

What are we Missing?

A Study of the Affective and Collective Dimension of Workrelated Stress

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WHAT ARE WE MISSING?

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MARIE ARNBAK-HARTZBERG

WHAT ARE WE MISSING?

*A study of the affective and collective
dimension of work-related stress*

PhD Series 01-2025



What are we missing?

A study of the affective and collective dimension of work-related stress

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Marie Arnbak-Hartzberg, Copenhagen, October 2024

Abstract

This PhD thesis seeks to expand the current understanding of work-related stress by highlighting the often-overlooked affective dimensions of collective processes in work environments. It introduces the concept of organisational atmosphere (Jørgensen, 2019; Julmi, 2017a) to explore how affective experiences of the work situation employees find themselves in shape their relations with each other and with the physical environment around them. In addition, Hartmut Rosa's resonance theory (2019) is used to explore the relationships between employees, their work and physical workplace, and the purpose and values of the workplace. The study is based on a qualitative, phenomenological field study of an engineering organisation conducted over a period of three months.

The study addresses four key research questions to understand what promotes or inhibits the development of work-related stress. First, it examines how resonant atmospheres are experienced through active engagement between employees and their environment. It shows that in specific organisational spaces, employees have affective experiences that support material-, social- and existential resonance (Rosa, 2019), which supports their well-being and reduces stress. Second, the study examines how resonant atmospheres are altered by acceleration and instrumentalisation. These processes create negative affective experiences that undermine material resonance (i.e. the connection to the quality of work) and existential resonance (i.e. professional identity). Initially, social resonance (i.e. connection to colleagues) compensates for these losses, but over time it weakens, leading to affective dissonance (Hemmings, 2012) and increased dissatisfaction. Thirdly, the research highlights the critical role that First Tuning Forks play in preventing the development of alienation and work-related stress. First Tuning Forks are employees who perform affective labour (Hardt, 1999) to maintain resonant atmospheres and curb alienation. They do this by maintaining social resonance even when the other types of resonance begin to falter. But this affective labour is taxing, leading to exhaustion and a gradual reduction of their affective labour and, in some cases, an escalation of dissonance-creating activities. Finally, the ever-increasing acceleration and instrumentalisation leads to a resonance collapse and alienation, where employees lose their connection to work quality, professional identity and social relationships, among other things. Despite this, the alienation is not a permanent state, as the First Tuning Forks restore resonance as soon as they regenerate their energy and can once again perform their affective labour. This cyclical process illustrates how the breakdown of resonance contributes to the development of work-related stress.

The study concludes that a more nuanced understanding of work-related stress can be gained by considering the atmospheric dynamics of the work environment. By recognizing the subtle shifts in meaning and the temporal displacements caused by the inertia of organisational atmospheres, managers can better support efforts to maintain resonance in the workplace and address the underlying factors that promote work-related stress.

Dansk resumé

Denne ph.d.-afhandling søger at udvide den nuværende forståelse af arbejdsrelateret stress ved at fremhæve de ofte oversete affektive dimensioner af kollektive processer i arbejdsmiljøer. Den introducerer begrebet organisatorisk atmosfære (Jørgensen, 2019; Julmi, 2017) for at undersøge, hvordan affektive oplevelser af den arbejdsmæssige situation medarbejderne befinder sig i, former deres relationer med hinanden og med de fysiske omgivelser omkring dem. Derudover anvendes Hartmut Rosas resonansteori (2019) til at undersøge relationerne mellem medarbejdere, deres arbejde og fysiske arbejdsplads, samt hvordan medarbejderne knytter an til arbejdspladsens formål og værdier. Undersøgelsen er baseret på en kvalitativ, fænomenologisk feltundersøgelse af en ingeniørorganisation, som blev gennemført over en periode på tre måneder.

Undersøgelsen behandler fire centrale forskningsspørgsmål for at forstå, hvad der fremmer eller hæmmer udviklingen af arbejdsrelateret stress. For det første undersøges det, hvordan resonansatmosfærer opleves gennem et aktivt engagement mellem medarbejderne og deres omgivelser. Her vises det, at i specifikke organisatoriske rum har medarbejderne affektive oplevelser, der understøtter materiel-, social- og eksistentiel resonans (Rosa, 2019), som understøtter deres trivsel og reducerer stress. For det andet undersøger studiet, hvordan resonansatmosfærene ændres af accelerations- og instrumentaliseringsprocesser. Presset fra disse skaber negative affektive oplevelser, som underminerer den materielle resonans (eksempelvis forbindelsen til arbejdets kvalitet) og den eksistentielle resonans (eksempelvis den professionelle identitet). I begyndelsen kompenserer den sociale resonans (eksempelvis forbindelsen til kollegaer) for disse tab, men med tiden svækkes den, hvilket fører til affektiv dissonans (Hemmings, 2012) og øget mistrivsel. For det tredje fremhæver forskningen den kritiske rolle, som First Tuning Forks spiller i at forhindre udviklingen af fremmedgørelse og arbejdsrelateret stress. First Tuning Forks er medarbejdere, der udfører affektivt arbejde (Hardt, 1999) for at bevare resonante atmosfærer og bremse fremmedgørelse. De gør dette ved at opretholde social resonans, selv når de andre resonanstyper begynder at vakle. Men dette affektive arbejde er belastende, hvilket fører til udmattelse og en gradvis reduktion af deres affektive arbejde og i nogen tilfælde en optrapning af dissonans skabende aktiviteter. Endelig fører den stadig stigende acceleration og instrumentalisering til et resonans sammenbrud og fremmedgørelse, hvor medarbejderne blandt andet mister deres forbindelse til arbejdskvalitet, professionel identitet og sociale relationer. På trods af dette er fremmedgørelsen ikke en permanent tilstand, da 'First Tuning Forks' genopretter resonansen så snart de får regenereret deres energi og igen kan udføre deres affektive arbejde. Denne cykliske proces illustrerer, hvordan nedbrydningen af resonans bidrager til udviklingen af arbejdsrelateret stress.

Undersøgelsen konkluderer, at man kan opnå en mere nuanceret forståelse af arbejdsrelateret stress ved at inddrage den atmosfæriske dynamik i arbejdsmiljøet. Ved at anerkende de subtile betydningsforskydninger og de tidsmæssige forskydninger forårsaget af træghed i organisatoriske atmosfærer, kan ledere bedre støtte bestræbelserne på at opretholde resonans på arbejdspladsen og tage fat på de underliggende faktorer, der fremmer arbejdsrelateret stress.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgments	3
Abstract	5
Dansk resumé	6
Table of Contents	7
Table of Figures	11
1. Introduction	13
1.1 Why study stress in the workplace?	14
1.2 The primary focus of studies on work-related stress	15
1.3 Research questions	17
1.4 Contributions	20
1.5 The structure of this dissertation	20
2. Literature review	22
2.1 Introduction to the history of work-related stress	22
2.1.1 Delimitations to my literature review	24
2.2 Review of the work-related stress literature	25
2.2.1 The Cognitive-Individual approach	26
2.2.2 The Affective-Individual approach	27
2.2.3 The Cognitive-Collective approach	30
2.2.4 The Affective-Collective approach	33
2.3 Summing up	39
2.4 Positioning this study within the Affective-Collective approach	40
3. Theoretical foundation	42
3.1 Rosa and work-related stress	42
3.2 Resonance as the foundation for meaningful and important relations at work	43
3.2.1 Axes of resonance	45
3.2.1.1 Material resonance	45
3.2.1.2 Social resonance	46
3.2.1.3 Existential resonance	47
3.2.2 Work as a resonance harbour	48
3.3 Social acceleration and alienation	49
3.3.1 Acceleration and instrumentalisation in organisations	49
3.3.2 Alienation as the result of muted resonant relations	50
3.3.3 The link between alienation and work-related stress	52

3.4 Resonance and alienation - from opposition to continuum of affective dissonance.....	53
3.5 Organisational atmospheres.....	56
3.5 Tuning Forks.....	59
3.6 Affective labour.....	60
3.7 Conceptual framework	63
4. Methodology.....	66
4.1 Philosophy of science – phenomenology as a point of departure.....	66
4.1.1 A relational ontology	68
4.1.2 An interdependent epistemology	68
4.1.3 Researcher positionality and embeddedness.....	70
4.1.4 Entering the field	71
4.1.5 Ethical considerations and confidentiality	73
4.2 Organisational context - situating the workplace ethnography.....	74
4.2.1 The Great Hall as the onset of investigation.....	74
4.2.2 The ProBuilt projects and strategy.....	76
4.2.3 The Prospect department - the project managers.....	77
4.2.4 The Silverlining project - the early phase project.....	78
4.2.5 The FLEXITEC project - the late-stage project.....	78
4.3 Data collection.....	80
4.3.1 Observation data	82
4.3.2 Interview data	83
4.3.3 Documentary data.....	87
4.3.4 Data limitations.....	88
4.4 Data analysis.....	89
4.4.1 Analytical strategy.....	92
5. The resonant atmospheres of the Open-, Play-, and Belonging space.....	102
5.1 The Open space	102
5.1.1 Responsiveness through access and proximity	104
5.1.2 Relatedness through project plans	105
5.2 The Play space	108
5.2.1 Committing though gadgets and promotion posters	109
5.3 The Belonging space	113
5.3.1 Jovialness through celebratory greetings.....	115
5.3.2 Caring through coffee	118
5.4 The experience of resonant atmospheres	120

6. The dissonant atmospheres of acceleration and instrumentalisation.....	122
6.1 Manifestations of acceleration	122
6.1.1 Busyness through the introduction of a new normal	122
6.1.2 Weariness through the yes-hat	127
6.1.3 Addictedness through the pursuit of resonance.....	129
6.1.4 Powerlessness through humorous signs	131
6.2 Manifestations of instrumentalisation	134
6.2.1 Dullness through changes in the nature and ways of work	135
6.2.2 Objectifying through number fetich.....	137
6.2.3 Forsakenness through the ‘Use-and-throw away’ culture	139
6.2.4 Neglecting though Intentional blindness	140
6.3 Atmospheric alterations caused by acceleration and instrumentalisation	143
7. Affective labour and the Tuning Forks	146
7.1. Boost positive affective states	146
7.1.1 Humanizing through recognition.....	147
7.1.2 Energizing through ‘community of laughers’	149
7.2 Dissolve negative affective states	151
7.2.1 Translating through common perspective	152
7.2.2 Relieving through emotional containing and -release	153
7.3 Adjust colleagues’ behaviour	155
7.4 The organisational pull for affective labour	157
7.5 The limits of the First Tuning Forks	159
7.5.1 The cost of performing affective labour	159
7.5.2 The termination of resonance-enhancing affective labour	162
7.5.3 The initiation of resonance-inhibiting behaviour	165
7.6 The possibilities and the limits of affective labour in preventing alienation and work-related stress	167
8. The collapse of resonance	169
8.1 Collapse of social resonance – abandonment of the colleagues as family	169
8.1.1 Muteness through lack of voice (alienation from management)	169
8.1.2 Strangeness though unfamiliarity and hostility (alienation from colleagues)	172
8.2 Collapse of material resonance – abandonment of quality standards.....	174
8.2.1 Relinquishing quality standards and the ‘yes-hat’	175
8.3 Collapse of existential resonance – abandonment of professional conduct and hope for the future	176

8.3.1	Lostness through outsourcing of own compass	176
8.3.2	Abandoning of hope for future possibilities	178
8.4	Reactions to the collapse of resonance and states of alienation	179
8.5	The First Tuning Forks ability to regenerate	182
8.6	Resonance collapse experienced as alienation and embodied as stress symptoms	183
9.	Discussion and conclusions	185
9.1	Theoretical contributions	191
9.1.1	Contributions to the Affective-Collective work-related stress literature.....	191
9.1.2	Extensions to Rosa's resonance perspective.....	193
9.2	Practical implications	195
9.3	Conclusion	196
9.4	Future research	198
9.4.1	The Role of Power.....	199
9.4.2	The Role of Gender	199
9.4.3	The Role of Temporality	200
	Bibliography	202
	Appendix 1: Symptoms that can occur in relation to stress.....	220

Table of Figures

Figure 1 - Overview of the different work-related stress literature streams.....	26
Figure 2 - Examples of theories within the different streams of literature emphasizing the affective-collective stream.....	39
Figure 3 - Conceptual framework	65
Figure 4 - Overview of organisational units in which fieldwork was conducted.....	80
Figure 5 - Overview of data used in this dissertation.....	82
Figure 6 - List of interviews.....	86
Figure 7 - Overview of empirical starting point, theoretical framework and the final analytical focus of the four analytical chapters	92
Figure 8 - Overview of analytical strategy steps.....	93
Figure 9 - Example of analytical process for the development of chapter 5	94
Figure 10 - Example of analytical process for the development of chapter 6	95
Figure 11 - Example of analytical process for the development of chapter 7	97
Figure 12 - Example of analytical process for the development of chapter 8	98
Figure 13 - Examples of analytical themes and theoretical concepts in chapter 5, 6 and 7	99
Figure 14 - Examples of analytical themes and theoretical concepts in chapter 7 and 8	100
Figure 15 - Pictures of the Open space from each side of the Great Hall	103
Figure 16 - Picture of project plans situated in the Great Hall.....	106
Figure 17 - Picture of play elements from the Play space placed in the centre and entrance of the Great Hall.....	108
Figure 18 - Posters introducing two different teams in ProBuilt. Placed in the adjoining building to the Great Hall	111
Figure 19 - Picture of a section of the Belonging space in the Great Hall	113
Figure 20 - Birthday song written on a whiteboard in the Great Hall.....	116
Figure 21 - Picture of the coffee island	118
Figure 22 - Overview of chapter 5	120
Figure 23 - Poster from entrance of ProBuilt	123
Figure 24 - Example of physical ‘yes hat’ that one employee had gotten from his colleagues	128
Figure 25 - Picture of both sides of the sign used by FLEXITEC employees in the Great Hall.....	132
Figure 26 - Illustration of reduction of Play space from 2021-2023	136
Figure 27 – Power Point slide from a 2021 presentation to the ProBuilt management	137
Figure 28 - Overview of chapter 6	144
Figure 29 - Overview of chapter 7	168
Figure 30 - Overview of chapter 8	183
Figure 31 - Main analytical points from analyses	197
Figure 32 - Symptoms that can occur in relation to work-related stress	220

1. Introduction

I started this PhD to understand why work-related stress continues to be a problem despite an increasing focus on stress reduction initiatives in Danish workplaces. To investigate, I conducted fieldwork at ProBuilt (pseudonym), a high-performance organisation where stress was reportedly a common issue. Expecting to find a stressed workforce, I was surprised by the positive atmosphere in the main open office of ProBuilt, the Great Hall (pseudonym). In this bright, open space, with plants, coffee stations, and cozy seating, employees seemed cheerful, helpful, and curious about my work, with no visible signs of stress¹. The Great Hall buzzed with energy and felt warm and welcoming.

As part of my fieldwork, I had the opportunity to follow three organisational units, one of which was the late-stage FLEXITEC project (pseudonym), located in the centre of the Great Hall. The tone among the employees was light and humorous, with frequent laughter and comments on events happening around the project area. Although the team members had a designated project area, the team was rarely present all together, as they moved between meeting rooms, the coffee area, and the creative space, where they sketched and reviewed specifications or project plans. Over time, however, there was a subtle shift around the FLEXITEC project. It began as a change in the noise level and a noticeable acceleration in how quickly employees moved, typed, and spoke. Project members started describing their situation as "boiling over", becoming more stationary in front of their screens and increasingly frustrated with project plans, the influx of new employees they had to train, and management's lack of understanding of their workload. Despite their reminders to "look out for each other" and "work across disciplines," the team members began to isolate themselves, conflicts increased, and whispered stories emerged about colleagues so stressed they couldn't work. These colleagues weren't openly discussed, but their absence was palpable through the empty desks that lingered in everyone's awareness.

Amidst this, a small group of employees stood out by slowing the pace around them and creating a sense of presence. They remained humorous and caring, lifting the mood when they entered a room. Attentive to others, they offered help when they sensed trouble, and regularly invited colleagues for coffee or brought coffee to those too busy to leave their desks. Their laughter rippled through the Great Hall, making colleagues smile with playful signs or jokes. However, as time passed, even these employees became more subdued, until their behaviour shifted - they too started complaining, seeming distant and defeated. This marked another subtle shift in the FLEXITEC project. The once noisy section became eerily quiet. Employees were now increasingly working late into the evenings and weekends, fetching coffee alone, skipping lunch, and staring blankly at their screens. Many began describing stress symptoms.

What fascinated me most about this development was that, throughout the process, employees continued to agree on how they should work and care for each other. Yet, when they sat in that area of the Great Hall, working on that project with those colleagues, something took hold of them - something they couldn't quite articulate, but which profoundly shaped their experiences and behaviour. This "something" wasn't linked to their personal backgrounds, past trauma, or

¹ see descriptions of stress symptoms in appendix 1, figure 32

any individual weakness—they were all very different. It wasn't linked to the ProBuilt shared office space, their performance management system, the project manager, the surrounding colleagues, the tasks, or ProBuilt's overall values and culture—it was everything, yet nothing specific. The workplace itself—the physical space and all it encompassed—affected the employees, or they affected one another, and it's this "something" that I aim to explore in this dissertation.

1.1 Why study stress in the workplace?

The short answer to that question is that stress (together with depression and anxiety disorders) is one of the leading causes of disability worldwide, according to WHO (Kalia, 2002; Väänänen et al., 2014)². Recent numbers from a survey conducted by Oracle and Workplace Intelligence (2021) tell the same story. Out of their 14639 respondents across 13 countries, 62% of the respondents said that they experienced more stress and anxiety at work than any year before, 28% indicated that their mental health had worsened during the past year and 31% felt anxiety about their future. These results could indicate why stress cost worldwide societies between € 54 million and € 280 billion annually depending on the country (Shaholli et al., 2023).

Zooming in on Denmark, the massive scale of this mental health challenge is also reflected in numbers from the Danish Health Authority. According to the latest survey, the percentage of adults in Denmark who scored high on the stress scale has been on a steady rise. In 2013, it was 21%, which increased to 25% in 2017, and further rose to 29% in 2021 (Sundhedsstyrelsen, 2023). According to a report from The National Research Centre for the Working Environment (NFA), work-related stress costs Danish society DKK 16.4 billion annually in absenteeism (Pedersen et al., 2024; Pedersen, 2023), not counting sickness benefits, health care costs and insurance companies' costs for psychological consultations (Baunehøj, 2023). At the same time, insurance companies are reporting record numbers of customers seeking help with stress management (Bugge, 2023), which could indicate that the costs associated with work-related stress are even higher than assumed in NFA's report from 2023.

Stress is gaining traction on the agenda of Danish organisations, which is logical given that most stress studies identify the workplace as the main factor contributing to stress development (Friis Andersen & Brinkmann, 2013, p. 12; NFA, 2023). This makes the phenomenon of work-related stress a central theme for organisation studies. So far, most Danish organisations seem to have taken an individual and often cognitive approach to work-related stress (Stresspanelet, 2019; UFM, 2019), which has led the Danish Trade Union Confederation to criticize Danish employers by stating:

"Employees often find that employers try to "fix" the individual employee and offer good advice about cutting back on activities and commitments in private life instead of doing something about the work environment and the conditions at work that create stress [own translation from Danish]" (Baunehøj, 2023). At the same time, the Danish Trade Union Confederation points out

² I realise that it is customary to reproduce all authors' names the first time you refer to a text. However, for reasons of readability, this has not been possible in this dissertation. For a full overview of author names, please refer to the bibliography of this dissertation on page 204.

that employees are most often offered individual stress-reducing activities such as mindfulness, therapy sessions, and coaching. However, "*...it seems that no matter how much money is spent on prevention and management, the amount of stress is constant or even increasing*" (Friis Andersen & Brinkmann, 2013, p. 8). This could indicate that there is something in our current approach to work-related stress in Denmark that we have missed.

1.2 The primary focus of studies on work-related stress

When researching work-related stress, we must distinguish between the manifestation of work-related stress in the employees and the causes of work-related stress. Most researchers agree that work-related stress is a strain response (Selye, 1956), which triggers the release of stress hormones like cortisol and adrenaline, leading to various physiological effects (McEwen, 2007). These include cardiovascular changes increasing the risk of diseases (Chandola et al., 2008), weakened immunity (Glaser & Kiecolt-Glaser, 2005), alterations in brain structure and function affecting memory, cognition, and emotional regulation (De Lange et al., 2004; Lupien et al., 2009), and psychological symptoms such as anxiety and depression, and poorer self-rated health (Cannizzaro et al., 2019; Fransson et al., 2015; Ganster & Rosen, 2013; Theorell et al., 2015). In this dissertation, work-related stress is understood as "*...the emotional, cognitive, behavioural, and psychological reaction to aversive and noxious aspects of work, work environments and work organisations. It is a state characterised by high levels of arousal and distress and often by feelings of not coping*"³ (European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions, 2010). This definition is chosen because it is widely recognized within the work-related stress research field and thus a good starting point for my investigation.

Returning to research on work-related stress, the aspect lacking consensus pertains to the underlying causes or triggers of such stress. Most research on work-related stress focuses on factors within the individual employee, including personality traits, personal resource scarcity, self-imposed high demands, resilience deficits, distorted thought patterns, deficient self-control, inadequate emotional regulation, or brain imbalances (Vesterager, 2019, p. 12).

Only a small emerging field of a few researchers - Länsisalmi, Peiro & Kivimäki (2000), Kozusznik, Rodríguez, and Peiró (2015), and Kirkegaard (2013, 2015; Kirkegaard & Brinkmann, 2015, 2016) being among them – are applying a collective approach where stress are viewed as a social, relational phenomenon. However, even within this minority perspective, when treating collectiveness in relation to work-related stress, the focus seems to be on the shared cognitive dimensions of appraisal and coping. This despite the fact that there exist a broad consensus among organisational scholars that collectiveness in organisations encompass both a cognitive, emotional, and bodily element (Fineman, 2003b; Kirkegaard, 2015; Lazarus, 1999), pointing to the benefit of an affective perspective on these collective processes.

When trying to establish what we are missing in our approach to work-related stress, the cognitive-individual focus in both the practical handling of work-related stress in Danish

³ It is important to note that when this definition stresses a "reaction", I interpret it as a reaction in a responsive relationship between employees and the workplace. Thus, I do not consider the employees as passive or without agency.

organisations and the research on work-related stress is important, because our ability to react to the world is limited to what we perceive and acknowledge. Pertaining to the phenomenon of work-related stress, this implies that if we primarily acknowledge specific dimensions or attributes—such as individual and/or cognitive aspects—these become the sole focus of our attention. Meanwhile, the often imperceptible affective dimensions – especially on a collective level - become a blind spot, undermining our efforts to address the issue. That is the onset of this PhD dissertation.

Summing up, despite a few exceptions, the same cognitive and individualized perspective on work-related stress, found in the practise-oriented stress initiatives in Denmark, also dominates the work-related stress research field.

One explanation for this tendency could be found in the research designs of most work-related stress studies which are predominantly quantitative (Andersen, 2007). In Cassar, Bezzina, Fabri & Buttigieg's review of stress articles from 2000-2020, the authors found that 20 of the 26 most cited papers from that period were quantitative (2020, p. 62). Moreover, only two of these articles were based on longitudinal studies, suggesting that cross-sectional research is the most popular among work-related stress scholars. This work environmental research underscores the connections between work-related stress and various internal environmental factors, including the nature of work (such as sudden increases in workload, unfamiliarity with tasks, introduction of new technology, and role ambiguity). Additionally, factors like the organisation's location and layout (including working space and commute duration), performance processes (such as senior management surveillance, strict company policies, promotion delays, performance pressures, and workers' control over their time), poor management, and job security have been scrutinized. Moreover, collective workplace aspects like a negative work atmosphere, organisational culture, social environment, and sense of responsibility have been identified as influencing work-related stress levels. Lastly, external environmental factors like aggressive customer demands and unreasonable complaints have also been associated with work-related stress (Ahmad et al., 2022; Bolliger et al., 2022; Cooper et al., 2001; De Lange et al., 2004; Jiang et al., 2022; Pykett et al., 2020; Wan, 2013).

These quantitative methods are advantageous because they are easy to administer, and their reliability and validity are often well-proven. Despite the high quality of this work, the drawback of most quantitative studies, which typically rely on surveys, is that employees most affected by stress are likely not participating in the surveys, as they are on sick leave. As a result, survey respondents are generally presumed to be healthy, meaning those experiencing the highest levels of stress may be underrepresented. Moreover, it is difficult to assess, solely based on statistical calculations, how severe stress symptoms influence an individual's daily life and social relationships. Since stress is inherently an experience, discussing objective measurements is less relevant, and it makes even less sense to question whether individuals are truly suffering to the extent they report (Andersen, 2007, pp. 15–17). In addition, these quantitative studies fail to capture experiences unique to specific situations (Narayanan et al., 1999) and actual organisational environments, because surveys have predefined available response options, limiting the range of potential answers. Thus, they risk missing how these dimensions are

experienced by those who live and interact within them, and how, during this process of engagement, mental and affective states are shaped through i.e. the dynamic processes of meaning-making (Bartunek & Seo, 2002).

Moreover, Richaud & Amin (2019, p. 8) argue that emotional and embodied experiences cannot be fully understood by simply categorizing them as stressors. They continue by arguing that the quantitative approach may fail to consider the complex realities and various situations that employees are not just exposed to, but actively engage with. The implications of these experiences on mental health may not be straightforward or easily reducible to a simple positive or negative impact. Already decades ago, Andersen (2007, pp. 24–25) challenged this "agency-less" perspective, noting that many organisational- and stress theories consider individual employees as having minimal or passive influence on their work environment. The employees are often seen as merely subjected to environmental factors, including stressors (Kirkegaard & Brinkmann, 2015). Typically, these studies treat the environment and the individual as distinct entities, analysing them separately for cause-and-effect relationships. Andersen suggests a more beneficial approach: Examining their interdependent relationship patterns over time. This entails understanding how the work context, tasks, and individuals function together as part of the same system, rather than treating them as isolated elements. Andersen's proposal is echoed in both Kirkegaard (2015) work on distributed cognition and Lämsä et al.'s (2000) work on cultural narratives which showed that within the same company, different departments appraised and coped with similar stressors in different ways because the employees co-created certain ways to understand the world. Similarly, Kozusznik et al.'s (2015) discovered that individual employees within an organisation influenced one another when sharing their assessments of work-related stress, leading to a contagious spread of stress within the team. As a result, collective stress levels escalated, significantly impacting the well-being of the team. These studies provide empirical evidence that the individual employee and the organisation cannot be treated separately when wanting to understand the phenomenon of work-related stress.

Thus, the development of work-related stress must be viewed as a complex interplay between the organisation of work, the organisational culture, and the conditions related to the individual, such as their past, future, goals, and sense of purpose (Andersen, 2007). Considering my concerns regarding the prevailing individualistic (and often cognitive and quantitative) approach to work-related stress discussed earlier, this dissertation will focus on the dynamic relationship between employees and their workplace from a qualitative approach. I will particularly examine how organisational environments are experienced by those who work and interact within them, and how affective states leading to work-related stress are shaped through this engagement. Thus, through this empirical study, I aim to offer a new perspective on the well-known issue of work-related stress.

1.3 Research questions

To gain an affective perspective on the collective processes between employees and their workplace tied to the development of work-related stress, I have chosen to use an atmospheric

lens, because the concept of **atmosphere** integrates both the affective and collective dimensions. Moreover, using atmosphere as an analytical concept allows me to examine the interaction between work situations, organisational culture, and employees, while also considering the physical environment of the workplace - an aspect that has been shown to be significant in the development of work-related stress in work environmental research, as noted earlier.

I will combine the analytical concept of atmosphere with Hartmut Rosa's resonance theory (2019) to explain how the affective and collective processes either promote or inhibit the development of work-related stress. Thus, to aid the operationalization of employee wellbeing, I propose the use of Rosa's concept of **resonance** as Rosa contends that the significance of the workplace to employees lies in its capacity to offer exactly this (2016). Organisations can build resonant relations across 3 dimensions (axes of resonance): Material resonance, social resonance, and existential resonance (Hollstein & Rosa, 2023, p. 8) and if these dimensions are structurally or systematically compromised, employees may find themselves alienated from their workplace. Therefore, it is crucial to analyse the conditional, contextual, cultural, and socio-structural factors, which Rosa calls the atmosphere of the workplace, that contribute to the success or failure of resonant relationships (2019).

Furthermore, I will argue that **acceleration** (Rosa, 2019) in modern organisations promotes the development of work-related stress by straining all the employees' central sources of material-, social-, and existential resonance. In addition, I will argue that work-related stress is not a steady state, but an emerging experience and bodily reaction that flares up and dies down depending on the affective experiences (Julmi, 2017b, p. 38) the employees have in the workplace. Thus, I propose that resonance and alienation are not binary opposites like Rosa describes, but two ends of a continuum (Peters & Majid, 2022; Stenslund et al., 2021). From employees experiencing work as a pure "harbour of resonance" (Rosa, 2019, p. 40) with intact axes of resonance to pure alienation with total muteness and derivative stress reactions, I will argue that there exists varying degrees of **affective dissonance** (Hemmings, 2012). In order to describe the fluctuations between resonance, affective dissonance and alienation, I introduce Rosa's concept of **First Tuning Forks** performing resonance-enhancing activities that I have conceptualized as **affective labour** (Hardt 1999). Unlike the "agency-less" perspective that Andersen (2007) criticises, these First Tuning Forks play a substantial part in their colleagues' well-being, by performing affective labour, but I also explore the First Tuning Forks limitations when they too become affected by the dissonance of the organisational atmospheres. Finally, I will explore what happens when resonance breaks down and states of **alienation** (Rosa, 2019) and subsequent work-related stress occur.

Returning to my initial affective perspective on the collective processes tied to the development of work-related stress, this dissertation will address the following overarching research question:

How can Rosa's resonance theory and the analytical concept of atmosphere help us understand what promote or inhibit the development of work-related stress?

I aim to answer this overarching research question by focusing on four sub-research questions. They are the following:

Sub-RQ1: How are resonant atmospheres experienced?

Sub-RQ2: How are resonant atmospheres altered by acceleration and instrumentalisation?

Sub-RQ3: How does the affective labour of First Tuning Forks prevent alienation and work-related stress when atmospheres are no longer resonant?

Sub-RQ4: How do employees experience the collapse of resonance within atmospheres?

In summary, an atmospheric perspective on work-related stress draws attention to the physical, situational, and social dimensions of work. It examines how these spaces are embedded in affective dynamics that shape and are shaped by interconnected socio-material relations. These dynamics lead to either resonance, affective dissonance, or alienation.

Studying such atmospheric dynamics requires a specific methodology, which I will briefly present. Because I am interested in understanding how work-related stress is experienced, I will take the onset in a phenomenological philosophy of science. Furthermore, inspired by Richaud & Amin (2019), I have opted for a qualitative approach to explore my affective perspective on the collective processes (conceptualized as organisational atmospheres) that either promote or inhibit work-related stress. To effectively capture the atmospheric elements of my field, I employ sensory ethnography as my data collection methodology (Pink, 2009), while conducting a three-month fieldwork study at a large, high-performance engineering organisation. This organisation specialized in rebuilding production facilities, fostering a culture that valued seamless cooperation to meet tight deadlines during factory shutdowns. This cooperation was sustained by clear values on helpfulness, team spirit, professionalism, commitment, and autonomy. These values were key to employees' identity as professionals. In 2020, the company shifted its focus to building entirely new factories, which involved longer, more complex projects and unfamiliar technologies. Unlike shutdown rebuilds, these new builds had extended timelines, frequent customer changes, and required more client interaction, leading to increased challenges for employees, which made this an interesting case when studying work-related stress.

When conducting fieldwork, I was focusing on affective events (Weiss & Cropanzano, 1996), accounts of affective experiences and expressions of work-related stress within a central shared office. Throughout the study, I engaged with three distinct organisational entities, accumulating 266 hours of observation, which included shadowing and photography, conducting 39 interviews, and reviewing 142 documents. The goal of this qualitative approach is to offer an empirical and analytical narrative that expands our understanding of work-related stress as an outcome of the atmospheric experiences employees encounter in their relationship with their workplace.

1.4 Contributions

In this dissertation, I aim to contribute to two ways:

Firstly, my goal is to provide an empirical contribution that highlights how organisational atmospheres help us understand the role of atmospheric acceleration and instrumentalisation in developing affective dissonance, alienation and subsequently work-related stress. I contend that work-related stress is neither solely an individual nor a collective phenomenon, but rather an atmospheric one—universally felt, yet experienced in profoundly personal ways, with the affective dimension playing a central role. This is essential for understanding a new aspect of how work-related stress unfolds and the part employees play in its formation.

Secondly, I aim to extend Rosa's theory in three ways. 1) While Rosa argues that resonance is the opposite of alienation, or alienation's "other" (2019, p. 182), I aim to empirically show that resonance and alienation are opposite ends of a continuum with various degrees of affective dissonance in between. 2) While Rosa treats the three axes of resonance as equal, I aim to empirically demonstrate that in organisations with high levels of acceleration, social resonance (relationships with colleagues, customers, etc.) is the most crucial for preventing work-related stress. This because unlike the other forms of resonance, social resonance has "resonance regenerators" like the First Tuning Forks that can effectively reignite it. 3) I aim to nuance Rosa's thoughts on First Tuning Forks by empirically showing how they perform affective labour (Hardt, 1999). By supplementing Rosa with literature on affective labour, I aim to show what they make possible within an atmosphere, but also the limitations of their work.

1.5 The structure of this dissertation

I have organised my dissertation into nine chapters that support my argument about work-related stress having an atmospheric element. Firstly, I present a literary review of work-related stress. Secondly, in my theory section, I account for selected theoretical elements of Hartmut Rosa's theory, as well as the concept of affective dissonance, affective labour and the concept of organisational atmosphere. Thirdly, I describe my methodology, including the organisational context of my research and data collection. Furthermore, I account for the analysis, I have conducted, to identify which affective experiences in the empirical field that are needed for either an atmosphere of resonance or dissonance to configure.

My first analytical chapter, chapter five, illustrates how resonant atmospheres are experienced and how they emerge from encounters between employees and the different physical and sensory elements of the Great Hall. I identify three spaces that seemed particularly important in providing both material, social and existential resonance to employees and argue that this enabled the employees in establishing ProBuilt as a harbour of resonance.

My second analytical chapter, chapter six, contains an analysis of how the resonant atmospheres of the Great Hall are altered as acceleration and instrumentalisation enters their composition. In this analysis, I demonstrate how acceleration and instrumentalisation manifested in the Great Hall and how their visible and invisible work impacted employees' ability to achieve resonance,

gradually shifting the atmosphere from one dominated by resonance to one increasingly dominated by dissonance.

My third analytical chapter, chapter seven, focuses on how the First Tuning Forks attempted to prevent alienation and subsequent work-related stress through affective labour. I describe the First Tuning Forks work in adjusting their colleagues' affective states and behaviour whereupon I outline the limits of their work.

My final analytical chapter, chapter eight, I aim to show how the collapse of resonance was experienced by employees in the Great Hall. Specifically, I show how the collapse of material, existential and social resonance affected the employees and how the following momentary states of alienation manifested in employee as stress symptoms.

Following these analytical chapters, my discussion and conclusion, chapter nine, deals with the implications of my affective perspective on the collective processes promoting or inhibiting the development of work-related stress. Finally, I summarize my arguments.

2. Literature review

The focal point of the work-related stress literature is the relations and processes between employees and their workplace and how these can either promote or inhibit work-related stress. This chapter describes the theoretical landscape to which this dissertation offers contributions.

In the following, a short introduction of the work-related stress literature and antecedent research will be presented with the aim of teasing out knowledge of such relations and processes from an affective and collective angle. The literature was identified by firstly searching the Web of Science and Scopus databases for the keywords ‘work-related stress’, ‘work stress’, ‘job stress’, ‘occupational stress’, ‘burn-out’. Secondly, I combined the above search with the words ‘collective emotions’ and ‘affect’. Finally, I did similar searches in the CBS library database. What’s intriguing about the phenomenon of work-related stress is that, despite significant attention, there is still no unified official understanding of it. This is largely due to the fact that work-related stress has been studied across various disciplines - such as medicine, psychology, sociology, and management - each with its own paradigm, methodology, and focus (Cassar et al., 2020; Le Fevre, Matheny & Kolt, 2003). Thus, the literature on work-related stress is extensive and therefore, in the following I will shortly introduce the historical development of work-related stress research, before explaining the delimitations I have had to make in terms of excluding ‘the work environmental research’ and ‘the subjective-objective stress debate’.

2.1 Introduction to the history of work-related stress

Since the early 1900, researchers have studied how workers’ health, satisfaction, and well-being was affected by work (Salopek, 2005). The reason for this interest should, according to Cooper (2004), be found in the concern for worker productivity and thus organisational efficiency. It was not until World War I, however, that a serious interest in work-related stress began to take off in the form of a focus on “shell shock”, “nerve shock”, or “war neuroses” among soldiers due to a shortage of manpower (Fraher, 2004). In contrast to modern interpretations, early explanations for human reactions to war were more neurologically based, as researchers believed the dysfunction was caused by brain damage from the sound of exploding shells (Lazarus, 1993a, p. 2). This neurological perspective changed to a psychological perspective during World War II, where “battle fatigue” or “war neurosis” was treated as a psychological breakdown. The dominant model explaining the phenomenon was a simple stimulus (load/demand)-response (strain/breakdown) model that after the war could be recognized in many conditions of ordinary life (Lazarus, 1993a). However, the work-related stress research was mainly driven by the military’s interest in how to select stress resistant men, and how to train them to handle pressure during combat.

The term ‘stress’ was first used by Selye in 1935 to describe the physical responses an individual (in Selye’s case a laboratory rat) had to ‘stressors’, meaning external forces/influences affecting the individual (Selye, 1956, 1964; Viner, 1999). Two key aspects of Selye’s work stand out. First, he identified the ‘general adaptation syndrome,’

where the body responds to perceived threats by activating an alarm response. This reaction helps the body resist stressors but uses a lot of energy. Prolonged exposure to these stressors depletes energy reserves, leading to exhaustion and potentially emotional distress or stress-related illnesses. Second, Selye showed that the stress response is cumulative. Both minor and major stressors add up, putting a greater strain on the body by, for example, suppressing the immune system, raising blood pressure (which can lead to heart disease), and increasing susceptibility to infections (Fineman, 2003b, p. 131). Selye's work signaled the change in focus from physiological responses (to actual external stressors) to the mind's perception of stressors (Kirkegaard, 2015, p. 39). Furthermore, it served as the onset of the cognitive theory of stress, as represented by i.e. Lazarus (1993a, 1999; 1984; Lazarus et al., 1952; Lazarus & Ericksen, 1952).

Work-related stress research gained momentum in the 1960ies, shifting from animal lab experiments to addressing practical workplace problems (Väänänen et al., 2012, p. 785). This marked a shift from a mechanistic, medical view to a focus on individual sense-making, particularly through social psychology. Despite the fact that the explanation for the stress reaction was now seen as originating within the individual's psyche, the logic of evolutionary theory prevailed, which could be seen in the most dominating work-related stress model of the time, the Kahn & French 'Person-Environment (P-E) fit' Model (1962). This model highlight the relationship between the environment and the individual and evolved around the idea of the individual employees' adjustment (fit) to the job (Armitage & Amar, 2021). Despite later difficulties in its empirical testing, the P-E Fit Model has had a huge influence on both management practices, job design, and organisational development up until today (Väänänen et al., 2012, p. 787). As a consequence, work role characteristics, such as role-status congruency, role ambiguity, role overload and -underload, and role conflict became hot topics of research (French, 1974; French & Caplan, 1973; Kahn, 1964).

By the 1970s and 1980s, research began focusing on how job factors affect health, with increasing interest in individual resilience and predispositions. Concepts like Type A personality (Friedman & Rosenman, 1974), physical and ego threats (Spielberger, 1972b, 1972a), and self-efficacy (Bandura, 1977) gained prominence in this area of study. Although in this line of research, the focus shifted from physical responses to the mind's perception of stressors, the stimulus (load/demand)- response (strain/breakdown) principle persisted in a modified form, emphasizing the physiological strain the body experiences in response to stressors. An example of this continued research is Cooper and Marshall's (1976) Six Dimensional Model of Work-related Stress which was one of the earliest comprehensive frameworks for understanding the diverse sources of work-related stress. It identified six key categories of workplace stressors: work content, job role, career development, work relationships, organisational structure and climate, and work-life balance. These categories provided a foundational structure for later research in organisational psychology and paved the way for subsequent models, such as the Job Demands-Resources (JD-R) model (Bakker & Demerouti, 2017; Bakker & Demerouti,

2007) and the Effort-Reward Imbalance (ERI) model (Siegrist, 1996; Siegrist et al., 2004; Siegrist & Marmot, 2004), which further explored the complexities of work-related stress. The widely used 'Job Demand-Resource' (JD-R) Model highlights the imbalance between job demands and the resources an individual must meet those demands with. Research on the ERI model highlights that individual distress arises when significant effort to meet high demands is not met with adequate rewards, such as fair compensation. This imbalance between effort and reward leads to increased stress and dissatisfaction. Other examples include studies exploring the relationship between job stress, work design, and work-related musculoskeletal disorders (Carayon et al., 1999). One prominent model is Karasek's 'Job Demand-Control Model' (Karasek, 1979), which later developed into the 'Job-Demand-Control-Support Model' (Karasek & Theorell, 1990). This model highlights the link between job demands, such as workload and role ambiguity, and work-related stress. It points to how employees can manage these job demand 'stressors' by using job skills or utilizing their relationship with colleagues/supervisors. The model further suggests that job strain is likely to occur when high job demands are coupled with low social support and/or limited job control. Wainwright and Calnan (Calnan et al., 2000; Wainwright & Calnan, 2002) later tried to combine the Siegrist ERI model and the Karasek & Theorell model, and argued that stress arises not solely from objective working conditions or personal characteristics, but from the interaction between the two, shaped by individuals' subjective perceptions of their work environment.

Summing up, work-related stress research has evolved from early 20th-century concerns about productivity and worker health to more comprehensive models that consider both individual and organisational factors. Initially, stress was viewed through a neurological and later a psychological lens, with early models focusing on individual responses to stressors. Over time, attention shifted to the interaction between job demands and employee resilience. While early research largely framed stress as an individual problem, later models, such as the 'Job Demands-Resources' and 'Effort-Reward Imbalance' frameworks, recognized the role of organisational structures and social support in shaping stress, thus broadening the understanding beyond just personal traits or coping mechanisms. However, employees and the work-environment were still perceived as two separate entities and these studies mostly focused on individual adaptation, often overlooking how organisational systems contribute to stress.

2.1.1 Delimitations to my literature review

A common theme across most of the theories of work-related stress mentioned above is that workplace factors cause stress in employees, regardless of how these stressors are subjectively experienced. This strand of research on work-related stress, 'the work environmental research', focuses on workplace stressors and has the underlying assumption that employees are passive recipients, who are simply affected and have no agency in relation to this process (Wainwright & Calnan, 2002). Within this perspective, researchers have generated long lists of potential

stressors in an organisational context, including almost all features of an organisation's culture, decision-making process, communications, and physical environment as mentioned in the intro. Additionally, groups of stressors have been identified such as Elliot and Eisdorfer's (1982) 'acute, time limited stressor' (i.e. threatening situations), 'stressor sequences' (i.e. prolonged periods of hardship), 'chronic, intermittent stressors' (i.e. recurring incidents of unpleasant or painful encounters), and 'chronic stressors' (i.e. physical or emotional strains due to illness or environmental factors) (Hobfoll, 1989, p. 514). However, as mentioned in the introduction, I have chosen not to base my study on this 'agency-less' perspective on employees, and thus, this perspective will not be represented in this literature review.

Furthermore, a branch of the work-related stress literature debates the difference between objective stress that you can measure physically and subjective stress, which reflects the subjective experience employees have of being stressed. However, this distinction is not helpful, as physiological stress reactions can occur in the body without the individual perceiving a situation as exceeding his or her resources, such as in the case of an nonconscious individual (Netterstrøm, 2002). Conversely, employees may experience stress without corresponding measurable physiological stress reactions (Andersen 2007). This indicates that there is not always a direct correlation between the subjective experience of work conditions and objective physiological responses. However, this does not undermine the validity of the stress experience. Rather, it reflects the challenges in consistently measuring physiological stress and interpreting the results (Dickerson & Kemeny, 2004). Since the aim of this dissertation is to describe an affective approach to collective processes, promoting or inhibiting work-related stress that takes onset in employees experiences, a more thorough descriptions of literature emphasizing "objective" measures of work-related stress will be excluded from this review.

2.2 Review of the work-related stress literature

Focusing on work-related stress literature that highlight the agency of the employees and acknowledge subjective perceptions of stress, there seem to be four key streams of research, each offering a distinct perspective on the nature of the phenomenon. In the following, I have illustrated these four different streams and named them the 'cognitive-individual'-, the 'affective-individual'-, the 'cognitive-collective'-, and the 'affective-collective' stream:

Approach:	Individual 'Individual' refers to the unique variability characterized by personal motives, beliefs, and distinct ways of appraising and coping with experiences (Lazarus, 1991, p. 825).	Collective 'Collective' entails dyads, groups, organisations, and societies (Barsade et al., 2018, p. 138).
Cognitive Cognitive refers to the knowledge and evaluation of situations, involving rational rather than emotional beliefs about how things function (Lazarus, 1991, p. 820).	1. Work-related stress is an individual phenomenon, a reaction caused by an imbalance between perceived threats and perceived resources to meet such threats.	3. Work-related stress is a collective reaction to a jointly perceived unhealthy work environment with which the employees collectively cope.
Affective 'Affectivity' refers to "states of mind and body that include, but also extend beyond mere emotions and feelings to describe driving forces that are suggestive of tendencies to act in a variety of ways, or to not act at all" (Goulding, 2023, p. 106)	2. Work-related stress is an individual reaction to a mismatch between an individual's affective state and the workplace demands for specific affective expressions.	4. Work-related stress is a collective (and often contagious) conscious as well as nonconscious affective reaction to perceived and sensed stressors.

Figure 1 - Overview of the different work-related stress literature streams

The literature in the following literature review is categorized into these four streams. However, the relationship between the individual-collective and cognitive-affective axes exists more as a spectrum than as rigid categories. This division into four streams is created to give an overview of the work-related stress literature.

This literature review is structured as follows: First, the cognitive-individual approach to work-related stress will be introduced to explain why the current focus remains largely individual and cognitive. Since this dissertation focuses on examining employee-workplace relations and processes from an affective and collective perspective, the literature on the cognitive-individual approach presented below, assuming that work-related stress stems solely from individual processes (Donnelly & Long, 2003), will be given only limited attention in this review. Next, the review will shift to literature by incorporating an affective perspective, illustrating how the 'affective turn' has influenced the individually focused work-related stress research. Following this, attention will be given to the emerging collective perspectives on employee-workplace relations and processes, starting with the cognitive-collective approach and culminating in the nascent affective-collective approach. The goal is to outline the main streams of research leading to affective perspectives on collective processes either promoting or inhibiting work-related stress.

2.2.1 The Cognitive-Individual approach

Key characteristics of this cognitive-individual approach include the subjective perception of an imbalance between demands and resources, the employment of coping strategies (such as problem-focused or emotion-focused coping (Lazarus, 1993b)), and an emphasis on individual responsibility for managing stress. Most of the research on work-related stress and coping has focused on experiences and behaviours of the individual (Folkman, 2009). Stress theories and models highlight the subjective

experience of stress, in which individuals assess the demands and resources at work, as well as their ability to cope with these challenges. The term 'individual' is here understood as the unique variability characterized by personal motives, beliefs, and distinct ways of appraising and coping with experiences (Lazarus, 1991, p. 825). Furthermore, work-related stress is commonly seen as an internal experience, driven by neuro-endocrinological disturbances within the individual. Though it can be triggered by external stressors or inadequate coping mechanisms, stress is ultimately located within the body, particularly within the brain. From this perspective, stress is understood as both a psychological and a physical phenomenon (Kirkegaard & Brinkmann, 2015, p. 82). Rather than addressing the root causes of stress, these theories and models often focus on how individuals can optimize their own stress management through resilience and control. Overall, they frame work-related stress as the result of an interaction between cognitive processes, personal resources, and workplace demands.

One of the most influential stress theories of all time, the Lazarus and Folkman's theory on stress appraisal and coping strategies (1984), has such a cognitive-individual approach. This transactional model highlights how stress arises when environmental demands are perceived to exceed the resources available to the employee, posing a threat to their well-being (Dewe et al., 1993). Stressors here are typically described and measured in terms of work demands, control over work, and social support. These stressors are considered external factors influenced by job design, technology, and organisational structure (Briner et al., 2004). The interaction between demands and resources forms part of what Lazarus refers to as primary appraisal, where the employee assigns subjective meaning to the situation. In other words, something only becomes a stressor if the employee perceives it as such. Therefore, the characteristics of the job do not automatically lead to stress—it depends on the employee's assessment of the situation. This assessment is often accompanied by emotional responses and physiological reactions, such as fear, anger, or sadness, reflecting the employee's experience of their relationship with the workplace. The intensity of these emotional reactions indicates how much is at stake for the individual. Stress results from a subjective evaluation of the transaction between the employee and the workplace, particularly when the employee perceives their resources as insufficient (Andersen, 2007, p. 20). Lazarus' cognitive approach to stress highlights the mechanisms that drive individual agency, asserting that employees are not merely passive victims of difficult work conditions. Instead, the notion of appraisal emphasizes the importance of individual differences in how employees interpret environments that might be seen as "objectively" similar by others (Kirkegaard & Brinkmann, 2015, p. 84).

2.2.2 The Affective-Individual approach

The affective-individual approach highlights the interplay between individual affective experiences and the broader organisational context in shaping work-related stress. It focuses on the study of affect, emotion, and feeling, emphasizing their role in social, political, and cultural processes (Clough & Halley, 2007). Addressing the nonconscious level of affective processes is commonly referred to as the 'affective turn' (Jørgensen, 2019, p. 40). It underscores how

affective states, both positive and negative, significantly impact well-being, performance, and stress levels, and emphasizes the affective strain in employee-environment interactions. The affective-individual approach to work-related stress highlights the importance of affective states in shaping stress responses, performance, and well-being. This strand of research has examined how positive affective states help individuals cope with work-related stress, while negative affective states can worsen work-related stress. It highlights the role of emotional regulation in managing workplace stress, where individuals actively manage their emotions through strategies like reappraisal or suppression. The research also underscores emotional exhaustion as a key component of burnout, driven by prolonged stress and influenced by both organisational factors and personal coping strategies. This approach often focus on the individual coping aspect of the work-related stress process derived from Lazarus' concept of 'emotion-focused coping' (1984), highlighting affective states and processes within an employee.

Similar to literature with a cognitive approach to work-related stress, affect-focused research with a focus on the individual has expanded rapidly in various directions. Therefore, I will provide a concise overview rather than an exhaustive account. Key research streams include the effects of positive and negative affect, emotional regulation, and burnout and emotional exhaustion, which have emerged as central themes in this area of study.

Positive and negative affect. Research on work-related stress, focusing on positive and negative affect, examines how emotions influence employee's well-being, performance, and stress levels. Positive affect, such as optimism, is linked to better coping mechanisms, lower stress, and improved performance. Negative affect, including emotions like frustration and anxiety, can exacerbate stress, reduce job satisfaction, and impair performance (Miraglia & Johns, 2021). The Affective Events Theory (Weiss & Cropanzano, 1996) examines how specific workplace events elicit affective reactions in individual employees, which then affect their work attitudes and behaviors. The theory highlights how daily affective experiences at work contribute to stress or job satisfaction, emphasizing the impact of personal affective responses on job performance and satisfaction. While this theory primarily focuses on individual experiences, it also acknowledges that widespread emotional patterns among employees can influence broader organisational dynamics and culture. Other examples of research on positive affect counts Fredrickson's broaden-and-build theory which focuses on the role of positive affect in the stress process (2001). Fredrickson claims that positive emotions broaden individuals' cognitive and behavioural repertoires, enabling them to build resilience and cope more effectively with stress. Positive affect is seen as a buffer against the negative effects of stress, enhancing individuals' coping strategies and psychological well-being. Likewise negative affect have been the focus of studies showing how negative affect are the plausible cause of substantive stressful work events (Brief et al., 1988).

Research highlighting the benefits of positive affect in coping, alongside the link between negative affect and work-related stress, led to an increased emphasis on emotional regulation in workplaces to cultivate a preference for positive emotions which will be elaborated below.

Emotional regulation. Gross' emotion regulation theory (Gross, 2002) delves into the affective aspects of stress by examining how individuals manage their emotional responses. Gross identifies strategies like reappraisal and suppression that directly influence the experience of stress. His theory emphasizes the ability to regulate emotions as essential for coping effectively with stress, underscoring the pivotal role emotions play in the stress process (Gross, 2002).

Gross is inspired by Hochschild's concepts of 'emotional work' and 'emotional labour', which focuses on how managing emotions in the workplace can be a source of stress. 'Emotion work' refers to employees' handling of their feelings in relation to the requirements of the situation. Emotion work often occurs at a pre-conscious level, but it can also require a more deliberate effort (Bloch, 2007). Hochschild distinguishes between 'surface acting' (relating to appearance in public) and 'deep acting' (relating to the actual adaptation of feelings in private) (Hochschild, 1979, 1983). 'Surface acting' relates to an emotional expression via face or body that is often linked to an assumed role, or what the culture dictates that one should feel in a given situation. If a person fails to perform appropriate 'surface acting' the person will typically be deemed strange, arrogant, or ungrateful (Bo & Hviid Jacobsen, 2017; Hochschild, 1979). 'Deep acting', on the contrary, refers to the effort a person will do to reshape, change, or suppress the feelings he/she might actually feel in a given situation. When 'emotion work' is performed as part of an employee's official job (i.e. a service worker trying to induce a certain feeling of enjoyment or pleasure in a customer), and the 'emotion work' thus has "use value", Hochschild terms it 'emotional labour'. Hochschild criticizes emotional labour, because she believes that it can lead to work-related stress and burn-out – especially if the person's authentic emotions have no outlet (Hochschild, 1983).

While Gross' work doesn't explicitly build on Hochschild's, both scholars are concerned with the way in which individuals regulate emotions in different contexts. Hochschild's work laid the foundation for understanding how emotions are managed in social and professional environments, and Gross further expanded this by developing a psychological model of how emotions are regulated internally. In that sense, their research is complementary, though not directly connected. Furthermore, both scholars pointed to emotional exhaustion as the result of emotional regulation, which will be elaborated on below.

Burnout and emotional exhaustion. Studies on burn-out and emotional exhaustion (Cropanzano et al., 2003) focus on how emotional exhaustion, a key component of burnout, negatively impacts work attitudes, job performance, and organisational citizenship behaviors (OCBs). Emotional exhaustion occurs when individuals feel drained and depleted of affective resources due to prolonged stress, often related to work (Maslach, 2003). Emotional exhaustion closely resembles classic stress responses typically studied in work-related stress research, including fatigue, job-related depression, psychosomatic complaints, and anxiety. Given these parallels, it is fitting to consider emotional exhaustion as a type of strain resulting from workplace stressors (Demerouti et al., 2001, p. 499). The research on emotional exhaustion and work-related stress is further developed in Maslach's seminal work on burnout, which offers a comprehensive understanding of this syndrome, characterized by a sense of reduced personal accomplishment, emotional exhaustion, and depersonalization (Maslach et al., 2001; Maslach,

2003). Emotional exhaustion reflects feelings of being emotionally overextended by work, while depersonalization involves a sense of detachment and cynicism towards others. Finally, reduced personal accomplishment pertains to a diminished sense of competence and achievement. Maslach developed the Maslach Burnout Inventory (MBI) to measure these dimensions and identify burnout risk. Her research highlights how factors such as high workloads, lack of control, insufficient rewards, and poor social support contribute to burnout. Maslach and her collaborator, Leiter, emphasized the need for organisational changes, including better job design, increased control, and enhanced support systems, to prevent burnout (Maslach & Leiter, 1997). Their work also demonstrates that burnout can affect various professions differently, with notable prevalence in high-interaction fields like healthcare and education. Even though the focus is on how organisational practices contribute to employee stress, the individual employees are still viewed as active subjects in the sense that employees interact with their work environment and contribute to their own stress management. The authors highlight that employees can influence their stress levels through proactive coping strategies and by participating in organisational change efforts. This perspective underscores that while organisational factors are crucial in shaping burnout, individual actions and responses play a significant role in both experiencing and mitigating stress.

2.2.3 The Cognitive-Collective approach

Despite the dominating underlying assumption of the individualistic nature of work-related stress, sporadic accounts of a more collective nature of work-related stress do find their way to academic journals. The cognitive-collective approach to work-related stress extends Lazarus and Folkman's transactional theory by focusing on collective appraisal and coping within organisations. It emphasizes how stress appraisals and coping strategies are shaped by organisational culture, team dynamics, and shared resources. This move towards a collective approach is likely influenced by research indicating that work-related stress *"...has to be considered not just an individual phenomenon, but also an organisational one"* (Rodríguez et al., 2019, p. 93). It underscores the insufficiency of individually-focused stress management programs, aimed at enhancing employees' coping skills, as studies show that long-term health and well-being require organisational measures to address environmental stressors (Kenny & Cooper, 2003, p. 277). In this context, "collective" refers to dyads, groups, organisations, and societies (Barsade et al., 2018, p. 138). Common to these approaches is the underlying assumption that what promotes work-related stress is collective processes, in which employees affect each others appraisals and coping methods. Moreover, what inhibits work-related stress is awareness of such mechanisms.

Currently, researchers within this collective understanding of stress are still struggling with how to conceptualize collective stress and coping, and a variety of definitions and related concepts have been developed (Kirkegaard & Waldstrøm, 2024). I have chosen to emphasize studies on collective stress and team stress, as these perspectives appear to lay the groundwork for incorporating an affective dimension, which will be further

explored in section 2.1.4.

Collective stress. This strand of literature typically takes the onset in Lazarus & Folkman's (1984) transactional approach to stress and often focuses on how values from the organisational culture, affect employees' appraisal of stressors and the coping of these. In example, Länsisalmi et al. (2000) observed that stress as a collective phenomenon emerged in response to two key triggers: (1) difficulties in adapting to the work unit's environment, including instability, unemployment risks, changing customer demands, and work overload, and (2) internal tensions within the employee community, such as the undervaluation of certain employee groups or a negative "penal colony" reputation (2000, p. 527). However, what was particularly interesting in Länsisalmi et al.'s study was that similar stressors were interpreted and managed differently across divisions within a multinational company, due to varying cultural narratives within departmental subcultures. For instance, when the core assumption was that "time is money," the department's primary focus was on productivity and goal achievement. This had implications for primary appraisals as stress was viewed as a normal occurrence, and mild stress symptoms were seen as a sign of dedication. Furthermore, there was a link between cultural assumptions and coping strategies. In departments, where "time is money" was the prevailing belief, common coping strategies included working harder (workaholism), seeking information, and finding comfort in the idea that their efforts served a recognized higher purpose. The researchers concluded that employees' appraisals are shaped by the cultural context they operate in. As such, employees' perceptions of job characteristics are shaped by organisational culture, making it crucial to understand that culture to fully comprehend the sources of stress responses.

In addition, building on Lazarus's research on appraisal and coping (1984), Kirkegaard applied the theory of distributed cognition to explore how employees perceive (appraisal) and manage (coping) work-related stress (Kirkegaard, 2013, 2015; Kirkegaard & Brinkmann, 2015; Kirkegaard & Waldstrøm, 2024). In line with Länsisalmi et al. (2000), Kirkegaard's research revealed that within the same organisation, different departments assessed and responded to similar stressors in diverse ways. Furthermore, Kirkegaard and Brinkmann argue that cognitive processes are not only embodied, but also embedded in and extended into the physical environment (Kirkegaard & Brinkmann, 2015, p. 86). Drawing on Gallagher's (2013) concept of 'mental institutions'⁴, they assert that "*...the environment co-constructs the individual and the individual co-constructs the environment*" (Kirkegaard & Brinkmann, 2015, p. 87). Consequently, work-related stress should be understood as deeply embedded in, and extending into, both the physical and social environments. Within this perspective, the individual is seen not just

⁴ Gallagher (2013) elaborate on the concept of cognitive extension by integrating processes and social practices within cultural institutions, which he refers to as "mental institutions." These institutions are defined as entities that shape cognitive processes, demonstrating how cognition can be socially influenced. Cultural and social signs in the environment, mediated through language, discourse, and social interactions, can contribute to this social extension. Consequently, these practices do not necessarily need to be rooted in physical systems of external rules or schemas to promote cognitive extension (Brinkmann, 2011).

as "a container of stress," but as part of a dynamic system that includes social processes and the material world (Kirkegaard & Brinkmann, 2015, p. 83).

Focusing on organisational-level coping, Rodríguez, Kozusznik, Peiro & Tordera (2019) found that it involved two key strategies: (a) individual coping strategies that are imitated, shared, and adopted by employees (co-active coping), and (b) collective coping understood as "*actions carried out by the whole organisation, or by some of its members on behalf of it, aimed at preventing, eliminating, or reducing the stressor, re-interpreting it, or relieving its harmful effects*" (Rodríguez et al., 2019, p. 88).

Concerning the first strategy, the authors highlight the crucial influence of organisational culture. They note that in organisations with a history of negative responses to voicing concerns, the likelihood of employees expressing their worries diminishes, making imitation less probable. Examining individual-, co-active-, and collective coping strategies, Rodríguez et al. (2019) only found significant reductions in organisational stress, when their subjects utilized collective problem-focused coping strategies, i.e. coping strategies aimed at actively preventing or reducing threat, harm, loss, or the associated distress (Rodríguez et al., 2019, p. 87). When employees did not have the opportunity to engage in problem-focused coping, because the causes of work-related stress was considered perceived to be impossible to influence, Torkelson, Muhonen & Peiro (2007) showed that collective coping mechanisms among employee groups in the organisation, facing stressful situations like reorganisations or downsizing, typically involved acceptance, resignation, and emotional hardening.

The collective perspective on work-related stress not only focuses on stress on an organisational level, but also deep dives into stress on a team level, which the following 'team stress' perspective will describe.

Team stress. In line with the above perspective, a different stand within the cognitive-collective approach refer to 'team stress' instead of collective stress (Kozusznik et al., 2015; Liu & Liu, 2018; Sassenus et al., 2022). Team stress refers to the relationship between a team and its environment, including interactions with other team members, perceived as straining or exceeding the team's resources and potentially jeopardizing the team members well-being (Bowers et al., 1997, p. 86). The negative impact of stress on team dynamics and outcomes is well established (Dietz et al., 2017; Kozusznik et al., 2015; Liu & Liu, 2018; Sassenus et al., 2022). Sassenus, Bossche & Poels (2022) refers to a top down and a bottom-up approach to shared appraisal of stress within teams. The first emphasizes the top-down influence of shared stressors, suggesting that since team members operate in the same environment, they are exposed to the same events and agents, leading to similar stress appraisals. The second perspective highlights the bottom-up influence of social stressors, where stress appraisals are transmitted among team members through interactions. Under pressure, individuals look to others for situational cues and validation of their stress reactions. Stress can spread through verbal -, nonverbal -, and behavioural signals, which others in the team observe and mimic, leading to shared appraisals through empathetic processes. In this way, team stress focus on social stressors

extends into the affective-collective strand of literature, which will be presented below. Members unintentionally mimic emotional behaviours, resulting in a shared perception of the environment echoing studies on emotional contagion (Hatfield et al., 1994). Under stress, team members often shift from a collective focus to a more individualistic mindset, which undermines overall team performance (Driskell & Jolinston, 2000). Sassenus et al.'s (2022) study on team stress during a flight simulation highlights the significant impact of social stressors, particularly verbal interactions, on team stress. The authors argue that social dynamics, including empathic processes, play a much larger role in the development of team stress than previously recognized, surpassing the influence of contextual factors (2022, p. 537). This finding aligns with the emerging affective-collective perspective on work-related stress as presented in the following.

2.2.4 The Affective-Collective approach

The affective-collective approach to work-related stress emphasizes the role of shared affective states, and processes in shaping employees' experiences and interactions within organisations. It highlights how collective values and norms around emotional expression significantly influence performance, work quality, and turnover rates. The affective-collective approach to work-related stress has not yet received much research attention. It is still in its infancy despite a broad consensus among organisational scholars that collectivity in organisations involves not only a cognitive dimension, but also an affective and bodily dimension (Peiro, 2008; Rodríguez et al., 2019). Therefore, I have borrowed insights from adjacent areas of literature when shaping this affective-collective approach of the literature for my literature review.

In my review of the established stress literature, I found only a few studies, such as those on 'social stressors' (Gerhardt et al., 2021) and 'stress climates' (Ostroff, 1993) that incorporate both affective and collective perspectives on the interactions between employees and their workplace, either promoting or inhibiting work-related stress. Therefore, I have also included research from the organisational behaviour literature on emotional culture (Barsade & O'Neill, 2016) and emotional contagion (Hatfield et al., 2018), as these also link the affective and collective dimensions with stress responses at work.

Social stressors. As mentioned above, social stressors such as aggression, incivility, abusive supervision, workflow interruptions, and negative customer interactions have been found to significantly contribute to work-related stress (Gerhardt et al., 2021, p. 2). These stressors induce negative emotional states like anxiety, depression, and emotional exhaustion, leading to an increased risk of stress-related illnesses such as cardiovascular issues and other negative health outcomes. Even though studies on social stressors are dominated by a focus on frontline personnel and customers (Kim et al., 2012; Wacker & Dziobek, 2018) or social stressors in cities (Shmool et al., 2014), studies on social stressors between colleagues have also been conducted. For instance, Pereira et al. (2015) studied surgical staff and found that workflow interruptions and supervisor-related stressors led to attention failures, which caused work-related worries to spill over into leisure time. This mental spillover was associated with exhaustion and negatively impacted patient safety. Similarly, Garrido Vásquez et. al.'s (2020) argues that social

stressors, especially in contexts of job insecurity, can diminish job satisfaction and increase emotional irritation, whereas appreciation from colleagues and supervisors can buffer these negative impacts. Thus, while social stressors significantly contribute to workplace stress and reduced performance, factors like appreciation and emotional resilience can mitigate their harmful effects. The findings underscore the importance of addressing social stressors in the workplace, as failure to do so can have a significant impact on the climate of the workplace, which will be described below.

Stress climate. Stress climate is a subcategory of the concept of ‘organisational climate’ (Ostroff, 1993) that refers to the collective perceptions that employees have of their work environment, shaped by both individual and group behaviours⁵. It encompasses affective elements like participation, warmth, social rewards, and cooperation, cognitive elements such as position in hierarchy and level of autonomy, and instrumental elements like extrinsic rewards, and achievement (D’Alleo & Santangelo, 2011, pp. 1609–1610). An organisational climate both influences and is influenced by the behaviours of individuals and groups within the organisation, shaping and being shaped by the organisational structure. A positive organisational climate can alleviate work-related stress by promoting good communication, autonomy, and supportive interactions among employees, while unresolved conflicts or poor climates can exacerbate it (D’Alleo & Santangelo, 2011; Lansisalmi et al., 2000). The research on stress climates focuses on these “poor climates” that can promote work-related stress.

Stress climates (Kozusznik et al., 2015; Parker et al., 2003) have been studied by identifying a distinct combination of distress and eustress appraisals⁶ that are collectively shared by members of a specific group within an organisation (Kozusznik et al., 2015, p. 15). Kozusznik et al. (2015) identified three types of stress climates: one marked by high distress and low eustress, another with high eustress and low distress, and a balanced type where both eustress and distress were present at similar levels. The study revealed that identical work demands could be interpreted by groups as either threats or opportunities, and these shared perceptions helped shape the overall climate in the organisational unit. Moreover, this study illustrated that stress climates are dynamic and emergent phenomena that develop over time, having a significant impact on individual stress outcomes. The findings highlighted the value of integrating cross-level and social context approaches for a more comprehensive understanding of stress experiences. Interestingly, in teams where the eustressed climate remained dominant cynicism increased, while vigor decreased over time. Although this seemed counterintuitive, Kozusznik et al. (2015) argue that it could be explained through the coping process. In a predominantly eustressed climate, where stressors are viewed as challenges, individuals tend to overlook potential threats and do not engage in coping strategies which leaves them more vulnerable to long-term stress effects. Over time, this lack of protective coping leads to feelings of inefficacy and decreased

⁵ In this dissertation, I have opted for Julmi’s definition of organisational climate as the enduring and shared atmospheres derived from the organisation’s culture (Julmi, 2017c, p. 14) (see theoretical chapter). However, since this definition is tailored to atmospheric studies, the above understanding is included in this literary review to make it easier for the reader to understand the current research focusing on work-related stress from an organisational climate perspective.

⁶ Kozusznik et al. build on Selye’s (1974) differentiation between distress, characterized by negative emotions and impaired bodily states and eustress, which is associated with positive feelings and healthy bodily states.

vigor. The results suggest there might be an optimal balance between distress and eustress, as recognizing threats can serve as a necessary warning signal. Overly positive perceptions of work stressors, without acknowledging their risks, can lead to workaholism and potential health problems. (Kozusznik et al., 2015, p. 16). Likewise, Molines, Sanséau & Adamovic (2016) examined how social stressors in police stations trigger an emotional exhaustion climate which harms collective organisational citizenship behaviour (OCB). While fostering a climate of trust helped contain the negative effects, it did not eliminate them, and low or moderate trust climates worsened the impact of stressors. The study highlights the importance of addressing stressors at a collective level and suggests that interventions should focus on building high-trust environments to support police officers' performance.

The concept of climate is tightly interwoven with the concept of emotional culture as both concepts encompass affective elements and describe employees' affective experiences of a place. However, they stem from different research traditions (Jørgensen, 2019) and the concept of emotional culture does not specifically focus on cognitive or instrumental factors like the climate studies do.

Emotional culture. On par with research on positive and negative affect, research shows that an emotional culture, understood as “*the shared affective values, norms, artifacts, and assumptions that govern which emotions people have and express at work, and which ones they are better off suppressing*” (Barsade & O’Neill, 2016, p. 60)⁷, characterized by positive affective states have better performance, quality, and customer service. Conversely, an emotional culture characterized by negative affective states often suffer from negative performance and high turnover of employees (Barsade et al., 2018; Fineman, 2003b). Hence, pressure can arise due to which affective states are considered acceptable to experience and display within an organisation, to uphold membership of the work collective. This implies that employees both naturally and purposefully exhibit specific affective states at work. Research in social psychology has consistently indicated that employees tend to adhere to group norms of affective expression, emulating others with the aim of being well-received and embraced. Therefore, employees in a strong emotional culture may start to exhibit valued affective state, even if their initial motivation is compliance rather than internalizing the cultural norms (Barsade & O’Neill, 2016, p. 65). An organisation's emotional culture is generally upheld by emotional conventions that define how employees are allowed to feel about work-related stress and the coping mechanisms they employ, both individually and collectively (Fineman, 2003a, 2003b). Thus, an emotional culture can both promote and inhibit the development of work-related stress. When promoting the development of work-related stress, research has shown how “[o]rganizations can produce and sustain an emotional culture where damaging levels of stress are driven

⁷ In this dissertation, I have opted for Julmi's definition of emotional culture as a sub-section of the organisational culture, understood as the 'socialized emotional relations within a culture' containing 'display rules' which determines the way emotions are expressed in the organisation and may determine the way emotions are poured out spatially in a sense that is palpably atmospheric (Julmi, 2017a). However, since this definition is tailored to atmospheric studies, the above understanding is included in this literary review to make it easier for the reader to understand the current research focusing on work-related stress from an emotional culture perspective.

underground ('it doesn't really exist here'); *grudgingly tolerated* ('yeah, we all have to live with high stress here, that's how it is'); *deflected* ('we send them to see our medics'), or even *celebrated* ('stress is what makes a manager a manager here; those who can't hack it have to leave')" (Fineman, 2003b, p. 139). This claim is supported by Bloch (2007), who in her study of a private Danish company identified three distinct cultural interpretations and evaluations of work-related stress. First, the 'stigmatizing principle', which views work stress as a personal issue, often attributed to problems at home or perceived inefficiencies at work. Stressed employees are seen as emotionally disturbed and potentially unfit, and stress is rarely discussed openly. Second, the 'normalizing principle' regards work stress as a common experience that everyone should manage privately. Employees who express significant stress are seen as emotionally divergent, while those who do not express stress may be viewed with suspicion, as their lack of visible stress could imply that they are less valuable or less in demand. Finally, the 'critical principle' interprets stress as a consequence of poor working conditions, management issues, or personnel policies, recognizing stress as a legitimate response to such factors. However, Bloch found that the stigmatizing and normalizing principles were more dominant and seemed to mutually reinforce each other. The critical perspective emerged infrequently and typically required employees to have more time for reflection. In practice, employees often reverted to either the stigmatizing or normalizing principles, assuming personal responsibility for their stress reactions (2007, pp. 124–135).

When inhibiting work-related stress, the emotional culture can support the forming of communities of coping (Korczynski, 2003) or good atmospheres (O'Neill & Rothbard, 2017). Building on Hochschild's term 'collective emotional work' (Hochschild, 1983, p. 114), Korczynski (2003) illustrates how the only way employees in four different call centres got by pressure and abusive customers was through informal collegial support in what she calls 'communities of coping'. Furthermore, Korczynski's study highlights how communities of coping enabled employees to resist management policies that mandate individual and internal handling of negative customer interactions and enforce emotional conventions (Fineman, 2003b), restricting employees to communally only share positive emotions towards customers. On par with this research, recent research on firefighters shows that an emotional culture characterized by joviality and companionate love can foster a 'good atmosphere', which can decrease work-related stress (O'Neill & Rothbard, 2017). O'Neill & Rothbard argue that a positive emotional culture that promotes openness and support can mitigate the need to suppress emotions, ultimately enhancing both mental and physical well-being.

The concept of emotional culture is closely related to emotional contagion, as emotional contagion focuses on how the emotional norms of a culture are shared among its members. However, emotional contagion also extends beyond this by highlighting how affective states not defined by the emotional culture can spread within the group.

Emotional contagion. The contagious element of stress started to become a focus of interest after the turn of the millennium. Focus was on the concept of 'emotional contagion', understood as "*the tendency to automatically mimic and synchronize expressions, vocalizations, postures, and movements with those of another person's and, consequently, to converge emotionally*"

(Hatfield et al., 1994, p. 96). Research within the tradition of ‘emotional contagion’ (Barsade, 2002; Hatfield et al., 1993a) operate with a direct causality between individual well-being and the influence from others. In example, even though Rodríguez, Kozusnik, Peiro & Tordera (2019) builds on Lazarus & Folkman’s (1984) cognitive model for appraisal and coping of stress, they argue that shared stress experiences can be explained by the emotional contagion phenomenon. Building on Hatfield, Cacioppo & Rapson (1994), the authors suggest that shared stress experiences can arise from either the unconscious absorption of stress-related emotions from colleagues or intentional efforts to “tune into” their emotions, such as signalling the threat of a situation through facial expressions. These interactions can shape how peers perceive and respond to situations, impacting work-related stress at the organisational level (Rodríguez et al., 2019, p. 87). This idea is empirically supported by Väänänen, Murray & Kuokkanen (2014), who found that the development and spread of negative emotions among individuals could affect both physical and psychological well-being in organisations (Väänänen et al., 2014, p. 126). Furthermore, Bakker & Schaufeli (2000) reported that burnout complaints and the sharing of negative messages contributed to the spread of burnout within groups. Similarly, Bakker, Le Blanc, and Schaufeli (2005) showed that employees who frequently interacted with burned-out colleagues were more likely to adopt their negative attitudes.

In addition, building on the concept of emotional contagion a distinction has been made between the spill-over effect, describing stress being transferred from one area of an individual’s life to another and the crossover effect, describing the transmission of stress between employees (Westman, 2001, p. 718). In the following, the focus will be on the crossover effect, because the focus on this dissertation is work-related stress on a collective level. Crossover is the process by which “*a psychological strain experienced by one person affects the level of strain of another person in the same social environment*” (Härtel & Page, 2009, p. 237). Härtel & Page (2009) highlight 3 different crossover processes, the direct empathic crossover, the indirect crossover (through interpersonal exchange styles), and the common stressor effect (shared social event exposes group to similar stressors). The 3 processes can operate at the same time and have often been linked to the theory of emotional contagion. However, put to the test, these processes have received mixed support (Härtel & Page, 2009, p. 40). In relation to these crossover processes, recent research has expanded on the concepts and is now exploring the notion of ‘stress contagion’ in diverse ways. An example is Engert, Linz, & Grant (2019) research on the transmission of stress between individuals, underscoring the critical role of empathy in this process. Empathy, which involves both cognitive (perspective-taking) and emotional (affect sharing) dimensions, allows an observer to experience or understand other peoples’ emotional states. Research has shown that stress can be communicated through channels such as touch and vocal tone, with early studies noting autonomic stress contagion, particularly in mother-child pairs (Engert et al., 2019). Subsequent research has demonstrated that observers' cortisol levels can align with those of stressed individuals, indicating that physiological stress responses are involved in empathic stress resonance. The strength of this response is amplified when the observer is emotionally close to the stressed person or directly witnesses the

stress, and this phenomenon may serve to signal danger in unfamiliar relationships or to strengthen bonds in close relationships.

On a meta level, Kensbock, Alkærsg & Lomberg (2022) found that work-related stress – together with depression and anxiety – can spread between organisations, through the hire of employees from, what they call, ‘unhealthy organisations’ which are organisations with many work-related stress cases. Using the metaphor of infectious disease epidemiology, they show that by inserting “carriers” of i.e., work-related stress, stress can spread via social contagion⁸, regardless of whether the “carriers” themselves have received a work-related stress diagnosis or not. Later, Keyes & Shaman nuanced these findings by highlighting that those individuals who are susceptible to social contagion often develops psychological disorders, before they reach working age (Keyes & Shaman, 2022, p. 52). Furthermore, Kensbock et al. (2022) argue that positive emotional contagion can counterbalance stress contagion, a view supported by studies showing that collegial support is negatively correlated with distress (Lepnurm et al., 2016). Schabracq suggests that collegial support is an effective coping strategy because of emotional contagion (2004, p. 48), as employees “catch” positive moods and energy from their colleagues, thereby enhancing their own well-being (Rodríguez et al., 2019, p. 88).

The key takeaway from this research is that mental health is increasingly recognized as being influenced not just by personal decisions, health behaviours, genetics, or chance, but by broader social, emotional, and behavioural ecosystems which encompass both physical and social environments (Keyes & Shaman, 2022, p. 51). It is interesting to note, however, that even collective oriented research such as this, individualizes this process by talking about ‘carriers’ and individuals susceptible to social contagion.

⁸ Social contagion is here understood as emotional, cognitive, and behavioural contagion and defined as “...humans’ fundamental tendency to observe other individuals and compare to them [...] Specifically, they observe how others feel (emotion), judge (cognition), and act (behaviour), and they tend to respond by feeling, judging, and acting in similar ways” (Kensbock et al., 2022, p. 5).

2.3 Summing up

In summary, the above literature review has highlighted four interconnected strands of research on work-related stress. The following figure presents examples of the various theoretical approaches, emphasising the Affective-Collective strand of literature that I wish to contribute to:

Approach:	Individual	Collective
Cognitive	1. - Transactional stress theory	3. <u>Organisational culture:</u> - Collective stress - Distributed cognition - Collective coping <u>Team stress:</u> - Top down and a bottom-up approach
Affective	2. <u>Positive and negative affect:</u> - Affective Events Theory - Broaden-and-build theory <u>Emotional regulation:</u> - Emotional regulation theory - Emotional labour and affective work <u>Burn-out:</u> - Maslach Burnout Inventory (MBI)	4. <u>Social stressors:</u> - Social stressors <u>Stress climate:</u> - Stress climates - Emotional-exhaustion climate <u>Emotional culture:</u> - Emotional culture - Cultural interpretations and evaluations - Community of coping <u>Emotional contagion:</u> - Organisational-level coping - Crossover - Stress contagion

Figure 2 - Examples of theories within the different streams of literature emphasizing the affective-collective stream

Summing up the above figure, I have argued that the literature on work-related stress encompasses four approaches. The dominant approach is the cognitive-individual strand, rooted in the transactional model by Lazarus and Folkman, which emphasizes stress appraisal and coping, highlighting the subjective nature of stress experiences. The affective-individual strand, emerging from the 'affective turn,' examines how affective experiences influence stress, incorporating theories like Affective Events Theory and Fredrickson's broaden-and-build theory. This strand also explores emotional regulation and the effects of positive and negative affect on stress and burnout, particularly how emotional exhaustion depletes resources and impacts job performance. The cognitive-collective strand evolves from the cognitive-individual perspective, broadening the focus to collective - and organisational dimensions of work-related stress. This approach emphasizes the collective nature of stress, examining how organisational culture and team dynamics shape stress responses. Research within this strand reveals that different departments interpret and respond to stressors based on their cultural narratives, highlighting the role of shared perceptions among team members. Finally, the affective-collective strand builds on the cognitive-collective approach, introducing concepts such as social stressors and stress climate. I supplement this with studies on emotional culture and emotional contagion, since these research areas also encompass the affective and collective perspective with the development of stress reactions at work.

The main difference between the cognitive and affective approaches is their focus: the cognitive approach emphasizes individual appraisal and coping mechanisms, while the affective approach

prioritizes subjective emotional states and their regulation to manage work-related pressure. Additionally, the distinction between individual and collective approaches revolves around the level of inquiry and the attribution of responsibility for coping with stress reactions - whether they are seen as individual or collective issues. Although efforts have been made to integrate these perspectives, the figure above illustrates the typical categories found within work-related stress research.

The following section will discuss the gaps in the current affective-collective strand of work-related stress research and outline how my study aims to address these gaps.

2.4 Positioning this study within the Affective-Collective approach

The affective-collective approach to work-related stress emphasizes the shared affective and social dynamics within workplaces that influence how stress is experienced and managed collectively. This approach moves beyond individual reactions, focusing on how organisational norms, emotional cultures, and interpersonal interactions contribute to the development or mitigation of stress. One key element missing from this literature is the integration of the physical surroundings and materiality in the theories, and how such materiality interacts with affective and collective processes to influence the development of stress. This is problematic, because employees have a physical body, which will be impacted by the space that surrounds it (Böhme, 1993; Jørgensen, 2019; Julmi, 2017b). Likewise, the organisational norms, emotional cultures, and interpersonal interactions that the affective-collective strand of literature focus on, also unfold in physical spaces that have different qualities and through this impact these norms, cultures and interactions (Sumartojo & Pink, 2019).

An atmospheric perspective can contribute as it adds a spatial -, and situational layer to an analysis. Workplaces are not only social and affective, but also physical environments that shape and are shaped by employees' affective states and bodily movement in given situations. This atmospheric view accounts for how work-related stress is not just transmitted through social interactions, but occurs in the reciprocal relationship between employees with their physical bodies, the work situation, influenced by the emotional culture and social stressors, and the physical environment with its sensory aspects such as lighting, spatial layout, and sound (Smith et al., 2011; Smith & Pitt, 2011).

Viewing work-related stress as atmospheric allows us to bridge the gap between research focusing solely on environmental stressors (the work environmental research), which often assumes that employees are passive recipients of these pressures, and research that isolates stress as an internal or social process (as presented above in the four strands of literature). By recognizing that employees actively engage with both their physical surroundings and collective - and affective social processes, this approach opens new ways to understand and address work-related stress.

Furthermore, Rosa's concept of resonance can help shed light on how employees connect to their surrounds through an organisational atmosphere. In the workplace, the concept of

resonance can illuminate how employees feel connected (or disconnected) to their physical environment, co-workers, and the larger organisational culture, -goals or -values. When resonance breaks down, employees may experience alienation, feeling disconnected from their work, peers, and surroundings, which can contribute to work-related stress and disengagement. Rosa's concept thus helps highlight the importance of fostering environments that promote deep, affective connections to both the material -, social -, and existential dimensions of work, offering a pathway to mitigating stress and enhancing overall well-being in the workplace.

In the following, I present my theoretical foundation, which consists of my analytical concept 'atmosphere' and Rosa's resonance theory, combined with theory on affective dissonance and affective labour.

3. Theoretical foundation

This chapter outlines the key components of my theoretical foundation. To explore the factors that promote or inhibit work-related stress, I will first introduce Rosa's (2019) concepts of resonance, social acceleration, and alienation. Next, I will discuss the idea of affective dissonance (Hemmings, 2012) to broaden Rosa's insights on resonance and alienation from a binary perspective to a continuum. I will then present my analytical concept of organisational atmosphere (Jørgensen, 2019; Julmi, 2017a) before revisiting Rosa (2019) to discuss his concept of Tuning Forks. Finally, I will explain Hardt's (1999) notion of affective labour to be able to explain the activities performed by the First Tuning Forks (Rosa, 2019). However, before diving into these concepts, I will first present Rosa's perspective on work-related stress.

3.1 Rosa and work-related stress

Rosa is critical of modern society which he believes operates on a principle of "dynamic stabilization." This system requires constant (material) growth, (cultural) innovation, and (technological) acceleration to preserve its socioeconomic and institutional stability (Rosa, 2017). Dynamic stabilization creates a significant challenge due to its demand for increasing human energy investment. Each year, subjects must exert more energy just to maintain their current standing as the escalating pace intensifies (Rosa, 2010). This acceleration forces subjects into a competitive spiral where the continual need for greater effort becomes increasingly difficult to sustain. Consequently, subjects are unable to be sufficiently active and mobile and show sufficient initiative, despite their best efforts (Morinière, 2023, p. 4). Rosa is concerned about this development stating that “[a]ll available data suggests that there is a significant and multifarious increase in diseases and somatoform disorders such as burnout, anorexia, etc. These may be read as symptoms of a stress-reaction against the excessive demands impinging on individuals caught in a dynamization-spiral driven by incessant (neoliberal) sociopolitical activation” (Rosa et al., 2017, p. 62). Rosa argues that this relentless pressure to perform is unsustainable, and that we as a civilization are rapidly approaching a tipping point where this way of life will no longer be feasible.

Zooming in on stress in the work places, Hollstein & Rosa argues that “*Job-related stress is symptomatic of a perceived acceleration in the pace of life and not only affects subjective experiences of satisfaction, but also results in a range of health issues [...] The necessary time for regeneration of body and mind is difficult to reconcile with processes of acceleration at work and leads both to health problems for employees and, as a consequence, problems for the corporation*” (2023, p. 4). Hollstein and Rosa criticise that workplace health interventions targeting stress mostly focus on person-related, individual measures which is problematic, as it shifts the responsibility onto employees to manage stress rather than reducing the stressors themselves (Hollstein & Rosa, 2023, p. 6). For example, even when companies recognize stress as an issue stemming from time pressure the typical response is to focus on leadership training aimed at increasing resilience and developing coping strategies, rather than addressing the root causes of stress which are often linked to demands for acceleration.

According to Rosa, employees experience stress at work because the things they engage with in their professional lives become integral to their identity. The more they work with something the more it becomes part of them, and they become part of it. The sensory experiences of their work leave lasting impressions and become personalized, internalized, and absorbed by employees, shaping their identity. However, with the pace of acceleration, employees lose this important identity-forming aspect as they can no longer engage with their work in the same meaningful way (Rosa, 2014, pp. 97–98). Returning to the literature of work-related stress as reflected in the literary review, many stress researchers share a similar concern pointing out that stress in the workplace occurs when there is something at stake for the employee (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984; Zijlstra & D'amato, 2003). Something that is threatened or that the employees risk losing (Hobfoll, 1989). In the following, I will use Rosa's concept of resonance to explain what is at stake for employees in the modern workplace, as the workplace according to Rosa for many employees has become their 'harbour of resonance' (Rosa, 2019) and resonance with employees' work, physical workplace, colleagues, and organisational goals and values have become the basis of employees' identity as stated above.

3.2 Resonance as the foundation for meaningful and important relations at work

While much literature on well-being and motivation in workplaces focus on resources (salary, health, customer satisfaction ratings, size of network etc.), Rosa argues that such resources do not represent the entirety of well-being because they reduce the concept of well-being to an individualised sense of what feels good (du Plessis & Just, 2023). In contrast, the concept of resonance seeks to substantiate and redefine well-being, or the "good life," which subjects often pursue intuitively (Rosa et al., 2015). This without elaborating on the various antecedents of resonance or assuming that it differs for each employee (du Plessis & Just, 2023, pp. 6–7).

According to Rosa, an experience must satisfy four criteria before it can be characterized as resonant. The first two criteria concern the bi-directional character of the resonance process, meaning that when a subject experience resonance the subject is both 1) affected by that which she/he experiences and 2) simultaneously moves/touches that which has affected her/him providing the subject with a sense of self-efficacy. 3) This results in a transformative experience of those involved in the two-directional relationship and 4) finally, obtaining resonance requires an accept of the unpredictability or uncontrollability – both in the resonance process (cannot be forced, planned or controlled) and of the result (Hollstein & Rosa, 2023, p. 7; Peters & Majid, 2022, p. 18). Thus, resonance involves openness, inclusion, and empowerment while also permitting contradictions, dissent, and opposition and can be understood as a cognitive, affective, and bodily mutually intensifying relationship that subjects hold with the world (Küpers, 2020, p. 29). A world where subjects feel heard, responded to, and challenged, meaning that resonance depends on the interaction between relatively autonomous subjects and objects. According to Rosa, this is why resonant experiences are perceived as meaningful (Peters & Majid, 2022, p. 19).

Accordingly, resonance is a relational concept, and Rosa does not specify what kind of “vibrations” it consists of (Rosa, 2019, p. 166), but instead argues that it is a form of being-related-in-the-world in which subjects are in sync with themselves (high level of congruence between bodily sensations, feelings, and thoughts) and with the world – often nonverbally. This indicates that moments of resonance are marked by a harmony between ‘what is’ and ‘what should be.’ They align ‘objective conditions’ with ‘normative or subjective expectations,’ bridging ‘the world as it is’ with ‘the reality we shape around it’ (Susen, 2019, p. 314). However, it is important to emphasize that resonance is not an individual emotional state, it is much more a relational mode that remains open to the emotional content (Rosa, 2019). Mühlhoff (2019) further develops this argument by characterizing resonance as a form of collective affect, sharing its broad scope with the general concept of atmospheres as mood or ambience. However, he emphasizes that it emerges from a dynamic of multidirectional causal interactions that generate this collective affect which may not be present in all atmospheres. Mühlhoff thus enables a conceptual link between the analytical concept of organisational atmosphere and the theoretical framework of resonance which will serve as the foundation for my conceptual framework.

Resonance in the workplace implies that employees feel affected by the world or a specific portion of it (Rosa, 2019, p. 164). However, it is important to note that resonance is only possible if the relationship in question holds significant importance to these employees, providing meaning and direction to their lives. According to Rosa, this is what defines a “strong evaluation” (2019, pp. 133–138). These strong evaluations shape employees’ value-driven relationship with the world which they derive from interactions and social practices within different segments of their environment, revealing what matters and what life is about. Thus, strong evaluations can encompass ethical, moral, political or other claims to validity. Atmospheric authority is established through the level of affective involvement with the space or situation, closely tied to employees’ sense of belonging within a community or culture. Thus, one can argue that atmospheres characterized by strong evaluations will tend to dominate in the workplace and shape employees’ affective experience within.

According to Rosa’s concept of resonance, a fulfilling life within a workplace is one abundant in experiences of resonance and supported by stable axes of resonance. In short, a good life is defined by a resonance-rich existence (Susen, 2019, p. 327). Rosa’s concept of the “good life” has faced criticism for its potential variability across different contexts, cultures, and class, and for its normative judgement of what constitutes good and bad (Küpers, 2020, pp. 30–31; Susen, 2019, p. 332). In this dissertation, I will meet these concerns by claiming only to speak of the ‘good life’ in the field I was investigating and using my research participants’ conceptions of what constitutes good and bad.

Last but not least, resonance is an elusive concept, challenging to observe and even more difficult to measure or operationalize in empirical research (Küpers, 2020, p. 30). Rosa does not provide explicit ways to examine resonance other than through a phenomenological approach but divides resonance into three different kinds: the material resonance, the social resonance and the existential resonance. In my analysis, these will serve as focal points for examining

employees' experiences of reciprocal, transformative relationships with specific aspects of their workplace. In my method section, I will further elaborate on ways to examine this concept empirically.

Summing up, when exploring what is at stake for employees in modern workplaces, I will argue that the opportunity for obtaining resonance is central. Resonance can be obtained through three different dimensions, or in Rosa's term 'axes', that provide a steady inflow of resonance for employees which will be presented below.

3.2.1 Axes of resonance

As mentioned above, Rosa argues that there are three different types of world relations through which resonance can occur, and he calls these world relations 'resonant axes'. According to Rosa, resonant axes can consist of both material -, social -, and existential dimensions that establish and stabilise a "... *relation that makes possible the recurrence or repetition of such [resonant] experiences [...] between the subject and the said segment of the world. It is along such axis of resonance that subjects are able to repeatedly affirm their resonant relationship, and individual axis of resonance typically form in culturally established resonant spaces*" (Rosa, 2019, p. 172). These axes of resonance are stable relationships with a cause in the world that individuals wish to engage with, allowing them to form resonant threads to these causes (Rosa & Endres, 2017, p. 55). In the following, I will explain these axes of resonance in more detail to operationalize the concepts of material resonance, social resonance, and existential resonance used in my analyses.

3.2.1.1 Material resonance

Material resonance includes relations to the world of things such as the physical workspace, product material, work objects, tools, computers, office furniture, plants, and private belongings that can represent more or less sentimental value. As a starting point, employees will come to the workplace to perform work tasks, and therefore the job often represents material resonance in the employee's life. However, material resonance can also arise in relation to raw materials, resources, tools, products, and ecosystems (Hollstein & Rosa, 2023, p. 11).

Material resonance is typically characterized by an experience of interacting with 'responsive material' (Rosa, 2019, p. 234), meaning that i.e. the employee experiences that his/her tasks meet him/her by falling into place or arise as flow, based on the quality standards that are inherent in this particular type of work. Both employee and task are transformed in the process as the employee, through the acquisition and exercise of his/her skill, increases his/her mastery of the task, while through the employee's processing of the task, the task is completed. Likewise, the work process is never 100% predictable, and unexpected or surprising things can always occur in the employee's task solving process that either promote or inhibit the employee's experience of resonance. However, this is important in order for the material to remain responsive, as a task that is 100% predictable and restrained transitions from being resonant to

being routine (Rosa, 2019, p. 235). When things resonate, the employee will be preoccupied with doing a good job for the sake of the work itself which Rosa argues is a craving inherent in employees that goes beyond the need for pay (Rosa, 2019, p. 234). In fact, Rosa argues that the sale of work threatens to transform the resonant relationship into an alienated one, because the employee is forced to adopt an instrumental relationship with his tasks and "[m]oreover, he does not experience any feelings of self-efficacy, as he is merely carrying out the demands of the business (or the markets); product and material respond not to him, but in the final analysis only to capital, which has become the subject of the production process" (Rosa, 2019, p. 235). Nevertheless, work remains a crucial sphere of resonance for employees in late modern society as they attribute significant meaning and importance to it. Rosa emphasizes material resonance in his discussion of work. However, he also suggests that work is progressively becoming the primary contributor to other axes of resonance (2019, p. 237). From the perspective of work-related stress, this implies that employees have even more invested in their workplace (more at stake) than just material resonance which will be further discussed in section 3.3.2 on alienation.

3.2.1.2 Social resonance

Social resonance in organisations encompasses social interactions within diverse groups of stakeholders, including managers, colleagues, customers, and others. Such resonant connections in workplaces can become so strong that even if material resonance fades, the relationships with colleagues may shift away from a work focus and evolve into friendships, offering continued social resonance (Rosa, 2019, p. 200). Social resonance is closely tied to processes of recognition where experiences of acknowledgment are pivotal for shaping one's self-perceived capabilities, forming the foundation for resonant connections. Conversely, a lack of recognition serves as the basis for experiences of alienation as individuals feel rejected by the world around them (Rosa 2019).

Colleagues and other stakeholders can be a source of social resonance if they let go of their preconceived notions, open up and tune in to each other, and make themselves vulnerable by letting go of control (Rosa, 2019, p. 213). In this way, social relations sustained by resonance are inherently ambivalent according to Küpers (2020). Firstly, they are resilient because they encapsulate a fundamental force of human life, but they are also vulnerable as acceleration and instrumentalisation can easily hinder their development. Secondly, these relations must be stable enough to enable subjects to express their own mind while remaining open and flexible enough to allow subjects to be influenced and shaped by the dynamics of the relationship (Küpers, 2020, p. 24). Therefore, the agentic dimension renders resonance-based relationships susceptible to acceleration and instrumentalisation, as they rely on employees to interact with the world by connecting to, acting upon, and attributing meaning to various facets of their existence (Susen, 2019).

3.2.1.3 Existential resonance

Existential resonance refers to a sense of connection or responsiveness to larger realities, whether they pertain to life, the universe, the greater good, or other significant dimensions. This form of resonant connection with the broader world is crucial for a meaningful interpretation of "the good life" (Hollstein & Rosa, 2023, p. 8). In an organisation, existential resonance is tied to the employees' existential relationship to themselves and how they are able to form meaningful connections to the organisation's purpose (Hollstein & Rosa, 2023, p. 11). More specifically, how the purpose, values, mission, vision, and dominant corporate narratives of the organisation harmonize with ideals of the good life or the common good. Narratives that solely prioritize instrumental goals, such as profit-making, disconnect from the ideals of the good life and the common good thereby impeding the cultivation of resonant relationships aligned with the company's objectives (Hollstein & Rosa, 2023, p. 7). Likewise, existential resonance also includes the relationship between past, present, and future (Rosa, 2019, p. 296).

Other researchers have criticised Rosa for his concept of axes of resonance because while relatively stable axes of resonance are important for creating predictable and viable life forms, they can also lead to excessive habituation, resulting in feelings of dullness and boredom. When this happens, they forfeit their resonant quality and paradoxically become sources of alienation. On the other hand, while highly unstable axes of resonance may not be able to support lasting social relations, they can still be powerful sources of inspiration, creativity, and liberation - particularly during personal or social crises that urge individuals to challenge the status quo. (Susen, 2019, p. 329). I acknowledge that the stability of the axes of resonance is not a prerequisite for employees' well-being. Instead, I embrace the inherent instability of these axes through my conceptualization of affective dissonance (Hemmings, 2012) as the spectrum between resonance and alienation which will be elaborated further in section 3.4. In this dissertation, I focus on how organisational atmospheres provide opportunities for employees to form resonant connections across material, social, and existential dimensions.

Furthermore, Rosa equates all three resonant axes, but through my analyses I will argue that the social resonance is more important than the material- and existential resonance in relation to work-related stress. This, because First Tuning Forks through their affective labour are able to regenerate social resonance by making possible the recurrence and repetition of resonant experiences among colleagues providing a stable flow of social resonance, which I will explain in further detail throughout the analyses.

Summing up, employees will typically experience three types of resonance in the workplace. Material resonance connected to the physical workplace and tasks, social resonance connected to colleagues and other stakeholders, and existential resonance connected to the employee perception of meaning of work. Rosa argues that work becomes employees' resonance harbour when they have strong resonance experiences along all three axes of resonance. In the following, I will explain this in more detail.

3.2.2 Work as a resonance harbour

All types of social formations (such as societies, organisations, etc.) shape the individuals' world relations in all three axes of resonance, thus creating specific cultural spheres of resonance in which the individuals can develop their more or less individual resonant axes. In this regard, Rosa emphasizes that "*...[h]ow much latitude remains for the development of resonant relationships or the establishment of axes of resonance of course depends on institutional conditions [...] There are some reasons to assume that working conditions in late modernity are so radically calibrated for optimization that this latitude is only further and further reduced – which in turn increases the psychological strain on subjects that can be seen in the growing number of psychological disorders in the workplace*" (Rosa, 2019, p. 374). In other words, if employees' axes of resonance collapses, strain and work-related stress might very well be the result. According to Rosa, these resonant axes mean that individuals through work can feel connected to the world and each other, and thus workplaces often become employees' 'resonance harbour' in line with the family. Rosa argues that there is even evidence that employees in late modernity are shifting their resonance expectations from family to the workplace which would also explain why many employees are willing to work far more than they are paid for without feeling exploited. Furthermore, this also means that if employees are prevented from achieving resonance at work it can lead to cynicism and/or stress and burnout because:

"When, owing to the constraints of competition and optimization, we lose touch with our work, colleagues, and/or clients beyond the mere exchange of information or functional organisation, when our feeling for the quality of our work disappears under the pressure of meeting demands, and we have no time left to rest or enjoy our successes, and when we perceive signals of recognition from our supervisors as purely strategic, designed to push us to make even greater efforts, then we are in fact at risk of one of the central resonant axis of modern life falling silent [...] This can become especially dramatic if we have already "sacrificed" all other axes of resonance - family, friends, political engagement, volunteering, music – to the ever-stronger undertow of work " (Rosa, 2019, p. 236)

According to Rosa, jobs with client, patient, or customer contact are particularly vulnerable because stakeholders often express strong "resonance expectations" (2019, p. 198), which cannot always be met due to the framework of the work. Rosa is concerned about this because the propensity to adopt a mute relationship mode also increases with the degree of anxiety and stressful tension that we experience in some context of action (2019, p. 387). When conditions at work favour predisposed alienation due to internal optimization and external competition there is also a risk that the work loses its potential as a harbour of resonance, which results in employees losing connection to both the workplace/work tasks, their colleagues, and the meaning of work (du Plessis & Just, 2023, p. 13).

In the following, I will elaborate further on how acceleration changes the conditions in the workplace to favour affective experiences leading to alienation and subsequently work-related stress.

3.3 Social acceleration and alienation

Social acceleration refers to a rise in the amount of something per unit of time within the dimensions of technology⁹, social change¹⁰, and pace of life (Hollstein & Rosa, 2023, p. 2). Since Hollstein and Rosa (2023) link work-related stress with accelerated pace of life, I will focus on this last dimension.

The acceleration of pace of life seems to manifest itself in organisations in both an objective and an subjective manner. Objectively, action episodes (experiences or actions) are increased per hour unit because of increased action speed or due to a reduction or elimination of breaks. Furthermore, slow tasks are replaced with faster ones, or multiple tasks are worked in parallel over an ever shorter and denser period. Subjectively, the way social acceleration of the pace of life can be experienced is through “...*a transformation of the experience of time in daily life by compressing it. This is sensed through the feeling of a lack of time, the desire of wanting to do more in less time, and the consequent emergence of stress and anxiety caused by the impossibility to keep up with changes in the social life of late modernity*” (López-Deflory et al., 2023, p. 4). According to Rosa (2013), acceleration is often driven by a perception of lack of time but also the "promise of escalatory modernity", meaning that with the acceleration and technological progress organisations have the potential to expand their reach and maximize their resources, making the world more accessible and providing more possibilities for resonant relationships (Rosa, 2013, p. 160). Furthermore, acceleration also brings about an increased competitive advantage from an economic perspective. Rosa contends that acceleration is not a substance but a process, serving as the driving force and underlying logic of change in modern society (Rosa, 2014, p. 63).

3.3.1 Acceleration and instrumentalisation in organisations

For organisations, acceleration has several consequences. Firstly, organisations “...*find themselves experiencing a pressure to accelerate as the result of a competitive system which measures the performance and survivability of organisations in terms of growth rates and other statistical measures in comparison with other organisations (benchmarking)*” (Hollstein & Rosa, 2023, p. 3). Organisations become driven by both the fear of losing terrain to competitors, but also by a greed to optimize whatever is accessible and attainable to them in their field of business. As organisations face these various constraints and pressures related to acceleration the measurement of time becomes even more critical in organisational planning, producing, accounting, and delivery processes. Therefore, temporal regimes play a significant role in shaping the way organisations operate and manage their processes (Hollstein & Rosa, 2023). This, to the extent that organisations often fixate on quantifiable achievements, prioritizing attention and improvement only on aspects that are observable, comparable, and capable of

⁹ Technological acceleration could be manifested in an organisation as faster production cycles which have sped up consumption and administrative-, control-, and decision-making processes in organisations. Furthermore, it can be seen in a push towards digitalization of communicative processes via e.g. Teams or Zoom (Hollstein & Rosa, 2023; Rosa, 2013).

¹⁰ Social acceleration of social change in organisations is visible in the increasingly high pace within which both new technologies are implemented and working processes and organisational units are reorganized.

enhancement. This tendency, termed the 'fetishism of numbers' by Gudeman (1998), underscores the inclination toward measurable outcomes in corporate settings. Furthermore, acceleration has become the dominant social norm in modern society, often taken for granted and functioning as a mechanism for distributing recognition and rejection. Daily performance dictates recognition which cannot be accumulated. If subjects fail to keep up, they are often deemed responsible for their shortcomings. Unlike forms of disregard stemming from structural issues those subjects overlooked in the race for speed typically do not perceive their treatment as unfair. Instead, they accept the competitive logic that underpins social acceleration, viewing it as a valid means of resource allocation within the economy. Thus, the pursuit of recognition transforms into a relentless race for speed. In contemporary organisations, being fast and adaptable is essential for achieving and sustaining social recognition. This ongoing struggle for recognition contributes to employee exhaustion, manifesting as work-related stress and burnout, as the pressure to perform anew each day fosters constant uncertainty. Ultimately, employees in modern workplaces fear being left behind above all else (Rosa, 2014, pp. 67–70).

Secondly, Rosa observes that the drive to excel, grow, and innovate fosters an aggressive approach toward both employees and products. This stems from the pressure on organisations to secure resources, manage personnel, and outperform competitors in the market-driven atmosphere (Hollstein & Rosa, 2023, p. 6). Thus, acceleration threatens to mute resonant relations which according to Rosa will lead to alienation. Alienation is closely linked to instrumentalisation because *“If we have a mute relationship to the world, then we see things (including other people and our own body) only as resources, instruments, or efficient causes”* (Rosa, 2019, p. 179). The dominance of instrumental rationality in accelerated contexts reveals an obsession with means at the expense of critical engagement with ends, rooted in a widely accepted set of beliefs and values of managerial productivism and the relentless pursuit of countless targets (Küpers, 2020, p. 23). This tendency to treat relationships as instrumental will according to Rosa lead to experiences of alienation, just as resonance is fundamentally connected to values rather than instrumental rationality. Finally, Rosa argues that job burnout is a reaction to acceleration and acts as a paradoxical deceleration process on par with depression that also slow people down (Rosa, 2014, p. 43).

3.3.2 Alienation as the result of muted resonant relations

Rosa considers alienation the flipside of resonance and argues that the modern world is largely experienced as silent with alienation serving as a fundamental aspect of existence.

Paradoxically, this alienation must be encountered before one can form a resonant relationship with the world. Therefore, a key condition for experiencing resonance involves confronting elements of the world that are perceived as silent, unfamiliar, or even hostile (López-Deflory et al., 2023; Rosa, 2019). It is important to clarify that even though Rosa points to the relations between subjects and the world, he underlines that alienation is a collective construct, and that *“...determining potential sources of alienation requires taking into account relations as resonance and one’s relationships to the world as a whole* (Rosa, 2019, p. 180).

Rosa has written about the concept of alienation several times, and throughout his work the concept seems to have evolved in character. In the book ‘Alienation and Acceleration: Towards a Critical Theory of Late-Modern Temporality’ published in 2010, Rosa described acceleration as a “...state in which subjects pursue goals or engage in practices that on the one hand are not imposed on them by external factors or actors - there are viable alternatives - but which on the other hand they do not ‘really’ want or support [...] If such a state persists, it is easy (both individually and collectively) to forget what it was you really wanted - and yet be left with a sense of heteronomy that you cannot get rid of” (own translation of Rosa, 2014, pp. 94–95). In other words, every time employees voluntarily have done something they really didn't want to do they were alienated in some degree according to the above definition. Furthermore, in line with Rosa's later reflections on the social conditions that either promote or inhibit resonance (Rosa, 2019), he also explored how people become alienated and argue that the blame should be placed on social conditions leading employees to remain ethically committed to the ideal of self-determination while their ability to attain or practice it is increasingly compromised.

Over time, however, Rosa's understanding of alienation have evolved from simply a state where one voluntarily engages in something without genuinely wanting to into a more extensive definition. In this refined view, alienation is marked by “...a specific form of relationship to the world in which individual and world confront each other with indifference or hostility (repulsion) and thus without any inner connection” (Rosa, 2019, p. 252). This means that alienation is not a static condition, but rather a relational mode characterized by ‘relationlessness’ (Jaeggi, 2014) in which subjects are incapable of engaging with or being influenced by the world and its attributes, lacking a sense of control or efficacy over their environment (Rosa, 2019). Relating Rosa's concept to work, Küpers (2020) argues that for employees, “...alienating working life lacks meaningful resonance as it appears as atmospherically bleak, bare, lacking colour or as intimidating, while experiencing themselves and their inner world as pale, numb, deaf, or deadening” (2020, p. 22). Referring to Rosa's axis of resonance, Küpers argues that alienation arises when the axis of resonance collapses (2020, p. 27). For example, employees rarely have the time to fully engage with their tasks or the environments they inhabit and continuously experience information overload. This situation disrupts the formation of material resonance and contributes to their feelings of alienation from their own actions (Rosa, 2014, pp. 100–101). Furthermore, Rosa argues that technological acceleration leads to a dramatic increase in the number of social contacts, leading to, in the words of Kenneth Gergen, an ‘oversaturated self’ (2014, p. 52). Translated into an organisation, this means that employees meet and leave so many stakeholders and establish such an extensive communication network that it becomes impossible to relate emotionally to them all which erode social resonance. According to Rosa, this leads to alienation from self and others in the form of disintegration and then erosion of commitment (2014, p. 109). Finally, Rosa argues that acceleration creates alienation towards time (2014, p. 105) and an exhaustion of the self which may manifest as work-related stress, burnout, or depression (2014, p. 111). This suggests a breakdown of existential resonance. Rosa suggests that the breakdown of all dimensions of resonance signifies a profound level of individual or cultural alienation on an existential scale (Rosa 2019).

This later conception of alienation appears to contrast somewhat with Rosa's earlier definition of alienation where subjects are not paralyzed and numb; instead, they simply engaged in activities they do not wish to do without any external coercion. I choose to use Rosa's latest understanding of alienation as mute world relations where individuals and the world meet each other with indifference or hostility because this to a greater extent aligns with serious pathologies such as work-related stress.

Following the above presentation of alienation, it is important to clarify the relationship between alienation and work-related stress.

3.3.3 The link between alienation and work-related stress

Rosa builds his concept of alienation on a long tradition of research on this topic (i.e. Karl Marx, Max Weber, and Émile Durkheim). Empirical research has linked alienation, characterized by strain, low skill utilization, lack of creativity and variety, limited decision-making authority, and feelings of powerlessness (Berger et al., 2010; Trice & Sonnenstuhl, 1988), to work-related stress (Connor & Miller, 2014; Cooper et al., 1990; Evers et al., 2008; Piñeros & Marín, 2021; Soler-Gonzalez et al., 2017; Tang & Choi, 2009). However, the nature of the link between alienation and work-related stress remains unclear and seems to fall into three categories:

Firstly, one strand of research suggests that work alienation causes stress by acting as a stressor in the workplace, contributing to increased stress levels (Berger et al., 2010). Other studies within this “stressor” perspective suggest that alienation can exacerbate existing stressors. For instance, Connor and Miller's (2014) study on immigrant nurses illustrates how alienation from American workplace culture intensified task-related stress among Filipino nurses.

Secondly, another stand of research indicate that alienation is not a cause but a symptom of work-related stress, alongside symptoms like somatization and exhaustion (Soler-Gonzalez et al., 2017). Soler-Gonzalez et al.'s study further suggests that the progressive loss of meaning in daily work activities directly causes alienation, whereas empathy serves as a preventive measure against alienation.

Finally, a third strand of research proposes that alienation may serve as a coping mechanism for employees faced with chaotic working conditions. Evers et al. (2008) suggest that when employees feel overwhelmed by chaotic work environments they may cope by emotionally detaching from their work and entering a state of "alienation", possibly by suppressing their emotional responses (Evers et al., 2008, p. 191).

Summing up, a broad variety of research agree that there is a link between alienation and work-related stress, but not how the concepts are connected and in what order. In this thesis, I choose to go with the first strand of research (alienation as front runner of work-related stress on par with Berger et al (2010)) and will conceptualize work-related stress as a physical manifestation of alienation in line with Rosa's thoughts on work-related stress presented in section 3.1.

3.4 Resonance and alienation - from opposition to continuum of affective dissonance

Rosa argues that in the absence of resonance a state of alienation will occur (Rosa, 2019). However, I will argue that if employees have at least one resonant axis at work intact alienation will not automatically appear where resonance is absent (Stenslund et al., 2021). Instead, the disruption of either material -, social -, or existential resonance will result in affective dissonance (Hemmings, 2012), a term that I will present below. I have chosen to extend Rosa's thoughts on resonance and alienation with the term affective dissonance from gender research because the concept is concerned with collective affect (Ahmed, 2014) and has frequently been explored in field studies similar to mine (Baxter, 2021; Lakämper, 2017). However, first I will lay out arguments for why resonance and alienation do not exist as an opposition, but instead exist as two ends of a continuum.

From opposition to continuum. Viewing resonance and alienation as two opposite ends of a continuum where resonance is gradually replaced by affective dissonance as employees have experiences that erode the different axes of resonance is inspired by Bischoff, Franke & Wanka (2021). These authors also place a mode of dissonance between resonance and alienation, understanding resonance as the frequency of positive adjectives, dissonance as frequency of negative adjectives, and alienation as frequency of depressive symptoms (physical symptoms, indifference, repulsion) (2021, p. 6). According to Bischoff et al. (2021) dissonance is ambiguous as it can lead to an open and productive interaction “...*which can become a resonant or alienating experience – in opposition to nonproductive negative affects, which indifferently leave one untouched in the first place and result directly in alienating experiences. The dissonance scale displays the ambivalent in-betweens of resonance as a purely positive affective state [...] and alienation as a detached, indifferent state*” (2021, p. 6). Bischoff et al. (2021) here draws on Rosa's idea that resonance is not constituted by pure harmony. Instead harmony or mere echoing does not represent a responsive engagement, but rather an indifferent relationship (Rosa, 2019, p. 184). Conversely, dissonance is not merely the opposite of resonance, but a form of "contradiction" leading to the development of one's own voice and the recognition of the voice of the other and to adaptive transformation (2019, 447). However, besides dissonance being characterized by negative adjectives and leading to either resonance or alienation Bischoff et al. (2021) do not further explain their understanding of dissonance. Thus, in the following, I will present my conceptualization of dissonance to further enlighten what dissonance is, when it arises, and when it changes to either resonance or alienation.

Rosa and dissonance. Rosa uses the term "dissonance" sparingly, typically in contrast to consonance and distinct from alienation (Rosa, 2019, p. 184). He highlights that resonance differs from consonance or harmony, just as alienation is not equivalent to dissonance or disharmony (Susen, 2019, p. 318). To Rosa, resonance does not entail flawless unity; rather, it is driven by dialogical processes where contradictions and dissonances are not only acceptable but also sought after. Consonance, on the other hand, promotes an illusion of unity, harmony, and convergence, limiting individuals' ability to "develop their own voice" or engage meaningfully with others (Susen, 2019, p. 325). Rosa describes the experiences of dissonance in the following way: “...*resonant experiences are only possible where we act in accordance with our strong*

evaluations, where our cognitive and evaluative maps converge with our being or behaviour. This is precisely what is lacking in those moments where we are negatively affected: the situation or movement at issue instead violates or runs counter to our strong evaluations. The perception of being out of tune lies in exactly this” (Rosa, 2019, p. 170). Based on the above, I will argue that when employees experience dissatisfaction, unhappiness, or rejection a "loss of resonance" or "disappointed resonance expectation" is often triggered which I will conceptualize as affective dissonance. Based on Susen (2019), I argue that affective dissonance manifests in common scenarios such as dull conversations, lack of connection, and stressful work processes often embodied as affective experiences of i.e. boredom and pressure.

The concept of affective dissonance. Affective dissonance has been used to describe how women experience a dissonance between the “...*expectations raised by dominant ideological formations*” (Lakämper, 2017, p. 120) and their situational and contextual lived-body experiences. Hemmings has called this the ‘onto-epistemological gap’ (2012) which occurs when the socially constructed version of the self that is accessible to people does not align with an individual's embodied sense of self. Baxter describes how these affective dissonance episodes trigger a negative affective response (2021, p. 899) which can result in different outcomes – both positive and negative. Baxter (2021) highlights the ‘Tits Out Collective,’ a global, yarn-based fundraising initiative spearheaded by the artist Countess Ablaze in response to gender discrimination and plagiarism. In this case, the Countess faced exploitation of her work under the guise of charity along with feelings of marginalization within the yarn community. This situation resulted in affective dissonance, as it clashed with her values and sense of identity. Within Rosa’s (2019) resonance perspective, one could argue that the Countess Ablaze experienced that the existential resonance connected to her work was threatened because her relationship to her work was driven by passion and compassion, not monetary goals. However, according to Baxter, the Countess Ablaze used her strong network (social resonance) and her passion for dyeing yarn (material resonance) to transform her affective dissonance into affective solidarity. She built a powerful atmosphere based on a shared affective dissonance in the yarn community to mobilize a social movement leading to social change (Baxter, 2021, p. 913). Thus, the lack of resonance that the Countess Ablaze experienced did not automatically result in alienation, but in affective solidarity, because the Countess Ablaze used her other axis of resonance to remain attached to her section of the world. In this respect Baxter seem to echo Bischoff et al. (2021)’s point about the productive and engaging potential of dissonance (2021, p. 6). The same is true in the study of the type-1 diabetes (T1D) community called #WeAreNotWaiting (Vidolov et al., 2023). This community managed to turn their shared affective dissonance, stemming from experiences with the existing insulin manufacturers who ignored new innovation due to government red tape and bureaucracy (lack of social resonance), into creating successful open-source, community-driven, innovative solutions and platforms (Vidolov et al., 2023). Again, it seemed the lack of social resonance (between community and diabetes manufactures) did not lead to alienation due to strong social resonance between members of the community and material resonance in the form of community built, open-source technology development.

However, other feminist scholars have noted how experiences of affective dissonance might be internalized and suppressed leading to affective isolation (Lakämper, 2017) which Hemmings define as the “...*experienced lack of feeling aligned with their community*” (2012, p. 131). Hemmings provides an example of female icons who construct narratives that evoke sensations of alienation and isolation among their followers. Hemmings contends that these sentiments of alienation and isolation disrupt the followers’ cognitive perception of the unrealistic nature of these icons’ narratives and their expectations of how an ideal individual should behave. Instead Hemmings concludes that “[i]f *our rational abilities to deconstruct cultural norms and ideals do not suffice to overcome their power, it might be time to pay more attention to our affective encounters with them*” (2012, p. 131). This call for paying more attention to affective encounters with narratives or other aspects of a workplace atmosphere is exactly the aim of the present study.

Shifting affective dissonance into either resonance or alienation. From the above I deduce that dissonance is experiences of being out of tune with the surrounding atmosphere which is supported by Resch & Rozas’ (2024) study of collaborative organising and atmospheres. When studying collaborative organising through two ethnographic field studies, Resch and Rozas recognized three affective intensities that were experienced within atmospheres of these organisations. These were togetherness, dissonance, and reciprocity. To the researchers, atmospheric dissonance felt like “...*a tense, anticipatory environment akin to a collective clenching of jaws. At some events, the air was brimming with the tense anticipation of eruption and the urge to run away as underlying tensions surfaced. On other occasions, dissonance was recurrently re-produced by and producing ‘softer’ forms of reflection, debate and imagination in participatory processes*” (Resch & Rozas, 2024, p. 14). Resch & Rozas contended that atmospheric dissonance stretched the emotional boundaries of the organisations studied, sparking reflection and prompting emotional support to address the dissonance. They noted that while this dissonance made employees question the uniformity of the “happy” collaborative group dynamic, it also opened space for expressing discomfort, disagreement, and difficult emotions. This aligns with the feminist studies pointing to affective dissonance either resulting in affective solidarity or affective isolation. When colleagues responded with respect and compassion the dissonance often led to a sense of relief and renewed energy, encouraging a deeper, more multi-perspectival understanding of the issues—closely aligning with Rosa’s concept of resonance.

Summing up, I have chosen to apply the concept of affective dissonance as the front-runner for Rosa’s (2019) concept of alienation. Within a workplace context, I define affective dissonance as a feeling of a misalignment between employees’ personal experience of being in the world (sense of self) and those versions of work, relationality, identity, and values which are possible to express and obtain recognition for within the atmospheres of the workplace. As the observant reader will have noticed, these atmospherically available entities match Rosa’s (2019) three axes of resonance to underline my point that affective dissonance often arises when resonance along one of the axes of resonance is disrupted. Going forward, when referring to “dissonance”, it is the concept of affective dissonance (Hemmings, 2012) that I refer to.

To be able to analytically explore how affective dissonance can shift into either resonance or alienation – or what inhibits or promotes work-related stress – the concept of organisational atmosphere is fruitful to utilize. In the following, this analytical concept will be presented.

3.5 Organisational atmospheres

Rosa uses the term atmosphere to describe the contextual, institutional, and cultural interpretive- and action schemes that either promotes or inhibits employees' resonance in the late modern society (Rosa, 2019, pp. 381–388). Rosa points out that these atmospheres do not predetermine but co-determine the basic form of individuals' possible world relations. Because individuals have a physical body, their world relations develop in physical and social spaces that have different resonant qualities (2019, p. 382). It is crucial to clarify that while Rosa employs the term 'atmosphere,' his emphasis lies not solely on the atmosphere itself, but rather on the relational aspects that contribute to significant human experiences of resonance. As highlighted by Palstrøm, resonance is not synonymous with the atmosphere per se; instead, it is a “...phenomenon that momentarily can occur within a given atmospheric situation” (Palstrøm, 2020, p. 115). Rosa himself contemplates the close connection between resonance and atmosphere, but his conceptualization of atmosphere is less developed. Therefore, I supplement his perspective with the concepts of Lydia Jørgensen, Christian Julmi, and Shanti Sumartojo & Sarah Pink. Jørgensen and Julmi are included for their exploration of organisational atmospheres which aligns with my field of study, while Sumartojo and Pink are chosen for their link between atmospheres and the sensory ethnography method I apply in my fieldwork.

Building on Jørgensen, the following conceptualization of organisational atmospheres “...as the *fluid in-betweenness* [which] constitutes itself as a relational matter coming into momentary presence in the lived space through the embodied affective experience” (Jørgensen, 2019, p. 18) is offered. This definition is chosen because it aligns with Rosa's understanding of resonance as both relational and momentary and going forward when discussing atmospheres, it is atmospheres within organisations that I am focusing on.

Jørgensen (2019) suggests that exploring organisational atmospheres involve considering both the affective-emotional and spatial dimensions in the relationship between individuals and their environment. This aligns with my initial curiosity about the missing affective perspective on collective processes that either promote or inhibit work-related stress. Because organisational atmospheres are *fluid in-betweenness* they emerge “...from what we do, how we sense and understand our activities, who and what we do them with, and how we understand them in the light of previous experience” (Sumartojo & Pink, 2019, p. 30). Thus, when exploring organisational atmospheres, I will pay particular attention to perceiving human bodies, the sociocultural situation at play, and the physical surroundings, whether natural or artificial, because these are intimately connected with atmospheres as contextually bound occurrences (Stenslund, 2023, p. 6). This perspective aligns with Rosa's assertion that the initial inquiry when exploring our relationship with the world should focus on how and to what degree context, culture, and social factors facilitate or obstruct the establishment of stable axes of resonance

(Rosa, 2019). I furthermore adopt Julmi's (2017a) understanding of the interconnectedness between culture, climate, and atmosphere to shed light on such contextual factors. Julmi argues that an organisation's culture can be perceived as a collectively understood situation that aligns its members in an instinctive manner. A situation is here defined as uniform, cohere, and with diffuse meaningfulness (Julmi, 2017a, p. 136). Situations are permeated by organisational atmospheres giving the situation its specific and affective character. Over time, living within this culture imparts social competence regarding appropriate forms and behaviours. Cultural artifacts (i.e. architecture, interior design, dress code and rituals of its members), as visible expressions of this culture, create a comprehensive impression laden with significance from the perspective of organisational members. These artifacts are experienced atmospherically, contributing to the organisational culture's specific and affective character which directly and enduringly influences the organisational atmospheres. The culture enables employees to interact and coexist in a manner that is both appropriate and free from conflict. A subset of the organisational culture is the organisation's emotional culture, which Julmi understands as the socialized emotional relations within a culture (2017a). This emotional culture includes display rules that dictate how affective states are expressed, influencing how emotional events and experiences manifest within the organisational atmosphere. The pervasive nature of these emotional relations and display rules underscores their power, as they often remain unchallenged in their perceived normalcy (Julmi, 2017a, p. 137). Due to a certain level of consistency and coherence in how these organisational atmospheres are perceived and felt among organisation members the relatively stable aspect is termed the organisational climate. Essentially, the organisational climate represents the enduring and shared organisational atmospheres derived from the organisation's culture (Julmi, 2017c, p. 14).

Multiple organisational atmospheres can coexist within a single workplace, potentially interconnecting, overlapping, or intersecting (Julmi, 2017b, pp. 33–34). Organisational atmospheres can display competitive traits, where opposing organisational atmospheres with contrasting attunements come into conflict. Julmi argues that the one with greater authority tends to dominate the affective experience of employees. In this context, authority is established through the level of affective involvement with the space or situation, closely tied to employees' sense of belonging within a community or culture. Consequently, access to organisational atmospheres is intricately linked to the societal context in which it operates, shaped by norms or regulations governing the expected affective responses in various situations. Through socialization, employees acquire insights into which atmospheres impact them, how to navigate them effectively, and how to outwardly convey, signal, or conceal their affective states (2017b, p. 37).

Finally, organisational atmospheres exhibit a certain kind of inertia. Sumartojo and Pink (2019) describe atmospheres as underlying forces that inconspicuously influenced work practices. This implies that when specific thoughts, affective states, and actions becomes routine, familiar experiences such as work processes and modes of interaction with colleagues are reinforced by anticipations that sustain these atmospheres. Consequently, atmospheres possess an inertia that promotes particular affects or behaviours. Understanding atmospheres is crucial because they

shape perceptions of what felt 'right' or 'wrong,' exerting a significant influence on how employees interpret and interact with their environment (2019, pp. 7–14). Thus, in Vitry, Sage, and Dainty (2020) study on sensemaking and learning processes within the context of organisational atmospheres in a UK housebuilding company, they identified an organisational atmosphere of confidence. The authors found that when this organisational atmosphere became "habitually dominant" (Resch & Rozas, 2024, p. 4) it could persist in the environment - manifested through physical artifacts, organisational spaces, and employees - despite actual events and interactions suggesting otherwise (Vitry et al., 2020). Thus, organisational atmospheres often exhibit an inertia over time that can make attempts to change them challenging to carry through. This is supported by Sumartojo & Pink (2019), who in a description of memorial sites argue that *"Memories of past were sedimented into atmospheres experienced in the present. This occurred through routines built up over time, recollections of people or previous events that had come to shade particular environments, or a sense of tradition, of things that 'have always been done this way', that contributed to how people understood places"* (Sumartojo & Pink, 2019, p. 9). In this manner, 'Living memory' (2019, p. 25) shapes the organisational atmosphere and directs future interpretations of events.

Summing up, when attempting to understand the collective processes that promote or inhibit work-related stress from an affective perspective it is important to include the space from which stress arises to understand what affect a specific site (the work-place) radiates, or how a specific work-place is "tuned" (Borch, 2010). The notion of the 'tuned' space is important because I subscribe to Thøgersen's (2014) belief that what we experience and communicate is fundamentally shaped by our immediate, affective responses to our surroundings - not by our intentional desire to communicate something, driven by pre-established thoughts. The organisational atmosphere is what compels us to express ourselves in the first instance (Thøgersen, 2014, p. 24) and can potentially surpass employees' ability to affect their work environment (Bille & Simonsen, 2021, p. 303). In the following, I will argue that this is exactly why a workplace, with its organisational atmospheres that employees daily relate to and participate in, can trigger stress reactions if the atmospheres are configured to favour certain (alienating) affective experiences.

Finally, exploring the concept of organisational atmospheres in relation to work-related stress is an intriguing approach, as it can encapsulate the unique duality in the work-related stress concept. While work-related stress is inherently tied to the workplace and the various stressors that affect all employees in collective situations the experience of work-related stress is highly personal and subjective for those who are impacted by it (Bille & Simonsen, 2021, p. 302).

In the following, I will present Rosa's thoughts on Tuning Forks to be able to explain what can change an organisational atmosphere towards being resonant and thus inhibit the development of alienation and subsequent work-related stress.

3.5 Tuning Forks

Rosa argues that resonant relations require either a resonant medium or an accommodating resonant space that allows mutual adaptive movements to occur but does not force them (2019, p. 166). Rosa offers the concept of Tuning Forks to describe such resonant mediums, which is interesting when wanting to explore the development of resonance and alienation within organisational atmospheres.

Delving into the concept of Tuning Forks, Rosa argues that subjects seek resonant relations with the world as either First Tuning Forks who are ‘self-anchored’ or Second Tuning Forks who are ‘world anchored’ (Rosa, 2019, p. 143). When Rosa describes First Tuning Forks as ‘self-anchored’ he means that they see the world as flexible and strive to change either their environment or their role within it, making it vibrate through their actions (Rosa, 2019, p. 244). Rosa associates this with the concept of perceived self-efficacy, indicating that these First Tuning Forks are confident in themselves, effectively tackle challenges, influence their environment in a deliberate manner, and achieve goals systematically (2019, pp. 158–159).

First Tuning Forks are sensitive to both resonance and alienation (2019, p. 186). In a workplace, this means that they can sense when something is amiss with their colleagues and will actively try to connect with them to restore resonance. They are also sensitive to conditions that hinder the development and maintenance of resonant relationships. As a result, they are prepared to confront and address these challenges directly. Rosa argues that this sensitivity to resonance implies a broader awareness of the complex relationships in the world that underpin everyday life, believing that these relationships concern them and that they have the power to influence them (Rosa, 2019, p. 187). First Tuning Forks influence (tune) their colleagues by awakening their 'available resonance' through, for example, enthusiasm for an idea. In this way, they appeal to their colleagues' willingness to let something new in. At the same time, First Tuning Forks create time and space for the establishment of a relationship of mutual trust so that both types of Tuning Forks resonate with each other (Rosa & Endres, 2017, p. 67). The reference to mutual trust is important because resonant relations can only be established in the absence of fear and anxiety and with a sense of self-efficacy and trust (Rosa, 2019, p. 245). If these conditions are met, I will argue that First Tuning Forks can influence the atmosphere around them to achieve resonance.

In contrast, Second Tuning Forks, who are ‘world-anchored’, believe that the standards for a proper or successful life are predetermined and inherent in the world. Instead of trying to change their environment or their role in it their aim is to meet these standards, dictated by society (social expectations), cultural norms, religious doctrines, or nature. They experience these standards as fixed and thus adapt to, master, or shape their actions accordingly (Rosa 2019). This means that Second Tuning Forks instead are reactive in nature, hoping to meet things or First Tuning Forks that cause them to resonate. Rosa characterises them as ‘world anchored’, because they vibrate along with their environment – sometimes involuntarily, but still with their own frequency (2019, p.

124). In the following, I will focus mainly on the first kind of Tuning Forks, because Rosa's description of them matches Baxter's description of the Countess Ablaze, and I find their ability to make the world "vibrate" through their actions intriguing. Rosa does not elaborate further on the characteristics of the First Tuning Forks or the work they perform to create resonance, and what the consequence of this work is. Thus, I have chosen to supplement Rosa's descriptions of First Tuning Forks with literature on affective labour (Hardt, 1999), to operationalize his Tuning Fork concept and enable me to use it as an analytical tool in my analyses.

3.6 Affective labour

Even though most literature on atmospheres insist that atmospheres can only be influenced to a certain extent as they are fundamentally beyond the control of specific actors (Marsh & Śliwa, 2022, p. 481; Sumartojo & Pink, 2019), most researchers within this line of research describe some form of work aimed at changing atmospheres. Sumartojo & Pink argue that

"...if atmosphere is always potentially present, then our encounters with it often occur through the processes of intervention. For example, in some contexts people intervene to alter or create atmosphere on a daily basis [...] These everyday ways of improvising to intervene in the ways in which atmospheres ongoingly emerge in everyday life are important to the way people live in their mundane worlds, but are often invisible to others [...] people might intentionally seek to manipulate the atmosphere and ways of feeling in it that others will experience" (Sumartojo & Pink, 2019, p. 96).

In this study, I will argue that First Tuning Forks are exactly such people, who intervene to alter the organisational atmosphere on a daily basis. The traits of such "atmosphere intervening" work is reflected in empirical studies on affective labour (Dutta, 2024; Kolehmainen & Mäkinen, 2021) and affective resistance (Marsh & Śliwa, 2022) in different streams of critical affect theory, aesthetic labour (Böhme, 1993) within the fields of cultural geography and atmosphere studies, collective emotional work (Hochschild, 1983), collegial emotional labour (Delgado et al., 2017; Theodosius, 2008) and collegial emotional work (Monrad, 2016) in the field of sociology of emotions, and team-boosting behaviour (Bakker, 2022; Fortuin et al., 2021) within organisational theory. While the various studies emphasise either individual actors or social dynamics the common denominator for these studies is work performed to create a 'good atmosphere'. Before venturing into a presentation of the concept of affective labour, it is important to clarify that affect in this dissertation is understood *"...as states of mind and body that include, but also extend beyond, just emotions and feelings to describe driving forces that are suggestive of tendencies to act in a variety of ways, or, to not act at all [...]* Whilst atmospheres involve the flow of affective intensities across/among bodies within a space, the felt experience of those flows are rendered subjectively as emotions" (Goulding, 2023, p. 106). It is important to note, however, that the distinction between affect and other related concepts such as emotions, feelings, mood etc., relevant for describing the bodily experiences of atmospheres, builds on the subject-object divide which Anderson (2009) argues should be transcended

through the concept of atmosphere. Thus, building on Bernhardt's (2023) perspective, these different concepts, though highlighting different facets, all represent different aspects of the same phenomenon: the bodily experience of atmosphere. Thus, Bernhardt argues that all the different affective concepts are “...*not strictly separated from each other—because if the concept of atmosphere undermines the subject-object split, then the distinction of the different terms of state also becomes difficult. Accordingly, the terms state, mood, affect, emotion or feeling are used more or less synonymously*” (Bernhardt, 2023, p. 77). I adopt Bernhardt's position and thus, will not separate these different concepts rigidly in this dissertation.

In the following section, I will briefly introduce the concept of affective labour and review its exploration in empirical research to date. Next, I will compare affective labour with the related terms of collegial emotional labour and collegial emotional work as these studies can enhance my understanding of affective labour. By comparing these related concepts, I aim to clarify how the notion of affective labour can inform my examination of the role of First Tuning Forks and how insights from other related concepts can supplement my analysis of affective labour.

Affective labour. As mentioned above, I have opted to use the term affective labour (Hardt, 1999) to make sense of the work First Tuning Forks are performing to preserve a resonant atmosphere. Affective labour is an embodied form of labour, here understood as “...*immaterial, even if it is corporeal and affective, in the sense that its products are intangible: a feeling of ease, well-being, satisfaction, excitement, passion – even a sense of connectedness or community. What is essential to it, its in-person aspect, is really the creation and manipulation of affects*” (Hardt, 1999, p. 96). This means that affective labour generates and shapes affective experiences in humans (Küpers, 2013, p. 326), and these affective experiences are what employees' sense when they encounter atmospheres, influencing their bodily presence in positive ways (Julmi 2017a). Thus, since atmospheres are shaped by the interplay of perceiving human bodies, sociocultural contexts, and physical environments any shift in affective experiences that alters how employees physically engage will inevitably transform the atmosphere around them. Put differently, work that shapes affective experiences shapes how employees are present in the atmospheres, which in turn determines which kind of atmospheres can configure. This is important when trying to understand what promote or inhibit the development of work-related stress.

Empirical studies have shown that affective labour can take the shape of self-management of affect and performance of emotions (Mccaw & Gerrard, 2023; Moore, 2018), as well as humorous behaviour promoting a good atmosphere (Dutta, 2024). Furthermore, affective labour can also be exhibited in the form of displaying passion for work and self-valorisation together with the creation of affective connections with stakeholders (Zhang & Wu, 2022). Likewise, behaviour aimed at conveying a 'cool', 'hip', or appealing identity within an organisational atmosphere has also been in focus (Coffey et al., 2018; Farrugia & Sharp, 2023). Finally, studies have highlighted how affective labour in media production contributes to the formation of new social groups. This includes fan communities and social or political 'publics.' These groups promote novel forms of 'affective attunement' among bodies, objects, and entities, shaping new social dynamics (Hoedemaekers, 2018). In line with such studies of affective labour creating

communities of social or political nature, studies on affective resistance show similar kinds of activities. In Marsh & Śliwa (2022)'s study of the Polish political movement, The Orange Alternative (OA), who operated the streets of Polish cities between 1986-1989, the researchers showed how a group of employees created events that spurred an atmosphere of laughter. Such "communities of laughter" created temporary communities by momentarily suspending divisions and hierarchy within groups of people (Parvulescu, 2010). Waters-Lynch & Duff (2021) argue that studies such as the above share a common focus on the relational and process-driven creation of value through affective labour. This value can be viewed in two ways: as the generation of specific affective states or atmospheres, or as the expression and realization of particular subjective qualities and identities. Again, since I am interested in understanding First Tuning Forks work to promote resonance and prevent work-related stress within an organisational atmosphere, I believe the concept of affective labour will prove fruitful.

Collective emotional work/Collegial emotional labour/Collegial emotional work.

Management of affective states among colleagues have been treated as collective emotional work, collegial emotional labour, and collegial emotional work.

Hochschild's term collective emotional work (1983, p. 114) covers attempts to change the affective experiences of an atmosphere. By collective emotional work, Hochschild means that the interaction between several flight attendants or between flight attendants and passengers is the foundation for the 'emotional tone' during their work on the planes. I interpret this reference to an 'emotional tone' as the mood of an atmosphere on the flight. When Hochschild describes collective emotional work, she is preoccupied with the collective emotional work that frontline service workers perform with the aim of creating a nice atmosphere for customers. Theodosius et al. (2008; 2021), Haycock-Stuart et al. (2010), and Delgado et al. (2017) have examined what they call collegial emotional labour among colleagues defined as "...*the management of emotions to produce effective communication and team collaboration*" (Theodosius et al., 2021). In Delgado et al.'s (2017) study, the authors show how nurses engage in collegial emotional labour to navigate expectations (internal and external in relation to nursing standards) and maintain order (avoid conflict and maintain positive cooperation) (Delgado et al., 2017). Furthermore, the study shows that collegial emotional labour can have negative outcomes such as stress, burn-out, and intention to leave current job due to emotional dissonance (Delgado et al., 2017) and surface acting (Haycock-Stuart et al., 2010; Theodosius et al., 2021). On par with these studies, Monrad (2016) has studied emotional labour in nursing homes and day care centres focusing on what happens between colleagues. In her fieldwork, Monrad found that like customers, colleagues could also make emotional demands on each other and sanction each other if their colleagues did not regulate their emotions properly and thus threatened a nice organisational atmosphere. Monrad argues that the employees she studied could not perform their emotion work individually and independently of the mood created by their colleagues, so they had to include their colleagues in the "good atmosphere" because otherwise their colleagues' negative affective states would make emotional work with children or the elderly difficult (2016, p. 70). When observing colleagues sanctioning each other for not regulating their emotions properly, Monrad identified three "distinction processes" that separate what is

perceived as good 'emotion work' among colleagues from bad; having the right motivation (being engaged), handling one's own feelings properly (only show positive feelings), and creating the right emotions in others (ensure others feel involved and have agency) (2016, p. 75). Thus, Monrad observed how employees were expected to cheer for each other, have a positive attitude, 'create a good atmosphere', and hide negative emotions. Sanctions for failing to adhere to these three "distinction processes" and thus jeopardizing the "good atmosphere" took the form of direct interventions such as urging colleagues to lighten up, teasing them, or labelling them as 'kill-joys.' According to Monrad, these actions should be seen as a protest against the challenge to the collegial emotional labour within the team (2016, p. 78). Furthermore, Monrad points to the tension ratio that can arise between maintaining the good collegial emotional work (work-place values) and openly discussing work-related frustrations (employees' affective experiences) which seems to be one of the costs of collegial emotional work.

Affective labour is closely related to the concepts of emotional labour (Hatton, 2017, p. 340). However, research on emotional labour and emotion work (Hochschild, 1983) has concentrated on the conscious expression of specific and recognizable emotions, reactions, mood states, and demeanours. In contrast, research on affective labour delves into a deeper ontological level by highlighting the fundamental production of affect and subjectivity (Hardt, 1999; Waters-Lynch & Duff, 2021). Furthermore, unlike the concept of collective emotional labour and -emotional work, Kolehmainen and Mäkinen contend that affective labour is "*collective, intercorporeal, and trans-subjective*" (Kolehmainen & Mäkinen, 2021, p. 449). As such, Dutta (2024) argues that affect cannot be reduced solely to the emotional investment of employees or to the feelings experienced by their colleagues. Instead, affective labour represents a co-production between the employee and the surroundings as it encompasses the capacities of bodies to influence and be influenced through their interactions (Dutta, 2024, p. 409), which aligns with Rosa's concept of resonance (2019). Thus, I have chosen to apply affective labour instead of collective emotional work and collegial emotional work but will let my study be informed by the theory on these concepts to offer as nuanced an analysis as possible.

Based on the above studies, I define the First Tuning Forks' work changing the atmospheres as affective labour. This concept involves groups of employees consciously or unconsciously influencing an atmosphere through the creation of social resonance, using their own bodies, artifacts, and the surrounding physical space. In this process, they both influence and are influenced by their colleagues in a reciprocal manner. Additionally, throughout the analysis, I will draw on insights from the studies of collegial emotional labour and collegial emotion work, as these add valuable explanatory power to empirical analysis of the First Tuning Forks' affective labour.

3.7 Conceptual framework

From a phenomenological standpoint, integrating Hartmut Rosa's resonance theory with the concepts of organisational atmosphere and affective labour is both coherent and enriching. Phenomenology focuses on lived experience, subjective perception, and how individuals engage

with the world. Rosa's resonance theory, which explores the quality of our connection with the world and our sense of being 'in tune' with our surroundings, aligns naturally with this framework by emphasizing the significance of meaningful, affective relationships in daily life. While the phenomenological approach allows for an in-depth exploration of employees' experiences within organisational atmospheres Rosa's resonance theory, rooted in critical theory, offers a tool for critiquing the atmospheric processes that contribute to work-related stress in organisational environments. Rosa's own phenomenological approach to the world (Rosa, 2019, p. 48) makes the application of his key concepts - such as resonance, acceleration, alienation, and Tuning Forks - analytically straightforward and relevant in examining these organisational dynamics.

The concept of organisational atmosphere, understood as “...*the fluid in-betweenness* [which] *constitutes itself as a relational matter coming into momentary presence in the lived space through the embodied affective experience*” (Jørgensen, 2019, p. 18) complements resonance theory. Atmospheres are experienced subjectively, shaping how individuals feel and interact within particular environments. From a phenomenological perspective, atmospheres are part of the lived experience, influencing how resonance occurs, and how affective labour is performed and received.

Affective labour refers to the work of producing affective states in others and in the surroundings through an exchange between the employee and the surroundings. It encompasses the capacities of bodies to influence and be influenced through their interactions (Dutta, 2024, p. 409), which links well with the reciprocal relational aspect of resonance. It is deeply tied to the phenomenological understanding of intersubjectivity - the ways in which we experience and influence others through affective interactions - and has previously also been combined with a phenomenological framework (see i.e. Mccaw & Gerrard, 2023). This makes it a valuable concept for exploring the relational dynamics at play in resonance, as affective labour can either enhance or hinder the possibility of resonant experiences. Furthermore, both Rosa's resonance theory and the concept of affective labour (Hardt, 1999) have roots in critical theory, just as dominant lines of research on atmospheres have also applied a critical approach to capitalism as an aesthetic economy (Bernhardt, 2023, p. 69).

In summary, using Rosa's resonance theory alongside the concepts of atmosphere and affective labour allows for a nuanced exploration of how affective and collective processes shape meaningful engagements with the world, making it a coherent and compelling theoretical combination for a phenomenological analysis.

The following figure illustrates my conceptual framework:

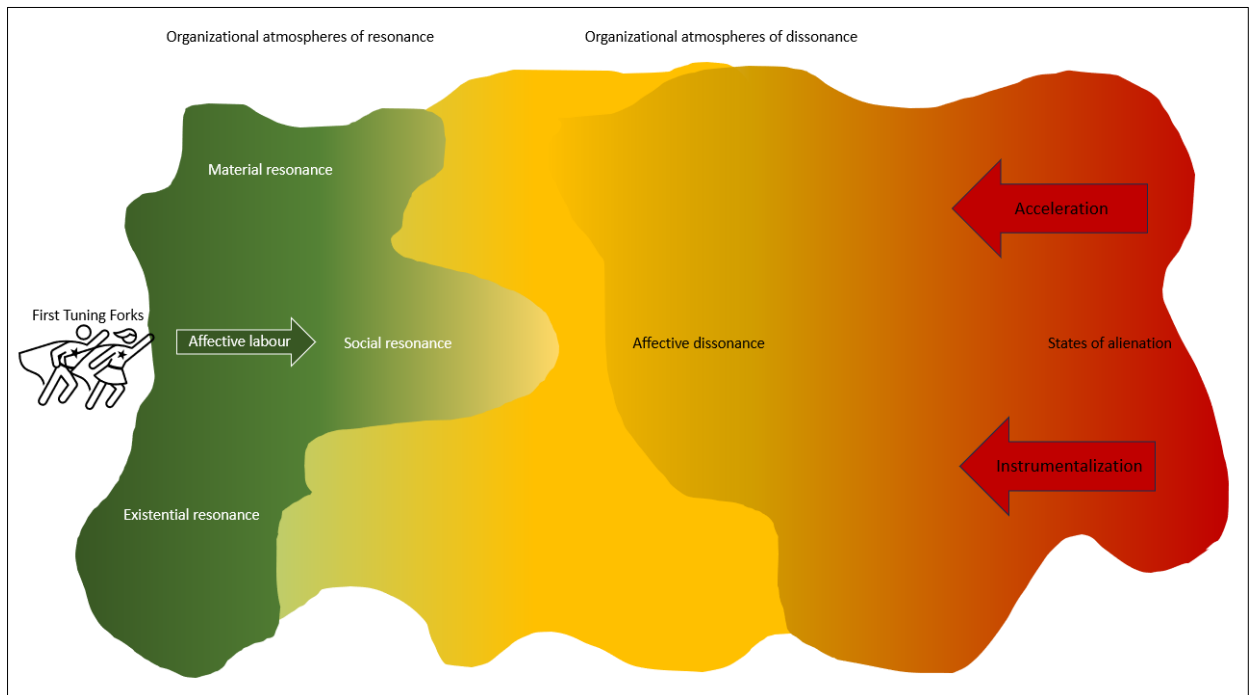


Figure 3 - Conceptual framework

In the following, I will present my methodology containing a description of philosophy of science, organisational context, data collection, and data analysis.

4. Methodology

This chapter is focused on outlining the methodological approach that I have used for this study, including the contextual details of my research. By doing so, I aim to provide a clear understanding of the methodology behind this study, and how it can contribute to an affective perspective on the collective processes promoting or inhibiting work-related stress.

From the beginning of this investigation, I have been focused on understanding employees' everyday experiences with the goal of uncovering what is at stake for employees in their relationship with their work environment that can result in work-related stress. Rooted in a phenomenological perspective, I employ a qualitative case study design consisting of a field study across three organisational units. My intention is not to conduct a comparative analysis of these units, but rather to gain a deeper understanding of how collective processes, viewed through an affective lens, impact employees across different units within the same physical space. Additionally, this qualitative approach corresponds with my theoretical framework. Rosa (2019) has voiced considerable doubt regarding 'hard' and 'evidentiary' social science. He suggests that social science, which depends on quantifiable data derived from standardized empirical studies, cannot truly enhance our understanding of social reality. In fact, Rosa argues, that the importance of research within the social sciences often seems to be conversely related to the degree of mathematical and empirical rigor it employs (du Plessis & Just, 2023).

In this section, I outline my phenomenological standpoint and research design along with the research process. Next, I will introduce my case study, a high-performance organisation referred to as ProBuilt. Following this, I will provide a brief overview of the three organisational units I observed during my fieldwork. I will then discuss my data sources, including observations, interviews, and documentary data, before detailing the analysis strategies that led to the empirical and theoretical findings of this dissertation.

4.1 Philosophy of science – phenomenology as a point of departure

As mentioned, I embark on this research endeavour to comprehend why work-related stress persists as a significant issue despite being acknowledged for over a century. My aim is to provide insight on work-related stress from an affective and collective perspective with focus on the employees' experiences. This perspective necessitates a framework centred on human experience encompassing elements beyond linguistic awareness, such as affective aspects, within the concrete context of the employees.

I have chosen a phenomenological framework as my point of departure (Heidegger, 2007; Wentzer, 2015). The term 'phenomenon' stems from ancient Greece and means "that which appears" (Mik-Meyer & Justesen, 2012, p. 21). From the root of the word phenomenology, it already seems to perfectly capture the illusiveness of organisational atmospheres which is the analytical lens of this study. Furthermore, phenomenology suits my theoretical framework of resonance (Rosa 2019), as resonance is a reciprocal relationship between employees and their

surroundings, and phenomenology is especially helpful investigating how embodied senses both shape and are shaped by organisational culture (Küpers, 2013, p. 326).

Using phenomenology, I aim at gaining a thorough, embodied understanding of the affective events and experiences which express the organisational atmospheres, either promoting or inhibiting work-related stress. Affective events are here defined as “...*a change in circumstances, a change in what one is currently experiencing [...] [that] have affective significance in that they generate an emotional reaction or mood change in people*” (Weiss & Cropanzano, 1996, p. 32). Experiences of such events are referred to as “affective felt experiences” (Julmi, 2017b, p. 38), or simply affective experiences. These concepts will guide my investigations in my empirical field, the Great Hall, and assist me in uncovering aspects of everyday organisational life that are often overlooked (Finlay, 2012, p. 173). My phenomenological approach leads me to view organisations as “*sensuous embodied socio-cultural life-worlds*” (Küpers, 2013, p. 325). In order to exist, organisations, beyond their physical environment, rely on experiential processes and continuous affective interactions, encompassing human bodies, intentions, desires, unconscious motives, intersubjective dynamics, and communities (2013, p. 329).

Furthermore, subjectivity is central given that organisational atmospheres have to be experienced by someone to come into view which also means that the “...*same object can appear in many different ways*” (Mik-Meyer & Justesen, 2012, p. 22). However, it is important to note that the research participants in this thesis are not seen as isolated entities. Instead, the life-world they refer to is the specific, embodied spatially and temporally, everyday world which is collective and shared and into which we are all thrown. In this way, the life-world becomes a historical, cultural, and social arena that forms a particular context of meaning for the individual and “*therefore, it is more accurate to say that intersubjectivity is the key aspect in phenomenologically inspired social research*” (Mik-Meyer & Justesen, 2012, p. 23). In line with the above, the aim of this study is not to explore what organisational atmospheres are objectively. Rather, the focus is on observing affective events and obtaining subjective descriptions of employees' affective experiences of how organisational atmospheres can inhibit or promote work-related stress in their daily lives within the Great Hall of ProBuilt (Mik-Meyer & Justesen, 2012, p. 23). Instead of being concerned with producing the ultimate truth about organisational atmospheres and work-related stress this study has been designed with the aim of attaining a high level of “communicative validity” (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2015; Mik-Meyer & Justesen, 2012). To achieve this, I have revisited my empirical field three times to verify the claims made in dialogue with the research participants. This approach has given the research participants the opportunity to provide feedback and rectify any misinterpretations of their statements which has helped to validate the study's results (Mik-Meyer & Justesen, 2012, p. 45).

Having established the foundation and overall frame of my research, I now turn to outline the way I understand knowledge (ontology) and how to obtain knowledge (epistemology) that has guided my data collection.

4.1.1 A relational ontology

In phenomenology, the distinction between ontology and epistemology becomes blurred (Mik-Meyer & Justesen, 2012, p. 21) as the focus is on subjectivity and interpretation, acknowledging that our understanding of reality is mediated through our subjective experiences.

Choosing a phenomenological onset means that I depart from psychological studies on affect that solely base their understanding on conscious representation of the unconscious (Thøgersen, 2014, p. 21). Instead, human beings are essentially embodied and possess the fundamental capacity to be affected. Through our capacity to be affected, we are all relationally tied to one another, and as a result, we are all ontologically dependent on each other (Guschke, 2022, p. 85). The subject is, in other words, understood as an embodied, culturally and socially embedded being-in-the-world (Roelsgaard Obling, 2020, p. 96).

In this dissertation, I use organisational atmospheres as an analytical concept to capture the ongoing affective engagement and processes linked to the development of work-related stress within the employee's work lives. Furthermore, by choosing the concept of organisational atmosphere, I subscribe to the belief that affects are conveyed not only through personal interactions but also through the space and the objects employees engage with (Julmi, 2017a). Organisational atmospheres play a crucial role in connecting the body and the world as they serve as the link between the two.

In line with Julmi, I regard atmospheres as neither an objective part of the workplace or different for each individual employee, but instead as possessing a “thing-like” radiating quality sensed by employees as affective experiences, which makes them “...*bodily present in a certain way*” (Böhme, 1993, p. 122). This implies that atmospheres are always perceived physically through bodily sensations such as tightness, expansiveness, enjoyment, discomfort, and so on. The radiating qualities of an atmosphere pertains not only to space but also to words and visuals (1993, p. 124), meaning that the affective qualities of an atmosphere can emanate both from the physical space of a workplace and from written text and other forms of organisational narratives as well as posters, pictures, and other types of office decorations.

4.1.2 An interdependent epistemology

Organisational atmospheres are not uniform or universal; different subjects experience them in distinct ways. This inherent variability presents fundamental challenges, particularly when approached empirically. In essence, concerns have been raised about the inherently ambiguous nature of atmosphere, the adequacy of methodological approaches to capture it, and the limitations of language in representing and communicating about atmospheres as a phenomenon (Bille et al., 2015, p. 33). Despite these complexities, scholars view research on organisational atmospheres as a promising field, emphasizing the need for further investigation, including empirical studies (Beyes, 2016; Jørgensen, 2019; Julmi, 2017c; Resch & Rozas, 2024). This dissertation seeks to contribute to that growing body of work and thus to keep the above as underlying concerns impacting choice of methods through this entire dissertation.

Applying an atmospheric perspective on work-related stress requires an epistemology attentive to both spacious and social structures that enable the production and reproduction of affective experiences of organisational atmospheres. I, consequently, write myself into a paradigm that neither separate mind and body, rationality or feeling, nor places human existence outside their surroundings (Sumartojo & Pink, 2019). Instead, the lived experiences and embodiment of employees take the centre stage in comprehending the world and the kind of subjective knowledge that can be derived from it (Nygaard, 2012). Engaging with affective experience shifts the focus from 'what we know' (logical-deductive approach centred on objectivity) to 'how and why we come to know' something. As a researcher, this transition involves adopting a sensory-affective role where the focus is on immersive, experiential involvement (Jørgensen, 2019, pp. 18–32). This is because acknowledging the epistemic value of lived experience can lead to the emergence of knowledge that originates from multiple perspectives rather than just normative and dominant viewpoints (Guschke, 2022, pp. 86–87). Work-related stress is an outcome of the continuous interaction among perceiving human bodies, the sociocultural situation at play, and the physical surroundings.

To address the concerns outlined above, it is essential for me to be aware of both my perspective as a researcher and the subjectivities of others to understand the variability of atmospheres and their diverse interpretations (Sumartojo, 2024, p. 161). To grasp how the atmospheres of the Great Hall impact others, I need to examine how these atmospheres intersect with the lives of my research participants while also reflecting on my own experiences and how I attune to them. Attunement thus becomes a crucial link between the pervasive nature of atmospheres and my ability to study them as a researcher. I must consider how this attunement occurs and what methods or tools can assist in this process (Sumartojo, 2024, p. 161). Thus, I conducted a field study using sensory ethnography (Pink, 2009) to identify what is significant to my research participants and how they value these experiences (Sumartojo, 2024, p. 162). When employing sensory ethnography, my own affective and sensory engagement is integral to the knowledge production process (Pink, 2009; Schlieve, 2020). Sensory ethnography is particularly suited for studying organisational atmospheres because it captures how different subjective experiences - shaped by memories, expectations, sensory capacities, cultural understandings, and immediate contexts - come together and are felt from within rather than from an analytical distance (Sumartojo & Pink, 2019, p. 6). This immersive method adds contextual depth and nuance providing a broader spectrum of data that can lead to new insights into the factors influencing work-related stress and employees' experiences (Mogensen & Mikkelsen, 2020, p. 296). This approach was essential as it enabled me to think, feel, and sense how the organisational atmosphere influenced my thoughts, emotions, and body which then shaped my research focus. Moreover, my personal experiences in the empirical field enabled me to connect with my research participants' impressions on an affective, sensory, and bodily level leading to fruitful and rewarding interactions (Sumartojo & Pink, 2019, p. 72).

Summing up, I understand human (employees) as relational and always already in atmosphere through their felt-body (Palstroem, 2023). The knowledge that I can obtain about their experiences of organisational atmospheres and how they are felt is subjective and a result of emphasizing with my research participants' situations and life-worlds (Mik-Meyer & Justesen, 2012, p. 24). Sensory ethnography allows for a deeper exploration of how organisational atmospheres either promote or inhibit work-related stress in the Great Hall, allowing me to attune to organisational atmospheres from within. As a researcher, maintaining reflexivity is crucial in my approach to comprehending the organisational atmospheres. This entails scrutinizing the personal and cultural resources that inform my understandings and ways of knowing and acknowledging how these factors influence what I am capable of understanding and conveying to others (Sumartojo & Pink, 2019, p. 38).

4.1.3 Researcher positionality and embeddedness

Coming from a phenomenological point of origin, it's important as a researcher to recognize that one's own personal background, experiences, and beliefs have an impact on one's research. This is known as researcher positionality, and within the phenomenological paradigm it is acknowledged that researchers aren't neutral observers but active participants in the research process. By accounting for my own positionality, it will be easier for the reader to judge the results of my analysis in the later chapters.

My interest in this dissertation topic arises from both my professional and personal experiences. After spending 13 years focusing on employee development in the private sector, I have observed that the current mainstream stress management tools often offer only temporary relief. On a personal level, many people in my social circle have faced work-related stress, frequently resulting in sick leave. These observations prompted me to explore why work-related stress continues to persist despite various interventions. This journey has influenced my research questions and conclusions. I am aware of my emotional connection to the topic and the importance of reflexivity regarding how my background shapes my research (Davies, 2002). Furthermore, my involvement in creating the atmospheres in my research field required reflexivity, acknowledging how my past experiences and expectations shaped my perceptions and interpretations (Sumartojo & Pink, 2019, p. 37).

The similarities between ProBuilt and my previous workplaces raise the question of whether it feels like "home" to me. This ties into the insider-outsider debate (Agar, 1980; Boon, 1982; Merton, 1972) and the concept of researching within one's own background (Jackson, 1987; Morton, 1999). Although I had met only one research participant before initiating my fieldwork, my sector familiarity facilitated integration. Sharing my previous experiences helped build rapport and provided an insider's perspective. My matching socio-economic profile also eased my entry into the research participant group. Balancing my positionality with research participants' experiences of stress required reflexive awareness (Sumartojo & Pink, 2019, p. 40), enabling me to connect my experiences with theirs while examining the atmospheres promoting or inhibiting work-related stress.

Linked to the question of ProBuilt being like home is the question of how I as a researcher became embedded in ProBuilt. Researcher embeddedness refers to the degree of involvement a researcher has within the research setting. When embedded, a researcher is fully immersed forming close relationships with participants. As Goulding notes, “*Atmospheres are subjective and in order to try to define and somehow capture their essence, it is necessary for the researcher to open themselves up to them and experience them emotionally*” (Goulding, 2023, p. 113)”. However, my deep involvement sometimes led me to unintentionally assume the role of a "coach" rather than an observer, which affected both the events I witnessed, and the stories participants shared with me. By working closely with my research participants, I contributed to the atmosphere by engaging in light-hearted interactions, showing care, and even performing small acts like providing food during meetings and water during interviews. These interactions often shifted participants’ perceptions making them aware of aspects of their environment they hadn’t previously noticed. In this way, I actively co-created the atmospheres that surrounded my research participants and me.

Over time, I began to experience physical, emotional, and cognitive stress symptoms, thus effectively becoming part of the very phenomenon I was studying. Documenting these experiences in my fieldnotes allowed me to reflect on the multisensory impressions that shaped them. The concept of atmosphere became a valuable framework for analysing these experiences, helping me to understand how I became attuned to the shifting spaces in the Great Hall. It also deepened my empathy for my research participants enhancing my insights into their experiences of work-related stress.

As I spent more time in the organisation, I started to feel integrated gradually normalizing the hectic work environment. My supervisors and colleagues were instrumental in helping me maintain analytical distance, providing opportunities for reflection, and retreat from the high-pressure setting when needed.

4.1.4 Entering the field

I initiated my data collection by conducting an expert interview with my contact at ProBuilt, a former colleague, to validate the engineering firm's high-performance environment and confirm that the empirical setting aligned with the type of study I intended to carry out. My contact person worked in the HR department and could help me get a computer, mail account, and access to relevant sites where I could collect information on ProBuilt. I continued by conducting three months of ethnographic fieldwork in 2021 where I was present on site five days a week on average 6,5 hours pr day and included intro courses to the organisation (both an intro-day and an offsite onboarding day), e-learning modules on code of conduct, and data protection. After this, I had unsupervised and unrestricted access to all areas of the organisation.

Upon entering ProBuilt, my contact person played a crucial role as both my first research participant and gatekeeper. He initially shared that despite work-related stress not being flagged in official well-being measurements he frequently heard about it from employees across various channels. ProBuilt had recently undergone two major layoffs and was now hiring again due to

huge incoming project orders. As gatekeeper, my contact person connected me with an employee supporting leadership at ProBuilt whom I shadowed for a day. This employee then referred me to the manager of the Prospect department (pseudonym). While the HR department served as my initial entry point and provided background information, my primary focus shifted to the Prospect department. To gain access to the Prospect department I had phone calls and met in person with the department manager, eventually securing permission to attend a department meeting where I introduced my research. My initial encounters with the Prospect department employees were positive, and I began observing their interactions in the Great Hall and their internal interactions. Despite initial friendliness, gaining permission to shadow a project proved challenging. After being decommissioned from one project due to the project manager (PM)'s busyness it took weeks to join another, the Silverlining project (pseudonym), which was in its early construction phases. Meanwhile, I struggled to access a unit known for high work pressure to compare employees' experiences of balanced and stressful work environments. Work-related stress appeared to be a tabooed topic, but I eventually connected with the FLEXITEC project (pseudonym), a high-pressure project in its late building stages. This project experienced delays and customer complaints which according to my research participants meant that the employees working on it were under a lot of pressure. I participated in a workshop with the project management group from the FLEXITEC project and agreed with the project manager, Philip, to follow his project. However, Philip was subsequently difficult to contact, and I was decommissioned from the discipline group I was initially assigned to before I even met them. I went through several attempts of contact before I was allowed to follow an HR Leadership specialist assigned to help the management of the FLEXITEC project to untangle tensions and come up with a "realistic" project plan to complete the work packages and documentations to execute the building of the FLEXITEC plant. Apart from participating in a project manager workshop in June 2021 and a meeting with PM Philip, my first encounters with the FLEXITEC project were in the form of participation in project management meetings in a small meeting room in the middle of the Great Hall. The project management group of the FLEXITEC project spend 1 hour each week discussing progress with the customer online via Teams which gave a lot of interesting observations of group dynamics and conflicts - open and hidden. However, since this only offered a very limited view of their actual work in the FLEXITEC project I decided to sit down beside the FLEXITEC project employees that I, at the time, did not know belonged to the facility group, which I will introduce in section 4.1.5. Although it took a few weeks for the facility group members to get used to me I eventually gained their trust and was able to obtain the best examples and most vivid descriptions of experiences of organisational atmospheres and work-related stress in the Great Hall.

In the first few weeks, I made a point of presenting myself as a visitor and a "non-expert" hoping this would make me seem less intimidating and more approachable as I asked numerous questions. Interestingly, being a researcher also made me somewhat of an outsider which helped build rapport with my participants. Before long, my status as a visitor shifted, and I became part of the groups I was studying.

In my observations of the Prospect department, the Silverlining project and the FLEXITEC project, I noticed three key factors that helped me gain access. Firstly, humour was essential for acceptance. If you could make people smile or laugh integration into the group happened much faster. Those who couldn't joke around tended to stay on the group's periphery. Secondly, few participants outright refused my requests or questions - unless the information was confidential due to client relations. Instead, they would simply ignore unwelcome inquiries, and I often had to follow up in person to get a response. Thirdly, as a female researcher, I was able to establish trustful relationships with my informants which according to Gurney (1985) might be due to the fact that women are perceived as less threatening than men in male-dominated environments like an engineering company. However, I also faced challenges since women in such environments are also often perceived as lacking professionalism or credibility. To overcome this, I made sure to dress appropriately (business casual) and be prepared for any situation (Nielsen Jeschke, 2022). Despite this, it was evident that I only gained access to the different groups via men. Finally, for all my research participants, it applied that they would very much like to know the results of my research right away. Thus, I adopted an open research approach and was transparent about the topic of my investigation. By doing so, I was able to reduce the scepticism of my research participants towards my research. Furthermore, if I could share preliminary observations and give them feedback on their behaviour or group dynamics, they would be much more inclined to bring me along. However, my research participants still requested results of my research, and I reflected a lot about what I had to exchange to get access and data. I tried to offer perspectives, but it turned out that what my research participants required more was a room to share personal issues or being recognized for working hard, sometimes in an almost inhuman way. I was careful to only register relevant parts of these conversations in my field notes for ethical reasons, but the content helped inform my interview topics.

4.1.5 Ethical considerations and confidentiality

Ethical considerations are crucial in studying atmospheres as they shape both our understanding and interventions. Sumartojo and Pink note that our ethical practices, influenced by how we perceive atmospheres, directly affect the research environment and our perceptions (Sumartojo & Pink, 2019, p. 49). Thus, my participation in and co-creation of the atmospheres of the Great Hall could influence future outcomes making responsible research essential. To establish a responsible research foundation, I carried through the following precautions:

Firstly, informed consent was necessary for employee participation, and protecting participants was a top priority. During fieldwork, I respected boundaries by withdrawing when projects became busy or tense and regularly checking if participants were comfortable with my presence. I also sought permission to publish participants' statements, asking them via email if they wished to approve their statements or opt out of the dissertation process. Though time-consuming, this maintained trust and ensured my research did no harm.

Secondly, all participants' names were made anonymous (de-identified) with no real names used in the dissertation. I employed techniques to obscure identities in the data being cautious about including mannerisms, expressions, or anecdotes that might reveal individuals. Sensitive information shared by participants was carefully protected.

Finally, I obtained ethics approval from the Copenhagen Business School's Ethics Council ensuring that my research set-up was ethically sound.

4.2 Organisational context - situating the workplace ethnography

Situating a workplace ethnography is important for several reasons. First, it helps to contextualize the findings of the study and to make them more meaningful to the reader. Second, it helps to ensure that the study is grounded in the realities of the workplace, and that it is not simply a theoretical exercise. In what follows, I will describe my empirical setting before deep diving into the three organisational units within which I conducted research.

In order to be able to study affective, collective processes (later translated into organisational atmospheres) and their impact on the development of work-related stress I've opted to conduct fieldwork in an engineering company for two reasons: Firstly, it offered a B2B environment conducive to studying collegial relations and processes and secondly, the engineering industry is renowned for its high work pressure and stressful conditions (Leung et al., 2009). ProBuilt represented such high-performance organisations, driven by escalating performance targets that compelled employees to boost profits. Research suggests that this can lead to work-related stress in the absence of adequate organisational support and the removal of obstacles (Hassard et al., 2018; Quick & Tetrick, 2003; Wallace et al., 2009). In 2021, ProBuilt lacked specialized organisational support systems and relied on a conventional stress relief program. This program involved proactive psychoeducation for managers and reactive individual therapy following work-related stress occurrences which research indicates may not effectively maintain team or organisational well-being (Liu & Liu, 2018; Shinn et al., 1984). Furthermore, ProBuilt had just completed two major rounds of layoffs. Given research on work-related stress and lay-offs (Modrek & Cullen, 2013), I therefore expected to find an organisation with high levels of stress.

ProBuilt is a large, specialized engineering company with a gender distribution of 70% men and 30% women which is typical for the Danish engineering busyness [OA HR data 2021]. I mainly conducted my fieldwork in the main open office, the Great Hall, of ProBuilt and in the following, I will describe this location before turning to the specific organisational units I followed.

4.2.1 The Great Hall as the onset of investigation

The Great Hall is ProBuilt's main open-plan office and in 2021, it could contain approximately 120 employees. To enter the Great Hall, you had to go from the main entrance through the lobby. From the lobby, you turned left into the Great Hall via a narrow office space with restrooms and a cloakroom on the right side and a small project area and two freestanding

meeting rooms with floor-to-ceiling glass on the left side. Once past them, there was a kitchenette on the right side with a high table (coffee island) and from there the office space, the Great Hall, spread out on both sides. When I started my fieldwork, I was focusing on affective events (Weiss & Cropanzano, 1996, p. 32) and affective experiences (Julmi, 2017b) in order to be able to detect the presence of organisational atmospheres. Within the Great Hall, it seemed such affective events and -experiences clustered in certain special patterns that immediately caught my attention:

Firstly, ProBuilt had chosen to occupy old factory buildings in which the Great Hall originally served as a production area. To me this imparted a clinical and instrumental feel to the space. The architecture still reflected its industrial past with high ceilings featuring exposed metal rafters, large metal ventilation pipes, fluorescent lighting, and light-grey linoleum flooring. Upon entering the Great Hall, your attention was immediately drawn to brightly coloured posters showcasing ProBuilt's vision, mission statements, values, achievements, and examples of successful projects. These elements collectively signalled that ProBuilt was a well-run, efficient, and professional organisation at the forefront of industry development. The Great Hall could be accessed from both the official building entrance and the offices at the back, creating a "passing through" atmosphere reminiscent of a busy train station characterized by constant movement and indistinct chatter. However, when I shared these observations with my research participants they did not resonate with my interpretation. Most did not associate the factory-like layout with production, inhumanity, or instrumentalisation. Instead, they saw it as a reflection of professionalism and industry-specific identity, something they took pride in for better or worse. Furthermore, this open office space seemed to be the stage of a lot of affective events and appeared in a lot of descriptions of affective experiences which made me convinced that this space supported an interesting reciprocal relationship between the employees and ProBuilt as an organisation. These impressions led to the establishment of the "Open space" in the Great Hall as a "main code" in my analysis which I will elaborate on in section 4.4 on data analysis.

Secondly, the centre of the Great Hall was dedicated to a workshop-like creative space, designed to adapt to the needs of different project teams. This area featured whiteboards on wheels, movable tables, and an array of drawings and building material samples. Unlike the awe-inspiring "Open space", this area appeared cluttered and messy by comparison with crooked drawings on movable walls and papers scattered on the floor. However, this messiness contributed to a 'cozy' atmosphere, further highlighted by the employees' apparent excitement and happiness when working there. My research participants confirmed this noting that it was one of their favourite spaces in ProBuilt. These impressions formed the basis for establishing the "Play space" in the Great Hall as a "main code" in my analysis which I will also detail further in 4.4.

Thirdly, on either side of the "Play space" rows of desks were arranged with three desks on each side, facing each other, each equipped with two screens, a keyboard, and a mouse. These desk clusters, each containing six desks, were assigned to different projects depending on their current building phase. Initially, this seating area struck me as impersonal and formal, leading me to wonder where employees could have informal, private conversations. While the Great

Hall did contain four meeting rooms - two near the front entrance and two in the middle of the hall - these rooms had floor-to-ceiling windows like an aquarium, offering little privacy. As a result, the restrooms near the official entrance seemed to be the only place where employees could retreat for a moment of privacy. However, my perception of this space quickly shifted. Despite the initial impression, there was an informal, cozy atmosphere in the seating area where employees not only collaborated across the height-adjustable tables but also exchanged jokes, shared anecdotes, and showed care for each other by discussing their personal lives and inviting one another for coffee at the coffee island and sofas at the entrance of the Great Hall. This sense of familiarity extended to the coffee island where casual conversations took place over beverages and fruit even though the seating area and the coffee island served different functions. It seemed that within these project seating areas there was a palpable sense of "belonging" which my research participants confirmed. These impressions led to the identification of the "Belonging space" in the Great Hall as a "main code" in my analysis which I as mentioned will explore further in section 4.4.

The Open space, the Play space, and the Belonging space became the centre of attention in my field study as they seemed to provide the employees of the Great Hall with affective experiences that both promoted and inhibited the development of work-related stress. Furthermore, these spaces eventually convinced me to adopt the concept of atmosphere as an analytical lens and Rosa's resonance theory as a theoretical foundation for understanding the affective events and - experiences that I witnessed here.

4.2.2 The ProBuilt projects and strategy

As mentioned in the introduction, ProBuilt had specialized in rebuilding production facilities breaching a culture of seamless cooperation characterized by helpfulness, team spirit, professionalism, commitment, and autonomy [Agnete & Christine 2021, 00:04:12]. According to HR, these values reflected what was unique about the ProBuilt culture, and it seemed employees had to honour these in order to constitute their identity as professional employees in ProBuilt. However, as ProBuilt's task portfolio shifted significantly in 2020 employees were faced with the challenges of receiving large orders for new factories to be built from scratch. While "shutdown rebuilds" were characterized by short, intensive timelines focused on upgrading existing facilities with familiar technologies and processes, building new factories entailed long, complex projects with extensive customer interaction. This was particularly challenging when the projects involved new technologies and processes that ProBuilt employees were not accustomed to leading to prolonged and overlapping construction phases. Additionally, unlike 'shutdown rebuilds' where customers usually had a clear vision for their upgrades, new builds often involved customers who were undecided and prone to frequent changes in scope, further extending the construction timelines.

The two projects I ended up following both involved constructing new production facilities for new technologies and processes with new customers. While this was coincidental, it undoubtedly influenced the atmospheres that developed during these projects as the uncertainty

surrounding unfamiliar customers, technologies, and processes added additional pressure on ProBuilt employees.

During a three-month field study at ProBuilt, I observed three organisational units: one department, the Prospect department, and two project teams; the Silverlining project team and the FLEXITEC project team. The HR department served as a point of departure for my study and could provide me with an understanding of the "official" angle on psychological well-being and stress prevention in the organisation. However, since my focus was on atmospheres residing in the Great Hall and the HR department was not present here, I only did observations of the Prospect department, the Silverlining project team, and the FLEXITEC project team. In the following, I briefly describe the 3 organisational units in which I made observations:

4.2.3 The Prospect department - the project managers

The Prospect department employees ran the early stages of the building process. Assignments were typically centred around the prospect of the building, drawn up with the customer, and the final contract. I watched how they prepared PowerPoint presentations and coordinated project-related tasks on the phone between what seemed like an endless number of meetings. I heard how they talked about their projects, colleagues from other disciplines, and customers. I noticed how they drew up project plans again and again when the circumstances of the projects continuously changed, often several times a week. What defined work in the initial stages of the building process was that no project plan existed which meant that deadlines were self-imposed. Despite this, the employees of the Prospect department described how they experienced being more and more busy. I chose to observe the Prospect department because according to HR they were recognized for having the best work-life balance in the organisation. Since my dissertation aimed to explore how organisational atmospheres can either promote or inhibit work-related stress through Rosa's resonance framework this department offered valuable insights into factors that might inhibit stress and foster resonance.

The Prospect department comprised of 12 employees; however, I never encountered them all together at the same time. They were always out on project-related work, doing workshops or having project meetings. Many of the employees worked between 9AM in the morning and until between 5 or 6 PM and often continued at home. The employees were between 29 and 60 years old and had a gender ratio of 66% women and 33% men plus a female manager. People in the Prospect department worked an estimated 40 hours a week. In the Great Hall, the Prospect employees usually occupied a cluster of "hot desks" near the entrance by the coffee island, but they had no fixed seating area that belonged to them.

After a couple of weeks, I was allowed to follow the Silverlining project that was run by one of the project managers, Mads, from the Prospect department which will be described further below.

4.2.4 The Silverlining project - the early phase project

The Silverlining project oversaw a new project through the early stages of the building process which were characterised by self-imposed deadlines and no project plan that carried penalties for exceedances. The responsibility of the ProBuilt employees was to come up with a building proposal together with the customer that the customer could then sign off on before the actual work of designing and building the facility started. Thus, their work consisted in conducting several workshops with the customer to agree on the size and cost of the project. Between the customer workshops, the project members prepared proposals within each of their professional disciplines. The Silverlining project was still so small that it had not been assigned seats in the Great Hall. Thus, the project members met informally in the Open space or meeting rooms of the Great Hall, in the adjoining buildings, or in workshops rooms in the basement of the Great Hall. The Silverlining project was chosen because it represented the first phases of project work in which the phases were shorter and without penalty driven deadlines leading me to expect less pressure and exhaustion among the project members. I was also interested in how early-stage project work was experienced compared to late-stage project work which led me to follow a project in its later phases. This project will be described further in section 4.1.5.

The Silverlining project comprised of 19 employees from 8 construction disciplines plus the project manager from the Prospect department, but on average only 5-10 project members were present at the meetings or customer workshops. The majority worked between 8 AM in the morning and until between 5 or 6 PM and often continued at home. The research participants were between 29 to 50 years old with a gender ratio of 15% women and 85% men. People in the Silverlining project worked an estimated 40-60 hours a week. I followed this project for three months before it was terminated because ProBuilt did not have the resources to take it through the next phases of the building process.

I followed the PM Mads to internal meetings with representatives from each of the construction disciplines in which they were planning how to run the official customer meetings and workshops and to the actual customer meetings and workshops. I observed how the project members drew up plans, collected data, and aligned with each other before the customer encounters, and I participated in the customer meetings where they presented the plans for the customer and discussed possible challenges and solutions. All these activities typically happened in the many meeting rooms scattered across the ProBuilt buildings.

After a month of field work, I was given the opportunity to also observe the FLEXITEC project, and therefore I started alternating between sitting in the beginning of the Great Hall with the Prospect department/Silverlining project team and further down the Great Hall with the FLEXITEC project team which is described in further detail below.

4.2.5 The FLEXITEC project - the late-stage project

The FLEXITEC project was responsible for a building project in the later stages of the building process where the actual construction started and comprised of a varying number of people. The FLEXITEC project was chosen because it represented late-stage project work, and I had heard

informally that the team members were under significant pressure. This led me to expect that I would be able to observe how organisational atmospheres promoted work-related stress.

The FLEXITEC project counted 70 project members from different construction disciplines. Within The FLEXITEC project, I observed 2 groups: The Project management group and the construction discipline group handling facility tasks (hereafter named the Facility group).

The Project management group was responsible for helping the project manager create a project plan and follow up on it, ensuring that each discipline delivered their part into the construction process. The group consisted of “discipline leads” from each construction discipline, acting as a "team leader" of their group leading and distributing the work of their group members. The project management group consisted of seven people with a gender ratio of 15% women and 85% men. The individuals were between 40-62 years old and worked on average 40-50 hours per week.

The work done by the Facility group of the FLEXITEC project varied but mainly consisted of individual employees doing calculations or proposals on their computers or drawing up building prospects featuring everything from electricity, ventilation, equipment etc. Sometimes groups of two or three would form to discuss a certain topic, but mostly employees would discuss matters across their desks or set up meetings in meeting rooms in other parts of the ProBuilt buildings. The Facility group consisted of electricians, plumbers, industrial illustrators, and engineers. Their responsibility was to ensure that the buildings were equipped with basic supplies such as water, electricity, ventilation etc. Many of the Facility group members started coming to work at 7 AM, while most project members were present around 9 AM, and most project members left between 5 and 6 PM. However, I learned that most project members went home and continued to work in the evening, having online-meetings on Teams if necessary. The Facility group comprised of 10-15 people with a gender ratio of 30% women and 80% men. The project members of the Facility project group were between 40-60 years old and worked an estimated 40 hours a week with outliers of up to 100 hours a week.

In the below figure (inspired by Nielsen Jeschke, 2022, p. 67), I have summed up the descriptions of the different organisational units I was affiliated with:

	The Prospect department	The Silverlining project	The FLEXITEC project
Period	August-October 2021	September - October 2021	September - October 2021
Size of unit	12 employees	19 employees	70 employees, but I only observed the Project management group (7 people) and the Facility group (10-15 people)
Type of work	Project management	Drawing up building proposal with customer	Drawing up detailed building proposal before actual construction starts.

Construction stage	Early	Early	Late
Customer encounters	Yes	Yes	Yes
Gender distribution	66% women, 33% men	15% women, 85% men	PM group (15% women, 85% men), Facility group (30% women, 70% men)
Age distribution	29-60 years	29-50 years	40-60 years

Figure 4 - Overview of organisational units in which fieldwork was conducted

In the following, I will go through the types of data I collected during my fieldwork in ProBuilt.

4.3 Data collection

Using a phenomenological framework necessitates a qualitative approach (Mik-Meyer & Justesen, 2012) contrasting with the predominantly quantitative nature of stress research. I chose an ethnographic field study to explore affective events and affective experiences promoting or inhibiting work-related stress in an organisation aligning with Taylor's view that ethnography is ideal for analysing such phenomena (Taylor, 1998, p. 97).

To get a deep understanding of organisational atmospheres, I chose to closely investigate selected small groups instead of employing broad examinations across a large sample. However, I did observe and speak informally with a wide range of employees at ProBuilt, and these conversations all served as a foundation for how I would tune into the different atmospheres in the Great Hall.

As mentioned, my data was collected in ProBuilt between August 2021 and November 2023 and I collected data from three different organisational units: the Prospect department, and two project teams, the Silverlining project team and the FLEXITEC project team.

Data collection process. First, I gathered and reviewed relevant documentation to understand the narratives promoted within ProBuilt. This included texts from the company's webpages, organisational charts, work environment policies, departmental and project team emails, intranet articles and posts, project descriptions, and corporate value propositions.

At the start of my project, I familiarized myself with the ProBuilt environment by observing and participating in meetings and informal gatherings. Subsequently, gathering insights from participants about their experiences in the Great Hall became crucial. Immersed in the environment, I shared my observations with the research participants. By reflecting on my own experiences and comparing them with those of the research participants I developed a deeper understanding of ProBuilt through empathy and comparison (Sumartojo & Pink, 2019, p. 65).

I learnt to refine my interview questions and adjust my method of taking field notes. For instance, I started out by addressing work-related stress openly when talking to research

participants, but slowly changed this wording to ‘pressure’ because the word ‘work-related stress’ seemed tabooed. Likewise, I started talking about collective emotions and atmosphere but ended up talking about emotional group processes because it seemed more approachable to them.

Finally, during my fieldwork I refined my ethnographically inspired research approach. When doing observations, I was specifically looking for affective events. This approach was based on the understanding that work environments shape affective experiences by influencing the likelihood of certain events, whether real or imagined. Such experiences, in turn, shape employees’ affective states, directly impacting job satisfaction (Weiss & Cropanzano, 1996, p. 12). I identified the organisational atmospheres triggering these affective events by focusing on the broader context of what the employees might be doing, feeling, sensing, or thinking when they encountered the Open-, the Play-, and the Belonging space (Sumartojo & Pink, 2019, p. 39). Furthermore, I utilized a broad definition of events as “...*actual events, or stories of events*” (De Rond & Lok, 2016, p. 1971) from current or past projects of ProBuilt where research participants expressed - or displayed signs of - being out of tune, out of sync, or stressed. Given my broad definition of events, I specifically inquired about the research participants’ affective experiences related to the events I had observed in the Great Hall. In this way, I made sure to enquire about my research participants’ affective experiences linked to the affective events I observed in the Great Hall confirming or disproving my interpretations of what I witnessed.

Furthermore, as time passed, I learned from observed patterns to pay particular attention to specific individuals. In the analysis, I have called them First Tuning Forks, and they seemed to catalyse a “good atmosphere” or be a central part of what needed to be present for a “good atmosphere” to configure because they made “...*certain experiences of atmosphere possible*” (Sumartojo & Pink, 2019, p. 112). Furthermore, in connection with observations of affective events and the Tuning Forks’ role in these I also started recording examples of affective labour because they seemed important in order to understand how a “good atmosphere” emerged. Likewise, I started paying attention to situations involving acceleration and instrumentalisation in the Great Hall because these atmospheric processes seemed to catalyse atmospheric dissonance. Finally, I recorded symptoms of work-related stress, and the affective experiences linked to this which drew my attention to Rosa’s concept of alienation. These patterns or configurations of respectively the Open-, the Play-, and the Belonging space, acceleration and instrumentalisation, affective labour, work-related stress, and alienation served as the foundations of my analytical categories of codes and chapters on ‘resonant atmospheres’, ‘dissonant atmospheres’, ‘affective labour’, ‘Tuning Forks’, and ‘alienation’ and will be explained in greater detail later. This extension of scope was driven both by what my research participants said but also by own observations.

The three months of fieldwork were followed up by a visit in 2022 where I reconnected with selected research participants to confirm findings from the first round of fieldwork and followed the organisation's development. In this way, I could confirm or dismiss both my observations and my ethnographic hunches - meaning the impressions and sensations of why the research participants felt as they expressed, they did (Sumartojo & Pink, 2019, p. 67). In addition, I

followed up in 2023 to reconnect with selected research participants to introduce and get their feedback on my thoughts on the role of organisational atmospheres in the development of work-related stress. During both post-field work visits, my research participants confirmed or adjusted my findings and added additional valuable information. In the below overview (inspired by Jeschke, 2022, p. 75), I have drawn up an overview of the data used in this dissertation:

Org unit	HR	Prospect	Silverlining	FLEXITEC	Total
Recorded interviews	4 (2021) 1 (2022) 1 (2023)	7 (2021) 3 (2022) 2 (2023)	4 (2021) 0 (2022) 1 (2023)	10 (2021) 3 (2022) 0 (2023)	25 7 4 Total: 36
Focus group interviews	1 (2021)	1 (2022)	0	1 (2022)	3
Informal interviews	4	1	1	2	8
Observations of meetings	N/A	20	16	23	59
Field hours	N/A	115h, 45 min	41h, 45 min	109h, 05min	266h, 35 min
Documents	61	40	18	23	142

Figure 5 - Overview of data used in this dissertation

In the following, I briefly describe the different types of data sources I used throughout the project to establish an empirical foundation.

4.3.1 Observation data

Participant observation is a key ethnographic method used to understand participants' life worlds by immersing oneself in a natural setting over time to study social life and processes (Richaud & Amin, 2019, p. 9). At the start of my fieldwork, I focused on building relationships with key individuals and identifying gatekeepers. I observed who played central roles in interactions and worked to earn their trust and support. On a regular day, I would arrive around 8 in the morning and place myself in the flexible seating area beside either some employees from The Prospect department or further down in the Great Hall by the FLEXITEC project. Since my ambition was to make as little “noise” as possible (O’Reilly, 2012) to observe my research participants naturally working with their tasks, I became aware that I could not just be sitting around “idling”. I had to look busy, otherwise I attracted too much attention. Thus, I started typing in fieldnotes at the same time as I was observing to blend in. Besides observing affective events in the Great Hall, I would follow different employees around (who had previously agreed to this) to meetings and workshops. Besides participating in corporate events, meetings, and following selected employees, I also took part in the informal meetings ‘at the desks’, lunch or at the coffee island where most of the private conversations took place which proved particularly valuable for understanding the participants' experiences of the organisational atmospheres. I

supplemented these observations with notes on for instance managers' attitudes, office décor, furnishings, and pictures in the research field to gain cues to the emotional culture of the field (Sumartojo & Pink, 2019). Furthermore, besides 'shadowing' employees (Wettergren, 2015) I observed relevant meetings such as weekly department meetings, project meetings, and intro-training sessions for new employees at the corporation to detect if organisational atmospheres promoting or inhibiting the development of work-related stress were linked to specific spatial and timely dimensions or flowed more continuously through the research site.

I captured my observations and conversations in verbatim quotes in written field notes, often immediately following my observations. However, sometimes this did attract attention to me as an observer and instead I recorded the fieldnotes as soon as I arrived at home using my laptop. In my field notes, I aimed at creating "thick descriptions" (De Rond & Lok, 2016) of the research participants daily activities combined with personal reflections on the atmosphere of the different departments/project teams and my reactions to these in line with the methodological framework of sensory ethnography (Pink, 2009).

4.3.2 Interview data

My observations were augmented by 25 individual interviews and one focus group interview in 2021, 7 individual- and 2 focus group interviews in 2022, and 4 individual interviews in 2023 which amounts to a total of 39 interviews (see an overview of interviews in figure 6).

I chose to combine my observations with interviews to supplement my experiences and observations as a researcher with narratives from the field (Anleu et al., 2015), but also because narratives not only reflect individual affective states but also shape the affective landscape of organisational life. Through social interaction the narratives come alive and are shaped by the organisation's cultural conventions and language (Fineman, 2003b, p. 25). Since such affective conventions are socially transmitted principles these stories could hint to the relation between affective experiences and the types of atmospheres configuring. To gain a comprehensive understanding of the contextual setting and diverse perspectives on the phenomenon under investigation I opted to conduct both single interviews and focus group interviews (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007)

Form of interviews. I opted to conduct interviews that enabled the Interview Persons (IP) and myself to focus on the concrete stream of experiences the IPs had at work and later enable an analysis that highlighted the process and qualities of these experiences (Bloch, 2007, p. 35). The focus of these interviews was to uncover the lived everyday world from the subjects' own perspectives. The form was close to everyday conversation but followed an interview guide that focused on the following themes: 'experiences of emotions in your team and organisation', 'different types of pressures in different projects', 'the good atmosphere', 'pressure', 'impressions of the physical surroundings of the Great Hall', 'work-related stress', and 'coping with stress'.

All interviews lasted between 30-90 minutes. With a few exceptions, the interviews and post-field interviews were conducted in the meeting rooms of ProBuilt, which sometimes posed a

challenge with their huge glass doors offering no privacy. The location was chosen to make the IPs feel safe but turned out to be a problem the five times my IP got overwhelmed emotionally and started to cry, which – according to my IPs’ reactions – was a shameful or embarrassing thing to do at ProBuilt. In these situations, I offered to change seat and/or topic, ensuring that my IPs felt safe and comfortable before resuming the interview.

At the start of each interview, I clarified my role, expressed my specific interest in speaking with them, and assured them that they could withdraw their consent at any time. I also let them know that they could review and approve their citations prior to use and that I would keep their information confidential.

In the interview situation, the I strived to be a “... *”fellow traveller” of the narrative, engaging with the story emotionally and symbolically while displaying interest, empathy, and pleasure in the storytelling process*” (Gabriel & Ulus, 2015, p. 40). In line with my phenomenological onset, I focused on the concrete experiences as these presented themselves to the IPs in the interview situation which allowed me to reconstruct the process and qualities of these experiences in the later analysis (Bloch, 2007, p. 35). Furthermore, I strived to stay reflexive and adjusted my interviewing style depending on my IP (O’Reilly, 2012; Quilty, 2019). Most of my participants seemed to appreciate having the opportunity to talk about their experiences with pressure, work-related stress, and emotions at ProBuilt and often wanted to hear updates on my research after the interview. In line with my sensory ethnography onset, I used emotional participation (Bergman Blix & Wettergren, 2015; Wettergren, 2010, 2015) to connect with IPs during an interview by showing empathy, respect, and understanding. Furthermore, during my interviews I leveraged my autoethnographic experiences along with knowledge from my interviews and observations to refer to environmental and affective states, recall memories, and link to other similar resonant experiences (Sumartojo & Pink, 2019, p. 66) to learn about my research participant’s experiences of atmospheres promoting or inhibiting the development of work-related stress.

I opted to combine individual interviews with a few small focus group discussions. The goal was to elicit a range of perspectives on work-related stress at ProBuilt as well as to explore my preliminary findings on organisational atmospheres and Tuning Forks. In these focus group interviews, I introduced a topic and then facilitated discussions to draw out diverse viewpoints on the issues (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2015, p. 175). According to Kvale & Brinkmann, focus groups are particularly effective for exploring new phenomena as they tend to elicit more spontaneous and affective responses compared to the often more cognitive nature of individual interviews (2015, p. 176).

Post-field work interviews. Finally, Sumartojo and Pink point out that returning to the empirical field and sharing data and analytical points can lead to new insights on the part of research participants that may not have been apparent initially, and this can help gain a better understanding of the meanings behind atmospheres (Sumartojo & Pink, 2019, p. 12). I experienced this first-hand when I went back ‘post-field work’ and interviewed research participants. One of the participants were able to pinpoint several of her colleagues as First

Tuning Forks and another research participant challenged my views of the physical layout of the Great Hall shedding light on an entirely new way of perceiving it that I had not thought of. Drawing on Schmitz, Jørgensen distinguishes between “subjective” and “objective” experiences of atmospheres. Subjective experience is limited to an individual’s personal sensation while objective experience emerges when an atmosphere is collectively recognized and named by everyone (2019, p. 73). By revisiting and confirming my impressions of the atmospheres in the Great Hall I aimed to ensure that the identified atmospheres were grounded in relatively 'objective' experiences, aligning with what Mik-Meyer & Justesen refer to as communicative validity (2012, p. 44). During these post-field work interviews, I also took photos to document the changes that had happened in the central shared office I had made observations in.

The Interview Persons. I chose to interview a range of different types of research participants from team leaders, project managers, specialists, and HR representatives. To find the most suitable IPs, I utilized two different strategies. First, drawing inspiration from Roelsgaard Obling (2020) I focused on how my participants themselves described and perceived organisational atmospheres. I selected interviewees for whom the issue of work-related stress was particularly relevant and important, operating under the assumption that participants are experts on their own experiences and should be engaged in the study for this very expertise (Roelsgaard Obling, 2020, p. 100). Second, during my month of observing the organisational unit in question noting affective events I was able to condense patterns of where these affective events emerged, and who they evolved around. This spurred my curiosity, and I chose to ask these people who seemed to catalyse these affective events for an interview based on concrete observations that I had made. To broaden my understanding of these affective events and their connection to organisational atmospheres and work-related stress, I then utilized the ‘snowball sampling’ method by using my initial IPs’ personal networks and word of mouth referrals to gradually increase my number of IPs (Lively, 2000). I recruited IPs until I experienced having a sample size small enough to allow for in-depth, rich descriptions of my IPs’ experiences while still being large enough to explore similarities and variations related these experiences of organisational atmospheres promoting or inhibiting the development of work-related stress (Roelsgaard Obling, 2020, p. 100).

The following table sum up the interviews informing this dissertation:

Background info			Year of interview		
Name	Age	Organisational unit	Fall 2021	Winther 2022	Fall 2023
Carsten	55-64	The Prospect department	X	X (Focus gr. interview)	
Jonas	35-44	The HR department	X		
Tine	25-34	The Prospect department	X		
Lone	35-44	The Prospect department	X	X, X	
Agnete/Christine	25-34	The HR department	X (Focus gr. interview)		

Morten	35-44	The Silverlining project	X		X*
Anton	25-34	The Prospect department	X	X (Focus gr. interview)	
Liselotte	45-54	The FLEXITEC project	X	X (Focus gr. interview)	
Hans	55-64	The FLEXITEC project	X, X	X	
Jasper	45-54	The FLEXITEC project	X	X	
Pernille	25-34	The Prospect department/ The Silverlining project	X	X	
Tom	45-54	The Silverlining project	X		
Liselotte	45-54	The FLEXITEC project	X		
Vibeke	45-54	The FLEXITEC project	X	X (Focus gr. interview)	
Jytte	45-54	The Prospect department	X		
Emil	35-44	The HR department	X		
Frank	45-54	The FLEXITEC project	X		
Maja	55-64	The FLEXITEC project	X	X*	
Mads	45-54	The Prospect department/ The Silverlining project	X		X
Lilly	25-34	The Prospect department	X		
Philip	55-64	The FLEXITEC project	X		
Frida	25-34	The Silverlining project	X		
Dorthe	45-54	The HR department	X		
Rolf	55-64	The HR department	X		
Søs	35-44	The FLEXITEC project	X		
Sofie	25-34	The HR department		X	
Jytte	45-54	The Prospect department			X
Mette	45-54	The FLEXITEC project			X
Total			26	9	4

Figure 6 - List of interviews

* Interview Person had left ProBuilt by the time I did my follow-up interview

Documentation of interviews. All interviews were audio recorded and transcribed verbatim together with obvious communication related gestures. The main purpose of recording interviews was to ensure that the interviewee's story was not misrepresented or unintentionally obscured in any way. After completing all the interviews, I returned home from the field and started transcribing them. The transcription process was divided into two steps: A rough transcription using Office365 Word, and a fine-grained manual transcription using the software 4F. The fine-grained transcription process helped me get an initial overview of what I had collected and immersed myself in and thus functioned as part of the initial analysis stage.

IPs who had indicated that they would like to approve of citations were given the opportunity to see the ones that I intended to use in the analysis and were offered the opportunity to adjust or withdraw any comments they were uncomfortable sharing upon reflection.

4.3.3 Documentary data

Finally, my empirical data includes photos I took during the three months of fieldwork in 2021 as well as additional photos from 2022 and 2023. It also comprises videos created for the organisation's annual party and artifacts such as homemade signs and props from the company's merchandise selection.

Photos. Inspired by Sumartojo & Pink (2019), I took numerous photos at the start of my fieldwork that captured my experience of the organisation during working hours. By sitting with research participants in the Great Hall, joining their meetings, and experiencing the space myself I gained a deep understanding of what was valued and what was experienced as challenging from within the organisation. When photographing in ProBuilt, I made a conscious effort not to take pictures of any individuals partly due to GDPR compliance requirements but also to avoid that research participants should feel the pictures was a form of surveillance (Grytnes et al., 2020). Combining these images with my direct participation and observations allowed me to connect with the atmospheres of the Great Hall using both visual and embodied approaches. This provided an alternative avenue for understanding the organisational atmospheres and served as a valuable tool to highlight key themes that research participants identified regarding the atmospheres of the organisation (Sumartojo & Pink, 2019, p. 57).

Official ProBuilt communication. The official communication such as organisational charts, work environment policies, and corporation value propositions from ProBuilt was collected to get a grasp of the official efforts to 'engineer' atmosphere (Sumartojo & Pink, 2019, p. 43). Likewise, documents collected from the Great Hall and the entrance was used to provide insights into the organisational discourses of my empirical field. I collected in-house magazines, flyers, material from intro-days, corporation events etc. to get in-depth knowledge of what common narratives were affecting the atmospheres of ProBuilt. In addition, I had access to the

“ProBuilt” intranet where I could see the different project chats and follow the digital interactions between project members of the projects I was following.

Summing up, during my study I focused on identifying the concepts and categories that the participants used to describe their perceptions and experiences of the elements associated with organisational atmospheres either promoting or inhibiting work-related stress. This included both material and immaterial aspects that contributed to the meaningfulness of these atmospheres. Additionally, by utilizing photos and official branding material from the organisation I was able to revisit this material multiple times and reflect on my own perceptions and experiences (Sumartojo & Pink, 2019, p. 60).

4.3.4 Data limitations

In this section, I aim at describing which consequences my selected methods have for the findings I was able to draw up from the data I collected. As already mentioned, my occasional “slip-ups” acting as a coach influenced which atmospheres were able to form in those instances. However, as mentioned by Sumartojo and Pink (2019) ethnographic studies always carry the methodological issue of affecting the subjects under study. Apart from my slip-ups, my seating position in the Great Hall, my change in research focus, the intangible and tabooed objects of my study together with the Covid-19 situation all resulted in certain limitations to my data which I will elaborate on below:

My position in the Great Hall. This study explored my research participants' everyday work practices in their organisational context. In the beginning, I was seated beside employees from the Prospect department, also observing employees from the Silverlining project team by the entrance of the Great Hall. Later, I moved further down to the middle of the Great Hall to sit beside the FLEXITEC project team. Naturally, my seating in the Great Hall influenced what I was able to observe (hear, see, and sense), and thus what caught my interest. This is a limitation to my data, but an unavoidable one given the resources available. I can, therefore, only account for the atmospheres of the Great Hall that I was part of.

Developing focus. Given my abductive research approach (see section 4.4), the focus of my project evolved throughout the data collection period. This meant that I started by collecting data to investigate collective emotions, but during the process I had to adjust the approach as it became clear through the data collection that the physical dimension of the Great Hall played an important role in the employees' affective experiences and the link to work-related stress. Therefore, my data collection would have been stronger if I had known from the beginning that I was looking at organisational atmospheres and not collective emotions, as there will have been a lot of data pertaining to space that I have not recorded. This is a clear weakness of my data, but unfortunately a common risk when conducting abductive research.

Research participants holding back. Due to the culture of ProBuilt where work-related stress appeared tabooed my research participants most likely present themselves as more balanced and less affected by work pressure than they would in a natural setting, as highlighted by Latvala

and Janhonen (2000). Likewise, despite the promise of anonymity and the right to review citations some of my interviewees may still have been concerned about being held accountable for their statements about work-related stress, as mentioned by Bryman in his study of Disney (2004). This means that I suspect my research participants may have held back when describing the affective states linked to the organisational atmospheres of the Great Hall.

Covid-19. Finally, Covid-19 of course affected my data collection because the pandemic prevented me from initiating my data collection before the fall of 2021. Furthermore, it affected my data in the sense that the hybrid work-model was still new, and employees were still getting used to meetings with participants both online and present physically. Even though many affective events arose within this new “hybrid-space”, I do not have a specific focus on this because I was interested in the Great Hall and the organisational atmospheres that emerged in the encounters between its various elements. However, I am aware that frustrations linked to Covid-19 also played a part in the emerging of the organisational atmospheres of the Great Hall.

4.4 Data analysis

As this study aims to generate a comprehensive, contextually embedded understanding of organisational atmospheres, I have chosen to adopt an abductive analytical approach (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). The essence of abductive research lies in its iterative nature where the researcher remains receptive to new insights and alternative explanations that may surface during analysis. Coffey and Atkinson highlight the importance of maintaining curiosity and being open to the unpredictability of the research process engaging with both data and theory and allowing each to inform and refine the other. Therefore, the abductive research strategy aligns well with Rosa’s resonance framework as both emphasize the need for a dynamic and open-ended process in which one has a responsive reciprocal relationship with ones surroundings (Rosa, 2019).

The process of abductive theorizing (William et al., 2008) enabled me to move fluidly between data and theory leading to more credible explanations of the phenomena under study. As mentioned, I founded this study on my initial curiosity as to why work-related stress persisted being an issue and a desire to explore an affective perspective on collective processes promoting or inhibiting work-related stress, as I suspected this perspective was largely missing in the current literature and practical approach to work-related stress.

I began with initial insights drawn from empirical data. One of the first things I noticed in the Great Hall was what my participants referred to as “the good atmosphere.” This initially puzzled me as I had expected to encounter a high-pressure, high-performance organisation with elevated levels of work-related stress. In addition to the ‘good atmosphere,’ my participants frequently mentioned ‘pressure’ which, while distinct from work-related stress, was prevalent in the Great Hall. These insights led me to focus on three key elements during my observations: ‘the good atmosphere’, ‘pressure’, and work-related stress which became the foundation for my study. I focused my observations on affective events – especially moments when research participants experienced their environment as either pleasant or stressful. Drawing on the work of Sumartojo

& Pink, I concentrated on identifying the concepts and categories participants used to describe how they sensed or "felt" valued aspects of their workplace along with the material and immaterial elements that gave it meaning. Similarly, I explored the concepts and categories they used to express discomfort with aspects of their workplace they found unpleasant or nonsensical. Photographs and official branding materials from the organisation further enriched my understanding, allowing me to repeatedly revisit and reflect on these experiences (Sumartojo & Pink, 2019, p. 60).

After observing the Great Hall for a few weeks, I started looking for a theoretical framework that could guide my empirical enquiry and help explain the paradox between my HR contact's accounts of accelerated pace and stressed employees, which he heard through all channels, and the immediate 'good atmosphere' that I experienced in the Great Hall. Building on my knowledge from my literary review, I experimented with Hochschild's concepts of emotion work, deep acting and surface acting (1983), the concept of 'emotional culture' (Barsade & O'Neill, 2016), organisational climate (Ostroff, 1993), and stress climate (Kozusznik et al., 2015; Parker et al., 2003). However, none of these concepts seemed to be able to explain the accelerated pace and increasing pressure on employees I witnessed in the Great Hall. Thus, I tried to apply critical social diagnoses such as Durkheim's concepts of collective effervescence (Durkheim et al., 2001) explaining the 'good atmosphere' as heightened emotional and psychological energy that individuals experience when participating in collective gatherings and anomie (Durkheim, 1984) as the process that lead to work-related stress. However, Durkheim did not address anything that could adequately explain the level of acceleration observed in the Great Hall. I then sought to apply Fogh Jensen's concept of the Performance Society which examines how modern society prioritizes performance, productivity, and efficiency thereby shaping individuals' identities and their relationships with work and success. Fogh Jensen's work explores the pressures and challenges of living in a society fixated on continuous self-optimization and goal attainment (Fogh Jensen, 2009). Fogh Jensen's work could easily explain the accelerated experiences of my research participants, but did not encompass anything to explain the affective experiences of the 'good atmosphere'. Likewise, Han's concept of the Burnout Society (Han, 2015) was explored because it describes how our competitive, service-driven societies, rather than enhancing life are contributing to stress and exhaustion. He argues that this increasing malaise arises from an inability to manage negative experiences in an era characterized by excessive positivity and constant availability. Han's theory could theoretically account for both the 'good atmosphere' and the accelerated pace. Likewise, his focus on human experience aligns well with my phenomenological approach. However, field data revealed that his theory did not adequately address the role of the physical environment, which appeared to significantly influence the affective events and experiences occurring in the Great Hall.

Finally, I also explored Rosa's resonance theory. Rosa's theoretical framework encompassed both acceleration and alienation pointing to collective processes experienced affectively that would promote work-related stress, but also the concept of resonance which seemed to inhibit the development of alienation and subsequent work-related stress. Rosa himself work with a concept of atmosphere to encompass the role of the context of resonance. However, it is not developed sufficiently to act as an analytical concept which is why I supplement his atmosphere

concept with Jørgensen (2019), Julmi (2017a), and Sumartojo & Pink (2019) (see theoretical chapter). However, in Rosa's description of atmospheres, he points out that atmospheres encompass a physical aspect and a social aspect which inspired me to register certain physical and social dimensions of the Great Hall along the affective events that I was already documenting. The physical aspects that Rosa pointed to are (but are not limited to) the shapes, sounds, smells, lighting, ventilation, and materiality of physical space which have a predisposing effect that influences the nature and degree of resonance sensibility. The social aspects covered employees' own bodies (e.g. headaches, hunger, and fatigue), but also the bodies of others (appearance, dress, physiology, voice, smell), interaction and social context (Joy et al., 2023; Rosa, 2019). Furthermore, when registering social aspects, I was particularly focused on bodily signs of work-related stress which was identified and registered partly on the basis of Fineman's (2003) observations that: "...many of the indicators, or symptoms, of stress are decidedly emotional, such as doubt, despair, panic, worry, tension, frustration, confusion, depression, anxiety, fear, and insecurity. Stress, as a concept, is unique in capturing such a cluster of feelings" (Fineman, 2003, p. 129). Apart from these affective states, work-related stress was also identified by registering derivative behavioural displays together with cognitive stress symptoms (tunnel perception, indecisiveness, difficulty with word mobilization, lack of concentration and memory) and physical stress symptoms (headache, stomach pain, increased sweating, shortness of breath, dizziness, and lack of appetite) (Andersen, 2007; Arbejdstilsynet, 2023). Finally, I identified alienated employees based on Soler-Gonzalez et al.'s criteria, which include expressing negative humour, low job satisfaction, depersonalization, and frustration due to work-related factors (2017, p. 8).

Throughout my fieldwork, I simultaneously coded, categorized, and gradually refined the categories into higher levels of abstraction. This iterative and reflective analytical cycle tightly integrated theory and data making both data collection and analysis highly dynamic and interconnected. I iteratively moved between the data I had gathered and relevant theories gradually developing a conceptual framework. The figure below summarizes the shifts that the abductive process enabled:

	Empirical starting point	Theoretical framework	Analytical focus
Chapter 5	"The good atmosphere"	Resonance	Resonant atmospheres of the Open-, the Play-, and the Belonging space.
Chapter 6	"Pressure"	Acceleration, instrumentalisation, affective dissonance	Dissonant atmospheres of acceleration and instrumentalisation
Chapter 7	Curiosity about lack of visible work-related stress in the Great Hall	Affective labour, Tuning Forks	Affective labour and the Tuning Forks
Chapter 8	What is "work-related stress" in the Great Hall	Axis of resonance, Alienation	Shift from dissonance to alienation and

			subsequent work-related stress
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Figure 7 - Overview of empirical starting point, theoretical framework and the final analytical focus of the four analytical chapters

In the following, I will deep-dive into the analytical strategy that drove the development of my empirical analysis.

4.4.1 Analytical strategy

After transcribing my interviews and compiling my field notes I organized and analysed this material, along with pictures, videos, and documentary data, using NVivo 12 software. I followed a systematic approach to structuring, prioritizing, and coding drawing inspiration from the thematic analysis methods of Clarke, Braun, and Hayfield (2015) which I will describe in the following:

Firstly, while conducting fieldwork but also after the fieldwork period was completed, I familiarized myself with the data by reviewing all the above-mentioned material, noting down analytical ideas. Secondly, I employed open-ended inductive coding to create preliminary codes closely aligned with the data and my research questions. Thirdly, the initial coding was followed by multiple abductive cycles of coding where I integrated insights from the existing literature and applied relevant theoretical concepts to my empirical findings (Jeschke, 2022, p. 85). Several themes emerged such as legitimate and illegitimate affective states, affective experiences linked to resonance, dissonance, and alienation. In addition, cognitive, emotional, and behavioural patterns linked to atmospheres promoting or inhibiting work-related stress were identified together with employees conducting affective labour (tuning) and outcomes of ‘tuning’. Finally, stress coping was also a theme together with power, identity, time, politics, and gender. Fourthly, after reviewing and discussing the themes with my supervisors I selected the most potent themes based on number of occurrences, thick descriptions, and novelty in relation to existing literature. These dense aspects of data were named according to their analytical theme. Fifthly, I deep dived into the themes chosen, created sub-codes and defined and named them, and the result served as a basis for my selection of examples that best conveyed the focus of the sub-research questions. The themes chosen were affective experiences linked to resonance, dissonance, and alienation, together with affective labour, Tuning Forks, and work-related stress. Finally, I started writing up the different analyses using the following model explained below:

Step of analysis	1. Chapter	2. Empirical space	3. Additional empirical atmospheric components	4. Empirical example	5. Theoretical concept	6. Analytical theme	7. Analytical storyline
Explanation of content of steps	Chapter number	The Open space, the Play space, the Belonging space or other physical spaces within ProBuilt.	All the other components besides space that seemed to configure for this particular affective event and/or experience to occur/exist.	Extracts from interview transcripts, field notes, images or other empirical material.	Drawn from theoretical frameworks/concepts within the field of work-related stress, sociology of emotions, organisational psychology, atmosphere etc.	Combination of empirical example and theoretical concept.	Storyline built on emerging pattern in analytical themes.

Figure 8 - Overview of analytical strategy steps

Because I am concerned with understanding how organisational atmospheres promote or inhibit work-related stress, I started each analysis of an empirical example (column 4) by noting both the empirical space (column 2) and additional empirical atmospheric components (column 3). If the empirical example (column 4) was an account of an employee's affective experience I noted as far as possible where my research participants explained that they had had the experience (column 2) and what things/colleagues or other elements had been part of it (column 3). If the empirical example was an observation, I made sure to transfer information about the space (column 2) and additional empirical atmospheric components (column 3) from my fieldnotes. Then I noted the empirical example itself (column 4) after which I consulted my back catalogue of theory to find something that could explain these affective events/experiences (column 5). Often, I had to try out several different theoretical frameworks/concepts in an iterative process with sparring from my supervisors before I found a theoretical concept that could offer explanatory power to the empirical example I was working with. The combination of a theoretical concept (column 5) and the explanatory power they offered to the empirical example (column 4) resulted in an analytical theme (column 6) which I gradually sorted into an analytical storyline (column 7) for each analytical chapter. Finally, when writing the dissertation, I divided the analytical storyline into different dissertation chapters (column 1).

This section aims to demonstrate transparency of the choices I was making throughout the research process and their resulting implications. In the following, I demonstrate how key ideas and concepts evolved across the four analytical chapters through an empirically driven data analysis.

Chapter 5: From ‘good atmosphere’ to resonant atmospheres of the Open-, the Play-, and the Belonging space.

As mentioned, my initial observations made me focus on affective events and accounts of my research participants’ affective experiences involving ‘the good atmosphere’. According to my research participants, the ‘good atmosphere’ made work easier, created security in collaboration, and finally made it meaningful to be at work which draws parallels to Hartmut Rosa’s resonance theory and his concepts of material-, social-, and existential resonance. Thus, I started to code

for affective events and -experiences that supported the development of either material-, social-, or existential resonance. As I coded for these resonance forms, I noticed a recurring pattern in the areas where the affective events, essential for the configuration of 'the good atmosphere', occurred. These affective events spurred affective experiences of especially openness, playfulness, and belonging, shaped by the types of resonance my research participants encountered in each space. I created sub-codes and named these key areas of the Great Hall the 'Open space,' the 'Play space,' and the 'Belonging space.' Through the lens of resonance, it became clear that affective experiences concentrated in these areas because they fostered at least one of the three resonance forms for the employees. As I coded my data based on the empirical spaces (Open-, Play-, and Belonging spaces) and theoretical concepts (material, social, and existential resonance) clear patterns of other affective events also emerged. Furthermore, obtaining resonance in these spaces of the Great Hall meant entering a relation of i.e. openness not only with colleagues, but also the space, artefacts etc., which will be further elaborated on in chapter five. For example, Morten explained in an interview how he felt the Open space (column 2) due to the layout, coffee, plants, robots, and VR glasses (column 3) lifted him and gave him an experience of openness and low hierarchy (column 4). Since similar descriptions occurred in many empirical examples, I chose to create a subcode called "openness" (column 6), reflecting the obtaining of material resonance (column 5). Finally, I placed openness into the overall storyline (column 7) and placed this theme into chapter 5 (column 1).

In the table below, I have illustrated examples of the analytical process used in chapter five, following the method outlined above (see also complete overview of all analytical chapters in figure 13 and 14).

1. Chapter	2. Empirical space	3. Additional empirical atmospheric components	4. Empirical example	5. Theoretical concept	6. Analytical theme	7. Analytical storyline
5	Open space	Morten, open physical layout, coffee island, artefact from creative space	<i>"I think that space lifts me. [...] [it] says modern workplace with huge wiggle room and light and good coffee and plants, robots and VR glasses and openness and maybe low hierarchy"</i>	Material resonance	Openness	Employees obtain material resonance through affective experiences of openness and playfulness, social resonance through
	Play space	Anton, colleague, artefact from creative space	<i>Anton draws on the whiteboard, and we then go to the other side of the whiteboard to see some examples of business cases in a one pager</i>		Playfulness	
	Open space	Carsten, Open physical layout, colleagues	<i>"I'm glad that I have my colleagues around me. So, it, so it's something about being in a, uh, in a team, there. But, er, where you can ping-pong back and forth a bit, right"</i>	Social resonance	Responsiveness	affective experiences of responsiveness and belonging, and existential resonance through affective
	Belonging space	Seating area, chairs, tables, colleagues	<i>"here comes Sally now". I say that of course I'm moving. They say, 'well, there's flexible seating', but I can sense that it's important that the woman gets her seat</i>		Belonging	
	Play space	Hans, colleagues, artefact from creative space,	<i>"we are what I would call profession people and not position people"</i>	Existential resonance	Committing	experiences of committing and belonging
	Belonging space	Hans, colleagues, seating area	<i>"I try to be the buffer or the translator. I get energized when people see me and get happy. It fills me up, because then I make sense"</i>		Belonging	

Figure 9 - Example of analytical process for the development of chapter 5

Chapter 6: From 'pressure' to the dissonant atmospheres of acceleration and instrumentalisation

Early in my fieldwork, I noticed that employees in the Great Hall rarely mentioned work-related stress directly. Instead, they frequently referred to "pressure," a distinct state of being that was difficult to articulate. My participants distinguished this "pressure" from "stress," which they

associated with a full breakdown often leading to sick leave. However, they suggested that this "pressure" was closely linked to stress, acting as a precursor to a potential breakdown. I started coding data for pressure using the theoretical concept of affective dissonance (Hemmings 2012) to guide identification of these instances where something felt off, out of sync, not in flow or losing meaning. Furthermore, I used Rosa's descriptions of acceleration and instrumentalisation (2019) to inform my categories of codes. In this coding, it was interesting to see that while the empirical examples of material-, social- and existential resonance were closely linked to a space (column 2) in chapter five, the processes of acceleration and instrumentalisation were much less dependent on the same spaces to configure. Thus, I decided to adjust the main codes from chapter five to chapter six. While the Open -, Play -, and Belonging spaces (column 2) were the organizing elements for coding resonant atmospheres in chapter five, I shifted the focus for chapter six. Instead, I organized the coding of dissonant atmospheres around the processes of acceleration and instrumentalisation (column 5) as these processes appeared to follow a similar pattern of configuration across the different spaces in the Great Hall. Besides making acceleration and instrumentalisation the central focus of chapter six, the analytical process mirrored the approach used in chapter five. For example, Hans explains in an interview how he experienced that acceleration (column 5) turned all ProBuilt employees into 'gambling addicts' (column 4) because it became harder and harder to achieve recognition. Since this 'addictedness' or workaholism recurred in many other empirical examples I chose to create a sub-code called 'addictedness' (column 6). According to Hans (and the other empirical examples), this 'addictedness' was spurred by the acceleration and not a specific space in the Great Hall (column 2) or specific additional empirical atmospheric components (column 3), and therefore these dimensions did not feature in the overall analytical storyline (column 7). Finally, when writing up this dissertation, I placed this part of the analytical storyline in chapter six (column 1).

In the table below, I have illustrated examples of the analytical process used in chapter six, following the method outlined above (see also complete overview of all analytical chapters in figure 13 and 14).

1. Chapter	2. Empirical space	3. Additional empirical atmospheric components	4. Empirical example	5. Theoretical concept	6. Analytical theme	7. Analytical storyline
6	Open-, Play-Belonging space	Tom, Mads, Faster than fast track poster, colleagues	<i>He says, 'it probably doesn't help that you're greeted by a poster saying, "Faster than fast track" in the entrance'. I ask him what he thinks it does to people and he says, 'well, it certainly doesn't make those who are stressed less stressed'.</i>	Acceleration/ affective dissonance	Busyness	Acceleration triggers affective experiences of busyness and addictedness which gives employees a sense of dissonance. Likewise, Instrumentalization triggers
	Open-, Play-Belonging space	Hans, social recognition processes	<i>"...if you give it your all and put in the effort, then you should also be recognized. And if you don't get recognized, then you run out. Some in the short term, some in the long term, but no matter what, the result is always the same - you run out [...] And that's where I think we're gambling addicts because, when we realize it, we've already gambled everything away"</i>		Addictedness	
	Open-, Play-Belonging space	Morten	<i>"It's kind of a, 'listen up' kind of thing, right. 'We have some numbers, they're no different than our competitors' [...] Then I think people feel, at least I did, when I got to that place, "You're completely alone", right".</i>	Instrumentalization/affective dissonance	Objectifying	affective experiences of objectifying and Forsakenness which gives employees a sense of dissonance
	Belonging space	FLEXITEC management team, meeting room beside seating area	<i>Then Philip says, 'one last important thing. ProBuilt has decided, as of the phase change, that I will no longer be PM'. The mood in the room abruptly changes and becomes uneasy.</i>		Forsakenness	

Figure 10 - Example of analytical process for the development of chapter 6

Chapter 7: From lack of visible work-related stress in the Great Hall to a focus on affective labour and First Tuning Forks

As noted, the Great Hall initially appeared to be predominantly characterized by a ‘good atmosphere,’ with my research participants rarely mentioning work-related stress even when asked directly. This led me to wonder why work-related stress was not more prominent in the Great Hall. While observing the affective events there, I noticed a pattern among a certain group of employees who seemed to act as catalysts in shaping the ‘good atmosphere’ which aligned with Rosa’s description of First Tuning Forks. Since the First Tuning Forks’ affective labour did not seem to be triggered directly by the empirical space (column 2), and the theoretical concept of ‘affective labour’ (column 5) only served as a main coding category a more fine-grained set of sub coding categories were needed. In the coding process, I initially openly coded all affective events and experiences related to Tuning Forks. I then revised and developed the new codes, ‘First Tuning Forks’ and ‘Second Tuning Forks’ as the behavioural patterns of these two categories differed. Furthermore, I created subcodes for all the types of cognitive, affective, and behavioural activities that these First- and Second Tuning Forks performed. Since patterns in data indicated that the First Tuning Forks initiated the affective labour, I focused mainly on them. Finally, I grouped the “activity codes” into the two overarching categories of ‘adjust colleagues’ behaviour’ and ‘adjust colleagues’ affective states’ containing the sub-codes ‘boost positive affective states’ and ‘dissolve negative affective states’ in different variations. Again, the process of analysis was the same as in the previous two chapters. For example, Hans states in an interview that by recognising his colleagues he wants them to feel seen (column 4). Theoretically, this can be categorised as affective labour (column 5), and through the analysis I illustrate via various empirical examples that this type of affective labour is about boosting colleagues’ affective states by “humanizing” them (column 6). Hans seemed to deliberately use the empirical space of the Belonging space (column 2) to ensure his colleagues heard his praise, but did not use additional empirical atmospheric components (column 3). Finally, synthesizing the empirical examples of ‘humanizing’ (column 6), the analytical storyline (column 7) was created, and this part placed in chapter 7 (column 1).

In the table below, I have illustrated examples of the analytical process used in chapter seven following the method outlined above (see also complete overview of all analytical chapters in figure 13 and 14).

1. Chapter	2. Empirical space	3. Additional empirical atmospheric components	4. Empirical example	5. Theoretical concept	6. Analytical theme	7. Analytical storyline
7	Belonging space	Hans, colleagues, seating area	<i>"I hope that they are left with a feeling that they have been seen. That they are people in their own right and that they contribute"</i>	Affective labour	Boost positive affective states: Humanizing	Triggered by dissonance, FTFs perform affective labour to boost colleagues' positive affective states, dissolve colleagues' negative affective states and adjust colleagues' behaviour directly or indirectly to avoid further dissonance. But FTFs also become drained by dissonance and gradually lose the ability to tune organisational atmospheres.
	Open-, Play-Belonging space	Liselotte, Vibeke, Jokum, Kasper, seating area, open physical layout	<i>At 10:21 AM: A loud laugh is heard from the end of the Great Hall. The laughter turns into a violent coughing fit. Liselotte starts laughing and Liselotte and Vibeke look at each other and say: 'Wow'.</i>	Affective labour/com. of laughs	Boost positive affective states: Energizing	
	Open space	Torben, Maja, colleagues, Open space	<i>"Torben goes through open points on a list. He talks about ventilation and a man to the left of him says, 'that point, it sucks'. Torben seems to get angry when he answers. Maja rushes to say 'sucks - you know extraction - engineering joke'.</i>	Affective labour	Dissolve negative affective states: Translating	
	Belonging space	Tine, Pernille, Belonging space	<i>"We were making ourselves even buster [...] then we realized that we actually like to sit down for a while. And just talk some things over [...] so we try to make room for that"</i>		Dissolve negative affective states: Relieving	
	Belonging space	Sally, Liselotte, Belonging space	<i>Sally says, 'I'm the one who's been mad all day'. Liselotte says, 'yes, you've had such an off day'. Sally says, 'I'm not here today', Liselotte replies, 'no, actually you're not', she laughs.</i>	Affective labour	Adjust colleagues' behaviour: Indirect adjustments	
	Open-, Play-Belonging space	Pernille, colleagues	<i>"...Are you okay? What's going on here? I see you behaving like this. Are you aware of it?"</i>		Adjust colleagues' behaviour: Direct adjustments	

Figure 11 - Example of analytical process for the development of chapter 7

Chapter 8: From puzzlement about 'work-related stress' in the Great Hall to focusing on the transition from dissonance to alienation and subsequent work-related stress

As mentioned, my research participants appeared to differentiate between "pressure" and work-related stress which made me wonder how employees experienced and perceived both "pressure" and "work-related stress" in the Great Hall. After utilizing the concept of affective dissonance to make sense of employees' affective experiences shaped by acceleration and instrumentalisation in the Great Hall, I turned to Rosa's concept of alienation. This helped me capture the collapse of resonance which employees described as a breakdown or as experiences of indifference or hostility. As in chapter six, I utilized the theoretical concept (column 5) as main code category, and I began openly coding all examples that illustrated alienation such as affective experiences of breakdowns, indifference, or hostility. As I progressed, a clear pattern began to differentiate the breakdown of material, social, and existential resonance, and thus three forms of sub-code categories emerged. For example, Hans states in an interview that he experiences his tasks as 'boring as fuck' (column 4), which theoretically can be observed as a collapse in material resonance (column 5) from his work tasks. This empirical example is part of an empirical pattern that crystallises 'relinquishing' as an analytical theme (column 6). Both the space in the Great Hall (column 2) and additional empirical atmospheric components (column 3) are important elements in the collapse of the different forms of resonance and the configuration of states of alienation. However, since the focus of this chapter was on how employees in the Great Hall experienced the collapse of resonance as a change from dissonance to alienation, I chose to let the theoretical concept of resonance collapse and alienation (column 5) be the centre of attention here and in the overall analytical storyline (column 7). Finally, I placed this section of the analytical storyline in chapter eight (column 1).

In the table below, I have illustrated examples of the analytical process used in chapter eight following the method outlined above.

1. Chapter	2. Empirical space	3. Additional empirical atmospheric components	4. Empirical example	5. Theoretical concept	6. Analytical theme	7. Analytical storyline
8	Open-, Play-Belonging space	Liselotte, management, social processes of recognition	<i>"I've always felt that I've been listened to and things like that. It's completely gone, that feeling that you have some importance"</i>	Collapse of social resonance	Muteness	As the experience of dissonance increases and FTFs can no longer compensate by boosting social resonance, the social-, material- and existential resonance begins to collapse, and states of alienation occur embodied as stress symptoms. However, FTFs can regenerate if removed from pressure of acceleration and instrumentalization.
	Open-, Play-Belonging space	Jytte, the physical space of the Great Hall, colleagues	<i>"It's a bit strange, you know. It's also because I've been here for a lot of years, so there's actually been, for a lot of years, where I kind of knew most people or at least knew where they belonged or could just exchange a remark at the coffee machine and stuff like that. But that, that's part of it - it's a bit of an alienation"</i>		Strangeness	
	Open-, Play-Belonging space	Hans, project work, location of project	<i>"So it was this thing with this strategic shift, where we must copy: We must. It's being articulated as boring as fuck. I can articulate it as more exciting, but I just don't have myself. I just can't get myself on board"</i>	Collapse of material resonance	Relinquishing	
	Open-, Play-Belonging space	Vibeke, project work, customers	<i>"...well, sometimes I actually get a bit discouraged, where I think, 'well, it doesn't matter what I do, how many hours I spend, uh, I won't have time to complete my assignments'"</i>		Relinquishing	
	Belonging space	Employees, project work, customers	<i>At 10:42 AM: [Employee 3] asks [Employee 4] if she doesn't have a good, corrupted PDF that they can upload instead of the documents they promised the customer here at 12pm.</i>	Collapse of existential resonance	Lostness	
	Open-, Play-Belonging space	Liselotte, ProBuilt as organisation, colleagues	<i>"It is purely as a human that I have sort of distanced myself"</i>		Abandoning	

Figure 12 - Example of analytical process for the development of chapter 8

As mentioned, the overviews of the analysis process for the different chapters are illustrated in figure 13 and 14 on the following two pages.

1. Chapter	2. Empirical space	3. Additional empirical atmospheric components	4. Empirical example	5. Theoretical concept	6. Analytical theme	7. Analytical storyline
5	Open space	Morten, open physical layout, coffee island, artefact from creative space	<i>"I think that space lifts me. [...] [it] says modern workplace with huge wiggle room and light and good coffee and plants, robots and VR glasses and openness and maybe low hierarchy"</i>	Material resonance	Openness	Employees obtain material resonance through affective experiences of openness and playfulness, social resonance through affective responsiveness and belonging, and existential resonance through affective experiences of committing and belonging
	Play space	Anton, colleague, artefact from creative space	<i>Anton draws on the whiteboard, and we then go to the other side of the whiteboard to see some examples of business cases in a one pager</i>		Playfulness	
	Open space	Carsten, Open physical layout, colleagues	<i>"I'm glad that I have my colleagues around me. So, it, so it's something about being in a, uh, in a team, there. But, er, where you can ping-pong back and forth a bit, right"</i>	Social resonance	Responsiveness	
	Belonging space	Seating area, chairs, tables, colleagues	<i>'here comes Sally now'. I say that of course I'm moving. They say, 'well, there's flexible seating', but I can sense that it's important that the woman gets her seat</i>		Belonging	
	Play space	Hans, colleagues, artefact from creative space,	<i>"we are what I would call profession people and not position people"</i>	Existential resonance	Committing	
	Belonging space	Hans, colleagues, seating area	<i>"I try to be the buffer or the translator. I get energized when people see me and get happy. It fills me up, because then I make sense"</i>		Belonging	
6	Open-, Play-Belonging space	Tom, Mads, Faster than fast track poster, colleagues	<i>He says, "it probably doesn't help that you're greeted by a poster saying, "Faster than fast track" in the entrance". I ask him what he thinks it does to people and he says, 'well, it certainly doesn't make those who are stressed less stressed'.</i>	Acceleration/affective dissonance	Busyness	Acceleration triggers affective experiences of busyness and adductedness which gives employees a sense of dissonance.
	Open-, Play-Belonging space	Hans, social recognition processes	<i>"...if you give it your all and put in the effort, then you should also be recognized. And if you don't get recognized, then you run out. Some in the short term, some in the long term, but no matter what, the result is always the same - you run out [...]. And that's where I think we're gambling addicts because, when we realize it, we've already gambled everything away."</i>		Addictedness	Likewise, Instrumentalization triggers affective experiences of objectifying and Forsakenness which gives employees a sense of dissonance
	Open-, Play-Belonging space	Morten	<i>"It's kind of a, 'listen up' kind of thing, right. We have some numbers, they're no different than our competitors' [...] Then I think people feel, at least I did, when I got to that place, "You're completely alone", right"</i>	Instrumentalization/affective dissonance	Objectifying	
	Belonging space	FLEXITEC management team, meeting room beside seating area	<i>Then Philip says, 'one last important thing. ProBuilt has decided, as of the phase change, that I will no longer be PM'. The mood in the room abruptly changes and becomes uneasy.</i>		Forsakenness	
7	Belonging space	Hans, colleagues, seating area	<i>"I hope that they are left with a feeling that they have been seen. That they are people in their own right and that they contribute"</i>	Affective labour	Boost positive affective states: Humanizing	Triggered by dissonance, FTFs perform affective labour to boost colleagues' positive affective states
	Open-, Play-Belonging space	Liselotte, Vibeke, Jokum, Kasper, seating area, open physical layout	<i>At 10:21 AM: A loud laugh is heard from the end of the Great Hall. The laughter turns into a violent coughing fit. Liselotte starts laughing and Liselotte and Vibeke look at each other and say, 'Wow'.</i>	Affective labour/com. of laughs	Boost positive affective states: Energizing	

Figure 13 - Examples of analytical themes and theoretical concepts in chapter 5, 6 and 7

1. Chapter	2. Empirical space	3. Additional empirical components	4. Empirical example	5. Theoretical concept	6. Analytical theme	7. Analytical storyline
7	Open space	Torben, Maja, colleagues, Open space	"Torben goes through open points on a list. He talks about ventilation and a man to the left of him says, 'that point, it sucks'. Torben seems to get angry when he answers. Maja rushes to say 'sucks - you know extraction - engineering joke'."	Affective labour	Dissolve negative affective states: Translating	Triggered by dissonance, FTFs perform affective labour to dissolve colleagues' negative affective states and adjust colleagues' behaviour directly or indirectly to avoid further dissonance. But FTFs also become drained by dissonance and gradually lose the ability to tune organisational atmospheres.
	Belonging space	Tine, Pernille, Belonging space	"We were making ourselves even busier [...] then we realized that we actually like to sit down for a while. And just talk some things over [...] so we try to make room for that."		Dissolve negative affective states: Relieving	
	Belonging space	Sally, Liselotte, Belonging space	Sally says, 'I'm the one who's been mad all day'. Liselotte says, 'yes, you've had such an off day'. Sally says, 'I'm not here today', Liselotte replies, 'no, actually you're not', she laughs.	Affective labour	Adjust colleagues' behaviour: Indirect adjustments	behaviour directly or indirectly to avoid further dissonance. But FTFs also become drained by dissonance and gradually lose the ability to tune organisational atmospheres.
	Open-, Play-Belonging space	Pernille, colleagues	"...Are you okay? What's going on here? I see you behaving like this. Are you aware of it?"		Adjust colleagues' behaviour: Direct adjustments	
8	Open-, Play-Belonging space	Liselotte, management, social processes of recognition	"I've always felt that I've been listened to and things like that. It's completely gone, that feeling that you have some importance"	Collapse of social resonance	Muteness	As the experience of dissonance increases and FTFs can no longer compensate by boosting social resonance, the social-, material- and existential resonance begins to collapse, and states of alienation occur embodied as stress symptoms. However, FTFs can regenerate if removed from pressure of acceleration and instrument-talization.
	Open-, Play-Belonging space	Jytte, the physical space of the Great Hall, colleagues	"It's a bit strange, you know. It's also because I've been here for a lot of years, so there's actually been, for a lot of years, where I kind of knew most people or at least knew where they belonged or could just exchange a remark at the coffee machine and stuff like that. But that, that's part of it - it's a bit of an alienation"		Strangeness	
	Open-, Play-Belonging space	Hans, project work, location of project	"So it was this thing with this strategic shift, where we must copy. We must. It's being articulated as boring as fuck. I can articulate it as more exciting, but I just don't have myself. I just can't get myself on board"	Collapse of material resonance	Relinquishing	
	Open-, Play-Belonging space	Vibeke, project work, customers	"...well, sometimes I actually get a bit discouraged, where I think, 'well, it doesn't matter what I do, how many hours I spend, uh, I won't have time to complete my assignments'"		Relinquishing	
	Belonging space	Employees, project work, customers	At 10:42 AM: [Employee 3] asks [Employee 4] if she doesn't have a good, corrupted PDF that they can upload instead of the documents they promised the customer here at 12pm.	Collapse of existential resonance	Lostness	
	Open-, Play-Belonging space	Liselotte, ProBuilt as organisation, colleagues	"It is purely as a human that I have sort of distanced myself"		Abandoning	

Figure 14 - Examples of analytical themes and theoretical concepts in chapter 7 and 8

In the following, I will unfold my four analytical chapters containing an analysis of both resonant atmospheres, dissonant atmospheres, First Tuning Forks affective labour, and the change from dissonance to alienation.

5. The resonant atmospheres of the Open-, Play-, and Belonging space

The purpose of this chapter is to examine how resonant atmospheres are experienced. This because before exploring how work-related stress develops, it is crucial to first understand what a responsive relationship between employees and the workplace looks like when employees thrive. Establishing this baseline of key factors that foster well-being provides a point of comparison, helping to identify what is lost or disrupted when work-related stress develops. Understanding these elements makes it easier to detect when they deteriorate, offering insights into how work-related stress emerge. When exploring resonant atmospheres, a special focus will be placed on what affective experiences underpin material -, social -, and existential resonance in the organisational atmospheres of the Great Hall. Understanding how employees achieve resonance in the Great Hall is crucial for grasping what is at stake in the relationship between employees and their workplace in the late modern era that when threatened or lost can develop into work-related stress.

The chapter is organized to first explore the Open space, focusing on the affective experiences of openness, responsiveness, and relatedness that defines its atmosphere. Next, it examines the Play space, highlighting the affective experiences of playfulness and commitment inherent to its atmosphere. Finally, the chapter reviews the Belonging space, delving into the affective experiences of belonging, jovialness, and caring that characterizes its atmospheres. When employees had the above types of affective experiences resonant atmospheres configured in the Open-, Play-, and Belonging space allowing employees to obtain material -, social -, and existential resonance. In the following section, I describe these spaces, beginning with the Open Space.

5.1 The Open space

When entering the Great Hall, the first thing that jumped out at you was the height of the ceiling and the large windows on both sides of the Great Hall that allowed natural light to enter at all times of the day.

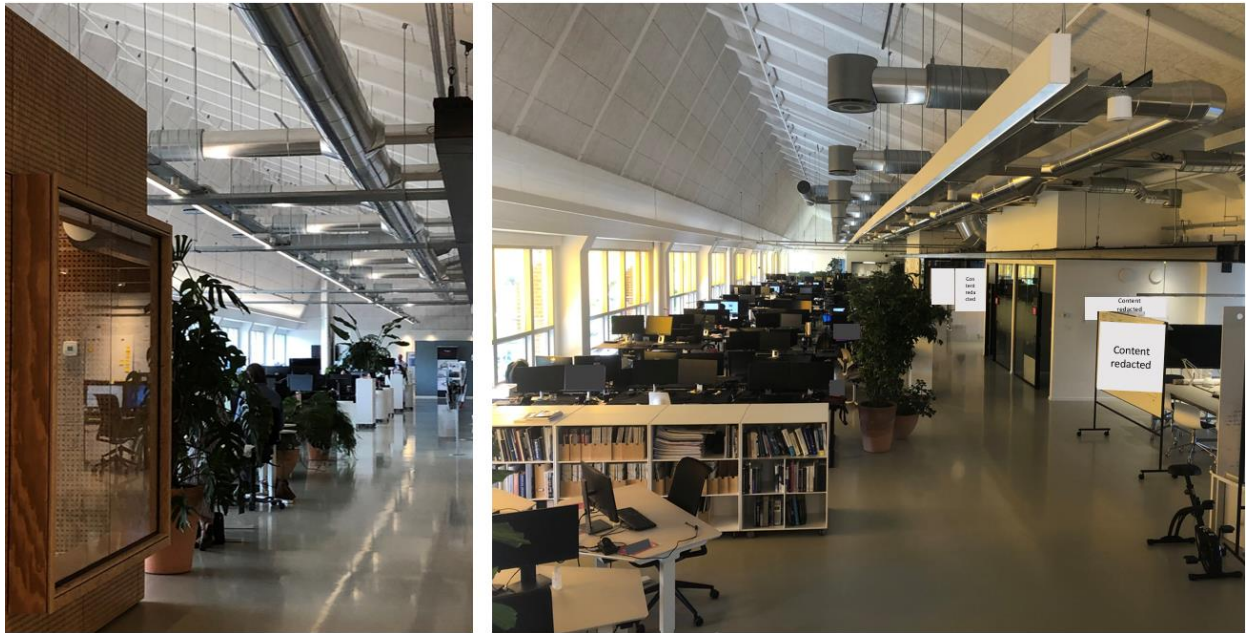


Figure 15 - Pictures of the Open space from each side of the Great Hall

According to Morten, this openness gave the room an ambiguous character as it could be experienced as both large and overwhelming, but also quiet and contemplative:

" Ah! [exclaims loudly] I love showing up in the morning. I love being one of the first [...] I love the fact that it's empty, it's dark [...] and it's not because there's a lot I must sense. It's simply just getting in and thinking. The space and time are mine [...] I just really liked the idea of coming and being one of those who also sits down and says good morning to people, regardless of their position, no matter who they are, right [...] to bring myself authentically to work [...] to influence it [the atmosphere], right and just see people, how do they look? [...] It [the Great Hall] can also be a positive microphone, right - or amphitheatre [...] I think that space lifts me. I really - also when you had people visiting for job interviews. That's when people were like 'wow' [...] So for me, I think it encouraged informal meetings and being visible. And putting your presence and authority into play, but also seeing people do things well [...] Yes, it also says production and factory line, if that's what you want to look at, but it also says modern workplace with huge wiggle room and light and good coffee and plants, robots and VR glasses and openness and maybe low hierarchy [...] The space is extremely ambivalent" [Morten 2023, 01:12:24].

In the quote above, Morten highlighted how the physical space gave him an affective experience of being "lifted," aligning with Rosa's concept of material resonance where the environment of the Great Hall seemed to respond to him. Morten enjoyed enhancing the atmosphere by greeting people and making them feel welcome, regardless of who they were. Simultaneously, the Open space affected him when it was empty and dark, and when it was buzzing with light, good coffee, plants, robots, and VR glasses, all of which represented for him a sense of wiggle room, openness and (maybe) low hierarchy. Thus, Morten and the Great Hall mutually influenced and transformed each other through this adaptive relationship which Morten experienced as a

positive amplification, like a microphone or an amphitheatre. The majority of my research participants echoed this sense of openness, which appeared to be embodied as a particular way of engaging with the Open space. The characteristics of this space underscored Rosa's idea that atmospheres emerge from the interaction between physical and social spaces and can thus change in response to both the physical artefacts being introduced or removed, but also the social processes they are part of.

In the above quote, Morten also highlights the ability of the Open space to include everyone "regardless of their rank" pointing to a certain responsiveness which seemed to be a general theme in my research participants affective experiences of the Open space.

5.1.1 Responsiveness through access and proximity

As described in the above, the openness was a central part of the Great Hall's characteristics. This openness could be filled with silence in the morning, but for most of my research participants this openness seemed to be linked to a dynamic responsiveness, which was evident from the moment you stepped into the Great Hall, as the following observation attests:

8:10 AM: I enter the ProBuilt foyer and am greeted with a vibration and buzz that contrasts strongly with the silence and calm outside. A phone rings, people are talking in several different groups, and people are moving around quickly. I say good morning to the receptionist and go down to the FLEXITEC area. The electricians are sitting there, and five people are talking about radiators, ventilation, and watts. They briefly look up and say good morning, but otherwise they pay no attention to me. A new man arrives who I haven't seen before. I think I might be sitting in his seat, but he sits down on another table and one of the others rushes over to find him a chair. There are drawings all over almost all the desks [FN2021-09-06].

This observation illustrates how the Great Hall's open physical space enabled a certain kind of responsiveness where everyone was welcome and where employees had the opportunity to get an overview of each other and freely connect with colleagues regardless of rank, construction discipline, seniority, gender, and age. When asked about this responsive dynamic in the Great Hall, my research participants often described it as a kind of flow that you could always tap into and get help with what you needed to move forward with a task. Mette described the access to help the following way:

"I think it's really cool, you know. The whole dynamic [...] and it may well be that, I don't know if anyone thinks that they don't feel that dynamic when they walk down [the Great Hall], but you help create it yourself [...] So this is a place where, well, if you need answers, you know who - so when you've been here for a while - you know who to go to and then you can count on getting something that can help you advance your tasks, when you have talked with those people " [Mette 2023, 01:00:12].

The physical dimension of the Open space facilitated responsiveness by enabling employees to access one another, collaborate, and share knowledge about projects and professional matters. From a resonance perspective, such a responsiveness significantly enhanced employees'

experiences of material resonance, as it embodied a response relationship that returned answers to work issues with a "voice of its own", but also social resonance as employees came to each other's aid and sought counsel, adapting to and learning from each other's professional skills.

In addition to the physical characteristics of the space, it seemed the responsiveness was also manifested in the social space as an open, responsive approach towards colleagues. This responsiveness extended to all construction disciplines in ProBuilt and was described by my research participants as respect for each other's professional knowledge. Thus, Carsten stressed the importance of approaching feedback from colleagues with an open approach. He encouraged being responsive to the new perspectives this space could provide, because it meant that colleagues across construction disciplines were set in motion as a group:

"...I'm glad that I have my colleagues around me. So, it, so it's something about being in a, uh, in a team, there. But, er, where you can ping-pong back and forth a bit, right. Er, so I don't - I - and then, where something gets done, right. Where something happens. We move. We move something along. Either in the team or at least there, in what I'm doing now. So somewhere something happens and there's something, some progress in it. That's what I think. And I like it when I do something new. Or get a new angle or some other input. I think that's cool. That you think, 'how the hell, I didn't see that coming' or, or 'this, that was interesting', um. So, so, so, so I think that when there, when there, when there's a flow in things" [Carsten 2021, 00:53:44].

According to Rosa (2019), this kind of responsiveness is essential to achieve resonance, as resonance requires employees to be open to letting the resonant relationship change the way they perform their tasks and affect their resonance partners and their tasks in return. Similarly, Carsten seemed, with his reference to something he "didn't see coming", to accept the unpredictable which according to Rosa is also a prerequisite for resonance. By enabling the "ping-pong back and forth" of ideas between colleagues, the open physical space of the Great Hall also shaped the social space and the responsive dynamics that were able to unfold here. Furthermore, this responsiveness also seemed to give rise to social resonance because the relationship to Carsten's colleagues became important since they achieved the material resonance together. Hence the responsiveness applied not only to the approach to work tasks, but also to colleagues which also gave the employees an experience of relatedness.

5.1.2 Relatedness through project plans

In line with Carsten's comment above, most of my research participants emphasised ProBuilt as a special place because they had the chance to collaborate with colleagues from other construction disciplines. This opportunity to gain insight into the work of other construction disciplines was important for gaining an overview of their projects, planning their work, and working "interdisciplinary" as the employees called it. In the Great Hall, this interdisciplinarity was experienced as a sense of relatedness, not only between the employees and their projects, but also between colleagues. This relatedness seemed physically manifested as project plans that were displayed throughout the Great Hall. The following picture displays the FLEXITEC project plans which was situated outside the FLEXITEC project management meeting room:

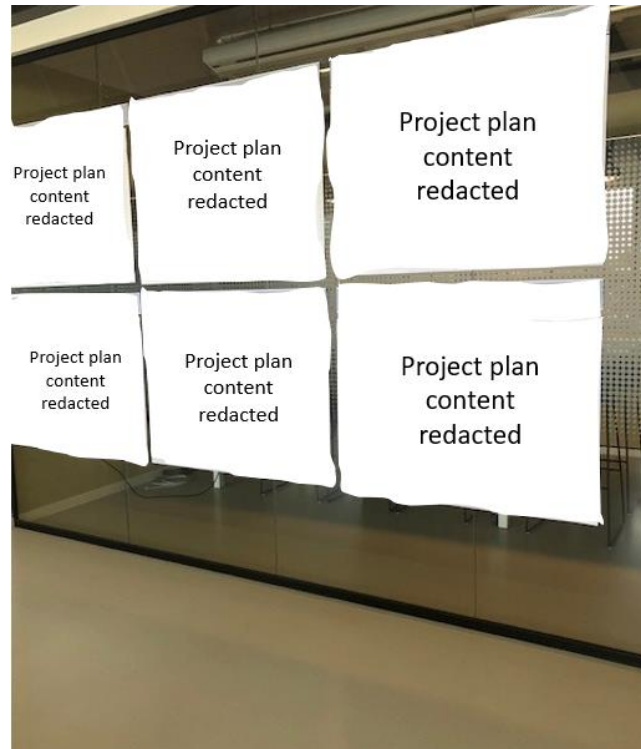


Figure 16 - Picture of project plans situated in the Great Hall

According to FLEXITEC PM Philip, the plans were designed to give the project members calmness, a sense of control, and overview of all the cross disciplinary interdependencies [FN2021-08-23]. According to my other research participants, these project plans could foster a responsive relationship between the employees and the "material" aspects of the project, such as deliveries. By ensuring smooth flow, coordinated efforts, and accurate task completion they seemed to lay the groundwork for material resonance. Furthermore, the project plans materialised the relatedness between the different construction disciplines of the projects which supported the development of social resonance between colleagues. Hans illustrated this by explaining how the project plans could facilitate crucial discussions among the various construction discipline groups within the FLEXITEC project. These discussions would enable them to prioritize effectively, support one another, and maintain alignment with the overall project objectives, ensuring the best possible delivery outcomes. Hans pointed out how the members of his construction discipline often discussed,

"...so, if we can't get it all, what will be important if you can't get it all now - what will be important to you? [...] look at the guy standing on the other side of the fence. What is he doing – what is his priority? Is there something that, like, if he does something different that would help you?' or 'when he's under enormous pressure to get everything done, is there something that's more important to you than something else?" [Hans2 2021, 00:07:00].

In the above quote, Hans described how he made sure that the different construction discipline groups remained connected and allowed themselves to be touched by the other construction disciplines' situation and circumstances and vice versa. This relatedness translated into a

behaviour of taking responsibility for the entire project together and helping each other across construction disciplines. Agnete described how she had experienced this relatedness starting as a new employee in ProBuilt:

"My experience, even when I came in, I think what has given me the most, it's actually been the sense of community. I think the most important thing in our culture is that we help each other. Er, because we are people who work a lot. We also work very interdisciplinary. There are a lot of things you don't know from the start, so being able to reach out to someone, and people just say, 'You know what? I'll help you with that, or I'll find someone who can' [Agnete & Christine, 00:07:39-6].

Agnete's experience illustrates an atmosphere that promoted both material resonance underlining the interdisciplinarity and the help to solve work problems, but also social resonance experienced as a sense of community. New employees described how this relatedness helped them get started, and it was often what made ends meet in project plans when colleagues could not deliver as agreed for one reason or another.

Finally, like the responsiveness described above, this relatedness seems to engender respectful behaviour between construction discipline groups. Thus, "respectful" was often articulated as the foundation for good task performance, but also for the ideal of the good colleague. Morten formulated it in the following way:

"You have to be curious, and you have to be open, and you have to have mutual respect for the different disciplines. There's a really big difference in professionalism, and of course there is. Um, and you must. And you should listen to each other and accommodate each other's professional skills" [Morten 2021, 00:34:18].

Morten's reference to having to listen and accommodate echoes Rosa's point that to create social resonance colleagues must release their preconceptions, be receptive to one another, and embrace vulnerability by relinquishing control (2019, p. 213). The respectful behaviour that the relatedness of the resonant atmospheres enabled thus promoted both better work solutions (material resonance), but also strong collegial relationships (social resonance) which in some cases superseded the resonance achieved by work itself.

In summary, it can be argued that the Open space in the Great Hall supported the creation of both material and social resonance (Rosa 2019). The design of the Open space not only fostered openness creating material resonance, but also created an environment where employees could easily access help, generating a strong sense of responsiveness. This responsiveness facilitated both material resonance as employees could efficiently progress with their tasks and social resonance, driven by the rich social interactions that made the Open space responsive. Similarly, the project plans in the Open space gave employees a sense of relatedness which gave rise to material resonance because it enhanced flow and co-ordinated task solving, but also social resonance because it gave the different construction disciplines an understanding of each other.

This understanding seems to breed a behaviour of responsibility and respect that further enabled colleagues to establish a resonant relationship with each other.

Within the Open space that was considered a very public space within ProBuilt, a semi-public space resided which was designed to provide room for employees to come up with creative solutions. Unlike the grandness of the Open space, this space was characterized by a playfulness which will be described in the next section.

5.2 The Play space

The Play space that was placed in the centre of the Great Hall and by the entrance contained everything from drawings and whiteboards to write down calculations and new ideas to samples of different types of building materials and Lego bricks.



Figure 17 - Picture of play elements from the Play space placed in the centre and entrance of the Great Hall

This Play space offered employees a physical dimension to their idea generation and further development of work tasks. Mads described the experience of resonating with the Great Hall's Play space as follows:

"I just enjoy walking through [the Great Hall], you know, we have all these posters and stuff from different projects hanging around. It's a great source of inspiration for me to go down and see what's going on, what are the other projects doing? And is there any of this stuff that, in one way or another, can inspire me to do something now or in the future, right? [...] for me, that's what's uplifting, I would say, and... And I often find that, you know, I run into someone, and I think, 'God, now that you're here, I just have to discuss this by the way, right, so [...] I really like being in the Great Hall. I really like standing up at one of the moveable tables and brainstorm, or whatever we can think of and discuss different ideas'" [Mads 2023, 00:50:05].

The above quotation makes it clear that Mads felt the Play space turned work into a playful experience, a sentiment shared by most of my research participants. This aligns with Rosa's observation that when material resonance occurs employees engage in their work for its own sake (intrinsic motivation). Additionally, one could argue that the Play space allowed the work itself to "speak" to the employees, inspiring them or as Rosa might say touching them on a deeper level. At the same time, the relationship was double-sided, as the employee could also

touch the material and shape it so that both parties in the resonant relationship changed form and adapted to each other. Furthermore, Mads's description of the brainstorm and the moveable tables is a good example of how the physical space of the atmosphere in the Great Hall again influenced the social space and the interaction that could occur here.

Throughout my fieldwork, I observed every day how the employees stood in the Play space of the Great Hall to discuss various professional issues and get help from their colleagues. The following observation is from a day when I was invited to a meeting where Anton had to give one of his colleagues feedback on a project one-pager:

Anton's colleague Tobias arrives, and they greet each other like good friends. Anton has apparently been in a team with Tobias before, and Tobias says that he doesn't see Anton as much as before. Anton says that he is so busy working, but that Tobias is always welcome because Anton has "Silophobia" [Anton's word for being afraid of working in silos]. We take the meeting in the centre of the Great Hall where there are some workshop facilities [...] Tobias presents the project. Anton gives feedback [...] Anton asks who the one-pager is for, and Tobias answers 'non-professionals'. Anton draws on the whiteboard, and we then go to the other side of the whiteboard to see some examples of business cases in a one pager [FN2021-08-23].

In the discussion between Anton and Tobias, the Great Hall's Play space offered a framework within which a certain type of affective event could take place because it was flexible, open, and filled with drawings and building materials that could inspire both Anton and Tobias. The meeting ended with both Anton and Tobias being enthusiastic about Tobias' project and having developed the one-pager to a level that Tobias could move forward with. Thus, from a resonance perspective one could argue that material resonance, arising from the development of the one-pager, and social resonance emanated from Anton and Tobias' relation, had occurred in this event.

In addition to providing the framework for the creation of material - and social resonance through experiences of playfulness, the Play space in the Great Hall seemed to tap into something deeper and more existential in ProBuilt employees. From the start of my fieldwork, my research participants described how ProBuilt was a company where employees were deeply engaged in their work and strongly identified with their professional discipline. The Play space served as a tangible expression of the employees' identification with and dedication to their profession. This committing was consistently reflected in both formal and informal narratives about ProBuilt employees who were frequently portrayed as highly skilled, responsible, and dedicated professionals. Thus, beyond the experience of playfulness the Play space was typically characterized by employees' affective experiences of committing.

5.2.1 Committing through gadgets and promotion posters

The various gadgets, drawings, building materials, and mobile whiteboards in the Play space fostered a sense of playfulness in the ProBuilt employees' work. Furthermore, because the Play space was dedicated to the employees' professional disciplines it seemed to highlight their status

as innovative and committed. Thus, my research participants described ProBuilt as an expert company, a professional beacon or "...a large collection of very wise heads, uh, who are also very skilled, who can make those "faster than fast track" for [industry] [...] We have a, a very, very mutual respect for each other's professional skills and that, I think. It's unique [Tom 2021, 00:05:50]. This experience of being a special type of "very wise people" was also supported by artefacts in the Great Hall's physical space such as posters that emphasised the organisation's high professional level or the unique skills of its employees.

Hans described his colleagues who identified with ProBuilt and the engineering profession as 'profession' employees who stood in contrast to 'position' employees, who just worked to further their career and rise in the organisational hierarchy:

"...we are what I would call profession people and not position people [...] we merge with what we do, and it becomes part of our personality [...] Now I was at [large American manufacturing company] in the US, which is a huge organisation. And they are much more position than profession. So, it's like, 'well' [shrug his shoulders]. That's what I kind of call 'over the fence' projecting [design], right. 'Well, I have a task, I do it and then I go like this'. And then I throw it over to the next cubicle [...] And then, whether he gets it in the head, or he's gone on holiday, or it lands on his feet or - I don't fucking care" [Hans2 2021, 00:06:22].

Hans' reference to "merging" with his professionalism testifies, in Rosa's terms (2019), to a resonant relationship established as a continuous provider of meaning and content in Hans' life. In Hans' opinion, part of being a 'profession employee' seemed to be that you were committed to your construction discipline and put it before everything else. Thus, Hans explained that when people asked him 'who are you?', his answer would always be "...I'm a senior engineer' [...] And then afterwards I'm then something else. And I think that's how most of the colleagues see themselves" [Hans2 2021, 00:08:22]. According to Hans, the focus on profession instead of position ensured that ProBuilt employees were committed to make the "right" decisions for the project, the quality of the building, and ultimately the customers. For many of the research participants the connection to their construction discipline gave them a sense of purpose and direction in their work which in Rosa's terms would translate to existential resonance.

The sense of committing that many of the research participants felt towards their profession also seemed to extend to a commitment towards the customers of ProBuilt. Even though the Play space on the surface invited to playfulness the narratives about being the best in the business and 'profession' employees also seemed foster a sense of commitment that my research participants could not renounce. This commitment seemed to be materialised in the physical space of the atmosphere, in i.e. posters portraying ProBuilt employees as superheroes or anti-heroes:

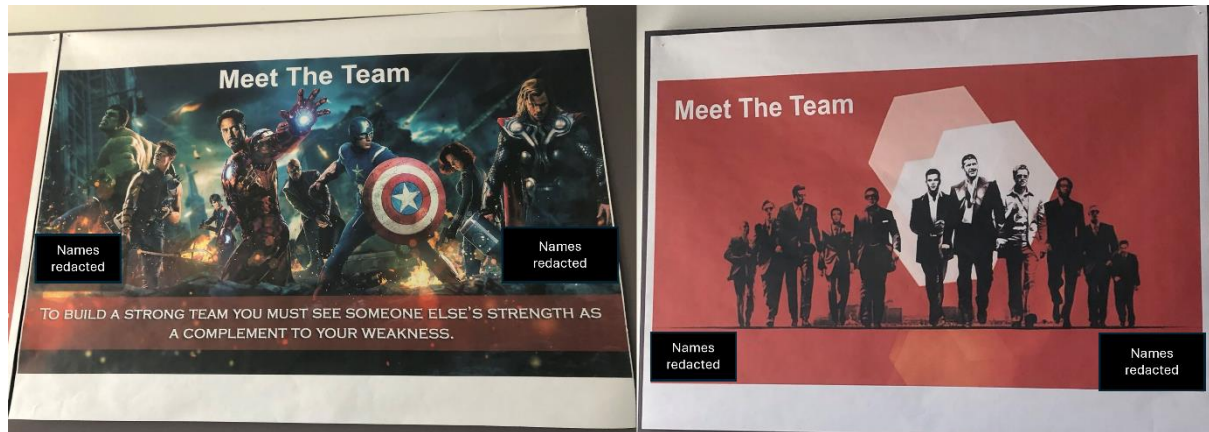


Figure 18 - Posters introducing two different teams in ProBuilt. Placed in the adjoining building to the Great Hall

Of course, having to act almost "superhuman" was tough at times, Frank explained, but he liked "this game" as it made him feel important which one could argue translates into an experience of existential resonance. Furthermore, Frank described how he took great pride in his work and took the responsibility of his construction discipline on his shoulders:

"We are - engineers are such a nature that we take responsibility and. So, the wife [Frank's wife] also says, 'what the hell, isn't there anyone else who can do that? So, I said 'no, it's a responsibility I have', right. It's, it's the passion you have. That's what you do'. My goal is to show that I can achieve this, right? That's what drives me [laughs a little]" [Frank 2021, 00:07:19].

All my research participants exhibited a clear normative stance regarding their professional responsibilities which could be interpreted as what Rosa might term a 'strong evaluation' (2016, p. 133), meaning that it was important to them. Thus, this sense of committing connected them to both each other as a group and ProBuilt as an organisation. This committing did not seem to reside solely in the individual employee but was instead a collective experience which many research participants referred to as a shared sense of obligation. This aligns with Sumartojo and Pink who argue that communities are created by atmosphere rather than existing beforehand. Atmosphere shapes community by inviting individuals to tune in, offering forms of address that implicitly define the group (2019, p. 121). Through recruitment, coaching, entertainment at cross-organisational events like the annual party, employer value propositions, and introductory seminars for new employees, ProBuilt promoted the ideal of the committed 'profession employee.'

Tom explained that the reason why it was important that ProBuilt employees always felt committed to give everything they had when working on a project was because they were used to being limited in time due to factory shut-downs. This meant that if the ProBuilt employees were "... delayed, they [customers] run out of [product] that they can deliver over the counter. So, it just must work, and it just must work the first time. There's no time to redo it. And it's a, uh, it's a baton that I don't think many other companies have. I mean, they can get daily fines

and everything else, and it can hurt financially. But here there are people who can't get their vital medication if we screw up, if we behave like fools [Tom 2021, 00:28:05].

The fear of "screwing up" and being responsible for a shortage of vital medicine was a common underlying concern among most of my research participants. This sense of commitment was deeply embedded in the ProBuilt narrative of them building the factories that produced life-saving medicine and the patients who depended on it, significantly enhancing the existential resonance felt by employees. Moreover, the strong commitment to customers overlapped with a similar commitment to colleagues, creating an even stronger sense of purpose. Rolf described the nature of this commitment as follows:

"It's a bit like being a trainee in the Marine corps. You don't want to let the others down, and that's an incredibly strong force, right. And the other force is that you're very focused on protecting your honour. In my profession, at least, you must not under-perform which means that you push it right to the limit. And when it breaks - the chain, right - then the whole thing crashes because you've tightened the bow so much, erm. So, so and so, it's just difficult. It's not like if you, if you just, if the chain came off earlier then it's easier to pick it up. But, but, but, you're really, you protect your honour, and you'll do anything for your colleagues [...] It's a bit on, on the level of a esprit de corps " [Rolf 2021, 00:48:50].

The 'esprit de corps' that Rolf referred to often manifested itself as extreme industriousness and a normative approach to work in terms of not going home until the job was done. Apart from the honour linked to the profession, Rolf also pointed to relations to colleagues as being an "incredibly strong force" which in Rosa's terms could be translated into strong social resonance. Rosa argues that such commitment and responsibility is often engendered by trust as a committed, responsible employee seeks to justify that trust (Rosa & Endres, 2017, p. 87).

In summary, the Play space in the Great Hall appeared to foster material -, social -, and existential resonance. While the playful interaction with the area's gadgets offered a physical aspect to idea generation fostering material resonance, the collaborative and playful atmosphere among colleagues established the foundation for social resonance. The Play space not only engaged employees' senses but also reinforced their professional identity contributing to existential resonance. This strong commitment to their profession led to a deep commitment to both ProBuilt's customers and their colleagues. The committing to customers provided a sense of purpose, enhancing existential resonance, while the dedication to colleagues formed the basis for even stronger social resonance.

While the Play space had a semi-public demeanour it was flanked on both sides by the Belonging space which by most of my research participants was considered a private space for their project groups. In the following, I will highlight what characterized this space.

5.3 The Belonging space

The Great Hall was organised so that no employees had fixed seats. Instead, different projects were assigned a certain number of seats in each side of the hall, depending on how big the project was and what building phase it was in.



Figure 19 - Picture of a section of the Belonging space in the Great Hall

In the early stages, when the project team was small, like in the Silverlining project, they were usually assigned to workshop rooms in the basement. As the project grew and moved into the middle phases of construction the team was typically relocated to the Great Hall or space in the adjoining buildings of ProBuilt. In the final stages, most of the project team would usually transition to the construction site. Once a project was assigned seating in the Great Hall, a small sign with the project name was placed on top of the rolling cabinets located at the end of the desks designated for that project. For many of the research participants these seating areas in the Great Hall became a home away from home, fostering a strong sense of belonging to their colleagues within the project. According to Liselotte, her colleagues were the reason why she got up in the morning and went to work. Thus, it was no surprise that even though no project members had fixed seats there was a very definite distribution of where the different project members sat. The following observation is from my first day at the FLEXITEC project, where I did not yet know any of the employees:

8:05 AM: I arrive and after saying good morning to Sofia, I go down to the FLEXITEC area. I see the employee that I had a meeting with on Monday. He nods at me, and I go down and ask

him where I can sit. We talk a bit about which seats his colleagues usually sit in, and his three colleagues intervene and say that I can sit in Sally's seat because she's not coming in today. I say that I'll sit there and then of course I'll just move if she comes in. The employee from the meeting says that this is also one of the things about flexible seating - 'something happens to us if the places we usually sit in are occupied' [...] 8:30: Sally comes. The woman next to me giggles and says, 'here comes Sally now'. I say that of course I'm moving. They say, 'well, there's flexible seating' but I can sense that it's important that the woman gets her seat [FN2021-09-01].

The informal "fixed seating" referred to by the employees in the above event helped mark an invisible boundary between the FLEXITEC project group and the rest of the employees in the Great Hall. Belonging to this seating space meant that you were naturally included in the social fabric of the Belonging space. You were invited to join colleagues for coffee at the coffee island, regularly asked how you were doing, and seamlessly integrated into the prevailing humorous banter.

This experience of belonging seemed to transgress even to former employees who still felt a connection to the Belonging spaces of ProBuilt. Liselotte explained how one of her former colleagues, Petra, returned to ProBuilt because:

"[She could feel a] warmth and love. Such a feeling of being at home again. [...] everyone just showed that she has been hugely missed and that everyone was just like, 'we promise cake if you come', and everyone has been so upfront about the fact that she actually belongs here. This is coming home, and she just felt a lot of warmth and love from her former colleagues" [Liselotte2 2021, 00:02:08].

In the above quote, Liselotte referred to ProBuilt as "home" and in the FLEXITEC seating area the employees repeatedly referred to each other as family and management as the adults [FN2021-10-04]. Within a resonance perspective, the reference to family signalizes a strong social resonance since Rosa argues that the family often represents a harbour of resonance for people in the late modern society (2019, p. 202). The FLEXITEC project members were not the only ones referring to ProBuilt as a family, and when I asked Liselotte, why employees talked about ProBuilt as a home she replied:

"I think ProBuilt is special. I can also see right now that many colleagues who might have left the company, also around the time that Petra had also left. They are all "back home". But there's a special sense of togetherness, even though everything can move fast, and we may occasionally have some things that aren't satisfactory and things like that, there's just a very special energy in being in ProBuilt" [Liselotte2 2021, 00:02:57].

From a resonance perspective, one could argue that this special energy that Liselotte refers to is an expression of resonance that apparently was so strong that it had become a recruitment parameter when attracting new hires. Additionally, the profound sense of belonging experienced by most of my research participants was such that many expressed that they remained at

ProBuilt primarily because of the atmosphere around the Belonging space. Vibeke described this in the following way:

"...well, we do some slightly specialised things, but they also do that at [competitor]. They also do it elsewhere, um, so I think the work is generally pretty much the same. But it's your colleagues [...] I get on really well with my colleagues. Super good and you know each other really well [...] a few years ago, I was talking to another company [...] It's not because of the work, but it was my colleagues who held me back from taking this job" [Vibeke 2021, 00:31:52].

Despite Rosa equating material-, social-, and existential resonance (Rosa, 2019), Vibeke stressed the significance of social resonance in maintaining her connection to her work, and all the research participants I queried about their affiliation with ProBuilt echoed this sentiment. Consequently, one could argue that social resonance (colleagues) had superseded the material resonance (work assignment/physical surroundings) in importance for Vibeke, changing the nature of her relationship to co-workers from mere collegial relations to something more characterized by friendship. In addition, one could argue that this experience of belonging almost translated into existential resonance as the experience of belonging together with colleagues became the purpose of work itself and what drove Vibeke's relation to ProBuilt. Such preference for social resonance was echoed by Hans when he explained how he saw himself in ProBuilt:

"I see my role as, well 'try to relax a bit', right, and 'please calm down'. People do the best they can. So, I try to be the buffer or the translator. I get energized when people see me and get happy. It fills me up, because then I make sense" [Hans1 2021, 00:07:38].

In the above quote, it seemed that Hans not only gained social resonance from his interactions with colleagues, where he felt recognized, but also existential resonance, because through the establishment of social resonance with his colleagues, he made sense as a human.

However, it was not just the belonging that seemed to create a resonant atmosphere in the Belonging space. Also, the "warmth and love" that Liselotte referred to in the above was important to make the space configure which will be described in the next section as the experience of jovialness.

5.3.1 Jovialness through celebratory greetings

Besides providing the employees with an experience of belonging, the Belonging spaces also developed their own small pockets of jovialness. In the FLEXITEC project team this experience of jovialness had been translated into "the good tone" which consisted of an accommodating and friendly mode of interaction and an extensive use of humour. Within a resonance perspective, this is interesting since Rosa argues that the "...first and fundamental organ through which we enter into a responsive relationship with the world and make the world respond to us [...] is the voice" (2019, p. 63). In line with this, "the good tone", or jovialness, between colleagues seemed to be an indicator of when a resonant atmosphere was present in the FLEXITEC seating area.

Physically, the experience of jovialness was manifested as i.e. small greetings in the Great Hall, as the image below of a birthday song on a whiteboard, illustrates:

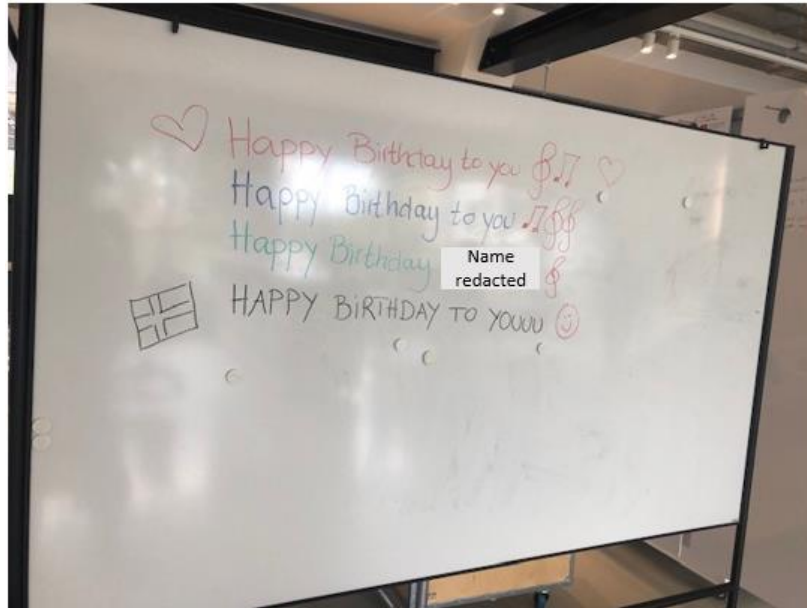


Figure 20 - Birthday song written on a whiteboard in the Great Hall

Despite being assigned to a specific employee, this song had the effect of eliciting smiles from everyone passing the whiteboard fostering social resonance as a sense of connection among the employees (Rosa, 2019, p. 69), but also giving them a sense of the physical space speaking to them as they passed it which could translate into material resonance. Jovialness, physically manifested like this, had the consequence that as Maja put it *"If you're under pressure, but if you get a smiley, you can just utilise the last 10%"* [FN2021-09-13] which indicated that social resonance in the form of smileys gave Maja the energy to keep working, when she was exhausted. In this way, social resonance seemed to make employees more adaptable towards the volatility of the project environment which is also reflected in the research on 'communities of coping' (Korczynski, 2003) as presented in the affective-collective strand of work-related stress literature.

The jovialness was intriguing because it enabled the resonant atmosphere to expand and thus incorporate an increasing number of employees in the Great Hall into it. Consequently, several of my research participants described that you could hear the FLEXITEC project team's laughter everywhere in the Great Hall, and that it affected them also. Liselotte explained the joviality as follows:

"...I actually think that when you end up in an environment like this where there's fun and mischief, you open up to that kind of thing. I also think that you can have an influence on people who might not otherwise be like that by nature - they quickly fall into this warmth around this way of being on projects with humour and, and we can tease each other a bit, but it's loving. That, that's what I maybe sense - that some people grow into it and actually think it's really nice. And you become strong together in it. Yes, that is what I believe. [Liselotte1 2021, 00:22:49]."

Employees around the FLEXITEC project team adapted or fell “into the warmth” of the jovialness and from a resonance perspective, it can be argued that this “fun and mischiefs” was an embodiment of social resonance that made the employees within the Belonging space resonate. When I asked my research participants how these “fun and mischiefs” was experienced, and what it did to them, Jytte confirmed the contagious nature of jovialness that radiated from colleagues in the Great Hall:

"...I think the atmosphere is contagious. I think that if people realize that 'well, but here, uh, here's, there's, there, they're laughing and stuff like that. I want to be a part of that. I think I'll sit here' [laughs a little]. And you can easily do that one day if you think, 'maybe I'm not quite so happy today, but it might help a little to sit here'" [Jytte 2021, 00:26:23].

As Jytte pointed out, the resonant atmosphere connected colleagues because it seemed to create a link of contagious energy between colleagues that bonded them together (Rosa, 2019, p. 69) especially during periods when work was tough. Liselotte confirmed this by stating that the jovialness meant that colleagues were connected, helped, and carried each other, and stood together as a team. Thus, she felt “...safe when we laugh together and have fun. I get a little worried when it's not like that, because then some things aren't as they should be” [Liselotte 2021, 00:21:07]. From a resonance perspective one could argue that the laughter Liselotte mentioned helped colleagues attune to each other, fostering an openness that allowed resonant relationships to develop. The following observation highlights this dynamic. It comes from a day on the FLEXITEC project just before a deadline when many team members appeared to be under significant pressure:

10:58: Sune comes up to Vibeke, and when he sees that Liselotte and Vibeke are watching him, he says, 'don't look like that. Here comes Tarzan-boy, that's what the ladies want', and both Liselotte and Vibeke laugh, and they start fooling around. He does little dance steps, and he says it's like they're at a Christmas lunch. The mood changes and gradually Hans, Pelle and Jasper join in the conversation. Majken sits by herself next to Jasper and says nothing. I can feel it [the mood] rubbing off on me too. I smile and get a light and bubbly feeling in my body. I can feel that I also want to play along. Liselotte laughs out loud, and they start discussing whether Sune smells of onions, and he goes along with it and smells his breath. They talk professionally for a moment after which Sune goes back to his seat. I slowly feel the bubbling sensation fading in my body, and my system is neutralised again [FN2021-10-27].

In the above event, Sune adapted to the pressurized affective states his colleagues exhibited by using a humorous dance to open up an resonance room (Rosa & Endres, 2017, p. 30) between colleagues and change the atmosphere by boosting social resonance through jovialness. Although the seating space of the Great Hall didn't lend itself to this type of social interaction the open layout meant that employees had easy access to like-minded people they could joke around with when they needed to boost their social resonance. Nevertheless, it is worth noting in the above event that not all employees experienced resonance through jovialness, and Majken seems to be further isolated as she did not seem to resonate with the mood of the atmosphere

(Ahmed, 2014). However, for most of my research participants, the seating area represented a jovial, safe space where they could recharge. Thus, in addition to the jovialness that the Belonging space radiated, the affective experience of caring also played a crucial role, which will be explored further in the following section.

5.3.2 Caring through coffee

In the entrance to the Great Hall (from the lobby side), a small kitchenette was placed with a high table standing in front of it and adjacent green couches by the windows in the right side of the common office. The employee of the Great Hall called the high table the coffee island, and like a true island this high table, the kitchenette with the coffee machines, and the green couches in the back against the windows seemed to create a certain space that was experienced differently than the rest of the Great Hall.



Figure 21 - Picture of the coffee island

This coffee island seemed to serve as an oasis of resonance (Rosa, 2019, pp. 114–118) where employees could connect, talk privately, comfort each other, and slow down the pace of their daily routines. Thus, I repeatedly observed how especially the employees on the FLEXITEC project used the coffee island to care for themselves and others by taking a break and connect with their colleagues, as the following observation from my first day on the FLEXITEC project illustrates:

The employee [Jasper] from the meeting is sitting behind me talking to a colleague about switchboards. He stands up, looks at me and says, 'it's time for coffee, what the hell, are you drinking water', referring to the fact that there is water in my ProBuilt mug. I say yes, but that I actually need a cup of coffee and go with him [FN2021-09-01].

In the above event, Jasper utilized the coffee island and its associated routines to care for colleagues and ensure that they were mutually aligned and adapting to each other's affective states. He approached me to inquire about my project while also sharing many of his own experiences of work-related stress at ProBuilt. From a resonance point of view, one could argue this experience of care spurred social resonance between Jasper and myself as we connected, exchanged views, and were mutually influenced by each other's perspectives. When asked about his routines surrounding coffee, Jasper was very conscious about the care that he could provide his colleagues with through these coffee routines:

“...if I can make my colleagues feel good and work effectively. Well, then I've also justified that I may have drunk a little more coffee and talked a little more that day than I really should. I don't have a problem with it. Then, it may well be that some boss comes in one day and says, 'Now you have to actually work'. 'Yes, yes', I don't worry about that” [chuckles] [Jasper 2022, 01:07:11].

In the quoted passage, Jasper emphasizes the significance of the coffee island for his colleagues' well-being and productivity. By engaging in coffee breaks and conversations, Jasper reinforced resonant relationships with his colleagues. Additionally, the quote suggests that Jasper viewed these routines as equally important as his other work, underscoring the importance of a resonant atmosphere for employees' well-being in the Great Hall. The use of the coffee island to show care was confirmed by Vibeke, who described her colleague Liselotte in the following way:

"I've observed that you [Liselotte] were good at, for example, also when you could sense [something is off], 'why don't you come out for a cup of coffee', or you know? [...] Kind of trying to pull you out of the situation where you're a bit, uh [sad/bad mood], 'why don't you come for a cup of coffee', or 'why don't I bring a cup of coffee' or 'should I bring something for you? Just like that, try to, where you could sense it. You've always been really good at that” [Liselotte & Vibeke 2022, 01:02:18-3].

By inviting her colleagues for coffee, Liselotte appeared to use the change of physical scenery to create a private space where she could offer support and care if needed which created a strong connection between employees in the Belonging space. This approach helped her colleagues to open up and connect, fostering social resonance.

In summary, it can be argued that the Belonging space in the form of the project assigned seating spaces was the setting for an intense creation of social resonance. Thus, employees seemed to achieve social resonance both through experiences of belonging manifested as unofficial fixed seating and joviality manifested as ‘the good tone’ that reenergised employees and helped them decompress if the pressure of the project became too great. Furthermore, the Belonging space seemed to extend to the coffee island at the entrance of the Great Hall within which employees could care for themselves by taking a break and care for their colleagues by talking to them about non-work-related issues. In this way, social resonance was generated between the employees as they both touched and were touched by their colleagues through laughter, care and emotional release which often (but not always hence the unpredictability) led to a transformation of their affective states for the better. Furthermore, the social resonance was

so strong that it seemed to transcend into existential resonance as the connection to colleagues for some research participants seemed to become the purpose of work itself (see chapter seven on First Tuning Forks). Last, but not least, the Belonging space also brought material resonance as the space seemed to respond to employees through small greetings as they passed through.

5.4 The experience of resonant atmospheres

In the above chapter I explored how resonant atmospheres are experienced by examining what affective experiences underpin the configuration of material, social, and existential resonance within the organisational atmospheres of the Great Hall. Using an atmospheric lens to examine affective events in the Great Hall, while considering the participants' shared affective experiences, revealed how the dynamic interactions between employees, work situations, and the physical surroundings created an atmospheric framework. This framework favoured certain types of affective events, which unfolded in recognizable patterns. Thus, the research participants highlighted experiences of openness, responsiveness, and relatedness in the overall Open space of the Great Hall, which seemed to produce material– and social resonance. Likewise, the Play space generated resonance along all three axes of resonance through experiences of playfulness and committing. Finally, the Belonging space of the seating area and the coffee island fostered all three types of resonance through experiences of belonging, jovialness and caring.

The figure below illustrates the connection between employees' intuitive strive for the good life (Rosa 2019), the spaces in the Great Hall, and the affective experiences employees typically encountered within these spaces:

Spaces in the Great Hall Atmospheric processes	Affective experiences encountered in:		
	Open space	Play space	Belonging space
Intuitive strive for the “good life”	Openness (5.1) Responsiveness (5.1.1) Relatedness (5.1.2)	Playfulness (5.2) Committing (5.2.1)	Belonging (5.3) Jovialness (5.3.1) Caring (5.3.2)

Figure 22 - Overview of chapter 5

Going back to the research question this analysis set out to explore, one could argue that resonant atmospheres were experienced as a sense of openness, responsiveness, relatedness, playfulness, committing, belonging, jovialness, and caring.

Several interesting points can be deduced from the above analysis. Firstly, the employees of the Great Hall were not passive receivers in such affective experiences, but also contributed to obtaining such experiences, and the relations seemed to transform both the employees and their surroundings as they engaged with them - however, not always in predictable or expected ways. When the relations between employees and the Great Hall were characterized by both material-,

social-, and existential resonance, I will argue that ProBuilt served as a harbour of resonance (Rosa, 2019) for the employees in the Great Hall. Because such resonant experiences are rare, as Rosa points out, and were described as “uplifting”, “exciting”, “fun”, and “safe” by the research participants, these experiences were crucial for ProBuilt employees’ well-being and seemed to inhibit alienation and subsequently the development of work-related stress. Furthermore, I will argue that the anticipation of these resonant organisational atmospheres was why many employees stayed in ProBuilt even when the atmospheres shifted from resonant to dissonant and their axes of resonance started dissolving which is a topic I will explore further in the next chapter on the dissonant atmospheres of acceleration and instrumentalisation. Secondly, even though all three types of resonance contributed to forming ProBuilt as a ‘resonant harbour’, social resonance seemed to have a special status as it could transcend into existential resonance and become the purpose of work itself, which will be explored further in chapter seven on affective labour and Tuning Forks.

6. The dissonant atmospheres of acceleration and instrumentalisation

The aim of the following section is to show how the resonant atmospheres of the Great Hall altered as acceleration and instrumentalisation entered their composition. The chapter is composed in the following way: First, the various manifestations of acceleration are analysed with a particular focus on employees' affective experiences of busyness, weariness, addictedness, and powerlessness. Second, the manifestations of instrumentalisation are examined highlighting affective experiences of dullness, objectifying, forsakenness, and neglecting.

As outlined in the methods section, the focus of the analysis shifts from the Open-, Play-, and Belonging spaces in chapter five to the atmospheric processes of acceleration and instrumentalisation in this analysis of dissonant atmospheres, starting with how acceleration manifests in the Great Hall.

6.1 Manifestations of acceleration

When atmospheres of resonance were present in the Great Hall it was characterised by openness, responsiveness, and relatedness in the Open space, playfulness and committing in the Play space, and belonging, jovialness, and caring in the Belonging space. However, as acceleration took hold the atmospheres within these spaces shifted dramatically. These changes appeared to stem from four major ways in which acceleration manifested: Firstly, the corporate ideal of 'faster-than-fast-track' became the new normal altering the pace of employees' behaviour across workspaces. Secondly, acceleration heightened the pressure on employees to constantly wear a 'yes-hat' even as they grew increasingly exhausted and needed to voice concerns. Thirdly, work routines that had once provided a "resonance rush" during factory shutdowns morphed into an "addiction" to an ever-increasing pace under the new normal. Finally, acceleration transformed the meaning of jovial artifacts changing them from sources of emotional release into reminders of falling behind, leaving employees feeling powerless. The following sections will explore these visible and invisible changes driven by acceleration, beginning with the shifts in the nature and methods of work in the Great Hall.

6.1.1 Busyness through the introduction of a new normal

The interesting thing about the acceleration in the Great Hall was that it was almost invisible in the physical space of the atmospheres which aligns with Rosa's notion that acceleration is the overriding social norm in modern society, appearing invisible and unnoticeable in most atmospheres because it is taken for granted (Rosa, 2014, p. 50). Only posters such as the one below promoting the speed in which ProBuilt could run projects indicated that acceleration was taking over as the main driver of work:



Figure 23 - Poster from entrance of ProBuilt

This poster symbolized a change in the pace of work in ProBuilt and the ‘Faster than fast track’ ideal was also reflected in the ProBuilt values which dictated that the number one value in ProBuilt was “Exceeding customer expectations”. According to another poster placed in the Open Space of the Great Hall this meant that employees should continuously strive to raise the bar, perform faster, do better, be more innovative, be more passionate, and take more initiative on the next project. These posters were a physical manifestation of the ideal of acceleration that seemed to slowly seep into the social fabric of the project work of ProBuilt, as it was increasingly articulated as the new normal. This is in line with Rosa's thoughts on 'dynamic stabilisation' where a modern organisation must continuously grow to maintain the status quo (Rosa, 2019, p. 19). Paradoxically, every time ProBuilt had run a fast-track project, the stories employees often told each other were that they would never do it again. Nevertheless, I repeatedly witnessed the ideal of acceleration being talked up in relation to project planning. Both during training sessions of employees where trainees were praised for suggesting running with forced timelines and complete tasks before deadlines [FN 2021-09-29] and in customer meetings as illustrated in the below observation from the Silverlining project. In this event, the PM Mads was discussing timelines with the customer who was not happy about the standard times of the building process:

The workshop starts again [...] Mads draws a timeline of when they [the Silverlining customers] can expect to start producing. The mood suddenly changes. I don't understand it at first, but Customer 1 and Customer 2 get frustrated, and Customer 1 expresses it. Especially the time it takes the authorities to approve projects and grant permits is challenged. Mads insists that it takes 1 year. Customer 1 says 'that's not going to work. We end up enabling the competitors when in 12 months' time we don't have a factory ready but have prepared the products for

production. The customer doesn't want to sit 3½ years on the prototypes before they are produced - they want to get started right away'. The customers are pressuring Mads. Mads draws a line on the board and writes 6 months, 800 m². Mads explains that ProBuilt has just completed a project from groundbreaking to start of production in 6 months. I think 'oh no' - I think he's referring to the [first fast track project] which Mads himself has said that the involved parties had agreed never to do a project like that again. I sense that I am witnessing something central here in terms of how ProBuilt is slowly increasing the speed and thus the pressure on its employees. What used to be exceptional is now being sold as something that can be done to excite potential customers. Customer 1 says 'at least that's something' [FN 2021-08-25].

Facing pressure from the customer, Mads resorted to the fast-track approach to maintain customer satisfaction, despite knowing that this method had caused problems for colleagues in previous projects where it had been implemented. The result of project managers giving in to the acceleration like this was that project plans increasingly became disconnected from project members' experiences of the project progress. In line with Hollstein & Rosa's (2023) thoughts on 'temporal regimes', the project plans were pivotal in how employees managed their time and processes, serving as a key artifact that linked the various construction disciplines within the resonant atmosphere. However, as acceleration set in the meaning of them seemed to change because projects shifted at an increasingly rapid pace due to changing customer preferences or evolving circumstances resulting in constant adjustments. However, this continual change was not reflected in the project plans. From having been a common fixed point of reference they became an artefact that often created more frustration than tranquillity. The following observation illustrates how the FLEXITEC project plan gave Jasper an intense experience of dissonance because the deadlines were perceived as unrealistic, and made it impossible for Jasper to perform his tasks well:

8:15: Jasper arrives [...] He looks tired and drained from energy. I ask him how he's feeling. He says he hasn't slept and is therefore utterly exhausted. I ask why, and he says he just woke up at 2 AM and then couldn't sleep. I ask if he's worried about the [discipline delivery], and he says he's worried about that, but also about the whole project: 'We've been behind from the start, no matter what they say at the meetings. We're breaching our own principles by making everything go so fast. What they haven't realised is that we work under a different contract than we usually do, and some of what we do is actually [not right]. But that is for some adults to decide about'. Jasper looks at me - 'Don't look so worried - you're doing that thing with your forehead'. I reply that I'm just wondering who the adults are since he's the one who's noticing this. Jasper says, 'I'm not an adult'. I ask what characterises adults, and Jasper says that it's someone who can make decisions [FN2021-10-04].

The observation above highlights how employees faced with the FLEXITEC project plans appeared to feel diminished to a state of "childhood" or a lack of agency, forcing them to work against their better judgment - an experience that, from a resonance perspective, would lead to dampening of existential resonance. Additionally, one could argue that Jasper's capacity to achieve material resonance was undermined by the imposed deadlines which he felt prevented him from delivering quality work on the FLEXITEC project.

According to Rosa, this kind of dampening of material- and existential resonance should lead to a deep, structural distortion between self and world (2014, p. 96) where the world is experienced as indifferent or even hostile, and where the subject has no inner connection to the world (2019, p. 252). This state can, according to Rosa & Endre have "*...pathological consequences such as stress or depression caused by lack of time, resulting in a closure of the future as a space of possibilities*" [own translation] (2017, p. 14). Only in ProBuilt, this was not the case even though several of my research participants seemed to give up on achieving material- or existential resonance at work. Instead, the Great Hall remained a meaningful place for the employees despite the dampening of such resonance, as social resonance took over and compensated leaving the employees dissonant but not alienated. Hans gave an example of this as he explained that he had finally run out of energy on the FLEXITEC project and was "*...basically indifferent to that factory [...] I go to work to be with the people that I like*" [FN2021-09-01]. As the material resonance seemed to dry out for Hans, his resonant relations to colleagues seemed to take over and provide him with the motivation he needed to continue work.

Apart from the subtle changes in the meaning of the project plans, brought about by the fast-track ideal, the 'faster than fast track posters' seemed to be a constant reminder of the accelerated pace that employees were expected to keep up with which was brought up by several of my research participants independently. The following event is from an observation of a Silverlining workshop during one of the breaks where my research participant Tom specifically referred to the above poster:

Tom asks about my project, and we talk a bit about who I have talked to. I ask about pressure in his department, and he says there is a lot. But he's started not to take it personally because he has so much experience. But there are a lot of people who are under pressure. He says, 'it probably doesn't help that you're greeted by a poster saying, "Faster than fast track" in the entrance'. I ask him what he thinks it does to people, and he says, 'well, it certainly doesn't make those who are stressed less stressed'. PM Mads has arrived, and he says, 'yes, if you're stressed, you're fucked. So, you must make sure you don't get stressed' [FN 2021-09-14].

This observation illustrates several important things about how acceleration was manifested in the Great Hall. Firstly, physical artefacts such as the above poster had a clear impact on the social dynamics of the Great Hall because it reminded the employees of a changed approach to executing projects that required them to work much faster than previously, which could trigger dissonance in employees who were already under pressure. Secondly, Tom was not the only of my research participants who used the phrase of not taking it "personal" as a way of signalling a distancing between himself and the acceleration of ProBuilt. From a resonance perspective, one could argue that this was an indication of dampening existential resonance because employees could no longer keep up or identify with the accelerated *modus vivendi* of ProBuilt. Thirdly, work-related stress was perceived as an individual phenomenon that you as an employee had to make sure that you did not end up with because otherwise you were "fucked" (no help could be expected). This aligns with Rosa's point that modern society is regulated by the silent normative power of temporal norms such as deadlines, schedules, and time frames which he calls a "*totalitarian regime of acceleration*" (Rosa, 2014, p. 50). Unlike other forms of totalitarian

regimes that force subjects into specific behavioural patterns, employees under the “totalitarian regime of acceleration,” tend to blame themselves for failing to keep up with the accelerated pace. This might explain why work-related stress at ProBuilt was perceived as an individual issue with employees feeling personally responsible for avoiding it. This perception was also reflected in the most common reasons my research participants gave for their colleagues experiencing work-related stress, such as not being fast, resilient, or skilled enough.

To encompass the accelerated project plans, and in line with Rosa’s descriptions of how the acceleration of pace of life was maintained through an increased number of action events per time unit (2019), I observed how ProBuilt employees in the Great Hall generally walked fast, talked fast, and typed fast. According to Sumartojo and Pink (2019, p. 75) movement is a huge part of what constitutes atmosphere, and they argue that movement is essential to people’s way of knowing and learning in the environments they inhabit. Thus, the accelerated pace seemed to spread between the employees which Vibeke described in the following way:

"...It's stressful when he [colleague] comes, uh, in this way because he's busy and is lead on the project, so there's a lot going on and a lot of meetings. So sometimes you're working on something, and he needs help with something, and he needs it now [...] so those times when he's not there [in the Great Hall]. It's actually very calm, and you achieve a lot more because you don't get those disturbances all the time [...] You can almost just sense when he steps in like that, and because he walks, I think he does that in general, he walks very fast, but he walks very [emphasize very] fast, and he talks on the phone, and you can hear sometimes [makes type sounds on the table to imitate a keyboard], it's running fast and. And he looks around and needs to get hold of Hans, and it, it feels very stressful sometimes" [Vibeke 2021, 00:21:58].

In the above quote, Vibeke described feeling dissonance in the form of stress due to her colleague's tense and accelerated behaviour. The rapid pace of Vibeke’s colleague made him unreachable to her, and his inability to establish a respectful and careful work relationship where he refrained from constantly demanding her help “now” would, according to Rosa and Endres, prevent a resonant connection with her (2017, p. 28). This because according to Rosa and Endres, resonance relies on the spatial aspects of buildings and the way people navigate through them making resonance inherently a bodily phenomenon (2017, p. 31). Apart from the accelerated behaviour at work, employees also seemed to expand their work time by working on weekends and in the evenings and were almost apologetic to each other if they were not working and available online during these periods. Finally, ProBuilt employees also worked on different tasks in parallel to optimise their time and achieve more. Thus, I repeatedly observed people working on other tasks when they were in meetings struggling to concentrate on one thing at a time, but instead being continuously interrupted by calls or emails. Similarly, there were several examples of employees participating in online Teams meetings while driving a car.

According to the research participants, the reason employees in the Great Hall accelerated their behaviour was because they were used to working on factory shut-downs where the customers were dependent on and greatly appreciated the highest speed possible. Thus, ProBuilt employees seemed to link high speed with recognition which with the accelerated pace of project execution

seemed to develop into a weariness because they always felt they had to put on the accommodating 'yes-hat'.

6.1.2 Weariness through the yes-hat

As noted in chapter five, most of my research participants seemed to perceive themselves as 'profession employees' with their identity deeply tied to their professionalism and ProBuilt's original core mission of remodelling during factory shut-downs. This meant that the employees were concerned with making solutions of good professional quality and were used to working in short intensive projects. Finally, because the ProBuilt employees' work was limited by the shut-down, they were also used to having a very accommodating and loyal approach to their colleagues, as there was no time to wait for help during the shutdown rebuilds. This accommodating attitude was referred to in ProBuilt as "wearing the yes-hat" [Tine 2021], and it was implicitly expected that a real ProBuilt employee had this kind of 'shut-down' approach to their work (quality focus, high pace, yes-hat). As acceleration took hold it appeared to alter the perception of how to honour this 'shut-down' approach. Instead of demonstrating a quality focus, high pace, and a positive, accommodating attitude during limited periods followed by downtime to recharge before the next 'shut-down' project, ProBuilt employees were increasingly expected to maintain this 'shut-down' approach continuously at an accelerated pace. This aligns with Sumartojo and Pink's description of atmospheres as powerful forces that shape perceptions of what feels 'right' or 'wrong,' and significantly influence how employees interpret and engage with their environment (2019, pp. 7–14) in the Great Hall. Deeply rooted in the employees' past experiences of being a 'shut-down' company, the resonant atmospheres appeared to reinforce work practices tailored to working around the clock. When acceleration and instrumentalisation disrupted the resonant atmosphere the inertia of this atmosphere sustained the use of specific artifacts and work processes. However, their meaning shifted leading to affective dissonance as the expectations rooted in the resonant atmosphere clashed with employees' actual experiences in the increasingly accelerated and instrumentalized environment.

Furthermore, refusing to go along with the accelerated pace of the atmosphere did not seem to be a viable option as employees who did this seemed to be at risk of being deemed a "speilverderber" [Tom 2021] and receive artefacts such as the physical "yes-hat" that I observed at ProBuilt:



Figure 24 - Example of physical 'yes hat' that one employee had gotten from his colleagues

When I asked why this physical 'yes-hat' had been given to an employee, one of his colleagues explained that he had received it, because his colleagues felt he was too negative. The expectation that one should always wear one's 'yes-hat' was explicitly mentioned by several of my research participants and echoes previous research on individuals being deemed troublemakers for ruining the good atmosphere (Ahmed, 2014; Lansisalmi et al., 2000). Wearing the "yes-hat" seemed to create a lot of collegial emotional labour (Theodosius et al., 2021) among the ProBuilt employees, which could be both exhausting and disturb the social resonance among colleagues because they felt that they could no longer be honest with each other. Tine described it like this:

"...I was simply so annoyed [...] about the whole thing that I felt was the atmosphere in the department. That you had to wear a "yes-hat", even though everything is just shit, and everything is Corona-ridden, and we could just feel, I could feel, at least I felt, I may have sensed it wrong, but that everyone was just about to vomit over this set-up and then anyway, you had to wear a "positive hat" that said, 'oh, how nice it is [...]' [distorts her voice so she sounds like a cartoon character], and I was just... to kind of go along with the attitude that everything is just ok. Because sometimes I feel like there's an attitude that you must wear a "yes-hat" because we - 'we have to, and now we have to adapt, and now we have to, and I can do that. I just hate that kind of thing. I'm just like, 'can we be allowed to shout shit for two seconds' and then we can be adaptable and everything else afterwards. I think that kind of thing is just so troublesome [...] You can't put your finger on it and where it necessarily comes from. But - because I don't really feel that [the culture] doesn't necessarily give us permission to say things like that, but still, you might sense what is the most "appropriate" thing to say" [Tine 2021, 00:19:10].

Hemmings (2012) description of affective dissonance as "...the feeling that something is amiss" (2012, p. 150) is well depicted in Tine description of wanting to vomit while wearing a 'yes-hat'

because that seemed to be required of the ProBuilt employees in the Great Hall. Furthermore, the above quote illustrates Sumartojo & Pink's point that atmospheres subtly favour certain ways of doing things that set the expectations for future behaviour. Again, acceleration dampened the social resonance between employees as they could no longer maintain an open and honest dialogue about the working conditions of ProBuilt.

However, in line with Hochschild's thoughts on 'deep acting' (1983) the 'yes-hat' also in some cases seemed to be internalized. When asked about the increasing busyness, Liselotte explained how she helped maintain the acceleration because slowing down did not seem to be an option:

'...I'm someone who obviously has a lot of pots on the boil at the same time, and I am really busy and things like that. And I hear myself saying when I talk to my colleagues, [they say] 'well, we know you have a lot to do, Liselotte' and [I answer] 'Well, I know that. But I'll help you' and things like that and 'it's better to be a little bit too busy than [having nothing to do] ... I can hear it myself. That I'm also a part of that, and yes, I, I and I know you should never say never, but I'm almost as in almost 100% sure that I won't tip over. I've tried a lot of things, so I, but I'm helping to like to show the culture, 'It's okay that we, we run fast, and we just run faster, when we can't keep up anymore, we just run faster, right. So, I can see the culture - we also create it ourselves, right [...] 'No' - it's not part of the dictionary, right, when it comes to work'' [Liselotte & Vibeke 2022, 01:26:17].

In this quote, Liselotte explained how the 'shut-down' approach from the resonant atmosphere still lingered in the Great Hall, making it difficult for employees to say 'no,' despite being exhausted and needing to push back against the growing and unmanageable demands of acceleration. This is in line with prior research showing how an atmosphere can reduce "...capacities for bodies to be affected by, and indeed sense, new, unpredictable events" (Vitry et al., 2020, p. 287). In this manner, the inertia of the resonant atmosphere appeared to trap the employees in the Great Hall within work patterns that became unsuitable and meaningless under accelerated conditions. Hans likened these compulsive work routines to an "addiction" to taking on ever-increasing workloads.

6.1.3 Addictedness through the pursuit of resonance

However, it wasn't only the burden of the 'yes-hat' that compelled ProBuilt employees to work at an ever-increasing pace. The employees themselves also seemed to fuel this acceleration in their pursuit of recognition, and ultimately, resonance. When a resonant atmosphere prevailed in the Great Hall, particularly when obtaining both material-, social-, and existential resonance, employees were so deeply engaged that they found it difficult to stop working. Mette described this pull towards resonance as follows:

"...I've been in a situation where I've worked so much that my boss said, "Now you have to stop", and that was last year where I was like "Damn it, now I have to go home at 7 o'clock and cook dinner", right, you know. And where I couldn't stop again because there was always something I could just finish, and which I actually also, well, thought was cool to do. That's what our

challenge is here. We all really love what we do that we find it hard not to do it, right” [Mette 2023, 00:56:07].

Mette’s description of not wanting to stop working reflects Rosa’s argument that employees in the late modern era increasingly perceive their workplace as a harbour of resonance (2016, p. 203) where they establish a meaningful, empathetic, dedicated, devoted, and responsive relationship with their workplace, mutually influencing and transforming each other (du Plessis & Just, 2023, p. 2). Rosa suggests that this is also why many employees in the late modern era work beyond their paid hours without feeling exploited (2016, p. 237).

When employees in the Great Hall experienced entering into a resonant relation where they experienced both touching- and being touched by something and through this relation transformed without knowing exactly how everything would turn out, they described how this experience was embodied as a feeling of excitement. Karen described it the following way one day at lunch:

We’re talking a bit about her project which is very busy right now. But it’s not like [big client] projects - it’s in a completely different league. After grabbing food and sitting down, we talk about how her project is much more harmonious than projects like this tend to be - ‘normally your heart is pounding when you walk out of a meeting, but in this project, everything just runs harmoniously’. Karen is almost afraid that something is wrong [FN2021-09-17].

Apparently, since resonance was associated with the feeling of excitement Karen felt something was off when she did not get that bodily reaction. Within the resonance perspective it could be argued that this meant that Karen experienced that the material did not respond to her with a ‘voice of its own’, but simply became an echo of what Karen wanted it to be. This meant that Karen did not seem to obtain the same level of material resonance in her relationship with the project and described that as a fear of something being wrong which in Hemming’s terms would be translated to an experience of affective dissonance (2012).

The experience of adrenaline and heart palpitations recurred in many of the employees’ descriptions of how they felt when they were truly happy and in flow at work which also meant that ProBuilt employees tended to chase the challenging tasks because it gave them an adrenaline, or resonance, rush. Hans confirmed this pursuit of the ‘resonance rush’ and described how ProBuilt employees often found it difficult to find a work-life balance because when they protected themselves or pulled the “...handbrake a little bit. It just means that you don’t get quite the same joy out of it either. There’s something in that too. I don’t know if you’re a runner or something like that, but those endorphins, they come when you go the extra mile, on the border between healthy and unhealthy. Where you can feel the pulse in your ears and stuff, that’s where you’re happiest as a runner. But that’s also where you get your injuries. And I think that’s where the problem is that we have no system for recovery [Hans1 2021, 00:24:36].

In the above quote, Hans pointed to a central issue that was common to most of my research participants. At ProBuilt employees had become accustomed to the resonance rush associated with speed because ProBuilt was originally an organisation that specialised in factory shut-

downs. However, as acceleration increased, and the nature of projects changed this lack of recovery system became increasingly critical. Hans compared this accelerated behaviour to that of gambling addicts playing with their energy and time to gain recognition:

"We're putting everything on the line [...] we keep gambling more and more. So, we get less..., basically, I think it's a pure balance where you can give a lot if you're constantly topped up. So, if you get out of it what we all want to get out of it, we all want to be recognized. So, um, if you give it your all and put in the effort, then you should also be recognized. And if you don't get recognized, then you run out. Some in the short term, some in the long term, but no matter what, the result is always the same - you run out [...] And that's where I think we're gambling addicts because when we realize it we've already gambled everything away [...] And then I just must go down with the ship. That's what people do, isn't it? [...] then we give in. Then we go the extra mile. Then we say to ourselves, 'Well, it's just because I'm having a bit of bad luck'. Well, next time, then, then, then it lands on red [refers to bets made on the game of roulette]. That's what it's supposed to do, for fuck's sake, at some point [...] 'So red 13', right, you know. It will come at some point. It's just a matter of staying a little longer, pulling a little more out of your pocket, right'. That's my own personal analysis of what's happening" [Hans1 2021, 00:23:05].

Above Hans pointed to the fact that as acceleration set in the ProBuilt employees usual 'shut-down' approach seemed to shift in meaning and end in what Rosa would refer to as a 'catastrophe of resonance', "...in which one or more or even all of the resonating bodies involved are destroyed" (Rosa, 2019, p. 165). This persistent drain and lack of escape left many research participants feeling powerless with the acceleration also impacting their traditional coping strategies of jovialness.

6.1.4 Powerlessness through humorous signs

As mentioned in the previous chapter about the resonant atmosphere, joviality was a big part of the atmosphere in the Belonging space. Often this part of the atmosphere manifested physically as improvised birthday songs on whiteboards, small humorous artefacts such as Darth Vader flags, or homemade signs that could give employees emotional relief if they had had difficult interactions with managers or customers. When the resonant atmosphere prevailed these humorous artefacts seemed to serve as a hidden, collective form of resistance that, in line with Baxter's thoughts on affective solidarity (2021), gave employees a sense of belonging and care. The sign below from the FLEXITEC project is an example of one of such humorous artefacts.

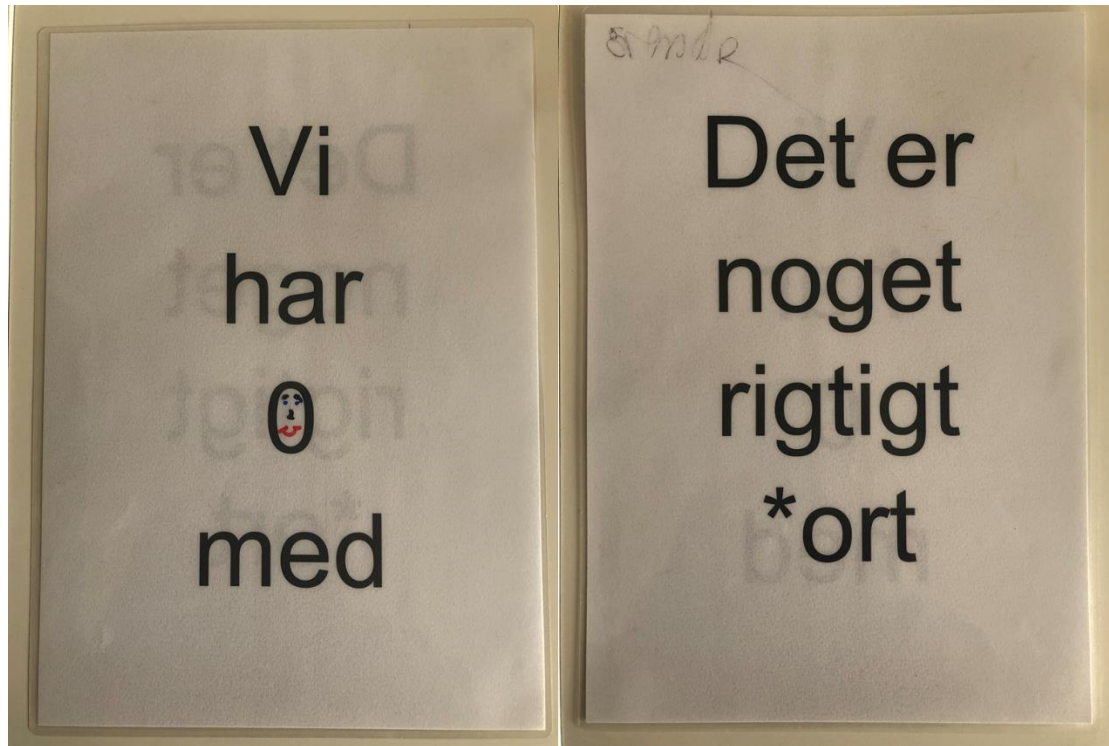


Figure 25 - Picture of both sides of the sign used by FLEXITEC employees in the Great Hall

The sign consisted of 2 A4 pages that were pre-printed with text and then laminated. The sign was just laying on different desks in the Belonging space of the FLEXITEC project, but none of my research participants explained the meaning of the sign to me so I decided to ask about it myself. The following observation is a description of that event:

9:33: I return from the Prospect department meeting, and there's a flurry of chatter and laughs. A man is holding up a laminated card with the text 'It's all bullshit' [in Danish: "Det er noget rigtig *ort"], and I recognise it from last week. I go up to him and say that I've looked at the card several times now and ask if he would like to tell me what it means. He laughs a little awkwardly (?) and says that one side where it says, 'we have 0 with us' [in Danish: "Vi har 0 med"] is about the fact that in the steel packages they never have time to involve any stakeholders properly, and therefore they have made that card because they have said it so many times. The back where it says 'It's all bullshit' - that's something [a colleague] says all the time, so that's why they made a card with it. So, they can sit and hold it up. I ask if he's the only one who has such a card, and he says yes, but that we need to distribute some more to the others [other disciplines in the FLEXITEC project] as well [FN2021-09-06].

The observation illustrates how the FLEXITEC employees seemed to cope with the experiences of dissonance by elevating it to a collective level. This sign seemed aimed at making the FLEXITEC employees' experiences tangible allowing for affective solidarity (Baxter, 2021) where they could comfort each other and fight their experiences of pressure together. However, the sign was only shared with certain inaugurated people. When I asked my HR contact person, Emil, who supported the project management team of the FLEXITEC project, he had never seen or heard of the sign which was interesting because it was referred to repeatedly during my

fieldwork. Most likely because this sign did not align with prescribed 'yes-hat' attitude. The sign was referred to not only by the employees working on the steel deliveries but also by employees working on the other discipline deliveries in the FLEXITEC project. Thus, this sign seemed to be a physical manifestation of the atmospheric dissonance brought about by acceleration.

However, as acceleration increased the meaning of the sign seemed to change. From having been used with a humorous tone resulting in laughter among the colleagues, helping them cope with their experience of dissonance, it was increasingly accompanied by words of frustration and did not seem to be perceived as funny which the following event from a day nearing the deadline on the FLEXITEC project illustrates:

12:56: Sally says, 'we won't be able to include it, but now I can say we've tried'. She seems frustrated. 13:02: Jokum asks if we have [I don't hear what he wants to include on Sally's list]. Sally says, 'I feel like saying, we haven't included that. We have 0 with us'. She refers to the laminated note. It doesn't seem like a joke, and no one laughs. Jokum and Sally discuss a little, and Jokum ends up saying - 'It clearly shows that it should have been clarified in [earlier building phase]' [FN2021-09-23].

In the above event, the laminated sign seemed to become a physical manifestation of all the things that Sally and Jokum would not have time to do and all the things that did not make sense, and it seems to give them an experience of dissonance instead of aiding them emotional release. When I asked some of my research participants about this change in humour Mads explained that in ProBuilt humour could also be used as a "...a smokescreen for us being in deep shit, right? [...] it doesn't take much to tip humour over to the point where you actually use it to build up barricades so you want to say - you're spouting some humour to indicate; 'don't bring all your shit because I can't really handle that', right" [Mads 2023, 00:26:55].

According to Mads, humour could serve as a shield to express frustrations, attempt to say no, or address issues that were otherwise tabooed and overlooked. Like the project plans, the meaning of the sign appeared to shift, rather than fostering affective solidarity (Baxter 2021), it now indicated that the employees in the FLEXITEC project were in 'deep shit.' Instead of energizing the team with laughter the use of the sign instead seemed to drain the morale of those around it.

In summary, it can be argued that employees experienced both visible and invisible manifestations of acceleration in the atmospheres of the Great Hall. Apart from the above-mentioned posters, the physical manifestations of acceleration in the atmospheres seemed modest. However, it had a profound effect on the social dynamics of the Great Hall and subsequently on the atmospheres emerging there. The change was brought about by the 'faster-than-fast track' ideal that seemed to create an accelerated pace in project execution which triggered a change in employee work routines towards accelerated pace of life. In addition, the project plans seemed to change in meaning. From being a common fix point creating calmness and overview project plans became a symbol of the disconnect employees felt between their actual experiences of the project progress and the ones depicted in the plans. This made it increasingly hard for employees to obtain both material- and social resonance as high pace

traditionally, in the factory shut-down projects, were closely linked to recognition. As acceleration turned these periods of high pace into a constant state of being employees felt increasingly worn out from having to wear the ‘yes-hat’, but paradoxically also from their “addiction” to obtaining recognition and resonance through high speed. This was especially apparent on the FLEXITEC project where it seemed to lead to a ‘catastrophe of resonance’, depleting employees’ resources, ultimately deepening their sense of dissonance. Acceleration also seemed to impede the employees’ jovial coping techniques, leaving them powerless instead of strengthened by affective solidarity. Finally, both the physical manifestations in the shape of posters and the social manifestation in the shape of accelerated pace of movement seemed to be contagious, triggering employees who were already struggling. All the above manifestations of acceleration impeded the employees’ ability to obtain material, social, and existential resonance.

Apart from the manifestations of acceleration instrumentalisation was also increasingly present in the Great Hall, and this also altered the atmospheres of the Great Hall which will be described further in the section below.

6.2 Manifestations of instrumentalisation

Rosa argues that acceleration leads to a dramatic increase in the number of social contacts resulting in, in the words of Kenneth Gergen, an ‘oversaturated self’ (Rosa, 2014, p. 52). Translated into an organisational context, this means that employees meet and leave so many colleagues, customers, and other stakeholders establishing such an extensive communication network that it becomes impossible to relate to them on a human level. In ProBuilt, this manifested as a distance, especially between management and employees but also among employees. In addition to the acceleration in volume of people, the acceleration in pace also meant that employees had less and less time to relate to each other and create resonant relationships. Simultaneously, employees found themselves facing an increasing workload as ProBuilt’s “...order backlog [had] *never been stronger*” [Annual report 2021] which created a mismatch between the tasks to be completed and the resources available.

The above-mentioned alterations created a breeding ground for a view of colleagues that was characterised by instrumentalisation which was manifested primarily in four ways in the Great Hall. Firstly, as the project portfolio changed, work assignments became more routinized and was perceived as duller and more instrumentalized. In addition, the massive recruitments to undertake the expanding project portfolio resulted in physical changes in the layout of the Great Hall which seemed to change the mood of the Play space towards dullness. Secondly, the instrumentalisation led to a number fetish which gave employee affective experiences of objectification. Thirdly, in addition to the number-fetish, a ‘use-and-throw-away-culture’ developed which gave employees affective experiences of forsakenness. Finally, to cope with employees and colleagues’ reactions to being treated instrumentally especially management applied ‘intentional blindness’ (Svalgaard, 2019) which gave employees affective experiences of neglect. These experiences gave my research participants profound experiences of dissonance as

they felt they were treated as a number or a tool that could be used and then thrown away with an intentional blindness to the human cost of this instrumentalisation.

6.2.1 Dullness through changes in the nature and ways of work

Between 2021 and 2023, the acceleration of ProBuilt seemed to promote a change in the types of work and different ways of working in the Great Hall. Thus, when I started my field work in 2021 the CEO of ProBuilt told new employees at the intro meeting that if they wanted to do the same things with the same customer for 22 years, they should not work for ProBuilt [FN2021-09-02]. However, two years later the project portfolio had changed completely. Instead of a diverse project portfolio with many different customers, ProBuilt built the same types of production facilities repeatedly in an ever-increasing pace. The acceleration of the project portfolio created a shortage of employees which spurred an unprecedented recruitment campaign. Mette described the changes in the following way:

“Well, up until 2020 there weren't many companies who needed new factories. They needed remodelling of facilities that were already there, right. And now, all of a sudden, we're building large facilities, and they need to be completed very quickly. So that means that it's not just that we're doing big projects. These are factories that need to be built ultra-fast [...] and now of course, we've hired a lot of people. Well, we've almost doubled in size in the last few years here [...] we kind of switched gears to a completely different pace that, in one way or another, also needs to be unlearned again, I think when things calm down a bit, you know. We simply can't keep working like this because we can't handle it” [Mette 2023, 00:09:09].

As Mette describes, this change was very apparent to all my research participants and, like Mette, there was a widespread perception that this was not ‘normal’ or a healthy *modus vivendi* for the organisation to be in for extended periods of time. The acceleration in the project portfolio set off a chain reaction that started with an acceleration of recruitment which led to a reduction of Play space in the Great Hall to accommodate all the new employees. In the below schematic, the reduction in the Play space between 2021-2023 is illustrated:

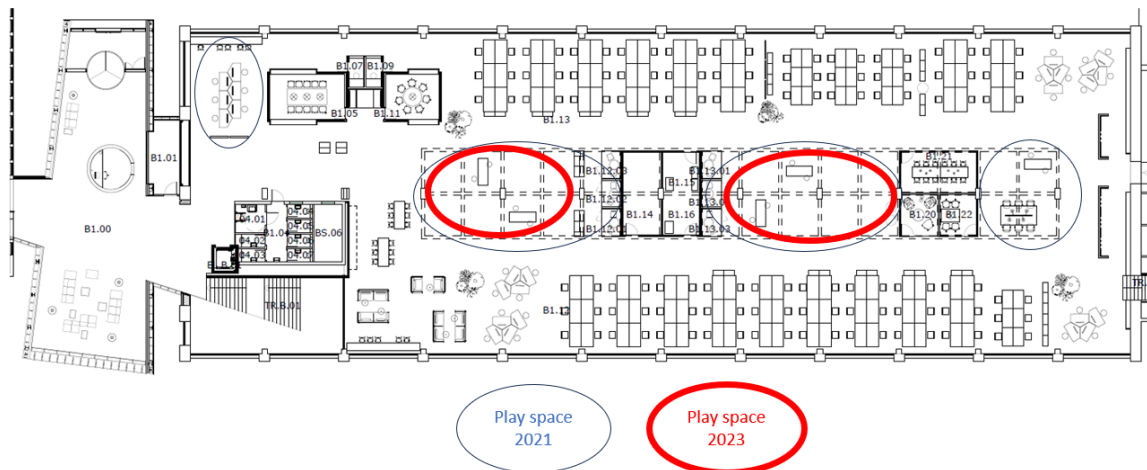


Figure 26 - Illustration of reduction of Play space from 2021-2023

From 2021-2023, the Great Hall was transformed to encompass more seats and contain less 'playful space' where employees could collaborate across disciplines and explore new, innovative solutions within their profession. According to my research participants, this resulted in the Great Hall being described as "less vibrant" [Jytte 2023] and "increasingly quiet" [Mads 2023], because

"There are some areas in the Great Hall that are now just office spaces because we don't have room for all the colleagues we've got. So now they've just kind of become, instead of being 'spontaneously drop in and work together here for half an hour' areas, it's just become an office, right [...] [it does something to the energy] because then it becomes more of a space where people just turn up, and then they sit and work. Compared to if you say 'well, we're sitting here because we're creating something together right now, so it's okay that we talk across the table, and we also stand up and draw a little or do something', right? And that, uh, so that. That's probably also what might have taken a bit of the vibe out of the Great Hall [...] It's probably become a bit more dull" [Mette 2023, 01:03:34].

I will argue that this "vibe" that Mette referred to could be translated into resonance in Rosa's terminology whereas the 'dullness' seemed to represent the experience of dissonance Mette had comparing the lack of social-, and material resonance to past experiences of "the vibe of the Great Hall". According to Mette, when the vibe seemed to disappear it was because colleagues could no longer spontaneously collaborate whereby social- and material resonance could arise in the encounter with the foreign or different in the form of input from other construction disciplines. At the same time, the relationship to the work tasks also changed as they went from being characterised by collaboration and creative drawing to being characterised by more monotonous desk work which according to Rosa could dampen the creation of material resonance between employees and their work.

At the same time, as the project portfolio became more instrumentalized and repetitive, an increased focus on numbers rose in the Great Hall.

6.2.2 Objectifying through number fetish

Most of my research participants noted a shift in atmospheres following a change in management in the preceding years. From being an ‘extended scout troop’, ProBuilt was now to be professionalised and competitive which meant that everything revolved around financial statements and the improvement of these. This created a sense of objectification, meaning that everything became reduced to numbers. Morten described it in the following way:

“...before, many people probably associated ProBuilt with this very trust-based organisation [...] with inclusivity and ran at a decent pace [...] [to], how can we tune the organisation to be more profit-driven? Where can we cut in terms of staff, and that was a huge thing because you were used to kind of being this extended scout troop or whatever it was which you were proud of [...] to now being transformed into something that has to compete with the others’ competition, we have to work share a lot, and we have to be able to show some operating accounts results that just get higher from year to year [...] There have been visible, visible signs that now the rules of the game are changing, and the playing field is changing dynamically right before our eyes” [Morten 2023, 00: 26:27].

According to Morten, the push for economic growth and improved operating results led to cost cuts at ProBuilt and a focus on quantifying all improvements to be able to compare and compete with other players in their business. Consequently, even abstract topics such as employee well-being and work-related stress had to be quantified to become visible within ProBuilt, as illustrated in the PPP slide below from a 2021 presentation on HR data:

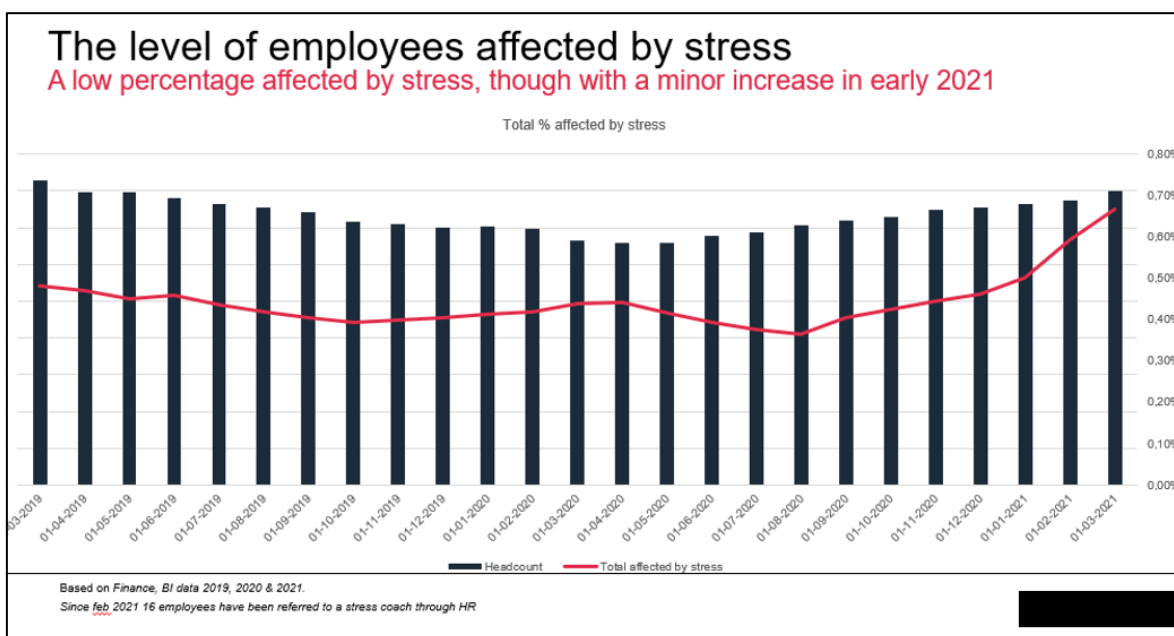


Figure 27 – Power Point slide from a 2021 presentation to the ProBuilt management

The above slide showed how the percentage of employees on sick leave was between 0.6-0.7% of the total workforce. Although my HR contact had explained at the beginning of my fieldwork

that he heard that people were stressed through “all channels” top management mainly related to the above figure which my HR contact explained as follows:

"...in top management you want to see 2 things. One, what you want to see, it's, uh, something like that with numbers and stuff like that, right, the data part [...] How many do we have [on sick leave], not so much the human being, but, 'we had 12, now we have 4. It's going in the right direction. Do we have the right processes in place to support it?' So, like this part will take up more time in top management than it will if you ask an employee or a group of employees" [Storm 2021, 00:23:35].

In my HR contact person's description, instrumentalisation manifested as this single-minded focus on the number of people on sick leave rather than the employees' actual experiences of working in the organisation. According to Morten, the quantification of life in ProBuilt was important because it enabled management to compare ProBuilt to competitors, and through this assess how they performed on their well-being. Morten described how top management had answered questions about work-related stress at a staff meeting by referring to these very figures to shut down the discussion about work-related stress in ProBuilt:

"It's kind of a, 'listen up' kind of thing, right. 'We have some numbers, they're no different than our competitors'. They [top management] said that several times, and 'we have good pension support and offer access to a hot-line that offers counselling'. You can sense I'm getting a bit of a sneer in my voice here. That's where it became clearest to me - you're completely alone, right" [Morten 2023, 01:18:04].

In line with Mads' description of being “fucked” if you broke down with work-related stress in ProBuilt, Morten had the experience that stress was the employee's own problem, and this perception seemed to be shared by most of my research participants. In Morten's case, this dissonant experience manifested as a sensation of isolation which correlates with Rosa's depiction of the absence of resonance (2019) as Morten's resonant connection to management seemed to be replaced by a feeling of solitude.

The majority of my research participants explained that this "fetishism of numbers" (Gudeman, 1998) gave them a sense of changing status from human to number, which according to Rosa would impede their creation of existential resonance (2019). An example of such an objectifying experience was described by Tine who told me of an event where she approached a colleague with her concern regarding well-being within her team:

"... I talked to [colleague] about it [that Tine was worried about herself and her colleagues], and then she said, and her response was like, 'well' - that's probably also why I don't feel that I can say things, or I don't feel that it's being taken in. The attitude that I am met with is like, 'Well, Tine, actually, I only have, uh, what's the word, information that there are three people on long-term sick leave in ProBuilt' or whatever number she just mentioned. Where I was just like, 'oh my God, I just sense that people are about to drop like flies around me, and there are 5 people on this project who are really, highly stressed, who must deliver so and so much and are working day and night, uh, in a Corona situation, where they also have to homeschool children

and stuff like that'. I don't think there was any understanding of that at all. I mean, not at all, and I wasn't met at all on my concerns" [Tine 2021, 00:45:45].

The disconnect that Tine experienced between the number of employees on long-term sick leave and her own embodied sensation of the wellbeing of her colleagues around her created a profound experience of dissonance dampening her social resonance in relation to her colleague. Because ProBuilt's number of employees on long-term sick leave was comparable to its competitors the organisation justified continuing acceleration, only tempered by how much work could be squeezed out of employees. One of my research participants referred to this as the 'we-can-squeeze-it-in-mentality' [Søs 2021]. As a result, employees began to treat each other instrumentally, either adopting a 'use-and-throw-away' attitude toward their colleagues or shying away from the conflicts this instrumental approach led to by practicing 'intentional blindness' (Svalgaard, 2019).

6.2.3 Forsakenness through the 'Use-and-throw away' culture

While Rosa refers to a 'use-and-throw-away structure' (2014, p. 53) where people replace material possessions rather than repair them, my interviewees described a 'use-and-throw-away culture' [Carsten & Anton 2022] at ProBuilt where employees were discarded if they could not keep up with the accelerated pace. Carsten described it the following way:

"It's a performance culture. It's high level, and that's what needs to be delivered and all this stuff. But it's also a popular place to be, right. So, it doesn't matter so much if someone burns out because there are four talented applicants jumping to get in. It may be a bit cold and cynical, but that's how I feel it is. It's part of the cabal. So, you, you, uh, you can, you can, uh, if people don't perform well there then it's hard to accept that they just run low gear for a period, then it's just out because we'll just find someone else" [Carsten & Anton 2022, 00:54:02].

This "cold and cynical" approach where employees were viewed primarily as resources or mere numbers emerged as a frequent theme in interviews with research participants. It left them feeling forsaken and diminished their social resonance with management, as it contradicted the 'esprit de corps' that defined their dedicated attitude towards colleagues within the resonant atmosphere. Jytte and Hans both described how they experienced employees in ProBuilt as chess pieces that got moved around which the following observation from a FLEXITEC project meeting illustrated. On this meeting, PM Philip addressed how he had been discharged from the FLEXITEC project without explanation, and it shows how this 'use-and-throw-away'-logic had a severe impact on the atmosphere of the Great Hall:

Then Philip says, 'one last important thing. ProBuilt has decided, as of the phase change, that I will no longer be PM'. The mood in the room abruptly changes and becomes uneasy. Philip continues, 'It's not FLEXITEC, and it's not me [...] the mood is tense. Philip says, 'Thank you for a great collaboration'. Everyone says, 'You too'. Philip says he doesn't know why he has been replaced. He reckons it's because [personal reason], but 'I haven't heard it myself'. The room is quiet [...] 12:00: The meeting ends, and everyone else leaves the room. Emil and Philip

stay, and I join them. Emil asks Philip if he knows what's going on, and he says he doesn't know. He was called aside ten to five [just before his manager went home]. Philip says it could be anything from development goals or for strategic reasons. But it is communicated to the customer, and his replacement and 'the customer has known two weeks in advance that I need to be replaced'. I sense that he is upset and angry, but he remains calm on the outside [FN2021-10-25].

Rather than engaging in an open dialogue with Philip about their concerns regarding the FLEXITEC project, management chose to replace him almost immediately and conducted negotiations with the customer and his successor without his knowledge which felt like a breach of trust to Philip and dampened Philip's experience of social resonance. Following this event, Liselotte described how this kind of instrumentalisation and lack of communication around Philips' removal as project manager spread in the atmospheres of the Great Hall as a sense of dissonance:

"...we're not really told anything. That's the problem. That we just get. We just get a message [...] 'For your information, Philip will stop in a week' or something like that. We don't really get this information. In my opinion, I just feel a bit like that everything must go so fast. Everything goes so fast in the company [...] We're far, far, far too busy so you don't get down to the individual and the individual person. It's a number, right [...] So it's not a joke that people get, well, go down with stress and things like that, simply because it all goes too fast, and there's no one who stops, and people hardly dare look after each other. That's kind of the feeling I get, right. Because you have enough of your own shit, because you have so damn much to do, I think." [Liselotte & Vibeke 2022, 00:07:57].

In the above quote, Liselotte points to another key manifestation of instrumentalisation in the social spaces of the atmospheres of the Great Hall, namely the fear of resource depletion if you invested time and energy in your colleagues' problems. Instead, employees seemed to isolate themselves around either their construction discipline or themselves. Such deliberate shying away from the conflict of dismissing Philip is covered by Lotte Svalgaard's term "intentional blindness" and will be further elaborated on below.

6.2.4 Neglecting though Intentional blindness

Linked to objectifying employees as resources or tools was the process of 'intentional blindness' (Svalgaard, 2019) which seemed to function as a coping mechanism enabling employees to shy away "...from such a situation [where others are suffering] by blocking out resonance [...] Only by suppressing resonance can we react with indifference to another who is looking at us" (Rosa, 2019, p. 70). "Intentional blindness" refers to instances in which employees consciously ignored something they had perceived. They did this swiftly and effectively, often without realising it, due to fear of confronting the issue, lacking a solution, or assuming others were doing the same. The subsequent observation, derived from an informal meeting with a manager, exemplifies how the concept of 'intentional blindness' appeared to be embraced, particularly by managers

and project managers when planning projects. In this instance it seemed to serve as a shield to avoid confronting top management regarding unrealistic utilisation targets:

I meet with Lone and share some overall observations and say that the [department] is a slightly different department. Lone says that the reason they are different might be that she has lower utilisation targets and tries to make sure that her employees only run one project at a time. She refers to the queue theory we discussed in the seminar. This is different in other projects. She says she overheard another manager say that when they are planning projects, they calculate it without CO [change orders], and she has never seen a project where there were no COs. In addition, people are booked 100%, and therefore run many projects at once. She says that people are afraid of not reaching utilisation targets. This sounds like the culture of fear that Morten also talked about. I ask her what her sense of the organisation is right now, and she says that there are no leaders in ProBuilt who are not under pressure right now [FN2021-09-23].

Rosa argues that fear hinders the development of resonant relations (2019, p. 245). Thus, one could argue that the fear Lone referred to in terms of not reaching utilization targets drove an instrumental behaviour towards employees where managers blocked out resonance with their employees (Rosa, 2019, p. 70), treating them merely as resources rather than individuals who deserved genuine concern. According to Rosa, this instrumental view of employees would diminish the social resonance between staff and management (2019). Common narratives about such 'intentional blindness' were often recurring in the Great Hall and seemed to fall into two categories: deflections or insincere offers.

Deflections was often seen in attempts to avoid addressing conflict-ridden issues by bending employee input and thus appear to be taking action but address other issues than the issues employees intended with their feedback. Liselotte gave an example of this when she explained why she had stopped giving input in the employee survey, because as she said,

"We get called to all sorts of workshops where we have to sit and reinvent the wheel [...], and it [the result] turned into something completely different from what it was about [...], and I sat and looked around and thought, 'don't they realise, do they have no comprehension of what is written on these post-it notes' [...] the notes could say anything from 'my manager doesn't understand me' or 'my manager doesn't know what it is I'm doing' and - it became 'professional stature', I think [laughs] [Liselotte & Vibeke 2022, 00:40:01].

In the above quote, Liselotte explained how she felt that her and her colleagues' critical comments and suggestions for improvements were distorted, so that in the end she couldn't recognise the outcome at all. This meant that the solutions that were subsequently implemented as a result of her and her colleagues' feedback did not address the underlying conflicts, leaving Liselotte with a sense of dissonance in the form of resignation and a sense of neglect.

In addition to deflection, employees also experienced being offered help that turned out be **insincere offers**, as they couldn't get the help, they asked for but instead were offered something else that everyone knew didn't solve their problems. Hans described how the encounter with this kind of insincere offers gave him an experience of Neglecting:

"Management always says, 'well, you can just say what you need', 'I want more time', 'but you can't have that'. 'Well, erm'. [...] 'Well, then you need to get some help'. 'Well, there's no one who can help me'. 'Well, then you need to get better at explaining it'. Well, we do that as management, we think, 'We've solved it by saying, 'Well, you just say what it takes'. Well, 'more time', but you can't have that. 'And more money', well, 'we have the budget we have'. 'Well, then we have to do a little less'. 'No, we have to remember to deliver what we've agreed', right. 'Well then, who can I hand it over to?' 'Well, you're the only one who can' or 'then you have to hand it over to someone else'. Erm, 'and then you'll just have to share your work and send it to India' or something'. Well, but, but, but, but I have a... I feel like I have a specialized competence. I'm a professional, professional animal who has a special competence, and it's not just because you can say, 'well, if it takes one man, one hour to dig a metre of trench, we'll just hire five more'. That's not the kind of work we do. So, it becomes a 'non-solution' parade which again just puts the responsibility on those who actually have the problem, but the manager can turn round and say, 'I've said, I've done what I can', right. 'I've offered my help; she doesn't want it'" [Hans1 2021, 00:22:12].

In this fictional dialogue between Hans and his manager, Hans illustrated how employees experienced dissonance in relation to management's "non-solutions" which according to Hans were constructed to shy away from conflict, but at the same time bore the mark of intentional blindness in the sense that everyone knew that the problem was placed with those who had it and was not remedied. From a resonance perspective, one could argue that the social resonance was dampened because the relationship between employees and managers was polluted by concealment and restraint.

According to Hans, intentional blindness was easier for management, *"...because you don't have to face a lot of things. The problem is, though, that you kind of have to anyway. There's no language for it. So, it just gets stuck somewhere where you can't talk about it"* [Hans 2021, 00:41:01]. In Rosa's terminology, one would argue that this place where this 'non-linguistic' settled was in the atmospheres of the Great Hall which left employees feeling dissonant because they had no way of addressing all the things hidden in the wordless parts of the social space.

Despite the dampening of social resonance towards management, research participants continued to express their appreciation for ProBuilt as a workplace. Unlike the state of alienation where employees perceive their workplace as indifferent or even hostile towards them, and where they have no connection to it (Rosa, 2019, p. 252) employees still described how they showed up to work because of their relations to colleagues. As Vibeke put it

"I think I've been close to like saying, I don't want to do this shit anymore. Really, really close to saying that. But still, there's something that keeps me here, right [...] It's the colleagues" [Liselotte & Vibeke 2022, 00:21:22].

Vibekes' sentiment that colleagues and her loyalty towards them was what kept her in ProBuilt was echoed by most of my research participants. Similarly, Liselotte explained how she had distanced herself from ProBuilt, and the way it was managed as an organisation because it clashed with her values of how people should be treated. This left her with no desire to pursue

“... management or anything else. I can understand if you have some ambitions and things like that. I'm very clear about what I am, and who I am, and what I can do. And, and, and for one, I don't find it difficult in any way because what drives me is my colleagues [...] I have no problem with that, I actually don't. Not anymore [...] It is purely as a human that I have sort of distanced myself” [Liselotte & Vibeke 2022, 00:51:24].

What was particularly striking was that many of my research participants, like Liselotte, were very clear and articulated about this issue. Resonant relations with colleagues appeared to offset the lack of material- and existential resonance, leaving employees feeling dissonant rather than completely alienated.

After reviewing how the changed project portfolio and the reduction of Play space created dullness, the ‘fetishism of numbers’ created a sense of objectification, the ‘use-and-throw-away’ culture created forsakenness, and the ‘intentional blindness’ created a sense of neglect, the following section will summarise how acceleration and instrumentalisation manifested themselves in the Great Hall.

6.3 Atmospheric alterations caused by acceleration and instrumentalisation

The purpose of this chapter was to examine how the resonant atmospheres in the Great Hall became altered by the introduction of acceleration and instrumentalisation. In summary, it can be argued that the acceleration and instrumentalisation manifested both in the “physical spaces” and “social spaces” (Rosa, 2019) of the Great Hall, even though the alterations mainly configured in the “social space” and thus invisible to the naked eye. Acceleration manifested in several ways, reflecting a heightened pace of life: employees worked faster, skipped breaks, and juggled multiple tasks simultaneously to meet the demands of the 'faster-than-fast-track' project model. Additionally, acceleration led to a stricter enforcement of the accommodating approach from the resonant atmosphere, exemplified by the 'yes-hat', increasingly stringent expectations to obtain organisational recognition, and a shift away from jovial coping strategies which began to symbolize the employees' growing sense of powerlessness.

Moreover, acceleration resulted in a more instrumental approach to managing employees and colleagues. This instrumentalisation was evident in the reduction of Play space due to a large-scale recruitment drive and a repetitive, narrow project portfolio. It also manifested in a focus on numerical metrics for comparison and competition, a 'use-and-throw-away' culture where employees were discarded if they couldn't handle the pressure, and a tendency to overlook potential conflicts. As the work of acceleration and instrumentalisation took effect, both visibly and invisibly, the employees of the Great Hall began to encounter affective experiences of busyness, weariness, addictedness, powerlessness, dullness, objectification, forsakenness, and neglect, which triggered a sense of dissonance. This gradually shifted the atmospheres in the Open-, Play- and Belonging space. From having once been dominated by resonance, the atmospheres increasingly became dissonant and, in this way, acceleration and instrumentalisation altered the resonant atmospheres when they entered their composition.

The figure below illustrates the link between affective experiences and the overall atmospheric configuration of acceleration and instrumentalisation that shaped these and were shaped by these:

<div> <div>Spaces in the Great Hall</div> <div>Atmospheric processes</div> </div>	Affective experiences encountered across:
	The Open space, the Play space, and the Belonging space
Acceleration	Busyness (6.1.1), Weariness (6.1.2), Addictedness (6.1.3), Powerlessness (6.1.4)
Instrumentalisation	Dullness (6.2.1), Objectifying (6.2.2), Forsakenness (6.2.3), Neglecting (6.2.4)

Figure 28 - Overview of chapter 6

Several interesting points can be deduced from this. Firstly, the alterations in the atmosphere were hard for management to detect as the most impactful alterations were the invisible ones driven by the inertia of the resonant atmospheres. Paradoxically, the inertia of the resonant atmospheres inhibited the employees' ability to shield themselves when acceleration and instrumentalisation descended upon the Great Hall, due to behavioural conventions embedded in the organisation's emotional culture (Julmi 2017). In other words, the meaning of everyday behaviours and artifacts appeared to change with the onset of acceleration and instrumentalisation. This was exemplified by the project plans, which shifted from being an artefact that connected professional disciplines and fostered resonance to becoming associated with powerlessness and pressure, leading to experiences of dissonance. Likewise, the humorous signs used to bring emotional release when the resonant atmosphere resided suddenly became a constant reminder that something was wrong. Finally, the 'shut-down' approach of the 'profession' employee suddenly required superhuman energy to live up to.

Secondly, the absence of resonance did not automatically result in alienation characterized by an experience of ProBuilt appearing indifferent or hostile to the employees. Instead, the world in ProBuilt just felt "off" or dissonant, indicating that something was keeping the employees' resonant relations to ProBuilt alive. Rather than collapsing into complete alienation as Rosa might have predicted (2019) in the absence of resonance, the atmospheres of resonance and dissonance coexisted, fluctuating depending on the activities and work taking place in the Great Hall. In the following chapter, I will explore what prevented Rosa's predictions of immediate alienation in the absence of resonance by turning attention to the affective labour (Hardt, 1999) of certain individuals that seemed to be able to regenerate resonance despite acceleration and instrumentalisation.

Thirdly, resonance seemed to be a two-sided phenomenon in the sense that it served as the foundation for employee wellbeing, but employees could also be addicted to pursuing 'resonance rushes' that were increasingly hard to obtain. Thus, employees in the Great Hall became increasingly dependent on the above mentioned individuals, the First Tuning Forks, who seemed to be able to regenerate social resonance and thus prevent dissonance to plunge into states of alienation when employees could no longer obtain such 'resonance rushes' along the

other axes of resonance. In the following chapter, these First Tuning Forks and their affective labour will be described in further detail.

7. Affective labour and the Tuning Forks

The aim of this chapter is to investigate how First Tuning Forks' affective labour prevented alienation and work-related stress when atmospheres were no longer resonant. As mentioned in the theory section, Rosa contends that resonant relationships require a resonant medium or space that permits mutual adaptation without coercion. As the atmosphere in the Great Hall grew dissonant, resonance clustered around a certain group of employees termed "First Tuning Forks" who could revive the resonant atmosphere through their affective labour (Hardt, 1999).

However, before venturing into an analysis of this group of employees it is important to give some background information on them. After having identified a pattern of affective events, indicating resonance, configuring around this specific group of employees, I utilized Rosa's description of resonance-sensitive individuals and First Tuning Forks to identify this groups of employees in the Great Hall. Out of the 47 employees I observed regularly in the different workspaces of the Great Hall, I identified 14 First Tuning Forks of which 8 were women, and 6 were men. This might seem to indicate an equal gender distribution, but since ProBuilt had a general gender distribution of 70% men and 30% women in 2021 my numbers suggested that First Tuning Forks tended to be women. They were between 29 and 62 years old and had tenures ranging from 1 to 20 years. None of the 14 First Tuning Forks were part of the official management hierarchy, even though three were project managers (equivalent to department managers in the official hierarchy), and one was a discipline lead (equivalent to a team leader). Thus, First Tuning Forks did not make up the majority of employees in the Great Hall, nor did they occupy powerful positions that could help them dictate certain emotional conventions or ways of interacting with one other in the Great Hall. Despite this, they had a great influence on the mood of the atmospheres here, and therefore they are interesting to analyse in the study of what promote or inhibit the development of work-related stress.

This chapter is organized in two sections. The first section examines how the First Tuning Forks' affective labour could prevent alienation and subsequent work-related stress by influencing their colleagues' affective states by boosting positive affective states and dissolving negative ones. In addition, it explores the methods used by First Tuning Forks to adjust their colleagues' behaviour in order to avoid negative affective events that could threaten their efforts to form a resonance atmosphere based on social resonance. The second section investigates the limitations of the First Tuning Forks affective labour, highlighting the costs as resource- and energy depletion led them to abandon their resonance-enhancing labour and, in some cases, even engage in resonance-inhibiting activities. First, however, the chapter starts with an analysis of how First Tuning Forks adjusted their colleagues' affective states.

7.1. Boost positive affective states

When boosting their colleagues positive affective states First Tuning Forks primarily utilized two strategies; recognizing their colleagues as humans which is in line with Rosa who argues that “...*recognition is the form of resonance in our social relations*” (Rosa, 2019, p. 195) and

creating “communities of laughter” (Parvulescu, 2010) through humorous comments and upbeat behaviour which also spurred on resonance.

7.1.1 Humanizing through recognition

The act of recognition was used differently by my research participants. While most ProBuilt employees were inclined to recognise their colleagues primarily for their professional expertise, in line with their identity as 'profession employees', the First Tuning Forks stood out for their ability to recognize their colleagues for their humanity. The recognition could come in the form of gestures such as smiles, eye-contact, and physical touches but could also be in the form of verbal declarations. In this way, the First Tuning Forks seemed to awaken their colleagues 'available resonance' (Rosa, 2019) and thereby restore resonance when acceleration and instrumentalisation had instigated an objectifying relation between colleagues due to excessive busyness and neglect. The following observation from a day in the FLEXITEC project area in the Great Hall exemplifies this:

10:39: Hans comes over. I ask how he's doing, and he says good. It's a very special day. I ask why - if it's because there's cake in the canteen, and he says there probably is, but we're also surrounded by lovely people. I say that's also why I'm here - and the cake. We laugh, and Hans says that he believes that if you tell people that you think they're lovely, they'll be lovelier than if you tell them that they're arseholes. Kasper interjects a bit, and Hans says that Kasper is of the rare species that actually produces something. 'Unlike the rest of us who just eat sweets'. We laugh a bit again and he moves on to the next meeting [FN2021-10-07].

In the above affective event, Hans acknowledged his colleagues as “lovely people in their own right,” which, as I noted in my fieldnotes, appeared to foster a sense of ease and connectedness among the group around me. By openly praising his colleagues in the Great Hall where everyone could hear, Hans' actions align with Hardt's concept of “affective labour” (1999) in which the aim is to create wellbeing and community. When I later asked Hans what he hoped to leave his colleagues with, he said:

"I hope that they are left with a feeling that they have been seen. That they are people in their own right, and that they contribute" [Hans 2022, 00:19:07].

In the above quote, Hans emphasized the recognition of his colleagues as human beings as important, because it gave them a sense that they could contribute and thus had agency in the world which countered the powerlessness (section 6.1.4) that acceleration manifested in the atmospheres. According to Rosa (2019), this kind of recognition is the foundation of resonance, and according to my fieldnotes acknowledging colleagues as humans was a common trait among First Tuning Forks. Thus, several of the First Tuning Forks explained how they tried to make their relations “personal”. Maja described how she incorporated the personal into her relationships with colleagues by remembering people's birthdays and asking them how they were doing. Hans and Anton also described how they deliberately sought to establish personal relations with their colleagues, and Pernille described how she knew everything about her

colleagues, their children, their work, and their bosses, and how she prioritized being available to her colleagues so that they could confide in her. The above gestures can be interpreted as the First Tuning Forks' attempts to create a foundation for the establishment of a relationship of mutual trust so that both types of Tuning Forks could resonate with each other (Rosa & Endres, 2017, p. 67). Liselotte and Vibeke emphasized the importance of a personal approach stating that you achieve the best results from colleagues by viewing them as humans rather than numbers. This perspective reflects the First Tuning Forks' broader awareness of the complex relationships that shape everyday life and a strong belief in their ability to influence these dynamics (Rosa, 2019, p. 187).

However, First Tuning Forks not only recognized their colleagues for their virtues. They also acknowledged their colleagues when they were sad or upset which differed from the intentional blindness approach that most ProBuilt employees utilized in situations where negative affective states (i.e. sadness, anger, fear) were displayed in the Great Hall. Tine shared how her colleague Pernille noticed she was upset while leaving work one day and persuaded her to stay and talk, offering comfort. Similarly, Liselotte recalled a time when a colleague spoke harshly to her, and Kasper, another coworker, instinctively placed his hand on her shoulder without saying anything, knowing it was the support she needed. Vibeke also mentioned how Liselotte repeatedly encouraged and comforted her, motivating her to seek out projects with "good people", after the FLEXITEC project concluded. Numerous examples of such behaviour were demonstrated by the First Tuning Forks, highlighting how their sensitivity to both resonance and alienation allowed them to detect dissonance among their colleagues and actively work to reconnect and restore resonance (Rosa, 2019). Jasper explained his reasons for acknowledging when his colleagues had a hard time the following way:

"It's a choice - if you have a lot of tasks you have to do that might be hugely important to someone. It probably is, since you've got it, right? And you have a couple of colleagues. You can see that this isn't going very well. 'Let's go out for a cup of coffee and see how things are going' and all that sort of thing. 'And how did it go with that thing you had to do at the weekend', trying to get people to understand, 'hey, I'm interested in you as, as you and not so much in what you've just done today'. Um, and, and it's a choice that you say, I want to spend time on that" [Jasper 2022, 01:04:24].

In the above quote, Jasper clearly expresses his rejection of the objectifying approach to colleagues that instrumentalisation introduced in the Great Hall. When recognized as whole human beings and accepted, even in their vulnerable moments, the employees in the Great Hall appeared to find greater peace of mind in having to compromise on their professional standards as increasingly required by the acceleration. Furthermore, the above quote also testifies to how First Tuning Forks deliberately used the spaces of the Great Hall to conduct their affective labour. By physically removing his colleagues from the seating area to the coffee island, Jasper seemed to create time and space for other types of intimate and trust-building interactions which attests to his sensitivity towards not only resonance, but also organisational atmospheres.

7.1.2 Energizing through ‘community of laughers’

Secondly, the First Tuning Forks boosted their colleagues’ positive affective states by creating what Parvulescu (2010) would call a ‘community of laughers,’ in which laughter created temporary communities by momentarily suspending divisions across construction disciplines and hierarchy within a project group or department. The primary function of this type of affective labour seemed to be strengthening the connections between employees in the project team. Furthermore, the ‘community of laughers’ created a counter-atmosphere (Marsh & Śliwa, 2022) within which employees felt free to share experiences of dissonance but also private anecdotes, providing an escape from the usual norms and official ways of the Great Hall. This is consistent with Rosa and Endres who suggest that humour indicates resonant relationships and signalizes mutually available resonance. Laughter can be cathartic and within teams, it can bring about changes in the community (2017, p. 103). Furthermore, Rosa argues that laughter has a health improving and resilience-enhancing influence on the human organism which is why he considers the comedy industry “...as a kind of repair shop for contemporary society’s reified, resonance-inhibiting relation to the world” (Rosa, 2019, p. 78). Especially in the FLEXITEC project, humour was used extensively, and Liselotte explained how she consciously worked on creating such a “community of laughers”:

"I'm very aware of what I can do to make people happy or positive and trust and self-confidence, and things like that. And I can help give people a boost [...], and I also sense that those who may not have been before becoming more so when they realise that others are like this. Then it's like there are more people who offer something [...], they come along. And they become a part of it, and it just becomes united, I feel, down in our project. Also, someone where I had thought, 'That was a quiet bloke there', you know. But it doesn't take many [days] [...] then it's there, and when there's someone who helps create this energy and things like that, it spreads [...] I also think that it's very much the good energy that characterises the [project] that I'm in, right. Where you can hear in some of the other [projects] where there's a lot of frustration and things like that. It's like, we're kind of shielded from this" [Liselotte & Vibeke 2022, 01:38:49].

In the above quote Liselotte points to how she as a First Tuning Fork could start oscillations that spread to her entire project team and settled in the atmosphere, so she felt that her project group was shielded somewhat against the frustration that typically came in project groups that were exposed to massive acceleration and instrumentalisation. This aligns with Emmerson (2017), who argues that laughter can be characterised as atmospheric due to the feel or tone that it creates in the atmosphere. This kind of collective experience can, according to Parvulescu (2010), foster a sense of belonging and solidarity among people, albeit temporarily, which was also the case in the Great Hall.

In the FLEXITEC project, laughter was thus continuously spurred by a constant commentary on random events in the Great Hall, which the following observation illustrates:

At 10:21 AM: A loud laugh is heard from the end of the Great Hall. The laughter turns into a violent coughing fit. Liselotte starts laughing, and Liselotte and Vibeke look at each other and say, 'Wow'. Jokum says, 'Well Bøje, shut up' [referring to an old Danish commercial]. Liselotte,

Vibeke, Kasper, and Jokum laugh out loud. Liselotte says, 'It's good that someone can laugh' she sounds tired and fed up. She looks at the screen and says, 'I'm tired of all these fan coils'. Kasper says, 'have you heard that Jokum? Jokum says, 'As long as you don't start throwing paper balls'. Liselotte, Vibeke, Kasper and Jokum laugh. The mood lightens, and the slight tightness in my chest is released. The group then starts chatting and laughing a little. I realise that I'm sitting with a small smile on my face [FN2021-10-29].

Laughter in the above observation operated through a mixture of material (perceptive) and affective qualities that dispersed across and intersected with both space and bodies which made it atmospheric (Emmerson, 2017, p. 2085). This contagious, collective laughter lacked a distinct 'cognitive' content that could be intellectually grasped. Instead, the tone or feel of laughter was atmospheric in the sense that it seemed to foster the kind of belonging that the Belonging space of the Great Hall was characterized by (see chapter 5).

However, where Marsh & Śliwa argue that laughter is “...a medium of affective transmission, [because] laughter spreads from one person to another, leading to affective intensifications” (Marsh & Śliwa, 2022, p. 490), I will argue that laughter in the Great Hall was a mode of experience and behaviour that brought employees into a resonant relationship with their surroundings in the Great Hall, by either producing or reproducing resonant relations (Rosa, 2019, p. 78). Thus, research participants who seemed to have a Second Tuning Fork approach to the world described how they vibrated along with the First Tuning Forks. For instance, Vibeke described how she was not “...usually someone who just sits and shouts” [Vibeke 2021, 00:24:57], but that she did so with Liselotte because the two of them had a special bond. Furthermore, when the First Tuning Forks ceased their affective labour the atmosphere's mood noticeably shifted, with a sense of powerlessness creeping in (see section 6.1.4). However, once the First Tuning Forks resumed their affective labour the mood typically returned to its previous state, as illustrated by the following observation made a few days after a major deadline during which the First Tuning Forks had been unusually quiet:

At 13:23 PM: Liselotte and Vibeke come back. They joke and talk about the Christmas party and laugh. Kasper joins the conversation and says he's looking forward to the Christmas party. I realise how much I've missed Vibeke and Liselotte laughing in the days leading up to the deadline on Monday. They are now back and bring a light and playful atmosphere to the room [FN2021-10-12].

When I subsequently asked my research participants about the period before this deadline both Hans and Vibeke mentioned how the mood of the atmosphere changed depending on the affective and energetic surplus of the project members. Although these examples of affective labour seemed to be isolated instances performed by individuals this kind of “work” was considered a collective endeavour. Thus, all First Tuning Forks without exception described being highly dependent on their colleagues whom they considered to be the most important part of their work. First Tuning Fork Jasper explained it in the following way:

"...if I'm sitting alone on something, some shitty little tasks where I don't have anyone to do it with, then I don't thrive. I mean, I get energized - it's kind of like, it's not very cool to be the only

one on the dance floor, you know [laughs] and especially not if there's no music [...] if I'm sitting with a bunch of bores that I can't talk to at all. Er, or someone who keeps saying that they're busy, where you can't have a little dialogue. Well, that doesn't work" [Jasper 2022, 01:13:41].

Apparently to Jasper, social resonance was experienced as music that you could dance to, and without his colleagues there would be no party which was a sentiment echoed by the majority of the First Tuning Forks. This aligns with Kolehmainen and Mäkinen argument that affective labour is both collective, intracorporeal, and trans-subjective (2021, p. 449).

Summing up, the First Tuning Forks performed affective labour to boost positive affective states in their colleagues by recognizing them as humans, separating the colleague from his/her work, but also by creating a “community of laughers” that spurred a counter-atmosphere which could keep dissonance in the atmospheres of the Great Hall at bay. Besides boosting positive affective states, the First Tuning Forks also seemed to dissolve negative affective states, which will be elaborated on below.

7.2 Dissolve negative affective states

As established in affect research, negative affective states in employees can intensify stress, lower job satisfaction, and hinder performance (Miraglia & Johns, 2021; Weiss & Cropanzano, 1996). Within a resonance perspective, one could argue that such outcomes could also be attributed to a lack of resonance (Rosa, 2019) which First Tuning Forks would be attuned to and due to their self-efficacy would be equipped to address and counteract (Rosa, 2019). The following observation illustrates how First Tuning Forks sensitivity towards resonance played out in the Great Hall:

Liselotte walks towards her seat, and on her way there she seems to see something on Sally's face. She stops and takes a few steps back. She makes a frowning face and says - 'Sally, you look like something is wrong'. Sally explains that she's having trouble getting hold of someone who can answer some questions about cold storage. They agree that the set-up is hopeless because she's on Zealand, and since the supplier's man in the Zealand region is on holiday, there's no one who can answer the question. Jokum next to Sally says, 'how the hell do you think the rest of us feel when you're on holiday'. They laugh a little [FN2021-09-26]

In the above event Liselotte just had to walk by her colleague to sense that something was wrong, and her intuitive reaction was to acquire about it and attempt to make her colleague feel better. When I subsequently asked Liselotte about her behaviour, she answered that:

"I'm a person with, um, some big antennae. I care a lot about how others feel. So, I think it, it, it's in my DNA and this feeling and sensing, I sense things in colleagues [...] It can be silence. It could be that my colleagues are not as productive as they might normally be [...] They get frustrated [...], and when I sense discouragement then I know that there is something going on in the project that is not quite right. Because it has an impact on you, on you in your daily working life. Well, yes, personally [...] it's a bit like a mother's instinct, I get - that I must care

for, I must help. Um, can I support in any way, can I help to lift the spirits a little?" [Liselotte 2021, 00:30:07].

In the above citation, Liselotte compared this in-tuning ability to a mother's instinct which is intriguing because Rosa argues that *"there simply seems to be no functional equivalent of the family sphere of resonance for managing emotional life in a hyper-individualized, competition-based culture"* (Rosa, 2019, p. 203). Thus, one could argue that Liselotte used her maternal skills to equate her collegial relationships to family relationships, traditionally perceived as a modern individual's harbour of resonance (Rosa, 2019). Additionally, Liselotte explained that with colleagues she knew well she could often sense when something was different from usual, indicating she had a keen awareness of her colleagues' affective states.

In line with this, the First Tuning Forks in the Great Hall seemed to take it upon themselves to dissolve their colleagues' negative affective states through affective labour. This affective labour typically took the form of either translating between them to prevent misunderstandings, or by offering relief through managing their colleagues' affective states and offering spaces for "emotional release".

7.2.1 Translating through common perspective

First Tuning Forks worked to dissolve negative affective states by translating between the different construction disciplines. The following event is from a day at the FLEXITEC project during a cross disciplinary meeting where the project members had been under pressure for a long time:

"Torben goes through open points on a list. He talks about ventilation, and a man to the left of him says, 'that point, it sucks'. Torben seems to get angry when he answers. Maja rushes to say 'sucks - you know extraction - engineering joke'. People laugh a little, but Torben's reaction puts a damper on everything. He seems under pressure" [FN2021-09-20].

In the above event, First Tuning Fork Maja stepped in and translated the internal joke for Torben so that he would not ruin the resonant atmosphere with his anger. In her actions, she mirrors Monrad's (2016) descriptions of collegial emotion work in which colleagues valued and supported each other in handling their own emotions. This translation function was a common trait in most First Tuning Forks, and First Tuning Forks Hans explained how he used both words and bodily positions when he was "translating":

"...for example, when we sit and look at something together, let's say a drawing, a layout, and you sit there, I sit here. We sit opposite each other when we put it between us. So, we have both a, a relational thing, and then we have something concrete we're looking at. But we don't have the same perspective [...] if I sat on the same side as you, and we sat and looked at the drawing that was in front of both of us, then we had a different relationship [...] So there was no predator eye across. The focus was really just on what we were looking at so we weren't discussing the relationship. [...] and that's what I try to bring into this and say, 'let's, let's, uh, use each other's perspective'. So, I often end up having that role of, 'what he really means is...' [...] if we spend

all the time discussing the relationship then we never get to concentrate on what really is why we're put in this world. So, I try to get, get, get, get, get - kind of zero it out. And then it actually becomes easier to create the relationship. Because trust comes from the absence of conflict [...] [and the conflict is] gone the moment you offer people to step forward, a new place to stand, a, a movement" [Hans1 2021, 00:14:23].

In the quote above, Hans emphasized how in collaborative relationships with colleagues he aimed to foster a shared perspective by translating between different construction disciplines. From a resonance perspective, this is particularly noteworthy, as Hans highlights the absence of conflict as essential for building trust. This aligns with Rosa's assertion that resonant relationships can only form in an environment free from fear and anxiety (Rosa, 2019, p. 245). Furthermore, it is also clear from the above quote that Hans was concerned with creating resonant relationships with colleagues and avoiding “predator eyes” which could be interpreted as dissonant or alienated relations where the collaboration becomes ‘mute’, and they are were able to do the work they are “*put in this world*” to do. According to First Tuning Fork Mette, the behaviour described by Hans helped colleagues understand each other’s perspectives, alleviate tension, and maintain focus on their goals - something that, as First Tuning Fork Anton noted, ProBuilt employees frequently needed. When Anton had to help colleagues de-escalate conflicts and see each other's points of view he called this "Colleague-sitting" which he described as a task in line with his other work tasks. Thus, even though the First Tuning Forks’ affective labour was mainly “invisible” in their job descriptions they perceived it very much as a part of their job.

7.2.2 Relieving through emotional containing and -release

According to Mccaw & Gerrard (2023) and Moore (2018) self-management of affect and performance of emotions is an integrated part of affective labour. This was also evident in how the First Tuning Forks maintained the resonant atmosphere in the Great Hall. In addition to their role in translation, their affective labour involved calming their colleagues when the pressure of acceleration led to dissonant atmospheres characterized by agitation and high arousal. The following event is from a morning meeting on the FLEXITEC project where a group of employees had discovered a serious error in a colleague's work:

"[Frank says he] 'came home, saw the shitty mail on Saturday, and then the weekend was ruined'. Frank seems agitated [...] Hans says we need to see the mail so we can understand what the case is about. Frank opens it and shows the problems. Hans says, 'that's what they've done? Frank says, 'to be fair, it's actually us [...] The atmosphere is strained. I can feel it like a tingle in my body. Frank says that he has commented several times on Jørgen's drawings, and they have not been incorporated. Frank says, 'Everyone knows Jørgen, he's very precise'. Erik says, 'he's been squeezed out and melted down' [...] The atmosphere starts to accelerate, and people get agitated. It feels surging and engulfing. Hans says, 'calm down, calm down' [...] Hans starts drawing and asks Frank how many modules he needs. The group discusses different solutions [...] PM Philip sits very still, and I think he looks pale. He seems scared. Hans facilitates the

meeting and talks about stakeholder involvement. He says, 'We're in this situation, and there are some people who are going to be very angry and very upset and really furious. But the purpose is still to build a house when you get over the anger' [...] The group agrees that Hans will try to find a solution. Hans and I walk down to the FLEXITEC area and look at drawings in the middle of the room. I ask him if he looks at drawings to have a solution when he meets with the team. He looks at me, puts his hand to his chest, and says it's to calm himself. He doesn't want to share this with the team so as not to create too much noise. He seems shaky, and I sense that there is a lot of chaos going on inside. He says he needs to know if a solution actually can be found" [FN2021-10-04].

In the above event, Hans was clearly the one who calmed his colleagues' nervous systems and contained their negative affective states which required him to rein in his own affective state in line with Monrad's description of collegial emotion work (2016). Furthermore, it is interesting how Hans instinctively sought the artefacts of the Play space to connect with his profession and through that find solutions to calm himself, instead of "creating noise" among his colleagues by sharing the bad news. This mirrors Monrad's point that "good emotion work" among colleagues consists of being able to create the "right" (positive) affective states in others (2016, p. 75). Later that day, Hans explained to me that he saw his job as absorbing his colleagues' negative affective states and finding solutions to their problems. He described it as taking the pace out of the situation to give people room to breathe, which he called "...walking around and sprinkling a little magic dust" [Hans 2022, 00:11:27]. By providing his colleagues with the time and space to unwind, he laid the groundwork for rebuilding resonant relationships, which, according to Rosa, are often undermined by the pressures of acceleration (Rosa, 2019).

Being able to absorb and contain colleagues' negative affective states seemed to be a common trait among First Tuning Forks. First Tuning Forks Liselotte, Pernille, and Frida all described how their colleagues unloaded their worries on them, and how they compensated for their colleagues' bad moods and stress by being up-beat which according to research on affective labour is a common way to produce experiences of ease, well-being, and satisfaction (Dutta, 2024; Fortuin et al., 2021; Hardt, 1999). Carsten and Anton called this affective labour "project first aid", and Maja explained how she created calmness by covering her colleagues in love and creating tranquillity so that people could breathe, and she could leave them safe both professionally and personally.

Besides creating a mental and emotional space to develop and nurture trustful relations enabling resonance, the First Tuning Forks also initiated actual physical breaks where their colleagues could get time and space for trust building thorough conversations and emotional release. In example, First Tuning Fork Tine explained that

"...everyday life is so busy and we're constantly in and out of meetings, and you're like. The meetings are like, you must be there. It's customers, or you have appointments with people, right. Um, so if you have a very pressurized calendar in one way or another there aren't those little natural pockets where you can just unburden your heart, or where you can just say - 'hey, well, I just experienced this. I actually feel a bit bad about it. Can I just talk to you about it' [...]

And I think I just kind of needed that - and I could sense that Pernille did too - that we should try to prioritize not being in such a hurry. That we don't have to rush from one meeting to the next, and we don't even have time to eat lunch before we have to come back here and stuff like that. Well, I kind of got the feeling that we - we were making ourselves even busier [...] then we realized that we actually like to sit down for a while. And just talk some things over [...] so we try to make room for that [Tine 2021, 00:28:09].

In the above quote, Tine explains how the atmosphere in the Great Hall had become so dominated by acceleration that the usual moments of connection and care between employees had disappeared. As First Tuning Forks, Tine and Pernille understood that this lack of presence wasn't an individual problem, but an organisational one. Confident in their self-efficacy they believed they could establish a new framework, creating the necessary breaks to care for their colleagues and each other.

7.3 Adjust colleagues' behaviour

Mirroring Monrad's description of how employees would directly intervene if their colleagues threatened the efforts to preserve a good atmosphere (2016, p. 78), First Tuning Forks also adjusted their colleagues behaviour if it threatened the resonant atmospheres. They used their body language to subtly signalize when colleagues broke the appropriate forms and behaviours of the ProBuilt's emotional culture and approached their colleagues directly if the transgressions were sufficiently serious. In the following, both such 'indirect adjustments' through body language and 'direct adjustments' through physical approaches are described.

Indirect adjustments. Firstly, First Tuning Forks often indirectly adjusted their colleagues by using body language, such as showing alarm or disapproval, to signal that their colleagues' behaviour was unacceptable and verbally indicating that their actions were outside the display rules (Julmi, 2017a) of the emotional culture. The following observation is from the FLEXITEC project a few days before a big deadline:

"At 12:26 pm: Coming back from lunch, we suddenly hear sounds of paper being torn on the other side of the computer screens. Sally is jumping on some papers. Liselotte looks upset but sends a worried smile. Sally says it is her boxing ball. Sally collects her papers from the floor and moves on and the group dissolves [...] At 3:30 pm: 'That can't be right', says Jokum. Sally says, 'I'm the one who's been mad all day'. Liselotte says, 'yes, you've had such an off day'. Sally says, 'I'm not here today', Liselotte replies, 'no, actually you're not', she laughs. I sense that Sally is being sanctioned because she has spread a bad atmosphere. Sally packs up and says goodbye to the others" [FN2021-10-28].

In the above event, Sally became so frustrated with her work that she seemed to briefly lack the ability to handle her own affective states, which according to Monrad (2016), within such a collegial framework would be considered a transgression. Although Liselotte did not directly put Sally in her place her body language clearly signalled that she did not approve of this type of behaviour. Likewise, in line with Monrad's (2016) descriptions of sanctions she teased Sally by

labelling her as “absent”, because - according to Liselotte - one would not normally be present in the Great Hall in such a “mad” affective state. Examples of such humorous ways of putting colleagues in their place was common all over the Great Hall.

Direct adjustments. However, the First Tuning Forks’ affective labour could also take the form of direct adjustments to colleagues’ behaviour. The following event is from a FLEXITEC meeting with customers where Hans had to adjust a colleague’s behaviour because he was too aggressive:

At 14:15: The atmosphere becomes a bit hectic - it seems like there is too little time, and I notice that I want the meeting to end. I have a feeling that it's not necessarily something that comes from me. Søs continues to check her phone. The ProBuilt colleague next to Morten rubs his eyes and looks tired. Morten sits with his arms folded. Suddenly he picks up his computer and starts looking at it intently. Then he says - 'In the decision log - it says MUST in the bullet under flexible wall location - where did that come from?' The customer online says that's how he remembers it, and Morten says 'no'! He sounds angry. Hans calms the waters and shuts Morten down. The customer doesn't comment and just says 'I say thank you and leave now' [FN2021-09-02].

In the above event, Hans intervened directly in Morten's conversation with the customer by telling everyone to calm down and changing the subject, not allowing Morten to continue his discussions with the customer about the decision log. When I asked Hans about adjusting his colleagues’ behaviours, he explained that he adjusted his colleagues, if they came across as too negative:

"... it can be, for example, that people, they express that they're really pissed off about something, right. And 'it's all for nothing', and 'it's all just wra, wra, wra, wra [makes angry sound]', and 'they're also just stupid', right. And then I can get a little bit sharp, right, and say 'well, uh, well now, now I think now, now we've heard it' or 'well, that's fine, but let's go', right. 'It is, what it is' or 'Yes', right - but, but, but, but that I do? Trying to put a lid on frustration [...] For example, I could take [colleague] aside and say, 'Well what, where are we at, right? Like, 'I think you're spending a little too much time complaining about these things. Is this something we should do something about or what?' right? 'Can I help you with that or should we just let it go?', right. But it's not something I normally do in, in public" [Hans 2022, 00:21:51].

Even though Rosa (2019) argues that resonance does not require only positive affective states Hans had a clear preference for "putting a lid on frustration" and thereby adjusting his colleague’s behaviour, so that the colleague did not negatively affect the rest of the team and thereby also the resonant atmosphere with dissonance. Furthermore, Hans explained that even though he did adjust his colleagues in public he preferred to do it in private which was echoed by First Tuning Fork Pernille who usually pulled colleagues aside and asked them "...Are you okay? What's going on here? I see you behaving like this. Are you aware of it?" [Pernille 2021, 00:45:02]. When pulling colleagues aside and adjusting them in private, the First Tuning Forks ensured that they did not compromise their trustful relations and their colleagues’ sense of self-

efficacy which seemed important to the First Tuning Forks. Furthermore, through her adjustments, Pernille helped her colleagues see themselves from the outside ensuring that they adjusted to the appropriate display rules of the emotional culture thereby attempting to preserve the resonant atmosphere. Most First Tuning Forks engaged in such adjustments of their colleagues' behaviour. Anton and Carsten described how they had to adjust their colleagues' behaviour if they were too assertive with the customer and didn't listen, Liselotte and Maja described how they adjusted their colleagues' behaviour if they spoke too harshly, and Jasper described how he adjusted his colleagues' behaviour if they were too boastful. Although the First Tuning Forks seemed to focus on adjusting different types of behaviour the common denominator for the unwanted behaviour were aggression, as aggression seemed to destroy trust between colleagues and thereby undermine the resonant relationships in the Great Hall.

Finally, besides adjusting colleagues' behaviour First Tuning Forks also seemed to calibrate the affective labour of other First Tuning Forks which Maja explained as follows:

"Hans said to me at some point early on in the project, he says, 'You know where your role is in this project, right?' And then I say, 'phew' and you know, there was, it was new, and I was Lead and then I say, 'yeah, and then I also have to make this document. And I must make this plan, and I have to make this strategy. And then I also must make sure that this breach [says sound indicating many different things] and then he says, 'No, no. It's your job to make sure that people feel good' [Maja 2021, 00:32:52].

The quote above indicates that, performing affective labour ensuring the experience of ease, well-being, satisfaction, excitement, passion, and connectedness (Hardt, 1999, p. 96) among colleagues in the project group to Hans was the core function of the First Tuning Forks work. Like First Tuning Fork Anton, Hans expected affective labour to be central in both his and his fellow First Tuning Forks' work which suggests that there was a certain organisational pull for this "invisible" work (Daniels, 1987; Devault, 2014; Star, 1990).

7.4 The organisational pull for affective labour

On the one hand, performing affective labour was an extra-role behaviour of the First Tuning Forks who considered it a core element of their job. However, they were not the sole contributors to maintaining a resonant atmosphere in the Great Hall. The display rules of the emotional culture seemed to be rooted in a specific employee ideal, often characterized by a 'shut-down' approach to work, which was reinforced by both management and colleagues' preferences. First Tuning Fork Carsten observed that during the last two mass layoffs, those labelled as "not positive" were let go, as working at ProBuilt necessitated effective management of interpersonal relationships. First Tuning Fork Liselotte noted that her friend was rehired due to the positive energy she exuded. Additionally, in accordance with Rosa's description of Second Tuning Forks seeking out First Tuning Forks or environments that enhance resonance, several participants mentioned they were attracted to areas in the Great Hall with a "good atmosphere." They preferred to position themselves near colleagues who were laughing and actively sought out those who exhibited energetic, positive, and social behaviours and left the

disgruntled ones alone, because the resonant atmosphere, according to them, cancelled out the pressure.

The collective priority of preserving a positive atmosphere was evident, as illustrated by the following observation of a team meeting in the FLEXITEC project:

Pernille starts the meeting. She goes through the agenda and says, 'We have only been allowed to do this project if we can take some learning back to ProBuilt'. The purpose of the Profession Groups is to get input from the project, and therefore there are now three participants in the room representing these Profession Groups. Pernille speaks very fast and seems frantic as she asks everyone to go to [online poll system] and answer the following question 'how is your mood today?' You can choose between 'Energized and Happy', 'Low on energy' or 'Too busy to be here'. People start voting. When they see that there is someone who has marked themselves as 'Too busy to be here' one from the groups says 'well, let's not try to spread the good vibes here' [the comment is ironic]. No one says anything afterwards and no one takes responsibility for the 'Too busy to be here'. Pernille asks if everyone has, voted, and no one says anything. Pernille says that the time has passed and gives the floor to Mads [FN2021-09-21].

The observation illustrates that the pressure to adhere to the display rules was a shared priority. The preference for the 'Energized and Happy' option in the test reinforced the First Tuning Forks' efforts to sustain the resonant atmosphere, which align with Monrad's observations that good 'emotion work' consist of handling own emotions, i.e. appearing happy and accommodating (2016).

Summing up, due to their affective labour, the First Tuning Forks had a huge impact on the atmospheres in the Great Hall. Especially when the acceleration kicked in the First Tuning Forks seemed to be the only ones who could maintain the resonant atmosphere by continuously awakening their colleagues' 'available resonance' through affective labour. This affective labour took the form of adjusting their colleagues' affective states by both boosting their positive affective states and dissolving their negative affective states. When First Tuning Forks boosted their colleagues' positive affective states they mainly used two different approaches: Firstly, they recognized them as humans and secondly, they seemed to energize colleagues by creating 'communities of laughter' (Parvulescu, 2010) where colleagues could obtain emotional release and reconnect with each other. Secondly, the First Tuning Forks dissolved their colleagues' negative affective states by acting as translators bringing new perspectives and pathways to action and create calmness by absorbing colleagues' negative affect and making space for emotional release (in private spaces). Thirdly, in addition to their affective labour focused on regulating colleagues' affective states, First Tuning Forks also directly intervened to adjust colleagues' behaviour when it posed a threat to the resonant atmosphere.

When the First Tuning Forks successfully performed their affective labour, they largely succeeded in preserving the resonant atmospheres, or parts of them, by fostering social resonance which in turn helped maintain the connection between ProBuilt employees and the

organisation. Since no other types of aesthetic labour (Böhme, 1993) were performed in the Great Hall to boost either material- or existential resonance, social resonance was the only form of resonance that could be regenerated when acceleration and instrumentalisation had weakened employees' axis of resonance. Contrary to Rosa's equal weighting of the three forms of resonance, social resonance was thus the most crucial in the Great Hall for maintaining the resonant atmosphere and through it the employees' well-being.

However, there were also limitations to the First Tuning Forks' affective labour. As acceleration and instrumentalisation drained their energy and resources it became increasingly difficult for the First Tuning Forks to sustain their affective labour, and in some cases, they even began to negatively affect their colleagues which further amplified the dissonant atmosphere. This will be explored in more detail in the section below.

7.5 The limits of the First Tuning Forks

Through affective labour, the First Tuning Forks were able to counterbalance the effects of acceleration and instrumentalisation and boost social resonance among colleagues, thereby preventing alienation and work-related stress in the Great Hall. This aligns with Rosa, who argues that “...*alienation can be said to be overcome whenever and wherever subjects, in the course of a given interaction, are touched or affected by another or by others, and moreover, are themselves capable of touching or affecting others; wherever one's relationship to the world and thus also to oneself appears to be at least potentially fluid or liquefiable*” (Rosa, 2019, p. 179). Thus, I will argue that First Tuning Fork possess an ability to maintain non-alienated relationships with their colleagues by touching them and allowing colleagues to touch them in return creating a resonance-regeneration process.

Even though the First Tuning Forks had a huge impact on the atmospheres in the Great Hall their affective labour also had limits. The following section is divided into three parts. First, it describes the factors that depleted the First Tuning Forks' energy and resources. Next, it explains how the First Tuning Forks ceased their resonance-enhancing affective labour. Finally, it examines how, in some instances, the First Tuning Forks began engaging in resonance-inhibiting activities. However, this section will first focus on the cost of performing affective labour which depleted the First Tuning Forks and left them unable to prevent alienation and subsequent work-related stress when they themselves became exhausted.

7.5.1 The cost of performing affective labour

Most First Tuning Forks viewed affective labour as an integral part of their job, often forming the foundation of their identity. However, the affective labour that fostered resonance necessitated a reciprocal relationship with their colleagues (Dutta, 2024; Kolehmainen & Mäkinen, 2021; Rosa, 2019). As acceleration and instrumentalisation made the atmospheres more and more dissonant the relationships between colleagues also seemed to weaken. This aligns with Rosa's concept of alienation which he describes as a dampening process in which

vibrations of the entities involved are disrupted rather than reinforced, and the voices confronting each other become mute or unable to listen (2019). In line with this, it seemed that the voices of the First Tuning Forks' colleagues grew increasingly mute, and they became increasingly unable to listen. First Tuning Fork Carsten described how he encountered colleagues who seemed to be unable to tune in to the resonant atmosphere and thus threatened it because they were

"... so negative about all the obstacles, right. And, and, and, and, and know better than everyone else. So, uh, uh, who, who are very narrow-minded, right. Erm, it's not - and, and, and maybe those are the ones, who can't listen. Those who don't hear what was said to their colleagues in front of the customer. There are some who are simply completely tone deaf. They simply don't recognise the world around them [laughs a little], and that's really difficult when you're a team. That someone doesn't have that ability [...] you have to go down and explain it to them, um, many times. And, and, what's the word, make sure that, uh, we almost have to run alongside them all the way to make sure that they, that they run in the right direction, that they, that they understand it. So um, so it's not, it can be difficult" [Carsten 2021, 00:52:18]

In the quote above, Carsten described colleagues who were completely "tone deaf" to the behaviours that the resonant atmosphere subtly favoured, and in Rosa's words unable to create resonant wires to their colleagues (2019). Carsten was also frustrated because he needed his colleagues to "*run in the right direction*" to maintain the resonant atmosphere and had to "*run alongside them*" to ensure they stayed on track (maintained resonant relations to the project and to colleagues) which was exhausting. This suggests that as colleagues became less and less able to enter into relations and touch others, First Tuning Forks faced a greater and greater task of performing affective labour. This was particularly challenging because the First Tuning Forks were keenly aware of their responsibilities, and what would happen if they failed at their affective labour. In example, First Tuning Fork Pernille explained that she repeatedly had been told that she controlled the atmosphere around her:

"Someone once said to me, 'you control how the rest of us feel'. And I was like [signalling her surprised reaction], and then like this, 'What are you talking about?' And then I reflected on it and actually thought, It's actually true that I've been told in different ways during my career - both negative and positive that in a meeting room, if you're in a meeting, the atmosphere in that meeting is very dependent on how I feel. Um, so I must be aware of that when I'm feeling bad because then 'ahrrddd', there's a really bad atmosphere [laughs a little]. But I'm also good at the other stuff. I'm also good at getting people to have a positive attitude, and that's where it becomes a real strength" [Pernille 2021, 00:09:23].

In the quote above, Pernille highlighted how, as a First Tuning Fork, she was responsible for managing both her own affective states and influencing the emotional states of her colleagues, aligning with Monrad's (2016) concept of collegial emotion work. Additionally, her colleagues seemed to expect her to maintain the resonant atmospheres, making her feel a sense of responsibility, which at times became burdensome. Especially because this kind of work was mostly invisible in the Great Hall since it was not financially compensated or explicitly

expressed in any performance goals or ratings (Daniels, 1987; Devault, 2014). This meant that as acceleration and instrumentalisation grew even the First Tuning Forks were drained, because they were expected to increase their “official workload” and simultaneously had to amplify their affective labour to regenerate the social resonance in the atmosphere of the Great Hall. Maja described it this way:

“There are also days when, you know, I’m tired myself, and I’m too busy. But I still have the antennae out, and I still think if there is someone snarling then I still prioritize to go over there and say, ‘are you okay?’, ‘so what, how should we?’ And it’s draining. On the good days, I think, ‘Hey I made a difference for X’, and on the bad days, I think, ‘Phuu, I must take care of X on top of my work’” [Maja 2021, 00:34:59].

In the above quote, Maja felt drained by her affective labour both because she was exhausted from working without rest for many months and because the level of conflict increased, making the need for “tuning” or changing their colleagues’ affective states or behaviour more frequent. Maja’s reaction mirrors the negative outcomes of collegial emotional labour, which among other things were burn-out due to emotional dissonance (Delgado et al., 2017) and surface acting (Haycock-Stuart et al., 2010; Theodosius et al., 2021). This experience of being drained was confirmed by all my First Tuning Forks without exception because as Liselotte said:

“...sometimes it can be difficult to, to always be on the beat and just think it’s absolutely amazing everything [claps hands to indicate energetic beat]. Here we go – and. Because there will be some gut punches” [Liselotte1 2021, 00:27:13].

The gut-punching experiences Liselotte mentioned were often tied to lack of appreciation from colleagues and management at ProBuilt for her affective labour. For example, Liselotte described how she had tried to call out management when she increasingly felt that her colleagues were unhappy at work. In line with Rosa’s description of the self-efficacy that comes with a ‘self-anchored’ approach to the world (2019), Liselotte had listened to her colleagues and put herself at the forefront of the dialogue with management which resulted in her experiencing that she had to defend how she was as a person and had subsequently had to take a “beating” for it. After going home crying from work two days in a row she had then decided that:

“I’m done being in the front line of fire. I don’t want to do that anymore. Because I’ve also felt that when I’ve stood there, there isn’t, there hasn’t been a hinterland [her colleagues didn’t support her]. They’ve started to disappear [chuckles] and I don’t want that. That’s what I’ve concluded, and I said so directly to [manager]. I shouldn’t be under fire because I also have other colleagues who don’t dare speak their minds, who have actually been involved in this too” [Liselotte & Vibeke 2022, 00:37:55].

In addition to the experience of being drained like Maja or being put in her place through verbal “beating” like Liselotte, the First Tuning Forks also experienced being labelled as frivolous or soft because they spent more time on their affective labour than their official work tasks. Hans explained that during periods of pressure, he felt stretched thin and found it difficult to coordinate with colleagues in other areas of the project because:

“...when I put on my superman costume and then jump around the project and try to fix everything [conflicts among colleagues, frustrations with clients and management], it means that I don't concentrate on what I actually have to do” [Hans1 2021, 00:14:54].

When Hans' affective labour became too extensive his colleagues felt that he became too focused on resolving conflicts in the individual construction disciplines and lost track of the interdisciplinary coordination. On the FLEXITEC project, Frank described that Hans had ended up doing

"...firefighting on the different disciplines where his task was to facilitate all disciplines in facility design [...] it's not a criticism of him, but it's a criticism of the role or the resources for the role again, you could say, right. That his role was to facilitate it all and make sure that all the deadlines and all that went through and keep a bit of a positive atmosphere, right" [Frank 2021, 00:22:15].

According to Frank, the task of keeping the “positive atmosphere” had ended up taking up all Hans' resources. Frank emphasized that without Hans the FLEXITEC project group would have collapsed, but he pointed to the limits of Hans' resources for managing both the project and the atmospheres around the project. Thus, Hans found himself caught between conflicting interests that he could not satisfy, a challenge also mentioned by both Liselotte and Jasper. The emotional drain, negative sanctions, and cross-pressure resulted in the First Tuning Forks of the Great Hall increasingly losing their ability to tune in to the atmospheres around them. This led to a process where they ceased performing resonance-enhancing affective labour and sometimes even began to exhibit pressured behaviour that negatively impacted the atmospheres in the Great Hall, as will be further elaborated below.

7.5.2 The termination of resonance-enhancing affective labour

As the First Tuning Forks became drained of energy and resources, they gradually stopped performing their affective labour, with the timing and manner varying based on each individual's remaining capacity. However, they all shared a common thread: a gradual disengagement from their efforts to create a resonant atmosphere which mirrors Rosa's description of a process of alienation (2019). Likewise, this aligns with Dutta's (2024) study of affective labour and atmospheres in beauty salons showing how employees found it difficult to maintain the nice atmosphere if they were frustrated themselves. Echoing Liselotte's sentiment of no longer wanting to stand alone in the line of fire after being repeatedly put in her place, Jasper also recounted experiences where he seemed to abandon his role in safeguarding the resonant atmosphere, fearing it was too draining. Hans shared a similar perspective, describing how he grew weary of resolving his colleagues' conflicts and eventually stopped caring. Likewise, Mette noted that she increasingly refrained from checking in on her colleagues' well-being as she instead became preoccupied with:

"What should I take home from this meeting so that I can achieve what I need to, so that I don't tip over myself in three days?" Well, you know. And that's one of the things that also disappears

when we're too busy. So, one thing is how do we do well together? That kind of goes out the window. And another thing is, how are the others doing? It probably also goes a bit out the window because in reality you don't have the energy to take care of it, right." [Mette 2023, 01:19:19].

In the above quote, Mette pointed out that while acceleration seemed to cause employees in the Great Hall to work in silos affecting collaboration across construction disciplines, instrumentalisation appeared to lead to a more personal withdrawal, impacting collegial relationships. This silo-mode was confirmed by First Tuning Fork Frida, who described how the acceleration became embodied as a preference for literally wearing running shoes at work to be able to keep up:

"... there are some days where I had to... I've finished one workshop, or something, and I've had to use - where I have, literally, had to run to get to the next thing in time. That's why I'm wearing running shoes [points to her feet and laughs], and I've been so busy that I've just had to say, uh, if someone asks me something, I've just been like, 'I have this deadline in an hour. I must finish this'. So, I don't have time to even realise - right there, I don't know who's sitting around me" [Frida 2021, 00:31:19].

Frida's withdrawal to the point of not even noticing who was around her highlights the intense impact of acceleration on employees in the Great Hall. When the pressure became too much, and the First Tuning Forks retreated from their colleagues they seemed to lose the ability to attune to their colleagues' affective states. A notable example is Philip, the FLEXITEC project manager. He was known in ProBuilt as an excellent project manager who defied the stereotype that engineers cannot navigate the "soft sides" of project work. Philip was praised for his ability to listen to and acknowledge his team members aligning with the holistic mindset of the First Tuning Forks. He was known for prioritizing a positive tone, supporting his team, and making colleagues feel safe and happy. Maja even mentioned that she joined the FLEXITEC project specifically because Philip was the project manager. However, when I started fieldwork in the Great Hall, he did not exhibit the traits of a First Tuning Fork in the sense that he seemed to struggle with forging resonant relations with his colleagues. The following event from a project manager meeting where Philip was supposed to instruct his team on how to handle the project delays illustrates his inability to reach his team members:

At 11:05 AM: Philip arrives. He looks tired and absent-minded. Philip apologizes for the delay and gets started. [...] The civil works plan is finished 4 weeks later than the milestone. Philip stands a little uneasy. Philip continues, 'on the other hand, there is an opportunity to work with the installation plan. So, it's not critical. We can make up 4 weeks. But we need to establish an overview with planning. It will all fall into place'. Philip looks completely closed off. He may be saying something positive with words, but his body language signals resignation [...] Philip goes on to say that in terms of progress, 'we are only slightly behind in terms of design. It's looking good. We'll look at it later, and I think that it will be a good day'. Philip sounds like he's trying to make it sound positive and looks around at all the participants, which I interpret as him trying to get buy-in for his interpretation of the situation. People are standing with their arms

crossed, and most are looking straight into the air without meeting his gaze. Philip looks a little confused. Philip says - 'have I forgotten something? [...]' Hans is sitting fidgeting restlessly, Ulf is yawning, Anders looks absent-minded. Maja is typing on computer. New woman looks closed. Philip looks at Torben for support [...] There are some strange pauses throughout the meeting. As if people don't really know what to say [FN2021-09-13].

In the above event, Philip made multiple attempts to tune in with his colleagues by praising their work and offering positive interpretations of the FLEXITEC project's progress. However, none of his colleagues seemed to "vibrate" with the affective cues he was trying to set off. Instead of hearing and seeing his project members the acceleration of the 'fast track' concept seemed to have pushed Philip to the point where he could no longer tune into his surroundings. Thus, he could not calibrate his affective labour to provide the situation with what it needed to remain resonant. Philip wasn't the only one who struggled - other First Tuning Forks in the FLEXITEC project also appeared to lose the energy to engage and perform affective labour as the project progressed. The following event illustrates how acceleration slowly undermined Liselotte's holistic approach and narrowed her attention span so that she eventually only focused on what she as an individual had to deliver:

9:33 AM: Liselotte exclaims 'nooooo' and looks at the screen. Kasper, Jasper and I all turn round. I expect to see her look up, smile, and explain, but she doesn't. Liselotte continues to work intently. She looks stuffy and a little annoyed. I feel a slight tightness in my chest. I'm used to her always being happy, so when she's not it has a violent effect on my system. At 9:59 I realise that both Liselotte and Vibeke haven't laughed or joked at all today. They are both sitting looking intently at the screen. The atmosphere is busy, almost hectic. There's a lack of warmth and lightness today that I think has characterised the atmosphere on other days [FN2021-10-05].

In the above event, Liselotte had ceased performing affective labour in the form of laughing and joking which impacted everyone around her and made Vibeke stop her jovial "vibrations" as well. Where Liselotte and Vibeke could usually kick off a community of laughter (Parvulescu, 2010) within the FLEXITEC project team, they were dependent of the reciprocal resonant relations within the group to perform this work. Once First Tuning Forks like Liselotte stopped her affective labour, Vibeke could not kick it off herself which she explained in the following way:

"...you shouldn't say so many, er, funny things or try to be funny [...] You can just feel, you can sense it in each other, that right now it's not a good idea. And I was well aware that they had to put all their PDFs up on Teams, and they have quite a lot of drawings [...] that particular day was perhaps not the funniest" [Vibeke 2021, 00:34:32].

In the above quote, Vibeke confirmed how she felt Liselotte's lack of affective labour as a silent rejection of invitations to laughter which had made the atmosphere "not the funniest". In this way, Vibeke expressed the dissonance she felt in the absence of the First Tuning Forks affective labour tuning the atmospheres. Even Hans, who seemed to be the incarnation of a First Tuning

Fork, was eventually worn down by acceleration as the following observation from the Belonging space of the FLEXITEC project illustrates

Hans walks around and talks to different people. He doesn't smile, but instead looks tired and withdrawn. I get worried because he usually smiles, so when he doesn't, I get worried. He stands at his computer and starts a conversation with a woman on the other side. He tells her to copy the whole thing with cc to him and the customer and asks how they want it. She doesn't need to 'spend time on this nonsense' [FN2021-10-28].

As demonstrated in the two observations above, the absence of affective labour from the First Tuning Forks significantly affected the surrounding atmosphere. Additionally, these events highlight how the First Tuning Forks could begin to negatively influence the atmosphere in the Great Hall by expressing aggression and frustration. This caused their colleagues to become wary and guarded, ultimately hindering the creation of social resonance.

7.5.3 The initiation of resonance-inhibiting behaviour

In addition to the First Tuning Forks no longer being able to perform affective labour to tune their colleagues towards positive affective states and behaviours that supported a resonant atmosphere some of them also began to tune the atmospheres negatively, thus defeating the purpose of affective labour, almost reversing it. The following event from a day in the FLEXITEC seating area close to a deadline illustrates this dynamic:

At 11:12 am: I ask if the others are coming to lunch. Jasper says it won't open for another 3 minutes, and I say that I just wanted to know if they would skip lunch. Jasper says, 'Do I look like someone who skips lunch'. We laugh a little and I say that I am hungry, and that there is cake in the canteen. Anders turns around and says, 'oh no, it's fish day'. Vibeke says 'it's cod' and Anders says, 'it's ok'. Jasper says, 'yes, if it is made correctly. But it's usually not in a canteen'. I say that I am most concerned with the cake, and Jokum says that 'you can also be badly disappointed there'. The mood is heavy, and I can feel that I am really working to lift it. Apparently, I am now also in the process of doing emotion work to make the others feel good and stay in a good mood. We go back to our PCs, and I'm flat inside. I actually don't want to go to lunch with them, and I'm considering finding some from the Prospect department that I can hook up with [FN2021-10-28].

In the above event, the acceleration of the FLEXITEC project seemed to have had the consequence that the team members increasingly started to complain about everything which resulted in even me, as a researcher, frantically trying to perform affective labour by using humour to lift the mood and thereby regenerate the social resonance. It was particularly evident that Jasper, who usually fostered a resonant atmosphere, also played a significant role in creating a dissonant one. Jasper later explained that when he was under pressure, he began complaining which influenced his colleagues negatively:

"If I'm not functioning optimally, I just drag the load down and complain so much that everyone quits [laughs], and then nothing gets done [laughs]. So, I also have a standing order to go to my

boss before I start getting angry [laughs] so he can do something about it" [Jasper 2022, 00:17:44].

In the above quote, Jasper vividly described how he could negatively tune the atmosphere to the point where it became so dissonant that it bordered on alienation (Rosa, 2019) - a state that, according to Jasper, could eventually lead to layoffs and project stagnation. Moreover, it wasn't just Jasper - others also began displaying resonance-inhibiting behaviour which negatively impacted their colleagues. Thus, I observed how Liselotte seemed increasingly frustrated with the FLEXITEC project:

At 11:33 am. Liselotte is sitting in her seat talking to Vibeke. She speaks low and fast. I can't hear what she's saying, but she seems angry and frustrated. Her gestures are jerky, and I get the feeling that she is scolding someone. I feel a slight tremor inside and my mood deteriorates noticeably. Hans comes and asks if I've had lunch and I say no, but I want to come. He says that the others are too busy. I sense that he just wants to have lunch with me. We go downstairs, and I ask him how he's doing. He says 'a little bit prrr' [exhales as if out of breath] [FN2021-10-05].

In the above event, Hans appeared to be impacted by Liselotte's negative tuning and the increasingly dissonant atmosphere which made him withdraw from his colleagues, deteriorating the resonant relations between them. Additionally, Hans, who was usually flawless in his affective labour, started to tune negatively towards one of the last big deadlines. This shift seemed to create dissonant experiences for his colleagues as Hans was often the last line of defence against the acceleration and instrumentalisation. The following event from a customer meeting on the FLEXITEC project illustrates what happened when Hans, instead of tuning positively, tuned negatively:

The customers and Finn are talking to each other over Teams. Customer A is sharing her screen and showing requirements overview [list of requirements for the different rooms in building]. Hans has sat back in his chair with his arms crossed. His demeanour is fundamentally different than before the break. Hans says, 'What do you want to do? What do you need us to do? We've been at it for a really long time'. He seems annoyed. Customer A replies, 'I don't know. But I don't think it's an argument that you don't want to update lists'. Hans says they can have the lists the way they want them. Customer A sounds pressurised and asks, 'Is Customer B not there? Hans sits back in his chair. He seems defensive and annoyed. I feel that he almost draws the energy out of the room and becomes aware that as good as he can be at spreading good vibes, he can also be good at spreading bad vibes [...] I sense that his Hans' emotional labour is cracking. Customer A says she doesn't know if they should do more. I sense a sadness and discouragement within. I try not to yawn" [FN2021-10-12].

The above event was recorded after a 4-hour meeting and illustrates how the atmosphere changed as Hans could no longer maintain his affective labour of being accommodating and positive towards the customer, and instead gave in to his frustration. Sally confirmed that she also felt this shift in the atmosphere of the meeting by exclaiming during a break, "*Wow, this is so tedious. I'm so frustrated I'm shaking*" [FN2021-10-12]. When subsequently asked about his

role in the FLEXITEC project, and how he had influenced the atmosphere of the Great Hall Hans himself was aware of his influence for better or worse:

"... Actually, [I] was like [exhales resignedly], 'You can do whatever the hell you want', you know. And that, and that's what happens to me when I run out of that - energy or that drive or something. Then I don't have as much to give the team [...] then maybe I start to be part of this energy drain because my frustration also builds up at some point. And I have to protect myself from that, and I have to protect the team from that [...] I'm just as frustrated as everyone else. I'm not a, a, a different person or a better or a worse person than everyone else. I have exactly the same frustrations. I just know. I just realise that I feel better and make more sense to myself when they don't surface like that. But at some point, the bucket gets full, right " [Hans 2022, 00:24:40].

In the above quote, Hans pointed out how, as a First Tuning Fork, he was no different from his colleagues but was simply aware of his influence on the atmosphere and felt responsible for not diminishing the social resonance. Although Hans referred to his 'superman costume' when describing his affective labour, even the First Tuning Forks had limits to their energy. When they reached their breaking point the impact on ProBuilt seemed more significant than when the Second Tuning Forks did, as the First Tuning Forks' affective labour were among the few things keeping acceleration and instrumentalisation in check by regenerating social resonance. Ironically, when the First Tuning Forks were drained their negative tuning could increase the level of dissonance in the atmosphere so much that the dissonance in some instances collapsed into outright alienation which will be discussed in further detail in chapter eight.

7.6 The possibilities and the limits of affective labour in preventing alienation and work-related stress

The purpose of this chapter was to understand how First Tuning Forks' affective labour could prevent alienation and work-related stress when atmospheres were no longer resonant. Atmosphere theory often argues that one can set a framework for an atmosphere, but never control how it plays out (Sumartojo & Pink, 2019). This section has empirically supported this understanding by illustrating how the First Tuning Forks managed to tune the atmosphere of the Great Hall to create resonance, but also how the framework for the resonant atmosphere was hard to control as it increasingly depended on a group of employees who were also exhausted from the acceleration and instrumentalisation.

The First Tuning Forks prevented alienation and subsequent work-related stress by engaging in affective labour which involved regulating their colleagues' affective states and behaviour. The First Tuning Forks adjusted their colleagues by boosting positive affective states and dissolving negative ones. To boost their colleagues' positive affective states, they employed two main strategies: recognizing colleagues as humans and creating "communities of laughter." Through humorous comments and upbeat behaviour First Tuning Forks infused their colleagues with positive energy. First Tuning Forks also dissolved negative affective states by acting as translators, providing new perspectives and pathways to action, and creating relief by absorbing

negative affect and allowing for emotional release in private settings. Additionally, the First Tuning Forks adjusted colleagues' behaviour if it threatened the resonant atmosphere, using both body language and direct interventions if colleagues were too aggressive.

As mentioned, the First Tuning Forks' affective labour seemed to be the final resonance-generating instances that ensured that the atmosphere of the Great Hall continued to have pockets of social resonance when both material and existential resonance had dissolved under the pressure of acceleration and instrumentalisation. In this way, the First Tuning Forks affective labour made it possible to maintain social resonance in an otherwise dissonant atmosphere of acceleration and instrumentalisation, thereby preventing alienation and work-related stress.

However, there were limits to the First Tuning Forks affective labour. Despite having both the motivation and the ability to preserve social resonance through affective labour this work also drained the First Tuning Forks. Consistent with descriptions of collegial emotional labour (Theodosius et al., 2021), the First Tuning Forks were drained partly because they had to contain their colleagues' negative affective states, but also due to the lack of recognition and appreciation from colleagues and management and the cross-pressure of performing both their job and the affective labour. Over time, this resulted in the First Tuning Forks ceasing to perform their resonance-enhancing affective labour and sometimes even exhibiting resonance-inhibiting behaviour. Thus, the efforts of the First Tuning Forks did not permanently counterbalance the effects of acceleration and instrumentalisation. Instead, the affective labour postponed the effects, causing a temporary displacement between the emergence of visible manifestations of acceleration and instrumentalisation and the eventual breakdown of the three forms of resonance which will be further explored in the next chapter addressing the shift from dissonance to alienation.

The figure below illustrates the link between affective labour and affective labour outcomes:

Aim of affective labour Affective Labour outcomes	Results of affective labour		
	Boost positive affective states	Dissolve negative affective states	Adjust behaviour
Resonance-enhancing	Humanizing (7.1.1) Energizing (7.1.2)	Translating (7.2.1) Relieving (7.2.2)	Indirect and direct adjustments (7.3)
Resonance-inhibiting	Termination of affective labour (7.5.2) Reversed affective labour (complaining, aggression, resignation) (7.5.3)		

Figure 29 - Overview of chapter 7

8. The collapse of resonance

This chapter examines how employees in the Great Hall experienced the collapse of resonance within organisational atmospheres when the First Tuning Forks ceased performing affective labour to counterbalance acceleration and instrumentalisation. Specifically, this chapter focuses on how employees in the Great Hall experienced the collapse of social-, material -, and existential resonance consequently leading to states of alienation (Rosa, 2019).

This chapter is organized to first examine the breakdown of social resonance, which seems to have been the primary driver in the transition from atmospheric dissonance to states of alienation. Next, it discusses the collapse of material and existential resonance. Following this, I explore employees' responses to the collapse of resonant axes and the resulting states of alienation. Finally, the chapter returns to the concept of the First Tuning Forks, considering their potential to regain their tuning capacities and re-engage in affective labor to restore resonance.

8.1 Collapse of social resonance – abandonment of the colleagues as family

As mentioned in chapter six, the deterioration of material and existential resonance was compensated for by the affective labour of the First Tuning Forks regenerating social resonance. This regeneration of social resonance kept the organisational atmospheres of the Great Hall dissonant rather than alienated and thus upheld employee wellbeing for a longer time, than Rosa would have predicted with his binary view of resonance and alienation (2019). However, as the instrumental approach to ProBuilt employees slowly eroded social resonance and created a distance between colleagues, First Tuning Forks lost their ability to tune, and social resonance seemed to collapse. Often it was the resonant relationships with management that broke down first because acceleration was firmly manifested in the managerial strategy that managers had to defend and implement. Likewise, it was often the managers who had to take an instrumental approach to employees because they had no time to care for each employee as an individual human being on top of all their other assignments. When this happened, employees were in some cases still able to recharge with social resonance from their colleagues which was enough to maintain some resonant relations to ProBuilt as an organisation. However, if these relations were also compromised employees seemed to experience alienation, as Rosa (2019) describes it where the relationships with ProBuilt became characterized by indifference and even in some instances hostility, and where there was no longer a connection. In the following, I will describe these two levels of alienation.

8.1.1 Muteness through lack of voice (alienation from management)

Throughout my fieldwork, it became clear that my research participants felt an increasing disconnection from the management at ProBuilt, a sentiment that appeared to be driven by numerous reports of instrumental managerial pressure. I witnessed an example of such pressure one day in the Great Hall when observing the FLEXTEC project group. Despite ongoing discussions about the immense pressure, the FLEXITEC project members faced, PM Philip and

his right-hand man Torben tried to pressure Hans to meet deadlines, even when Hans repeatedly voiced concerns, which the following event illustrates:

10:55: I walk into the FLEXITEC meeting room. Philip and Torben are talking to Hans. The atmosphere is a little tense, and I can feel my system activating as I immediately feel myself becoming more alert and aware. Hans says he doesn't want to push people anymore. I walk into the room, and they nod at me and let me stay. Hans says, 'we've been in the meat grinder for a year, so people are just done'. Philip asks if Hans can point out the activities that cost time. Torben says that there might be small things that they can't justify costing an extra week on the project plan. I sense that Hans gets angry at this remark. Frank calls, and Hans picks up the phone. When he's done, he says, 'there's no energy left, and it may not mean anything [to the customers] in the end. But it matters to people'. Torben argues that the schedule is also important, and Hans says he agrees, 'but we must not pretend that we start with full energy reserves [FN 2021-10-25].

Even though the event described above occurred more than a month after Hans informed Philip and Torben that both he and his team were falling apart, the relentless drive for economic efficiency was so strong that they kept Hans and his team on a project plan that most FLEXITEC project members viewed as misaligned with the actual project progress. What is noteworthy is that Hans, as a First Tuning Fork, at this time still maintained being 'self-anchored' (Rosa, 2019) in the sense that he sought to change the accelerated pace by arguing that "*it may not mean anything [to the customers] in the end. But it matters to people*". In this way, Hans still resisted the accelerated pace because he sensed that it was resonance-inhibiting.

Such managerial instrumental treatment spurred a range of affective experiences in the employee that all testifies to the muteness that follows relations turning alienated (Rosa, 2019). In example, Jasper described how he felt "*like a dog poo in one of those little dog bags that someone has stepped on*" [FN2021-10-06], steamrolled and ignored, Vibeke described how she experienced that she was under people's shoes because it didn't matter what she said, she had no influence. Søs described how employees felt under pressure and not listened to when they asked for 3 weeks postponement and got one day, and both Philip and Maja described events where their managers had gone behind their backs and made decisions about them that they had not been involved in. Liselotte described the alienation she felt facing these kind of events as follows:

"I think I've always had, not because I'm in charge, it's not like that, but I've always felt that I've been listened to and things like that. It's completely gone, that feeling that you have some importance. And I've said directly to [manager]. I don't feel I have any importance anymore [...] This management strategy and all that kind of stuff. It's just the focus and not on the employee, and I've just reached that point now. [...] It is what it is, and that's how it is. That's how the company wants it. I've been trying for 2 years, and it hasn't helped" [Liselotte & Vibeke 2022, 00:51:52].

In the above quote, Liselotte shared how she had spent years trying to raise concerns with management about the detrimental effects of instrumentalisation on her colleagues' well-being

and dedication to the organisation. Eventually, she gave up and focused on being with her colleagues whom she referred to as her "home." Such managerial behaviour is not surprising in an environment driven by acceleration since an instrumentalized approach to employees is the easiest way to cope with the ever-increasing pace (Hollstein & Rosa, 2023, p. 6; Rosa, 2014, p. 52). The collapse of social resonance was most evident in the way the relationships suddenly became characterized by effort, which is in line with Rosa and Endres' point that resonance is characterized by absence of effort and absence of self-compulsion (2017, p. 55). Liselotte described this self-compulsion and effort in circumventing management as follows:

'...I don't say anything when I'm sitting - it's a play to the gallery - when I sit with [management]. I'm a big smile and 'yes, I'll do all that'-sort of thing and simultaneously everything inside me resists in every way. Well, it's [the resistance] between us. And in here [points to her heart]' [Liselotte & Vibeke 2022, 00:15:00].

When Liselotte indicated in the above quote that she no longer said anything to management it was not only in direct face-to-face communication that she had stopped voicing her opinion. This sentiment also extended to ProBuilt's employee satisfaction survey which she and several other research participants had stopped responding to because they felt their feedback made no difference. Liselotte and her colleagues' choice to stop responding to surveys signalled their perception that management was unresponsive and disinterested in new or alternative perspectives. According to Rosa and Endre, this reluctance to embrace change or exhibit vulnerability would prevent management from engaging in resonant relationships (2017, p. 29). Additionally, this decision to stop trying to engage with management highlights a loss of trust among employees in their ability to establish a resonant relationship where their feedback would matter, indicating a diminished social resonance and a state of alienations. This again aligns with Rosa and Endre's point that when there is no resonant space to provide feedback, experienced as when efforts do not resonate and fall on deaf ears, the interaction remains mute and no resonance occurs (2017, p. 27).

Ultimately, for some of my research participants this alienation from management meant that employees ended up leaving ProBuilt. Four of my research participants ended up leaving ProBuilt on this account which the case of Maja is a good example of. Maja recounted how, after the FLEXITEC project, she was asked to prove her worth to her manager before she could advance at ProBuilt. This despite the fact that she had worked many hours beyond the norm over an extended period of time on the FLEXITEC project. The managers instrumental approach to her prompted her to submit her resignation. Rather than acknowledging her efforts and maintaining a positive relationship for potential future collaboration Maja found that management actively blocked her employment with another company—despite her having received a contract and official clearance—which led to a complete collapse of resonant relations:

"...I get a contract, and then there's someone [laughs] at ProBuilt who, uh, who puts their foot down and doesn't want it. Erm, well then erm. And, and, and, and that part of it. That part of it, I have. I haven't come to terms with it yet [starts crying]. Because it, it, it, it. Well, it feels a bit

personal. So, they have, um - and I find that uncomfortable. Again, because [sniffles] factually speaking, I haven't done anything wrong. I haven't done anything I wasn't supposed to [...] so that part hurts [cries]. But having said that, it confirms my belief [sniffles] that ProBuilt has not appreciated me as a person, and that the flexibility that has existed between me and ProBuilt has only been me who have been flexible [sniffles] [...] ProBuilt's reason for behaving this way is that, right now, they see that many, many of the experienced people are leaving the company [sniffles]. And uh, and they want to. They want to try to stop that. So, you can do two things. Either you can try to make things better, or you can try to scare people from doing it. And they have chosen solution no. 2. And they hang me in the nearest lamppost, right. Um, and, and, and, and [sniffles]. You know, I can understand that, you know, professionally, somehow, I can understand that that's what they do. I can understand their motives for doing it, but I just can't understand why they would do that to me [...] I regret, you know, all the extra hours I've put in at different times and, and, and all the support I've given [crying]. Because I think, I think, I think, I think I have given everything of myself. Even beyond what a normal employment relationship requires” [Maja 2022, 00:37:04].

In the above quote, it is clear that Maja experienced the relationship with ProBuilt as alienated, as it was not only indifferent but downright hostile causing resonant relations between Maja and management to break down completely. Furthermore, the above situation that Maja described illustrates Rosas point that if expectations of resonance are disappointed, “...the result is an experience of extreme alienation, as when, in a situation in which we hope for resonance, the very people with whom we believe we are connected via axes of resonance unexpectedly meet us with coldness, indifference, or even hostility” (Rosa, 2019, p. 198). Instead of being treated as family, like she was used to, Maja experienced being treated as a tool, which seemed to enhance the experience of alienations.

However, even though my research participants became alienated from management they often found comfort in their resonant relations with colleagues. Only rarely did these turn mute, and when they did it seemed only for short periods of time until the First Tuning Forks had regained energy enough to start regenerating social resonance again (see section 8.5).

8.1.2 Strangeness though unfamiliarity and hostility (alienation from colleagues)

Though rare, when alienation between colleagues did occur, it was typically described as a shift from family friendliness to instrumental efficiency. Pernille explained it as:

“...a feeling that something is not as it once was. You know, I think we laughed a lot more before [...] It was very normal for someone to stand in the kitchen laughing and, or inside the meeting room, you know. There has been a period when I don't think there was much of that. There it was more like, 'I'm going to do this' [whisper]” [Pernille 2021, 01:02:14].

As argued in chapter five, when resonant atmospheres prevailed, the Great Hall was characterized by a sense of openness, playfulness, and belonging which seemed to provide employees with social resonance. However, as acceleration and instrumentalisation set in, the

Great Hall increasingly felt unfamiliar as employees no longer perceived it as a safe base. The sense of alienations or lack of familiarity was partly due to the physical changes caused by the influx of many new employees and partly due to the increasingly instrumental and aggressive ways of relating to one another.

In the physical space of the atmosphere, the alienations manifested as a kind of estrangement from colleagues, simply because the numerous new hires had not yet been integrated into the "family" of ProBuilt employees. Jytte described this experience in the following way:

"It's quite remarkable [...] there have simply been so many new colleagues, so there are simply very few people I know. Well, it's kind of a funny remark, but it's actually - and it makes sense, because uh, and there's also a generational change going on in ProBuilt [...] it's equivalent to 30 new people coming in every month. And it's been like that for a few years now, so naturally there comes a time when you simply don't... And I don't really have much to do with them, or anything at all. Then it's like entering a slightly more anonymous place or, or, or, or. To put it in a nutshell, you can kind of look around and say, "I wonder if I've come to the right place because I don't actually know these people [...] so it becomes more anonymous. And, and less of a connection with people like that [...] It's a bit strange, you know. It's also because I've been here for a lot of years, so there's actually been, a lot of years where I kind of knew most people or at least knew where they belonged or could just exchange a remark at the coffee machine and stuff like that. But that, that's part of it - it's a bit of an alienation" [Jytte 2023, 00:33:07].

Jytte's harbour of resonance had become almost unrecognizable to her, reflecting the lack of social resonance she felt due to her disconnection from the many new ProBuilt employees. This aligns with Rosa's point that alienation occurs when "...a person, thing, or context no longer speaks to us, that we no longer feel at home there, even though or even precisely when we experience recognition" (Rosa, 2019, p. 178). Jytte even mentioned herself feeling somewhat alienated compared to the past where she could easily connect with colleagues over coffee in the Belonging space.

In addition to the alienation manifested as estrangement caused by the massive recruitment of new employees, alienation also seemed to manifest as aggression between colleagues. This aligns with Hollstein and Rosa's argument that in organisations characterized by acceleration and instrumentalisation aggression is the dominant approach toward employees (2023, p. 6). In the Great Hall, the aggressive approach was especially evident in written communication. In line with Hollstein and Rosa (2023)'s thoughts on "parametric optimization", the purpose of using emails in ProBuilt seemed to be to document what had been agreed and done, so that individual responsibility could be identified and quantified at a later date if something went wrong. Thus, Morten referred to what he called "screaming e-mails" [Morten 2021] full of complaints, and Frank explained how on the FLEXITEC project:

"...the communication - it's just too tight on emails in this project. They send some tough emails to each other. All parties. The intention is not harsh, but the emails are quite harsh [...] When you get an email, you feel more obliged to respond to an email. You must respond because now it's in writing. Now you must get it closed. Uh, it may well be that the intention is something

else. But that's just not what the email says [...] it just makes you negative. You get a bad atmosphere on this project [...] you could feel that there was a lot of friction between the different leads [...] You could feel it when they communicate with each other. They were pretty tough" [Frank 2021, 00:18:18].

For Frank personally, this seemed to alienate his relations to colleagues as the harsh tone and lack of trust seemed to make him unable to relax. The experience of alienated relations manifested as a feeling of being "*...on high alert all the time, right. You're, the adrenaline is pumping all the time, right. You check your emails, then you look, and then you're like, 'oh fuck, what the hell am I doing now', right. You're up there all the time, right"* [Frank 2021, 00:24:12].

The symptoms that Frank described in the above citation matches physical symptoms of a stress reaction (Andersen, 2007, p. 14), and most of my research participants mentioned similar experiences which will be further elaborated on in section 8.4. Furthermore, Vibeke explained how this harsh interaction was contagious and described a situation where Frank had been on high alert and how his affective state had settled in the atmosphere in the following way:

'...the atmosphere has been a bit harsh on this project. I certainly don't think, I've experienced that on so many other projects [...] the tone is a bit harsh, and it [sigh]. We only have what, what, what, what was I saying, we only have each other almost, right. We're still colleagues, and we still have to do other projects after this project, so we have to, no matter what and how much pressure we're under, we still have to speak nicely to each other. And I can also feel that we are under more and more pressure. I don't think I ever snap at people like that, but maybe you can get round to it once in a while, if you.... I feel like if people come and pry or speak harshly to me, then I can also speak harshly to them [...] Well, at one point we had someone [Frank] comes down, and then there was this and that and the other thing [makes angry voice]. Then I said, 'Well, you're not going to get it at all', and [Frank said] he had to get it in time, and he had to go to a meeting, and we couldn't just...[and then I said], 'You're not going to get it, you'll have to think of something else'. Um, and I sat there. I just sat and stared at him [...] then I don't bother" [Vibeke 2021, 00:13:53].

In the above event that Vibeke described she seemed forced to block out resonance (Rosa, 2019, p. 70) to endure the relational exchange and respond to Frank with a similar hostile (alienated) approach which seemed to make the resonant relations between Frank and Vibeke mute.

8.2 Collapse of material resonance – abandonment of quality standards

When social resonance broke down, it seemed there was nothing to buffer against the affective dissonance that arose as a consequence of the strategic shift in ProBuilt's project portfolio towards repetitive tasks and the accelerated pace with which employees were expected to complete their tasks. Both types of manifestations of acceleration seemed to eventually lead to a collapse in material resonance which was notable in employees' gradual relinquishing of their quality standards and professional curiosity.

8.2.1 Relinquishing quality standards and the 'yes-hat'

The acceleration resulted in an imbalance between the tasks employees were asked to do and the resources available to them. This increased the pace of working to a point where employees seemed to relinquish their quality standards to keep up. Vibeke described how this experience of relinquishing her professional standards made her enter a state of discouragement:

"...well, sometimes I actually get a bit discouraged where I think, 'well, it doesn't matter what I do, how many hours I spend, uh, I won't have time to complete my assignments' [...] I think I have been discourage much of the time on this project. I don't think I usually am [discouraged]. Um, but on this project, because everything is moving so fast. And no matter how much we put into it, and how much we do, it's a feeling that you don't have time. And you don't get to hand in something that you think is worth handing in. Because we know how much is missing, but now [FLEXITEC] must sit and look through it, and we think: 'Great' [sounds ironic], 'We're neither fully nor half finished'. So, it's a bit of a letdown" [Vibeke 2021, 00:56:19].

Because employees didn't have time to do work that was "worth handing in", they instead felt compelled to "wing it" with their assignments which seemed to represent a great disconnect from the 'profession employee's' professional pride that dictated that they should perform a proper job. Furthermore, the fact that the customers had to review the work, and Vibeke imagined that they would not be happy seemed to make her relationship with her assignments appear almost hostile to Vibeke. The collapse of material resonance resulted in employees making more mistakes and becoming increasingly indifferent to their work. Liselotte described how she felt that the assignments that she was asked to do "...doesn't make any sense. Sequence or anything. I just do it because I'm told to" [Liselotte & Vibeke 2022, 00:17:26]. This resigned attitude was shared by several of my research participants.

Furthermore, the shift from engaging in new types of projects to merely replicating previously completed projects on a larger scale left most of my research participants feeling professionally bored and exhausted as they were just repeating past work. This aligns with Rosa's point that routine diminishes material resonance and instead just provides an echo (2019). Hans described the instance where material resonance collapsed, and he seemed to relinquish his 'yes-hat' attitude, in the following way:

"We were working on a fantastic project up to [customer site], some new therapies. Which is, was an area that we haven't grown in before. It's actually the same as the FLEXITEC's concept. But, but then just for [customer], right [...] Um, and I really wanted to do that because it was a huge challenge. And we were getting really far. And then we're told that we're not going to do anything there anymore. We're only going to do bulk factories in [other customer site]. And I don't want to drive to [other customer site]. I mean, I live in [city], right? Well, it's 3.5 hours a day by car. So, it's not that I'm not getting paid for it, but that time is just not for sale. It's just a waste of life, so I don't want to do it [...] So, uh, so I, so, so it was this thing with this strategic shift where we must copy. We must. It's being articulated as boring as fuck. I can articulate it as more exciting, but I just don't have myself... I just can't get myself on board [...] I remember one day I came home [to my mom] I was a bit frustrated about this [project he had to give up] [...]"

She looks at me and says, 'That sounds like a real shitty game'. Yes, it is! It's a real shitty game, right. And if it's a real shitty game then I don't want to play along" [Hans 2022, 01:02:00].

Hans's reluctance to "waste his life" with commuting and repetitive work suggests that he didn't experience the same material resonance as he did with new, unfamiliar projects. This clearly illustrates Rosa's point that resonance requires unpredictability and the capacity to surprise, something that ProBuilt's new project portfolio seemed to no longer be able to do. Thus, it seemed Hans' experience of material resonance finally broke down as he experienced it as a "shitty game" in which the relation to the material had turned almost repulsive.

On par with material resonance the existential resonance also seemed to collapse in a similar manner which the following section will describe in further detail.

8.3 Collapse of existential resonance – abandonment of professional conduct and hope for the future

In ProBuilt, material- and existential resonance went hand in hand because the foundation for the identity as 'profession employee' were quality mindset and a commitment to do right by both colleagues and customers (see chapter five). The research participants explained that as acceleration made them relinquish their quality standard and constantly navigate conflicting demands from management, customers, and their own better judgement they started doubting themselves which affected their experience of existential resonance. When the research participants lost ProBuilt as a provider of existential resonance it often manifested in the atmospheres as a lostness related to their professional conduct and an abandonment of hope for future possibilities in ProBuilt.

8.3.1 Lostness through outsourcing of own compass

As the experiences of dissonance increased within the FLEXITEC project several employees encountered what Hans described as an outsourcing of their own compass. This meant that their doubt and anxiety had grown so significant that they experienced losing sight of their values regarding what it means to be a professionally competent employee, and what constituted good conduct within their profession. This description corresponds well with Rosa & Endres' concept of a 'resonance compass' which the authors argue that one must develop in order to identify which worldviews, people, geographical regions, and cultural artifacts that can resonate with one as a person and evoke a sense of connection (Rosa & Endres, 2017, p. 93). According to Hans, especially aggression in relationships with management and customers bred a particular lostness where:

"... you become more focused on the fear of criticism or the fear of failure - it really becomes more important that you are a pleaser [...] you source your, uh, your own compass. Uh, so you try to guess someone else's compass. And in that connection, you look away from your own so that feeling of what is right and wrong, and what is a good idea and a bad idea, that, that, that,

that, you kind of put it away, and then you just look at what do you think dad [the boss] thinks? And then that's how you react" [Hans2 2021, 00:04:05].

This 'outsourcing of own compass' seemed to have the consequence that employees started telling little white lies to cope with the unrealistic deadlines on the FLEXITEC project. This aligns with Hollstein and Rosa's point that when acceleration sets in, "*Efficiency becomes a goal in itself without any relation to a vision of the common good (on the social level) or the good life (on the individual level)*" (Hollstein & Rosa, 2023, p. 9). When efficiency became the goal in itself events such as the following started to occur:

At 9:20 AM: [two employees] are talking behind me. They are talking in hushed tones, and I get the feeling that they are talking about something that is not quite right. The older employee ends the conversation by saying that they must make 'such a tall tale' to which the other employee says, 'yes, yes - that's how it is' [FN 2021-10-05].

In the event described above, it appeared that two employees had reached an agreement on a specific version of events that they needed to convince a third party to accept. In other business contexts such behaviour is often referred to as branding, spin, or legal interpretations, and it is generally accepted as a standard practice. However, in the Great Hall among the meticulous engineers who valued precision and accuracy the employees' actions felt out of place. I noted in my field notes that other employees nearby seemed unresponsive which I interpreted as either a case of collective hearing impairment or a form of "intentional blindness" (see section 6.2.4) - both contributing to a dissonant atmosphere. Similarly, employees joked about how to cheat on customer deliveries to buy themselves more time which the following observation from the Great Hall illustrates:

At 10:42 AM: [Employee 3] asks [Employee 4] if she doesn't have a good, corrupted PDF that they can upload instead of the documents they promised the customer here at 12pm. [Employee 4] laughs and says [Employee 3], really!'. [Employee 3] chuckles [...] 'Then we could rename the file to something else, and then we could upload it. Then there would be something uploaded, and then we could spend a couple of days investigating why you couldn't open them before we could send the new versions. It's also a good way to check if anyone is actually reading what we're doing'" [FN2021-10-11].

In the above event the employees were clearly joking, and it's important to clarify that I have no knowledge of employees cheating with files to customers by uploading corrupted files instead of the genuine delivery as promised on any of the project that I observed. However, the observed discussions give an indication of how the atmosphere had reached a level of dissonance, bordering on alienation, that set aside the usual professional code of conduct and allowed such conversations to be taking place. Consequently, my research participants began expressing feelings of meaninglessness in their work and a sense of resignation which aligns with Küpers' (2020) assertion that an alienating work life lacks meaningful resonance.

8.3.2 Abandoning of hope for future possibilities

The collapse of existential resonance seemed to result in employees entering a state of abandonment which Morten described as

"Pessimism or whatever it is, right. Or a bit like, 'Oh well, we're just treated like, um, like workers, like, like resources in reality [...] it's [the future] just more of the same' [Morten 2021, 00:31:48].

Between 2021 and 2023, my research participants increasingly expressed a shared sense of abandonment regarding the future. They cited the acceleration in both the speed of project completion and the volume of the project portfolio, along with the instrumentalisation of their roles as “just workers,” as the primary reasons for these affective experiences. When asked why they expressed this abandonment and concern for the future, Liselotte explained that she could “...not see, how the journey and the goal is connected” [Liselotte & Vibeke 2022, 00:17:33]. In this way, Liselotte seemed to confirm Rosa’s point that “...loss of meaning, it seems, is an epiphenomenon, a possible element of alienation (Rosa, 2019, p. 177) in the sense that as Liselotte’s existential resonance seemed to collapse elements of alienation appeared in her relation to ProBuilt and her work there. Instead of vibrant relations, employees seemed to enter into a state of what Rosa calls ‘inertia’ which according to Rosa happens when “...the changes and dynamics in one’s own life or in the social world (i.e. in individual or collective history) are no longer experienced as elements of a meaningful and orderly chain of developments, i.e. as part of “progress”, but as directionless, frantic change” [own translation] (Rosa, 2014, p. 49). Within Rosa’s perspective, one could argue that the disconnect between Liselotte’s experiences of the present and the vision of the future (“the good life”) presented by management was so obvious that work stopped providing existential resonance. Hans described how this breakdown in existential resonance became embodied as doubt:

"If you are fundamentally challenged on the core all the time over a long period of time and not always in a friendly way. Uh, and feel exposed if there is somewhere where things come with uncertainty [...] I think it makes people defensive. Uh, or don't think, I know people are defensive and even get a little doubtful. Because that it, it, it, it tampers with the foundation. So, this thing of, 'are we really not more skilled than this?'. And we also start to get error-focused ourselves. And it requires relatively much, uh, in the group and, and, uh, on how to call things by its real name. The thing about believing that 'damn it, we've done this 1,000 times before. Of course, there are challenges, but it's fundamentally healthy'" [Hans1 2021, 00:05:04].

In the above citation Hans seemed to echo Rosa’s point that “...experiences of alienation are rooted in a lack of belief in one’s own efficacy” (2019, p. 176). Additionally, the foundation Hans mentioned can be interpreted as existential resonance in Rosa’s terms. Hans believed, in Rosa’s terms, that the absence of existential resonance demanded a strong sense of social resonance from colleagues to compensate, by “calling things by their right name” and thereby restoring resonant relations at ProBuilt. However, when social resonance were no longer regenerated by the First Tuning Forks, there seemed to be nothing that prevented states of alienation to occur.

In summary, it can be argued that when the social resonance in the Great Hall collapsed, the dissonant atmosphere seemed to implode into fragmented states of alienation. When the states of alienation configured from affective experiences of muteness, strangeness, relinquishing, lostness, and abandoning all resonant connections were muted and instead the relationship between the affected employees and ProBuilt became characterized by indifference, resignation, repulsion or even hostility. When the axes of resonance collapsed, and the atmospheres of the Great Hall became characterized by states of alienation employees seemed to either quit, switch projects, or break down with work-related stress. Thus, 13 out of the 24 employees I interviewed in 2021 had changed positions within ProBuilt, left the organisation, or broken down with stress (or several of the above) in Q4 2023.

Work-related stress in the Great Hall seemed to be an embodied expression of alienation, and a reaction to the collapse of social-, material-, and existential resonance, which will be further elaborated on below.

8.4 Reactions to the collapse of resonance and states of alienation

In the following section, I briefly outline how the collapse of resonance and resulting states of alienation appeared to manifest as work-related stress symptoms. To support this argument, I draw on Berger et al. (2010), who contend that alienation leads to stress symptoms that impair employees' cognitive -, emotional -, behavioural -, and physical well-being. I will illustrate this with examples from employees in the Great Hall.

During my fieldwork, I repeatedly observed ProBuilt employees exhibiting stress symptoms that depleted their cognitive functions. Thus, I experienced several times that the employees lost their orientation in terms of time and mixed-up weeks and days. Similarly, I experienced that employees began not being able to remember who was in their department, what their colleagues' names were, or losing the overview of what they were supposed to do. Søs described it in the following way:

"...the overview just starts to disappear completely. So, then it's just like, 'well, I have, I have so many things, and I can't quite grasp, you know, how much I have, and in what order I should address it in. Um, well, and just the consequence of, if there's, well, something I don't have time for or something, right. Or where you kind of think, 'Okay, I kind of hope no one um, writes to me, calls me, with something because I have so little to, well, I have so little to offer. Because I'm so pressurized in relation to all the other things I must do, right'" [Søs 2021, 00:27:13].

In the above quote, Søs expressed how she completely lost her overview and felt she had nothing to offer her colleagues due to mental overload. These cognitive stress symptoms could in some instances result in sick leave or mistakes.

Employees at ProBuilt also displayed affective stress symptoms, most commonly manifesting as feelings of sadness or anger. Thus, nine times I witnessed that research participants either had tears in their eyes or started crying, often when asked how they were feeling, or who was looking after them. Additionally, I frequently observed research participants exhibiting agitated

and frustrated behaviour, as demonstrated by the following event that occurred in the Great Hall near a FLEXITEC project deadline.:

11:00 AM: I go down to the coffee machine because I'm hungry and want to get a piece of fruit. I meet Sally down there. We talk a bit about cocoa and being hungry after which I ask her how she's feeling. She looks around and asks, 'Is it something we talk about at the coffee machine? I say I don't know - isn't that something we talk about? Then she asks if I can't feel it down in the project? I say that I can feel the pressure. We start walking towards the FLEXITEC facility area in the Great Hall, and Sally says that I should add two other projects, and then I'll have a picture [of how she feels]. I say, "Wow," and she continues to tell me about the other projects where she's also building cold rooms. I get the feeling that she's about to cry. [...] 'I constantly feel guilty everywhere. Now [colleague] has helped me and sat and done all the things I should have done, and I'm extremely grateful for that'. I say, 'but now you're a bit tired and tender'. We have stopped, and Sally says, 'yes', and now she's going to a meeting. I sense that it's not a topic she likes to discuss in front of her colleagues. Sally goes to her seat, and a little later she laughs again with Vibeke. I get the feeling that Sally is doing a lot of work to maintain a good atmosphere, even though she's under pressure [FN2021-10-27].

The above event illustrates both how Sally's state of alienation embodied as sadness, exhaustion, and resignation seemed to linger just under the surface, and how Sally seemed to block out resonance (Rosa, 2019, p. 70) by leaving the conversation with me to handle the pressure of the atmospheres. Furthermore, the event shows how the preference for the accommodating and positive 'yes-hat' seemed to drive Sally into even greater exhaustion by having to help on three projects simultaneously and constantly appear happy about it. The accommodating and positive 'yes-hat' attitude meant that employees increasingly had to suppress their individually felt affective states as alienation grew which Morten described in the following way:

"I think for probably too long I didn't listen to my heart and didn't listen to my mind about what I wanted [...] something was wrong, there was a rhythm that wasn't there. And that's when I lost agency, you could say, or I didn't allow myself to act on those observations [...] [because] there is never a good time. Maybe it's like that, I've explained to myself that we also must finish this, and we also have to finish this, and I'd also like to help here - that loyalty and recognisability again [...] you can always quit if that's not what you want. Or, or put your foot down, but there wasn't, there wasn't a culture where I, where I think I could, could say no or could say, value-wise, I am not true to myself, even though in that situation, in terms of values, I wasn't aligned with myself" [Morten 2023, 00:58:42].

In the above quote, Morten described how he constantly felt he wasn't aligned with himself which he felt paralyzed him and caused him to overstep his own boundaries in relation to his values.

Furthermore, several employees on the FLEXITEC project described how they experienced themselves as more aggressive and short-tempered, but also how their colleagues spoke harshly to them. This could take the form of their colleagues responding to them in ways that seemed out of context. But it could also be radical behavioural changes where employees experienced

that their colleagues went "... completely off the rails. I mean, where they say things where you think, 'what's going on right now'" [Pernille 2021, 00:51:58]. These changes in affective states illustrate Rosa's point that "...one's capacity for resonance decreases significantly under conditions of anxiety or stress, as the signal rate of mirror neurons is massively reduced" (2019, p. 149). According to Rosa, employees will thus be less able to sense how their surroundings are feeling, and how they affect them. I also observed this tendency of callous behaviour several times during my fieldwork, and it often had a contagious effect.

Finally, the cognitive and affective stress symptoms mentioned above were seldom addressed in ProBuilt. It appeared to be widely accepted that individuals might respond differently than normal when under pressure in line with Bloch' (2007) 'normalizing principle' of interpretation. Consequently, it was only when stress symptoms reached a level where they physically prevented employees from working that they were treated seriously. The following observation from a FLEXITEC meeting where Hans voiced his concern about the project members of his team illustrates what happened when work-related stress had reached a level where employees could no longer work:

Hans says, 'I'm very worried about the resources of the project. We are like compulsive gamblers and have no one to stop us. Toke collapsed on Saturday'. Philip exclaims 'no, how awful', and the others also indicate that they think it's awful. The mood becomes charged and sad. Hans goes on to say that he is in the hospital. 'And Liselotte, who covers for Majken, worked until 11 o'clock in the evening. And then there was Jasper last week. He was completely out of it, and HR involved [...] Hans continues - 'and there's nothing to indicate that it's going to be any different'. Hans seems frustrated, and I wonder if he's about to cry. It seems like the lid has come off and now it's pouring out of him [...] 'I can't get my team together - or myself. We must deal with it [...] My people are done - DONE! They don't want to do it anymore. I'm being threatened with resignations. I can't have it [...] I'm furious. And our people are booked on several different projects. Jens - he's booked on [project X], [project Y] and this one. I've never been on a project where there are so many people in deep trouble [...] it worries me - they're driving themselves to death' [...] 'So there is something - if we have the values, we say we have. We're drawing on people like crazy and we haven't seen the whole bill. Only the first instalment' [FN2021-09-13].

In the above event, Hans described how the acceleration slowly eroded the FLEXITEC project members energy resources without them feeling able to stop due to loss aversion. He also points out how the acceleration led to instrumentalisation of collegial relations because employees pulled on each other 'like crazy', ignoring their usual values of treating each other well. Hans' experience of uncertainty in terms of whether the project would change, and the pressure on his colleagues would lift seemed to finally make Hans question FLEXITEC employees' quest for 'resonance rushes' and push back on the accelerated speed of the FLEXITEC project, which was most uncommon. However, the above event did not change the pace of the FLEXITEC project, because as Jasper explained:

“Normally, we're never sick or anything like that here at the company. It's, well, it's only your own death that exempts you from coming to work, basically [laughs]. Anyway, that's the attitude” [Jasper 2021, 00:24:01].

Despite severe stress symptoms, the responsiveness and the committing inherent in the resonant atmosphere, made employees work unless their body completely broke down. Thus, I saw how several employees on the FLEXITEC project limped or had back pain and described symptoms such as stomach-ache, lack of menstruation, weight gain, extreme tiredness, extra heartbeat, and blackouts. When these instances happened, employees were typically referred to their own doctor or to ProBuilt's pension program that dealt with individuals suffering from work-related stress. No organisational or structural changes were implemented as a result.

To summarize, it can be argued that the employees in the Great Hall experienced cognitive -, affective -, and physical symptoms of stress in connection with their work in the Great Hall and the alienating experiences they encountered in the atmospheres there.

8.5 The First Tuning Forks ability to regenerate

Despite the bleak outlook of the above chapter, it is worth noting that those First Tuning Forks that had not quit their job in ProBuilt or broken down with work related stress seemed to be able to regenerate their tuning abilities and initiate affective labour again, once they were free of the atmosphere of acceleration and instrumentalisation in the Great Hall. Thus, Liselotte described how she had changed project and location which had enabled her to form a connection to (parts of) ProBuilt once again:

“... my rescue was that we stop [working on the FLEXITEC project in the Great Hall] a little before the [other construction disciplines] do. They go a little further and deeper. So, I got out at some point and went over to the [other customer] project. That was my salvation [...] I actually disappeared into something where I was extremely happy because I had come down to the boys again [...] In a very human and professional way right now I'm where I need to be [...] It's such a great group I'm in down there, I have to say. That's also why I thrive as well as I do, and I'm happy and can push everything else away” [Liselotte & Vibeke 2022, 01:35:44].

In the above quote, Liselotte described how she was ‘saved’ by physically moving from the dissonant atmospheres surrounding the FLEXITEC project in the Great Hall to a place where she could regenerate her energy and resources through social resonance with colleagues. Therefore, the alienated states of the research participants rarely seemed to become a permanent condition because the First Tuning Forks automatically started doing affective labour as soon as they experienced a release from the atmospheres of acceleration and instrumentalisation and restored some of their energy. Carsten described the reason why the First Tuning Forks were continuously tuning the atmospheres around them as follows:

“When there's some kind of vacuum someone fills that vacuum. And I think it might be people like us, me and Anton and others in the organisation like that, and then there's that collegial unity that you might have mentioned before. Where there's that ProBuilt spirit, or whatever we

call it. That you [...] bond in a different way across the organisation” [Carsten & Anton 2022, 01:07:33]

Unlike the vacuums left by the absence of material and existential resonance, the vacuum created by the loss of social resonance was continuously filled by the First Tuning Forks who remained in ProBuilt preventing alienation from becoming a permanent state. Furthermore, as the dissonant atmospheres driven by acceleration and instrumentalisation emerged as a result of the intermingling of employees, the work situation, and the physical space of the Great Hall, the dissonant atmosphere or the states of alienation were not lasting but emerged and disappeared depending on the incoming projects and project members in the Great Hall. Thus, the states of alienation, although increasing in frequency, were never permanent.

8.6 Resonance collapse experienced as alienation and embodied as stress symptoms

The purpose of this chapter was to understand how the collapse of resonance was experienced by employees within the organisational atmospheres of the Great Hall. This was explored by looking at how the different collapses in social-, material -, existential resonance were experienced as states of alienation. In summary, as acceleration and instrumentalisation eroded social bonds, employees began to treat each other as mere tools, leading to the collapse of social resonance. This breakdown resulted in states of alienation, both between management and employees and among colleagues. Having nothing to buffer acceleration and instrumentalisation, employees' experiences of material resonance seemed to deteriorate due to the increasing pace of task completion and the repetitive nature of similar projects, leading to a relinquishing of quality standards. Similarly, the collapse of existential resonance, driven by the inability to meet the ideals of a "professional employee", appeared to create existential doubts causing employees to lose their orientation towards their professional code of conduct and abandon their aspirations for their future in ProBuilt. Ultimately, it can be argued that employees experienced cognitive -, emotional -, and physical stress symptoms related to their work and the alienating experiences they faced in the atmospheres of the Great Hall. However, the states of alienation never seemed to establish as permanent states, as First Tuning Forks managed to regain their tuning abilities and once again regenerate social resonance, ensuring a bond between employees in the Great Hall and ProBuilt as an organisation.

The figure below illustrates the connection between the different types of resonance and the affective experiences employees encountered when these types of resonance collapsed:

Types of resonance Affective experiences	Type of resonance collapse		
	Social resonance	Material resonance	Existential resonance
Experiences of resonance collapse	Muteness (8.1.1) Strangeness (8.1.2)	Relinquishing (8.2.1)	Lostness (8.3.1) Abandoning (8.3.2)

Figure 30 - Overview of chapter 8

In the following, I will discuss the implications of my four empirical analysis and conclude on my study based on my initial research questions.

9. Discussion and conclusions

This chapter presents a discussion of the key insights from my analytical chapters, along with my theoretical contributions and the practical implications of this research. It also includes a conclusion and suggestions for future research. Initially however, I will outline the main points from the four analytical chapters.

This thesis stems from a curiosity as to why the mainstream cognitive and individual-focused approach to work-related stress has not been effective in curbing the increasing number of employees experiencing such stress. The presumption of this dissertation is that if we focus primarily on certain dimensions or characteristics of work-related stress, such as its individual and cognitive aspects, these become the central point of our attention. As a result, the often subtle affective dimensions, particularly at the collective level, are overlooked, hindering our ability to address the issue comprehensively. Thus, I set out to examine an affective perspective on the collective processes promoting or inhibiting work-related stress using a qualitative research method. In this way, I aimed to contribute to the affective-collective strand of work-related stress literature.

To investigate these affective and collective dimensions of work-related stress, I combined Rosa's theoretical framework of resonance and the analytical concept of organisational atmosphere. While Rosa's framework helped me understand the relational processes that either promote or inhibit work-related stress in modern workplaces, using atmosphere as an analytical lens allowed me to focus on the affective and collective dimensions of these processes. Based on the above curiosity and choice of theoretical frameworks, my overarching research question became.

How can Rosa's resonance theory and the analytical concept of atmosphere help us understand what promote or inhibit the development of work-related stress?

To answer this overarching research question, I addressed four sub-research questions to guide my empirical investigations, which I replied to in the following way:

Sub-RQ1: How are resonant atmospheres experienced? As mentioned in the theory section, I use Rosa's concept of resonance to explain what is at stake for employees in the modern workplace. Thus, I needed to establish how resonant atmospheres are experienced. To answer this question, I especially focused on what shared affective experiences underpin the configuration of both material -, social -, and existential resonance. When examining these types of resonance, I explored how these affective experiences seemed to cluster around certain spaces in the Great Hall.

The findings revealed that the overall Open space fostered affective experiences of openness, responsiveness, and relatedness which contributed to the creation of material - and social resonance. Similarly, the Play space triggered affective experiences of playfulness and commitment, while the Belonging space spurred on affective experiences of belonging, jovialness, and caring. The affective experiences of both the Play space and the Belonging space

led to the creation of material-, social-, and existential resonance for the employees in the Great Hall.

Unlike the ‘work environmental research’ on work-related stress assuming “agency-less” subjects, the employees in the Great Hall were not merely passive recipients of these experiences; rather, they actively contributed to them, transforming both themselves and their surroundings in unpredictable ways. When characterized by strong material -, social -, and existential resonance, ProBuilt emerged as a "harbour of resonance" (Rosa, 2019) for the employees. Such resonant experiences were vital for the well-being of ProBuilt employees, helping to mitigate feelings of alienation and the risk of work-related stress. Moreover, the anticipation of these resonant atmospheres played a significant role in retaining employees at ProBuilt, even as the organisational atmospheres of the Great Hall shifted from resonant to dissonant.

In the affective-collective strand of work-related stress research, that this study aims to contribute to, one can argue that the concept of a resonant atmosphere shares similarities with Korczynski’s concept of ‘communities of coping’ (2003) and O’Neill & Rothbard’s concept of ‘good atmospheres’ (2017). In comparison, the resonant atmospheres also provided the employees in the Great Hall with emotional support and similar to O’Neill & Rothbard’s research on firefighters, the resonant atmosphere was also characterized by joviality and companionate love. However, these studies only focus on the social resonance in the shape of support, joviality, and care from colleagues. In contrast my analysis of the resonant atmospheres in the Great Hall revealed more. When coping with a pressurized and volatile environment, dimensions such as material resonance (exciting tasks or compelling and inspiring physical surroundings) and existential resonance (congruence between professional identity and organisational values and goals) could also help employees cope and support retention. In this way, the resonance perspective extends the current affective-collective approach to work-related stress, by providing both a material and an existential perspective on what can fuel such a community of coping.

Sub-RQ2: How are resonant atmospheres altered by acceleration and instrumentalisation? After having established what was at stake for employees in the shape of material-, social-, and existential resonance, I needed to understand what could threaten employees’ ‘harbour of resonance’ (Rosa, 2019). Thus, I set out to explore how resonant atmospheres are altered as acceleration and instrumentalisation enter their composition. I examined how acceleration and instrumentalisation manifested in the Great Hall, and what work, visible and invisible, these atmospheric forces performed. The visible work of acceleration and instrumentalisation seemed to be introduced in the Great Hall through four distinct events: the arrival of new management, layoffs, a changed project portfolio due to large new orders, and the subsequent massive recruitment campaign. These events appeared to manifest acceleration and instrumentalisation within both the physical and social spaces of the Great Hall, shifting employees’ affective experiences and creating a sense of ‘pressure.’

However, beyond the obvious changes that disrupted the resonant atmosphere, acceleration and instrumentalisation also introduced more subtle shifts, rendering once-familiar relationships, interactions, and artifacts strangely unfamiliar or dissonant (Hemmings, 2012). This aligns with Rosa's idea that acceleration transforms human relationships with the world or parts of the world, such as colleagues, space, time, and artifacts (Rosa, 2014, p. 50). These atmospheric manifestations of acceleration and instrumentalisation actively shaped employees' experiences by making certain things comprehensible or imaginable, thereby affecting their future experiences and actions (Sumartojo & Pink, 2019, pp. 7–14). Thus, I observed how employees worked faster, skipped breaks, and multitasked to keep up with the 'faster-than-fast-track' project model, which gave the employees an experience of busyness. Acceleration also seemed to intensify the accommodating nature of the resonant atmosphere, exemplified through the 'yes-hat' mentality, which gave employees an experience of weariness. Furthermore, rising organisational expectations seemed to become embodied as an addictedness to work to maintain resonant connections, and a move away from jovial coping strategies, as they increasingly became symbols of a growing sense of powerlessness among employees.

Instrumentalisation also took hold, marked by affective experiences of dullness, as the Play space was diminished due to a large recruitment effort, and a more utilitarian approach to business resulting in a repetitive project portfolio. This shift was further reflected in an increased emphasis on numerical metrics for comparison and competition, leaving employees feeling objectified. Likewise, a 'disposable' culture, where employees were discarded if they couldn't keep up, provided employees with affective experiences of forsakenness, and a tendency to overlook conflicts left employees feeling neglected. The above affective experiences left employees with a sense of dissonance, which gradually altered the atmospheres in the Great Hall. This finding diverts from Rosa's somewhat binary view on resonance and alienation. Rather than develop into states of alienation, as Rosa (2019) might have predicted in the absence of resonance, atmospheres of resonance and dissonance coexisted, fluctuating based on the employees present and the work situation occurring in the physical surroundings of the Great Hall. Especially a certain group of employees, the First Tuning Forks, played an active role in maintaining the resonant atmosphere when acceleration and instrumentalisation bred the atmosphere of dissonance, which became the focus on sub-research question 3.

The emergence of dissonant atmospheres was, paradoxically, driven in part by resonant atmospheres that prescribed a certain 'shut-down' approach (quality focus, high pace, yes-hat) to work. While these resonant atmospheres promoted material, social, and existential resonance, they also confined employees to values and behavioural patterns that prevented them from looking after themselves and each other when acceleration and instrumentalisation began to dominate. Based on my empirical findings, I argue that the gap between the values and behaviours prescribed by resonant atmospheres and the effects of acceleration and instrumentalisation disrupted the usual dynamics. Behaviours or artifacts that would have typically fostered a resonant atmosphere instead triggered a downward spiral into dissonance. An example could be the value of being responsive (accommodating) and committed, which made all employees feel welcome in the Great Hall and enabled them to get help and inspiration.

However, when acceleration and instrumentalisation took hold, this sense of responsiveness and commitment sustained expectations for mutual support, even under extreme pressure. As a result, employees either worked 100-hour weeks or isolated themselves in silos, focusing solely on helping their own discipline meet deadlines while feeling as though they were failing their other colleagues. Likewise, identification as a 'profession employee' seemed to be the mainstay of most of my research participants' identity and made them perceive themselves as almost superhuman with great professional responsibility and commitment to both colleagues and customers. However, when acceleration and instrumentalisation took hold, this sense of identification became a major source of dissonance, as employees could no longer meet their professional responsibilities or support colleagues in need due to a lack of time. In addition, affective experiences of belonging gave employees a sense of security, and in many cases, it seemed to express that ProBuilt was the employees' fixed point of reference in life, or in Rosa's terms, their resonance harbour. As acceleration took over, the influx of new employees made the Familiar space feel unfamiliar. However, a strong social resonance kept employees from leaving. The shift from resonant to dissonant atmospheres was largely driven by changes in the meaning of behaviours or artifacts, rather than the behaviours or artifacts themselves. This made it difficult for management to recognize and address the transition.

In the affective-collective strand of work-related stress literature, a dissonant atmosphere can be compared to Kozusznik et al.'s thoughts on the flipside of a predominantly eustressed climate. As Kozusznik et al. note, in a work environment where one has to wear the "yes-hat", and stressors are primarily seen as challenges, employees may overlook potential threats and fail to engage in effective coping strategies. This lack of response can increase vulnerability to long-term stress effects. Furthermore, without acknowledging the risks of work stressors, or in Rosa's perspective manifestations of acceleration and instrumentalisation, this can lead to workaholism and subsequent health problems (Kozusznik et al., 2015, p. 16). Compared to the stress climate perspective, the atmospheric perspective offers additional nuances. It not only emphasizes how the atmospheres within an eustressed climate (Julmi 2017c) subtly encourage specific behaviours and perceptions, but also how they set expectations for the future. This may explain why Kozusznik et al. observed increased cynicism and decreased vigour over time in such climates. They proposed that the explanation could be a lack of an optimal balance between distress and eustress, where recognizing threats acts as a warning signal. Based on my study, I argue that the shift observed by Kozusznik et al. may also be explained by atmospheric changes. Subtle shifts in meaning and temporal displacements, driven by the inertia of atmospheres (Sumartojo & Pink, 2019), can gradually alter how employees engage with their surroundings. In Kozusznik et al.'s study, employees may have experienced a similar dissonance to that of my research participants in the Great Hall. If atmospheric forces created a disconnect between the affective display rules promoted by the atmospheric parts of the eustress climate and employees' affective experiences in the altered atmosphere, this could manifest as increased cynicism and decreased vigour.

Sub-RQ3: How does the affective labour of First Tuning Forks prevent alienation and work-related stress when atmospheres are no longer resonant? After identifying the factors

that threatened employees' resonant relationships in the Great Hall and contributed to work-related stress, I sought to understand why employees mainly showed signs of affective dissonance instead of alienation when acceleration and instrumentalisation intensified. A specific group of employees, First Tuning Forks, seemed to resist atmospheric acceleration and instrumentalisation through activities I interpreted as affective labour. In exploring how the First Tuning Forks' affective labour reduced alienation and work-related stress in non-resonant atmospheres, I examined both the benefits and limitations of their efforts.

The affective labour of the First Tuning Forks played a crucial role in preventing alienation and mitigating work-related stress, especially in the Great Hall where the atmospheres were turning dissonant due to the pressure of acceleration and instrumentalisation. Although the overall framework of the resonant atmosphere in the Great Hall was difficult to control and began to falter under these pressures, the First Tuning Forks helped maintain pockets of social resonance by engaging in affective labour, regulating their colleagues' affective states and behaviour. They employed strategies like recognizing their colleagues as humans (humanization), creating "communities of laughter" and boosting positive affective states (energizing). Their affective labour helped colleagues feel connected and engaged, even when material and existential resonance were eroding.

Additionally, the First Tuning Forks took on the challenging task of dissolving negative affective states by acting as translators, offering new perspectives (translating) and creating relief by emotional containing and emotional release (relieving). This labour not only alleviated the emotional burden on their colleagues. It also prevented the resonant atmosphere from fully deteriorating, thereby temporarily shielding their colleagues from the alienation caused by the fast-paced, instrumentalized organisational atmosphere.

However, this affective labour came at a cost. The continuous effort of managing affective states and behaviours, in combination with a lack of recognition from especially management, drained the First Tuning Forks, leading to emotional exhaustion and discouragement. Over time, the strain of balancing their regular tasks with the demands of affective labour, in some cases, led to a collapse with the First Tuning Forks themselves becoming unable to sustain their role as sources of resonance. Unlike the literature on emotional contagion (Barsade, 2002) often assuming a one-directional transfer of affect, the resonance perspective allow us to see how First Tuning Forks were also transformed in their reciprocal relationships with colleagues who were increasingly resonance "tone deaf". As a result, while their efforts delayed the full impact of dissonance and prevented an immediate onset of alienation, they were not a permanent solution.

In the existing work-related stress literature, one could argue that the affective labour performed by the First Tuning Forks resembles what Lazarus and Folkman refer to as emotion-focused coping (1984). This type of coping aims to minimize distress triggered by stressors and includes a range of responses, such as avoidance, denial, expressing negative emotions, and seeking emotional support (Carver et al., 1989). However, this form of coping has been criticized for being less effective than problem-focused coping, which targets the stressor directly (Xie & Zheng, 2022). Yet, employees often find themselves in situations where the organisational

structures and processes that produce the stressor are difficult to change. In such cases, employees may create communities of coping (Korczynski, 2003; O'Neill & Rothbard, 2017) as the affective-collective strand of work-related stress literature focus on. This study, with its combined perspective of atmosphere and resonance theory, can nuance such understandings of collective coping by illustrating that this emotion-focused coping does not necessarily appear spontaneously in a group of employees as would appear in Korczynski's description of 'communities of coping'. In some cases, it emerges through deliberate acts of affective labour initiated by First Tuning Forks.

Sub-RQ4: How do employees experience the collapse of resonance within atmospheres?

After identifying the factors that promote stress, such as acceleration and instrumentalisation, as well as those that inhibit it, like resonance and the affective labour of the First Tuning Forks, it was essential to examine the actual process of stress development. I examined this by exploring how the collapse of resonance was experienced by employees within the organisational atmospheres. To investigate this, I focused on the change in employees' affective experiences, as First Tuning Forks could no longer keep the organisational atmospheres resonant. When social resonance broke down, relationships between management and employees, as well as among employees themselves, became increasingly alienated. Following the breakdown of social resonance, the breakdown of material resonance was experienced as a relinquishing of quality standards. This decline was triggered by the push for faster task completion at the expense of quality, along with the boredom stemming from repetitive project work. Similarly, the breakdown of existential resonance manifested as a sense of lostness. This feeling arose from outsourcing one's personal compass for professional conduct and an abandoning of hope for the future. Employees struggled to maintain their identities as "professional employees" while feeling pressured to compromise their standards and facing conflicting demands. This situation led to feelings of doubt and anxiety. The breakdown of resonance manifested as symptoms of stress. In this way, Rosa's resonance theory is interesting within a work-related stress perspective, as it predicts that it will not be radical anti-modernists, but the success of acceleration itself that will eventually undermine the conditions for future acceleration (Rosa, 2014, p. 45). Work-related stress can be seen as just such a way, in which acceleration will undermine its own success, as acceleration and the resulting instrumentalisation can potentially end up incapacitating employees, even though First Tuning Forks managed to delay the collapse due to their resonance-regenerating properties.

However, these states of alienation never fully solidified, as the First Tuning Forks were able to restore their tuning abilities, reestablishing social resonance and fostering a renewed sense of connection between employees and ProBuilt as an organisation. Returning to the overarching research question, this chapter empirically demonstrated how atmospheric processes and conditions can either promote or inhibit the development of work-related stress, which will be further elaborated on below.

9.1 Theoretical contributions

My dissertation offers two theoretical contributions. Firstly, I contribute to the affective-collective literature on work-related stress by introducing an atmospheric perspective, offering a new way to understand how stress develops, and the role employees play in that process. Secondly, I contribute to Rosa's resonance framework by extending the conceptualizations of the duality of resonance and alienation, the equality of the axes of resonance, and the Tuning Forks.

9.1.1 Contributions to the Affective-Collective work-related stress literature

So far, the notion of work-related stress and atmosphere has primarily been combined in accounts of "a bad atmosphere" (Mikkelsen, 2021; Ringer, 2013), "a tense atmosphere" (Jeschke, 2022), "a negative atmosphere" (González-morales et al., 2012), "a hectic atmosphere" (Kirkegaard & Brinkmann, 2016), a "dull atmosphere" (Cheng, 2021) or "an unpleasant atmosphere" (Hareli & Rafaeli, 2008), all describing the stressful impact of an atmosphere, but not treating work-related stress atmospherically. The above-mentioned studies mainly view the concept of atmosphere as a stressor that affect employees (as in the work environmental research), and none of these studies have had the sole purpose of examining work-related stress as atmospheric. In this dissertation, I argue that work-related stress is neither an individual phenomenon nor a collective phenomenon, but an atmospheric phenomenon that is felt by all, but experienced in deeply personal ways, and in which the affective dimension is central.

This atmospheric perspective on work-related stress can help nuance our understanding of the concept in several ways:

Firstly, the atmospheric perspective can nuance the understanding of how work-related stress develops. An atmospheric perspective on work-related stress is valuable, because it highlights the subtle dynamics within a workplace connecting the physical environment, the work situation, and the interactions between employees. This study demonstrates that one of the challenges of managing work-related stress in modern organisations lies in the often invisible nature of these atmospheric elements. A shift from a resonant to a dissonant atmosphere isn't always triggered by major organisational changes, such as organisational changes or the introduction of new tools. In ProBuilt, significant events like the change in management or layoffs didn't lead to drastic atmospheric shifts according to my research participants. Instead, the atmospheres gradually shifted, influenced by unrealistic project timelines, an aggressive tone, increased silo-building, and a "faster-than-fast-track" approach. These changes, combined with a significant recruitment effort, less Play space, and a narrower, repetitive project portfolio, were presented as necessary adaptations rather than as organisational transformations. However, they resulted in affective experiences that eroded material-, social-, and existential resonance within the Great Hall. Despite the atmospheric shifts being subtle and almost invisible, they were felt by all employees and manifested as concerns about pressure communicated through "all channels" in ProBuilt. Moreover, due to their nature, they often went unnoticed by

management or HR, who were trying to understand why the atmosphere in the Great Hall seemed to become dissonant. Additionally, as the dissonant organisational atmospheres made employees feel powerless, objectified, and neglected, employees often hesitated to provide honest feedback in employee satisfaction surveys. This reluctance again left management with little guidance on how to address employee well-being.

In addition, these subtle and invisible atmospheric shifts lacked clear triggers or identifiable origins, as the resonant atmospheres in the Great Hall were upheld by three axes of resonance, which gradually broke down over time. This created an inertia that delayed the effects of accelerated and instrumental processes on employee well-being, making it harder for management at ProBuilt to recognize the consequences of their organisational changes.

Furthermore, the shifts in meaning of everyday artefacts and processes seemed to trigger a downward spiral, sometimes leading to what could be described as a “catastrophe of resonance” (Rosa, 2019). In this situation, employees became so drained of resources that they unintentionally brought each other down while trying to keep up with the very acceleration they were promoting in their quest for a “resonance rush.” Put in another way, atmospheres subtly favours certain behaviour (Sumartojo & Pink, 2019), and this is exactly why a workplace, with its organisational atmospheres that employees daily relate to and participate in, can trigger stress reactions, if the atmospheres are configured to favour certain (alienating) affective experiences.

Thus, the development of work-related stress is a far more complex phenomenon than what the current affective-collective stress literature is presently focusing on, closely interwoven with employees' perception of the organisation in terms of work/physical surroundings, colleagues, and the overall values/purpose of the company.

Secondly, the atmospheric perspective on work-related stress can help nuance our understanding of the employees' role in the stress development process. In work-related stress research, there are two main approaches to understanding the role of employees in developing stress. As mentioned in the introduction, one perspective perceives employees as passive recipients, lacking influence or significance. They are viewed as being impacted by stressors in the work environment, as highlighted in work environmental research (Andersen, 2007; Richaud & Amin, 2019; Wainwright & Calnan, 2002). The other perspective considers employees as active participants. In this view, they primarily influence one another through social processes like emotional contagion (Hatfield et al., 1993b; Rodríguez et al., 2019), ‘common stressor effects’ (Härtel & Page, 2009), empathy (Engert et al., 2019), or distributed cognition (Kirkegaard, 2015), with little emphasis on the physical environment. The atmospheric perspective broadens these perspectives by allowing us to see, how employees are neither passive recipients nor only tuning into the affective or cognitive states of their colleagues. Instead, they engage with both their physical surroundings, their work situation, and their colleagues. Through a reciprocal relational process, they are transformed towards alienation and subsequent work-related stress. Even though attempts have been made to bridge these two, i.e. Kirkegaard and Brinkmann's inclusion of the dimension of space in their concept of distributed cognition and work-related stress (2016), none have connected the perceiving, affective human bodies, the collective

sociocultural situation at play, and the physical surroundings (Stenslund, 2023, p. 6), when examining the development of work-related stress.

9.1.2 Extensions to Rosa's resonance perspective

In this dissertation, I have attempted to extend Rosa's theory in three ways.

Firstly, I have extended Rosa's theory by empirically showing, how alienation does not automatically appear in the absence of resonance, but rather that resonance and alienation are opposite ends of a continuum, with various degrees of affective dissonance in between.

Secondly, although Rosa asserts that all three axes of resonance, material, social, and existential, are equally important, I argue that in highly accelerated organisations, social resonance plays the most vital role in preventing work-related stress. This is because, unlike other forms of resonance, social resonance has "resonance regenerators", such as the First Tuning Forks, who can revive social resonance when it starts to wane.

Thirdly, I extend Rosa's Tuning Fork concept by focusing on the First Tuning Forks, not merely as subjects who are resonance sensitive and make the world vibrate, but as subjects who actively create a resonant atmosphere through affective labour. Furthermore, while Rosa describes First Tuning Forks solely as a positive force, my research shows that they can also promote a dissonant atmosphere. Therefore, First Tuning Forks are important, but also unpredictable, because if they have a bad day or are drained themselves, they can tune organisational atmospheres negatively.

Having closely followed Rosa's concept of resonance, it is important to acknowledge its limitations, which also apply to my contributions. While Rosa's concept offers a valuable framework for understanding the affective and collective dimensions of work life, several critical points must be considered. These include its normative assumptions (Bischoff et al., 2021), susceptibility to commodification (Susen, 2019), and potential failure to address systemic issues (Bischoff et al., 2021; Susen, 2019).

Regarding its normative foundations, critical theorists highlight that resonant practices within organisations may not always contribute to the common good and could involve manipulative or oppressive strategies (Susen, 2019). Additionally, some employees may choose to follow instructions without questioning the consequences or reflecting on their own self-efficacy. They might find satisfaction in the disempowering aspects commonly linked to alienation or in non-resonant practices that still "resonate" for those who engage in them (Küpers, 2020, p. 31). Hollstein and Rosa propose that, in the context of acceleration, it is often more straightforward to adopt this approach than to foster axes of resonance. This leads to the question of whether resonance theory can be applied universally across different work environments and organisations (Hollstein & Rosa, 2023, p. 12). As mentioned in the theory section, I have addressed this concern in my study by limiting my discussion of the 'good life' to the specific field I was investigating, relying on my research participants' definitions of what constitutes good and bad. However, this limitation affects the predictive power of my study. Therefore,

before asserting that resonance is the ultimate pathway to the 'good life' within organisations and advocating for it, it is crucial to thoroughly investigate the nature of resonant relationships within that specific field.

In terms of resonance's vulnerability to commodification, it is worth exploring what motivated the First Tuning Forks at ProBuilt to engage in their affective labour to sustain the resonant atmosphere. My analysis presented a favourable view of their efforts, aligning with Rosa's assertion that First Tuning Forks are resonantly sensitive individuals who feel compelled to intervene when they encounter structures that disrupt resonance. While it may be tempting for employers to formalize the role of First Tuning Forks based on my analysis, Rosa warns that commodifying such work can threaten resonant relationships, potentially turning them into alienated ones (2019, p. 234). Therefore, making "tuning" an official job responsibility could undermine the motivation of the First Tuning Forks in performing their affective labour. However, one could also argue that this is a slightly romanticized explanation for the First Tuning Forks engagement in affective labour, and Rosa also acknowledges that resonance can be instrumentalized (Rosa, 2019, p. 186). Küpers (2019) and others further develop this critique of resonance, as they note that resonance can easily be co-opted by capitalist systems, transforming it into a tool for economic exploitation (Susen, 2019, p. 319). Instead of offering a path to the "good life" and a genuine escape from alienation, resonance becomes a means of ensuring productivity and compliance. Based on this view, one could argue that what "tunes" the First Tuning Forks is in fact "*the cycle of economic exploitation*" (Rosa, 2019, p. 186). This cycle would pressure them to stay compliant (wear the yes-hat) and work with the energy of a superhero, while also relying on their resonance-regenerating abilities to maintain a certain level of resonance within the community of colleagues. This because resonant employees, compared to alienated ones, are more willing and able to contribute their labour and creativity to the workplace (Rosa, 2019). Furthermore, by tuning their colleagues' affective states and behaviours, the First Tuning Forks make it harder for their colleagues to push back against acceleration and instrumentalisation. From this perspective, one could argue that the affective labour of the First Tuning Forks in the Great Hall upheld display rules that required appearing accommodating and cheerful, which numbed their colleagues and kept them from speaking up when acceleration and instrumentalisation took tolls on their cognitive, affective and physical states. By becoming instruments of the workplace, the First Tuning Forks themselves become instrumentalised, which is paradoxical, when all they seem to strive for is self-efficacy and "the good life" (Rosa, 2019). Thus, despite my positive perspective on the First Tuning Forks effort in my study, I am aware that such efforts can also be abused in line with Böhme's critique of aesthetic labour (Bernhardt, 2023, p. 69; Böhme, 2003).

Finally, the concerns about potential failure to address systemic issues will be discussed later in this chapter when discussing the role of power as a potential future avenue for research on this subject.

9.2 Practical implications

Based on this research, organisations should divert their energy into becoming aware of and responding to their organisational atmospheres (how to attune to them), rather than questioning their presence (Sumartojo & Pink, 2019, p. 96). Acknowledging the presence of organisational atmospheres makes it possible for organisations to avoid a blind spot in their approach to work-related stress and to react to the affective and collective processes that promote work-related stress in modern workplaces. Furthermore, acknowledging the atmospheric aspect of work-related stress enables organisations to perceive and acknowledge the subtle shifts of meaning and temporal displacements that organisational atmospheres introduce, which often go unnoticed, as the physical aspect of the organisational space not necessarily changes conspicuously.

Furthermore, acknowledging that organisational atmospheres can be shaped, without employees consciously recognizing them or attempting to influence them, is important, because it establishes the onset of how to handle employees, who suffers from work-related stress. As mentioned above, handling organisational atmospheres is a question of how to attune to them. Viewing mainstream cognitive and individual stress treatment through an atmospheric lens, one could argue that stressed employees on sick leave, through cognitive therapy and mindfulness, are taught not to attune to organisational atmospheres in order to maintain their sense of self. However, the challenge arises when employees return from sick leave and become busy again. When the demands increase, and their frontal lobes once again disengage as a reaction to excessive pressure (Arnsten, 2009) of acceleration and instrumentalisation, it becomes difficult not to subconsciously align with the subtle preferences that dissonant organisational atmospheres promote. Thus, this research highlights the importance of focusing on the resonance-promoting and resonance-inhibiting aspects of modern workplaces (du Plessis & Just, 2023, p. 19; Rosa, 2019, p. 171), rather than solely on individual actions or behaviours. Based on the above, one practical implication of this research is that organisations should assess their workplace atmospheres to identify factors that either promote or inhibit resonance among employees. An atmospheric analysis that considers the psychological work environment, the situational challenges faced by the organisation, and the physical aspects of the workplace can help organisations identify factors that lead to alienation, such as accelerated project portfolios or unrealistic performance targets. Furthermore, initiatives to inhibit alienation by supporting resonance could also be initiated in the shape of i.e. collaborative team structures, open communication channels, and opportunities for employees to connect on a personal level. Additionally, recognizing and empowering individuals like the First Tuning Forks to foster 'good atmospheres' can help sustain resonance, even in high-pressure environments. However, organisations must also be mindful of the risky role of the First Tuning Forks, as these individuals can both enhance and undermine the atmosphere, depending on their own affective state.

Overall, by taking a holistic approach that considers the broader organisational conditions, organisations can create more resonant and adaptive workplaces that not only mitigate work-related stress, but also enhance employee engagement and well-being.

9.3 Conclusion

This study applied Rosa's resonance theory and the concept of organisational atmosphere to examine how work-related stress is promoted or inhibited in a high-performance organisation, addressing four key research questions. While the analytical concept of organisational atmospheres provided a lens to observe affective and collective processes, Rosa's resonance framework provided the framework for understanding how these affective and collective processes either promoted or inhibited work-related stress: First, resonant atmospheres were found to be experienced through shared affective states that foster material -, social -, and existential resonance. In specific spaces at ProBuilt, such as the Open -, Play -, and Belonging spaces, employees had affective experiences of openness, responsiveness, relatedness, playfulness, committing, belonging, jovialness, and caring, which enhanced their well-being and helped mitigate stress. Employees actively contributed to these resonant experiences by engaging with their environments and each other, transforming both their surroundings and themselves.

However, the study also explored how resonant atmospheres were altered by acceleration and instrumentalisation. These forces created a pressure to work faster and to treat their colleagues instrumentally. Acceleration seemed to configure in the atmosphere as affective experiences of busyness, weariness, addictedness, and powerlessness, whereas instrumentalisation configured through affective experiences of dullness, objectifying, forsakenness, and neglecting. These affective experiences disrupted material resonance, as employees felt disconnected from their usual quality standards and existential resonance as employees struggled with their professional identity in the face of conflicting demands. While social resonance initially compensated for these losses, it too became strained over time.

The role of the First Tuning Forks, the employees who engaged in affective labour to maintain social connections and positive affect, was critical in preventing alienation and work-related stress. These employees boosted their colleagues' affective states, dissolved their negative affective states, and adjusted their behaviour to guard the resonant atmosphere. This delayed the onset of alienation by fostering social resonance, even as other dimensions of resonance crumbled. However, the emotional toll of this work led to exhaustion among the First Tuning Forks, who eventually became overwhelmed, contributing to the very stress they sought to alleviate.

As acceleration and instrumentalisation increased, social resonance ultimately broke down, resulting in alienated relationships between employees and management and among colleagues. Additionally, employees abandoned their quality standards, causing a collapse of material resonance. They also lost their sense of direction regarding professional conduct and gave up hope for the future, leading to a breakdown of existential resonance. However, this alienation never fully solidified, as the First Tuning Forks periodically restored resonance, offering temporary relief.

In the below figure, I have summed up the affective experiences employees encountered when respectively resonant- and dissonant organisational atmospheres configured, and when states of alienation occurred. Furthermore, I have added the “atmospheric forces” of the First Tuning Forks promoting a resonant atmosphere, and acceleration and instrumentalisation promoting a dissonant atmosphere, ultimately leading to states of alienation:

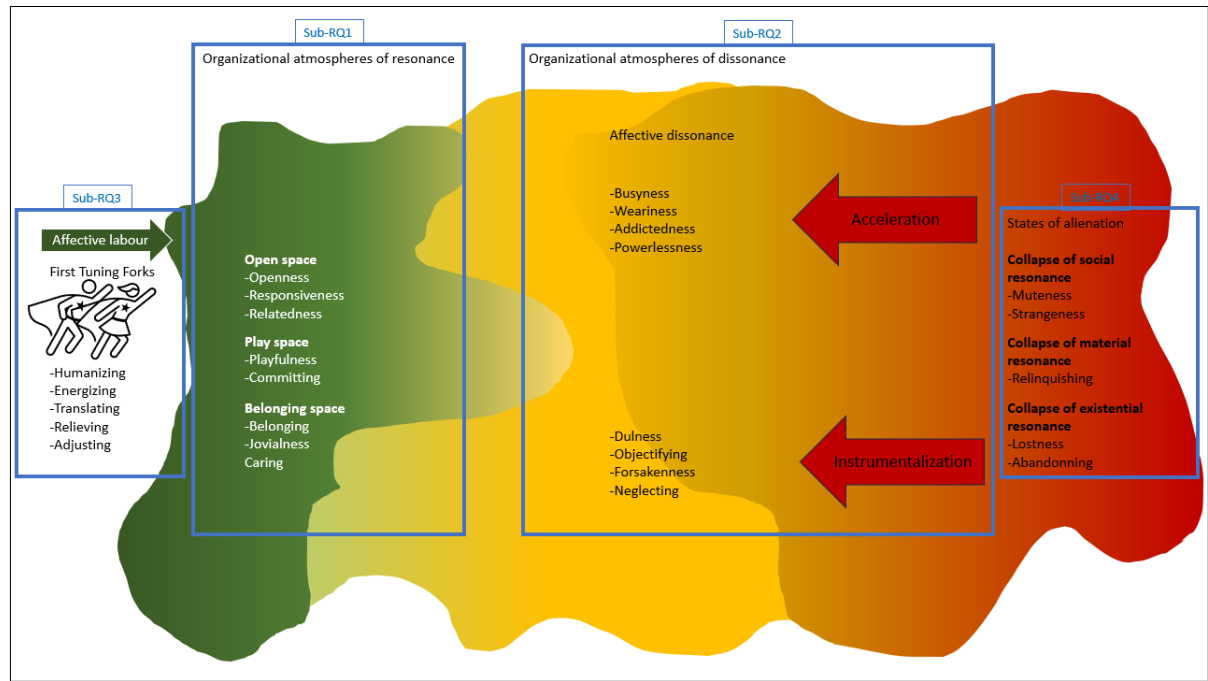


Figure 31 - Main analytical points from analyses

Responding to the overarching research question, one could argue that what promotes the development of work-related stress is the atmospheric acceleration and instrumentalisation, which alters the organisational atmospheres towards dissonance and ultimately states of alienation manifested as work-related stress. Furthermore, what inhibits the development of work-related stress is resonant organisational atmospheres produced either as part of established sources of material-, social-, and existential resonance or as a result of the First Tuning Forks affective labour efforts. The concept of First Tuning Forks is particularly relevant to the overarching research question, as they played a role in inhibiting alienation and work-related stress when atmospheres lost resonance. However, in some cases, they also promoted the development of work-related stress by initiating affective events that triggered dissonant experiences in their colleagues. That First Tuning Forks could not permanently prevent alienation, and work-related stress aligns with Anderson (2023) who argue that while resonance provides moments of respite from the accelerating dynamics of modern work life, it does not offer a sustainable or transformative alternative. Interestingly enough, this recognition is also mirrored in findings from the affective-collective strand of work-related stress literature. In example, studies of social stressors demonstrate that appreciation and trust between colleagues can buffer and contain the negative effects of stressors. However, appreciation and trust cannot

eliminate them (Garrido Vásquez et al., 2020; Molines et al., 2016). This finding is also consistent with Rodríguez et al.'s finding that only collective problem-focused coping showed significant reductions in organisational stress (2019, p. 87). The First Tuning Forks in the Great Hall could not eliminate the acceleration and instrumentalisation increasingly manifested in the FLEXITEC project. From a critical perspective, one could argue that the First Tuning Forks' resonance regenerating affective labour instead served more as a temporary escape, diverting employees from raising a critique of or resistance to the broader systemic acceleration and instrumentalisation. In this way, resonance risks being reduced to pockets of experiences that provide relief, but do not challenge the fundamental stress promoting structures of the workplace. Ultimately, this study highlights that work-related stress is not solely an individual or cognitive issue but is deeply connected to the relational dynamics within organisational atmospheres.

Based on this study, I will argue that we are missing – both in organisational stress management approaches and in most research on work-related stress – is an eye for how atmospheric acceleration and instrumentalisation are promoting the development of work-related stress. This lack of attention is most likely due to the fact that the atmospheric component of work-related stress is subtle and invisible, often only manifested as shifts in meaning and temporal displacements caused by the inertia of resonant organisational atmospheres. Thus, the atmospheric perspective makes it possible to take an affective perspective on such collective processes, which, through my literature review, I have established is somewhat missing.

With this research, I have contributed to the affective-collective strand of research on work-related stress, by integrating the physical space as an active entity that employees can form responsive relations to. Rosa's concept of resonance emphasizes the quality of the connections individuals feel with their work, colleagues, and the broader organisational values and goals. When resonance is disrupted - whether through poor interpersonal relationships, excessive work demands, or clashes in meaning and values - alienation and stress can emerge.

As this thesis reaches its conclusion, it opens the door for others to build upon its findings and explore new avenues of research. In the following section, I outline potential directions for future studies, offering suggestions for researchers interested in expanding on the contributions made here.

9.4 Future research

This research shows that organisational atmospheres can contribute significantly to the development of work-related stress. However, due to space limitations, certain aspects of these organisational atmospheres and their ties to work-related stress have been exempted. In the following, I will outline future avenues for research on organisational atmospheres and work-related stress, emphasizing the role of power, gender and temporality.

9.4.1 The Role of Power

Future research on organisational atmospheres and work-related stress should include a deeper focus on power dynamics, an area that has been identified as crucial in both atmosphere theory (Sumartojo & Pink, 2019) and the literature on work-related stress (Brooker & Eakin, 2001). Power plays a significant role in how different types of atmospheres are configured within organisations. In my research, for example, resonant atmospheres often developed organically among employees, whereas dissonant atmospheres, characterized by acceleration and instrumentalisation, were more frequently associated with top-down management systems, performance evaluations, and formal communication channels. This aligns with Mühlhoff's argument that resonance does not control a situation but rather emerges through a "bottom-up" process, driven by the interaction of many individuals (Mühlhoff, 2019, p. 196).

While this study did not specifically focus on power, its importance cannot be understated. Rosa himself acknowledges the need for a thorough investigation of the relationship between power and resonance, admitting that power relations are a constitutive component of social reality (Susen, 2019, p. 334). Susen (2019) concedes that resonance, as a concept, can sometimes obscure the question of power, particularly when resonance is viewed as something that simply happens to individuals. However, institutions, social structures, and managerial systems within organisations often differentially distribute the capacity for experiencing resonance, thus perpetuating power imbalances (Anderson, 2023, p. 6). For example, certain managerial tools or incentive programs may promote or inhibit resonance, depending on the level of autonomy and control employees have over their work. Moreover, examining how power influences the creation and maintenance of organisational atmospheres could shed light on the reasons why some employees are more susceptible to stress, particularly when working under accelerated, instrumentalized environments or because of their low positioning within the power hierarchy.

Furthermore, the potential for resonance to be appropriated as an instrument of power deserves attention. In organisations, "resonance generators" like the First Tuning Forks may unintentionally reinforce power structures by maintaining atmospheres that favour compliance and accommodation, rather than critical engagement or resistance to harmful practices. This underscores the need for future studies to investigate how resonance can both enable and constrain employee agency, as well as how it might be manipulated to uphold organisational objectives at the expense of individual well-being.

By incorporating a focus on power, future research can provide a more nuanced understanding of the conditions that promote or inhibit resonance in the workplace, contributing to the development of strategies to mitigate work-related stress while promoting more equitable and empowering work environments.

9.4.2 The Role of Gender

Future research on organisational atmospheres and work-related stress should also include a focus on gender, as it plays a significant role in shaping employees' experiences of stress within workplace cultures. Although this dissertation did not explicitly address gender, it was evident

in both the structure of the organisation and the experiences of employees at ProBuilt. Affective labour, which was key to sustaining a "good atmosphere," may be perceived and performed differently across genders. For instance, while both male and female First Tuning Forks were identified in this study, future research should explore whether it is gender or the nature of affective labour that renders this work invisible (Daniels, 1987; Devault, 2014; Star, 1990). Affective labour, especially when centred on maintaining a positive, resonant atmosphere, is often viewed as a "natural" role for women, leading to their contributions being overlooked or undervalued. Conversely, men who engage in this work may experience different outcomes, either gaining or losing recognition based on organisational norms around gender. These dynamics can influence how work-related stress is distributed within teams, and how First Tuning Forks' contributions are acknowledged or ignored. Investigating how gendered expectations of behaviour and affective labour impact the promotion or mitigation of work-related stress will provide a deeper understanding of organisational atmospheres. Moreover, examining how gendered power dynamics determine who maintains or disrupts the workplace atmosphere, can offer critical insights into organisational culture and stress management.

Moreover, gendered power relations can directly influence access to resonance in the workplace. At ProBuilt, for example, gender-related barriers were apparent in various forms, including limited access to certain groups unless accompanied by a male colleague, sexist remarks as a form of community-building, and overtly inappropriate behaviour such as groping at corporate events. These experiences suggest that gender plays a critical role in shaping the conditions under which employees experience resonance or dissonance in organisational atmospheres. Failure to conform to these gendered expectations often led to exclusion or labelling as "sensitive", which further alienated employees from the group and intensified stress.

By focusing on gender, future research can shed light on the often invisible labour that goes into maintaining workplace atmospheres, and how these dynamics may reinforce or challenge organisational hierarchies. This will lead to a more comprehensive understanding of how work-related stress is experienced and can be addressed in organisations, where both power and gender significantly shape the atmospheric conditions.

9.4.3 The Role of Temporality

Future research on organisational atmospheres and work-related stress should consider the crucial dimension of temporality. Rosa highlights the importance of historical sociology in understanding how modernity evolves through competing and often contradictory logics (Susen, 2023, p. 546). The experience of work-related stress within organisations is not static but shaped by temporal factors, including the pace of work, historical changes in organisational structures, and the progression of modernity itself. This calls for an exploration of how different forms of modernity, each influenced by unique social, economic, political, and cultural forces, shape organisational atmospheres and employee experiences over time.

Temporality is central to understanding, how organisational atmospheres emerge, change, and affect employees. As Sumartojo and Pink (2019) indicate, atmospheres encompass more than

just spatial dimensions; they also involve how the past and future intertwine with the present. Temporality allows researchers to explore, how atmospheres "linger" and shape future experiences (2019, p. 24). Employees' past encounters with stress, conflict, or resonance in the workplace may influence how they perceive and respond to current and future organisational atmospheres. Stress can "stick" within an organisation, re-emerging when similar conditions or atmospheres arise, affecting employees' ability to adapt and cope. Thus, the historical development of an organisation, its past decisions, and its anticipated future goals all contribute to the present atmosphere, which in turn impacts the experience of stress (2019, p. 55).

In relation to work-related stress, temporality can affect how stress builds or dissipates within an organisation. For instance, the introduction of new performance tools, shifts in management, or changes in strategic focus may not have immediate impacts, but can contribute to a gradual shift in the organisational atmosphere over time. This temporal pressure can exacerbate stress, making it essential to understand how these dynamics evolve over time.

Therefore, future research should focus on how temporal factors, such as the organisation's history, the pace of work, and the unfolding of change, interact with organisational atmospheres to either promote or inhibit work-related stress. A deeper understanding of the role of time will provide a more nuanced picture of how work-related stress develops, and how organisations can create more sustainable and supportive environments for their employees.

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Appendix 1: Symptoms that can occur in relation to stress

Based on overview from Andersen (2007, p. 14).

Physical symptoms	Psychological symptoms	Behavioural symptoms
Heart palpitations Dizziness Shaking hands Headache Loss of appetite Pain in the chest Difficulty breathing Eczema Diarrhea Common colds Fatigue Weight loss Sweating Irritable bowel syndrome	Irritability Difficulty concentrating Restlessness Restlessness Tightness Fatigue Inner turmoil Memory problems Depression Anxiety Agitation Panic attacks Learning difficulties Crying difficulties	Emotional coldness Impaired judgment Indecisiveness Insomnia Sick leave Containment Reduced ability to work Increased consumption of stimulants

Figure 32 - Symptoms that can occur in relation to work-related stress

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A Corpus-Based Cross-Linguistic Study</i></p> <p>39. Binzhang YANG
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An empirical analysis of science-industry collaboration in a pharmaceutical company</i></p> <p>5. Martin Gylling
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Monografi om dobbeltheden i tænkning af strategi, dels som vidensfelt i organisationsteori, dels som kunstnerisk tilgang til at skabe i erhvervsmæssig innovation</i></p> |
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Et aktør-netværksteoretisk ledelsesstudie af politiske evalueringsreformers betydning for ledelse i den danske folkeskole
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Omdømmearbejde og omdømmepolitik
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Business Model Innovation in the
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Entrepreneurship-Enabled Dynamic
Capability of Medium-Sized
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Structure in Value Chain Configuration
A Contribution to Strategic Cost
Management*

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mellem projekt og organisation på
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organizational processes*
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(1880s–1970s)*

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|--|--------------------|--|
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- | | | |
|---|--------------------|---|
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|---|--------------------|---|

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2019

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