced) and polysemous (rich in multiple interpretations) dynamics in its

data representation and interpretation. The contribution of this study therefore adds to the ante-narrative approach and overall traditional narratology.

7.2.3. Objective Three

To identify the main logics and strategies used by the participants with which to relate to other individuals and groups.

Objective three seeks to identify the main logics and strategies used by the participants with which to relate to other individuals and groups. It mainly considers aspects such as detecting the different self-representations and interpretations given by the participants of their day-to-day challenges and dilemmas. This also addresses the issue of outlining the type and extent of contexts used in their interpretations and identifying the relationship between social realities and the categorizing process. Objective three then shapes the first stage of analysis and provides joint research findings to inform the first and second aims of the study presented in section 1.3.

7.2.3.1. The different self-representations and interpretations given by the participants regarding their day-to-day challenges and dilemmas.

The main finding indicates that the participants generate multiple organizational and cultural selves in their attempts to cope with their diversified day-to-day diverse work environment. In this they reflect their cultural worldviews in various ethnical, religious and national logics that frequently contest the universal scope of their organizational tasks. A main feature in their self-representations is their tendency to craft a sense of us / we-ness which further shapes the leader-follower interactions across the three units. This finding also fulfils the second aim - which seeks to explore the coping strategies in the identity dynamics and power interplays in the day-to-day leader-follower and group interactions.

On a wider scale, the finding tie in with Hofstede's (2006:883) statement that cultural differences between modern nations can be 'representing different answers to universal problems of human societies'. This is evident in the different interpretations reflected by participants' diverse worldviews on their conflicts with their superiors (or vice versa) and encounters with universal perspectives in their daily tasks. The interpretivist-qualitative approach in the methodology of this study facilitates the identification of these multiple interpretations (see section 4.2).

Examples of the multiple selves that associate the interpretations are: the organizational selves (such as the national-self), the contractual-self and the techno / human selves (see section 5.6.1). Then there are the cultural selves such as the cultural / historian-self which employ a colonial history and juxtapose a colonized Arab self versus the colonial Western Other of the superior. Another example is the enlightener-self where the participant often embodies the European civilization values and displays a patronizing attitude towards his non-European colleagues. Furthermore, there is the saviour-self and a preaching attitude towards junior colleagues (see section 5.6.2).

This finding is in accord with the work of Collinson (2006:182) where processing identity is viewed as 'ambiguous and always in a state of flux and reconstruction'. It emphasizes Collinson's other view of the paradox and contradiction in identity and power dynamics (Collinson, 2014). He further supports his view with Kondo (1990) who defines identities as open, shifting and negotiable, hence multiple and consistently re-constructed. This finding then contends with views of the unitary or singular self (Nkomo and Cox, 1996) and advocates for approaches that consider the multiple nature of self / identity construction (Collinson, 2006; Kondo, 1990).

Crafting the sense of us / we-ness in these multiple selves lines up with the proposal of Haslam et al. (2011) and their proposal of a new psychology of leadership that defines leadership as the relationship between leaders and followers within a social group. Section 2.3.6 demonstrates that the authors' argument is based on the individuals' sense of we-ness rather than I-ness. This is evident in the self-narratives constructed by the participants where their sense of we-ness frequently matters more than I-ness.

For example, the sense of we-ness seems evident in times of crisis or uncertainty. This is demonstrated in section 5.4 where LE tends to express more collective references to the UNIT3team in spite of the conflicts she claims she has with her younger colleagues. She repeatedly asserts the teams' right to opportunities for training and not only fights for her own rights. Another example is in section 5.6.2 where AM shifts into "us / them" references as Arab / Western views on the incident of demoting his Arab colleague NE. The references he uses relate to the Western senior management in the department - the same construct is also used by him in comparing his cross-cultural views on Human Rights principles.

The second aim seeks to explore the coping strategies in the identity dynamics and power interplays in the day-to-day leader-follower and group interactions. It then defines leaders as individuals with formal and informal supervision responsibilities while followers are those supervised. Dynamics are forces that mobilize individuals towards or away from groups. Thus the on-going craft of us/we-ness in the self-narratives is conducted in the form of self-Other perceptions. These perceptions then reflect the power interplays and conflicts between the employees and their superiors, and between them and their senior or junior colleagues.

This finding also responds to the argument of Ibarra et al. (2014) on the issues of adopting SIT in studying leadership within the contemporary diverse organizational settings (see section 2.4.6). Her claim is that diversity questions the concept of prototypicality and draws attention to non-prototypical leaders. Another point of attention in her argument is the in-group sub-identity issues. This finding gives generous insights into the issues of in-group sub-identities (see section 5.5.4 and 5.6.2 for example) while the idea of non-prototypical leaders seems like a promising area to expand in future research.

An element of novelty in this finding is that the participants tend to re-interpret their particular worldviews while using them in constructing their self-narratives and interpretations (see section 5.5.3). Nevertheless, the participants also seem to question the self-representations generated by their own cultural worldviews. This indicates that their uncertainties are not only related to their work conflicts and relations but also extended to their identities. Hence are their attempts of re-interpreting their worldviews and consequently their interpretations of their work dilemmas.

In this sense, this finding is in accord with the argument by Reicher et al. (2010) that the essence of SCT processes lies in the dynamics evolving between individuals and social categories. Reicher et al. (2010) consider such understanding not to confine SCT to the cognitivist element within it (see section 3.3.3). This then offers the opportunity to explore the factors shaping the social categories and their dynamics such as belief systems. In this study, the re-interpretation of value systems in their particular worldviews seems like an important dynamic that would represent the subtleties in social categorizing processes.

7.2.3.2. The type and extent of contexts used in the interpretations

The role of context then seems central in generating the multiple selves and interpretations which is in line with SIDE's suggestion on how context can shape and / or limit the social identity construction (Reicher et al., 2010). For example, in section 5.5.1, the participants consider immediate context that is within their day-to-day tasks or managerial challenges. Examples are their personal and professional development needs, developing trustworthy and strong teams within their departments, or dealing with the universality of HR principles in their editing tasks. Accordingly, their interpretations are limited to procedural and processual solutions and hence their organizational or managerial identity is the salient identity.

On the other hand, the findings further indicate that participants tend to expand the boundaries of context beyond their organizational happenings. In these wider contexts, participants internalize many externalities within dimensions of culture, religion, ethnicity, politics and / or history. This consequently expands their interpretations and self-representations into a more abstract and complex level, which confirms its accord with SIDE's suggestion about the role of context in social identity construction (Reicher et al., 2010), (see section 3.4.1.2).

For example, participants reflect on self-Other perceptions from universal, economic, and humane perspectives. They also seek comparative perceptions on educational systems across the Arab States and seek more theoretical perspectives about their education and skills. Furthermore, political and religious issues are tackled in attempts to anticipate the future of the religious diversity and conflicts in their original countries, (see section 5.4.2).

This finding is also in accord with the four considerations mentioned by Haslam et al. (2011) that context, role of followers, function of power, and dynamics of

transformation are significant leadership dynamics (ibid:21). Nevertheless, Haslam et al. (2011) criticize the new directions in leadership studies where leadership is approached from a wide range of considerations (see section 2.3.6). Therefore, their suggestion to consider the four broad dynamics in their new definition of leadership psychology seems controversial. Nevertheless, in this study the dynamic of context tends to constantly shape and re-shape the relations between the participants and their leaders and groups.

I also identify this finding within their use of temporal contexts by the participants such as past cultural values or present political tensions. I accord this use of temporal contexts with the concept of 'being' to 'becoming' as suggested by Reicher et al. (2010). Reicher et al. point out that the categorization process is completed by two dimensions: temporal and interactive. I therefore highlight this re-interpretation used as an example in section 5.5.3 as an implication for this journey between 'being' and 'becoming'. This journey can also tie in with Fairhurst's (2007) proposal for narrative logics and their role in the process of self-reconstruction into the future through episodic memory. In both associations, the re-interpretations of worldviews indicate a constructive sense of well-being and not mere uncertainties or frustrations.

One example of this dimension in the findings is an ongoing move between the present and the past in describing traditional or religious values - such as Arab magnanimity or the use of the head scarf, (see section 5.5.3). Another example is re-evaluating the Arabness bond in the Abu Dhabi airport incident by KL or reviewing the Western-Arab self by Jebrin (see section 5.5.4). Participants also attempt to re-order the inner boundaries of their groups by exploring the 'Other within us' (see sections 5.5.1, 5.5.2 and 5.5.4). Hind, on the other hand, explicitly states her re-interpretation saying: 'my knowledge is the first covering for my

head', (see section 5.5.3). Thus she accepts the Islamic teaching on covering Muslim women, (head scarf) but as a modern symbol of education for women. This indicates how participants tend to creatively re-interpret their cultural worldviews within temporal contexts (see section 5.4.3).

Finally, this finding supports the proposal by Haslam (2014) for an applied social identity approach (ASIA). In particular, it particularly supports his second suggested lesson that individuals shape their psychology and behaviour through self-categorizations, where they generate self-representations that are embedded in context (see section 3.3.1). The five lessons proposed by Haslam (2014) enhance the focus on day-to-day practices and events while interpreting the categorizing processes in the self-narratives. Hence, it is the development of themes that classify multiple levels of context in participants' interpretations and self-representations.

7.2.3.3. The relationship between social realities and the categorizing process

Section 2.3.3 points out that GLOBE differentiates between cultural values and practices (Javidan et al., 2006). Javidan et al. (2006) conduct an in-depth literature review on the relationship between culture and practice. Their conclusion is to broadly define national culture as 'values, beliefs, norms, and behavioural patterns of a national group' (Javidan et al., 2006). The previous finding on the role of context, however, suggests that the relationship between cultural / national values and practice is more complex in contemporary diverse work environments. This is validated with consistent comparison between participants' expressed values and their practices, the comparison being enacted along the data construction and analysis processes (Grove, 2005).

However, values can be seen as a dimension in participants' social realities. Thus from an SIA perspective, the previous finding supports the idea that self-

categories are not mere representations of their social realities but also a means with which to organize them - or perhaps even re-define them. This final point reinforces the idea of the complex relationship between the social realities and self-categories as identity dynamics. This is in accord with the emphasis by Haslam et al. (2011) on the deceiving nature of the relationship between social realities and categories. They point to constant change as a feature of social reality, and hence to the perception of its complex nature. They further emphasize the bidirectional relationship between the two, where categories are a means with which to represent, realize and organize reality (see section 2.4.6).

The finding then suggests that logics and worldviews are not taken for granted by the participants, they are rather revisited, re-interpreted and re-ordered. This results in the constant change in self-representation and interpretations, and consequently their multiplicity. This element of re-interpretation indicates the complex relationship between values and practices in a diverse work environment such as that of GPO.

In terms of methodology, the findings linked to objective three resonate with the critique against Hofstede's work, that surveys are not the best tool with which to measure cultural differences (Hofstede, 2002; McSweeney, 2002). Hence the methodological approach in this study is to go to the 'natural setting' (Creswell, 2013; Denzin and Lincoln, 2011), and then to explore how the social processes and artefacts collaboratively (or conflictingly) are constructed (Angrosino, 2007: viii, ix), (see section 4.2). Furthermore, this also responds to Hofstede's (2006) critique of some of the methodological considerations in GLOBE. One of his remarks is particularly relevant here, that is, that the questionnaire seems highly abstract and does not engage daily organizational activities (see section 2.3.3).

The data collection techniques followed in this study allow me, as a researcher, to generate in-depth insights into the daily interactions between the employees and their superiors and junior colleagues -hence the identification of multiple self-representations and their validation in different data collection methods, as presented in section 4.5. An added value is that both the views of leaders and followers are approached equally in this study which enhances the credibility of the findings. This latter responds to Hofstede's (2006) critique that GLOBE's leadership survey measurement is answered by the leaders and not their subordinates (see section 2.3.3).

Another critique by Hofstede (2006) against GLOBE is the risk of ethnocentric bias by a team who is educated and trained in American universities and yet is targeting a highly international population. The response to his critique is that the 160 scholars of GLOBE are from 62 cultures which are referred to as country co-investigators (CCIs) (Javidan et al., 2006). The response is confirmed with stressing that the CCIs used to report any cultural concerns or doubts on their particular cultures (Ibid). However, it seems to me that Hofstede's concern is not accurately answered, since his critique seems to be on the Western-based approach adopted by the GLOBE team and not their national or cultural backgrounds.

In this study, the concern is, in fact, quite the opposite - that is the potential to have non-Western bias towards the international setting under examination. However, my response would be that the reflexive approach plays a positive role in minimizing this risk, firstly by enhancing my awareness of it as a researcher. Secondly, the constant revisiting of the meanings (Alvesson, 2010) would transform the risk into an opportunity to generate multiple interpretations of the data, and therefore broader knowledge claims.

Finally, the findings in objectives one, two and three, support the idea of the complexity in group dynamics (Ibarra et al., 2014) and further suggest similar complexity in the relations between leaders and followers in diverse work environments. The findings also accord with the idea of redefining leaders and followers as a group (Haslam et al., 2011) which would enhance new levels of analysis and hence broader understandings of leadership as a social process (Hogg, 2006).

7.2.4. Objective Four

To examine whether (and how) emotions influence participants' attitudes and behaviours - and hence their leader-follower interactions.

Objective four aims to examine whether (and how) emotions influence participants' attitudes and behaviours and therefore their leader-follower interactions. As such, it seeks the following aspects: firstly, detecting associations of emotions, attitudes and behaviours at individual and groups levels. Secondly, identifying the power relations and ethical issues within the leader-follower interactions

Both the first and second aims are fulfilled in this objective but more emphasis is placed on the second aim. The first aim is to develop an understanding of how individuals in an IO like GPO cope with the universal scope of their organization and the diversity in their work environment. The second aim is to explore the coping strategies in the identity dynamics and power interplays in the day-to-day leader-follower and group interactions of the three units. Leaders are defined as individuals with formal and informal supervision responsibilities while followers are those supervised. Finally, dynamics are forces that mobilize individuals towards or away from groups.

7.2.4.1. The associations of emotions, attitudes and behaviours at individual and groups levels

The main finding linked to objective four is that participants express feelings of insecurities and frustrations that further shape patterns of conformist and resistance attitudes in their self-narratives and interactions. These attitudes are constantly changing and shifting the power relations between the employees and their leaders with added moral and cultural dimensions in most of the narratives (see sections 6.3.1 and 6.3.2).

An element of novelty in the conformist and resistance attitudes is the long term self impression strategies developed by the participants in the construction and reconstruction of self-representations. The logics in these constructs have a common theme that revolves around self-Other encounters which constantly change by adopting different contexts. The multiple selves in these constructs overlap as the selves with a positive sense of self-value empower the less confident selves across the narratives (see section 6.3.3).

An added element of novelty is that the followers develop creative narrative logics (Fairhurst, 2007) in order to re-construct their threatened personal and social self-values. For example, they employ logics based on cultural and cinema artefacts in worlds outside their organization and hence create more assertive self-narratives. They employ their vast knowledge of these artefacts and reconstruct positive self-values which eventually empower their conformist selves inside the organization (see section 6.3.3).

Additionally, the incidents of collective resistance in section (6.3.2.1) proved to be associated with frustrations at group level. This then supports attempts to exceed understanding emotions beyond the traditional view that limits it within the individual level. The social categorizing processes evident in the self-representations enhance such understanding which is in accord with the

argument by Smith et al. (2007) that the initial force then “becomes” when an individual identifies himself / herself with a group, after which the in-group becomes part of his / her self. Their view is drawn on appraisal theories of emotion, SIT and SCT.

It is also evident that participants’ social categorizations (SCT) are closely associated with values and views that make the employees seem more secure, happier and stronger. Perhaps then this ties in with what Hogg (2006:1920) describes as ‘validation of one’s worldview and self concept’. However, he further points out that studies indicate inconsistent findings on relating self-esteem to group behaviour (see section 3.2.6). None the less, in this finding, participants attempt to reduce their uncertainties through seeking secure belonging to worlds that reassure them of their self-values.

On a wider scale, this finding lines up with Collinson’s (2003) argument about the role of subjectivity and insecurities in understanding power and identity reproduction in organizations. Collinson’s (2003) argument is derived from Foucault’s (1977) notion about the influence of power and control on the construction of identity and relations. Foucault’s idea particularly responds to self-narratives suggesting patterns of disciplined and conformist self production within their sense of surveillance in GPO’s work environment (see section 6.3.3). This confirms Foucault’s (1977) suggestion that surveillance-based workplace plays a role in producing disciplined and conformist selves.

On a more focused scale, the element of creativity in the patterns of self and power reproduction reflects how the insecure participants develop heightened self-consciousness and advanced skills of self manipulation. This is where they tend to recreate more desired self images and reputation in-front of *significant others* (Collinson, 2003, 2006). This self manipulation then resonates with

another important theoretical concept, that is, *impression management* (Goffman, 1959) where significant audiences are approached with preferred impressions of self.

The element of novelty in this finding lies principally in the cross-cultural dimension in the different strategies adopted by the participants in their impression management. The finding hence suggests the need to pay more attention to the influence of diversity in organizations such as GPO on self-identity dynamics, particularly in times of uncertainty. Therefore, the contribution of this study offers to the wider knowledge of identity and leadership fields in terms of the impact of emotions such as uncertainty and frustration on identity and leadership dynamics.

This is in accord with Collinson's (2003) argument that emphasizes the need for a critical organizational analysis that would identify the 'complex and sometimes contradictory simultaneities as they are reproduced within the multiple asymmetries and insecurities of the contemporary workplace' (Collinson, 2003:542-543). Collinson's wider argument is that globalized societies and organizations developed complex contexts which are beyond individuals' 'making or choosing' (Ibid: 542). More importantly, part of his argument is that individuals in these contexts need to be regarded as not being totally submissive to the relations in such contexts. Rather, they are best understood as being simultaneously subjects and objects in the net of these relations (see section 6.3.1).

7.2.4.2. The power relations and ethical dimension within the leader-follower interactions

I mentioned earlier in this section that a moral dimension has been indicated within the power interplays between the participants and their superiors or their junior / senior colleagues. This finding relates to the first and second aspects in

objective four: detecting associations of emotions, attitudes and behaviours at individual and groups levels. This is followed by identifying the power relations and ethical issues within the leader-follower interactions.

The first stage of analysis initiated this finding (section 5.4.1), for example it indicates interplays of power between senior employees and their junior colleagues. Section 5.4.2 then implies the power interplays between peers and in the following section 5.4.3 the focus is on the interplays of power between the employees and their superiors.

The second stage of analysis then reveals more in-depth power dynamics in these patterns of interactions in terms of presenting the conformist and resistant attitudes produced within these dynamics (see sections 6.3.1, 6.3.2, and 6.3.3). Across these presentations, issues of trust, respect and equality are repeatedly expressed by those with threatened self-identities and less power. Identifying these issues heightens a fuller understanding of the identity and leadership dynamics which is demonstrated in the theme of self-value constructs in sections, 6.3.3.1, 6.3.3.2 and 6.3.3.3.

Initially, the identity dynamics are theoretically refined within the notions suggested, for example, by Collinson (2003), Foucault (1977), Goffman (1959), Hogg (2006), Ibarra et al. (2014) and Haslam et al. (2011). Although the critical perspective reveals the diverse and shifting nature of these dynamics, some of the leader-follower dynamics in the data seem out of place in the overall narrative. I am particularly referring to the ethical issues in the interactions between the participants. Adding a leader-centred perspective (Ciulla, 1998; Hollander, 1998; Price and Hicks, 2006) in the second stage helped in developing a fuller understanding of the impact of these issues on participants' attitudes. An example is theme of self-value constructs which brings more light to the

relationship between power interplays and the transformation of participants' attitudes.

This ties in with the proposal by Ciulla (1998) to enhance leadership studies by developing the understudied domain of leadership ethics. Her proposal is to perceive ethics as a dimension of leadership and not as a part of it. Chapter two outlines Ciulla's suggestions to facilitate such approach by considering: multidisciplinary approach, focus on leader-follower relations, autonomy of leaders and followers, and conceptualizing morality as a dimension of leadership rather than a part of it (see section 2.4.1). The latter in particular is highlighted in this study through an added consideration of the cross-cultural dimension.

Hollander (1998) also defines leadership as a process in which the leader is a key figure who influences others' well-being and perceiving this influence is associated with ethical challenges. Hollander further stresses the self-Other perception as a major component of the leader-follower dynamics. This perception is highlighted through the SIT approach adopted for this study. The self-narratives confirm such view, especially in terms of expressing influence through multiple forms of informal authorities (for example, the informal authority of knowledge in areas such as art, history or cinema in sections 6.3.3.1, 6.3.3.1 and 6.3.3.3). This naturally contrasts with more formal authorities such as the official directors and managers, seniority or expertise on translation techniques. The issues of equality, respect and trust are of significance for the participants, which is in accord with the views on the attention required for followers' needs and wants (Ciulla, 1998; Hollander, 1998). These needs are reflected in their journey to *better self* (Price and Hicks, 2006) in worlds where they sustain closer control than their organizational world. The result is attempts to re-construct their threatened self-values affected by inequalities, lack of liberties and uncertainties

of their work environment. Some of these attempts succeed to construct new and positive self-values which eventually empower participants to play informal leading roles within their groups (see sections 6.3.3.1, 6.3.3.2 and 6.3.3.3).

The dialectic approach to the literature review embeds Hollander's perspective in a rich body of literature that tackles power and relationships between leaders and followers from different perspectives (Ciulla, 2006; Price and Hicks, 2006; Goethals and Sorenson, 2006), (see sections 2.4.1, 2.4.2 and 2.4.3). The dialectical and reflexive approach adopted by this study further enhances understanding of these perspectives as scientific endeavours which complement their theoretical value. As a result, the examination leads to identifying the moral dimension (Ciulla, 1998; Gardner, 1990) as a significant dynamic of leadership, as well as identity constructs in the data narratives.

In his examination on dichotomies, dialectics, and dilemmas in leadership literature, Collinson (2014) argues for a more dialectical approach to these themes. He explicitly states: 'Dialectical studies can surface important questions about organizational power relations, paradoxes and contradictions that are typically under-explored within mainstream leadership studies' (Collinson, 2014: 36). The argument problematizes the dichotomized perspectives of fundamental leadership notions such as transformational and transactional leadership (Burns, 1978, 2007; Hollander, 2009).

Collinson (2014) emphasizes Burns's (2007: viii) suggestion that his leading book, *Leadership* (1978), might be 'over-dichotomised'. Thereby he suggests that this means admitting over-dichotomization exists over the most *influential ideas* in the literature of leadership (Collinson, 2014: 38). In particular, he is referring to the domination of ideas about transformational and transactional leadership - and

naturally to Burns's status as one of the leading authorities in the field of leadership.

The findings of this study then tie in with Collinson's (2014) alternative, that is, to focus on leadership dialectics and dilemmas as a new direction in leadership studies. The findings confirm the multiple, overlapping, shifting and interconnected nature of the identified identity and leadership dynamics. It also fully lines up with Collinson's (2014:49) proposal for 'exploring dialectics dialectically'. The latter lines up with this study's approach that particularly facilitates the identification of the contradictory (and in times ambiguous) inter-personal and inter / intra group interactions. This is also in accord with Fairhurst's (2001:4) argument that identifying the conflicts between leaders and followers as tensions and interplays would lead to a stronger path of examination.

However, the ethical dilemmas in the interactions, whether in participants' practices, their worldviews on HR ethics or daily interactions, do not fully render themselves open to such a proposal. The conflicts around trust, equality, liberty and respect in the findings linked to objective four, for example, seem to lend themselves to more dichotomized views of the power relations between leaders and followers.

This study then draws attention to the point that overstating the new directions in leadership studies might turn many significant concepts into empty signifiers that only serve in establishing arguments for or against the new approaches. This might further lead to weaken their theoretical uniqueness and the insights they can offer, particularly to challenging aspects of social and organizational life.

However, appreciating the original insights in the leader centric perspectives by the new approaches does not mean unifying the two perspectives. The difference between the two understandings is that the first alerts one to the risk of

downplaying the original insights while the second simply does not indicate awareness of this risk. An example of the second one is the concept of *hybrid configuration* by Gronn (2009, 2011), who draws his remark from the *pendulum effect* in leadership literature. By the pendulum effect Gronn means the recurrent shifts in literature between the leader-centric and the distributed / collective leadership perspectives in leadership literature.

The essence of the proposal of this study then is to avoid or limit the risk of turning leadership to an empty signifier - which can be worse than questioning its very existence as some studies are suggesting (Gemmill and Oakley, 2002; Kelly, 2008, 2013; Alvesson, 2013). The theoretical uniqueness of the two perspectives is equally important, so this is a proposal to sustain them both and not to lose one of them in favour of the other.

7.3. Contributions of this study

The overall contribution of this study lies in its attempt to create an inter-textual understanding of leadership dynamics in GPO as a contemporary Human-Rights Based organization. This is applied by examining the theoretical insights in the literature as well as its textual property as in the *persuasive practices* woven into them (Golden-Biddle, 1997: 1060). This contribution is two-fold in that it signals the original insights in the heroic leadership literature (Burns, 1984; Ciulla 1998; Hollander, 1998; Hick and Price; 2006) and equally reinforces the application of the current critical theoretical approach in leadership studies (Collinson, 2003, 2006, 2014; Fairhurst, 2007, Haslam et al. 2011).

The interpretation of these dynamics does not necessarily apply to other contemporary organizations; it rather offers an understanding of the particular case of GPO. This study then offers one possible interpretation of the narratives in the data which is constructed through my own journey as a researcher. My

consideration is to construct as Thick description and interpretations as possible of study of the three diverse teams but with no intention to generalize the findings beyond the specific case study.

This study considers the debates over issues of validity and reliability in case study approach (Yin, 2009; Stake, 2005; Klenke, 2016; Toshkov, 2016). It also acknowledges that all types of research demand certain quality measures (Eisner, 1991). The study particularly acknowledges that the purpose of the research shapes its measures of reliability and validity whether it is to *explain* a situation in quantitative research or to *understand* a situation in a qualitative research (Eisner, 1991; Stenbacka, 2001; Golafshani, 2003).

Hence, the validity and reliability of this study are considered within its naturalistic approach which aims for an understanding of the real world settings with minimum interference (Patton, 2001; Hoepfl, 1997; Eisner, 1991; Whitemore et al. 2001). I link this with the idea of conceptualizing the understanding of a specific case as a form of naturalistic generalization (Stake,1995; Creswell, 2013). Meaning that this study generates its own understanding of the narratives and events of GPO units. It then passes this understanding to the reader who may try to apply it to other cases through further research.

As such, this study contributes to the body of identity and leadership studies particularly in terms of developing greater understanding of the relationship between identity and leadership processes. The need for this direction in identity and leadership studies has been highlighted in section 2.3.6. Table 7.1 is compiled to demonstrate the three specific contributions attempted in this study. These three contributions will be elaborated further in the following paragraphs of this section.

The study attempted to contribute to the specific ...

1. understanding of how individuals in a high profile IO cope with the universal scope of their organization and the diversity in their work environment.
2. theory and practice of applying reflexive ethnographic approach in studying multicultural work environments.
3. understanding of the role of identity dynamics, subjectivity and power interplays in the day to day leader-follower interactions of diverse groups.

Table 7.1 Contributions of the study

The first contribution is made through emphasizing IOs autonomy and agency in enhancing the creation of meanings and identities (Olsen, 1997). A critique is highlighted by Lewis (2014) indicating that more studies are conducted on *what* NGO's do rather than *how* they work. I extend this critique to IOs' as both types of organizations are understudied in spite of their complex working environments. Hence there are opportunities to generate deeper insights into the dynamics of social processes in their day-to-day organizational happenings.

Therefore, the sophisticated nature of GPO as a high profile multi-ethnic, multi-national and multi-lingual IO along with the duration of study offer a realistic context in which to examine the inquiries of the study. This strengthens the use of the critical approach in understanding the identity and leadership dynamics in GPO and validates the findings. Previous studies agree on the unresolved issues in both conceptualizing, relating and researching the three notions of culture, leadership and social identity theory (Avolio et al., 2009; Hogg, 2006; Ibarra et al., 2014). This further validates the contribution of this study as an attempt towards resolving such underlying theoretical and methodological issues.

For example, the empirical findings in this study offer valuable insights into the cross-cultural aspects in the identity and leadership processes within GPO as a

high profile IO. The findings of this study indicate how GPO employees negotiate their particular worldviews in interpreting their day to day professional and social dilemmas within the universal scope of their tasks. This leads to complex interplays between their social and organizational realities and their self-categorizing process (Haslam et al., 2011). This further offers a theoretical contribution to social identity theory by enhancing the cross-cultural dimension in understanding the complex relationship between social realities and categorizing process.

The second contribution in this study is methodological, namely through adopting a reflexive and dialectic approach that is shaped within the classic anthropological perspectives of ethnography (see sections 4.3.1.2 and 4.5.1). This means using ethnography as a methodology that has its own epistemological stand rather than serving as a method.

One of the contributions of this approach lies in emphasizing the significance of the text in ethnographic writing and the narrative approach in the study. This then constitutes another theoretical contribution of the study of the ante-narrative approach and the overall traditional narratology (see section 7.2.2). The qualitative nature in the ante-narrative approach further reinforces the theoretical contribution to SIA by expanding it beyond its post-positivist nature. This expansion boosts the applied side of SIA and creates opportunities to capture deeper understandings of the daily identity and leadership dynamics in the three units.

The reflexive approach also responds to the proposals for the enhancement of cross cultural perspective in leadership through creative research methods (Avolio et al., 2009; Gelfand et al., 2007; House et al., 2004; Brodbeck and Eisenbeiss, 2014). I further suggest that the reflexive approach in this study

indicates the need for further research on how the researchers use their particular worldviews in order to develop their methodologies.

Another attempt to contribute to the knowledge of methodology lies in developing a framework that guides the dialectical approach adopted in examining the literature of leadership. This framework makes use of the three concepts of problematization (Alvesson and Sandberg, 2013), intertextuality (Lock and Golden-Biddle, 1997), and reflexivity (Alvesson, 2010) in a systematic method to guide the process of formulating the research inquiry of this study.

The third contribution in this study is theoretical and relates to the understanding of the identity dynamics and power interplays in the day-to-day leader-follower interactions in diverse groups. This responds to the suggestions of Ibarra et.al (2014:285) for new and promising research directions in studying identity and leadership processes. In particular, the findings respond to suggestions on linking identity to power (Collinson, 2006). This is evident in the insights generated into leaders' and followers' role in transforming their identity insecurities into strategies of endurance and survival. One example relates to transforming their personal knowledge and expertise into control and resistance manoeuvres – especially in the form of strategies of self-management.

This contribution is in accord with wider notions on the role of subjectivity and insecurity in understanding power and identity reproduction in contemporary organizations (Collinson, 2003; Foucault, 1977). The power interplay and resistance practice also tie in with proposals for ethics as a dimension in the leadership process rather than a part of it (Ciulla, 1998; Gardner, 1990). It therefore forms a contribution to theories enhancing contractual perspectives in understanding leader-follower interactions, where the focus is on

transformational qualities and inequalities in leader-follower relationship (Burns, 1978; Ciulla, 1998; Hollander, 1998; Ciulla, 2006; Price and Hicks, 2006).

7.4. Limitations of the Study

Time and funds have posed challenges at different points in time, particularly as the organization under study is located in another country. This requires frequent travelling to obtain access and conduct the fieldwork and interviews. Hence there is a demand for more energy and planning to ensure the consistency of selected samples along the different stages of fieldwork, especially in the follow up stage. The sensitive context induced by the unexpected events of the Arab Spring is another limitation of this research, particularly in phase three of fieldwork. The political environment among the Arab population in the organization become tense and my identity as an Arab from the Gulf region raised some political sensitivities. However, my response has been to use these sensitivities in constructively navigating my role as a participant-observer. This tactic helps in minimizing the limitations of these unpleasant political and intra-cultural encounters. I principally regulate this manoeuvre by extending reflexivity (Alvesson, 2010; Cunliffe and Smith 2004) to sensitize these encounters through separate reflective notes.

The interviewing process has also become challenging during this period as participants reveal more cooperation during informal parts of the interviews. By this I mean that they have preferred to participate in the interviews on conversational and note taking basis. This is more obvious with the Arab sample; however, the non-Arab sample occasionally express similar attitudes since their tasks are heavily occupied with international events. In order to overcome this limitation, I plan for a follow up stage a year after phase three. This stage is to last for two and a half months during which I meet the participants outside the

organization and on a more informal basis. By then the impact of the Arab Spring will have been minimized both internationally as well as in the organization. Therefore, cooperation is likely to improve in terms of expressing mutual trust and the participants' becoming less apprehensive about the content of their conversations.

The cultural diversity of the three units, although perceived as multiple sources of data as explained in section 4.3.1.1, are only three out of six other units. This would imply a limitation in the sampling where findings derived from the three units in GPO may not apply to other international organizations. However, the aim of the research is explorative and as such, it seeks to develop an understanding of how individuals in an IO such as GPO cope with the universal scope of their organizations and the diversity in their work environments (see section 1.3). Additionally, the other aim and objectives of the research are also exploratory and do not seek any goals for representativeness.

Finally, both reflexivity and ante-narrative approaches pose risks of limitless engagement in their techniques. The risks include over-reliance and / or uncontrollable emergence of the ante-narratives (Boje, 2001, 2004), along with limitless reflexivity (Alvesson, 2010) at the expense of the purpose of the study. I do, however, develop counter techniques to eliminate these risks without compromising the uniqueness of the two approaches. These techniques are, namely, the systematic use of intertextuality and reflexive pragmatism (see sections 7.2.3, 4.5.2, and 4.6).

7.5. Future research

I have mentioned above the possible limitation of sampling in this study. Therefore, future research would benefit from wider samples and perhaps even different types of international organizations - as GPO is more of a Human Rights

based IO. Additionally, the focus of this study is on three units which also would suggest future direction towards studying different clusters such as accountants or legal staff. Such direction would enhance a wider scope of exploration into how specialized clusters in organizations deal with their day-to-day relational conflicts. There is also a need to apply mixed methods in future studies, namely, the need to enable the inclusion of a quantitative approach for more validated findings. This recommendation can be seen within the need for applying more creative methods and enhancing the analysis levels in identity and leadership studies (Hogg, 2006; Avolio et al., 2009; Bryman, 2011). It also can be seen within the limitations that can be brought by the reflexive approach in this study. Such extension of the methodological approach may also lead to broadening the audience - and hence broader suggestions for future research directions relating to this topic.

Finally, future identity and leadership literature can also benefit from more cross-cultural studies. Comparing the different traditions of thinking and attitudes in such studies would provide more clarity to the conceptual challenges in the notions of leadership, identity and culture itself (Sveningsson and Alvesson, 2003; Avolio et al., 2009). The cross-cultural considerations can also be extended to processes such as translating the data as a mean for creating more innovative methodology.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 – Ethical Approval Form

**University of Exeter Business School
Ethical Approval Form: Research Students**

This form is to be completed by the research student. When completing the form be mindful that the purpose of the document is to clearly explain the **ethical considerations** of the research being undertaken.

Once completed, please submit the form **electronically and a signed hard copy** to Emma Roberts at E.Roberts@exeter.ac.uk. A copy of your approved Research Ethics Application Form together with accompanying documentation **must be bound into your PhD thesis**.

Part A: Background

Student name	Fatemah Albuloshi		
Supervisors names	Prof. Jonathan Gosling Dr. Richard Bolden		
Title of thesis	Human Rights Education as an aspect of Leadership Development: A case study of graduates of Human Rights Education program at [REDACTED]		
Date of entry	October 2009	Status	FT/PT/Continuation FT
Start and estimated end date of the research	5 October 2009 30 September 2013		
Aims and objectives of the research	This research aims to examine Human Rights Education (HRE) as an aspect of Leadership Development, particularly the moral development of leaders. I am particularly interested in the prospects for more altruistic and universalistic leadership in corporate and political spheres. For this purpose the research examines the impact of HRE on enhancing ethical leadership. I aim to examine this impact by collecting stories through which graduates of HRE programmes make sense of their leadership responsibilities. I establish my research investigation on the following three focal research questions: <ol style="list-style-type: none">1) Do the people who undertook the HRE programme, as an instrument promoting the universal codes of HR ethics, demonstrate a positive relation between moral reasoning, ethical behaviour and their attitude towards 'the human subject'?2) How do HRE programme graduates make sense, negotiate their responsibilities as leaders in the light of		

	<p>this education?</p> <p>3) What do the similarities and differences in the graduates' experiences suggest about HRE's influence on their moral and behavioural change?</p>
Please indicate any sources of funding for the research	Government of Saudi Arabia.

Part B: Ethical Considerations

Describe the methodology that will be applied in the project (no more than 250 words)	<p>I will conduct my research with a qualitative case study approach. The major data collecting technique is semi structured interviews with past participants in [REDACTED] World Programme for Human Rights Education. The participants will be selected upon their senior positions, e.g. supervisors, directors and so on.</p> <p>The interviews will aim at obtaining a detailed description of the participants' training experience and a number of stories of dilemmas they have faced in their leadership roles. The sample size will depend on the complexity of the dilemmas and the impact of HRE training in dealing with it. The target number of the stories will be 10 to 15 and a participant may be interviewed 2 or more times. Questions will include both a set of close-response questions to describe their ethical training experience and a set of open-ended questions to elicit stories about their moral dilemmas and their leadership practices.</p> <p>I will follow a flexible approach in the sampling technique; it will be a combination of convenient sampling and judgement sampling techniques. This is further explained in the next section of this form.</p>
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Describe the method by which you will recruit participants and gain their informed consent. If written consent will not be obtained, this must be justified.

[Note: Please attach a copy of any Information Statements and Consent Forms used, including translation if research is to be conducted with non-English speakers]

In order to ensure access to the survey population I will undergo an internship in [REDACTED] in the [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] The department is aware of my research topic, so it is an overt participation. In fact it is a requirement in the approval process of the internship that it contributes in the intern's field of study/research. The work contract has been signed and I will start the work placement in [REDACTED] and it will last for 3 months.

In my role in this internship I will be involved in activities related to Human Rights Education, with focus on the promotion of the World Programme for Human Rights Education. As such my access to the participants will be ensured in two ways:

One: to identify the Member States that are considered success stories, in HRE program implementation, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Then I will contact their delegations in [REDACTED] and identify the organizations that were involved in HRE programs and means of contacting them. From there I will approach the participants for the purpose of interviewing them.

Two: to come across the participants during my role activities as an intern in [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] By this I mean that the program is an ongoing process and many participants are still in contact and cooperating with the division for further training sessions.

Finally, the interviews will either be face to face,

	internet based 'Skype' or telephone conferences.
<p>Will there be any possible harm that your project may cause to participants (e.g. psychological distress or repercussions of a legal, political or economic nature)? What precautions will be taken to minimise the risk of harm to participants?</p>	<p>The possible harm that might affect a participant in the course of my research would be:</p> <p>One; psychological distress as talking about an ethical dilemma involves emotions and recalling experiences of injustice, inequality or even physical harm.</p> <p>Second; risk of moral/ legal conflicts by revealing possible confidential information related to participant's country, organization and/or other people.</p> <p>Third; misinterpretations might happen due to cultural differences and language difficulties. The participants will be from different cultural backgrounds and perhaps from non-English speaking countries so there will be the risk of misunderstanding cultural codes in the sensitive context of ethics and Human Rights. Language interference is also a factor that might contract the flow of the interview and cause misunderstanding of the message transmitted in the story.</p> <p>In the view of this my responsibility will be to emotionally support the participant during the interview and show empathy and understanding. I will also use simple English in directing the interview questions and ask for clarity if the dilemma is related to cultural issues such as religious harassment for instance.</p> <p>I will also assure the participant that his/her participation is voluntary and that he/she may</p>

	<p>withdraw from the research at any time and for any reason.</p> <p>I will also explain to the participant that he/she has the option of requesting sight of any quotations, and amendment of any mistakes. Additionally, I will assure the participant that the interview data will be held and used on an anonymous basis, except where explicit permission is given by him/her. I will further explain that the data will be deleted once transcribed and that the transcripts will be saved in restricted-access files and that names of individuals, organizations and countries will be coded. Furthermore I will present an interview consent form and an information sheet and the participant will be given the time to read the documents and ask for more details. The forms will include the contact details of my supervisors for seeking further assurance and clarity. (The Consent Form and Information Sheet are provided with this form)</p>
<p>How will you ensure the security of the data collected? What will happen to the data at the end of the project, (if retained, where and how long for)?</p> <p><i>[Note: If the project involves obtaining or processing personal data relating to living individuals, (e.g. by recording interviews with subjects even if the findings will subsequently be made anonymous), you will need to ensure that the provisions of the Data Protection Act are complied with. In particular you will need to seek advice to ensure that the subjects provide sufficient consent and that the personal data will be properly stored, for an appropriate period of time.]</i></p>	<p>Interviews will be initially taped on a digital recorder, and then the recordings will be copied to my laptop in the form of digital files. Once the digital files are copied I will delete the original interview recordings from the recorder. The laptop is secured with a password and the folders of the interviews will be held under code names. The recordings will be transcribed and saved in restricted-access files under coded names. Finally, all interviews and quotes will be anonymised unless otherwise permitted by the participant.</p>

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Part C: Ethical Assessment

Please complete the following questions in relation to your research project.

	yes	no	n/a
Will participants' rights, safety, dignity and well-being be actively respected?	yes		
Will you describe the main details of the research process to participants in advance, so that they are informed about what to expect?	yes		
Will you tell participants that their participation is voluntary?	yes		
Will you tell participants that they may withdraw from the research at any time and for any reason?	yes		
Will confidentiality be appropriately maintained at all stages of the project, including data collection, storage, analysis and reporting?	yes		
Will any highly personal, private or confidential information be sought from participants?	Possibly		
Will participants be involved whose ability to give informed consent may be limited (e.g. children)?		no	
Will the project raise any issues concerning researcher safety?		no	
Are there conflicts of interest caused by the source of funding?		no	

Please provide any additional information which may be used to assess your application in the space below.

The participant might reveal personal, private or confidential information in the context of his/her chosen dilemma. Such information will be treated with ultimate confidentiality, names of individuals, organizations and countries will be anonymised and additionally data will be secured in restricted-access files.

Part D: Supervisor's Declaration

As the supervisor for this research I can confirm that I believe that all research ethics issues have been considered in accordance with the University Ethics Policy and relevant research ethics guidelines.

Name: *James Bell* (Primary Supervisor)
Signature: *[Handwritten Signature]*
Date: *22/06/11*

Part E: Ethical Approval

Comments of Research Ethics Officer and PGR Management Board.

[Note: Have potential risks have been adequately considered and minimised in the research? Does the significance of the study warrant these risks being taken? Are there any other precautions you would recommend?]

I assume that the work described signed for the [redacted] placements has been reviewed with the supervisory team for implications relating to research, e.g. confidentiality clauses.

This project has been reviewed according to School procedures and has now been approved.

Name: *[Handwritten Signature]* (Research Ethics Officer)
Signature: *E. BELL*
Date: *01.07.11*

Appendix 2 – Interview Consent Form



Centre For Leadership Studies

Interview Consent Form

Research topic

The role of Human Rights Education in developing leadership ethics:
A case study of graduates of Human Rights Education program at [REDACTED]

Interviewee

Name.....
Role.....
Country.....
Organization.....
Email.....
Date.....

This consent is to confirm that:

- The participation in this interview is voluntary and the interviewee may withdraw from the interview at any time and for any reason.
- Any information, quotations or interview data obtained will be held in confidence and will not be used other than for the purposes described above and third parties will not be allowed access to them.
- Quotations will only be attributed with express permission of the participant.
- In the case of interviews, participants have the option of requesting sight of any quotations, and amendment of any mistakes.
- Interview data will be held and used on an anonymous basis, except where explicit permission is given by the participant.

..... Interviewee <i>Print Name</i> signature Date
..... Interviewer <i>Print Name</i> signature Date

For further information about the research or your interview data, please contact:

Fatemah Albuloshi fmka201@exeter.ac.uk

If you have concerns/questions about the research you would like to discuss with someone else at the University, please contact:

Professor Jonathan Gosling jonathan.gosling@exeter.ac.uk , or

Dr. Richard Bolden Richard.Bolden@exeter.ac.uk

Appendix 3 – Information Sheet



Centre For Leadership Studies

Information Sheet

Research topic

The role of Human Rights Education in developing leadership ethics:
A case study of graduates of Human Rights Education program [REDACTED]

Researcher

Fatemah Al Buloshi - PhD candidate in Leadership Studies

Institution

Centre for Leadership studies – School of Business
University of Exeter-UK

My research aims at examining Human Rights Education as an aspect of leadership development through conducting a case study research on the graduates of [REDACTED] Human Rights Education program First phase (2005-2009). I aim through interviewing the graduates to understand how the HRE program influenced their moral views on leadership and how they incorporated this insight into their work .

Contact Details

For further information about the research or your interview data, please contact:

Fatemah Albuloshi fmka201@ex.ac.uk

If you have concerns/questions about the research you would like to discuss with someone else at the University, please contact:

Professor Jonathan Gosling jonathan.gosling@exeter.ac.uk , or

Dr. Richard Bolden Richard.Bolden@exeter.ac.uk

Confidentiality

Any information, quotations or interview data obtained will be held in confidence. They will not be used other than for the purposes described above and third parties will not be allowed access to them. Quotations will only be attributed with express permission of the participant. In the case of interviews, participants have the option of requesting sight of any quotations, and amendment of any mistakes.

Anonymity

Interview data will be held and used on an anonymous basis, except where explicit permission is given by the participant.

Appendix 4 – Interview Schedule

A. Demographic questions

1. What is your: name, nationality, origin, age, education?
2. How long have you been working with the organization?
3. How often are you offered work contracts with the organization? (for temporary employees)
4. What are your other work experiences, and where were/are they?
5. Have you been working in other departments in the organization?
6. What type of trainings have you received / are receiving in the organization?

B. The storytelling

7. Tell me more about your Human Rights training:
 - a. How it was introduced to you?
 - b. Was/is it formal or informal training?
 - c. Was/is it task/ personal-skill based training?
 - d. What do/did you aim to gain from it?
8. Tell me work/cultural conflicts that associate/d your Human Rights training experience/s?
9. Tell me work incident/s that would represent your conflict?

C. Follow up the logics in the story

Discussing relational conflicts and logics used by each interviewee in his/her story.

Source: Author

Appendix 5 – Example 1 of fieldwork notebooks (one of the narratives in UNITE1 / phase three. The dialogues noted in Arabic as they took place and were translated later into English)

Space: [redacted] offices: ↑ quiet ↓ employees ↑ empty offices
closed doors only permanent staff

Space: [redacted] office: no personal touch - many top unpacked boxes
convents - shelf took " few EPD books in ?!!
"compare to [redacted]"

THE CERTIFICATE 19-08-11 12:50 pm

LFR continues tension continues shift in power ↓ trust ↑ anger complains of injustice frustrated ↓ in both ends

team: ! non compliance outgroup ?!!!

Emoto stronger angry ↑ assertive ↑ team reference

Emoto happy moving on although 6 months late for her certf.

Emoto tired - worried disappointed didn't like to talk much

Emoto later comments: (in cafeteria)

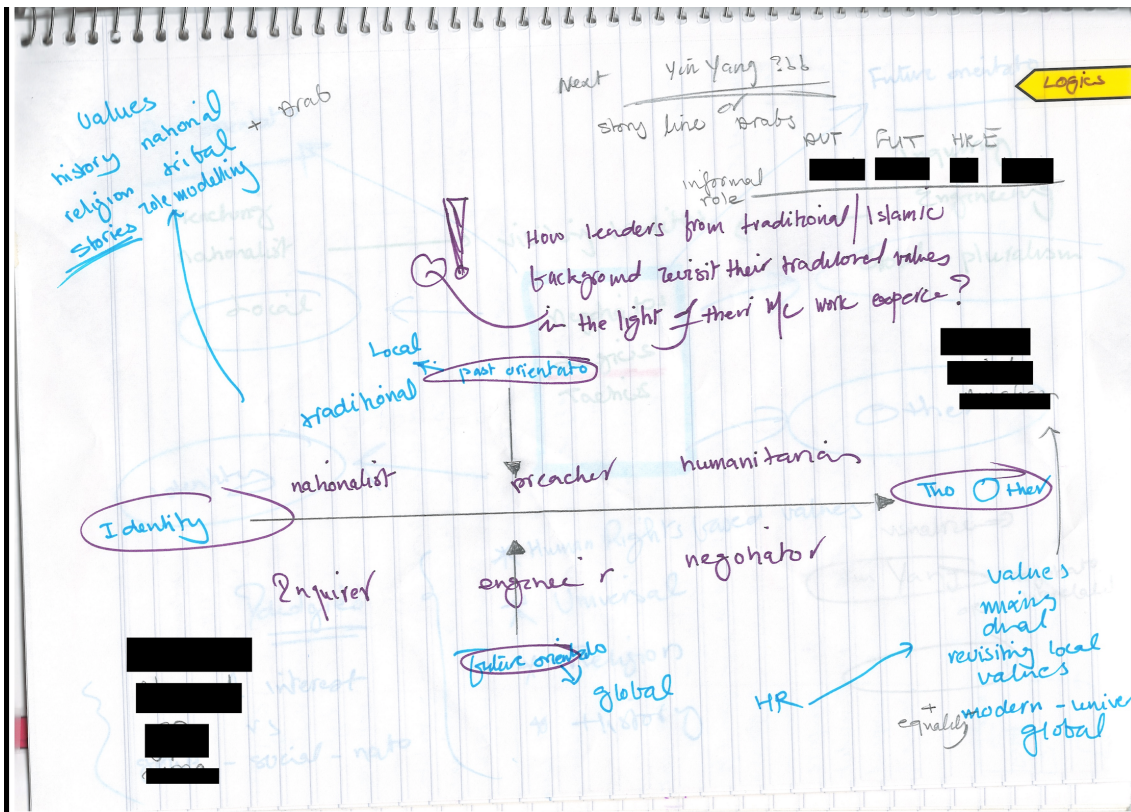
TRIA No comments good luck

TRIA

NEXT Explore what provoke non compliance among the team is it consistent
happening in the other teams
Explore similar incident in the interns

on my way to meet [redacted] met [redacted] outside [redacted] offices. Discussed her internship certificate. Had issues over who to write it.. no one from [redacted] team accepted to write/sign it. [redacted] expressed indifference. She explained:
 هذا بيصير في جامعة... لا انا فيه ولا انا فيه
 I asked her if she had read the certf. or if she is happy & the content.
 بلانوا استاذ...
 Dropped by [redacted] office, when told her what [redacted] not met [redacted]. She directly asked:
 شفا بكرة...
 [redacted] [redacted] يقول: ما استقبلنا كذا...
 انت اكبر [شوق في - شوق في بلبل] بيان: ترابيه
 انا: لا...
 ففف... انا اخذت الدر علي [شوق في بلبل...
 [redacted] later comments: (in cafeteria)
 طبعنا كذا...
 طبعنا كذا...
 ...

Appendix 6 – Example 2 of fieldwork notebooks (Early attempts to follow the logics in the self-narratives by the participants / 2012)



Appendix 7 – Example 3 of fieldwork notebooks (a section of an interview conducted in phase three / 2011)

<p>Middle East... how to understand the Other & the self [redacted]</p>		
<p>So our [redacted] friend who was driving the car took the car to the parking of a nearby building but a man with a uniform stopped him because it was a restricted area. Now the [redacted] guy was driving and though he saw the signal he still tried to go from the back way to this place to park. I told him why are you doing this? He said: 'aaah its fine'... because in his mind it's fine means it's not our country this is how I took it. No he meant its fine that the rule here shouldn't be applied like in France... The Other post-colonial [redacted]</p> <p>So you know the guy in the uniform was persistent then the driver had to stop so the guy came and the [redacted] driver opened the window and the guy said: I think you saw this signal and that it is restricted area so why you do such a thing? You know what the French guy was saying , I was shocked, he replied: who are you ? the guy said: sorry I got uniform isn't this enough for you to know who I am?</p> <p>Then I liked what the guy in the uniform said; he said like in a strong tune: WE DONT BREAK THE LAW IN DUBAI! This was strong and it meant all you people coming from abroad and having big flats with swimming pools enjoying going to restaurants and entertainment, you think it is like</p>	<p>[redacted] sets a comparison between a modern presentation of her culture 'Dubai' and a post colonial presentation 'North African countries'. She starts by setting the context of the story happened with her in Dubai²: Present Arab & past Arab Dxb vs. UAE([redacted])</p>	

² She was on a visit with her [redacted] to [redacted] friends who are settled and working in Dubai. They had an incident where one of the [redacted] friends tried to park in a non parking area and was stopped by a security staff.

Appendix 8 – Nvivo-analysis1 (the initial list of nodes)

Nodes	Created On	Created By	Modified On	Modified By
Interaction with stakeholders	19/10/2013 20:54	FATEMAH	07/11/2013 08:47	FATEMAH
Interaction with interns	20/10/2013 12:36	FATEMAH	06/11/2013 22:32	FATEMAH
Interaction between internal & external	20/10/2013 14:04	FATEMAH	07/11/2013 09:01	FATEMAH
ingroup dynamics	22/10/2013 15:26	FATEMAH	06/11/2013 15:23	FATEMAH
interaction with superiors	22/10/2013 17:14	FATEMAH	07/11/2013 09:04	FATEMAH
interaction with employees	22/10/2013 17:42	FATEMAH	22/10/2013 17:44	FATEMAH
interaction among peers	23/10/2013 18:54	FATEMAH	07/11/2013 08:43	FATEMAH
Org culture vs national culture	06/11/2013 16:35	FATEMAH	06/11/2013 22:02	FATEMAH
long term vs short term	07/11/2013 07:29	FATEMAH	07/11/2013 07:31	FATEMAH
strategic vs prompt	07/11/2013 07:48	FATEMAH	07/11/2013 07:50	FATEMAH
justice vs injustice	07/11/2013 07:49	FATEMAH	07/11/2013 07:50	FATEMAH
exclusion vs inclusion	07/11/2013 07:50	FATEMAH	07/11/2013 07:50	FATEMAH
practical-pragmatic vs impractical	07/11/2013 07:50	FATEMAH	07/11/2013 07:50	FATEMAH
Reactions of superiors	20/10/2013 12:33	FATEMAH	06/11/2013 14:00	FATEMAH
Reactions of employees	20/10/2013 12:42	FATEMAH	06/11/2013 15:19	FATEMAH
Focal points	23/10/2013 14:22	FATEMAH	23/10/2013 19:05	FATEMAH
Theoretical referential points	23/10/2013 14:22	FATEMAH	23/10/2013 19:05	FATEMAH
Os	23/10/2013 14:23	FATEMAH	07/11/2013 09:08	FATEMAH
Go back to	23/10/2013 14:24	FATEMAH	07/11/2013 09:08	FATEMAH
typology of problems	28/10/2013 09:47	FATEMAH	28/10/2013 09:53	FATEMAH
Typology of power & authority	28/10/2013 09:53	FATEMAH	28/10/2013 10:32	FATEMAH
incidents	20/10/2013 12:09	FATEMAH	07/11/2013 08:48	FATEMAH
Interactions	23/10/2013 14:27	FATEMAH	05/11/2013 20:19	FATEMAH
Power	23/10/2013 14:33	FATEMAH	06/11/2013 22:18	FATEMAH
Types of reactions	23/10/2013 14:35	FATEMAH	06/11/2013 17:43	FATEMAH
types of resistance	23/10/2013 15:33	FATEMAH	06/11/2013 13:20	FATEMAH
inequality	20/10/2013 12:11	FATEMAH	06/11/2013 22:27	FATEMAH
National conflicts - complexes	20/10/2013 12:12	FATEMAH	07/11/2013 07:36	FATEMAH
incompetency	20/10/2013 12:32	FATEMAH	07/11/2013 08:55	FATEMAH
disorder	20/10/2013 12:37	FATEMAH	07/11/2013 09:02	FATEMAH
Need, vulnerability	20/10/2013 12:38	FATEMAH	06/11/2013 16:27	FATEMAH
Frustration	20/10/2013 12:42	FATEMAH	22/10/2013 19:09	FATEMAH
realities vs. lies	20/10/2013 13:32	FATEMAH	06/11/2013 15:12	FATEMAH
work seasons	20/10/2013 13:47	FATEMAH	07/11/2013 07:28	FATEMAH
Space	20/10/2013 13:49	FATEMAH	07/11/2013 09:07	FATEMAH
Contracts	20/10/2013 13:50	FATEMAH	06/11/2013 16:32	FATEMAH
Power of expertise	20/10/2013 13:52	FATEMAH	06/11/2013 15:23	FATEMAH
influence vs. authority	20/10/2013 13:52	FATEMAH	06/11/2013 16:32	FATEMAH
power of ethics	20/10/2013 13:52	FATEMAH	06/11/2013 15:23	FATEMAH
self esteem	20/10/2013 13:52	FATEMAH	06/11/2013 16:32	FATEMAH
professional pride	20/10/2013 14:04	FATEMAH	05/11/2013 18:14	FATEMAH
Translation professional identity	20/10/2013 14:08	FATEMAH	07/11/2013 08:43	FATEMAH
traditional views	20/10/2013 14:08	FATEMAH	06/11/2013 15:29	FATEMAH
modern views	20/10/2013 14:09	FATEMAH	05/11/2013 20:12	FATEMAH
hierarchy	20/10/2013 14:09	FATEMAH	05/11/2013 18:13	FATEMAH
	20/10/2013 14:11	FATEMAH	06/11/2013 22:23	FATEMAH

Nodes

Created On	Created By	Modified On	Modified By
20/10/2013 16:33	FATEMAH	06/11/2013 16:34	FATEMAH
20/10/2013 16:34	FATEMAH	06/11/2013 13:25	FATEMAH
20/10/2013 16:39	FATEMAH	07/11/2013 09:01	FATEMAH
20/10/2013 16:42	FATEMAH	07/11/2013 09:06	FATEMAH
20/10/2013 16:43	FATEMAH	20/10/2013 16:43	FATEMAH
20/10/2013 16:43	FATEMAH	07/11/2013 09:08	FATEMAH
20/10/2013 17:09	FATEMAH	06/11/2013 12:58	FATEMAH
20/10/2013 18:41	FATEMAH	07/11/2013 08:52	FATEMAH
20/10/2013 18:43	FATEMAH	06/11/2013 14:00	FATEMAH
20/10/2013 18:43	FATEMAH	06/11/2013 22:27	FATEMAH
20/10/2013 18:46	FATEMAH	20/10/2013 18:46	FATEMAH
20/10/2013 18:48	FATEMAH	07/11/2013 09:01	FATEMAH
20/10/2013 18:48	FATEMAH	05/11/2013 20:19	FATEMAH
20/10/2013 18:49	FATEMAH	06/11/2013 22:27	FATEMAH
20/10/2013 18:53	FATEMAH	07/11/2013 09:01	FATEMAH
20/10/2013 18:53	FATEMAH	07/11/2013 09:06	FATEMAH
20/10/2013 19:01	FATEMAH	21/10/2013 23:18	FATEMAH
20/10/2013 19:04	FATEMAH	07/11/2013 09:07	FATEMAH
20/10/2013 19:06	FATEMAH	05/11/2013 17:43	FATEMAH
20/10/2013 19:07	FATEMAH	07/11/2013 08:55	FATEMAH
20/10/2013 19:10	FATEMAH	07/11/2013 09:06	FATEMAH
20/10/2013 19:10	FATEMAH	07/11/2013 09:07	FATEMAH
21/10/2013 17:10	FATEMAH	07/11/2013 08:43	FATEMAH
21/10/2013 18:45	FATEMAH	07/11/2013 09:06	FATEMAH
21/10/2013 18:47	FATEMAH	07/11/2013 09:02	FATEMAH
21/10/2013 19:01	FATEMAH	07/11/2013 09:06	FATEMAH
21/10/2013 19:03	FATEMAH	06/11/2013 22:09	FATEMAH
21/10/2013 19:04	FATEMAH	06/11/2013 13:56	FATEMAH
21/10/2013 23:17	FATEMAH	06/11/2013 22:31	FATEMAH
21/10/2013 23:18	FATEMAH	06/11/2013 16:32	FATEMAH
21/10/2013 23:18	FATEMAH	07/11/2013 09:06	FATEMAH
22/10/2013 15:19	FATEMAH	06/11/2013 14:00	FATEMAH
22/10/2013 15:22	FATEMAH	07/11/2013 09:06	FATEMAH
22/10/2013 15:28	FATEMAH	07/11/2013 08:55	FATEMAH
22/10/2013 17:16	FATEMAH	07/11/2013 07:40	FATEMAH
22/10/2013 17:22	FATEMAH	07/11/2013 07:38	FATEMAH
22/10/2013 17:22	FATEMAH	07/11/2013 07:40	FATEMAH
22/10/2013 17:29	FATEMAH	07/11/2013 08:41	FATEMAH
22/10/2013 17:34	FATEMAH	06/11/2013 13:13	FATEMAH
22/10/2013 17:37	FATEMAH	22/10/2013 17:37	FATEMAH
22/10/2013 17:41	FATEMAH	07/11/2013 09:01	FATEMAH
22/10/2013 18:03	FATEMAH	07/11/2013 07:36	FATEMAH
22/10/2013 19:00	FATEMAH	07/11/2013 08:43	FATEMAH
22/10/2013 19:03	FATEMAH	07/11/2013 08:55	FATEMAH

Nodes

Name	Sources	References	Crea
National Pride	4	12	20/
generation gap	2	2	20/
Anger	3	16	20/
Resentment	2	12	20/
safety	1	1	20/
contradictions	3	3	20/
Gossip/s	2	6	20/
Pain	2	9	20/
Peer competition	3	6	20/
Sympathy	3	18	20/
Charisma	1	1	20/
Clashes with superiors	2	19	20/
self reflection	3	6	20/
trust	3	17	20/
resistance	3	20	20/
Power of authority	2	10	20/
ethical dilemma	1	4	20/
hidden stories	2	13	20/
comparison between units	2	7	20/
group cohesion	2	9	20/
competency	2	7	20/
Humiliation	3	9	20/
Isolation	3	20	21/
Dysfunctionality	2	12	21/
age	3	12	21/
unethical B	2	8	21/
control	2	8	21/
confusion	2	5	21/
ethical D	2	2	21/
HR	3	11	21/
Gender	4	8	21/
work ethics	3	14	21/
Power of the stakeholders	2	4	22/
close circles	3	13	22/
internal conflicts	4	18	22/
religious conflicts	2	6	22/
region	2	7	22/
cultural sensitivity	3	18	22/
competition between units (Nodes)	2	8	22/
Injustice	3	10	22/
empowerment	1	1	22/
dissatisfaction	2	13	22/
national interaction	4	10	22/
masks	3	5	22/
change	3	25	22/

Name	Sources	References	Cre
History of the organization	3	20	22f
organizational culture	4	18	22f
insecurity	2	13	22f
power of seniority	4	18	22f
authority vs. influence	2	5	22f
dilemma	2	3	23f
troubled relations	3	11	23f
competitions among peers	2	2	23f
Goals	1	1	23f
essentialist vs non essentialist	0	0	28f
situation vs situated	0	0	28f
uncertainty	1	1	28f
soft power vs hard power	1	12	28f
shifts	2	23	03f
assertive views	2	32	04f
group non-compliance	1	3	04f
diff evaluation	2	22	04f
HRBA	2	5	05f
learning - development	1	7	05f
bureaucracy	1	2	05f
avoidance	1	5	05f
dramatising	1	5	05f
identity	1	6	05f
long time	2	11	05f
apathy - taking sides	1	5	05f
blame	2	2	06f
Bigger system	1	5	06f
Forgotten	1	1	06f
crisis	1	1	06f
personal crisis	2	4	06f
respect	1	2	06f
self-contradiction	1	1	06f
Humane perspectives	2	2	06f
Exclusion	1	1	06f
Org vision	1	1	06f
long term views	1	1	07f
Arab Spring	1	2	07f
wide view	1	1	07f
justice	1	1	07f
governance change	1	1	07f
power of resources	1	1	07f
persistence	1	1	07f
taking advantage	1	1	07f
corruption	0	0	07f
misuse of power	0	0	07f

Nodes

Created On	Modified On	Created By	Modified By
22/10/2013 19:05	07/11/2013 08:07	FATEMAH	FATEMAH
22/10/2013 19:05	06/11/2013 22:27	FATEMAH	FATEMAH
22/10/2013 19:12	07/11/2013 09:07	FATEMAH	FATEMAH
22/10/2013 19:17	07/11/2013 08:03	FATEMAH	FATEMAH
22/10/2013 19:19	06/11/2013 13:56	FATEMAH	FATEMAH
23/10/2013 14:58	06/11/2013 22:09	FATEMAH	FATEMAH
23/10/2013 14:59	07/11/2013 07:43	FATEMAH	FATEMAH
23/10/2013 15:43	05/11/2013 20:19	FATEMAH	FATEMAH
23/10/2013 18:56	23/10/2013 18:56	FATEMAH	FATEMAH
28/10/2013 09:49	28/10/2013 09:49	FATEMAH	FATEMAH
28/10/2013 09:50	28/10/2013 09:50	FATEMAH	FATEMAH
28/10/2013 09:51	05/11/2013 13:35	FATEMAH	FATEMAH
28/10/2013 09:52	07/11/2013 07:43	FATEMAH	FATEMAH
03/11/2013 22:45	07/11/2013 09:07	FATEMAH	FATEMAH
04/11/2013 19:50	07/11/2013 09:07	FATEMAH	FATEMAH
04/11/2013 20:02	06/11/2013 13:13	FATEMAH	FATEMAH
04/11/2013 20:13	07/11/2013 07:48	FATEMAH	FATEMAH
05/11/2013 11:02	06/11/2013 22:30	FATEMAH	FATEMAH
05/11/2013 13:28	07/11/2013 07:43	FATEMAH	FATEMAH
05/11/2013 13:32	05/11/2013 18:05	FATEMAH	FATEMAH
05/11/2013 20:15	07/11/2013 08:43	FATEMAH	FATEMAH
05/11/2013 20:17	06/11/2013 22:24	FATEMAH	FATEMAH
05/11/2013 20:21	06/11/2013 22:02	FATEMAH	FATEMAH
05/11/2013 20:44	06/11/2013 15:23	FATEMAH	FATEMAH
05/11/2013 20:53	07/11/2013 08:51	FATEMAH	FATEMAH
06/11/2013 13:14	06/11/2013 13:57	FATEMAH	FATEMAH
06/11/2013 13:18	07/11/2013 09:07	FATEMAH	FATEMAH
06/11/2013 13:23	06/11/2013 13:23	FATEMAH	FATEMAH
06/11/2013 15:29	06/11/2013 15:29	FATEMAH	FATEMAH
06/11/2013 16:31	07/11/2013 07:47	FATEMAH	FATEMAH
06/11/2013 16:36	06/11/2013 08:51	FATEMAH	FATEMAH
06/11/2013 22:10	06/11/2013 22:11	FATEMAH	FATEMAH
06/11/2013 22:18	06/11/2013 22:30	FATEMAH	FATEMAH
06/11/2013 22:19	06/11/2013 22:19	FATEMAH	FATEMAH
06/11/2013 22:27	06/11/2013 22:27	FATEMAH	FATEMAH
07/11/2013 07:28	07/11/2013 07:32	FATEMAH	FATEMAH
07/11/2013 07:36	07/11/2013 07:37	FATEMAH	FATEMAH
07/11/2013 07:39	07/11/2013 07:39	FATEMAH	FATEMAH
07/11/2013 07:46	07/11/2013 07:46	FATEMAH	FATEMAH
07/11/2013 07:51	07/11/2013 07:51	FATEMAH	FATEMAH
07/11/2013 08:45	07/11/2013 08:45	FATEMAH	FATEMAH
07/11/2013 08:49	07/11/2013 08:49	FATEMAH	FATEMAH
07/11/2013 09:02	07/11/2013 09:02	FATEMAH	FATEMAH
07/11/2013 09:09	07/11/2013 09:09	FATEMAH	FATEMAH

Appendix 9– Nvivo-analysis2 (visualization charts)

The screenshot displays the Nvivo software interface, specifically the 'Classification Sheets' and 'Visualizations' sections. The top navigation bar includes 'Home', 'Create', 'Data', 'Analyze', 'Query', 'Explore', 'Layout', and 'View'. The 'Classification Sheets' section shows a table with columns for Name, Sources, Referenc..., Created On, Modified On, Created By, Modified By, and Color. The 'Visualizations' section includes options for 'Nodes', 'Cases', 'Node Matrices', 'CLASSIFICATIONS', 'COLLECTIONS', 'QUERIES', and 'MAPS'. A 'Treemap' visualization is shown, displaying a hierarchical structure of nodes and their relationships, with labels such as 'Space', 'disorder', 'Need, vul...', 'interaction wi...', 'Frustration', 'Sympathy', 'hierarchy', 'distance', 'Pain', 'Contracts', 'Clashes wi...', 'Anger', 'resistance', 'hidden s...', 'age', 'National...', 'Dysfunct...', 'work et...', 'internal...', 'ingrou...', 'incident', 'Interac...', 'Gossips', 'unethic...', 'solving...', 'power ...', 'incomp...', 'ethical...', 'comp...', 'change', 'In...', 'Inf...', 'Of...', 'nati...', 'mas...', 'Inte...', 'con...', 'com...', 'clo...', 'Po...', 'Nati...', 'Religio...', 'Gender', 'mas...', 'Inte...', 'Nati...', 'Inte...', 'mas...', 'Inte...'.

Name	Sources	Referenc...	Created On	Modified On	Created By	Modified By	Color
generati...			20 Oct 2013 13:34	20 Oct 2013 13:34	FATEMAH	FATEMAH	
Gossips	1	5	20 Oct 2013 20:09	22 Oct 2013 21:51	FATEMAH	FATEMAH	
group cohesion	1	3	20 Oct 2013 22:07	23 Oct 2013 01:14	FATEMAH	FATEMAH	
hidden stories	1	6	20 Oct 2013 22:04	22 Oct 2013 22:20	FATEMAH	FATEMAH	
hierarchy	1	13	20 Oct 2013 17:11	22 Oct 2013 22:14	FATEMAH	FATEMAH	

Visualize:

- Coding for Nodes
- Coding for Sources
- Attribute values for Cases
- Attribute values for Sources

Compare: All Nodes Selected Items

Coded at: All Sources Selected Items

For example, see if some nodes have more coding references than others to identify prominent themes in the project.

Size by: Coding references, Items coded

View level: [Slider]

Color by: Hierarchy, Coding references, Items coded, None

Color scheme: [Dropdown], Show item color

Treemap Summary: Sunburst, Summary

OPEN ITEMS: Nodes compared by number of codi...

Appendix 10 – Nvivo-analysis 3 (reflective notes and memos)

The certificate
 ■ August 2011
 12:30 pm
 ■ offices

On my way to meet with ■ in ■. Outside the unit I meet with ■ an intern whom I got acquainted with during my first training in GPO. We greet each other and chat for few minutes, she tells me that she finished her training 6 months ago and she came to get her certificate. She conveys to me that none of the team whom she worked with signed the certificate but she doesn't care as long as it is signed by ■ herself.

'She is a big name and has an academic background this will serve my purposes very well'. She explained

I ask: 'but are you happy with the content?'

'I haven't read it yet, I only made sure that it is signed by ■. I have just received it from ■.'

I didn't comment and we wished each other good luck and said goodbye.

I dropped by ■ to greet her before going to ■. Her office was full of unpacked boxes, no personal touch except for few travelling souvenirs laid on a small book shelf. I told her that I have just met with ■. She directly replied:

'Imagine, I went to both ■ and ■ none of them accepted to write her a recommendation letter'. She sighs and continues:

■ says he didn't work with her enough so he can't evaluate her well and ■ simply told me: 'you write it!' She pauses looking at her desk ... then she asks me: 'Have you read ■ recommendation letter?'

I replied: 'no, we were both on a hurry but ■ seemed happy with it. She said that it was important that you got ■ to sign it for her.'

'bufffff, well I tried my best ...'. She looked at her computer indicating for me to leave.

■ responds to the incident later:

■ has asked me to write it but I refused, they keep on taking interns and putting more load on our team so let them do some work as well. I have suggested to hire from our retired staff to train interns but this was refused.'

I see tension between the team and their superiors, this tension resulted in a group non-compliance. I also see that this non-compliance was against the interest of a third party who sought the unit as a service provider (outgroup). I also see frustration at both ends and assumptions mainly by the team against their superiors.

Focal points: assumptions of injustice, frustration, group non-compliance

Theoretical referential points: leader- follower relations, power

Qs:

- What is exactly provoking this non-compliance between the team and their leaders?
- Is this non-compliance consistent or it disappear or become less in other situations?
- Patterns???