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Shaping Middle managers as Double Agents

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Doctoral School of Organisation and Management Studies | **PhD Series 35.2018**

CBS COPENHAGEN BUSINESS SCHOOL
HANDELSHØJSKOLEN

Leadership Development as Organisational Rehabilitation:

Shaping Middle managers as Double Agents

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Doctoral School of Organisation and Management Studies

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Foreword

Firstly, thanks go to The Danish Council for Independent Research, for funding the project with grant ID: DFF-4003-00069. Thanks to Morten Knudsen and Magnus Larsson for letting me in on their research project after they had received this grant. I will never forget the first conversation we had, over skype from a hut in Thailand. I guess that my bluff that I could actually understand what Magnus was saying in Swedish can be considered successful! Having said that, one of his questions from that day has stuck with me since, "But what *is* a practice?" That was a good one, and I'm still trying to figure it out.

Special thanks go to the Leadership Development in the Public Sector research group, Morten, Magnus, Frank Meier and Mette Mogensen. The many meetings, data sessions, paper development sessions, seminars, road-trips, research retreats all provided incredible learning opportunities and discussions which were always open and encouraging, from Luhmann to Garfinkel and everything in between. Thanks to you all for them.

I hugely appreciate the help given by the Metropolitan University College and in particular by Kristian Gylling Olesen and Susanne Ørum Foss in providing access to the field and support in the collection of document material.

A particular mention must be made to the three managers who allowed me to invade their space and follow them around in their everyday working lives. I greatly appreciate the incredible kindness, openness and generosity with which I was met. Thank you Sarah, Eve and Mary – you know who you are!

emerge from them. Thorben, thanks for being the best office companion a man could wish for – long live the exposure of monkey tennis!

Finally, thank you to my big family and my wee family, for support throughout the project, and in general. Special thanks to you, my darling Maja, for being you and for holding everything together. Thanks to you Penny and Fergus for making me smile just at the thought of you.

Abstract

This dissertation contributes to existing research concerning the organisational influence of leadership development, by offering a detailed qualitative study of a diploma programme in leadership provided for middle managers within the municipality of Copenhagen.

The social practice theory of Theodore Schatzki offers a conceptualisation of educational and institutional settings as representing interconnected bundles of social practices, allowing consideration of the movement of entities within and between them and the implications this has for the practices taking place. This offers a vocabulary for understanding and analysing the complexity of social practices. In order to gain a richer understanding of the interactions and learning of the people undertaking these practices, a dialogue between social practice theory and social learning theories is facilitated. This offers the opportunity for a bifocal perspective, to be trained on practices and the people populating them, where the shaping of the professional identity of middle managers can be explored.

An ethnographic approach is informed by Dorothy Smith's Institutional Ethnography as a method of enquiry beginning in the actualities of people's lived lives. The study follows participants' iterative movement between educational and institutional settings, focusing on how these interconnect and inform one another, and the implications this has for professional identity. Smith's focus on the textual coordination of social life draws attention in the study to the manner in which different texts are produced and negotiated by participants within and across the different settings.

The study shows that the educational and institutional practices are seen to inform one another in a manner which shapes the practically appropriate professional

identities of the managers participating within them. The design and application of the diploma programme is seen to encourage participants' practical engagement with initiatives introduced by the wider organisation of the municipality of Copenhagen, increasing their acceptance of these and their efforts at translating them into their local institution. In this way, the diploma programme is seen to develop *followership* to the wider organisational agenda, as much as leadership of the local institution. Organisational problems stemming from the implementation of reform initiatives become managerial challenges, which are to be made actionable within the programme.

This is encouraged by participants' iterative movement between the educational and organisational practices, where the ontologies, tools and resources offered on the LDP are found to provide a fulcrum for the reappraisal of their professional identity, a renewed understanding of their position within the wider organisation and the purpose of their work within it.

It is not suggested that participants become robotic organisational agents, but that a propensity to support organisational initiatives augments the existing orientation of their work and loyalty to their own institution and staff. The managers are found to operate as double agents, where their occupational professionalism as pedagogues is augmented to include the organisational professionalism of management. The horizons of the professional identity are broadened, and a wider palette of managerial stances becomes practically appropriate.

The professional managerial identity is adapted to navigate organisational cross pressures, where professional discretion manifests as the leeway that the managers have in brokering between the regulations and demands of the municipality, and the actualities of their local institution. This becomes a central managerial task, where the freedom to determine how this translation should best be achieved through their

selection and application of particular managerial methods becomes a fundamental element of managerial discretion and professionalism.

The middle managers are seen to become more compatible with, and aligned, to their positioning within the organisation as a whole, where the horizons for managerial work are lifted beyond the interests of their local institution and staff. Therefore, the findings of the present study suggest that the Diploma Programme in Leadership can be seen to facilitate a rehabilitation of the professional identity and work of middle managers, which becomes more fitting to the wider organisational agenda of the municipality of Copenhagen.

The study also emphasises the opaqueness of the organisational initiatives with which the managers engage, recommending caution with regards to the tendency that organisational problems become de-facto managerial challenges. The paucity of information and support available to the managers regarding the initiatives with which they engage directs attention to the design and introduction of the reforms and initiatives themselves, rather than solely questioning the managerial administration of them.

Resumé

Denne afhandling udgør et kvalitativt etnografisk studie af diplomuddannelse i ledelse for mellemledere i offentlige institutioner i Københavns kommune. Afhandlingen bidrager til den eksisterende forskning ved at fokusere på mellemledernes virke i såvel uddannelsespraksis som ledelsespraksis. Dermed bidrager den også til undersøgelsen af hvilke organisatoriske implikationer ledelsesudviklingsprogrammer har i offentlige institutioner.

Theodore Schatzki's praksisteori anvendes til at begrebsliggøre ovennævnte praksisser som internt forbundne *bundter* af sociale praksisser. Dette tillader et fokus på, hvordan deltagere såvel som tekster bevæger sig indenfor og imellem disse praksisser, samtidigt med at undersøgelsen af implikationerne af disse iterative bevægelser muliggøres. Schatzki's praksisteori tilbyder således et frugtbart teoretisk vokabular med hvilket kompleksiteten af de studerede sociale praksisser kan begribes og analyseres. For at opnå en mere nuanceret forståelse for de interaktioner og den læring der finder sted i disse praksisser diskuteres relationen mellem Schatzkis praksisteori og social læringsteori. Dette etablerer afhandlingens dobbelt-perspektiv, hvor praksisser såvel som de mennesker der bevæger sig indenfor disse praksisser kommer i fokus i undersøgelsen af, hvordan mellemledernes professionelle identitet formes.

Studiet af hvilke organisatoriske implikationer ledelsesudviklingsprogrammet har, tager afsæt i en etnografisk tilgang informeret og inspirereret af Dorothy Smith's *Institutionelle Etnografi*, hvor undersøgelsesmetoden sætter aktørernes levede liv i centrum. Studiet følger således aktørernes iterative bevægelser mellem de uddannelses- og ledelsesmæssige praksisser, og fokuserer på hvordan disse er forbundet, samt på hvilke implikationer dette har for dannelsen af deltagernes professionelle identitet. Smith's fokus på hvordan tekster koordinerer sociale

interaktioner retter endvidere opmærksomheden mod hvordan forskellige tekster er produceret, men især også på hvordan disse tekster er til forhandling på tværs af de forskellige praksisser.

Afhandlingen viser hvordan de uddannelses- og ledelsesmæssige praksisser informerer hinanden på en måde, hvor mellemledernes professionelle identitet formes af de i situationen mulige ledelsespositioner.

Mellemledernes professionelle identitet er således nært knyttet til den praksis, de befinder sig i og agerer indenfor.

Diplomprogrammet i ledelse er designet og sat i anvendelse på en sådan måde, at deltagernes engagement med de initiativer, der introduceres af Københavns kommune, aktiveres og understøttes, hvilket øger deres accept af disse initiativer, ligesom det styrker deres villighed til at oversætte og introducere dem i deres lokale ledelsespraksis. Det bliver således tydeligt, hvordan ledelsesudviklingsprogrammet skaber *followership* i forhold til den bredere organisatoriske agenda – altså Københavns kommunes agenda –, samtidigt med at den skaber *leadership* i deltagernes lokale institutioner. Organisatoriske problemstillinger, der kommer som følge af implementeringen af forskellige reformprogrammer, bliver desuden transformeret til særlige ledelsesudfordringer, der sidenhen skal kunne handles på indenfor ledelsesudviklingsprogrammet.

Forskydningen fra organisatoriske problemstillinger til ledelsesmæssige udfordringer understøttes af ledelsesudviklingsprogrammet og deltagernes iterative bevægelser i mellem uddannelses- og ledelsesmæssige praksisser, og styrkes yderligere af deltagernes engagement med de teoretiske redskaber og ressourcer som ledelsesudviklingsprogrammet tilbyder. Disse ressourcer tilbyder lederne en tilgang til ledelsesarbejde og kommunikation med medarbejdere, der opfordrer til dannelsen af særlige narrativer, der skal muliggøre og bevæge disse i en organisatorisk

produktiv og ønskelig retning. Der stræbes således efter et fokus på realiseringen af ønskede fremtider snarere end et fokus på aktuelt oplevede problemer.

Penduleringen mellem praksisser kombineret med anvendelsen af ledelsesudviklingsprogrammets teoretiske ressourcer er konsistent med en tilgang til ledelsesarbejde-i-praksis, hvor lederne arbejder på at formidle organisatoriske initiativer ind i deres lokale institutioner. Det antydes ikke at deltagerne opererer som *organisatoriske robotter*, men at tilbøjeligheden til at støtte en organisatorisk agenda og initiativer knyttet til denne agenda ændrer deltagernes orientering i det daglige arbejde, såvel som deres loyalitet mod institutionen og medarbejderne. Lederne opererer således i højere grad som *dobbelt agenter*, hvor deres fagprofessionelle identitet som pædagoger ændres og udvides til også at inkludere og rumme en ledelses- og organisationsidentitet. Horisonten for deltagernes professionelle identitet udvides således og en bredere pallette af ledelsesmæssige positioner muliggøres.

Deltagernes professionelle ledelsesidentiteter adapteres, aktiveres og anvendes i forhold til at kunne navigere i forskellige organisatoriske krydspres, hvor det professionelle skøn manifesterer sig som én måde hvorpå deltagerne oversætter og mægler mellem kommunens reguleringer og krav, og de aktuelle udfordringer der forekommer i deres lokale institutioner. Dette viser sig at være en central ledelsesopgave, hvor friheden til at bestemme hvordan oversættelsen bedst opnås gennem deres valg og applikation af særlige ledelsesmetoder bliver en fundamental del af det ledelsesmæssige skøn og den professionelle handlekompetence.

Afhandlingen viser hvordan mellemlederne lærer at operere i overensstemmelse med deres positionering indenfor rammerne af kommunens bredere organisering, hvor horisonterne for det ledelsesmæssige arbejde endnu engang udvides og i denne sammenhæng peger udover de lokale institutioner og medarbejdernes interesser. Afhandlingen viser således i direkte forlængelse heraf hvordan Diplom Programmet i

Ledelse faciliterer rehabiliteringen af en professionel identitet der er i overensstemmelse med Københavns kommunens bredere organisatoriske agenda.

Afhandlingen peger ligeledes på den uigennemsigtighed, der karakteriserer de organisatoriske initiativer som deltagerne involveres i og engagerer sig med, og anbefaler i den forbindelse at der bør rettes en særlig opmærksomhed mod tendensen hvorved organisatoriske problemer gøres til de-facto ledelsesudfordringer. Som en konsekvens af denne indsigt bør der derfor også rettes opmærksomhed mod selve designet og indførelsen af reformer og organisatoriske initiativer, fremfor udelukkende at fokusere på og sætte spørgsmålstegn ved ledernes evne til at implementere og administrere disse i praksis.

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Chapter 1: Introduction, Problem Statement and Research Questions

Interviewer: Well if we look at it more generally…at a more general level, your understanding of your organisation has…changed

Eve: Incredibly.

Interviewer: Like..as a result of the education

Eve: Yes

Interviewer: How?

Eve: Overall my understanding of the large organisation, like, both the Municipality of Copenhagen and the Children and Youth Administration, where I feel a bit like.. "it's not always completely wrong when you launch something, you have thought about it." Other times I could feel a bit like "yeah, it's only to bloody annoy me." Like, "come on, it's just because some idiot or other is sitting at a desk and thinking, yeah." You know? And today I feel a bit like, "Okay, when you launch this thing, what is it that you are trying to achieve?" Like, so you could say that I am now also more reflexive in relation to my organisation than I was previously. And also to look at..if you can say..as a cluster, how do we do things, why does my cluster manager act the way that she does. We locked horns really a lot when we started because I was basically sat in—what is it called?.. the aesthetic domain and she sat in the production and we were unable to meet at any point, and in fact, first when I had started my education, and what's it called…was one of them that was…got one of those coaching conversations, it was first then that I stopped – so to speak

– crying when I went to work, first there I felt a bit like…aarrghh..and where the consultant also felt a bit like "well, there you go, Eve." And you could say that I had no idea what it was actually all about, I could just feel that, "this isn't working." So I can also see when our cluster manager has an idea about something or other, where I can feel a bit like "but what is it you are trying to achieve," so the part about having an understanding of, that when you are acting in this, what is it then that you are trying to achieve? That's not the same as me just saying okay and thinking "we'll do that." I still want to be allowed to challenge, but have a different fundamental understanding that there is a thought behind it. And it is also that which I can see in myself, that I am to a greater degree aware myself, of what it is that I am trying to achieve when I act in a given way. And also try to put it into words for the staff, to kind of like say "we will do this, because we want to achieve that," like …so in that way clarify to the staff that, well," there is actually a thought behind it, when I come and say that you should do this and that." And maybe to a greater degree try to communicate that when central administration come with these initiatives – now we are doing Early Detection and we are almost throwing up over it at the moment, and then say "well, what is it that it is to be used for. It's not that somebody has sat and thought that it is super smart for us to just sit and make some crosses, or do something else and put it into the computer." Because you can say, it's again about, that you, as a manager, do not successfully pass on what it actually is I want us to do, then it will just fall to the ground. And I know very well that I don't always do it either. I don't always get….my head is filled up with other thoughts than those of the staff, and once in a while I forget to say it out loud, just like my cluster manager forgets to say it out loud to her management team, you know? And I can also see that that is where it

crashes now and again. It is simply because I don't manage to pass
on…or pass on properly what it is that we are trying to achieve, why is it
that we are starting with this, and going this way, and what is it that we
are eventually trying to reach? So it doesn't always work." (Eve
interview 1: 30.09.2015)

Introduction

Since the 1990's, increasing emphasis has been placed on the importance of
leadership[1] in the Danish public sector as a means of meeting increasing demands for
efficiency and innovation, resulting in massive investment into development
programmes from the Danish government. The actual influence of such programmes
on organisational practices, however, remains largely unstudied. This represents the
point of departure for a collective research project at Copenhagen Business School,
focusing on leadership development in the public sector. The aim is to investigate the
interplay between organizational practices and leadership development programmes –
essentially aiming to illuminate which functions such programs fulfil for
organisations. This PhD project focuses on a specific diploma education in leadership
offered to those holding managerial positions within the Danish public sector.

As part of reforms introduced by the Danish government in 2007(Regeringen, 2007)
aimed at improving the quality of services offered in the public sector, the
municipality of Copenhagen[2] made a commitment to making a diploma-level
education in leadership available to all employees working as managers in its
institutions. The goal of this policy was to ensure that by 2015, anyone employed in
managerial positions within the municipality should have completed the diploma
programme. This was presented as a concerted effort to professionalise management

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[1] In the Danish language, there is traditionally no distinction between the terms of management and leadership, with
the term "ledelse" covering both. Due to the emergence of the word "lederskab" - a Danification of the English
"leadership" – and it's appearance and usage in field studies, I translate this word faithfully and directly to
"leadership." Otherwise 'ledelse' is translated to "management."

[2] https://www.kk.dk/sites/default/files/edoc/bcf45284-f735-43b5-b813-9da7bcda61ad/a141a3bd-f3d0-49ae-b4a7-
8007065d9030/Attachments/10309897-10056878-1.PDF (Accessed 02.01.2016)

in the public sector, a targeted investment attempting to raise standards and meet present and future challenges. As this has largely been achieved, the diploma qualification is now a de-facto requirement for employment as a manager within the day-care sector – the sector in focus within this paper.

The citation above comes from one of the central informants in the present study, when she was invited to reflect on the influence of her participation in a leadership development programme (henceforth LDP) on her managerial work and organisational understandings. It is immediately clear that Eve attributes huge significance to her participation in the diploma programme in leadership, where she articulates very specific changes in understanding leading to an altered approach to her managerial work. While this exemplary interview excerpt illustrates participants' understandings of the influence of the LDP, it also provides an immediate opportunity to emphasise that the specific aim of the project is to get beyond such individual accounts, and study the phenomenon in other ways. Thereby participants' learning and the development of their professional identities is not the sole research interest, but also how these come to be.

By adopting an ethnographic approach, the goal is to study the educational practices of the LDP in the final module of the programme, and the managerial practices of participants at work, focusing on their iterative movement between the education and the day-care institutions within which they work. By following three participants closely, drawing on inspiration from practice theory, social theories of learning and institutional ethnography, the aim is not solely to study the intended effects of the development programme, nor the learning outcomes of participants, but also their subsequent activities at work. By striving to get beyond post hoc, individual accounts, focus is trained on the study of situated practices and artefacts present within them, to gain a more nuanced view of the relationship between education and practice.

The goal is therefore not to embark on an exploration of what leadership is, what it could be, or what it should be. Instead, the project is to look at what a specific LDP does. How does it relate to proceedings at the level of the organisation? What are the implications for participants and the manner in which they approach their work?

Problem Statement

> **In following selected participants in the Diploma Programme in Leadership, how are the educational and institutional practices seen to inform one another? How do participants navigate within and between these settings and what are the implications of this for their professional practices and identity? Ultimately, what can be said of the organisational influence of the diploma programme in leadership from this perspective?**

Research Questions

In order to respond to the problem statement, I have worked towards answering four research questions, which form the point of departure for the four analytical chapters of my dissertation. Besides providing incremental steps towards a qualified response to the problem statement, the research questions also represent a structure for arranging and analysing the different types of empirical material collected.

Research Question1:

How do the educational practices of the final module of the LDP shape professional identity?

> This question focuses on observation of events taking place within the final module of the LDP, drawing on field notes, document analysis and audio recordings made during these sessions.

Research Question 2:

i:What are the characteristics of the standpoints of the selected participants, and which problematics do they identify for their final exam project in the LDP?

ii: What resources do they draw upon to address these problematics?

> This question draws primarily on exam material produced by selected participants, where exam documents produced through the LDP are used to gain insight into the issues with which they worked in the programme, as well as studying which resources, theories and tools they appropriated and how they articulate the application of these.

Research Question 3:

How does managerial work become oriented in situated practices?

> This question focuses on events observed during shadowing intervals in the daily work of selected participants. Field notes and audio recordings made during these intervals provide the empirical point of departure for this analysis.

Research Question 4:

How do participants, their staff and superiors reflect upon the influences of the LDP on managerial work?

> Material collected during qualitative interviews conducted with participants, their staff and superiors is studied here to gain insight into accounts of the influence that the LDP is perceived to have had on managerial work and daily institutional practices.

Contributions and Findings

Empirical Contributions

This study offers contributions to different fields. Firstly, while there have been a number of quantitative studies into the potential organizational influence of

leadership development, suggesting positive outcomes (Avolio, Avey, & Quisenberry, 2010; Avolio, Reichard, Hannah, Walumbwa, & Chan, 2009; Bilhuber Galli & Müller-Stewens, 2012; Black & Earnest, 2009; Bro, Andersen, & Bøllingtoft, 2017; Danmarks Evalueringsinstitut, 2012a; Holten, Bøllingtoft, & Wilms, 2015; J Grove, Kibel, & Haas, 2005) there is a dearth of qualitative studies focusing on specific contexts and the relationship between leadership development and work in-situ (Carroll, Levy, & Richmond, 2008; Day, 2000; Gagnon & Collinson, 2014; Kempster, 2009). The present study, based on a multi sited ethnography incorporating educational and organizational contexts, responds to these appeals for more qualitative studies of leadership development and the influence it has at the organisational level.

Theoretical Contributions

Theoretically, the study facilitates a dialogue between Schatzkian social practice theory (Schatzki, 2005; 2002) and social theories of learning (Dreier, 2003; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998). This offers a theoretical contribution in two ways, firstly by casting light on the shadowy figure of the person typical within practice theories (Schatzki, 2017b), drawing on the work of Dreier (2008; 2003) to do so. Secondly, responding to criticism of the insularity of theories of situated learning and communities of practice (Contu & Wilmott, 2003; Hager & Hodkinson, 2011; Handley, Sturdy, Fincham, & Clark, 2006; Huzzard, 2004; Nicolini, 2012), the study offers an approach to opening understandings of communities of practice up to the wider societal conditions within which they are positioned.

Methodological Contributions

The study offers a contribution to the methodological challenge of including understandings of large scale social phenomena in the micro study of situated actions (Nicolini, 2009, 2017a; Nicolini, 2012;Schatzki, 2015b) by offering an operationalisation of institutional ethnography (Smith, 2005). This trains focus onto

the manner in which practices are interconnected through textual coordination. Investigation of how these texts "happen" within situated social practices enables the influence of large scale phenomena in situated activities to be studied ethnographically. This allows the interconnections between the municipal, the educational and the managerial practices to be studied, revealing the tensions which arise through this and how they are negotiated in real time. This provides a novel and useful approach to the empirical study of leadership development and how this informs practices.

Central Findings

The main finding within the study is that the educational and institutional practices are seen to inform one another in a manner which shapes the practically appropriate professional identities of the managers participating within them. The diploma programme is seen to encourage their practical engagement with initiatives introduced by the wider organisation of the municipality of Copenhagen, increasing their acceptance of these and their efforts at translating them and implementing them in their local institution. In this way, the diploma programme is seen to develop *followership* to superiors and the wider organisational agenda, as much as leadership of the local institution. This supports a shift in the organizational understanding and priorities of the participants, based on a reappraisal of their professional identity.

The iterative movement of participants between the educational and organisational practices encourages their development of what is termed in the study to be a "*managerial manifesto*," as to how they are to engage actively with challenges in their local institution. In doing so, the ontologies, tools and resources offered on the LDP are found to provide a fulcrum for their reappraisal of their professional identity. Here, a consistent model for this manifesto is found, where the managers subscribe to social constructionist ontology, to which systemic understandings of organisation and appreciative inquiry are coupled. The professional managerial identity is adapted to

navigate organisational cross pressures, where professional discretion manifests as the leeway in which the managers have to translate and broker between the regulations and demands of the municipality, and their local institution. This becomes a central managerial task, where the freedom to determine how this translation[3] should best be achieved through their selection and application of methods becomes the *managerial action space*.

This *managerial manifesto* is seen to be consistent with the approach to work in managerial practices during participation in the LDP and after its completion, where the managers are seen to orient their work towards the implementation of the wider organisational agenda of the municipality of Copenhagen. This is not to be understood as an instrumental change, where the managers become robotic organisational agents. Instead, their approach is broadened to include *managerial stances* oriented towards this organisational agenda, rather than solely focusing on the interests and priorities of their local institution. The flexibility in the adoption of different managerial stances within situated practices is found to be an influence of the LDP, facilitating an *augmented operability* within and across different practices and the *communities of practitioners* populating them. The managers are seen to become accomplished in acting as double agents, adopting *managerial stances* by responding to the *practical intelligibility* (Schatzki, 2002) available in the practices within which they participate, and the people populating them.

Therefore this becomes a novel way of considering what the diploma programme in leadership does. Through a stretching of their practical intelligibility, the LDP can be seen to alter the range of possible stances which make sense to the managers in

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[3] The term "translation" is - unless specifically stated- meant in an everyday sense within the present study. Here it is used to depict the work of managers directed towards implementing initiatives of the wider organisation, attempting to ensure they fit and are taken up in their local institution. Therefore, while there are definite similarities, it is not to be confused with the different specificities and connotations of the theoretical concept as presented in (Czarniawska & Joerges, 1995; B Latour & Strum, 1986; Røvik, 2007)

practice. They achieve an augmented operability in navigating the cross pressures within which they find themselves.

Considering these findings these findings in relation to literature relating to tendencies towards managerial professionalism (Noordegraaf, 2007; 2015; Sehested, 2012)In provides an insight into how the LDP supports the shift in professional identities of middle managers. A significant organisational influence of the diploma programme in leadership is therefore found to be supporting this shift in professional identity - from occupational professionalism to organizational professionalism (Elkjaer & Brandi, 2014; Evetts, 2003, 2009; Mik-Meyer, 2018).

Outline of the Dissertation

The study is written as a monograph, allowing a detailed narrative to be developed, investigating the educational setting of the LDP and the local institutional settings of participants within it, as well as tracing the implications of their iterative movement between these settings. This provides an opportunity for the richness of the empirical material collected to be utilised. The present chapter introduces the problem statement of the study, as well as research questions, main findings and the contributions offered. Chapter 2 looks more closely at relevant literatures in the field, and the implications of these for the study. Chapter 3 provides a description of the empirical setting where the study takes place, detailing the organisational conditions of the day-care sector in Denmark, and particularly within the municipality of Copenhagen. Chapter 4 looks more closely at the Diploma Programme in Leadership, provided for employees holding managerial positions in the municipality of Copenhagen.

Chapter 5 is the theoretical section of the project detailing Schatzkian social practice theory (Schatzki, 2002), and social theories of learning (Dreier, 2009a; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998), while encouraging a dialogue between these positions, and developing an application of this. Chapter 6 presents the methodology

developed and applied within the study, tracing how it was developed and employed. This is built upon an operationalisation of Dorothy Smith's Institutional Ethnography (Smith, 2005), as a "method of enquiry."

Chapter 7 is the first analytical chapter, focusing on the observations from the final module of the LDP and other empirical material collected during observation of the teaching sessions comprising it. Chapter 8 looks more closely at selected participants, who are to be followed from the module and into their managerial work. This chapter uses interviews conducted with these participants, as well as their exam documents produced during the LDP. Adopting Smith's (Smith, 2005) terminology, this opens up for an understanding of their organisational conditions and situated professional identities as their *standpoints,* and the organisational challenges with which they choose to work in the final exam project of the LDP as their *problematics*. Chapter 9 follows these selected participants into their managerial work, shadowing (Czarniawska, 2007; McDonald, 2005) them over different intervals. By focusing on how *institutional texts* (Smith, 2005) "happen" in managerial work and how these are negotiated, it is possible to train analysis on the manner in which these managers buffer and broker between the cross pressures of the wider organisational agenda of the municipality of Copenhagen and their institutional actualities. Chapter 10 draw on accounts gained from participants, their staff and immediate superiors, as to how they perceive the influence of the LDP on managerial practices.

Chapter 11 offers a discussion of the findings developed through the study, using theories of *professional jurisdiction* (Abbott, 1988) to conceptualise how practices change and are populated, and *managerial discretion* (Finkelstein & Peteraf, 2007; Hambrick & Finkelstein, 1987) to conceptualise the character of the *managerial action space* available to the participants within these changing practices. This offers further insights into the character of the practices and the persons with which they study is concerned.

The approach undertaken offers an empirically rich qualitative study of the relationship between the educational practices of the diploma programme in leadership and the managerial practices of the participants within it, as well as the implications that the iterative movement between these practices has for professional identity. The approach ensures that the study goes beyond the post-hoc individual accounts of participants and draws upon more naturally occurring data, within situated educational and organisational practices.

Chapter 2: Studying the Influence of Leadership Development and Understanding the Middle manager

In order to develop an approach to investigating how the influences of formal leadership development programmes could be traced in organisations, it was necessary to take a step back and consider how similar studies had been conducted previously, and the results that these presented. This chapter addresses this task, firstly investigating literature on the study of leadership development, before moving onto work focusing on investigating the organisational influence of such programmes. Studies specifically within the national context of Denmark will then be considered, closing in on the empirical interests of the study at hand. This guides the remainder of the chapter, which examines literatures with particular relevance for the framing of the empirical study.

Studying Leadership Development

By tracing the foci of research approaches towards the study of leadership development, a tendency towards following three main strands of investigation is revealed (Carroll & Levy, 2010; Nicholson & Carroll, 2013). The first of these are functionalist approaches, focusing upon the development of individual leaders' repertoires of techniques and tools in order to increase their effectivity, see (Conger, 1992; Lord & Hall, 2005). The second strand is constructivist inspired approaches, regarding leadership development as facilitating an identity transition (Petriglieri 2011; Kempster 2009). Thirdly, social constructionist approaches focus on the role of discourse, understanding leadership development as interaction with and within different discourses, an approach characterised by (Carroll & Levy, 2010; Fairhurst & Putnam, 2004; Thomas & Linstead, 2002).

Day, Fleenor, Atwater, Sturm, & McKee (2014) offers a thorough review of recent tendencies and advances in the field of research, emphasising the significant distinction between leader development, as focusing on the *intra personal,* as opposed to leadership development focusing on the *inter-personal*. More recently, leadership development has also been approached from the perspective of philosophical hermeneutics (Hibbert, Beech, & Siedlok, 2017)as an aesthetic experience (Carroll & Smolović Jones, 2018) and as a tool for reflection (Knudsen, 2016).

A commonality of these approaches has, theoretical convergences aside, been that the focus of research falls upon the changes occurring within the outlooks and understandings of the individual leaders participating in the regime of development programmes. Correspondingly, the influence of these development programmes at the organisational level and the relationship between LDPs and work in-situ has remained largely in the background (Avolio, 2007; Carroll et al., 2008; Day, 2000; Gagnon & Collinson, 2014; Porter & McLaughlin, 2006)

Investigating the Organisational Influence of Leadership Development
Meta analytical reviews of literature pertaining to such an organisational influence have been completed (Avolio et al., 2010, 2009). These perceive such development programmes as leadership interventions, and through analysis of the results of relevant studies suggest that these interventions uniformly provide a positive return, with the extent of this dependent on a variety of variables such as organisational context and the theoretical approach of the particular intervention undertaken. This suggests that LDPs have a very definite influence on organisational activities, with the results also indicating that closer study of the specific organisational practice is necessary to determine how this influence manifests in the local contexts.

Studies conducted by Black and Earnest (2009) build upon an evaluation based framework (J Grove et al., 2005) by proposing a comprehensive instrument capable

of measuring outcomes of leadership development; on the individual, the organisational and the community levels. This instrument, taking the form of an online survey, also suggests positive influence of LD programmes on organisational practices. However, the very nature of the research, based on the post hoc and individual accounts of leaders, provides a very specific perspective on the organisational reality, again focusing upon the individual leader.

Bilhuber Galli & Müller-Stewens (2012) shift this focus from the individual leader, using a qualitative theory-building case study to investigate the influence of leadership development practices on an organisation's *social capital.* This is understood as the structure and quality of social relationships between individuals or organizations, citing the work of Ronald Burt, where social capital is considered to be the *'contextual complement of human capital'* (Burt, 1997, p.339)" In their study, observations, documents and qualitative interviews were used to investigate the relationship between internal leadership development practices of a large Multi Business Firm, and the extent to which these facilitated cross-business synergy within it, in terms of strengthening social capital. The leadership development practices were found to contribute to a strengthening of social capital, with action learning activities deemed to be particularly efficient in establishing strong forms of this (Bilhuber Galli & Müller-Stewens, 2012, 21).

Kempster (Kempster, S & Stewart, 2010) offers an alternative perspective and methodology for the investigation of leadership development, drawing on a co-produced auto-ethnography of the on-the-job situated learning processes of new manager entering a senior leadership team. While there is no formal educational setting to be taken into consideration within the study, its qualitative approach provides new insights into different kinds of leadership development processes and how these can unfold.

Research in the National context of Denmark

A survey study undertaken within the national context of Denmark, by the Danish institute for evaluation (Danmarks Evalueringsinstitut, 2012b), measures the influence of leadership development through a survey instrument directed towards participating managers' individual evaluation. Similarly positive findings were returned from these evaluations.

The recently concluded "Leadership and Performance" (LEAP)[4] project led[5] by the Department of Political Science at Aarhus school of Business and Society, see (Bøgh Andersen, Bøllingtoft, Christensen, & Bøgh Hald, 2016; Bro et al., 2017; Holten et al., 2015; Ladegaard Bro, 2016) adopted an explicitly experimental approach. The research design of the project involves the implementation of field experiments involving different forms of leadership training offered to managers working in the private and public sector. The managers participating in the experiment were divided into four cohorts, one was trained in transactional leadership, the second in transformational leadership, the third in a combination of the two, while the fourth was a control group. The effect of these interventions was then measured through pre and post survey studies of the participants and their staff, as well as analysis of broader organisational performance indicators,[6] concluding thus:

> *"Overall, the experiment shows that the leadership training actually changed the leadership behaviour of the leaders who participated. Furthermore, leadership can have a positive effect on employee motivation when employee and organizational values are congruent."[7]*

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[4] http://ps.au.dk/en/research/research-projects/leap-leadership-and-performance/
[5] The LEAP project is a cooperation between Aarhus University, Copenhagen Business School, University of Copenhagen, Aalborg University, University of Southern Denmark and KORA.
[6] http://ps.au.dk/en/research/research-projects/leap-leadership-and-performance/about-the-leap-project/project-description/#x4
[7] http://ps.au.dk/en/research/research-projects/leap-leadership-and-performance/ (Retrieved 24.04.18)

In an earlier PhD study (Weinreich, 2014), a more qualitative approach to studying the influence of diploma programme in leadership offered to public sector managers incorporates a survey investigation, qualitative interviews with selected managers, focus group interviews with selected employees and observation of participants in meetings. The study considers the genesis and evolution of the diploma programme in leadership on the background of a broad discourse analysis of policy reform in the Danish public sector from 2001-2011. Here the programme is perceived as an instrument offering theoretical and practical resources to reprogram professional managers and free them from their vocational humanistic training and loyalties, thereby enabling them to be more open to competition and market logics. The study suggests a targeted process of professionalization, contending that the diploma programme is intended to encourage current and future managers of institutions to accept responsibility for the implementation of governmental policies aimed at the modernisation of the public sector, while simultaneously accepting the challenge of engaging and motivating their staff to do the same (ibid; 29). This is especially relevant as the LDP studied is the same as that which is to be focused upon in the present study.

Contributing to the Existing Knowledge

The review of approaches suggests that a new dimension could be added to this area of research through the development of a detailed and focused study within the actualities of specific contexts- both educational and organisational- in order to understand situated practices of leadership development and their relationship to managerial work "in the wild." The demand for these kinds of situated studies is underlined by Kempster (2009b, p.47),"Similarly, there has been a call for a grounded, qualitative approach into processes of leadership and its development and effectiveness within a discrete context (Bryman & Bell, 2003; Bryman, Stephens, & Campo, 1996; Jay A. Conger, 1998; Lowe & Gardner, 2000; Parry, 1998)"

Review of the literature suggests that there is a dearth of qualitative studies into the potential influence – or indeed lack of influence –of leadership development on situated managerial work. In particular, it is difficult to find qualitative studies covering the entire process of formalised LDPs by spanning both the educational and organisational contexts, as is the aim of the present study. Closer qualitative study of these processes, then, can potentially contribute new insights into the eventual organisational influences of such programmes, what might constitute such influences, as well as enabling a greater understanding of how these may be brought about. From establishing this potential contribution, the following sections seek to engage with relevant literatures relevant to the specific areas into which the study is to explore.

The Middle Manager and Leadership

The tendency of offering leadership education to middle managers, can be regarded as reaching for a "low hanging fruit," (Bro et al., 2017) in terms of attempting to increase organisational effectiveness, particularly by seeking to improve motivation amongst staff in public service organisations (Rainey, 2014; Vandenabeele, 2014). This section will provide an overview of literature pertaining to the general understandings of the middle manager and how this position is impacted upon by the prevalent focus on leadership and the proliferation of leadership development.

The position of the middle manager at the centre of the organisational hierarchy results in contradictory forces guiding their work, from above and below, where they are "controlled and controllers, and resisted and resisters" (Harding, Lee, & Ford, 2014). As such, the manner in which they manoeuvre in this organisational space is important; suggesting the orientation of their work can be directed towards different ends. This has implications for how they approach organisational change initiatives: opposing them, supporting them or mediating between these two positions (Floyd & Wooldridge, 1997; Rouleau, 2005; Rouleau & Balogun, 2011), and therefore potentially influencing the eventual outcomes of these. This emphasises the

importance that the work of the middle manager can have and the importance of this in terms of leadership processes.

Alvesson & Svenningsson (2003) discusses the distinctions made between management and leadership. Their empirical study drawing on qualitative interviews surmises that the influence of leadership discourse results in the "extra-ordinisation" of mundane managerial work. *"We argue that what managers ('leaders') do may not be that special, but because they are managers doing 'leadership', fairly mundane acts may be given an extra- ordinary meaning, at least by the managers themselves.(ibid;1438)"* An implication is that such extra-ordination has positive and negative implications for understandings of status of managerial work and the identity of managers (Hay, 2014).

Kempster (2009) looks specifically at the role of leadership development in the schism between managers and leadership, using qualitative methods to gain insights into the lived experiences of participants in situated educational and organisational practices, while remaining sensitive to the fundamental differences in these. Here leadership development aims to provide "organisationally focused learning, oriented towards and aligned with corporate strategy" (Burgoyne, Williams, & Hirsh, 2004; Fulmer & Wagner, 1999) (ibid; 85), providing the opportunity for identity construction as one element of an experiential complex , where "leadership learning can be seen as a continual process of 'becoming.'" (ibid; 181)

Ford and Harding (2007) address the phenomenon from a critical management studies position, where the provision of leadership development for middle managers is perceived as an instrument for direct regulations of identity, which *"encourage individuals to open themselves up to new forms of the self, but forms of the self limited within boundaries that conform to those required by the*

organization"(ibid;484). This suggests a more invasive and malevolent dimension to the prevalence of LDPs.

Reconsidering the Manager in the Danish Public Sector

In recent decades, developments in the Danish public sector have been guided by broader change and reform processes in line with principles of New Public Management and geared towards increased modernisation, professionalization and quality control, (Borgnakke, 2013, p. 106; Regeringen, 2007) ultimately seeking to optimise performance and efficiency. While the normative implications of these targeted processes have had definite influences on discursive practices within the public sector, the influence on social practices and the actual work being done remains more uncertain.

Empirical studies conducted within this period suggest a gradual shift in the role and understanding of management within the Danish public sector. This can be described as giving rise to the historical transformation of the concept of management and the manager: evolving from that of a figure concerned with administrative control, to include the exercise of effective rational control, and more qualified organisational planning, before progressing into its current manifestation – as that of a professional manager incorporating each of these aspects (Rennison, 2010). This inherently involves a distancing to previous vocational values and loyalties, *"The leader must step out of the specific profession - out of the professional uniform and into that of professional management where a manager has multiple disciplines and multiple positions"(*ibid; 270).

These changes in the public sector give rise to a shift in the priorities to which managers of institutions should orientate their work, from those of the occupational manager[8] focusing on the values of the given profession as the compass for management in providing supervision and advice to staff and monitoring standards

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[8] In Danish "faglig leder"

for their work (Voxted, 2016, p.41). Instead those of a professional manager capable of undertaking the kind of strategic management approach necessary to operate within the pervasive cross-pressures of New Public Management (Torfing, 2012) communicating central goals and targets to staff (Voxted, 2016, p.42) become central. Institutional managers are expected to be capable of acting while explicitly positioned within wider organisational structures and decision making processes. This demands an increasingly reflexive and evolving approach based on the establishment of a 'managerial space'(Pedersen, 2008) to balance organisational actualities and traditional vocational values with a greater understanding and engagement with the translation of municipal and governmental reforms (Jørgensen & Væksthus for Ledelse, 2009).

Professionalization or Re-professionalization?

The shifts developing in the expectations towards institutional managers echoes ideas of the genesis of the "hybrid manager"(Kragh Jespersen, 2005; Sehested, 2012) and hybrid professionalism, (Machin, 2018; Noordegraaf, 2007; 2015) when professional and managerial values come together. This hybrid manager should actively participate in the construction of their role and the manner in which they administer it, actively brokering between organisational strategy and institutional actualities and representing a fundamental change in the orientation of managerial work: from occupational professionalism to organisational professionalism (Elkjaer & Brandi, 2014; Evetts, 2003, 2013). Consideration of this as a process of *re-professionalisation* provides a sensitivity to the dynamics at play and an indication of how managerial work comes to be oriented differently.

This provides the background upon which the approach to studying the organisational influence of the diploma programme in leadership proceeds. The review of literature relating to leadership development and the organisational influence of this, as well as literature pertaining to the organisational conditions of the managers participating

within the specific programme to be studied, provides an informed basis for the development of a suitable approach. This takes the form of qualitative study of situated educational and organisational practices and the extent to which these inform one another, as well as the influence this has on the professional identities of the participants.

Chapter 3: The Empirical Context

The Managing of Day Care Institutions

The study focuses on the diploma programme in leadership offered at the Metropolitan University College, specifically following participants who are employed as managers of day-care institutions within the municipality of Copenhagen. Therefore, this chapter will provide background information on this empirical context and some of the central issues surrounding it. The implications of broader organisational changes in the municipality and in the day care sector in general have significant implications for the conditions under which managers of day-care institutions are expected to work, and the required competences associated with these changing demands. An overview of these changing conditions will be provided below.

In 2015, the Danish government initiated a management commission[9] a think-tank directed towards supporting and improving the quality of management in the public sector. This focused specific attention on management of the day-care sector, which resulted in the production of special report produced by the Danish Evaluation Institute (EVA) and informed by a group of prominent researchers within the field (Danmarks Evalueringsinstitut et al., 2017). This provides an informative summary of the managerial conditions in the sector and how these had developed over the previous decades. It focuses specifically on tendencies in management of the day care sector, as well as reviewing empirical research undertaken within the field, examining links between state initiatives and management at the municipal and local levels.

In explaining the growth in regulation and control of this area, the report points towards the influence of findings from research in developmental psychology that

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[9] In Danish: "Ledelseskommision" https://www.ledelseskom.dk/

underlines the importance of the first years of life for children's capacity to learn later in life. The socio-economic implications of the "Heckman curve" (see figure 1) which contends that investment in educational programmes targeted towards the early years of life are most profitable in terms of increasing human capital are also described as being influential.

Figure 1: The Heckman Curve:

Source: James Heckman, Nobel Laureate in Economics
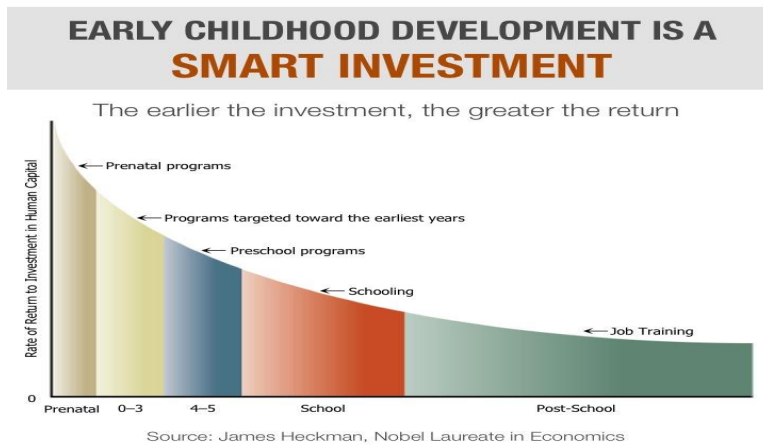
https://heckmanequation.org/assets/2014/04/The20Heckman20Curve_v2.jpg

The report suggests that, to a certain extent, the day-care sector slipped under the radar of the earliest wave of documentation demands and regulation typical under New Public Management, until these parameters for potential economic growth were identified. Therefore, the sector and managers within it are perceived to struggle with a relatively "young language" (ibid; 14) for control and regulation technologies. This could also be explained by the fact that day-care has traditionally been offered on a voluntary basis, as opposed to the obligatory status of elementary school (ibid; 15), making it a less prominent area of attention.

In 2007, this political attention was manifested in specific legislation[10] for the day care sector, introducing increased demands for documentation, regulation and control, where work with children in 0-6 year age range was to be directed more towards achieving measurable advances in their learning. In 2012, a task force within the ministry of education issued specific recommendations for how management and administration of this kind of work in the day-care sector should proceed, focusing on four "benchmarks." These pointed towards the importance of a systematic and reflexive approach to pedagogical practice, a strong evaluation culture, effective cooperations with parents and professional leadership at all levels (Task Force om Fremtidens Dagtilbud, 2012, p. 6). The increasing regulation and control of the day-care sector can therefore be seen to change demands facing middle managers and the expectations of their work.

> *"It is a managerial task to navigate in the governance context with a view towards the pedagogical, professional discipline and its perception of practice and enter equally into dialogue with the pedagogical staff and area-management and central administration to create coherence and meaning.[own translation]*(Danmarks Evalueringsinstitut, 2017, p.21)

The report concludes that managers of day-care institutions anno 2017 must be better equipped and capable of working analytically with data produced through control and documentation processes to target their managerial work towards improving the quality of local service by analyzing the available data and setting appropriate goals on the basis of this analysis.

> *"It requires, in other words, that there is a sensitivity for regulation. Here, regulation is meant as acting from a fundamental knowledge of de-central organizational and pedagogical conditions and designing these to*

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[10] The Danish name for this specific legislation was "Dagtilbudsloven"- the Day-Care Law.

> *connect meaningfully with the national, municipal and local pedagogical*
> *goals and ambitions."* (Danmarks Evalueringsinstitut et al., 2017, p.21)
> *(Own translation)*

This indicates that the profile and competences expected of the managers day-care institutions has changed markedly in recent years, and an accelerated rate more recently due to increasing demands for regulation, evaluation and control.

From Primus Inter Pares to?

Managers of day care institutions have traditionally been selected on a basis of primus inter pares, where the most competent pedagogues would progress into the realms of management (Kjølseth Møller, 2009, p.118). This mirrors the wider tendencies seen in the Danish public sector described previously. Traditionally, the managers' vocational competence provided the legitimacy for their authority and position (Sehested, 2012, p.65), whereas formal managerial and leadership qualifications are now increasingly demanded. Krejsler (2014, p.116) reflects this characterization of the changing demands in empirical findings, concluding:

> *"In this more hierarchical management structure, it will be important*
> *that the manager of the local institution is able to deal with the cross*
> *pressures between loyalty downwards into the institution in the role of the*
> *professional pedagogue and in the role as the official link upwards*
> *towards the central administration. [own translation]"*

Based on the results of an extensive survey study, Klausen and Nielsen (2012) contends that a corresponding shift in the collective understanding of professional identity held by institutional managers can be detected. These results suggest that institutional managers increasingly prioritise loyalty to their superiors in the municipality and relationships in their managerial network, rather than to traditional vocational values and relationships with staff. This can explain the "identity

dilemmas" experienced by managers in the Danish public sector, particularly troublesome for managers in smaller institutions with a narrow span of control, who typically identify more with the work and heritage of their occupational professionalism in pedagogy than with strategic managerial work (Ladegaard Bro, 2016, p.160).

Understanding Management Space

Within the policy document (Regeringen 2007) shaping the wider reforms of management in the Danish public sector, and thereby paving the way for the diploma programme in leadership, the idea of "management space"[11] is prevalent. This is presented as being central to improving the quality and performance of managers in the public sector, and key to increasing efficiency. Here it is articulated in terms of ensuring that institutional managers have sufficient authority and freedom to manage without being excessively restricted by municipal and trade union regulations (ibid; 86). This representation of management space is continued in advisory documents and guidelines produced for managers by the "Hothouse for Management"[12] a partnership between Danish trade Unions and public sector employees. Its codex for good public management(Rank Petersen and Væksthus for Ledelse 2008, p.8) lists 11 points with which public managers should align themselves, with point 2 reading: *"I am conscious of my management space, and the political context of which I am a part."* This is developed further, detailing how this involves acting in accordance to political and administrative decisions, challenging and exploring one's own managerial action space, perceiving oneself as part of the smaller and wider community in relation to managerial tasks and ensuring balance between one's managerial action space and the possible action space of staff (ibid;11).

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[11] In Danish "Ledelserum"
[12] In Danish: (Væksthus for ledelse)

A subsequent document produced by the Hothouse for Management is entitled "Management Space - Exploit and Expand Your Possible Actions" (Jørgensen and Væksthus for Ledelse 2009). This defines management space succinctly as "the possible actions a manager has in the job." The document builds on interview data from institutional managers, reflecting on their understandings of management space and aims to establish a platform for general discussion of the concept amongst managers and their superiors at the municipal level. Here, management space is represented as not just something you have, but something you take (ibid; 13), emphasising the importance of the managers' judgement, initiative and capacity to manoeuvre between formal municipal demands and organisational actualities. "*Many executives call for more enterprising or even "disobedient" managers. That is to say managers that do not just follow orders, but explore new possibilities on the edge of the familiar – maybe even on the edge of their formal mandate* (ibid; 15)."

Empirically then, management space manifests as something which individual managers should explore and for which they should stake a claim. This is presented as occurring on the boundaries between pre-defined managerial tasks and responsibilities and improvised and innovative actions, which blur the lines between which managerial actions that are organisationally prescribed and those that are appropriate in the local institution.

Day Care Institutions in the Municipality of Copenhagen

As will be explained in the methodology section, the decision was made to undertake the ethnographic research within the day-care sector. This was primarily based on the conviction that, in order to situate the ethnographic research into organisational practices in the most productive manner, the selection of a shared organisational basis would be most appropriate. This would be particularly meaningful when the implications of common legislation and regulation issued at policy level were to be

considered, while simultaneously allowing the events unfolding within the organisations to be legitimately compared and contrasted.

The implementation of "cluster" reforms, involving the restructuring of the pre-school day-care sector around Copenhagen, and the fact that it was relatively common for leaders of these institutions to participate in the programme at the MUC, guided the selection of the Day-care sector as this common institutional context. The implications of the cluster reforms are ubiquitous throughout the field studies, and some details of the reforms should therefore be considered.

The Cluster reform

> *"Historically, the day-care manager has referred directly to the leader of the central administration. However, since the early 2000's, the organisation of the day-care area in the municipalities has changed. The management structure has been changed to typically include two decentralized management teams, which are often referred to as district or cluster managers and educational managers at the institutional level. The educational manager formally manages the day-care services and interests by building bridges to the educational staff, the children and parents and the managerial and political levels* (Dahler-Larsen, 2008 cited in Danmarks Evalueringsinstitut, 2017). (Own translation)

In 2010, due to increasing child numbers in Copenhagen and strict nation-wide limitations upon the funding of municipalities, the Department for Child and Youth Administration in the municipality of Copenhagen was faced with making financial cuts to the tune of 350 million kroner[13] in the following year. A reform of the organisational structure of municipal day-care institutions was introduced to partly

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[13] Information sourced from a newsletter originally published on the Municipality of Copenhagen website. Accessed at https://www.lfs.dk/5453 (19.112015)

offset this shortfall, with a similar restructuring having already taken place in other municipalities in Denmark.

By connecting individual institutions within a larger local community overseen by one central administrative leader the aim was thereby to make this administrative management more centralised and effective.[14] The total targeted and predicted savings of the reform were 80 million Danish Kroner over the course of three years. The following excerpt, taken from an official municipal newsletter to the public, provides insight into the framing of the reform and its implications:

> *"A cluster structure will ensure a better economic and administrative sustainability. The management task in institutions has changed considerably in recent years, from typically involving the management of personnel and management of educational professionality; it now includes complex administrative tasks, for example in relation to financial management, documentation requirements, etc. Through a cluster structure, the administrative management is gathered and professionalized in one place."*

The newsletter continues to explain how the reform also increases the size of the personnel group, distributed among individual institutions within the cluster, decreasing vulnerability of the institutions to sickness amongst staff members, and other eventual leaves of absence. The reform is - amongst other things - also presented as facilitating greater organisational flexibility, allowing for more creativity in the everyday pedagogical practices within and between day-care institutions. This rhetoric represents a marked attempt at framing the reform as promoting efficiency, innovation and organisational flexibility, rather than merely a cost cutting exercise.

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[14]Information sourced online: Ny institutionsstruktur. Hvidbog for klynger - Et overblik over snitflader, rammer og retningslinjer 1. udgave – april 2011 https://www.lfs.dk/files/3/62/hvidbog_klynger.pdf (accessed 18.12.2015)

A "White book"[15] issued by the municipality to coincide with the implementation of the reform, clearly delineated the responsibility areas designated to the new managerial positions, centralising chief strategic and decision-making responsibilities in the jurisdiction of the new cluster manager position. A succinct description of this cluster structure and the responsibilities assigned to the different roles is presented by the municipality of Copenhagen in a newsletter, following the completion of the first restructuring phase in 2014[16]:

> *"A Copenhagen cluster typically consists of two to seven day care institutions and clubs. To free up space for the educational work in each institution, each cluster has a cluster manager with overall responsibility for finance, personnel and education in the institutions. The educational manager, who represents the local management at each day care, can thus focus their energy on staff, the educational work with children, young people and cooperation with parents."*

The installation of a more hierarchical chain of command implicitly involves a loss of autonomy for the newly crowned "educational managers", with their decision-making capacities markedly curtailed.

In 2014, the comprehensive reform of the Danish primary and lower secondary public school system (Undervisningsministeriet 2014), lengthened the time-frame of the average school-day for children, with implications for the role and function of traditional after-school club institutions. As more children were to be in school for longer, the demand for after-school clubs[17] would decrease, resulting in the closure of smaller clubs. These were to be amalgamated into fewer, larger "free-time

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[15]In Danish: "Hvidbog for klynger"
http://www.a6b.kk.dk/Klynge_A6b/~/media/a6b/Klynge%20A6b/Dokumenter/hvidbog_for_klynger.ashx (accessed 03.01.15)
[16] Information sourced online: "Grundfortælling om klyngeledelse i Københavns kommune – januar 2014."
https://nemboern.kbhbarn.kk.dk/FrontEnd.aspx?id=922341
[17] In Danish:"Fritidshjem"

institutions" and "free time centres."[18] As these after-school clubs form part of the wider institutional system of the day-care sector, they were intrinsically linked within the same legislation[19] and budgetary pools as pre-school day-care institutions.

As a response to the changing demands within the wider sector, a second cluster reform was therefore proposed and completed in 2015, accommodating the reduced number of free-time institutions within a reorganization of the cluster structure into fewer, larger units. In effect this would involve halving the number of clusters – and thereby cluster managers - within the municipality of Copenhagen, from 74, to 40. This reform proposal by the Child and Youth Committee of Copenhagen was passed, signalling the beginning of an application and selection process for the cluster manager positions remaining after the reform. This involved a lengthy interview process, with all applicants being informed on the same day - 24th November 2015 - as to whether they were successful or not.

The atmosphere of instability and insecurity arising from these reforms provided the backdrop for the initial stages of my fieldwork and observations during the final module of the diploma programme. The consequences of these reforms were particularly striking for cluster managers and employees working within after-school clubs, but a "knock-on" effect was also clearly discernible among the educational managers of the individual institutions and within the organisational practices observed during field work. A definite sense of increased competition for managerial positions was palpable during the field work, particularly in observations of the final module of the LDP.

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[18] From publically available minutes of meeting of the Child and Youth Administration discussing the future of the After-School and Club Facilities 20.05.2015. https://www.kk.dk/edoc-agenda/23761/513ac9c1-d057-4f22-877a-ac79a75c5931/2992d865-ac2f-492b-9db2-6355425e8bfe (Accessed 18.12.15)
[19] See: Consolidation Act on Day-Care, After-School and Club Facilities, etc. for Children and Young People (Day-Care Facilities Act) http://eng.uvm.dk/~/media/UVM/Filer/Udd/Dagtilbud/PDF15/150826_consolidation-act-on-day-care-after-school-and-club-facilities-etc-for-children-and-young-people-day-care-facilities-act.pdf Accessed 18.12.15)

Chapter 4: The Diploma Programme in Leadership

The Diploma programme in Leadership is accessible at various institutions across Denmark, offering a Bachelor level qualification. As such, institutions offering the programme must be approved and certified by the Ministry of Science, Innovation and Higher Education, and adhere to a collective structure and approach.[20] This legislation defines the purpose of the programme as such:

> *"The purpose of the diploma programme in leadership is to qualify current and future leaders to be capable of independently performing tasks requiring management and organisational skills, in private, public and voluntary companies and organisations. This includes the leadership and management of inter-professional collaborations and the independent development of their managerial practices. The graduate will be equipped to analyse, evaluate and apply elements inherent to the process of leadership on a strategic, tactical and operational level, in a reflective and actionable manner."* (Academic Regulations[21] 2015, 5)

The diploma programme is formed by a set of ten modules, varying in structure and form. In total the education comprises 60 ECTS points, and represents the equivalent of one year's full time study. As the programme is primarily aimed at participants already in full-time employment, the workload can be spread over a number of years, but must be concluded within 6 years of the starting date (ibid;6). The initial nine modules provide 5 ECTS points each, with 500-600 pages of designated curriculum for each module. The final module representing a longer and more detailed project is assigned 15 ECTS points. This final project should be based on a synthesis of the

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[20] The Academic regulations were sourced online:
http://diplom.ucdk.dk/images/Studieordning_for_Diplomuddannelsen_i_ledelse_okt__2015.compressed.pdf
(Accessed 09.12.15)
[21] In Danish: Studieordning

learning outcomes achieved from the previous modules completed by the student, representing a conclusion of their studies (Academic Regulations 2015, p.7). Seven of these modules are foundational and obligatory, with the individual student able to select a further three offered within the wider programme, based on their own interest. The obligatory modules are:

1: Personal leadership 1: Leadership and Communication

2: Personal leadership 2: Professional leadership

3: Management and employees 1: Management in dynamic relations

4: Management and employees 2: Management in learning and competence relations

5: Management and organisations 1: Organisation and processes

The programme has a practical emphasis; each module concluding with a spoken or written exam in which the participant must identify a specific organisational issue or managerial challenge with which they should engage the themes and content covered. This represents a deliberate design and pedagogical approach, drawing on the action research tradition and intending to connect participants' activities in the organisational and educational contexts, increasing their capacity to act.

An obligatory element of the final project is that the participants must produce their own empirical material from within the organisation, providing the basis for an analysis drawing upon a synthesis of the learning outcomes achieved from the previous modules completed by the student - representing a conclusion of their studies (Academic Regulations 2015, p.7).

> *"The fundamental premise is that the course of the education should facilitate reflection over actions, behaviour and decisions, with the*

purpose of affecting the participants' personal managerial practice. The education must therefore be based upon the participants using their own organization as a developmental laboratory for behaviour, actions and decisions during the course of the education." (Academic Regulations, 2014)

Negotiating the provision of the diploma in leadership for the municipality of Copenhagen

In an attempt to ensure greater organisational coherence[22] the municipality of Copenhagen opted in 2014 to change the previous system of sending employees to multiple institutions offering the diploma programme, preferring instead to use a single provider – inviting offers from educational institutions interested in providing this service. The Metropolitan University College (henceforth MUC) was the successful applicant, driven by the Institute for Management and Administration,[23] chosen by the municipality of Copenhagen to be the sole supplier of the diploma programme in leadership for the following three years.

Tailoring the LDP

As part of the tendering process for the provision of the diploma programme in the municipality of Copenhagen, there was a detailed negotiation between the MUC and the municipality. The specificities of the agreement between the municipality of Copenhagen and MUC can be considered through closer consideration of the negotiations made between them. These negotiations are recorded in a dialogical document[24] developed during the tendering process in which municipal demands for

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[22] Sourced online http://www.phmetropol.dk/Om+Metropol/Nyheder+og+Presse/Nyheder/2014/08/samarbejde+med+Koebenhavns+Kommune (accessed 02.01.2016)

[23] In Danish: Institut for Ledelse og Forvaltning

[24] A copy of this document, dated 05.05.14 was made available by MUC. Therefore the implications of these negotiations would have limited impact on the participants followed in the present study. Nevertheless, they provide a formalisation of existing expectancies towards the education and provide an indication of the increasing municipal coordination of the LDP.

the content and structure of the LDP are responded to by the Metropolitan University College.

This makes the textual negotiation between the municipality and the educational institution visible, and reveals specific demands put in place and how these were to be satisfied by MUC. Besides clarifying budgetary and logistical issues, there are also concrete negotiations concerning the pedagogical structuring of the programme and the content to be included within it. The document reveals that the municipality prioritized an "eclectic approach" to be taken to managerial theory, to which the MUC responds that the Institute for Management Administration had shifted from a "constructionist foundation" to a more eclectic approach to management, where "there was no one single truth of good management." A presentation of different theoretical approaches is then made to illustrate how they are equipped to meet the demand for eclecticism. The MUC summarises as follows.

> *"The students gain knowledge in different approaches to the philosophy of science within the research traditions of the social sciences, and associate to different paradigms for understanding and acting managerially."*

Criteria for the specific pedagogical foundation for the LDP are also outlined by the municipality.

> *"It will be positively received if teaching is arranged so that it promotes the transition between organisation and teaching for each participant. It is therefore desired that teaching includes a before, during and after process cf. Robert Brinkerhoff."*

The Brinkerhoff 40-20-40 model, see (Brinkerhoff & Montesino, 1995), is drawn upon to emphasise the importance of focus on events and activities before, during and after instances of designed development activities, rather than solely on the

coordination of activities within the specific teaching or training sessions. This is intended to increase the degree of transfer of learning outcomes from the LDP into the organisation.

The MUC response to this emphasis on the practical application of the LDP, and ensure the relevance of the content and design of the LDP to the broader agenda of the municipality:

> *"The desired effect of the education is that the manager- both in their managerial team and together with all the staff- can manage both operations and development and ensure a positioning in alignment with the organizational goals and priorities in a simultaneously strategically goal-oriented and inclusive process with focus on professionalism and steady operations, as well as that these managerial competences can be used in the management of the future organisation as part of the municipality of Copenhagen."*

This underlines the cooperation between the municipality of Copenhagen and MUC in shaping the LDP, tailoring it specifically to the needs of the municipality.

Agenda of Trust

Conditions of the agreement between two parties were that the programme should promote engagement with specific municipal targets and initiatives, encouraging the managers to work with these within the education. Examples of these include a commitment to working towards reducing sickness absenteeism amongst staff, and engaging with the concept of "trust based management" which was central to the municipality of Copenhagen's wider reforms[25] for administration and regulation.

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[25] For a closer study of trust-based management and the implementation of it in the municipality of Copenhagen, see Tina Øllgård Bentzen's PhD project "Tillidsbaseret Styring og ledelse I offentlige organisationer – I springet fra ambition til praksis." (Øllgard Bentzen, 2015)

These reforms were proclaimed to build upon an "agenda of trust."[26] This focuses on reducing bureaucracy, documentation and direct control by assigning a greater degree of trust and responsibility to individual employees, with the goal of freeing resources and enabling staff to concentrate upon their core tasks, thereby providing a better service to citizens.[27] The fundamental principle guiding this approach builds on "a calculated risk based on the expectation of increased value."[28] This orientation towards trust based management could be traced discursively in later observations made within the LDP and the study of exam texts, suggesting that this had been faithfully implemented within the education.

The structure and orientation of the LDP towards practice emphasises the need to approach the study of it in a manner capable of focusing on the situated institutional conditions within which participants find themselves. It is necessary to investigate both the educational practices and the local institutional practices within which the participants navigate and the manner in which these are negotiated in local settings.

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[26]The "Trust Reform" in the municipality of Copenhagen is outlined here: "Tillidsreformen i social forvaltningen." Københavns Kommune: http://modernisering.nu/media/613852/tillidsreformen_i_socialforvaltningen.pdf (Accessed 05.01.15)
[27] Sourced online: https://medarbejder.kk.dk/artikel/mere-tid-til-borgerne (Accessed 17.05.16)
[28] In Danish: "En besluttet risiko mod forventet merværdi" (Thygesen & Kampmann, 2013)

Understanding Social Practices, Practitioners and Persons

Introduction

The overall aim of this theoretical chapter[29] is to develop a framework capable of supporting an investigation into the manner and extent to which the diploma programme in leadership influences managerial work in the organisational context-what is the organisational influence of the diploma programme in leadership? To do so, a social practice theory approach is developed, enabling municipal policy-making and implementation, the diploma programme in leadership and specific institutional contexts to be perceived as interconnected sets of social practices, populated by human and non-human entities moving iteratively between them and contributing to both their stability and transformation. To introduce the theoretical framework operationalised in this study, I will begin by providing an overview of the different perspectives selected and explain how they inform the general approach.

The introduction of a (de-facto) compulsory diploma programme in leadership for individual practitioners, underlines the perceived importance of managerial practices and the persons performing them – the practitioners. They are identified by the municipality of Copenhagen as being central to the efficiency of its wider organisational agenda. Therefore, in this study, the work of these managers and how they navigate different kinds of practices and their textual components is of primary interest. To capture this ongoing navigation, the theoretical approach will strive to maintain a bifocal perspective on practices and the person, emphasising the fundamental importance of the conditions within which people are situated.

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[29] Many thanks go to Theodore Schatzki for his reading of this theoretical chapter and the many helpful comments he provided on the text.

Therefore, the view taken is dialectical – that social practices shape and are shaped by persons.

This allows the LDP to be perceived as a constellation of practices informed by municipal policy and designed to equip institutional managers with a renewed understanding of their managerial tasks and general approach to their work. By focusing on middle managers as one of many entities connecting these sets of practices, the manner in which they are positioned between the cross pressures of increasingly stringent municipal reforms and the actualities and challenges of their own institution come to the fore in the observations and analysis undertaken. By taking departure at the level of practice, the theoretical approach draws attention to the manner in which the LDP offers opportunities for these managers to undertake a specific kind of *identity work* (Petriglieri, 2011; Sveningsson & Alvesson, 2003), encouraging a managerial approach characterised by striving to bridge local institutional conditions with the wider organisational agenda of the municipality of Copenhagen.

The term *professional identity* will be used at the consistent descriptor for the understanding of the different types of different identity work taking place across the social practices studied. Attention to the status of this *professional identity* is driven by the participants' introduction to the LDP, populated and performed by communities of practitioners in a shared situation, facing similar conditions and challenges. The LDP is seen to promote very particular means and ends for managerial practices, offering opportunities for formal and informal identifications within broader community of practitioners informed by a collective repertoire of shared stories, collective understandings, and formally sanctioned conceptual tools and resources – the curriculum of the LDP.

The manner in which participants utilise these opportunities and resources to bolster their professional identity and sense of purpose in approaching tasks in their managerial work is central to the study. Ultimately, this will allow the managerial figure emerging from the educational practices to be considered in relation to the actual managerial work taking place in organisational practices. How does the person, the managerial figure emerging from the educational practices of the LDP, relate to that which manifests in managerial practices within the local institution?

The chapter begins with reflections upon the broader reasons for the selection of a practice theory approach and consideration of its hitherto applications within organisation and management studies. Next, the understanding of practices as the "site of the social" (Schatzki, 2002) and the manner in which different practices can interconnect and influence one another, provides the opportunity to consider how organisational practices are both maintained and changed by the entities constituting and moving between them. In order to consider the eventual learning processes taking place among participants, concepts from theories of situated learning and communities of practice are then explored, offering insight into the situated activities of participants and their relations to one another within practices. To come closer to capturing a clearer understanding of the person within these webs of practices and practitioners, the work of Ole Dreier is introduced to gain a clearer conceptualisation of this shadowy figure. The theoretical alliance developed aims towards achieving a bifocal perspective capable of understanding persons participating in situated practices.

The aim is to establish a framework capable of facilitating a meaningful analysis while remaining sensitive to the complexity of the research questions; going beyond individual accounts and undertaking detailed study of specific activities and interactions, without surrendering to "micro isolationism" (Seidl & Whittington, 2014) and foregoing the opportunity to consider these in light of broader institutional

conditions and circumstances. The LDP and the institutions included in the study are to be understood as "sites of the social," comprising "bundles" of practices and material arrangements populated and performed by specific persons. This framework is to inform the understanding of how the participants in these practices approach their work through ongoing translations and negotiations, both among themselves and within the wider institutional and organisational frames seeking to coordinate their activities. In this manner, conjointly using concepts of site, community and person reflects an ontology that gives weight to both practices and people.

This is developed with an understanding founded in agential humanism(Schatzki, 2002, p.105) providing the opportunity to consider the person within this web of practices. How much room for manoeuvre do persons have in these practices? How does managerial discretion manifest – how is it informed, presented and enacted in the different sites? Exploring these questions can potentially provide insight into the how closely the managers' participation in practices of the LDP can be seen to interconnect with and influence their managerial work in institutional practices. The analysis will work towards enlightening the degree to which these different bundles of practices supplement or contradict one another – or perhaps even achieve both simultaneously. Essentially, the framework is to open for empirical exploration of this question by focusing on social practices, practitioners and the manner in which these inter-connect.

In this way, the individual participants in the LDP can be perceived as spanning boundaries between the different sites, with their iterative movement between them during the course of the LDP establishing lines of transmission between the wider municipal agenda, the educational practices of the LDP and local institutional actualities. The manner in which these lines of transmission manifest and unfold in-situ is the object of study. Aside from solely providing situated examples of how managerial understandings and activities are directly regulated through technologies

of control put in place by the municipality, this offers an approach capable of appreciating personalised lines of transmission between these practices and the communities populating them, thus avoiding a purely instrumental perception of these mechanisms of control. How do the managers negotiate and translate between the different settings? Here, the figure of the manager can be regarded as an agential entity, with its doings potentially encouraging or inhibiting the take-up of the stated ends of municipal practices within those of their local institution.

Understanding the person as a third element, a sentient and reflective practitioner operating between 1: prescribed rules and 2: the undertaking of actual situated actions, allows for a meaningful examination of their situated activities. From this perspective, the LDP can be regarded as an attempt to regulate by proxy, the provision of tools and resources sanctioned by the municipality and influencing managerial understandings and approaches, while avoiding causality traps and instrumentalism. How the managers negotiate these proxy practices, participating and investing in them and the extent to which this relates to their proceeding professional identity and approach can offer insight into the eventual organisational influence of the LDP.

Figure 2: Interconnected Educational and Organisational Practices.
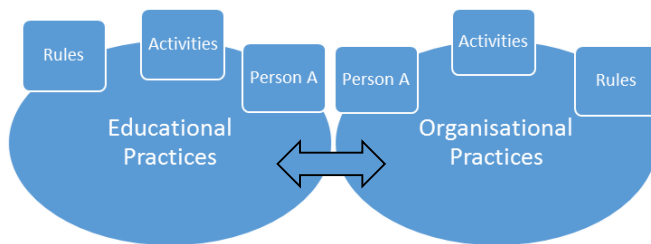
Why Practice Theory?

In order to achieve and maintain a bifocal perspective on both situated practices and participants, the adoption of a practice theory approach in this study represents an ontological choice (Nicolini 2012, p.13) to approaching social phenomena in a certain way. Focus is trained upon the primacy of practice in the production of meaning, and in the understanding of social activity and interaction (Buch, Andersen, and Klemsdal 2015).

Practice theorists are concerned with connecting the activities of people to the organization of social practices, representing the social context in which they proceed (Schatzki, 2017c). This can be understood as an approach guided by "a general theory of the production of social subjects through practice in the world and of the production of the world itself through practice" (Ortner, 2006, p.16). A view of the social world as constituted by practices and their participants is thus made possible, remaining open to the possibility of viewing the person as an agent of change, capable of instigating social transformation. This allows a dialectical understanding, with practices "constituting a point of connection between abstract structures and their mechanisms, and concrete events –between society and people living their lives" (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 2007, p.21).

A cursory introduction to the application of practice theories in organisation studies will be provided. The Schatzkian approach to understanding social practices will then be presented in more detail, before a similar exercise is performed with theories of situated learning, working towards an operationalisation of these positions within a cohesive approach.

Practice Theory in Organisation Studies: A Positioning

Practice and practice-based approaches have gained ground in contemporary organisation studies, with a swell of researchers (see for example,Carroll, Levy, and Richmond 2008; Geiger 2009; Nicolini, Gherardi, and Yanow 2003) providing appraisals and descriptions of its current and potential applications in this field. This reflects its relevance within a wider trend of "bringing work back in" (Barley and Kunda, 2001) by observing work in-situ.

Gherardi (2016) provides a thorough review of the development of practice approaches in organisation studies, emphasising the emergent split between theories of practice centred on human subjects and practice theories informed by sociology of translation and incorporating a more symmetrical, post-humanist understanding. This also points towards the special issue entitled 'Practice-Based Theorizing on Learning and Knowing in Organizations" from 2000 in the journal Organization as an early indication of this practice approach spreading into organisation studies, see, for example (Blackler, Crump, & McDonald, 2000; Gherardi, 2000; Yanow, 2000). This is characteristic in its inclusion of a variety of different theoretical approaches to studying organisational phenomenon, albeit framed within a broader understanding of practice. This underlines the fact that Practice theory should not be understood as a unified or "grand" theory, (Nicolini, 2012, p.9), constituted instead by a plethora of different authors writing from different traditions and theoretical positions. Rather, an appreciation of the varying positions and perspectives of which it is comprised is reflective of a more general "practice turn" (Schatzki et al, 2001) within the wider realm of social sciences.

Schmidt (2018) picks up on this fragmentation in his thorough[30] critique of the application and influence of such practice theory approaches in organisation studies. This offers a damning appraisal of practice theory as merely offering "metaphysical stipulations"(ibid;5) and concludes that the approach has inflicted "collateral damage" to organisation and work studies, by causing discursive confusion about how the term *practice* is to be used and understood.

A key element of Schmidt's critique of practice theories and theorists is the vagueness of definitions of what a practice is and how these may be recognised empirically. Schmidt bemoans the tendency of practice theories to strive towards the development of an all-encompassing theory of social life, rather than directing it towards specific empirical studies.

> *"The mystery that torments 'practice theory' arises from its trying to explain normative regularity in general, in isolation from the specific practices of which expressions of rules and rule-following are constitutive." (ibid;25)*

The need for such an empirical footing is recognised, and is indeed central to the approach to practice theory taken within the present study. Here practice theory will be used as the point of departure for investigating and understanding the goings on in and across specifically situated practices and the activities of the people populating them. Practice theory is to be operationalised as the means to this end.

Operationalising a Theoretical Framework

This primary focus on situated activities allows the present study to consider the participation and actions of practitioners within broader, interconnected social practices, while striving to avoid a structure/agency dichotomy. The "tool-kit"

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[30] Schmidt(2018) provides an impressive and convincing critique of practice theories and the work of Giddens, Bourdieu, Schatzki and Nicolini in particular. However, it is worth noting that, while Schmidt's text is published in 2018, the critique makes no references to Schatzki's work after 2001. This discounts key texts and important developments in his theorising that may have enabled a contemporaneous and complete critique.

approach to applying practice theories advocated by Nicolini,(2012, 213) offers the opportunity to develop a generative theoretical framework by deliberately switching between theoretical sensitivities within the wider practice theory family of research traditions. This enables "zooming in" on analysis of situated practices, and "zooming out" to consider connections within and between them (Nicolini, 2017a, p.195, 2017b; Nicolini, 2012, 213).

The framework developed for this study follows such a generative approach, with practice theory as the ground-tone, building on a Schatzkian understanding of practices as the "site of the social" (Schatzki, 2002). This is augmented with concepts from social theories of learning (Dreier, 2003; 2009a; Hager & Hodkinson, 2011; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998), focusing on relations and identities within and across social practices. This framework strives to zoom in and out and accommodate a dialectical understanding of the relationship between practices and participants. Within the present study, this allows detailed investigation of how organisational and educational practices provide resources for the developing professional identities of participants in the programme, and how practices within these settings are negotiated by the actors situated within them. This offers an inclusive alternative to a more typical "training transfer" approach, see (Burke & Hutchins, 2007; Gilpin-Jackson & Bushe, 2007; Wahlgren & Aarkrog, 2012).

Additionally, such an operationalisation offers the potential to enlighten blind spots within practice theory and theories of situated learning, by specifically addressing the deliberate bracketing of the person within these positions, allowing the status and constitution of the person in social practices to be considered. Simultaneously it becomes conceivable to open theories of situated learning up to the consideration of wider societal conditions within which they are positioned, which have hitherto been neglected (Contu & Wilmott, 2003; Handley et al., 2006; Huzzard, 2004).

By encouraging a dialogue between these two positions, the framework developed seeks to offer a contribution to the theoretical field. This takes the application of Schatzkian practice theory within leadership and management studies in a different direction than that suggested by Kemmis et al (Kemmis, 2008; Wilkinson J & Kemmis S, 2014), where the focus is on how *ecologies of practice* and *practice architectures* hang together and shape the characteristics of particular practices. While this approach is interesting and promising, the present study wishes to secure a closer focus on the persons situated within the studied practices.

Pinning Down Practices, Practitioners and Persons

Achieving a precise operationalisation of the concept of practice is both challenging and necessary, with this term used in various ways, both implicitly and explicitly, within various theoretical approaches. A general understanding of practices as "normatively regulated, contingent activities" (Schmidt 2014) offers a succinct and informative point of departure, emphasising the coordinated and cohesive understanding of activities involved in the undertaking of a practice.

Moving further into the realms of practice theory, practices can be broadly defined as historically and geographically recurring, localized occurrences (Nicolini 2012, p.10), consisting of routinized types of behaviour - the configurations of actions which carry a specific meaning within the given context (Reckwitz 2002, p.249). While Reckwitz emphasises the importance of routines, the person remains salient as a carrier of practices who 'carries' but also 'carries out' these social practices (ibid. 256). This suggests that practices are not merely to be understood as repetitive routines, and recovers the role of people within them, ultimately capable of reproducing or transforming them. The insertion of the person in the position[31] between the rules and

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[31] This potentially opens up for the distinction made by Latour (1984) and applied by Feldman (Feldman, 2004), where the ostensive and performative understandings of routines and practices can be operationalised, to emphasise the study of how these are actually accomplished in specific, observable situations.

activities of practices is an important distinction, which will be explored in more detail later.

The importance of the collective social nature of practices and an understanding of the person as being a constituent of the activities undertaken together with other participants is emphasised in Runciman's definition of practices. This describes practices as "functionally defined units of reciprocal action informed by the mutually recognized intentions and beliefs of designated persons about the [respective power they possess] by virtue of their roles, " (Runciman 1989, p.41; cited in Schatzki 2002, p.235). This provides further emphasis on the important relation between practices and their participants, with the introduction of roles providing an interesting dimension in terms of organisational studies.

A practice theory approach prioritises the exploration and analysis of particular forms of activity by stringently focusing upon localised understandings, sayings and doings, and on situated knowing and learning. This kind of analysis accepts that these practices are in flux, being both stabilised and transformed by participants, a capacity that is beneficial for the study at hand, which looks specifically into interventions designed to guide and revise managerial practices. This is useful when combined with an understanding of the LDP as a municipal intervention into managerial practices, obliging the managers to design and undertake interventions within their institutions. This remains consistent with a frame for analysing the practices taking place more generally in their daily managerial work, where the doings and sayings of people within social practices become central to the study.

An understanding of practices as offering a frame for the interactions that comprise them is developed in Schatzki's social practice theory (Schatzki, 2002). Schatzki describes practices as organized activities, and provides the central definition of how practices are to be understood within the present study:

> "*A practice is an open manifold of doings and sayings organized by rules,
> practical and general understandings, and prescribed or acceptable ends,
> projects, tasks, and emotions*"(Schatzki, 2017a).

These practices are to be understood as a "nexus of sayings and doings" (Schatzki
1996; Reckwitz 2002), performed by participants and are thus observable to others,
becoming potential objects of study. In scrutinising episodes of a particular practice,
it is possible to scrutinise the practice itself(Schatzki, 2005, p.468) This emphasises
the importance of observing practices, in order to gain insight into how they are
organised and how these factors can shape the manner in which they are performed.[32]
For the present study, educational practices and managerial practices are brought to
the forefront.

Schatzki's Social Practice Theory

The particular point of departure chosen within this broad theoretical field (Gherardi
2015) then, is closest to that of social practice theory (Schatzki 2002; Reckwitz
2002; Brown and Duguid 2001). Compared to post-humanist positions- focusing on
symmetry between humans and non-humans (see Feldman and Orlikowski 2011) -
this position affords primacy to humans. This is important and advantageous in the
present study, as the LDP specifically targets individual managers.

Schatzki describes his position as emphasising "agential humanism"(Schatzki, 2002,
p.xv). This acknowledges the importance of non-human entities but trains focus on
the activities of humans in using these, and the manner in which they bring them into
play within practices, thereby potentially reinvigorating an understanding of human
agency. This agency is not restricted to an understanding of intentional human action
but a broader form of "doing." This is no attempt to deny that non-human entities can

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[32] The importance of tailoring a methodological approach appropriate to the tenets of practice theory is central in its
application in empirical studies. "Accomplishing this task involves identifying manifolds of action, viz, those that
compose practices, that differ from those typically studied in social science, for example those composing
interactions, routines, or coordinated actions or those associated with roles, positions, subsystems, and other
functionally defined units. "(Schatzki , 2005,478)

have agency (can do things), but that the meaning of these doings will depend on human understandings of them, as these intrinsically lack the very capacity to understand. "Objects, if you will, make a contribution, but the nature of that contribution depends on us" (Schatzki, 2002, p. 117)."[33]

This foregrounds the "doings and sayings" of participants in the study, while closely considering the manner in which their activities within practices shape and are shaped by non-human entities capable of communicating rules and offering coordinates for legitimate and appropriate actions within practices. What do practitioners do in these conditions? How do they respond? Examples of these non-human entities could be the formal regulations and examinations of the LDP and other practice artefacts, such as legislation and different forms of documentation. In order to develop this theoretical framework meaningfully, it is necessary to map some of Schatzki's central concepts and articulate how they are to be understood and applied within the present study. While Schatzki is reluctant to be drawn on methodological and empirical issues of studying social practices, his theory offers conceptual handles with which to grasp the inherent complexity of them, focusing on how they are organised, how they interconnect and represent the 'site of the social' within which people and things achieve identity and meaning (Schatzki, 2002, p.38). This affords researchers a licence to adapt and apply his theoretical models, but also assigns them with responsibility for ensuring consistency and coherence in the application.

Plenum of Practices

Before focusing more closely on specificities of Schatzki's concepts, it is fitting to first provide an idea of the scale and contours of his theoretical landscape, and how it is to be utilised in the present study. Adopting Schatzki's social practice theory as an ontological point of departure means subscribing to a flat ontology, perceiving the

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[33] There are of course, exceptions to this, for example causal effects of physical objects in the environment which are often independent of human understandings, such as natural disasters and geographical changes.

basis and arena for all conceivable social life as the "plenum of practices"(Schatzki, 2016). This plenum is made up of practices which are related to material arrangements, forming practice-arrangement "bundles" (Schatzki, 2017c, p.133), with these bundles interconnecting to form wider constellations and constituting the overarching plenum. These practice-arrangement bundles merge together, forging social order and disorder in an emergent fashion (Schatzki, 2002, p.38) from the site where they take place. This idea of the "site" is useful, with Schatzki offering an understanding of organisations as "site ontologies," where social life is tied to the context from which it emerges(Schatzki, 2005), this will be considered in more detail later. The theoretical affordance of perceiving emergent order and disorder within and across interconnected settings is particularly useful for the multi-sited nature of the present study.

Identifying Practices and the 'Criteria of Sameness'

Due to the complexity and interconnectedness of this nexus of practices, the delineation of what constitutes a practice becomes an analytical exercise, requiring careful identification of the object of study. This is a central and important element of Schmidt's (2018) critique of practice theories: that the empirical demarcation of situated practice is too vague and based on an underlying presumption that such a demarcation is unproblematic, or even possible! Schmidt points out that, while activities are observable, practices are not, making it problematic for the analyst to definitively attribute observed activities as constitutive of a particular practice. Schmidt contends that, in order to do so, the analyst must follow the same "criteria of sameness" as practitioners would, where there was evidence to be found that shared

underlying sets of rules, norms and conventions were being followed (ibid;13).[34] Schmidt asks how we can recognise activities as an instance of a practice.

Schatzki (Schatzki, 1996, p. 101) suggests one approach to identifying practices, drawing attention to how activities are organised.

> *'Evidence for a practice's organization is thus found in the presence and absence of corrective, remonstrative, and punishing behaviors and in the verbal and nonverbal injunctions, encouragements, and instructions whereby neophytes are brought into line'*

Therefore, to study and identify practices, it is necessary to establish that the observed activities are organised in a coherent manner and working towards shared ends. By striving to gain an understanding of these activities that is on a footing with that of the practitioners carrying them out, the observer and analyst can make a qualified recognition of particular activities as instances of practice. Likewise, the presence of corrective interjections and the manner in which these are received can provide observable indications of organisation and the recalibration of it.

Schatzki suggests that there is room for the analyst to undertake "interest relative"(Schatzki, 2002, p. 102) demarcations of practice –arrangements, as long as the heuristic nature of such analytical demarcations are acknowledged. An image of the analyst making qualified "slices" (Schatzki, 2017b, p.41) within the plenum provides a useful analogy for how this is to be perceived.

In the course of this study, this approach will be used as inspiration to zoom-in on specific instances of educational and managerial practices allowing closer analysis of

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[34] Here Schmidt uses the practice of playing chess as an illustrative example of such underlying understandings. "That is, we would say that the observed activity is an instance of the practice of playing chess if there is evidence that actors are committed to a set of rules, conventions, norms, etc. and have all the air of those who know what they are doing and why. And we would do so, and would be entitled to do so, because those are the same criteria the players themselves would be employing as they recognize moves as legitimate, interesting, fateful, etc. and the very same criteria one of the players might apply by saying, for example, 'Stop fooling around! We're playing chess, right?' (Schmidt, 2018, 13)

the manner in which they are organised, how they interconnect with others and how they unfold. Particularly, the manner in which educational practices are designed to influence managerial practices within local institutional settings is something that will be considered in more detail later, investigating how these practices interconnect, shape and are shaped by one another.

Practices

At this point, it is fitting to elaborate on Schatzki's definition of practice, and how this is to be applied within the present study. Schatzki defines practices thus:

> *"As indicated, practices are organized nexuses of actions. This means that the doings and sayings composing them hang together. More specifically, the doings and sayings that compose a given practice are linked through (1) practical understandings, (2) rules, (3) a teleoaffective structure and (4) general understandings. Together the understandings, rules and teleoaffective structure that link the doings and sayings of a practice form its organization."(Schatzki, 2002,* p.77)

This array of understandings, rules, projects, means and ends facilitates the organisation of a practice. This organisation can be described as a normativised array of mental states[35], where these mental states are features of the practice, rather than the participants(Schatzki, 2005, p.481). Practices are to be understood as dynamic and open-ended (Schatzki, 2012, p.14), emphasising their capacity to change and transform. These practice organisations are teleological, normative and affectual structures informing the ends, norms and emotions of the humans brought up within them (Schatzki, 2017c, p.130). In order to appreciate how practices are organised by these different factors, it is helpful to consider the factors in more detail.

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[35] This understanding of mental states offers an important distinction between practices and participants "They are features of the practice, expressed in the open-ended totality of actions that compose the practice. They thus constitute a sort of *objective mind*. A practice's objective mind is distinct from the mind of any participant and also from the sum thereof." (Schatzki , 2005, 481)

Practical and general understandings: The idea of practical understandings is similar to Bourdieu's "practical sense" (Bourdieu, 1990) and Giddens' "practical consciousness"(Giddens, 1984) in that they inform doings and sayings in order to achieve desired activities (Schatzki, 2012, p.16). However Schatzki deems his idea of practical understandings to be less determining and prescriptive than these two concepts – by emphasising that these open up for possible actions rather than the limiting them (Schatzki, 2002, p.79). Practical understanding is therefore not, by itself, responsible for all actions - as habitus is in Bourdieu- or for routine actions, as practical consciousness is for Giddens. General understandings are described as more abstract, general senses of value, worth and order (Schatzki, 2012, p.16) which inform and are expressed through people's activities.

Rules: Are to be understood as *"..formulations interjected into social life for the purpose of orienting and determining the course of activity, typically by those with the authority to enforce them."* (Schatzki, 2002, p. 80) In this manner, official guidelines, instructions or regulations are explicit formulations organising the manner in which saying and doings should proceed appropriately and correctly. This organising aspect of practices is particularly interesting in the current study, allowing legislation and regulatory guidelines shaping the LDP – and thereby also the potential legitimacy of managerial practices - to enter analysis, underlining the manner in which bundles of practices can interconnect and influence one another from a distance.

Teleoaffective structures: These are a property of practice guiding the actions of participants, described as a "*set of teleological hierarchies (end-project-activity combinations) that are enjoined or acceptable in a given practice,"*(Schatzki, 2012, p. 16) which participants may, or should, pursue. Again, this offers opportunities to consider how and why more or less prescribed norms shape, and are shaped by, practices. It should be emphasised that teleological structures are the property of a

practice, expressed in the doings and sayings comprising it, and taken up in different ways in the minds of participants (ibid;80). The prescription of particular norms through the educational practices of the LDP can therefore potentially be compared with those which manifest in local managerial practice. How are the teleological structures of educational practices taken up-do they shape the managerial practices of participants? If so, how? As practice artefacts, the exam papers produced by the participants potentially offer traces of how these teleoaffective structures are taken up, and the manner in which they may travel beyond educational practices.

These organising principles offer a way of grasping how the observed educational practices can be understood, offering a vocabulary to loosen up the complexity of ongoing action and interaction.[36] Likewise, the same approach can be applied to observations of managerial practice within local institutional settings. How can these practices be seen to be organised in light of terms introduced by Schatzki? In this respect, the educational practices could ultimately be regarded as an attempt to instigate a reorganisation of managerial practices, in order to make them more aligned to the wishes and demands of central administration. The key question would then be, how are these changing practices taken up by participants? How closely are educational and managerial practices related?

Practice – Arrangements
Schatzki maintains that practices should not be understood or perceived independently of the material conditions within which they take place, or the tools of which they make use. The term "arrangements" addresses the material entities to which people react and/or manipulate (Schatzki, 2012, p.16) in the undertaking of any given practice. Arrangements therefore focus on the manner in which entities –

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[36] The manner in which these factors organise practices can be observable, and develop analysis: " To say that educational actions are organized by these matters is to say that they express the same understandings, observe, contravene, or ignore the same rules, and pursue ends and projects included in the same structure of acceptable and enjoined teleologies." (Schatzki 2005,472)

such as people, artefacts and things, hang together[37]. The meaning[38] of these entities is derived from their role and position within the practice-arrangement bundle (ibid; 38). By including the consideration of material objects and things, Schatzki highlights the need to extend the symbolic interactionist definition of social relations as interactions between particular human beings, as there is more to be considered. Namely, the connections between all of the different components within practice-arrangement bundles and not just direct links between humans (ibid; 41): how do other components influence the order, how do they shape activities of the humans and how are they used by humans to shape activities? This allows for other elements to be considered within everyday interactions between people, and more specifically opening up for the consideration of the various forms of texts, official documents, theoretical tools and models which play a part in both the educational and managerial practices of the present study.

Practice-Arrangements as changing and becoming

In understanding how practice-arrangements change, Schatzki sees similarities in his understanding of arrangements, to the "assemblages of entities" described by Deleuze and Guattari (1987), in that both involve perpetual movement and activity. Schatzki, however, emphasises that this constant doing is not exclusively directed towards change, but also in maintenance of the status-quo. Stability does not indicate the absence of any activity, rather that this activity is being directed towards maintaining the status quo within practice-arrangements. Therefore, both stability and change should be regarded as the result of agency, as 'doings' of people and things.

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[37] The specific relations between practices and material arrangements is detailed more closely here: "More specifically, practices and arrangements form bundles through five types of relation: causality, prefiguration, constitution, intentionality and intelligibility."(Schatzki, 2012, 16) The different kinds of relationships between practices and material arrangement is considered in much greater detail by Schatzki, but will not be followed more closely in the present study.

[38] Schatzki regards the idea of identity as a subgenus of meaning (Schatzki, 2002,19),the implications of this will be considered in more detail later.

In order to enlighten the manner in which arrangements are constantly in a process of maintaining equilibrium or becoming something else and changing, Schatzki appropriates the concept of *deterritorialization* (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). This accounts for how the position of the entities within arrangements can be altered, or how entities can be transplanted from one arrangement to another, dissolving or bridging practice-arrangements as they move between them. This provides the potential to conceive of how the movement of entities, human and non-human, within and across practice-arrangements can influence the manner in which they develop.

For Schatzki, the ongoing *reorganization* of the understandings, rules and teleoaffective structures which organise practices and the *recomposition* of the doings and saying which comprise them account for how practices are dynamic and susceptible to change (Schatzki, 2002, p. 241). Human activity, then, can be directed towards reorganizing and recomposing practices, as well as maintaining them.

> *"The reorganization of rules and teleoaffective structures is an occasional and largely intentional process. By contrast, both recompositions of practices and shifts in their practical understandings are continual and largely unintentional events."*

Schatzki contends that such shifts arise when the doings and sayings of practices are reflected upon, articulated or questioned. An example of such an occasion this could be any break down in the performance of practices, or in explicit instruction of neophytes. In this way, the very act of articulating tacit understandings can therefore lead to their revision – fastening the practices and making them observable and changeable. Within the present study, this allows the LDP to be perceived as a specifically designed practice-arrangement bundle - an intentional architecture aimed towards facilitating the explication and reorganisation of the *rules* and *teleoaffectve* structures of managerial practices.

In understanding how practice-arrangement bundles develop (ibid; 247), how they change or stay the same, Schatzki suggests conceptual models such as "contagion," "insemination" and "poisoning[39]" to explain how components of practice-arrangements can be transplanted and impact upon one another. Again Schatzki leans on Deleuze and Guatarri (1987), appropriating their notion of a *line of deterritorialization,* or *line of flight*, understood as "*the path followed by an individual, tool, organism, thing or group thereof, through whose actions a given assemblage is unravelling and maybe also metamorphosing into a different one.*" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987 cited in Schatzki, 2002 p. 249). This is a useful model for understanding how entities move within and across practice-arrangements and can precipitate both stability and change, and a model which can offer an analytical frame to host the multi-sited interconnectedness of the present study.

> "*Because, furthermore, human action is the primary source of change in practice-arrangement bundles and nets, investigators interested in change will pay particular attention to the chains of action that link and pass through bundles and nets.*" (Schatzki, 2005, p. 476)

This emphasises the importance of focusing on the personalised lines of transmission formed by the managers in their iterative movement between the educational and institutional *practice-arrangement bundles*.

Understanding Shifting Societal Order within the Plenum as Governance
Understanding the interconnection of practice-arrangement bundles into wider nets and constellations culminating in one all-encompassing plenum, offers a way of conceptualising societal order as "large social phenomena"(Schatzki, 2015b) providing the background for all human existence (Schatzki, 2005, p. 473). This

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[39] These metaphors are strikingly similar to the virus metaphor used to describe the spread of ideas within and across organisations (Røvik, 2007), from a neo-institutionalist perspective. Simliarly, the travel of ideas through 'action nets' (Czarniawska & Joerges, 1995) is evoked here.

plenum is comprised of bundles of practice-arrangements overlapping when elements are shared and have a reciprocal relationship. This can be exemplified in the form of common actions -or chains of action -crossing over and involving one another, common organisational entities, or participants in one bundle being intentionally directed to other bundles(Schatzki, 2017c, p.134). Here, the reterritorialization of entities opens up for transformation of practices, allowing different understandings, rules, ends and material circumstances to offer altered spaces of intelligibility and encourage appropriate actions of a different kind.

From this position, it becomes possible to understand political processes and governance as a particular expression of these interconnections. Schatzki contends that political processes[40] exemplify the manner through which *practice-arrangement bundles* can develop, as a result of the collective intentional management within social sites, where the process of government is understood as the guiding and directing of human conduct(Schatzki, 2002, p. 251). Indeed the process of governance is to be regarded as an activity arising from within and across practice-arrangement bundles and striving to intervene and intentionally shape and direct activities taking place within others (Schatzki, 2015a, p. 18). In this way, governance can be regarded as the coordination of practices and activities – the shaping of spaces of intelligibility, which can be traced by following the lines of transmission of entities – human and non-human - between different practice-arrangement bundles.

This offers a perspective from which the ends of political practices can be seen to strive for the coordination of practices and thereby activities in other social sites.

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[40] Schatzki clarifies his understanding and usage of "politics" within a practice theory perspective. "By "politics," I mean the collective intentional management of (some sector of) some social site. Because agency is the motor of the becoming and change that pervade that site, politics can also be understood as the collective intentional management of the directions and flows of agency. Politics is collective because it is an activity that people carry out together (regardless of how much contention and conflict are involved). It is intentional because participants know that its point is management and join in to help realize this end. By "management," moreover, I mean oversight, direction, and encumberment, in outline and at a general level. Politics thus amounts to government, not in the Anglo-American sense of government institutions, but in the older sense of guiding and directing human conduct." (Schatzki, 2002, 251)

Interconnections of practice-arrangements within these sites give rise to reorganization and re-composition of the practices and the understandings participants have of them, potentially initiating change and transformation in a particular direction. By adopting Schatzki's organising principles for practices, the design and implementation of specific educational practices within the LDP can be seen as a deliberate and concerted attempt to reorganise and recompose the rules and teleological structures of managerial practice by establishing lines of transmission and chains of action between the educational and institutional bundles. The specificities of how this unfolds, and the manner in which the practical and general understandings proceed is a matter for empirical investigation.

Human Coexistence - Organisations as Site Ontologies
Practice-arrangements, then, provide the frame for social life and the manner in which people's lives hang together, through their entanglement within chains of actions, common ends and projects, as well as the material conditions within them (Schatzki, 2005, p.472). Sequences of appropriate (or, if inappropriate, at least meaningful) actions take place within practices, complying or refuting to the established ends and projects of them, and on the background of the material conditions within which they takes place.

In order to analyse social life – human coexistence- it is necessary to consider the contexts within which it takes place and the manner in which these are organised. The Schatzkian approach builds upon the understanding and analysis of organizations as "site ontologies" (Schatzki,2002). This involves performing a site analysis of any given organization,(Schatzki, 2005; Schatzki, 2006) focusing upon how the specific nexus of interconnected practice-arrangement bundles comprising this organization shapes and is shaped, by the actions of participants carrying them out. This involves exploring the mesh of different practice-arrangement bundles which constitute the site-ontology and investigating the manner in which they are interconnected.

Therefore, these site contexts require a level of analysis beyond the individual, in order to appreciate the 'situatedness' of their activities and the factors influencing them. Site ontologies can be understood as the specific context to which social life is tied, within which it takes place (Schatzki, 2005)- specific arenas identified as features or 'slices' of the overall nexus of practices and arrangements.

This context is to be understood in a particular manner, similar to Heidegger's notion of the 'clearing.' "*The clearing has often been interpreted as a space of intelligibility on the grounds that something's being, what it is, is equivalent to its intelligibility, as what it is intelligible*"(ibid;469), as the background from which meaning can be extrapolated - the 'horizon of *possible* intelligibility.' Human life, just as social life, then, takes place within such spaces, providing the basis for interactions and identity, with practices providing the 'semantic space' in which the meaning of past, present and future action is intelligible. Focusing on the manner in which practices interlink and influence each other within such sites, governance can be regarded as attempts towards the coordination of practices and activities – towards the shaping of spaces of intelligibility.[41]

Discourse within and across Practice-Arrangement Bundles

> *"This distribution of sayings and texts gives concrete sense to the idea that discourse pervades the plenum of practice. Discourses as language-in-use and as strings of words and sentences are everywhere: connected, connecting, spreading, moving through and always making a difference."*
> (Schatzki, 2017c, p. 136)

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[41] While focusing on small scale studies of practice, the site ontology does not abandon understandings of larger social phenomena: " This site ontology is clearly allied with a variety of micro-oriented approaches to social life, for example, ethnomethodology, symbolic interactionism, and actor-network theory. Like these approaches, it contends that all social orders and formations arise from — in this case are instituted in or constituted by — local phenomena. It also concurs with those micro- approaches that do not deny the existence or efficacy of 'macro' (or 'meso') formations and structures, insisting only that the existence and efficacy of such phenomena be comprehended as and via interrelated practice- arrangement bundles. No macro level of institutions and structures over and beyond interrelated bundles need be reified." (Schatzki, 2005, 479)

Schatzki (2017) strives to address the neglect shown to language and discourse more generally within practice theories, providing the opportunity to consider how such a central element of social life is to be considered from this approach, where focus is to be trained on the *discursive component* of social practices. This involves perceiving discourse as 'language in use' - elements of sayings and doings embedded in social life rather than representing abstract structures – as would be the tendency in structuralism and post-structuralism (ibid;126). Emphasis falls on what people *do* with language within situated practices – exactly how do they *use* it?[42] This extends to the consideration of how speech and text travel between different bundles and influences the doings and sayings going on within them, how they are used in different practice-arrangement bundles.

> *"To conclude, discursivity pervades the plenum of practices in two ways. First, sayings and texts, and thus language and concepts, exist throughout and constantly circulate through the plenum. They thereby connect and thread through bundles and constellations. Certain bundles and constellations are also incompletely ordered normatively by distinct sets of language types and discourse orders. Second, sayings and texts give human life linguistic conceptual content. Through such content, sayings and texts are intertextually linked, and the practice plenum is suffused by articulated significance."*(Schatzki, 2017c, p. 140)

This can be regarded as creating and supporting *intertextual chains* "which are series of types of texts which are transformationally related to each other in the sense that each member of the series is transformed into one or more of the others in regular and predictable ways." (Fairclough 1992, p.130; cited in Schatzki 2017, p.135). The

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[42] Here a distinction is to be made between discursive and non-discursive actions within practices. Schatzki uses the example of Fairclough & Chourliakis (2007) application of how Foucault's "orders of discourse" structure particular social practices without necessarily structuring the 'material activities' inherent within practices, as an example of how and why this is necessary. "Thus, although orders of discourse organise practices, they do not inform both the sayings and doings that compose practices." (Schatzki, 2017c, 129). Essentially, there is more going on than discourse.

notion of intertextuality, in its wider understanding offers a useful approach to grasping these kinds of connections within and across bundles and how larger discursive phenomena are formed and maintained within social practice theory ontology.[43]

The Person within and Between Interconnecting Practice-Arrangements

Perceiving the local institutions, the LDP and the municipality of Copenhagen as interconnected practice-arrangement bundles constituting site ontologies, allows consideration of how they interconnect, influencing the manner in which activities take place within them. In the present study, the ability to follow the movement of participants between the practice-arrangement bundles of the LDP and their own institutions provides the opportunity to gain insight into how interconnections and the contacts with other entities arising from this can potentially have influence on managerial practices taking place within the institutions. Therefore, the person - specifically targeted by the practices of the LDP – must become central in any analysis of the potential organisational influence of the LDP.

The character of such a person in practice theory can be an issue of great debate, with practice theorists operating with a rather shadowy figure, striving to gain distance from individualist positions by deliberately bracketing the person. Some practice theorists, indeed strive to exclude the person completely from consideration (Shove, Pantzar, & Watson, 2012; Spaargaren, Weenink, & Lamers, 2016). The current study however works towards foregrounding the person to achieve an image of a more durable and influential figure, working from a basic contention that it would be meaningless to look at the practices involved without taking the primary practitioners

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[43] Chouliaraki and Fairclough (2007, 23) present a model of three different characteristics of social practices, with implications for how discourse should be understood and studied: "First, they are forms of production of social life, not only economic production but also production in for instance the cultural and political domains. Second, each practice is located within a network of relationships to other practices, and these 'external' relationships determine 'internal' constitution. Third, practices always have a reflexive dimension: people always generate representations of what they do as part of what they do." This suggests the different levels of discourse analysis which may potentially be utilized together in order to gain a coherent understanding of how these kinds of practices interconnect.

into account. This follows the position of Schatzki in this discussion, that practices presuppose people : "no people, no practices" (Schatzki, 2017b). It should, however, be considered neither a criticism nor a provocation to point out practice theorists' neglect of the person, it has simply not been a primary interest in these approaches. However, within the present study, it is exactly this potential to grasp the reciprocal nature of the relationship between people and practices that makes the theoretical approach meaningful, and therefore to deliberately bracket one or the other would be nonsensical.

A Person with Practical Intelligibility

> "*As people proceed through different spheres of life -work, family, religion, recreation, provision, etc.- they carry out practices through both sayings and doings.*" (Schatzki, 2017c, p. 130)

In order to get closer to a clearer understanding of the person in practice-arrangement bundles, the manner in which such a figure emerges within Schatzkian theory, and the eventual limitations of this for the present study, will be explored first. This exploration leads to the contention that the Schatzkian notion of *practical intelligibility* as guiding the activities of the person within and across practice–arrangement bundles can productively segue into social theories of learning, and allow these theoretical perspectives to complement one another. This bifocal perspective allows a dialectical relationship between practices and people to be put into use. This can provide a sharper image of the person and presents an analytical handle to grasp a structure/agency duality in ongoing practices, how they are organised and interconnect and the implications of this for participants.

This allows 'zooming out' and perceiving site-ontologies as being in flux, shaping and being shaped by the practice-arrangements affiliated within them, and the doings and sayings of people comprising them (Nicolini, 2017a, p.104;Schatzki, 2002, p.95).

The opportunity then, to focus on managers participating in the LDP as persons situated within social practices can enlighten how managerial practices manifest locally and the extent to which the forms of legitimate managerial practices offered in the LDP relate to, and influence, this.

This theoretical approach allows localised actions and personal discretion to enter consideration, without resorting to an understanding of the fully formed, decision making individual (Nicolini, 2012, p.178). "*Practice theory is, in this sense, neither individualist nor anti- individualist, but rather post-individualist. This position is achieved through the idea that practice carries the possibility for action and opens spaces for people to occupy such spaces and take action (or not)"(ibid).*

Practice -Arrangements as Potential Identity Centres
Approaching the person from a Schatzkian perspective involves an appreciation of their positions and relations within practice-order arrangements, which offer the frame for meaning (what something is) and identity (who someone is). For Schatzki, identity is a sub genus of meaning (Schatzki, 2002, p.19) held by entities capable of having an understanding of self, while this understanding which a person has of their own meaning can be different from that assigned to them by others. Schatzki contends that these meanings and identities should not be understood solely as linguistic phenomena as is the tendency in post structural thought, but as practice phenomena situated within social sites and including linguistic elements – not merely an amalgamation of discursive subject positions(ibid;53) as advocated by Laclau &Mouffe (Laclau, 2014), for instance. Instead, the person is to be understood as an organic entity, a physical vessel adapting to continual changes in their social environment, or -alternatively - resisting these. This can also be regarded in terms of negotiable roles, where the practices available to the person offer reference points for the apportionment of a practice's organisation:

> *"which tasks projects and ends , for example are acceptable for or enjoined of a participant in say, educational practices depends on the role(s) she occupies within them"* (Schatzki, 2017c, p.131).

This offers an illustration of the different roles of teachers and students in educational practices and the legitimate actions immediately available and appropriate to them within these.

Social Practices and the Learning Person

An appreciation of the importance of the role of learning is crucial to any practice based theorizing, as this supports the fundamental notion that practice has the capacity to go beyond individuals and persist in time (Nicolini 2012, p.78). The handing down of ways of doing and being at individual level coupled with negotiation and innovation of these can thus be regarded as a basis for both reproduction and changes in practices. The person's positioning within the multitudinous practice-arrangements available to them offer resources for their understandings of self which, like practice-arrangements, are shifting and inconstant. Here, the chief identity is primarily what the person understands themselves to be in the given situation and practice (Schatzki, 2002, p.54). Meaning and identity are therefore described as labile phenomena, where changing positions within different practice-arrangements would provide potential opportunities and occasions for the reinterpretation of the self. Sites composed of a mesh or bundle of practice-arrangements house meanings and identities and, consequently, also the potential for these to change:

> *"According to this account, what something is, is fundamentally, what it is understood to be. Understandings, moreover, are carried in social practices and expressed in the doings and sayings that compose practices. In particular, what something is understood to be in a given practice is expressed by those of the practice's doings and sayings that are directed*

toward it. Meaning, consequently, is carried by and established in social
practices. Practices, furthermore, embody organizations, which
circumscribe the meanings and arrangements set up and otherwise
encompassed in them. Meaning is not a matter of difference, abstract
schema, or attributional relativity, but a reality laid down in the regimes
of activity and intelligibility called "practices" (ibid; 58).

This emphasises the situated and practical understanding of identity presented by
Schatzki, and how this is a labile phenomenon.

Practical intelligibility

Schatzki contends that the activities comprising practices unfold in relation to the
"practical intelligibility" (Schatzki, 2002, p. 75) of the actors involved – what it
makes sense for them to do in the given setting. In this way, the manner in which
persons navigate the nexus of social practices in which they participate is guided by
their developing *practical intelligibility*, in constant flux and adapting to their
exposure to and participation in new practices – or not, if such exposure is absent.
This suggests that social practices and the organised activities of which they are
comprised are guided by an ongoing negotiation between the actors involved and the
general rules, understandings and norms prescribing the activities within them, as
well as their material arrangements.

> *"Participating in a practice is operating in an arena where certain*
> *actions and ends are prescribed, correct, or acceptable on certain*
> *occasions. As a result, the practical intelligibility that informs*
> *participants' activity can be partially determined by normativity and*
> *subject to the normative judgment and sanction of others. Falling under*
> *normativity- however, is a different matter than intrinsically being a*

> *normative phenomenon. Practical intelligibility is, in the first place,*
> *practical" (*ibid;76).

This suggests that practical intelligibility should be understood as distinct from normativity – the person is guided not just by a sense of what "should" they do, but rather what does it make sense to do? *Practical intelligibility* is described as an individualist phenomenon, moulded by the non-individualist phenomena of practices[44] (ibid; 75), specifically focusing attention to the role of the person in practice. This idea of the evolving *practical intelligibility* of the person as moulding, and being moulded by their participation in practices is reflected in the general concept of learning[45] processes offered by Schatzki, as a person's *augmented operability* within given practices (Schatzki, 2017a). While the formulation of *augmented operability* is potentially useful -suggesting the development of potential competences and capacities in relation to a social and material world, rather than just socialisation - Schatzki offers little more on these specificities.

It is at this point where his work can segue into broader theories of situated learning, which offer vocabularies more suited to understanding individual and collective learning processes, precisely through the dynamics and interactions occurring between participants in practices. This can complement the Schatzkian concepts of

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[44] The distinction between practices and persons is explored further by Schatzki, emphasising the complex relationship between them. "Practices are nonindividualist phenomena. It is people, to be sure, that perform the actions that compose a practice. But the organization of a practice is not a collection of properties of individual people. It is a feature of the practice, expressed in the open-ended set of actions that composes the practice. The relation of the practice's organization to its participants is that this organization is differentially incorporated into their minds. Understandings, rules, ends, and tasks are incorporated into participants' minds via their 'mental states'; understandings, for instance, become individual know-how, rules become objects of belief, and ends become objects of desire. Different combi- nations of a practice's organizing elements are incorporated into different participants' minds due to differences in participants' training, experience, intelligence, powers of observation, and status. In every case, however, the organizational element is distinct from its incorporations: the end of learning that helps organize educational practices is distinct from each individual student's and teacher's goal of learning, and also from the sum of the latter."(Schatzki, 2005, p.480)

[45] Schatzki expands upon participation in the following manner: "As described, in learning to participate in a practice, individuals acquire versions of many, though not all, of the objective mental states that organize it. To the extent that different participants acquire versions of the same objective states, they share mentality."

practical intelligibility and *augmented operability*. Instead of following one particular theory dogmatically, a generative approach is taken in order to achieve the scope necessary to answer the particular questions identified in my study.

The perspective offered by Schatzki emphasises the manner in which practice-arrangement bundles inform one another through reterritorialization of entities within and between them, while offer resources to participants in their production of meaning and identity. It is the work of these participants that determines the degree to which practices change or remain the same, with the developing *practical intelligibility* of participants influencing their activities on the basis of "what makes sense." This would imply that what makes sense in one setting is not necessarily the same as what makes sense in another – therefore rather than a being shaped by a generalising and all-encompassing moral or normative order, *practical intelligibility* would be seen to guide understandings and activity more particularly, and in relation to the conditions of specific practical situations. This *practical intelligibility* allows for the continuous development of understandings and repertoires of the person as an organic entity with consciousness and memory, with cognitive capacities within the "continuity of a life" (Schatzki, 2017b, p.41), to be considered in relation to their participation within networks of social practices. In this way, nested, interconnected practice-arrangement bundles populated by communities of practitioners become spaces of intelligibility for the learning person.

Summarising the Schatzkian ontology

Figure 3: Site Ontologies as interconnected practice- arrangement bundles
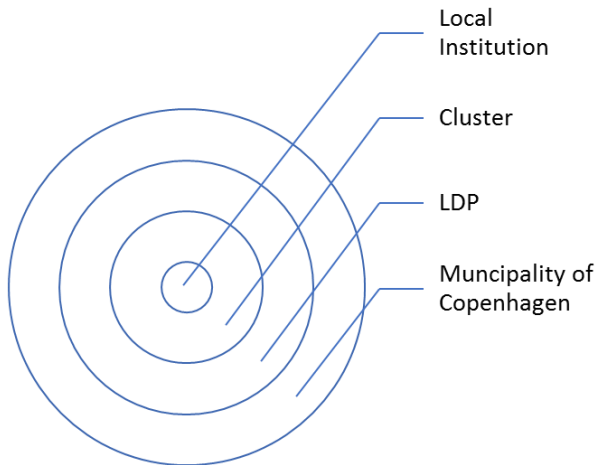
The figure above is simultaneously crass and overly neat. It is an attempt to illustrate the implications of the Schatzkian social practice ontology and the manner in which it informs the present study. The managers participating within the LDP are to be perceived as forming particular lines of transmission between the different interconnected practice-arrangement bundles which comprise their organisation in the broader sense – as a site-ontology. These are, of course not solitary or instrumental lines of transmission, but within a site-ontology comprising a multitude of human and non-human entities. In the interests of the present study the movement and agency of texts and humans are to be focused upon. This heuristic diagram is intended to depict the manner in which the present study seeks to make "slices" into the overall nexus of practices, as if it were a pizza.

While this ontology provides useful handles for grasping the manner in which the social world is constituted and formed, it has limitations in providing insight into the social interactions and relation of persons populating it. Likewise, the nature and condition of the person within these constellations of practice-arrangement bundles is under-developed. Therefore, the next section of the theoretical chapter will seek to

create a dialogue between this ontological point of departure and social theories of learning, in order to explore how participation and learning within and across these practice-arrangement bundles may be understood.

Situated Learning and the Development of Identity

Situated learning theories offer the opportunity to pick up where Schatzki stops, and move from practices to people, a movement which is in fact actively encouraged by Schatzki (Schatzki, 2017b, p. 48), although this remains a path less followed. By following this path, the aim is to further pursue an understanding of learning as neither a dogmatically individual nor social phenomenon, but practical, relational and situated. The idea of learning as facilitating *augmented operability* (Schatzki, 2017a), as involving the acquisition of skills and knowledge through experience but concomitantly involving the development of identity becomes central. This resembles a pragmatist perspective of social learning, where any attempt to create a dichotomy between socialisation processes or the development of identity and the acquisition of abstract knowledge and skills becomes redundant.

> *"An important separator between individual and social learning perspectives is the different emphasis on learning as acquisition of skills and knowledge, versus learning as encompassing development of identities and socialization to organizational work and life. A pragmatist social learning perspective emphasizes both learning as acquisition through experience and inquiry, and learning as development of identities and socialization through individuals' capacities to both adapt and change."* (Brandi & Elkjaer, 2012, p.23)

Rather than as a dichotomy, these are to be seen as being mutually constitutive, with any attempt to separate them being futile. In this manner and with regards to the present study, professional learning is perceived as a situated process of becoming knowledgeable (Hager and Hodkinson 2011; Hager, Lee, and Reich 2012; Elkjaer

and Brandi 2014; Brown and Duguid 1991) rather than solely focusing on the accumulation and transfer of abstract knowledge.[46]

This resonates with the approach to learning advocated by Stephen Billet (Billett, 1996, p.45, 2009),[47] where understandings of learning from cognitive psychology are played up against socio-cultural positions to investigate how these may complement one another, building on a claim that this has the potential to enhance understandings of everyday human life. In this manner, Billet's work on learning represents, as does practice theory, a 'third way' in seeking middle ground between the theoretical poles of individual cognition and socio-cultural perspectives (Billett, 2015). Access to different practice-arrangement bundles are therefore seen to offer emergent learning opportunities, resources for knowing and understanding and facilitate the ongoing development of participants in relation to the situations and conditions within which they find themselves. This allows for an appreciation of the primacy of practices, and the social relations within practices, while maintaining a view of the person as an organic entity with consciousness and memory, with cognitive capacities within the "continuity of a life" (Schatzki, 2017b, p. 41). The significance of the movement and interaction of persons and things – their *reterritorializations* - across different *practice-arrangement bundles* is opened up for investigation.

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[46] See (Orr, 1996) for an exemplary study on how situated learning theories have been applied in studies of knowledge transfer and learning in organisation studies.

[47]Billet's approach to understanding learning compliments that taken in the present study: "My purpose is to transcend accounts that privilege what occurs in situated practice or what occurs through individualistic orientations. Instead, I propose that the elements of learning experiences are threefold. First, the social world provides norms and practices as well as purposes for learning. Moreover, the social world projects its suggestion through its norms, practices, and artefacts that comprise the immediate experience we engage with across different kinds of social settings. Second, individuals' cognitive experience (i.e., what they know, how they know it, and how they make sense of what they experience) shapes their construal and construction of their engagement with a social and brute world. The personal emphasis is important because individuals' cognitive experiences arise through individuals' unique personal history or ontogeny and this shapes how they make sense of both the brute and the social world. Third, is the brute world that both contributes to what is encountered and that mediates individuals' construals of these events. These contributions extend from the imperatives of physicality, and physiological needs to the ways in which maturation shape humans capacities for engagement, participation and, hence, learning. In these ways, the conception of interpsychological processes needs extending to include consideration of the brute facts that shape both social purposes and sources as well as how individuals subjectively construe and construct what they encounter through their engagements with a social and physical world." (Billett, 1996,45,2009)

Curriculums and Learning in Communities of Practice

In order to focus more specifically on the relations and learning dynamics taking place within and across these practice-arrangement bundles, Lave and Wenger's situated learning and communities of practice (1991) thinking offers concepts capable of opening up the relational dimensions of activities and membership within communities of practitioners. The following, rather lengthy citation succinctly illustrates how their reading of learning in social practices can contribute to the analysis.

> *"Briefly, a theory of social practice emphasizes the relational interdependency of agent and world, activity, meaning, cognition, learning and knowing. It emphasizes the inherently socially negotiated character of meaning and the interested, concerned character of the thought and action of persons in activity. This view also claims that learning, thinking and knowing are relations among people in activity, with, and arising from the socially and culturally structured world. This world is socially constituted; objective forms and systems of activity, on the one hand, and agents' subjective and intersubjective understandings of them, on the other, mutually constitute both the world and its experienced forms."* (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 50)

This understanding of learning as the absorption of social practice, while simultaneously reserving a place for thoughts and actions of the people within this practice provides an interesting perspective, compatible with the Schatzkian ontology. This can lead to an approach to professional identity as something which is learnt and developed though access and participation in sites of educational opportunity – spaces of intelligibility. Here, it is the opportunity to collect interactional experiences through the network of possible social relations available, which is the most telling aspect.

The distinction[48] offered by Lave and Wenger between the *"learning curriculum,"*[49] the field of situated opportunities from the perspective of the participant as opposed to the *"teaching curriculum,"* as the structured resources offered for learning is important. This shifts focus away from the teacher/learner dyad, and opens up for a wider appreciation of the importance of relations between all participants in a given practice and the influence they have on one another. Gherardi (2003, 1999) offers middle ground between these poles by adding the notion of *situated curriculum*[50], a set of activities governing the process of achieving legitimate participation and acknowledged membership within a given community of practice. These different curriculums allow different perspectives on what drives learning processes in situated practices.

Problematizing Communities of Practice

While the understandings presented in the original presentation of situated learning (Lave and Wenger 1991) open up for interesting avenues of analysis in the present study, there are also definite limitations within this, which demand attention and expansion. I contend that these can be addressed by aligning the theory to Schatzkian social practice ontology. In focusing solely on the development from a position of peripheral to full participation within a single community of practice as the original work of Lave and Wenger does, the perspective can be deemed to be restrictive –

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[48] This opens up for a sensitivity to the subtlety of how practices unfold in a not dissimilar manner to the conceptual pairing introduced by Latour, focusing on the distinction between the *ostensive* and *performative* definitions of situations, concepts and, in the present case, educational and managerial practices (Latour, 1984)

[49] The distinction between learning and teaching curriculums is as follows: "A learning curriculum consists of situated opportunities ….it is a field of learning resources in everyday practice, viewed from the perspective of learners…..A teaching curriculum , by contrast is constructed for the introduction of newcomers – supplying and thereby limiting structural resources for learning" (Lave & Wenger, 1991,94)

[50] The notion of situated curriculum is explained thus: "Every community sets up a specific trajectory of activities that the novices must learn in order to become a full member. The pattern is not random, although nor does it display a rigid and invariant structure. It is better decribed as a set of situated opportunities offered to newcomers in a more or less defined order. Although it is possible for an external observer to describe a general set of activities and tasks characterizing the process of admission into the community, the situated curriculum is more the variable outcome of ongoing workplace practices, social interactions and power relations than an invariant precondition of thought, action and learning: a situated curriculum is characteristic of the practices of a community and it cannot be considered apart from it. " (Gherardi & Odella, 1999,13)

what happens after a position of full participation is achieved (Hager and Hodkinson 2011), is this an end state? It is clearly important to widen this scope in order to appreciate different practices, changes in contexts and, consequently, the shifting demands of the environment.

Likewise, while drawing attention to how communities of practice are "implicated in social structures involving relations of power" (Lave and Wenger 1991, p.36) these issues of power, and the positioning of communities of practice within wider societal, political and economic conditions are not fully explored. Therefore the implication that these practices exist in a vacuum – is problematic (Nicolini, 2012) and requires further attention (Contu and Wilmott, 2003; Huzzard 2004; Clark 2006). Within this study, consideration of both the practices of the LDP and the institutions as being positioned within the wider plenum of practices allows issues of governance influencing particular situated practices to be considered. The inclusion of a wider political agenda and the reforms and restructuring resulting from these demands make it possible for these issues to be explored further, by placing practices within the broader socio-historical context. Therefore it is necessary to consider how persons move within and across different practices and the communities populating them – not just their journey towards achievement of full participation within a single community of practice.

Wenger on Identity, Negotiation and Participation
Wenger's development of situated learning (Wenger, 1998)[51], seeks to address some of these issues, depicting organisations as constellations of inter-connected communities of practice (ibid; 127) expanding the scope of the approach, from focusing on one particular community of practice to multiple communities. From this perspective, identity is to be regarded as the "nexus of multiple membership" (ibid;

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[51] This represents a departure from the common approach developed with Jean Lave, described thus by Lave, "We have moved in different directions: Etienne towards what might be called a sociology of meaning and I towards a social theory of changing practices." (Lave & Bertelsen, 2011, 51)

105) - the aggregation of identities of participation- into a coherent and robust individual identity, within a constellation of practices. In this manner, the participation of a manager within an LDP could be represented as an extension of the local organization, or "constellation" – with the manager now capable of "brokering" (ibid; 109) and negotiating processes of translation and alignment between the practices taking place at different sites. This focuses upon the dynamics occurring between participants with practice constellations, where learning is understood as the individual attainment of competence - and the development of identity in relation to and within these practices (Wenger 1998, 96).

This reflects Wenger's understanding of learning as social participation, based upon an inseparable duality of the social and the individual, of the collective and the subjective (ibid; 25). Practice is defined as the process through which we experience the world and our engagement with it as meaningful (ibid;51), where a continual process of negotiation takes place between the persons, or "community" of participants of the given practice, establishing this meaning. Participation, the social experience of engagement in social processes, (ibid; 54) shapes both the experience of membership of these communities, but can also have impact upon them. This provides a dynamic understanding of the relationship between the individual and the community – which is not regarded as a static structure, but can be influenced and shaped by participants.

This underlines the idea that the meaning of a given practice is formed by the continual process of negotiation by its members, where a stable understanding of meaning can be achieved through the process of reification (ibid; 57). This is to be understood as a process through which the meaning of a particular practice becomes objectified, for example in the form of an exam certificate, or other type of artefact. But this can also occur in the form of shared language, collective understandings and

stories, where it is not merely an objectification, but a form of abstraction, giving form to a particular understanding of meaning or reality.

This, in turn, becomes the basis for the continued negotiation of meaning undertaken by participants, which determines how the practice is communicated and understood – also by those who are outside and not directly involved in the practice. This is the reification, a concretization of the shared reality organizing the process of negotiation. It is here that the framework and meaning of the community of practice is formed in a temporal consensus –fixing internal values and a coherent understanding. The coherence of this community of practice is ensured by active participation, involving mutual engagement, joint enterprise and development of a shared repertoire of routines and understandings, which frame the practice (ibid; 73). In this way, Wenger maintains that the purpose and meaning of a given practice is based upon the duality of participation and reification.

Learning in a community of practice can therefore be understood as *participation*- an activity which ensures the individuals' growing ownership of meaning within the collectively negotiated practice and understanding of reality. This facilitates the development of an appropriate identity, which is conditioned by the reified understanding of the meaning of the given practice. This occurs through the acquisition of relevant competences, made available through participation and experience within this practice.

Membership of a community of practice, then, is not arbitrary, but is regulated by the locally negotiated regime of competence (Wenger, 1998, p.137). This regime and the person's attainment of its incumbent competences is the key to the various positions and identities of participation available within practices. These are constructed and negotiated through social relations, which are the source of essential recognition and acknowledgement of a particular identity of participation as being valid. It is

therefore the possibility of access to an appropriate and valid identity of participation which determines degrees of membership to a community of practice - and thereby its experiences and understandings of meaning, which can subsequently have an effect on the development of identity.

Interconnected Communities of Practitioners

Combining an understanding of situated learning to embrace the influence of participation within and across different communities of practices (Handley et al. 2006; Mutch 2003; Brown and Duguid 1991; Wenger 1998) offers the opportunity to consider how these practices inter-connect. I contend that Schatzki's social ontology offers a comprehensive framework for an appreciation of such "networks of practices" (Brown and Duguid 2001), constellations of practices (Wenger 1998) or structures of social practices (Dreier 2009), while providing a much stronger understanding of practices than that offered by Lave and Wenger, where the focus is very much on the relations between the communities populating them. A dialogue between these theoretical positions can establish a framework to understand the iterative movement of persons and other entities within and across practices and the implications this has for the development of identities and practices.

The manner in which these communities of practice are deemed to represent a frame for interaction can be contested, and Wenger's presentation in particular, has received criticism for being problematic from a practice theory perspective, which necessarily focuses upon the social, temporary, processual and conflictual character of practice. This is based on the perception that any concrete operationalisation of the term community of practice, results in the community becoming a reified entity in which practice resides (Nicolini, 2012, p. 91), rather than something which arises from practice itself.

Therefore, I choose to use the term community as a way of appreciating the contemporaneous members and participants of the given practice, enabling the identification of participants and their relations and interactions with each other – more akin to Gherardi's description of a "community of practitioners"(Gherardi, 2003). Therefore, henceforth, the term community of practitioners will be used to avoid any confusion or ontological contradictions when referring to the members of situated practices. By doing so, key elements of situated learning can be aligned to the Schatzkian ontology, complementing this and adding to its scope. In particular the view of learning as involving participation, membership and identity are to be carried forward.

Capturing the Person

Up to this point, then, the theoretical framework has provided an understanding of social life as being conducted within and across *practice-arrangement bundles*, and considered the learning dynamics and relations in the communities of practitioners populating these. An understanding of the person and their identity, however, requires elucidation. In this section, the aim is to get closer to an understanding of such a person and the relationship between social practices and identity.

> *"Practices comprise the actions of different people. At the same time, each person has his or her own life. For present purposes, I construe a human life as composed of the sequences of sometimes overlapping life conditions (actions, states of consciousness, emotions, conative and cognitive states) that belong to a given person, as expressed in his or her bodily doings and movements and contextualized in the worldly situations through which he or she lives"* (Schatzki, 2017b, p.28)

As illustrated in the citation above, practice theorists have hitherto operated with a shadowy figure of the person. I contend that this should become more central, particularly in empirical analysis, where the doings and sayings of these people are

the main window into understanding practices – "no people, no practices"(ibid). The Schatzkian notion of *practical intelligibility* as guiding the activities of the person within and across *practice–arrangement bundles* can segue into social theories of learning allowing a dialectical relationship between practices and people to be operationalised. This allows 'zooming out' and perceiving different sites as being in flux, shaping and being shaped by the practice-arrangements affiliated within them, and the doings and sayings of people comprising them (Nicolini, 2017a, p. 104; Schatzki, 2002, p. 95).

The capacity, then, to focus on managers participating in the LDP as persons situated within social practices can enlighten how managerial practices manifest locally. The extent to which the legitimised approach to managerial practices arising in the spaces of intelligibility offered in the LDP relates to this can then be considered. This requires, however, a more nuanced understanding of the learning person, which I will address below.

Historical Persons and the Reinterpretation of the Self

> *"Persons move about through the world in different institutional and other, less formal configurations, pointing towards the need to attend to spatial/institutional characteristics of persons-in-practice. That also points us towards questions about social process: how are persons participating in the production of their lives, work, and relationships? Part of the answer depends on the changing historical circumstances that have shaped and do shape the ongoing social world they inhabit."* (Lave, J & Holland,D, 2013, p.2)

This understanding of the person as historically and socially situated and contingent provides the point of departure for understanding the practitioners in the present study – providing a frame for understanding the manner in which they manoeuvre

between the educational and institutional settings. What implications may their iterative movement within and across these settings have on their understanding of managerial work and their own professional identity, and in what manner may this influence the organization?

This can be further enlightened by considering the conceptual vocabulary of situated learning originally offered by Lave and Wenger (1991) and developed by Wenger (1998) described above, which portrays learning precisely as the construction and development of identity, through membership and participation in social practice. This ultimately involves the shaping of values, standards and understandings appropriate to the given practice, achieved by learning to perceive oneself from another perspective – a reinterpretation of the self within the given context (Lave and Wenger 1991, p.83).

While over emphasising the individual within theories of situated learning can, again, be regarded as problematic, a general acceptance of participants as some kind of historical person (Lave, J & Holland,D, 2013) with *learning trajectories* (Dreier, 2003) through social practices is broadly accepted. This general perception corresponds to the person that emerges during exploration of Schatzkian practice theory and informs the understanding of the person developed within this study.

Emphasis is placed on the *learning curriculum* or *situated* curriculum of participants as the most important source of motivation for their investments in activities – the use value, as opposed to the exchange value of the *teaching curriculum* (Lave and Wenger 1991). This is conceptually similar to the idea of *practical intelligibility* offered by Schatzki, particularly when extending the focus from one practice to many. This trains focus upon the manner in which participants respond to and invest in the different practices and how they couple their participation in different bundles

together. This leads to the questions what does it make sense for them to do in the different settings, and why is this the case?

Broadening the understanding of situated learning to embrace the influence of participation within and across different practices and communities of practitioners (Handley et al. 2006; Mutch 2003; Brown and Duguid 1991; Wenger 1998) offers the opportunity to consider how these practices inter-connect. This builds on the premise that, in order to gain a more detailed insight into the person, one must avoid attempting to look directly into the person, and instead look into the world, perceiving the person as a participant in a world composed of structures of social practices (Dreier 2009a, p.41). How, then, can the person be captured within the nexus of practice-arrangement bundles populated by communities of practitioners?

The Person in Practice

The understanding of the person offered by critical psychology[52], and particularly Ole Dreier(2003; 2009a; 2008, 1999) and Klaus Holzkamp (2013) is useful here. This perceives persons as particular parts of social practices and draws attention to membership and participation in specific settings, rather than more general analytical concepts such as activity, discourse or relations. Indeed, Dreier contends that such broad analytical concepts are better understood *within* specifically identified local social practices. Rather than exploring social practices through discourse, relations and activities, it is deemed more revealing to go in the other direction, exploring discourses, relations and activities through social practices. Dreier contends that the social world exists because of participants reproducing and changing it – where human activity is the dynamic middle which connects subject and social worlds, where both are reproduced and changed in practice(Dreier, 2009b, p.22). This

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[52] Critical psychology builds upon a Marxist foundation with inspiration from critical theory, emphasising power relations and the implications of this in the understanding of subjectivity (Ole Dreier, 1979; Klaus Holzkamp, Ernst Schraube, Dr Ute Osterkamp, Andrew Boreham, & Professor Tod Sloan, 2013). "A core element in the general critical psychological conception of human functioning concerns the subject's development of a personal action potency vis a vis his or her immediate situation in the social structure."(Dreier, 2003)

harmonises well with a Schatzkian understanding – "no people, no practices" and the post-individualist agenda of practice theories in general, while enabling a closer investigation of how such a person can be understood.

Structures of Social Practices

Dreier emphasises that an understanding of situated learning should not be limited to a stationary person, but rather in the person's movement in trajectories of learning across structures of social practices.

> *"In short, due to various structural arrangements, personal lives must unfold in movement through diverse contexts in the existing structure of social practice. Persons must shape their lives and pursue their concerns, including those for learning, by linking and separating their diverse participation in diverse contexts, and they must vary their modes of participating by taking the various arrangements of local contexts into account"*(Dreier, 2008, p.8).

Learning, then, is to be understood as a phenomenon emerging during trajectories within and across social practices. This movement of a person into different settings or contexts, presents a constantly shifting scope of possibilities and resources, contingent upon their material arrangements and the populations of practitioners. The implication of this is that personal status and positions of influence are in flux, and continually negotiated. This emphasises that the person cannot be considered in isolation; their approach to the possibilities made available is influenced by their positions across other networks of practices and settings in which they take part[53] (Dreier, 2009b, p.39). Here, learning is understood as "development of the subject's action potency vis-a-vis his or her immediate situation in the social structure," (Dreier, 2003, p. 2) while simultaneously reaching beyond any immediate situation,

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[53] This is similar to the notion of ontogeny mentioned by Billet (2009) where a life trajectory leads to an individualised collection of dispositions and repertoires from which the person can draw in their ongoing participation in life.

emphasising the potential and varying cross-contextual scope in the understanding of human activity (Dreier 2009b, p.45).

This learning process emphasises the understanding of persons as agentic, while being entrenched in social practices;[54] they must develop abilities to participate in and navigate between and across complexes of social practices (Dreier, 2011, p.11). This entrenchment makes it more appropriate to understand these persons as participants, and to consider and analyse their participation, rather than a more abstract agency, or behaviour. This can offer a more lively understanding of the person "paradoxically, not by looking into the person, but by looking into the world to grasp the person as a participant in that world (Dreier, 1999, p.30)." This harmonises well with the present study, emphasising the importance of investigation of situated activities within and across different settings.

Personal Stances within Structures of Social Practices
Dreier suggests the concept of *personal stances* (Dreier, 2008, p.3) as the manner in which participants shape and understand what it actually is that they are learning, and how it is to be applied and integrated into their approaches within and across practices. These stances enable an integration of conceivable identities, allowing for the possibility of consistent and coherent personal actions and decisions within and across practices, by regulating and mediating personal pursuits (Dreier, 2009b, p.44). These stances, however, are not to be understood as divorced from practice, or the social, in that they also relate to the concerns to those of other participants. Dreier

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[54] This reflects the understanding offered by Bourdieu: " In fact, a given agents' practical relation to the future, which governs his present practice is defined in the relationship between, on the one hand, his habitus with its temporal structures and dispositions towards the future, constituted in the course of a particular relationship to a particular universe of probabilities, and on the other hand a certain state of the chances offered him by the social world." (Bourdieu, 1990,64). This also provides an indication of the potential for change – and not just reproduction - to be appreciated within Bourdieu's theoretical apparatus, an appreciation which is often ignored or directly refuted in criticisms of the circularity his work (see, for example (Schmidt, 2018)).

explains that this idea of personal stances leans on a definition of identity provided by Charles Taylor:

> *"As defined here, stances come close to Taylor's definition of identity, since he stresses the significance of what we stand for.' To know who I am is a species of knowing where I stand. My identity is defined by the commitments and identifications which provide the frame or horizon within which I can try to determine from case to case what is good, or valuable, or what ought to be done, or what I endorse , or oppose. In other words, it is a horizon within which I am capable of taking a stand. (Taylor 1985b, p.27)'* (Dreier, 2009b, p.43)

This provides an understanding of identity as a horizon, a repertoire of potential stances to be taken within situated practices. This is the conceptual definition of identity which is to be carried forward for the remainder of the study. This pulls the concept of identity back from Wenger's individualist presentation of identity as a personalised aggregation of identities, as the nexus of multiple-membership, framing it instead as a horizon of possible understandings of the self, housed within situated practices.

This idea of personal stances resembles a reflexive and personalised version of Schatzki's *practical intelligibility*. At this point[55] I would contend that the *adoption* of a personal stance could be comparable to responding to *practical intelligibility* - a factor shaping the person's doings; shaping their ongoing participation in the given practice and thereby potentially shaping the practice itself. Indeed, personal stances

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[55] I was fortunate to attend a PhD course entitled "Practice Theory and Social Theories of Learning," held at Aalborg University, from the 15th to the 17th of June, 2016. This was hosted by Professor Anders Buch, with Ole Dreier and Theodore Schatzki as guest speakers and discussants. Here, I had the opportunity to discuss the concept of personal stances with Ole Dreier, during which he emphasized that, while the concept was consistent with both situated learning theories and practice theory, it was – in his own opinion- under-developed. The application of the concept in this study represents an operationalization of this idea, rather than a direct implementation of a fully formed and pre-defined concept. Therefore, I do not intend to implicate Ole Dreier as being complicit with any potential complications arising from this operationalization.

could be perceived as a manifestation of this *practical intelligibility*, with these stances emerging through participation in practice. *Practical intelligibility* is something arising in the meeting of a person and practice/s, where the adoption of personal stances is the personalised response to this – giving direction to the orientation of the person's activities within situated practices. This provides the opportunity to develop the idea of personal stances directly within the research interest of my object of study, suggesting the idea of *managerial stances,* as possible positions within the professional identities of the participants in my study. This will be considered in more detail later.

Shifting Stances within Structures of Social Practices

In this manner trajectories of participation across different constellations of social practices equip the learner with resources upon which they can draw when appropriate – a potentially extensive repertoire of available and acceptable stances within structures of social practices. Dreier contends that this position avoids preoccupation with the manner in which educational situations can be linked to the situation of application and thereby facilitate functional transfer.[56] Instead, it is precisely because something different happens in the educational settings compared to other situations that is of importance, and can contribute to changes in activity (Dreier, 2003, 9).

> *"Social contexts depend on each other in particular ways for their reproductions and change. And they refer to each other, sometimes in problematic ways. Educational contexts, for instance, refer to other social contexts for which they supposedly educate particular modes of*

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[56] Indeed Dreier would contend that aspects of practices and participation occurring elsewhere and at other times are always present in any given local context and practice. The complexity of social life understood in this manner makes any attempt to produce taxonomy of these interconnections impossible- instead an appreciation of this complexity is to be elucidated.

> *participation, and they give directives about what should count as a*
> *qualified mode of participation in those other places"*(Dreier, 1999, p.8).

This is where the idea of personal stances becomes important, and useful, where the learner must reflect on what it is that they are learning and reconsider this on the background of the different situations and contexts in which they find themselves, orienting their actions accordingly(Dreier, 2008, p. 3). "To adopt stances also means to take sides in the conflicts and contradictions of social practices" (O Dreier, 1999, p. 14). This ongoing and emergent orientation, the taking of sides, presents a useful conceptualisation for the analysis of the activities of participants in the educational practices and the institutional practices. The potential to operationalise the idea of *stances* as emerging on the boundary of the individual cognition of the person and the social, while difficult, is extremely appealing for this study. This provides the opportunity for an appreciation of the duplicity of persons and social practices in the analysis of situated activities, privileging neither individual cognition, nor socio-cultural factors. Instead, the manner in which personal stances emerge in situated practices becomes the object of study.

In what manner can persons be seen to orientate themselves in these different practices? Are these orientations consistent, or different? In what way do the practices seek to coordinate the manner in which managers orient themselves and their work – which sides *should* they take normatively, and which sides *do* they take practically? Are the managers particularly partisan in their orientation, and can this be seen to be influenced by their participation in the LDP?

Sharpening the Analytical Tools
The theoretical framework seeks to develop the dialogue between the Schatzkian social practice ontology and social theories of learning. Contending that this coupling can provide the conceptual basis for understanding how the municipal, the educational settings and the institutional settings can inform one another and the

shaping of managerial work. By following managers, the manner in which they respond to attempts at organising their activities, coordinating these in a particular direction, can be studied. This seeks to illuminate the implications of the reterritorialization of entities – human and non-human - within and across these settings for the practices taking place within them by tracing the character of participants' learning processes. In analysis, this framework will be used to investigate situated practices and the manner in which practitioners' activities within them proceed, seeking to determine the extent to which the educational practices relate to and inform managerial practices.

To this end, Schatzki's social practice theory ontology provides the point of departure in understanding how practices house social life, where organisations are perceived as *site ontologies*, comprised of interconnected practice-arrangement bundles. In this way, the particular day-care institutions are to be regarded as *site ontologies*, where the manager's participation in the LDP opens a line of transmission with this new *practice-arrangement bundle*, altering the site ontology. The *re-territorialisation* of entities within and across these bundles allows their stability and change to be understood in terms of the work being done within them, primarily by studying the doings and sayings of the people populating them. In the present study analysis focuses on the re-territorialisation of the managers and the lines of transmission established through their iterative movement between the educational and institutional bundles. Also, the textual re-territorialisation of particular discourses and models between these bundles and the manner in which the practitioners deal with these will be studied.

By aligning situated learning theories to this ontology, the relational dynamics between communities of practitioners populating these bundles can be considered, through closer investigation of learning as involving participation, membership and the development of identity. Simultaneously, this ontological alignment addresses

previous criticism of these theories, with regards to the manner in which communities of practice were seen to exist within a social and political vacuum. Opening these closed communities up to be more contemporaneous communities of practitioners, wrestles primacy from the reification of particular communities, to practices.

Practices are to be understood as activities organised by *understandings, rules and teleoaffective structures*, guiding the manner in which they unfold and provide *practical intelligibility* for the agents conducting them, where this is essentially to be understood as a cue for what it makes sense for participants to do within them. The changing *practical intelligibility* of the participants caused by their exposure to new practices can therefore be regarded as an element of learning, leading to their *augmented operability* within and across the bundles of practice-arrangements of which they are a part. This *augmented operability* is a factor in influencing their agency – their doings and sayings- with implications for the manner in which their work is oriented towards reproducing or transforming practices, challenging them or going along with them. Therefore, the degree to which the managers align themselves with and follow the organisation of managerial practices offered in the educational practices will be given special attention.

Consideration of the status of people and the person within practice theory is limited. Therefore, in order to explore learning processes taking place among these people, theories from situated learning offer concepts which bring membership of, and participation, in communities of practitioners to the fore. Wenger's depiction of the person is appealing, where personal identity forms through multiple-membership in communities of practice. However this is found to be overtly individualist in that it neglects the importance of the housing of this participation in shifting social practices, foregrounding instead the notion of a stable community. I contend that the notion of a community of practitioners (Gherardi, 2003) can address this imbalance, by re-emphasising the primacy of the practice over the community.

The introduction of Ole Dreier and critical psychology embraces an understanding of personal identity as emerging from movement within and across structures of social practices, and foregrounds the person as being a mobile practitioner with a multi-faceted and labile identity. This draws on Taylor's understanding of identity as a horizon of possibilities from which an understanding of self can be drawn, and from which actions emerge. Dreier adds the notion of *personal stances* as the possible positions that can be adopted within this identity horizon, contingent primarily upon the nature of the social practices within which they are situated. In this way, I contend that the idea of *managerial stances* can be used to investigate the orientation of participant's activities, based on what makes sense within the given situated practice.

This stance-taking can therefore be regarded as being a strategic and conscious choice, but it can also be an instantaneous and unconscious reaction to the complexity of ongoing situated activities, where the organisation of the practices within which the person is participating at the given time offer cues which can be taken up in different ways by participants. This embraces the Schatzkian understanding of agency as "doings," which can be more or less deliberate, more or less intentional. The issue of intentionality is not they key interest, instead the doings and sayings, and what they accomplish in situated practices are foregrounded.

This labile understanding of identity and stances allows analysis of how these stances come into play and the extent to which they change. This is a useful opportunity within the present study, opening up for examination of this very lability within the practices observed and the different times scales of them. For example, to what extent do the managerial stances adopted by participants change over the course of their participation in the LDP? Equally, to what extent do managerial stances shift within observed instances of managerial work? Understanding the adoption of stances as expressions of identity and the taking of sides within structures of social practices allows investigation of the directions in which managerial work becomes oriented.

Operationalisation of the Analytical Tools

In order to lift these analytical tools and indicate how they are to be used, the research questions are repeated below, with indications of how the concepts will be used to work with them.

Research Question1: How do the educational practices of the final module of the LDP shape professional identity?

This question focuses on events taking place within the final module of the LDP, making use of field notes, document analysis and audio recordings made during these sessions. Schatzki's vocabulary describing practices as being organised by *rules*, *teleoaffective structures* and *understandings* provides inspiration for opening specific educational practices up for analysis. This allows consideration of the implications this organisation has for legitimate participation and membership of the community of practitioners populating these practices. The shaping of professional identity in relation to this will be investigated by considering the orientation of the managerial stances that are seen to emerge in the teaching sessions of the final module of the LDP. This will provide insight into the character of professional identities emerging from these educational practices.

Research Question 2: i: What are the characteristics of the standpoints of the selected participants, and which problematics do they identify for their final exam project in the LDP?

ii: What resources do they draw upon to address these problematics?

This question focuses primarily on exam material produced by selected participants, where exam documents produced through the LDP are used to gain insight into the issues with which they worked in the LDP, as well as studying which resources, theories and tools they appropriated and how they articulate the application of these.

The exam texts are treated as artefacts revealing the architecture of the governance processes put in place by the municipal practices, via the educational practices of the LDP. This provides traces of how the managers form personalised lines of transmission between the educational and institutional practice-arrangement bundles, and open up for closer study of the reinterpretation of professional identity conducted by participants, and detailed within these texts.

Research Question 3: How does managerial work become oriented in situated practices?

This question focuses on events observed during shadowing intervals in the daily work of selected participants. Field notes and audio recordings made during these intervals provide the empirical point of departure for this analysis. Here, the *managerial stances* emerging in situated work will be examined to consider the orientation of this work and the degree to which the professional identities resemble those found in the educational practices of the LDP. The character of these professional identities, any changes within them and the implications of this for managerial work will be considered in terms of learning as *augmented operability.*

Research Question 4: How do participants, their staff and superiors reflect upon the influences of the LDP on managerial work?

Material collected during qualitative interviews conducted with participants, their staff and superiors is studied here to gain insight into their accounts of the influence they perceive the LDP to have had on managerial work and daily institutional practices. Here changing understandings of professional identity and work will be the key concepts used to open up the analysis. These accounts provide the opportunity to establish whether the respondents report any perceived *lines of transmission* between the educational and institutional practices, and the potential organizational influence of these.

This theoretical framework provides an outline of the approach that will be taken to answering the research questions, positing these in relation to understandings of the dialectical relationship between people and practices and providing concepts with which to shape empirical attention and analysis. This trains focus on examination of the situated practices taking place within and across the LDP and local institutions, and how these are organised and influenced by the movement of human and non-human entities. The forms of participation and membership available within these will be considered, as will the enactment of managerial stances as empirically observable manifestations of *practical intelligibility* and professional identity.

Chapter 6a: Multi-Sited Institutional Ethnography

method (n.)[57]

> *early 15c., "regular, systematic treatment of disease," from Latin methodus "way of teaching or going," from Greek methodos "scientific inquiry, method of inquiry, investigation," originally "pursuit, a following after," from meta "in pursuit or quest of" (see meta-) + hodos "a method, system; a way or manner" (of doing, saying, etc.), also "a traveling, journey," literally "a path, track, road," a word of uncertain origin. Meaning "way of doing anything" is from 1580s; that of "orderliness, regularity" is from 1610s. In reference to a theory of acting associated with Russian director Konstantin Stanislavsky, it is attested from 1923.*

Establishing a Fitting Epistemology

The etymology of the very word "methodology and particularly the Greek ´methodos,'[58] provide the frame for my approach to writing this chapter. Working from this understanding of methodology as the journey undertaken in the systemised pursuit of knowledge provides the motor in its progression, aiming to guide the reader through this journey and explain the decisions taken and the directions chosen on the way.

A fundamental understanding of the field of research, and social life as transpiring within a plenum of practices and material arrangements, is to be married with an epistemology capable of focusing on situated practices, without abandoning understandings of how these are connected to and influenced by larger phenomena. This is ultimately an attempt to address the challenge of making sense of large phenomena from a practice theory perspective(D Nicolini, 2017a) – allowing close

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[57] Sourced online: https://www.etymonline.com/word/method (retrieved 07.11.17)
[58] I attended a PhD course entitled "Understanding the Practices of Organizing, Learning and Education" hosted by Aarhus University(25.04.2017). At this course, Professor Yiannis Gabriel held a presentation, in which he introduced the Greek origins of 'methodos' as a journey, or a quest.

analysis of situated practices to be considered on a background of wider societal and institutional conditions. This would allow a study of how managerial practices shape - and are shaped – *trans-locally,* enabling investigation of how these are connected with wider organisational issues; such as those manifested in the municipal agenda, the LDP and local institutional considerations. By approaching governance as a process produced by sets of these practices striving to intervene and intentionally shape and direct activities taking place in others (Schatzki, 2015a), the process can be explored empirically. In this way insight into the influence of the LDP at the organisational level, through managerial practices, can be gained.

To do so, an epistemological approach focusing on situated activities within practices, the manner in which these practices are co-constituted by material arrangements – particularly texts and the understandings of participants carrying them out - is required. To this end, the investigation of the implications of the reterritorialization of human and non-human entities (people and texts) within and across settings (understood as *practice-arrangement bundles*) provides a particularly powerful engine guiding the development of the methodology and the analysis this facilitates. As a method of enquiry, this makes it conceivable to examine the join between the local and the extra-local(Smith, 2001, p.191),between the local institution and the wider organisation, and the nature of the managerial work taking place at this juncture. The approach developed during the course of the study and the manner in which this emerged, and, indeed departed from the initial research design, will be described below.

How to Get About It? Initial Considerations, Conditions and Decisions

Multi-Sited Ethnography and the Diploma Programme in Leadership
A condition for the PhD study was that, as one element of a broader research project into leadership development in the public sector, it should be based on the Diploma

Programme in Leadership offered to public sector employees. Other studies in the broader research project were to focus on LDPs at other levels. Contact had already been established to the provider of the programme in the municipality of Copenhagen, The Metropolitan University College[59], and a preliminary agreement was in place to negotiate research access to the programme.

As will be reflected in the following text, the methodological approach changed character during the course of the study, in step with emerging access to the field and the influence of theoretical persuasions. The point of departure for the design of my research project was that an exploratory qualitative investigation into the organizational influence of a LDP called upon an open, multi-sited ethnography (Marcus 1995; Marcus 2012) drawing upon inspiration from ethnographic approaches(Eisenhart 2001; Willis 2000; Borgnakke 1996b) to field work. An important aim of this approach was to get beyond individual accounts and the analysis of interview material, and follow a commitment to work with more "naturally occurring data,"(Silverman, 2006) such as texts, transcribed interactions and observed situations.

By selecting a cohort of participants, from whom three recent graduates from the Diploma programme would be primary respondents, it would become conceivable to follow and trace the outcomes of their participation in the development programme. This would provide the opportunity to analyse teaching materials and lesson plans distributed to the cohort. Analysis of their completed exam documents, observation of their participation in the development programme, interviews and the use of shadowing as a "mobile ethnology"(Czarniawska 2007, p.17) to follow the individual managers into their workplace would provide a rich and integrated empirical corpus, spanning participation in the LDP and continuing into managerial work within the local institutional settings.

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[59]Sourced online: https://www.phmetropol.dk/videreuddannelser/diplomuddannelser/diplom+i+ledelse

The operationalisation of participants' exam texts was regarded as an opportunity to provide depth and longevity to the study which would otherwise be difficult to achieve – and most definitely time consuming – if their participation over the course of the whole programme was to be observed in real time. The inclusion of these exam papers would provide an opportunity to recreate participant trajectories throughout the whole programme retrospectively, providing insight into the goings on over the course of the whole LDP. It was hoped that the varying character of these empirical elements would facilitate methodical triangulation in the study of the development of managerial practices and identities and the influence this may have on organisational practices; going beyond purely individual accounts.

Selection of the Institutional field: Why the Day-Care Sector?
In order to situate the subsequent ethnographic research into institutional and managerial practices in the most productive manner, the selection of a uniform institutional sector presented the most effective approach. This would be particularly meaningful when the implications of common legislation and regulation issued at policy level were to be considered, and the manner in which institutional managers negotiated these explored. This uniform institutional frame would also allow events unfolding within the institutions to be legitimately compared and contrasted. This decision would demand that the managers selected within the study should work within the same institutional sector.

The ongoing reforms surrounding the restructuring of the pre-school day-care sector[60] in the municipality of Copenhagen, and the fact that it was relatively common for managers of these institutions to participate in the LDP at MUC, guided the selection of the day-care sector as this common institutional context. These were largely pragmatic decisions aimed at increasing the opportunity of gaining access to participants and institutions within which situated managerial work could be

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[60] For children between the ages of 0-6 years.

observed. These proved to be important decisions that fortuitously offered a dynamic field of study, pregnant with change initiatives issued from central administration. The implications of the ongoing reform and managerial restructuring in this sector – detailed in chapter 3 of the dissertation - proved to be of greater significance within my project than I had initially anticipated.

Process Analysis: a Mapping of Macro, Meso and Micro levels

At the outset of the project, the methodological design was inspired by a process analysis model for educational evaluation (Borgnakke 1996a; Borgnakke 1996b), which presented a compelling frame for tackling the complexity of tracing the influence of development programmes on the wider organisation, and bringing institutional contexts into the understanding of the LDP. This approach trains focus on convergence and divergence within the circuitry from the intended outcomes and practices of an educational programme formed at the macro level, to the actualities presented at micro level. This makes it conceivable to gauge the effect of an educational programme in practice - potentially revealing the efficacy with which discourses and practices are transmitted from policy level to micro level practices. The central tenet of this approach was a guiding principle in the early development of my research methodology:

> *"Only when the pedagogical idea and its general didactic principles - embedded in an institutional interpretation and its management of this - are put forward within this institutional frame and by the teachers responsible for planning it, before passing through the students/participants in an experienced, interpreted and processed version, and then being presented within their subsequent activities and actions….first then is it possible to sense the outline of this process" (Borgnakke 1996,* p.*264).*

Drawing upon inspiration from this approach, various areas of investigation become immediately prominent, in order to provide a basis for understanding the influence of leadership development on organisational practices. It would be necessary to investigate the setting and activities of the education programme itself, in order to gain an understanding of the concepts, goals and methods in place. Likewise, it would be necessary to gain insight into the nature of the managers' participation within this programme and the eventual outcomes of this. Next, the experiences, understandings and interpretations of the individual leaders in relation to the programme should be considered, to establish how they carry these outcomes into their institutional context. Finally, the actual activities of the leaders - the doings, sayings and understandings underpinning their local managerial practices on completion of the development programme - and how other members received these, should ultimately be considered.

While I contend that the areas of interest identified in the process analysis approach remain salient for a representative understanding of eventual organisational influences of the LDP, the ontological point of departure and emergent nature of the research project called for an alternative approach to considering these different areas of investigation. This involved stepping away from a macro-meso-micro understanding towards a flat ontology, more appropriate within a practice theory approach geared towards the empirical investigation of interconnections between practices. Therefore the underlying assumption that the researcher should begin by identifying practices and discourses introduced at the macro level, before following them through meso and micro levels proved ill-fitting to the chosen ontological assumptions, but, crucially, also to the character of the LDP and the access available in the field.

First Meeting with Metropolitan University College – One Door Closes and another Opens

At the first meeting[61] with representatives from MUC, it became clear that the structure of the LDP made it extremely unlikely that, as hoped, it would be possible to follow a distinct "class" or cohort of participants on their collective trajectory through the programme, working from the same curriculum, teaching materials and supervised by the same instructors. Due to the part-time nature of the course, with the majority of participants working in full time positions as managers, progression through the programme was, by design, highly flexible and individualised. This meant that there could be no selection of individual cases from a uniform collective group, drawing upon shared learning situations, course plans and course literature, as hoped. However, the ultimate aim to follow personified trajectories through the LDP meant that this was disappointing and inconvenient, but not disastrous for the research design. More problematic was the information that MUC as an institution were legally prohibited from providing access to exam materials, and were unable to provide any support in gaining access to potential participants for case studies. This was a more problematic realisation, with serious implications for the planned approach.

Fortuitously, it transpired during the meeting that our contact within the college, who was also present at the meeting, was responsible for the planning and teaching of the final "AP"[62] module of the LDP, which was scheduled to begin with a group of participants a couple of months later, in August 2015. This was an interesting development, allowing the opportunity to follow the teaching and activities taking place within the module as a participant observant in real time, while simultaneously providing access and contact to participants, enabling the identification and selection of participants to study more closely. The inherent risk and uncertainty of such an

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[61] This meeting took place at the MUC: 30.06.15
[62] In Danish: "Afsluttende Projekt" (Final Project)

emergent approach was worrying – it was impossible to determine how many participants would be employed within the day-care sector, and ultimately whether I would at all succeed in gaining permission from participants to follow them into their managerial practices. However, it represented a meaningful and fruitful methodological opportunity – improving the integrity and ecological validity of the ethnographic material gathered, while facilitating direct observation of unfolding and situated practices central to any practice theory approach.

This represented a fundamental shift in the research approach, resulting in the abandonment of any attempts to identify central policies and discourses, before tracing them like a sleuth to see how they manifested in practices, and the potential implication of this. Instead, I was to be thrown into the mix of real-time, situated practices with a matter of weeks to prepare. As a result of this, I adopted an emergent and adaptive approach, beginning firmly in situated practices and studying how these were interlinked with larger social phenomena (Nicolini, 2017a).

A Consideration and Appropriation of Dorothy Smith's Institutional Ethnography

Mismatches between the methodological and theoretical assumptions of my initial research design and the actualities of the field became evident and the search for a more fitting methodological approach was increasingly pressing. This anxiety was addressed by attempting to bracket these concerns and committing to an empirical focus, to try and follow what was going on "out there" and what was actually observable by departing from the 'ivory tower' of academic musings. This facilitated an ongoing abduction between methodological and theoretical reflection and observation and consideration of what was going on in the field. This was not a particularly comfortable position, characterised by a sense of homelessness due to the lack of a firm position, leading to a search for literature that mirrored the approach

and conditions under which my project was taking place. I sought support and legitimacy to the endeavour in established literature. Wandering alone in my methodological journey and essentially improvising and adapting my approach to developments in the empirical field, and the access that was available within it, was informed by a desire to remain loyal to the study of situated practices and practitioners.

Eventually, by venturing into the literature of a myriad of ethnographic approaches I became aware of the work of Dorothy Smith, and her work on Institutional Ethnography (Smith 2005). This was immediately appealing due to its operationalisation of documents and texts within ethnographic studies – fitting to my own hopes of using participants' exam texts as an empirical resource. Smith's writings immediately struck a chord and seemed to fit extremely well with the approach emerging within my own study, given the chosen ontological position and access available to the empirical field. Indeed, I will contend that Smith's approach can be operationalised particularly effectively within studies informed by Schatzkian practice theory, due to its sensitivity to situated practices, and the manner in which texts and practitioners moving within and across them shape -and are shaped by - these. As will be revealed during the course of this chapter, Institutional ethnography provides a coherent and flexible method of enquiry capable of satisfying Schatzki's appeals for conducting empirical research compatible with social practice theory, articulated below.

> *"Accomplishing this task involves identifying manifolds of action, viz, those that compose practices, that differ from those typically studied in social science, for example those composing interactions, routines, or coordinated actions or those associated with roles, positions, subsystems, and other functionally defined units. "*(Schatzki, 2005, p. 478)

By focusing on how the coordination of situated activities and identities is negotiated through such manifolds of action, Institutional ethnography provides an opportunity to methodologically tackle the 'third way' identified by practice theory – between subjectivism and objectivism, (Nicolini, 2012, p. 54) between individualist and societest ontologies (Schatzki, 2005, p. 465). Institutional ethnography can achieve this by training focus on the trans-local coordination of situated activities.

Crucially, the approach advocated by Smith would contend that Borgnakke's process analysis should be inverted; rather than beginning a study at policy level, the researcher should jump straight into the thick of it and follow people participating in situated practices within institutional settings, and base the study on the issues and challenges facing them. This inversion has the added benefit of distancing the researcher from entrapment within a deliberate confirmation bias arising from the operationalisation of pre-defined concepts, from attempting to track the presence of particular discourses or practices, or their eventual absence. Instead, a more inductive approach is committed to looking at what is going on and beginning there, and thus sidestepping potentially problematic presumptions of linkages and causality between different settings and practices.

In particular, the commitment to basing empirical investigation on people in the actualities of their institutional position and the desire to study situated activities, without disregarding wider institutional conditions outside of these interactions, were close to the ambition of my own project. Here, the challenges facing the actors in these situations become the basis for the grounding and development of the proceeding ethnographic enquiry, a useful control mechanism to check the researcher's bias and concerns from dominating the unfolding study. The framework and understandings offered by Smith offered a cohesive model and conceptual vocabulary that provided me with inspiration, a language capable of articulating the emergent approach I was undertaking. The work of Smith entered my project

approximately half way through the field studies and therefore afforded legitimisation of the emergent approach I had developed, while providing a more solid agenda for the remainder of the ongoing empirical work. In order to open up Smith's Institutional Ethnography, I will provide an overview of its central tenets and tackle some key concepts within it, discuss how these relate to the theoretical framework and describe the overall methodological approach.

Institutional Ethnography – A Social Ontology

The fundamental premise of institutional ethnography compliments the exploratory and empirical approach of my project and its commitment to focusing on situated practices and the manner in which they interconnect. Institutional ethnography is to be understood as a project of enquiry, rather than prescribing a pre-given theoretical destination (Smith, 1999; 2005, p.38) to inform the analysis and interpretation of empirical material.

> *"It is a method of inquiry into the social that proposes to enlarge the scope of what becomes visible from that site, mapping the relations that connect one local site to others. Like a map, it aims to be through and through indexical to the local sites of people's experience, making visible how we are connected into the extended social relations of ruling and economy and their intersections"* (Smith, 2005, p.29).

This is not to be explored theoretically, but ethnographically. In order to do so, the point of departure is the actualities of people's lives as they are embedded within social processes – the identification of particular *standpoints.* The notion of standpoints is central to Smith's work and emerges from the influence of feminism[63] in the genesis and development of her approach. This arises from an effort to enlighten the challenges and institutional inequality facing women from a *woman's* standpoint, based on the premise that all knowledge production is political and

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[63] More specifically "Standpoint Feminism." For a more detailed explication of this, see (Lund, 2015)

necessarily embedded in historical struggles and processes(Lund, 2015, p.31). In order to do so, institutional ethnography seeks to identify a subject position from which enquiry can progress, allowing the presence and influence of the social to be explored from this position (ibid; 32). This location in the institutional order provides an experiential standpoint from which the study can develop (Lund, 2012, p.220).

Within the theoretical persuasion of the present study, this idea of *standpoint* harmonises particularly well with the aim of focusing on the person as a situated participant in a broader constellation of social practices. Rather than focusing solely on the individual, it is exactly this positioning that is interesting, allowing consideration of how their professional identity shapes and is shaped by the practices within which they participate. Therefore, the term *standpoint* offers a methodological term for the theoretically informed understanding of the person as situated within practices, and embracing the person's identity as housing the horizon of personal stances to be taken within these structures of social practices.

Smith uses the term *ruling relations* as a marker for the overall complex of objectified and extra-local relations coordinating people's activities across multiple sites (Smith, 2001, p.161). This can be regarded as similar to processes of governance achieved through interventions of particular practice-arrangement bundles over others, within the Schatzkian understanding(Schatzki, 2015a).This is presented as an alternative approach to understanding extra local influences on situated activities, expressed in other perspectives in terms of discourse, bureaucracy, the state, formal organisation or institutions. Inspiration from a Marxist understanding shapes this feminist investigation of how relations between men and women are organised – how they are coordinated and shaped by broader processes. This provides the opportunity to consider how the determinations of the particular space available for women could be seen to arise from social and economic conditions and the relations arising from them (Smith, 1977).

Relocation of the Knower

This approach demands a shift in the assumed position of the researcher, a "relocation of the knower"(Campbell, 2002, p.9).This involves departing from subscription to the ideal of a position of objectivity based on the development and application of stringent, predefined concepts, to moving inside the goings on within the social world and perceiving them from within. Here the intention is to avoid predetermined categorisations and objectifying accounts of people and the social, at the expense of illuminating actual embodied and situated activities (Lund, 2015, p. 32)

This shift collapses the typical analysis of macro and micro levels of sociological analysis making them obsolete (Campbell, 2002, p. 11) by focusing solely on what is happening in the given situation and how these happenings unfold – fitting to the flat ontology of Schatzkian practice theory. Rather than attempting to achieve a unified objective account or description of activities, it is deemed more interesting and pressing to explore and consider the coordination of people's activities – learning from differences of experiences and perspective in the same overall process, and looking into how the actions (including talk) that went into it were being concerted.

Experiential Standpoints

This does not mean that these people constitute the object of enquiry, which is much broader. "It is the aspects of the institutions relevant to the peoples' experience, not the people themselves that constitute the object of enquiry (Smith, 2005, p.38)." *The experiential standpoint is therefore, not merely an individualised case, but an entry point into the actual workings of those institutions which produce the generalized and abstract character of contemporary societies* (Smith, 1987, cited in (Grahame, 1998, p.353). This aspect of institutional ethnography offers an epistemology capable of complimenting the "post-individual" social ontology underlying the present study, coming to know and understand not *of* people but *through* people and their positions

and activities within institutions. The applicability of this approach within a Schatzkian social practice ontology can be underlined, when Smith's understanding of what an institution is and what it constitutes is considered. It is defined thus:

> *"...a complex of relations forming part of the ruling apparatus, organized around a distinctive function – education, health care, law and the like. In contrast to such concepts as bureaucracy, 'institution' does not identify a determinate form of social organization, but rather the intersection and coordination of more than one relational mode of the ruling apparatus"*(Smith, 1987, p.160)*"*

This description of institutions would not be overly problematic within a social practice ontology and the understanding of organisation and institutions as *site-ontologies* - as constellations of *practice-arrangement bundles*. In this way, institutions are "clusters of text-mediated relations organized around a specific ruling function"(Devault, & McCoy, 2007, p.17) which can be explored by identifying and following experiential standpoints of people within them. This approach, maintains Smith, allows nominalisations such as organization and institutions to be investigated ethnographically by studying the manner in which they are accomplished locally (Smith, 2001). This makes it conceivable to apply institutional ethnography in order to study "management" as such a nominalisation and to focus on managerial practices in a similar way, by studying the manner in which these practices are accomplished locally and how they are interconnected with, and influenced by, other practices and large-scale phenomena. More specifically, in the case of the present study, these would be identified as the bundles of the municipality, the LDP and the local institution. To do this, it is essential to identify a *standpoint* from which these issues can be investigated, to perceive the practitioners and the factors influencing the way in which managerial practices unfold.

Smith (2005) contends that the consideration of texts and the role they play in the constitution of organisations and institutions makes it possible to extend ethnographic studies beyond local observations and into these wider trans-local ruling relations and the manner in which they seek to coordinate activities and subjectivities (Smith, 2001). For the vernacular of my study, this would be operationalised as how interconnected practices within and across *site ontologies* shape and are shaped by practices and practitioners performing them. Considering how these "institutional texts" (Smith, 2005, p. 118) enter localised settings, both of the LDP and the local institution allows for the study of how practitioners undertake this work. This would allow for an appreciation of how this involves navigating the conflicting demands facing them from the broader organisational agenda, as well as more local concerns of staff in their own institutions.

Close study of these situations would provide an understanding of how these texts "happen"(Smith, 2001, p.171) and what this may tell us about the managerial work being done and the relationship between the LDP and managerial practices. Thus, managerial work can be empirically positioned in the join between the local and the extra local, and the manner in which practitioners navigate between these considerations.

Smith's definition of institutions and institutional processes provided above complements the Schatzkian understanding of site ontologies and practice-arrangement bundles and the manner in which they interconnect.

> *"Large social phenomena are slices and aspects of constellations of practice- arrangement bundles. They take the spatial form of variably dense regions of diverse relations and boast — among other things — scattered interconnected objective spaces and interwoven activity spaces*

> *that track the gradients of relation concentration."* (Schatzki, 2015b, p.14)

The empirical approach offered by Smith for enquiry into institutions as coordinating the relations around particular functions has a similar understanding to that presented in the Schatzkian ontology – that interconnected practices are the site of the social and provide the framework for social interaction.

Therefore, for the present study, Smith's understanding of institutions can be aligned with the Schatzkian understanding of *practice-arrangement bundles*. This offers a firm method of empirical enquiry for the investigation of how these different bundles hang together, and the implications this hanging together has for the interactions and understandings of the communities of practitioners within them and the horizon of their professional identities.

Mediating Marx and Garfinkel

Smith offers an approach capable of capturing the wide scope in the research interest within the present study, with an eye for both practices and people, for situated interactions and wider societal frames. The manner in which Smith's approach achieves this bifocal capability and the relevance of this for my project will be considered below.

> *"This is a social ontology not of meaning but of a concerting of activities that actually happens. Hence the social must be conceived as an ongoing process (cf. Garfinkel 1967, 1972), in time and in actual local sites of people's bodily existence, even when the coordination may be of large-scale organization or of social relations implicating multiplicities such as those theorized by Marx."* (Smith, 1999, p.97)

Smith (1999) positions her Institutional ethnography between the materialist method with its focus on the implications of economic conditions and forms of production -as

developed by Marx & Engels (1976) - and the ethnomethodological approach introduced by Garfinkel (1984), focusing on the micro-study of ongoing, in-situ social interactions. The ethnomethodological approach and later developments in conversation analysis focus on how sense and meaning are emergent and come into being as people make them. The manner in which this meaning making process and interactions unfold sequentially, with each utterance connected to the previous and offering a frame for the next, provides the opportunity to observe how a functional understanding is achieved in practice (Smith, 2001, p.178).

The inclusion of a Marxist dimension is a deliberate and conscious choice, with consideration of wider societal conditions intended to temper ethnomethodology's sensitivity to an ongoing and emergent social order arising through interaction. The implications of these wider frames for ongoing interactions is the crucial part of Smith's research agenda – how then can these broader social relations be seen in the actualities of everyday lives; how are they inserted and enacted (Campbell, 2002, p.13) in situated practices and what are the implications of this?

The absence of predetermined theoretical destinations means that these social relations are not presumed to be malignant; their influence and the implications of them should be considered and investigated empirically (Smith, 2005, p. 36). This is a project of inquiry proceeding from the discovery and learning from actualities, working with a cartography of the social in its institutional forms (ibid; 52).

This suggests a social ontology which is compatible with a Schatzkian understanding, in which *practice-arrangement bundles* would host these "clusters of textually mediated relations." The commitment to understanding local micro interactions on the background of larger extra-local phenomena provides a way of empirically grasping the manner in which practices and sites are interconnected, how they are organised and how this is related to the material conditions within which they

transpire. This becomes observable by identifying and following experiential *standpoints* of people situated within these bundles and examining doings and sayings taking place. Ultimately, this offers a methodological approach to the study not only of situated practices, and the constituent activities of practitioners, but also how these are interconnected with other practices while illuminating attempts at trans-local coordination and governance.

Identifying a Problematic

When the location of an experiential standpoint achieved, the next step for the enquiry is to identify a problematic.[64] This does not merely involve starting with the problems of people, focusing instead on the key issues with which they are engaged to create a "project for exploration" (ibid; 40). Institutional ethnography strives for a determined commitment towards remaining in the world of everyday experience and knowledge, exploring the problematics implicit within it.

> *"Developing a problematic in institutional ethnography translates actualities of people's doings from forms of organization implicit in the everyday world into the forms of discursive representation in which they can be subjected to inquiry." (ibid; 39)*

Crucially it is emphasised that the problematic is not discursively constructed from what is particular to an individual, but seeks to explore the wider situation within which such experiences are embedded. The aim is to look beyond the individual and gain insight into how standpoints are positioned within the wider set of relations, investigating the coordinating complex of relations of which they are part. Here, qualitative research and ethnography have the capacity to comment on more than the particular setting or context investigated - it can reveal how these local sites and

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[64] Smith acknowledges that this term is borrowed from Althusser: " I have appropriated the term problematic from Louis Althusser (1971, 32) to locate the discursive organization of a field of investigation that is larger than a specific question or problem. Within such a field, questions and problems arise to be taken up, but they do not exhaust the direction of inquiry."(Smith, 2005,38)

situations are "penetrated with the extra- or trans-local relations that are generalized across particular settings" (ibid; 42).

The identification of a problematic ensures that this study remains close to the actuality of lived lives within institutional conditions, providing a specific territory to be discovered rather than a question that is concluded in the answering of it (ibid; 41). This problematic anchors the study and the ongoing exploration where ethnography is not an experimental approach requiring sociological objectivity but must be truthful and strive to be as faithful to the field as possible, staying focused on "what's going on?" This is a commitment to focus upon people's experiences to discover how the ruling relations are both reliant upon on, and determine their everyday activities, where this is to be explored ethnographically through the identification and exploration of problematics, rather than merely assumed from the outset.

The appropriation of this approach to problematics within my study enables me to utilise the fact that the managers, in their participation within the LDP must identify an organisational challenge which they must address. By using this as the *problematic* to be explored ethnographically, focus is trained on the conditions of the problematic, and how the manager draws on resources from the LDP to engage with it. Therefore, the ethnography of the present study follows not just the manager, but the manager in relation to this specific problematic as a set of organisational conditions.

Discourses and Persons

> "*Institutional ethnography needs a solution that neither dispenses with individual subjects, their activities, and experience nor adopts the alternative reification of the social as system or structure or some ingenious combination of the two. For institutional ethnography, the*

social as the focus for study is to be located in how people's activities or practices are coordinated. Individuals are there; they are in their bodies; they are active; and what they're doing is coordinated with the doings of others." (Smith, 2005, p.59)

This presents Smith's understanding of the "social" as the activities of people as they are coordinated with others. To this end, Smith (ibid,79) appropriates Volosinov's (Vološinov, 1972) concept of language as establishing an *interindividual territory,* based on the two-sidedness of the word - and a relation which occurs between the individuals. The implications of this are that the social is not to be understood as something mystical and distinct from people, or occurring within their heads, but rather an aspect of what they do and therefore something which can be explored and investigated through ethnographical study of peoples doings and activities. "The focus of research is never the individual, but the individual does not disappear; indeed, she or he is an essential presence. Her or his doings, however, are to be taken up relationally" (ibid).

This is an understanding which fits well with the present study's attempts to include the person within a practice theory perspective, informed by the development of identities through membership of communities of practitioners (Dreier, 2009a; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998). Rules do exist, but they do not determine order – rather they offer coordinates for how activities may be undertaken to achieve order. It is the activities taking place in relation to these rules that establish or disrupt the prescribed order (Smith, 2005, p.67). This is where institutional ethnography can offer enlightenment, by focusing on what is going on, and investigating how these coordinates are followed, ignored or denied through the study of situated practice and the doings of the practitioners carrying them out.

Smith's understanding of the knowing subject as an actual person located bodily in time and space and responding to the coordination of institutional discourses, is at odds (Campbell, 2002, p.19) with post–structural accounts of the individual, collapsing the subject into a conduit of discourse.[65] Rather than a distinct symbolic order removed from practice, language is to be regarded as part of the social, and central to the ongoing coordination of activities central to the achievement of order and the accomplishment of the institutional.

> *"In a sense, I want to lift discourse off the page and pull it into life. I want to step outside the artifice of the text's stasis and rediscover discourse as an actually happening, actually performed, local organizing of consciousness among people."* (Smith, 2001, p.177)

This emphasises an understanding of people as agents and active participants social life, and how discourse is used actively, rather than the Foucauldian tendency to focus on how people's knowledge and subjectivity are formed by objectifying discourses (Lund, 2015, p.41). This is a commitment and point of departure that fits extremely well with the understanding of discourse offered in the Schatzkian social practice ontology, and operationalised within this study. Here the fundamental understanding is that it is more pressing and appropriate to understand and investigate discourses through people and practices, rather than the other way around (Smith, 2005, p.94).[66]

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[65] Smith's criticism of the condition of discourse is summarised here: "I argue here that the post-structuralist/postmodernist critique of theories of language, meaning, reference, and representation has 'slipped into the form' of the theories it criticizes by importing the very universalized subject of knowledge it has repudiated. The unitary subject of modernity is rejected only to be multiplied as subjects constituted in diverse and fragmented discourses. Secondly, post-structuralism/ postmodernism transfers the function of the subject to language or discourse, reinforcing the traditional separation of the bases of consciousness from the local historical activities of people's everyday lives. Once this step has been taken, the inquirer cannot find her way back to a world in which people are active and in which we are constantly bringing what we do into relation to others. She is confined to a phenomenal world in which nothing ever happens. " (Smith,1999,98)

[66] Clarification of the operationalisation of Smith's understanding of the role of language can be found here: "This chapter has introduced a theory of language as the medium in which thoughts, ideas, ideologies and so on are lifted out of the regions of people's heads and into the social understood as the coordinating of people's doings. For institutional ethnography, language is of central importance because the distinctive forms of coordination that constitute institutions are in language. Institutional

Textual Mediation of Social Life[67]

I contend that the attention which Smith draws to texts as operating at the juncture between the local settings of everyday worlds, and the wider implication of institutional orders and ruling relations can directly address the methodological challenge (Nicolini, 2017a) of studying larger organisational phenomenon from a practice perspective.

> *"It suggests that exploring how texts mediate, regulate and authorize people's activities expands the scope of ethnographic method beyond the limits of observation. Texts and documents make possible the appearance of the same set of words, numbers or images in multiple local sites, however differently they may be read and taken up. They provide for the standardized recognizability of people's doings as organizational or institutional as well as for their co-ordination across multiple local settings and times."*(Smith, 2001)

This approach advocates the use of texts as an empirical resource, not only in terms of their content, but more the manner in which they are taken up within situated activities and practices – the manner in which they enter into and guide practices and how they are taken up by participants. This medium enables texts to come into interactions and have influence, providing the opportunity for shared , text-based inter-individualities, beyond the potential limitations of common shared experiences

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ethnography needs a theorizing of of language that enables examination of its role in coordinating –making social- people's consciousness or subjectivities. " (Smith,2005, 94)

[67]A clear definition of how the term "text" is to be understood is offered here: "Texts, in the sense I am using the term here, are definite forms of words, numbers or images that exist in a materially replicable form. The replication of words and numbers or images as texts in multiple local sites reproduces them across time and space and among people variously situated. The text itself, as a material presence (paper, electronic and so on) is produced, read (watched, listened to) in particular local settings by particular people. People's activities in local settings are in this way connected into social relations organized by the text. When a text is read, watched or heard it brings consciousness into an active relationship with intentions originating beyond the local. Texts therefore are key devices in hooking people's activities in particular local settings and at particular times into the transcending organization of the ruling relations, including what sociology calls institutions and organizations. The capacity of texts to import the same set of words, numbers or images into local settings separate in time or space is essential to how what we call organizations and institutions exist in the peculiar way in which they do." (Smith, 2001, 164)

(Smith, 2005, p.95). Rather than regarding texts as sources of information about the organisation, they should be regarded as constituting the organisation (Smith, 2001, p.3). This does not imply that texts have the almighty power to uniformly colonise local practices and determine the manner in which they proceed. Rather, they facilitate the textual mediation of trans-local discourses and representations that may then be appropriated and translated in each local setting. "The local is shaped, not determined by the trans-local." (Fairclough, 2006 cited in (Lund, 2012, p.219)

Using texts in this way pushes the ethnographic method beyond observation. The manner in which texts enter into situated practices, how they mediate and regulate the activities of participants (Smith, 2001)[68], but also how these activities can circumvent such regulations can be studied. Unfolding situated practices can be studied on a wider background, allowing the social-historical conditions within which they take place to be considered in analysis. In this way, social relations are not solely defined or exclusively focused upon direct formal or informal relationships and interactions between specific people. *"Rather it directs attention, and takes up analytically, how what people are doing and experiencing in a given local site is hooked into sequences of action implicating and coordinating multiple local sites where others are active."* (Smith, 1999, p.7)

> "*For the ethnographer, individuals' engagement with a text is locally observable, and at the same time, it is connecting the local into trans-locality of the ruling relations. Discovering, then, how texts articulate our local doings to the trans-locally organized forms that coordinate our consciousnesses with those of others elsewhere and at other times is the objective* (Smith, 2006, p.66)."

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[68] Smith's work is cited by the Montreal School and its development of the Communicative Constitution of Organisation (CCO) approach and its concept of "textual agency." See, for example (Cooren, 2004)

Smith suggests approaching the manner in which individuals engage with texts as a "text-reader conversation[69]"(Smith, 2005, p.104), a very particular dialogue in that it is active, while the text remains the same, irrespective of the way the conversations develop. It is the materiality, the very replicability of the text and its constancy irrespective of location which imbibes it with the capacity to coordinate actions and practices trans-locally (ibid, 166). Again, it must be underlined that this does not equate to a form of textual determinism, rather, that any text can be interpreted and read differently by different people in different sequences of action (ibid;107). *How* it is read and the implication of this reading are potentially significant.

The Coordinative Work of Texts: Sequences of Action and Intertextual Hierarchies

> *"Yet texts are of central importance to institutional ethnography because they create this essential connection between the local of our (and others') bodily being and the trans-local organization of the ruling relations. Somehow they have to be brought into the same dimension as that of people's everyday doings. They have to be seen to "occur," to happen, to be active, to be integral to the organization of institutional relations."* (Smith, 2005, p. 119)

Smith contends that the decisive element in incorporating texts in ethnographic enquiry is to perceive them as *happening* – focusing investigation on how these occurrences take place as text-reader conversations in situated practices (ibid; 168).

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[69] Smith suggests that the notion of text-reader conversation does 3 things: "1. It enables us to recognize the reading of a particular text as something that is being done in a particular local setting by a particular person. 2. It proposes that the reader, engaged in a text-reader conversation, plays two parts: first, she or he activates the text and, in activating it, becomes the text's agent; second, she or he responds to it in whatever way is relevant to her or his work. 3. It makes it possible for us to see the text activated by a reader, as participating and playing a part in organizing definite sequences of action." (Smith, 2005,120)

> *"texts suture modes of social action organized extralocally to the local actualities of our necessarily embodied lives. Text-reader conversations are embedded in and organize local settings of work (ibid;166)."*

By studying work as a course of actions, punctuated and coordinated by texts draws attention to the active part they play in how these sequences play out, making the manner in which the trans-local hooks into doings in locally situated practices a potential object of study.

This coordinating function of texts can be explored in two ways:

> *"those textually coordinated work processes that produce the institutional realities that make the actual actionable and the distinctively hierarchical forms of intertextuality in which texts at one level establish frames, concepts, and so on, operating on and in the production of institutional realities (ibid;186)."*

Here, Smith draws attention to the manner in which power relations can be brought into focus through study of the manner in which this coordination unfolds. By appreciating intertextual hierarchies, where particular texts have primacy and are regulatory, the wider coordination of particular sequences of action can be comprehended and the function of these considered. This understanding offers a sturdy approach to the use of participants' exam papers as empirical material, where their positioning within the wider intertextual hierarchy and relation to regulatory texts can be appreciated and considered.

Position of the Researcher

> *"Inquiry is in and of the same world as people live in…It is always also about ourselves as inquirers, not just our personal selves, but ourselves as participants in the social relations we explore. In discovering dimensions of the social that come into view when we begin inquiry from*

> *the actualities of people's lives and experiences, we discover the*
> *lineaments of social relations in which our social lives are embedded*
> (Smith, 1999, p.8)*."*

Smith emphasises that there is no position-less, Archimedean point from which an objective account can be written (ibid). However, a reflexive approach, and a commitment to following the problematics defined by people from the actualities of their embeddedness within institutional conditions can balance the temptation for the researcher to see what they want to see, or follow predefined theoretical convictions. This encourages focus to be trained on the concerns of the people involved and the conditions shaping them, rather than the concerns of the analyst. Rather than explaining the actions of people within practices from a privileged position of objectivity, the aim is to investigate the manner in which these practices are coordinated and the manner in which the actions of these people can transform or reproduce them.[70]

By identifying managerial practitioners –middle managers- as the standpoint from which my study emerges, it is possible to focus on the coordination of this position and the manner in which participants work in relation to this coordination, where a dialogue can be facilitated between the researcher and the experiences felt and witnessed in the field through observations and interviews. The institutional ethnographer recognises the authority of the experiencer to inform the ethnographer's ignorance(Smith, 2005, p.138).

> *"Dialogue is involved in its production, even when the experience is the*
> *researcher's. There is no alternative. Dialogue is the language factory*
> *that produces out of the actual the experiential knowledge that can then*

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[70] The distinction between perspective and standpoint is developed here: "A perspective is a way of regarding something, a point of view or an attitude. A person's perspective is influenced by their standpoint—but standpoint (as a methodological term) and perspective are not synonymous. (Rankin, 2017, 8)

be further processed into ethnography. Experiential accounts cannot give direct and unsullied access to an actuality; actuality is always more and other than is spoken, written, or pictured. What becomes data for the ethnographer is always a collaborative product." (Smith, 2005, p. 125)

This idea of a dialogue is an effective framing for the position of the researcher and the status of field notes made during observations and shadowing periods as empirical material. These field notes are essentially the researcher's experiential account, offering insight into the manner in which these events were perceived. Corroboration of the researcher's experiences and understandings can be achieved to a certain extent through methodical triangulation with other empirical sources and material, namely document analysis and interviews. This makes it possible to cross check these experiential accounts and establish their credibility in relation to the wider ethnographic study. However, this is not the same as perceiving these notes as objective accounts from a neutral, Archimedean position.

This positioning, in the thick of it, while challenging, also offers strength in relation to the practice theory persuasion of the study. By entering the practices on a footing with the practitioners and conducting participant observation and shadowing provides an opportunity to attain an understanding of what is going on that is closer to that of the actors involved. This would be described in ethnomethodological terms as "members' knowledge," and is crucial in recognising observed activities as being an instance of a particular practice. Therefore, this positioning in the thick of it makes it conceivable to establish the "criteria of sameness" (Schmidt, 2018) necessary in the identification and delineation of particular activities as practices. Likewise, Smith's focus on the manner in which texts "happen" also draws attention to the organisation of activities. Shadowing and observation makes it possible to observe how texts seek to coordinate practices in-situ, in a particular manner and thereby revealing the contours of these practices, as suggested by Schatzki:

"*Evidence for a practice's organization is thus found in the presence and absence of corrective, remonstrative, and punishing behaviors and in the verbal and nonverbal injunctions, encouragements, and instructions whereby neophytes are brought into line'* (Schatzki, 1996, p.101)

Studying how texts *happen*, and how they are seen to offer organisation for particular activities can therefore reveal the contours of a given practice, allowing it to be recognised and analysed.

Chapter 6b: Who, What, Where, When, Why and How?

The second part of the methodology section seeks to give a more detailed description of the nuts and bolts of the approach taken, providing more details of the particular methods used and the manner in which they were applied. This begins with a description of how observations were conducted and the production of field notes, before considering the selection of standpoints and the approach taken to the study of documents and qualitative interviews. The section works towards providing an account of how the empirical material was collected and how the analytical strategy was developed during the course of the study.

Participant Observation

I was present as participant observant at all of the sessions offered during the final "AP" module. On the first day, I was invited by the lecturer responsible to join the group on the morning of the first session immediately after they had completed basic introductions, allowing him the opportunity to explain my presence and allow for the possibility for potential objections to be aired before I arrived. I can only presume that there were no serious objections to my presence, as I was granted access without further comment.

As the room was already occupied and the participants were seated, the only remaining position for me to occupy without unduly disturbing the proceedings, was to sit removed from the group, and outside of the natural "horseshoe" frame formed around the authoritative voice (Borgnakke, 1996, p.154) of the lecturer at the front of the room. Therefore, I initially sat at the back of the room, providing oversight of the room and participants, and preventing my presence from overtly disturbing the proceedings. This also enabled me to adopt the position of the "blatant

scribe"(Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2001, p.356) openly and actively jotting field notes in a hard backed book. This entrance proved useful in establishing the nature of my presence, and my note–taking seemed to be quickly accepted and regarded as the norm within the room. As my presence became established and naturalised over the course of the module, I moved into a more central position among the participants, within the horseshoe pattern.

The lessons varied between traditional oral presentations held by the lecturer supported by power point slides, and regular intervals of group work around prescribed tasks and activities – encouraging the participants to discuss their project ideas and specific details and challenges related to these. My general approach to note taking was transcription based (ibid; 359), focusing on dialogue and interaction, aiming to capture the essence of statements, sequences of dialogue and conversations (Borgnakke, 1996, p.151). In particular, my focus was drawn towards the interactions arising within group activities where participants collectively discussed and formulated their individual projects. This proved to be a rich source of detail in how participants brought their managerial practices into dialogues – both with one another and with the theoretical resources previously provided in the LDP. During these group sessions, I was able to move freely around, identifying a particular group of interest to follow during each activity. These observations were limited to the group work going on within the room, with some participants choosing to seek a quieter environment for their group work, outside the room. It seemed excessive to aggressively follow, or seek out these groups, as the hive of activity in the classroom seemed sufficient for my enquiries.

As the descriptive field notes were actively jotted on the first day it became clear that it would be necessary to identify individuals, in order to trace statements and events to the correct participants at a later date. It was clearly impossible to have an accurate knowledge of the names of those present – having just entered the room. Therefore,

as the participants interacted with the lecturer and with each other, I developed monikers for the relevant actors, such as "public school blue" (a public school teacher wearing a blue shirt). This made it possible to label the relevant actors, until I gradually learned all the names. When writing the jotted and primarily descriptive field notes, any immediate reflections and observations were also recorded - clearly labelled with titles TN (Theoretical Note), MN (Methodological Note), ON (Observational note) RN (Reflective Note) AN (Analytical note). The aim of this was to identify them as items of analysis (Emerson et al., 2001; Schatzman & Strauss, 1973), and to separate them from the descriptive field notes (Lofland & Lofland, 1996). This allowed any emerging thoughts, ideas and reflections to be recorded, allowing navigation between the descriptive and analytical notes, when rewriting the more cohesive field notes. An example of the results of this approach can be seen below, highlighting an incident that occurred in the first day of AP module, where the participants were invited to share their potential exam projects in groups. The note on the left is a cohesive recreation of the descriptive notes, while the column on the right recreates reflective/ analytical notes:

	Coherent Descriptive Notes	Notes
26.08.15 notes 64-68	Tobias' group agree to talk through the different processes they could work with in their exam projects, and the potential results these could give. Maria begins, explaining that her challenge springs from the centralised restructuring occurring within her organisation, where she works as a leader, coordinating street level	RN: Mathilde virker ærerlige over situation, som det går hende på. Det er svært at navigerer i de forskellig prof og personlig dynamikker som må være til sted! Følsomt område!

| | pedagogical work and work within free time clubs. As part of this restructuring, department leaders are now to be given the title of "team – coordinators", losing their leadership responsibility and legitimacy, while still being expected to assume specific leadership tasks. Maria intends to use her exam project to work with how this restructuring should be handled at the local level of her organisation, regarding the dilution of the department leader role as a challenge for the leadership team. This could potentially involve considering how to support the department leaders during this transition, conducting interviews with them to get a better idea of who can cope with the change, and who may need extra assistance. As the other participants in the group enquire into the situation, it becomes clear that a post is to be created within the organisation to oversee this transition. When asked as to how she would feel in this position, Maria replies that she is unsure, it would involve officially | ON: Six participants sit around the table and are engaged in Maria's description of her case, and reflect upon what this entails. It is clear that they have great sympathy with the team coordinators.

AN. Identity work! Conscious |

registering an interest in the position and potentially being called to an interview. She states that this would be a new level of leadership for her, and that she intends to use her final exam project to develop a more relevant profile for the job, and increase her chance of getting the position. One of the other participants asks whether Maria's position within the organisation is secure, to which she replies that it is, until the position in question is filled on the first of October, and she discovers whether she has got the post. Tobias states that this is a "grotesque situation" – stating that they are constantly told that leadership is important, while leadership positions are constantly being cut and replaced with remote ("fjernstyret") management. The group realise that they are running out of the allotted time for the group activity, and decide to move onto another case.

strategic positioning, in an attempt to change her future placement within the organisation. Strategic participation.

RN: This gives an interesting perspective on the effect of the diploma programme. She intends to use it to become more capable in executing external change processes within her own organisation, processes which she actually does not like.

Writing the Field Notes:

Field notes were transcribed in full on the same day as they were collected. This was a challenge, particularly in the periods of shadowing, with research days beginning at 08:00 and continuing until 17:00. Then going home and transcribing the notes from 20:00 until approximately 01.00. However, it felt important to invest in this approach to maximise the accuracy and retention of the final field notes. The scratch notes were written in Danish, as were more extensive descriptive notes. Only if the notes were to be used for analysis, were they translated into English. I experimented with writing notes directly in English, but found that valuable time and concentration was lost in attempting simultaneous translation. Therefore, I decided to stick to Danish. At times, however, on rereading my notes I was surprised to find that I sometimes shifted unconsciously between the languages in writing up the descriptive note, making for some interesting reading! The example below illustrates the process:

Making "scratch notes
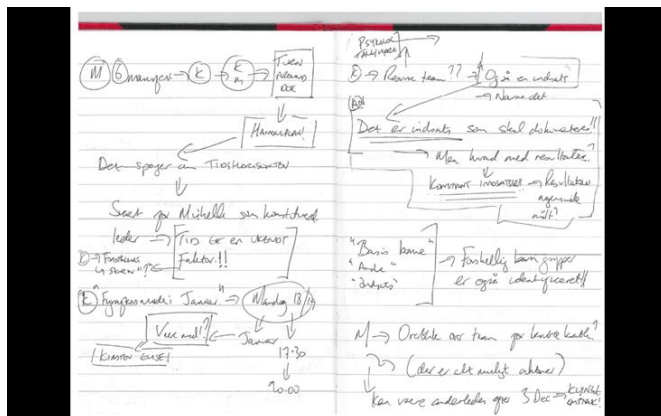
Transcribing the field notes

1.	Præcis kl 08.30 starter s – "Nu	

| . | er det præcis kl 08.30, så går vi i gang.” Dagen begynder med en sang – teksten til ”Morning is Broken ” er vist på projekter, og en af pædagogerne (R) spiller klaver. Sangen er gennemførte med en svingende indsats og melodiøst kvalitet, men det gennemføres. Jeg er inviteret til at forklar lidt om min tilstedeværelse og min projekt, som jeg gøre. Efterfølgende sætter S dagen i gang med at liggeg op til B 's oplæg. Han har forberedet en slide show med en gennemgang af hvad kerneopgaven er, og hvorfor det er vigtigt – nemlig fordi det giver muligheden for at ”medarbejder og ledelse kan møde og tal om hvad der er vigtigt for det daglig arbejde.” BB forklar at ”kernen ” er nemlig at levere velfæd, og får dem, at gøre det åp en måde der bedst gavner børnene. De ansatte sidder og ser ud til at være interesserrt og lytter aktiv. BB forklarer hvordan årshjulet skal formidle og give udtryk for deres forståelse af kerneopgaven på huset – ”skal gerne illustrerer kerneopgaven.” S kommer på banen her og tilføjer at årshjul skal give et fælles ramme, og spille regler for alle ”rammen som vi styrer efter og sikrer at vi udfylder opgaven fra kommunen. S understreger at det er en ”styringsredskab” som | RN: Jeg tænker her om kerneopgaven knyttes derfor til ledelserum på en måde+ En berettigelse af det hos de involveret?

RN: Hvad er historien ba kerneopgaven? Hvor kommer det egentlig fra?

RN: Jeg overvejer min projekt og brugen af Smith's problematics begreb. – What are the problematics of everyday management? ?

AN: Evaluering etc er vigtigt i forhold til det jeg var vidne til med Tobas B Stax på SUL konference.

AN: Me - Årshjulet er som en oversættelses device? Oversættelses teknologi!? |

	formentliget skal bruges til at øge deres selvkontrol og evalueringsevne. Det er tydeligt at S forsøger at etablere en fælles forståelse af hvad årshhjulet er og hvordan det skal bruges – det skal være med i de ansattes tanker her! Der er en del naturlig ping pong mellem S og BB, hun hopper ind jævnligt, når hun synes der skal forklares lidt mere, eller tingene skal lige gentages på en andet måde.	

Keeping Track of the Data

I carried a Dictaphone with me at all times, recording dialogue when possible and appropriate. There were, of course many times when was not permitted to make recordings, and at the beginning of each meeting I attended, I stated that I wished to record, if possible. If there were any objections, or doubts rose, I unequivocally placed the recorder in my bag, to make it clear that the session was not being recorded.

As the time was jotted by the notes made during the course of the day, it was possible to identify the location of interesting interactions within the many hours of recordings made. At the end of each day, I made an "audio dump" exporting the files from the Dictaphone into my computer and labelling the files with the appropriate date and times to ensure that the data was stored in a manner in which it could be quickly found for later analysis.

As the data collection mounted, I began to import the notes, pictures and audio files into the NVivo 11 programme. Any documents collected during observations were

also electronically scanned and imported into the collection in NVivo. This allowed initial coding to be undertaken and registered from the very beginning of the process.

Selecting Standpoints and Gaining Access: Diaries as a Gentle First Move
Aside from gaining specific insights into the actual activities, structure and implementation of the LDP, the final AP module also provided the opportunity to establish contact with participants in order to follow them in their work. On the first day of the AP module, I was invited to hold a short presentation of my PhD project to the group. I did so, roughly sketching my approach and purpose, hoping to explain my presence in more detail and thereby open up lines of communication with the participants. This initially seemed to be an effective presentation, with two participants approaching me shortly afterwards to state an interest in participating in my project.

However, at the beginning of the second session, one of these individuals immediately sought me out to withdraw from the project, explaining that due to the impending cluster reform and the resulting uncertainty surrounding her position, she did not feel able to participate. It was immediately clear that the participants were incredibly busy, with the majority working full-time as managers, and conducting their studies simultaneously. It was the norm for participants to excuse themselves regularly from the sessions, going outside of the room to coordinate and respond to incidents developing in their institutions, or to participate in telephone meetings, before returning to the designated activities. The necessity of finding participants who worked seriously within the development programme, coupled with the decision to select managers working within the day-care sector, meant that, from a group totalling 23 participants, the pool of potential candidates was narrowed immediately.

I was therefore, wary of appearing demanding or pushy in developing closer contact to the participants, preferring instead to gain an idea of the kinds of issues and

projects with which they intended to work, thereby making a more qualified identification of suitable and likely candidates to approach. In this respect, being present and hearing the participants explain and develop their projects within the group work provided an excellent initial insight into their intentions, and organisational circumstances.

Inspired by both the more traditional diary approach applied by Zimmerman , (Czarniawska, 2007; Zimmerman & Wieder, 1977) and the approach of inviting research participants to complete weekly video diaries (Røn Noer 2014), a more low-tech and manageable approach was adopted. This involved e-mailing all of the participants, requesting them to answer three short questions in as much detail as they could, explaining their planned exam projects and opinions of the development programme in general. This was intended as a way to gain a quick and effective overview of the participants and their projects, which would also be helpful in selecting potential candidates. It was hoped that this form could develop into regular, diary type instalments, providing insight into unfolding reflections on developments arising in relation to participation in the development programme, and events unfolding in local organisational practice.

In hindsight, this was clearly an ambitious and perhaps blatantly unrealistic request, taking into consideration the workload of those involved. This was mirrored in the fact that only 6 replies were received from the 23 participants. Many of the participants later informed me that, as they knew I was specifically interested in the day-care sector, they did not reply as they did not work in the field. Nevertheless, the replies received from these six individuals signalled openness and possibly a willingness to participate in the study, despite the hectic commitments of their everyday working life.

The criteria for the selection of participants were very basic: they should be employed as managers in day-care institutions within the municipality of Copenhagen, they should engage actively in the LDP and in their final exam project and, most importantly, they should be willing to let me follow them in their daily work!

Qualitative Interviews

By following the ongoing presentations made during group and class work in the sessions of the final module, it was possible to gain insight into which individuals would represent potential cases, based on their engagement in the LDP, their managerial profiles and the topics chosen for their final exam project. When three individuals were identified, they were then invited to participate in an introductory qualitative interview, with the goal of gaining insight into their experiences and understandings of participation within the development programme.

A narrative approach was adopted, in an attempt to illuminate a world that is not readily available for observation, (Thøgersen, J 2005, p. 16) but where the dialogue presented within could present the possibility to gain insight into the individual understandings of the development programme, and thereby the influence of relations and interactions arising from participation within it.

Adopting a Bourdieu inspired approach (Bourdieu, Accardo, and Ferguson 1999) the participants were invited to begin the interview by producing an uninterrupted narrative, detailing their trajectory of participation through the course of the LDP – their motivation for participating, understandings of learning outcomes and the influence of these on their approach to managerial practices. When the opening narrative was concluded, the remainder of the interview was conducted using supplementary narrative prompts (Gaztambide-Fernandez 2009b, p.246), based around the development of their specific projects and organizational contexts. In this way, the interview situation could potentially provide two connected, but also distinct parts, comprising the interview subject's independent narrative, offering the

foundation for the following interview, which was conducted in a more conversational manner. These independent narratives could also potentially be detached from the ensuing conversation and regarded as individual constructions, allowing legitimate comparison between informants and the possibility to investigate common, or indeed divergent, themes and tendencies between these narrative constructions. These narratives are used as material for analysis in chapter 8 of the present study.

In preparation, a pilot group-interview was conducted with two day-care managers who had graduated from the programme the previous year, providing the opportunity to test the interview approach, and gain insight into the kinds of narratives and responses that might be produced. This pilot interview suggested the interview approach was fruitful, and it was then carried into individual interviews with the selected participants from the LDP. At the end of these introductory qualitative interviews, the candidates were invited to participate as case studies in the project, all of them consenting to do so.

Qualitative Interviews: Work Knowledge
As a way of gaining insight into the wider organisational implications of the actions and approaches undertaken by the managers within specific situations revealed during the research process, selected members of staff of these participants were identified, and interviewed, but in a slightly different manner. Here the approach to interviews described by Smith (Devault, & McCoy, 2007; Smith, 2005) in which the *work knowledge* of participants was the primary focal point was applied. This is explained in more detail below.

> *"The institutional ethnographer, however, does not look for accounts of what happened or what was really going on. She or he is oriented to what the informant knows and to producing a knowledge between them of the*

informant's everyday life in which her or his doings and how they are
coordinated with those of others become visible. She or he is oriented
toward the social organization of people's activities." (Smith, 2005,
p.129)

In approaching later interviews with the superiors and staff of the managers in my
study, I strove to focus my attempts on revealing the work knowledge of informants.
This *work knowledge* is described as being expressed in two ways. Firstly, the
persons experience of their work, what they do and how they feel doing it, and
secondly their understanding of implicit or explicit coordination of this work with the
work of others (ibid;151). In the interviews undertaken it was the manner in which
they experienced the coordination of their activities in daily work which were of
particular interest. Their experiences of municipal regulations, reforms and
restructuring – more specifically their experiences of the particular *problematics*
identified by the managers in their final exam project were to be the object of focus.
This made it possible to try to develop a shared knowledge of how they experienced
this coordination and the work of their manager in relation to it – how did they
perceive the managerial work taking place?

"Starting in the everyday experience of people caught up or otherwise
participating in an institutional process, it directs the researcher to
explore how their work (.....) is articulated to and coordinated with others
active in institutionalized processes." (Ibid; 158)

Therefore these interviews provided the opportunity to gain insight into the
experiential standpoints of staff and superiors, where their accounts of the
problematic identified by their manager in the final exam project of the LDP were to
be explored. The purposive selection (Suter, 2006, p.350) of members of staff present
in situations observed during the shadowing intervals also allowed for narratives on

their experience of particular and significant events to be encouraged. This presented an opportunity to corroborate the experiential accounts of these incidents recorded in field notes.

Gathering Document Material

The emphasis placed on the textual coordination of situated activities made document material an important empirical resource. These documents came from a wide variety of sources, where the collection and analysis of official policy documents relating to the evolution of the education, and the relevant study guidelines where initially an important source of information. As the study became more situated, specific lesson plans and reading lists from the relevant modules provided insight into the design and stated intentions of the development programme and how it was implemented at the MUC. Likewise, treating the exam documents produced by the selected participants as artefacts produced within the practices and sense-making processes (Nicolini 2012, p.7) involved in the development programme, provided regular, qualitative "snapshots" of the individuals' activities within the programme.

Exam Papers as Epistemic Objects

Due to the typical case-study form of these exam projects, they provided insight into contemporaneous attempts to engage the theoretical tools provided by the programme into dialogue with local institutional practices and managerial challenges, revealing the problematics with which the managers had engaged throughout the LDP. Perceiving these exam texts as part of an intertextual hierarchy(Smith, 2005) provides the opportunity to approach them in a particular way, as epistemic objects revealing the results of the coordination of managerial identity within the programme, perhaps the "*normativity*" of the LDP?

> "*Appropriating the [**intertextuality**] concept from literature to the investigation of organizations and institutions directs us towards the complex of texts on constitute their archi-texture (Kallinikos 1995).*

Entering the complex of organizational relations at one text connects the ethnographer with the other texts that come into play…" (Smith, 2001, p.187)

In this way, the exam documents are to be regarded as subordinate texts, entering into the intertextual hierarchy as a response to the regulatory texts (Smith, 2006, p.85) of the study guidelines and course descriptions. This approach allows the articulation of the participants' development in relation to participating within the LDP to be considered – allowing insight into the characteristics of the legitimate, managerial figure emerging from the LDP. As such, these papers can be regarded as constructions documenting the ways in which the person articulates both their professional identity, and their organisation, offering a window into eventual changes in these representations.

Texts in Use

During the observations undertaken, I also collected documents which were in use in the practices taking place whenever possible. For example, in the LDP I collected the power point presentations distributed by the instructor, as well as any paper documents distributed to participants in the sessions, for example outlining workshop activities or group tasks. As my observations moved into institutional practices, I took copies and photographs of meeting agendas, work plans, schematics and other organisational documents which were being used in the different practices and situations. This allowed consideration of how these documents were taken up and enacted in situated practice, how the texts *happen*, rather than just investigating the discursive content of them.

Participant Observation and Shadowing

In order to follow the activities of the managers in their local institutions, the position of the institutional ethnographer provided the general frame, jumping into situated activities and the actualities of organisational practices. Methodically, this

observation was inspired by a *shadowing* approach, providing *"unique insights into the day-to-day workings of an organization because of its emphasis on the direct study of contextualized actions, and tacit practice rather than accounts of practice"*(McDonald, 2005, p.471), through a "mobile ethnology"(Czarniawska, 2007, p.17). Drawing on Brose (2004), Bauman (1995) and Schutz & Luckmann (1973), Czarniawska contests that it is necessary to develop more nimble approaches to fieldwork, rather than the traditional cardinal rule of ethnography, focusing on the maximal time spent in the field (Czarniawska, 2007). Shadowing can therefore be regarded as a more targeted and structured approach to field work, and is therefore particularly suited within a holistic and pluralistic approach to the research context (McDonald, 2005; Stanley, 1998), with the ability to capture the brief, fragmented, varied, verbal and interrupted nature of organizational life (McDonald, 2005; Weick, 1974).

This also provides the opportunity to perceive potential differences between frontstage and backstage presentations by actors and of the organisation, how these differ, and why (Van der Waal, 2009). The opportunity to follow the managers in the flow and rhythms of their normal working days across multitudinous settings provided real insight into their daily work and the tasks involved. In particular, the inclusion of one full week of shadowing each participant provided the opportunity to see how specific incidents and tasks developed within this period. This allowed the manner in which managers repeatedly engaged with these issues over the course of a week, and how these issues were managed and resolved in real time.

Making agreements to follow specific participants before conclusion of the final module in the LDP enabled the strategic positioning of initial shadowing intervals at particularly interesting meetings and events, relating to the developing exam projects. It was possible to follow them in tackling their defined *problematics*. In two of the three cases, it was possible to witness an overlap - to be present as they collected the

empirical material and worked with their ongoing exam projects within the context of their institution.

That the nature of my presence had previously been established as the "note taker" was often used by my cases to introduce me and explain my presence in the given situations and that I would be actively taking notes, focusing on the activities of the manager. This seemed to give my note-taking legitimacy, something the other participants expected and to which they seemed to quickly become accustomed. However, due to the more intimate settings into which the shadowing process brought me, such as emotionally charged and sensitive personnel meetings and conversations, the "blatant scribe" from classroom observations was not appropriate. Instead, a more subtle approach was required, using techniques such as Goffman's "off phase" note taking(Emerson et al., 2001; Goffman, 1989) and "closing the notebook" (Chapman, 2001; Moeran et al., 2007). These were attempts to avoid excessively drawing attention to my presence in sensitive moments, or indeed to actively signal that I was not taking notes at the time, to avoid overtly influencing the proceedings. When possible, the proceedings taking place where also recorded on a dictaphone, making the transcription and analysis of particularly interesting sequences of dialogue possible at a later date.

Reflections in the field

In the following section, methodical and ethical reflections which emerged during the course of the fieldwork are considered in more detail. These provide an indication of the kinds of dilemmas and unforeseen situations which arose over the course of the study and which are linked to the situated position of the researcher within the approach.

Casting a Shadow

Both the benefits and challenges of the shadowing method became apparent while following one of my cases, Sarah in her managerial work. I developed an increasing

sensation that she was performing in a very deliberate manner, and that my presence was causing her to attempt to display just how much she was able to apply the learning outcomes from the LDP in her work. During a particularly interesting meeting, she actively introduced theories and concepts she had used within the LDP. In particular her suggestion of using Aron Antonowskys (1993) *sense of coherence* scale as a conceptual resource for communication gained traction among the other participants, eventually becoming the backbone for their planned future approach. This was an exciting empirical observation, suggesting that the concepts and theories introduced via the development programme had a very clear bearing on her activities in managerial practices, influencing how these were carried out.

However my excitement was tempered dramatically after the meeting, where Sarah and I had withdrawn to her office. Here Sarah informed me that the fact she could see me sitting at the end of the table "trained" her to actively transfer her learning from the diploma programme into the meeting. This was an alarming formulation, making me question the effects of my presence, and the validity of the empirical material being gathered. This was initially very worrying, casting the nature and utility of this empirical material into doubt. However, upon further shared reflection with both supervisors, and the research group, it was concluded that this should not be regarded as a catastrophic contamination. Rather, this very performance could be studied and analysed. Such challenges are not uncommon during shadowing, as reflected upon by Czarniawska:

> "Impression management is a methodological problem only under the assumption that deeds and utterances of people under study should correspond one-to-one to a reality hidden behind appearances, to be revealed in the course of research. If this assumption is replaced by the Goffmanian premise that life is a theatre, however, then that which is played out is of central importance. Impression management, yes; but

> *what impression are the performers trying to produce*" (Czarniawska, 2007, p.38).

A secondary strategy was developed during this first round of shadowing, to avoid being completely blinded by such deliberate performances. This involved orienting the focus of my observations around the stated intentions presented in their exam projects, how they tackled the *problematics* identified in them, ensuring that my eye remained on other "balls," rather than being preoccupied with those thrown towards me by the managers.

The incident described above was the most obvious instance of the unintended consequences of my presence during the course of my study. For the most part the managers were far too busy to have any time to consider the manner in which they were presenting themselves to me in their work.

Shadowing and Thinking Aloud

During the shadowing intervals, the participants quickly developed a tendency to provide narratives of what they were occupied with, or how they understood shared situations. This came to resemble a form of "*thinking aloud*" during which they reflected on their actions and thoughts audibly. At times this was expressed as being a deliberate attempt to include me in what was going on, especially in the wake of events and situations, when the managers would "fill me in" on the background story relating to these events, or provide important details to which I was not privy. One of the participants however, explained that she always talked to herself at work! This thinking aloud occurred without any invitation or provocation from me, as I was wary of disturbing their work processes excessively. This was an interesting tendency, which provided valuable insights into the thoughts and experiences of the participants, also in terms of quickly gaining "member's knowledge."

The Discomfort of Insignificance and Invisibility

During the course of my observations it was typical that, after I had been at the manager's side for a couple of days, both in their offices and following them around the institutions, my presence began to be simply ignored by both the managers and their staff. While this could be considered the optimal position from which to conduct such observations, it proved a surprisingly uncomfortable and disconcerting experience. This feeling of invisibility – of being outside and irrelevant to the events and interactions to which one was present was surprisingly challenging. What could be deemed as normal social etiquette, such as sharing greetings, eye contact or acknowledging one another's presence somehow seemed to be suspended. My presence seemed to be simply irrelevant and inconsequential for the other participants in the situation, something to be ignored. I was not prepared for the uneasiness I experienced in these situations.

When, and When Not, to 'Pull the Trigger'

During my shadowing intervals with Mary, I witnessed a particularly tense staff meeting[71], in which Mary was called on to address tensions arising between members of staff that were directly related to the reform process implemented by the municipality, and therefore extremely relevant to my project. The following is a reflection written in my field notes considering the meeting and how to approach it afterwards.

> *Ethical Reflections and consideration (12.10.16)*
>
> *Considering the meeting I witnessed in the Star House, in which Afaf broke down in tears due to the experience of pressure and exclusion from her colleagues Thomas and the new pædaogue Henriette. It was an emotional meeting, which Mary was arguably unequipped and ill-prepared to deal with. After the meeting Mary shared reflections with me*

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[71] This meeting is described in further detail in chapter 9.

about how hard the meeting had been, explaining that she used "domain theory" offered on the LDP, to distance herself from the emotional situation, but struggled to cope none the less.

Afaf was one of the 5 assistant pedagogues that were to be moved due to Turn Around, and it seemed important to secure an interview with her about her experiences of work in the institution in general, but more specifically regarding the meeting which I had observed. It transpired that she was to be moved over to the institution in which my own children attended nursery. This was a potentially awkward situation, of which I was made aware by Mary. I decided to inform the manager of the institution before she started, that I had met Afaf as part of my observations in the PhD study, so that she was able to make her aware of my presence before she began, and therefore eliminate any possible element of surprise, should she meet me in the nursery.

Fortunately, Afaf was to be allocated to a different group of children than my son, and we have nodded politely and greeted each other in a familiar manner since her arrival. The situation I had observed with Afaf in the Star House was particularly interesting and potentially important for my project. This situation involved my case participant (Mary) acting at the cross section of educational, managerial and municipal practices. In relation to this it was obvious that Afaf should be selected as a participant for the follow- up interviews conducted with staff from Mary's institution. Ethically however, this was extremely questionable, with issues of how any request for such an interview would and could be experienced by Afaf, who was vulnerable in every scenario. Likewise, the validity of the material garnered from any such interview would be questionable, due to our shared presence in the new institutional context of my children's

nursery. Therefore, the selection of interview participants was also to be made on the basis of ethical grounds, rather than being guided solely by the potential empirical rewards. The decision was made not to approach Afaf for an interview.

Methodological Summary: Appropriating Institutional Ethnography

The methodological project of enquiry offered in Smith's Institutional Ethnography, explicitly described as a "Sociology for People," (Smith, 2005) compliments the theoretical framework developed for the study at hand. By using this as sociology for people *in practice,* this is consistent with the point of departure in a Schatzkian social practice ontology and social theories of learning, allowing for the consideration of both practices and the people populating them.

Approaching texts not just as passive artefacts, but as forming active lines of transmission between interconnected practice-arrangement bundles, allows for an investigation of how these coordinate activities and how they are taken up by the practitioners. This allows texts to be seen as resources used to reproduce and transform the situated practices of interest; the engine and mechanics of the social become perceivable and tangible and allowing closer investigation of "what's going on," without divorcing this from consideration of wider social phenomena.

Using texts in this way, and examining the manner in which they influence situated activities provides an empirical foothold in recognising practices, how they are organised and interconnected and the manner in which the activities of participants shape and are shaped by them. This kind of textual approach offers a blueprint for the coordinates of practices, allowing the manner in which these - from a Schatzkian approach -are organised through rules, teleoaffective structures and understandings to be followed more closely.

The situated and emergent nature of the approach is fitting for the present study and the chosen ontological position. This begins with the actualities of daily working lives and allow the identified *standpoints* and *problematics* to shape the "project for exploration"(Smith, 2005, p.40). In this way, the chosen participants within my within my study- middle managers of day care institutions- represent the *standpoint*s, and the organisational challenges with which they engage in the final project of the LDP are the *problematics*. This approach allows the study of the daily actualities of managerial work in-situ. The insights made available through this position provide the opportunity to gain a level of member's knowledge that makes it possible to recognise observed activities as instances of particular practices. Looking closely at how these practices are organised and coordinated trans-locally can provide insight into how practices interconnect and can be influenced from afar. This provides the opportunity to investigate the degree to which the educational practices of the LDP can be seen to influence the managerial practices taking place in the local institution, providing insight into the developing professional identities of the managers involved.

Chapter 6c: Analytical strategy

Introduction

The process of analysis is regarded here as an activity taking place throughout the research endeavour – the result of choices and decisions to focus upon particular things and not others (Daly, 2007, p. 210). What is crucial then, and what has been attempted forthwith, is to explain and describe these decisions and choices. The same approach will be undertaken in describing the process of organizing and interpreting the data collected. The intention was to allow the empirical material to "speak for itself" exploring it inductively before attempting to interpret it through particular

theoretical concepts from the wider theoretical apparatus (ibid;213). This represents
an iterative approach (Suter 2006, p.351), involving repeated movement between the
raw data, codes, categories and the possible explanations that emerge. In this way, the
ambition was to retain the empirical material at the centre of the study, while
simultaneously allowing the legitimate development and application of a theoretical
apparatus capable of contributing to a meaningful analysis of it. An oversight of the
empirical material and its collection is provided below.

Field work Log and Data Overview

Figure 4:

Fieldwork log 2015

(Obs = observation   Int= Interview   Sha= Shadowing)
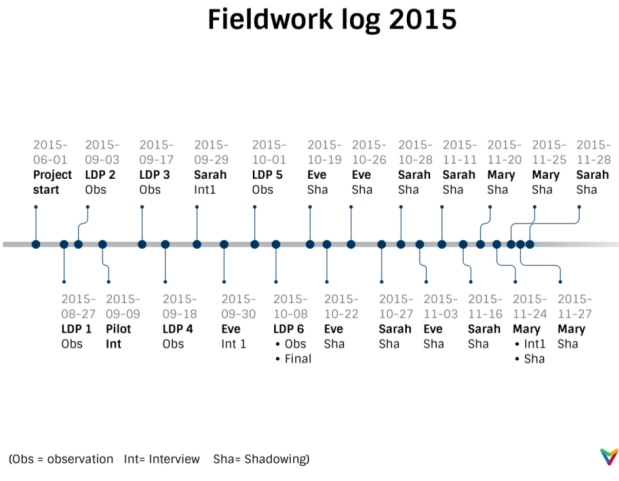
Figure 5:

Fieldwork log 2016-2017

| 2016-01-18 Mary Sha | 2016-01-20 Mary Sha | 2016-01-22 Mary Sha | 2016-02-03 Sarah Sha | 2016-05-12 Eve Sha | 2016-09-26 Sarah Sha | 2016-09-28 Sarah Sha | 2016-10-24 Eve Sha | 2016-10-27 Eve Sha | 2017-03-09 Eve Int 2 | 2017-03-14 Sarah Int 2 |

| 2016-01-19 Mary Sha | 2016-01-21 Mary Sha | 2016-01-27 Mary Sha | 2016-05-11 Eve Sha | 2016-09-24 Sarah Sha | 2016-09-27 Sarah Sha | 2016-10-13 Eve Sha | 2016-10-25 Eve Sha | 2016-10-28 Eve Sha | 2017-03-15 Mary Int 2 |

(Sha = Shadowing   Int= Interview)

Table 1: Data overview

Setting	Observation and shadowing days	Qualitative Interviews	Exam documents	Audio Recordings
LDP	7	2 (Lecturer + alumni)	-	24 Hours
Standpoint 1: "Eve"	11	7	5	16 hours
Standpoint 2: "Mary"	9	7	7	22 hours
Standpoint 3: "Sarah"	12	6	6	24 hours
Total	**39**	**22**	**18**	**86 hours**

Compiling the Empirical Material

The field notes accumulated during observations and shadowing were compiled and organised as detailed previously. Twenty qualitative interviews were conducted. These comprised an introductory interview with the selected participants in the autumn of 2015, and a concluding interview with them in March 2017. Four members of staff from each participant were interviewed, as well as their immediate superior, when possible[72]. These interviews were conducted over the course of the fieldwork. The interviews varied in length, from approximately thirty minutes to an hour and were transcribed in full. The collected audio recordings of situated interactions were treated in a more purposive and selective manner. While I recorded meetings and interactions at every opportunity, it was never my intention to fully transcribe all of this interactional data, which would have been an insurmountable task. Rather, instances of particular interest and fitting to the analytical strategy described below were located in these recordings and transcribed fully, allowing detailed analysis of these.

Organising and Coding the Empirical Collection

The empirical material was entered into the NVIVO 11 programme as it was collected: field notes, audio recordings, teaching materials from the LDP including power points and hand-outs, study guidelines, participants' exam papers, transcriptions of interviews. The material was organised into four different "cases" where the LDP was a specific case, containing all the material related to the LDP and the final module. The selected participants were then registered as cases, within which all notes, recordings and documents pertaining to them were filed. This organisation made structured investigation within and across the different cases possible by the application of specific code queries within the NVivo programme.

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[72] It was, regrettably not possible to secure an interview with Sarah's superior, who did not respond to my inquiries. Due to the independent status of the institution, the organizational structure differed to that of the other participants. Therefore, Sarah's supervisor was not a cluster manager, typical to the municipal structure, but the head of an appointed committee.

This proved to be an effective approach to investigating phenomena and establishing patterns – or the absence of them- across the large empirical collection.

The first coding involved the development of in vivo generated codes, focusing on what was seen to be "going on" in the material itself. The thorough exploration of the material in this way produced an extensive and expansive coding structure, primarily detailing the nature of the content and establishing tendencies and recognisable patterns in the material. This in vivo coding was then complimented with the vocabulary of the theoretical framework, in the form of theory generated codes (Marshall & Rossman 1989, p. 211). This form of axial coding (ibid, 215) lead to the identification of clusters, and sub clusters (ibid; 213) of relationships between codes, allowing the appreciation of any patterns, tendencies or themes developing from these clusters, in a form of" pattern matching" (Suter 2006, p.364). This guided analysis towards sections where the empirical material could potentially be explored further by engaging it with the closer application of particular concepts and ideas from the wider theoretical and methodological framework. The ambition was to facilitate a meeting between the empirical material and the objectifying lens provided by the theoretical apparatus, ultimately enabling a form of selective coding (ibid, 355,) focusing on instances which could address the individual research questions developing alongside the ongoing analysis. Once these instances were identified, they were explored more closely. This was the principle approach taken to sorting and selecting the empirical material for further analysis.

The developing analysis and abduction between the empirical material and the theoretical and methodological concepts meant attention was drawn to situations in the empirical material in which the participants, as middle managers, were seen to be positioned at the intersection of different *practice-arrangement bundles*, typically between their local institution, the municipality and the educational practices of the LDP, where it was necessary for them to negotiate conflicting demands. These

particular areas of interest aided the training of foci, represented within the categories selected for both the in vivo, and theory generated coding. These codes were developed relationally and hierarchically, encouraging coherence and facilitating navigation between them. As the relationship between the empirical material and the theoretical apparatus matured, more direct codes were developed, for example drawing attention to the presence of these "Institutional texts", instances of "membership," the "manifestation of professional identity" and adoption of "managerial stances" in the empirical material.

The involvement of an *institutional text* (Smith, 2005) in these situations and how the coordinating efforts of these texts was negotiated in-situ was a further analytical criteria. This specification, following the theoretical and methodological framework, allowed these situations to be studied as interconnections of practices, with focus on the manner in which this was dealt with by local practitioners. By focusing on these instances, the aim was to enlighten the work undertaken by the middle managers at these intersections. The manner in which they adopted *managerial stances* and oriented their work and attentions in particular directions was to be explored.

Another more mature binary code which emerged and which is central to the later analysis, was whether situated managerial work could be seen to be "brokering" or "buffering" between the municipal reform agenda, and local institutional practices; did they strive to translate this agenda, ignore it or oppose it? The goal of the analytical process was to avoid violence towards the empirical material by suffocating it with predetermined analytical concepts, the aim was to "discover the institutional order rather than imposing it"(Smith, 2005, p.162).

Analysing and Coding the Different Materials

The varying character of the empirical material provides different analytical opportunities and demands. In observations of situated practices through field notes, the analysis aims to consider the goings on taking place, and the manner in which

particular stances emerge within practices. In analysis of the exam papers, the articulation of specific understandings and experiences, how these are coordinated in the textual hierarchy of educational practices and the manner in which these are prescribed meaning by informants is the object of interest. The qualitative interviews are an opportunity to gain experiential accounts from participants, giving insight into their experiences and understandings of them.

The exam texts and interviews also provide the opportunity to consider eventual coherence or dissonance between the content of these accounts and what is seen to be taking place in practice through observation and shadowing, thus providing a different perspective on the manner in which the persons involved experience and prescribe meaning to their activities and participation within the LDP. Analysis of audio recordings and the interactional data produced is used to gain insight into the character of educational and managerial practices in-situ, how these unfold and the implications these proceedings may have for the development and enactment of professional identity.

Chapter 7: Following the Practices of the Final Module

How do the educational practices of the final module of the LDP shape professional identity?

This first analytical chapter is primarily concerned with the educational practices in the final module of the LDP and the participation of the community of practitioners within them. To provide a rudimentary backdrop to the analysis, the section begins with a short account of general details pertaining to the final module. The analysis unfolded after this is structured in two main parts. The first part aims to provide thicker descriptions of the goings on in the LDP drawing on field notes to evoke the general conditions, tendencies and dynamics of membership and participation discovered during participant observation. This aims to draw particular attention to the dynamics found within group work and the discussions taking place among participants. Here, focus is trained on the unfolding interactions and relations arising between the participants on the course, as a community of practitioners.

The analysis then shifts to a more particular research object, focusing closely on a particular interaction and perceiving this as part of a textually coordinated sequence of actions (Smith, 2005, p. 103) within and across the educational practices of the LDP. This provides the opportunity to zoom in on the manner in which the educational practices of the LDP are seen to legitimise particular professional identities, appropriate to the broader reform agenda of the municipality of Copenhagen. In order to do so, document material and interactional data from a seminar is examined, in which the *managerial stance* of a participant can be seen to shift through participation within educational practices.

Introduction to Observations of the Practices of the LDP and the Community of Practitioners

As a participant observer, I followed a group of participants during the entirety of the last of the ten modules comprising their LDP, which involved the completion of their final exam project. This represented my entry to the field of research. The final module of the LDP comprised seven day-long sessions of structured lessons spread over the course of four months, from August to November 2015. There were 22 participants registered for the module, 3 male and 18 female, all of whom were employed within public sector institutions, predominantly from the elementary school and day-care sectors. They varied significantly in age and experience – one younger participant was yet to achieve a managerial position, while others had been employed as managers for over 20 years. The module was coordinated and undertaken by a single instructor, with a background and PhD in the study of management, and employed as associate professor at MUC.

The sessions typically alternated between introductory lectures and presentations held by the instructor, followed by intervals of related group work around prescribed tasks and activities. This structure aimed to encourage the participants to discuss project ideas as they developed, and the eventual challenges and dilemmas related to these, as well as practicing various qualitative research methods in groups, such as interviews and observation exercises.

Format of the Final Exam Project

A compulsory element of the final exam project involved the participants identifying an organisational phenomenon,[73] dilemma or problem and considering their managerial approach to it, while producing empirical material to facilitate its

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[73]In Danish: ” Formålet med afgangsprojektet er at kvalificere de studerende til at identificere, reflektere og analysere en tværfaglig, praksisorienteret ledelsesproblemstilling og angive løsninger og handlemuligheder gennem anvendelse af teorier, strategier og metoder.” (Studieordning 2014)

investigation. Therefore, the content of this final module can be regarded as atypical for the programme as a whole. The focus here was on research design, methodology and presentation of an empirical investigation, rather than on specific organisation and management theories. These theories were, instead, to be selected from those covered on previous modules and applied in the analysis of the empirical material collected for their project. Therefore, the participants' application of organisation, leadership and management theories was not at the forefront of the activities taking place in the module, and therefore not at the forefront of this analysis. These aspects are examined in more detail in chapter 8, through analysis of participants' exam documents.

However, while the content was atypical, the summative nature of the module provided the opportunity to gain a glimpse into the repertoire of theories and approaches offered in the programme and the manner in which participants appropriated them, and intended to apply them in their work. A detailed description of this investigation into their managerial and organisational practices, and the results of any planned interventions were to be presented within a graded 60-page exam paper followed by a spoken exam based on this written material, representing the completion of the formal education.

LDP: Practices and Practitioners

The analysis will now focus on the relations between participants and the manner in which particular professional identities emerge and become legitimate through the educational practices of the LDP. The following field note describes events witnessed at the beginning of the first day of the final module of the programme. The instructor of the LDP introduces a plenary session by inviting participants to take turns in sharing their ambitions and goals for their final projects with the collective group.

> *Drawing on the official study guidelines, the instructor introduces the*
> *aims and purpose of the final project module – where the goal is not just*

to round off and summarize the education, but to provide them with inspiration for how they can use it practically in the future. He invites the participants to share their thoughts and reflect on how they intend to approach the final project. The first participant to contribute, Matilde, expresses concern about having to balance a full time job with such a large project – a theme which is picked up upon by the next participant, Pernille who says that her only goal with the project is to "get it finished." She appears to be tired and somewhat frustrated with the task at hand, stating that she has gained most from the discussions and group work with peers in the modules, rather than completing the exam assignments. I can't help but think that it is going to be a tough process for Pernille and Matilde, if this is how they feel on the first day.

The remaining participants who share their reflections are more positive about how they are to approach the project – intending to use the project to tackle very specific organizational challenges arising from ongoing restructuring and reform. One of these participants regards the AP project as a "litmus test" for how much he has actually learned over the course of the programme, and the extent to which this can be used in practice. Another participant continues in this vein, by stating that she intends to use her project to reflect upon the actual effect which all of her other exam projects conducted during the programme, have had on her local organisation. Pernille contributes again, wishing to elaborate on her previously negative comments. She states that other members of her organisation feel that she has developed in a positive manner since beginning the programme, but she reaffirms that she believes this to be the result of sharing knowledge and experiences with peers, rather than completing exam tasks. The discussion continues with participants

sharing their reflections and ambitions for their project, repeating the
previously stated desire to tackle specific and pressing organisational
issues. (Field notes 8-13: 26.08.15)

This note is consistent with observations of group work and discussions taking place within the module - based around how participants intended to approach their final exam project - it was clear that the participants wrestled with the obligatory nature of their participation in the LDP. The practice of presenting themselves and their position and the activities comprising it was organised in a consistent manner, where they were to detail the status of their employment, their organisational challenge and how they were to use the LDP to engage with this. There was a consistent set of rules, understandings and teleoaffective structures guiding these activities.

As illustrated in the note above, the LDP was, at times expressed as an imposition, interfering with their managerial practice and stealing time from their work in the "real world," a widely held and espoused view amongst the participants. However, while they were sensitive to the regulatory aspects of the programme and at times exhibited selective resistance towards the instructor and the formal structure of the course, they were also seen to be driven by a sense of purpose that went beyond merely satisfying the official course requirements, or striving to achieve a good exam grade.[74]

The final exam- project was also regarded as an opportunity to investigate and tackle pressing issues in their daily work in a manner which may not otherwise have been possible. In the field note above, the negative attitude displayed by Pernille and Matilde towards the forthcoming project is not shared by the other participants, who emphasise the potential in the exercise. This seems to lead to their reappraisal of the manner in which they have presented themselves, which then falls more in line with

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[74] (Fieldnotes 15, 47-51: Metropol 03.09.15)

the more optimistic approach signalled by the rest of the group. Pernille corrects her own account of the LDP, seemingly guided by her realisation that her presentation falls outside the practice within which she was participating, and the consensus achieved by the community of practitioners. The relations emerging from the ongoing educational practice are seen to recalibrate the acceptable and legitimate ways of participating within it. Particular *stances* within the educational practices are seen to become more appropriate than others.

In the terminology of Lave & Wenger (1991, p. 94) this suggested the presence of a particular *learning curriculum* shared by participants, besides the official *teaching curriculum* of the LDP. There was a shared understanding of "making the most" of their final exam project, and maximising the *use value* of it, grasping the opportunity to work with immediately important issues within their organization. This was reflected in the participants repeated insistence that they did not care about which grade they received for the project, as long as it benefited their work and local institution. Indeed, the participants discussed openly how the exam project was to be deliberately appropriated to reposition themselves strategically in response to ongoing organizational change; an instance of this will be examined in more detail below. From the theoretical perspective adopted in the present study, their participation and targeted investments in the LDP can be seen to be directly influenced by the conditions of their local institution as well as the wider organisational situation. The participants can be perceived as persons participating within and across the *practice-arrangement bundles* of the municipality, the LDP and their local institution.

Presentation of a Situated Self
The largely optimistic approach of the participants to the LDP and their resignation to the complex of organisational restrictions and institutional demands within which they were situated is evident in the next field note detailed below, as well as strategic

elements of their targeted investments. This describes another situation witnessed on the first day of the module. The instructor had presented a random distribution of the participants into particular "learning groups." It was his intention that these groups would be the basis for all group work and activities during the course of the module, enabling recurring team work and discussions. However, the distribution was immediately contested by the participants, who preferred to establish these groups themselves, based on common interests, institutional contexts and shared challenges. The resultant groups were rarely realized and, due to varying levels of participation among participants, group work in the programme was mainly organized spontaneously among those present at the given sessions.

Due to the open and flexible modular nature of the programme, many of the participants had never before met and group work therefore began with introductory narratives, descriptions of the participants' employment status, their institutional context and their intentions for the exam project. In the group work from which the following field note emerges, the groups are given the task of formulating their preliminary ideas for their exam project, taking turns to describe these to the other members of the group:

> *Tobias' group agree to talk through the different processes they could work with in their exam projects, and the potential results these could give. Maria begins, explaining that her challenge springs from the centralised restructuring occurring within her organisation, where she works as a manager, coordinating street level pedagogical work and work within free time clubs. As part of this restructuring, department leaders are now to be given the title of "team –coordinators," losing managerial status, responsibility and legitimacy, while still being expected to assume specific managerial tasks. Maria intends to use her exam project to work with how this restructuring should be handled at the*

local level of her organisation, regarding the dilution of the department manager role as a challenge for the management team. This could potentially involve considering how to best support the department managers during this transition, conducting interviews with them to get a better idea of who can cope with the change, and who may need extra assistance.

As the other participants in the group enquire into the situation, it becomes clear that a post is to be created within the organisation to oversee this transition. When asked as to how she would feel in this position, Maria replies that she is unsure, as it would involve officially registering an interest in the position and potentially being called to an interview. She states that the position would represent a new level of management for her, and that she intends to use her final exam project to develop a more relevant profile for the job, and increase her chance of getting the position. One of the other participants asks whether Maria's position within the organisation is secure, to which she replies that it is, until the position in question is filled on the first of October, and she discovers whether she has got the post. Tobias states that this is a "grotesque situation" – stating that they are constantly told that management is important, while management positions are repeatedly being cut and replaced with remote and centralised forms of management. The group realise that they are running out of the allotted time for the group activity, and decide to move onto one of the other participants' projects. (Field notes 64-68: 26.08.15)

As will be further validated in later analysis, this note is representative of the manner in which the participants were found predominantly to engage the final module of the LDP to work with translation processes between their institutional actualities and the

demands of governmental and municipal policy reforms and restructuring. The empirical focus of the final project is embraced as an opportunity to re-establish themselves, focusing on particular organizational challenges that they anticipate to be of importance in the future. It also provides a description of the manner in which the prescribed educational practice is enacted, how it unfolds. Closer consideration of this reveals interesting dynamics of participation within the community of practitioners.

In the note, Maria can be seen to position her exam-project - her *problematic*- at the intersection of different structures of social practices, which interconnect and influence one another. The educational practices of the LDP become a space for participants to consider and share the implications which the wider organisational reforms and restructuring have for their work and professional identity. A collective forum – a community of practitioners – is established, within which possible courses of action can be aired, shared, possibly debated but ultimately tested. The implications of participation within these educational practices are considered in more detail below.

Narrating Professional Identity

Due to the irregularity of the members involved in group work, the kind of confessional, shared narrative produced in the note above by Maria, were a recurrent element of most group discussions - a recognisable practice. These narratives were typically constructed in a manner which positioned the participant as being stuck, as it were, 'between a rock and a hard place,' describing an inevitable and pragmatic acceptance of the conditions within which they find themselves. In order to retain their position within a changing organisation, they have little option but to engage within these conditions as best they can, whether they agree with them or not. The other members of the groups provide support and acceptance of this position, where this course of action – exemplified in the narrative provided by Maria- becomes

deemed a reasonable response. This becomes both understandable and legitimate, while acknowledging that it is troublesome and problematic. In these situations, the community of practitioners were seen to offer support and understanding to one another, an understanding of the challenges of middle management and being positioned between staff and the demands of the municipality. It was OK to make the choices they were making and to compromise.

Indeed, the manner in which these narratives were constructed echoes Cain's (Cain, 1991; Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 81) analysis of the construction and function of story-telling in Alcoholics Anonymous programmes. Here, the production and development of coherent narratives can facilitate the reconstruction of identity, supporting a shift in behaviour. Members develop and rehearse stories of themselves and their situation, which they share with others, thereby establishing membership to the group. "The A.A identity requires a behaviour – not drinking – which is a negation of the behaviour which originally qualified one for membership,"(ibid) becoming instead, a "non-drinking alcoholic."

Similar dynamics were seen to be at play in the group discussions taking place within the educational practices of the LDP, where the professional identities emerging seemed to be a re-assemblage, building upon a negation of the kind of autonomy which would previously have been central to institutional managers. Typically, these institutional managers, and particularly before the cluster reform, would have characterised themselves as the "master of their own house" and responsible for the goings on within it, including responsibility for budgetary and employment aspects. This situation had[75] changed, where increasing cooperation and coordination between the institutions within a given cluster, and overseen by a cluster-manager- was now

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[75] This change is emphasized in the division of labour described in municipal guidelines relating to the introduction of the cluster structure: "Hvidbog for klynger"
http://www.a6b.kk.dk/Klynge_A6b/~/media/a6b/Klynge%20A6b/Dokumenter/hvidbog_for_klynger.ashx (accessed 03.01.15)

both expected and necessary. The participants' ongoing struggle with acceptance of these changing conditions and the sharing of stories about them was a prevalent theme throughout my observations of the final module.

The educational practices of the LDP can be seen to provide a space in which the presentation of self as being positioned between organisational restructuring and institutional actualities legitimises a particular course of action, ultimately resulting in concession to engaging directly with the municipal agenda. It becomes legitimate and understandable as a member of the community of practitioners to align oneself in a particular manner, in light of their positions as middle managers in a larger organisation. The relations created between participants within this very particular kind of situated social practice provides legitimacy for this – it becomes socially acceptable and legitimate within the organisation of activities in ongoing practices. Positions of legitimate participation within the community of practitioners embrace this gentle surrender. The participants are seen to support one another in the relinquishment of a professional identity built on a strong sense of autonomy, and the building of a new understanding of the meaning and purpose of their work. It should be noted, that the purpose and meaning of this work is deemed to be important, and does not appear to involve a perceived loss of status. Indeed, the professional identity is seen to become bolstered with a renewed understanding of the status and complexity of professional management.

What Makes Sense?
The theoretical apparatus supporting the analysis of this chapter focuses reflection upon how practices offer spaces of intelligibility, within which experiences of meaning –and therefore identity- can arise. The analysis provides an empirical glint of the distinction made by Schatzki between normativity and practical intelligibility (Schatzki, 2002, p.76). The participants in the incident described above appreciate the moral difficulties in the situation described by Maria, where the treatment of her co-

workers is described as "grotesque." While it is clearly acceptable to bemoan the conditions within which they find themselves, they are ultimately to be accepted and dealt with – there is no conceivable practical alternative. The point of departure and motivation for action is practical – focusing on what it makes sense for Maria to do in the given situation. In this case, the practices of the LDP can be seen to be appropriated as a source of empowerment and opportunity for strategic positioning in relation to the changing nature of Maria's organisational situation and context, shaped by the conditions of the wider restructuring and reforms.

Maria adopts and adapts an approach which allows her to overcome previous sensibilities and dilemmas of loyalty towards her colleagues and staff. In this manner, Maria can be seen to utilise the LDP to inform her development of a very particular professional identity, responding to perceived demands of their organisational environment, and attempting to strengthen her own position within it. This approach is accepted by the other participants, the community of practitioners, and adds legitimacy to the course of action adopted by Maria. From this perspective, the situation in which Maria finds herself can be regarded as illustrative of the changing demands facing institutional managers, where the LDP offers a space in which she can adapt to the changing conditions while being supported by peers situated within similar conditions.

Performing Competent Membership

The next field note describes events which takes place on the final session of the LDP, positioned after the written exam project had been submitted, and shortly before the oral examinations were to take place. The session is structured by the instructor as an opponent seminar, offering the participants the opportunity to practice the presentation that they will make for the exam, before receiving feedback on this from the other participants. The instructor had, again, intended that this seminar should be based on the division of participants within the learning groups

assigned at the start of the module. These were, however, now largely defunct, and the participants in attendance – representing roughly a third of those registered on the course - formed two groups. One of the groups had prepared specifically for the seminar, and had read each other's projects, while the other group was formed out of the remaining participants.

Matilde and Pernille, mentioned within the next note, are the same reluctant participants mentioned in the first note in this chapter, who were particularly tired of the demands of the LDP, perceiving it as an intrusion. They wrote their exam project together, and while Pernille is absent from the session, Matilde takes on the presentation of their project for the other members of the improvised group.

> *Matilde prepares a drawing made on a large piece of paper, taping it to the wall, as a visual aid for her presentation. She states, "it isn't the real one, I was scared to take it with me." This is presumably because she was worried that it might be lost or damaged. She continues with the presentation of their exam project for the group. She explains the situation with the cluster managers – that, due to the managerial restructuring, after Tuesday the 24th there will be a cull of cluster managers in the municipality, from 73 positions to 40. Matilde explains how she and Pernille decided to use their exam project to develop and describe how they intend to proceed, if they are chosen to continue as cluster managers. They will draw upon the agenda of trust that is dominant in the municipality of Copenhagen to suggest how the new cluster structure can be communicated to employees and implemented in practice. Matilde introduces the drawing they have prepared on the poster, depicting a train crossing a bridge. The different figures are to symbolically depict various theoretical perspectives and organizational conditions – there are "waves of change" at the bottom and a bridge built*

upon "columns of social capital." Matilde and Pernille are the "train drivers, pulling a carriage filled with their employees across the other side of the bridge, under clouds representing sense making."

After the presentation, one of the participants, Trine, asks how they intend to explain this with regards to the philosophy of science? Matilde states that she intends to do no such thing! Trine then asks how they will explain their presentation from a meta perspective, or a "helicopter" perspective – how does their position look from a distance? The group begins discussing in general how to use metaphors to explain their projects, and the instructor, who is present but deliberately passive during the session, quickly interjects that they should be careful about using "tired" metaphors, and clichés like "helicopter perspective" and "change as a condition," which Matilde had previously mentioned. The instructor hastily adds that, otherwise, it was an excellent presentation, but Matilde seems a little offended by the criticism of the presentation. She states that, in any case, she would never use the word 'meta' in her daily work as no one would have a clue what she was talking about. (Field note 6: 18.11.2015)

This note suggests a shift has occurred in Matilde's approach to the LDP, and the manner in which it can be used within her managerial work. At the start of the module, Matilde and Pernille were explicitly vocal in their belief that the LDP, and particularly the exam process, was a direct intrusion and distraction from the important tasks of their daily managerial work. Now the exam project in particular is presented as an opportunity to empower her position within a changing set of organisational conditions, characterised by increasing demands and competition. Matilde explains how she intends to operationalise the exam project as an opportunity to compile a type of coherent *managerial manifesto* to convince her superiors that she

is equipped and prepared to tackle the position as cluster manager. This is compiled in a manner which is aligned with the resources offered on the LDP, and thereby organisationally sanctioned.

The fact that her mentioning this process directly in relation to municipality's "agenda of trust" passes without any comment or suggestion of irony from Matilde, and any of the group, indicates their underlying acceptance. This may be deemed surprising when the tense and competitive conditions overshadowed by impending cuts are considered. The *use value* of the LDP has been identified and embraced, increasing her capacity to act within the changing environment. This can be seen to facilitate a broadening of her approach, where a different kind of *stance* within the educational practices is taken, with implications for professional identity.

Selective Resistance

The manner in which Matilde proudly displays her appropriation and application of the theoretical perspectives offered on the LDP and the simultaneous disdain which she displays for the comments made by the instructor provides an illustration of the selective resistance which was often palpable during observations. In plenary sessions led by the instructor, it often seemed the case that participants were eager to distance themselves from academic terminology and the concepts offered on the programme, with these being labelled abstract and inapplicable to their daily work. The participants were reluctant to engage in theoretical discussions in these plenary sessions, insisting that these theories were not useful and that they did not really understand them. In group work, however, it was often the case that the participants seemed very eager to display proficiency in precisely this conceptual language. It was seen to be important for them to show that they were capable of applying the different resources, and that they could make abstractions from their daily managerial work, using the theoretical perspectives provided in the educational practices.

The participation and the manner in which the available discursive resources were mobilised varied then, depending on the practices taking place, and the practitioners populating them. In the note, it seems important for Matilde to be seen to be proficient in applying the theories practically and in relation to the organisational challenge identified, but she remains defensive to new terms which are not deemed immediately applicable. Likewise, the demonstration of resistance to comments of the instructor is an indication and display of a particular kind of membership identity. This is predominantly as a middle manager and therefore distinct from the instructor on the LDP, their superiors in the municipality and their institutional employees, indicating a sense of "otherness" from these groups. This is a specific community of practitioners with a regime of competence and collective identity, to be recognised and done in a particular way.

While the participants are seen to support each other in repositioning themselves within the changing organisational conditions, a critical distance to the instructor and the content of the LDP remains important. In this way, proficiency in the theoretical language, but an awareness of when (and when not) to use it becomes an important marker of membership. Likewise, a tendency to apportion blame for difficulties arising in their managerial work to these "others" was seen to provide an opportunity to - at least temporarily- alleviate themselves of any blame. This provided a relational space for the development of a collective bond, a collective identity as professional middle managers, achieved though participation in the educational practices of the LDP.

"Managerial Action Space" and the Exploration of Managerial Stances Adopted within it.

During observation of the final module, a consistent discourse in use by the participants and the instructor was revealed. The activities within the programme, and the very purpose of their final exam project were frequently described as being a

concerted effort to identify and establish the actual locus and scope of their capacity to lead within their organisational context - requiring the identification of their "managerial action space."[76] It was clear that participants in the LDP shared an understanding of this responsibility, to find - or create - their own action space. Their situation and position as middle managers in the public sector was regularly referred to as that of being caught between "cross pressures,"[77] in the form of the requirements and priorities within their local institution, and the increasing volume and stringency of external objectives being put in place by central administration. Indeed the specific formulation that they worked within a "politically led organization" was used almost as a mantra by the participants, repeated regularly and often when frustrations arising from their role in facilitating ongoing restructuring and change introduced by central administration were expressed.

Establishing a managerial action space within these cross-pressures, then, was central to the participants' understandings and the purpose of their participation in the LDP. The educational practices of the LDP were to facilitate the ability to adopt particular approaches in their managerial work in their institution. The educational practices of the LDP can therefore be seen as a concerted effort to coordinate, or perhaps to offer coordinates for this managerial action space, by demarcating specifically the location between these cross pressures for specific attention. The managerial action space was to be focused on targeting the links between organisational reforms and institutional actualities and engaging actively in translations from the municipality into the local institution. The idea of this managerial action space and the perceived potential of claiming it cropped up repeatedly during the course of the study, empirically, theoretically and analytically. This will be considered in more detail later.

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[76] In Danish: "Ledelsesmæssige råderum/handlerum" For example: (Fieldnote 21, Metropol: 08.10.15. Fieldnote 17,Metropol: 18.11.15.)
[77] In Danish: "Krydspres" For example (Field note 51, Metropol:01.10.15)

Coordinating Managerial Stances

The manner in which the educational practices encourage a shared understanding between peers of how to approach managerial work in an appropriate manner seemed to be effective in tempering their resistance to the change processes being introduced by the municipality – both in the form of their acceptance of the development programme itself, but also of the broader organisational conditions. This was something that they were *doing* – rather than something being *done* to them. This evokes Carrol and Levy's (2010) perception of leadership development as an action space for identity construction, enabling managers to understand themselves as *"subjects who decide, rather than objects decided upon."* That the managers had the experience of actively and selectively adopting stances rather than merely following a chain of command, emphasised the importance of the manner in which they approached their work and the implications this could have on their institution.

From the theoretical framework n the study at hand, the notion of 'managerial action space' extends beyond the setting of the LDP, and plays an important part in facilitating the participants' learning as the development of professional identity, a reinterpretation of the self (Lave & Wenger, 1991). This can be seen to be guided by what makes sense on the background of their evolving *practical intelligibility* (Schatzki, 2002) developing through participation in practice and membership of communities of practitioners. The professional identity of the middle manager can be seen to be made malleable through the hitherto untapped potential of their managerial action space and the *managerial stances* they can adopt within it. This process is to be explored in more detail below.

Textual Coordination of Professional Identity in Practice

The following analysis seeks to illuminate how the educational practices of the LDP were seen to coordinate and encourage particular professional identities. By approaching the educational practices theoretically as a "slice" of the nexus, the

methodological approach adopted allows the empirical excerpts included to be selected to be perceived as part of an institutionalised and textually mediated sequence of action (Smith, 2005, p.113), allowing consideration of how the practices and practitioners are mutually constitutive. This looks at how participation in social practices is guided and accomplished through talk and text(Leander & Prior, 2004) by focusing on how texts shape and are shaped by local interactions in which they play a part.

From Text to Talk

The penultimate session[78] of the final module of the LDP, was designed by the instructor as a synopsis seminar, planned to allow the students to read and comment on each other's projects. In smaller, predetermined groups the participants were instructed to send each other a synopsis of their developing exam project, which was to facilitate this discussion and collective reflection. On this day, I shadowed one of the participants, "Eve", who had at this point consented to participating in my study, providing detailed insight into her project and institutional context.

On the day of the seminar, there are no members of Eve's learning group present, so she joins a group comprising two other participants who have worked together during the course of the module. As they have not had the opportunity to read Eve's synopsis, they agree to start the session by skimming the text and inviting Eve to present her material orally in more detail, providing a basis for discussion. This takes the form of a general discussion around Eve's project, and her reasoning behind the theoretical and methodological approach with which she has chosen to work. The discussion also builds on the following problem statement and research questions, presented by Eve in the synopsis. This provides insight into the point of departure, for both Eve, and the group:

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[78] This took place on 13.10.15

" Problem statement: How can teamwork qualify the organisation of, and thereby the quality, of the pedagogical efforts in the institution?"

- How can team work qualify the pedagogical quality of the institution?
- What does this organizational form do for the individual employee's effort and understanding of their role?
- What does this require of me as manager, to bring the best/most professional out of the individual?

This formulation of the problem statement presents the chosen *problematic* as an organizational and institutional challenge, where focus falls on the link between the changing team structure and the staff. The actual managerial task is largely absent until the final line, but ignores the very change process identified in the problematic – the new team structure. The managerial task here is not directly engaged with the change process, emerging instead as that of offering more general support to members of staff in order to increase their performance.

In order to structure the discussions and reflections around the synopses, the course instructor provided the students with an interview guide the day before (figure 5, below), outlining instructions for them to follow. The group members are to use the guide to articulate specific questions regarding the synopsis, offering specific instructions, or in Schatzkian terms *rules,* for the organisation of activities in the ongoing practice. By remaining within Schatzkis conceptual apparatus, the guide can also be seen to invite participants to make explicit their general understandings and the teleoaffective structures organising the educational practice - which ends, projects, and tasks should be realized (Schatzki, 2002, p.80), which are the acceptable (or unacceptable) goals towards which to strive?

Figure 6: Interview guide for synopsis seminar

<u>**Question guide for participants in groups at the synopsis seminar**</u>

Guidelines for questioning in the synopsis seminar – 7.-8 May 2015 (tomh 2015)

Scenario:

Consider yourself in an inquisitive capacity. A part of the group, that can help the author with their final project, and at the same time help you to consider and reconsider your own choices.

Keep an eye on whether the author has made clear for you:

- Why they have this problem as the point of departure for their final project?

- Why the problem represents a managerial challenge?

- How they intend to work with their problem?

- How (and with the help of what) they will acquire the knowledge and insight necessary to handle the problem?

- Whether the methods chosen can help them?

- Whether the answer to their (current) problem statement will solve the problem?

If you do not have a reasonably clear picture of the answers to these questions – then ask for further details!

Help them to achieve greater clarification of their questions - if the answers to these are central to the author, they are also important for your role as a sparring partner.

Ask inquisitively and exploratively – avoid normative findings and questions.

Avoid foisting theories and literature upon the author because you find them appropriate in your own project – that is not necessarily the case in his/hers. Use the time instead to engage the author in arguing for their choices.

Have a good time and remember to get inputs relevant to your own project emerging from the synopsis process.

The date which is printed written at the top of the interview guide – eight months before the observed seminar- illustrates the fact that this formulation has been used in a previous iteration of the module, implying that it has a longer history as an institutional text in the remit of the LDP. The interview guide can be seen to articulate the normative organisation of the practice which is to take place, facilitating a *reterritorialization* of the municipal agenda into the educational practices of the

LDP. In holding the text up to Schatzki's model for the manner in which practices are organised, the text can be seen to offer a coordination of the activities by establishing and reaffirming rules and general understandings for the participants, while facilitating discussion about whether the ends, projects and tasks articulated in the planned exam project are appropriate.

The interview guides licenses the practitioners to work as "an inquisitive capacity," and to be persistent – *"if you don't have a reasonably clear picture of the answers to these questions – then ask for further details!"* There is to be particular focus on the nature and formulation of the challenge identified – how does it *"represent a managerial challenge?"* Therefore, emphasis is placed on how the challenge is to be made managerially actionable. From this perspective, the interview guide offers a textual coordination of the educational practice, providing the framework for interactions which guides participants towards establishing the appropriateness and legitimacy of a particular professional identity.

Intelligibility in Practice
We join the following interaction between the participants immediately after Eve has described her project for the group, where her description explains a change process introduced to the institution by the cluster manager in the municipality (her superior). This involves dissolution of the previously rigid institutional structure, where the pedagogical employees were divided into specific "rooms" in teams of three. They are now expected to work together in larger, more flexible teams, capable of forming different constellations depending on the activity programme planned for the children. It should be noted that this restructuring has been introduced on the basis of its success in another local institution.

Closer analysis of this interaction and how participants treat the interview guide allows for consideration of how educational practices shape professional identity and

the manner in which the interaction influences understandings going forward. Analysis will focus on how the educational practice taking place is organised, by the understandings, rules and teleoaffective structures in play, and how the participants enact, challenge and correct each other during participation. In this way, the model of the ideal manager, the professional identity and legitimate *managerial stances* emerging from educational practice can eventually be used to later compare and consider the manner in which these manifest in everyday managerial work.

The participants in the interaction are Theresa (T) and Paul (P), who have worked together previously in the LDP, and Eve (E) who is new to the group.

Excerpt B: Transcription of group interaction

1 **T**: I think….I think mmm it fits quite well together **[Eve's presentation of her**
2 **project].** And I am not competent to judge it whatsoever….but my first thoughts
3 on reading it are that it makes a lot of sense – but I would like it if we revisited the
4 thing we got from here yesterday **[the question guide]**

5 **E:** Oh, that – that which I haven't seen, that Paul and I haven't seen

6 **T:** But also to say….mmm **[reading up from the guide]** "Scenario, consider
7 yourself in an inquisitive capacity" – you are really good at that Paul, you are very
8 inquisitive!

9 **[Laughter]**

10 **E:** (Laughs) Yes

11 **T: [Continues reading from guide]**"… a part of a group that can help the author
12 with the final project and at the same time help you to consider and reconsider
13 your own choices. Keep an eye on whether the author…" we will use you just
14 now Eve, OK?

15 **E**: We're using me, yes

The analysis of this excerpt draws on inspiration from Smith's appeal to pay attention to the importance of texts in guiding interactions (Smith, 2005, p.168) in situated activities - a material presence within practices occurring in a particular place at a particular time. These are activated by the reader, or readers, and shape the manner in

which the given situation or practice can develop.[79] In the analysis, this approach allows the interconnectedness of the educational practices with the broader municipal agenda – manifesting in the LDP – to be considered.

> *"Introducing texts into the analysis of coordinated sequences or circuits of people's work inserts the institutional into what is otherwise just an account of a local work organization. The coordinating provided by texts is both in the local work process and in relation to the work being done in other sites and at other times. Locating the texts involved in such a process and including in the ethnographic process an account of how they enter into courses of action identify for the ethnographer dimensions of organization that reach beyond the local and open up doors for further exploration, particularly, of how local work is governed extralocally." (ibid; 170)*

In lines 1 and 2, Theresa acknowledges the participants' status as peers, and uses the interview guide to legitimize her comments and prepare ground for criticism of Eve's paper, stating that she is "not competent to judge it." As the transcription reveals, the interview guide proves an effective resource providing the situated authority and legitimacy to unbridle this commentary and criticism. This offers a legitimate and accepted (epistemic) authority, suspending peer symmetry and enabling Theresa to take control of the situation. In lines 6 and 7, Theresa prepares for this commentary by evoking a light hearted tone, in her teasing of Peter's "inquisitive capacity," before preparing the group for entry into the rationale of the interview guide in lines 13 and 14, by affirming that they will be "using" Eve. In this manner the participants acknowledge their entry into the prescribed educational practice, where the discussion changes character. This can be seen to be ultimately orienting participants

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[79] Smith uses an example of observations of turn taking within a group conversation, in which a common text was clearly coordinating the proceedings, and was even given a privileged turn in the ongoing discussion (Smith, 2005, 168)

towards establishing a common understanding of the educational practice with implications for the manner in which managerial practices and tasks are to be discussed. The educational practice, informed by the interview guide, establishes a relational space where it becomes legitimate and appropriate for peers to comment directly on one another's work and texts. The participants continue the discussion as follows:

Excerpt C continued. Lines 13-16 are omitted (Peter digresses)

17 **T: [Referring to the question guide]** "Is there a reason given as to why the
18 problem represents a managerial challenge?" …It's more about whether what
19 we have read and talked about here, like, makes it clear what the
20 managerial….because if I should challenge you on this, then I would say that
21 it…what you want to investigate is fairly clear..

22 **E:** Mmmmm

23 **T:** ..but I think maybe that the investigation is more based on curiosity and a
24 desire to understand something, rather than representing a definite problem for
25 you – a managerial problem.

26 **E:** Mmmm

27 **T:** Are you challenged managerially in terms of dealing with this, or is it a
28 qualification of your own strategy going forward?

29 **E:** I think it's a qualification of my own strategy going forward. About finding
30 out what blind spots are to be found in it, what is it that I should do more of, or
31 less of, so that it hangs together better.

32 **T:** Yes, and this **[the question guide]** asks, like, *why* is it a challenge?

33 **E:** It is because…it could be better, you know?

34 **P:** Yes but you can say that it is a challenge because they would rather do things
35 up in the good old yellow room, **[referring to the employees resisting**
36 **organisational change]** so you can say that there is a challenge.

37 **E:** But maybe also a challenge because I don't think it is natural yet, it is not yet
38 natural for them to think of themselves as a team. They still have those
39 reminiscences of 'we are from the yellow group' or something, you know?

40 **T:** Yes, I can see that, but if we should keep the focus on you as a manager and
41 your challenge in leading this process…

P: Yes, you could maybe be a bit sharper there.

E: Yes

T: I think that, if I in that way should ask myself: **[reading up from the question guide]** "Is it made clear for me why you experience yourself managerially challenged in relation to it…" Mmmm…I can see where you want to go, I can see what you want to know more about, but I don't know whether it should be a managerial challenge in the manner that it is something that is difficult.

P: I think that depends what one puts in the concept 'challenge', isn't it? Do you not have, when it is a challenge, that one has to gulp a little bit, you know?

T: Well, a prospective strategy is indeed a challenge. A challenge is not negative, it's just…**[reading from Eve's synopsis]**"my challenge is to be equipped to deal with this strategy and deal with the process that ensues so that we can reach the goal, because we have not reached the goal."

E: And we have *not* reached the goal

T: And that is where your challenge lies. But I don't hear you say, and neither can I read that you are thinking: "But I don't know how I am going to do it." You are more saying **[reading from Eve's synopsis]** "I shall investigate this to gain knowledge about their experience of quality and their experiences of the meaning of becoming a team…" because that is a prerequisite for your next step.….

E: Yes. I can follow you there

P: But that would also be reasonable, no? You can't know it – what you need to do- before you have investigated it

E: No, because one could say that my challenge as a manager lies within the fact that I have put some things in motion, I have tried to – how should I say – boost some processes with the personnel, and I want to investigate whether they work, whether they have, like, understood it. Because I have a feeling that it may not necessarily have been the right move, and that I should maybe go in and try to do it another way because I am missing some of them – there are some of those from the yellow room that I haven't reached, so you could say that I am curious as to what I can do, because I would like to have the yellow room as well.

T: And that could maybe be the actual challenge, no?

E: Yes

T: That one's – now, you said it before- point of departure is different, they have different cultures, they have different sites and sizes and different interests in it as well, right? And how can you precisely boost this development so that

79	you to a greater degree reach everyone – if you were to, like, sharpen the focus
80	in relation to you and your…handling of a managerial challenge. Does that
81	make any sense Eve?
82	**E:** Yes, it makes a lot of sense

Throughout the interaction, Theresa is drawing on the authority provided by the interview guide, pursuing a consistent agenda to shape Eve's understanding of her managerial task in a particular manner. This can be seen to be done carefully, for example Theresa states in line 20 *"because if I should challenge you on this,"* making it clear that this is to be done solely to fulfil the remit of the prescribed practice, rather than something she would otherwise consider doing. However, as the practice unfolds, Theresa's challenging of Eve becomes more explicit, legitimised by the interview guide. To paraphrase Smith (2005, p.117), Theresa becomes an agent of the institutional text, wilfully enacting its agenda. As can be seen in lines 27 and 28, Theresa underlines this agenda; that it is essential to approach the identified organizational issue precisely in terms of the managers' capacity to work with it. Rather than describing and exploring an organizational challenge and how it could be understood, it must be formulated in a manner in which they can work towards a definition of how and why they can and should *manage* this organizational challenge, working towards making it actionable. In this manner the educational practice works towards reorienting the participants' approach to such organizational challenges, encouraging their acceptance of these as managerial, professional projects, as a core task of managerial work.

In this way an organizational problem becomes a managerial challenge, an example of the translation processes taking place in the LDP, where the "actual is made institutionally actionable" (Smith 2005, p.186). The nature of the *problematic* with which Eve is working is illustrative of this. The challenge with the implementation of this team restructuring could legitimately be identified as arising from a more

fundamental organisational dissonance. [80] Instead the responsibility for tackling this challenge is accepted as managerial, and therefore an appropriate *managerial stance* should be adopted.

By becoming the interlocutor of the institutional text, Theresa draws on the order of discourse (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 2007, p.113) it offers, introducing it into the discussion, where Eve – for example in lines 31 and 39- can be seen to draw primarily on the everyday discourse of her institutional work, using terms such as the "yellow room/group." Eve does use the discourse offered in the LDP – for example in lines 67-68,"*how should I say..boost some processes..*" This does not seem to roll off the tongue naturally, but is nonetheless present and can be drawn upon when necessary.

"It" to "They" to "I"
Lines 66 to 73 demand special analytical attention as they contain Eve's acceptance and formulation of her possible culpability in the problems relating to the new team structure. Linguistically, the shift in pronoun usage (Harding et al., 2014) during interaction which occurs here can be deemed significant. Previously, in line 33, Eve uses a third person pronoun – "it" – to describe the problem as a general organisational issue, before shifting to a second person pronoun (they, them), assigning responsibility to the staff members. In lines 40-41, 44-49 and 57-62 this distancing meets repeated rebuttal from Theresa's operationalization of the interview guide, which returns focus to the role of the manager. These rebuttals are followed by a significant change in line 66-73, where Eve instead uses the first person pronoun "(I)" repeatedly: *"...there are some of those from the yellow room that **I** haven't reached, so you could say that **I** am curious as to what **I** can do, because **I** would like to have the yellow room as well."* Focus shifts onto her *management* of the change

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[80] On the background of observations made, this restructuring process can be seen to be a problematic example of coercive isomorphism (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). The institution in which the transferred structure proved successful is architecturally, culturally and demographically incomparable, resulting in widespread implications for the implementation of this restructuring, making it particularly complex and demanding in the new setting.

process, and she begins to open the discussion up to the possibility that her implementation of the processes may be the reason for them not working. She is now considering her culpability in the failing implementation of the organisational restructuring.

The participants' treatment of the interview guide shapes consensus around the ends, projects and tasks organizing the orientation of the educational practice, informing the normative regulation and correction and proves pivotal to the developing interaction. Theresa suggests that understanding the problem as being rooted in managerial inadequacy could be fruitful, and in lines 76-81, she offers a reformulation of the problem statement in a manner fitting to this pattern and assumption. The interactions between participants within the educational practice, informed by the interview guide, reformulates the organizational challenges described by Eve in a manner in which her managerial work becomes the root of the problem. How can her managerial practices change to better promote and translate the municipal agenda? Here the discourse of the LDP is again traceable in Theresa's statements, where she suggests the management of the teams' and team members' "different cultures" as an example of a possible explanation for the failing processes, thereby picking up on theoretical resources offered earlier in the LDP.

The appropriate stance for the managerial practitioner is brought to the forefront by the educational practice, and becomes a decisive factor, inserted between prescribed official rules and situated activity. It is the task of the manager to ensure that the rules – in this case the implementation of a new team structure- are taken up locally, and not circumvented or ignored. The *managerial stance* adopted by Eve can be seen to shift during the course of the text-talk sequence. Rather than being a passive witness to organisational changes and restructuring and supporting staff in adapting to these, the manager is to actively engage with these, to explicitly "take sides"(Dreier, 1999, p.14) in the structures of social practices and the communities populating them and

work towards translating the changes within their institution. This kind of stance-taking suggests an alteration of the legitimate professional identity of the middle manager.

From Talk to Text

Do these exercises in managerial action space simply represent semantic gymnastics within an isolated group exercise, or do they have any wider organisational significance? The manner in which the organisational *problematics* identified by the managers are made actionable through the structured exercises and reflections offered by the LDP, can potentially inform further analysis of how the educational practices may influence situated managerial practices, via the participation of the institutional managers in them both.

An insight into the manner in which changes in professional identity travel and endure can be gained by comparing Eve's formulation of the initial problem statement (excerpt B) presented in the synopsis seminar, to an updated version of the problem statement written a week subsequently. Incidentally, this version is the same submitted in her final exam project:

Excerpt C: Problem statement and research questions for project draft 25.10.16:

Problem statement: "How can the organization of teams influence the planning of work and thereby the pedagogical efforts in the institution, to (continue to) be more focused?"

- *How does the organization of teams influence the individual employee's way of structuring and understanding their work?*
- *How do the employees see their own and their colleague's competences and what is required of me as the manager to bring the individual and the team into play?*

- *Which differences are there in the way different teams plan and work - and how can I as a manager support both processes, understandings as well as development, so that all the teams perform optimally despite differences?*

This reformulation reflects the thrust of the interactions produced within the educational practices of the synopsis seminar, where the organisational problem is to a much greater degree presented as a managerial challenge. The problem statement now emphasises that the challenge is to be made managerially actionable, where the manager is centred as a decisive factor, capable of tackling the challenges – the challenge becomes something which can, and should, be met. The understanding of managerial practice and the appropriate, or ideal managerial practitioner emerging can be seen to be increasingly burdened with the responsibility of solving inherently organisational problems.

The shift which is evident in the research questions formulated by Eve reveals a definite change in her understanding of the manner in which she must tackle the tasks facing her. It becomes her task as manager to *"support both processes, understanding as well as development, so that all the teams perform optimally despite difference."* This kind of omnipotent manager differs to the more humble manifestation seen in the first problem statement (excerpt B) and connected research questions.

The analysis of these materials reveals how the educational practices can be seen to establish guidelines and a template for how managerial practices should be understood, with implications for professional identity. A new practical and normative understanding of managerial practice is being established between practitioners. Mediated by the interview guide in this particular setting, this understanding can be seen to successfully coordinate their activities and the developing *practical intelligibility* - what it makes sense for them to do going forward, and which *managerial stances* they can and should adopt in relation to these conditions. This can be seen to have potential implications for Eve for the manner in

which she approaches her work forthwith – promoting an engaged and wilful translation of municipal reforms as a primary professional project.

Interim Conclusion: A Diploma Programme in Followership?

> *How do the educational practices of the final module of the LDP shape professional identity?*

The educational practices are seen to organise activities in a particular direction, forming *spaces of intelligibility* that coordinate the forms of participation that are practically appropriate within them. The *practical intelligibility* of the participants attunes them to this, organising what it is that makes sense within them. The practices of the LDP are seen to legitimise and support the shifting of horizons within the professional identity of the participants and the appropriate *managerial stances* to be taken within them.

The understanding and orientation of managerial work is altered, leading to greater acceptance of the wider organizational agenda of the municipality of Copenhagen. This ultimately leads to consideration of whether it would be more representative to consider the practices taking place on the LDP as offering a diploma programme in *followership*, as much as leadership. Here, the enduring organisational influence of the LDP is seen to be equipping managers with a reinterpretation of professional identity, and the legitimate stances to be taken within it – an *augmented operability* within and across the practices within which they participate. The participants are seen to understand and support one another in assuming the position between the organisational cross-pressures, and the re-orientation of their work toward the translation of municipal reforms and restructuring into their local institution.

> *"..if leadership involves actively influencing others, then followership involves allowing oneself to be influenced"*(Uhl-Bien & Pillai, 2007, p. 196)

The negative implications of the word follower has stigmatised the term somewhat, implying lower status of the "follower" to the "leader" (Uhl-Bien, Riggio, Lowe, & Carsten, 2014). However, understanding leadership as a relational term (Hogg, 2005, p.53) emphasises that followers and followership are a decisive element in it, where following is "*a particular form of behaviour that involves recognizing and granting legitimacy to another's influence attempt or status*"(DeRue & Ashford, 2010) (Uhl-Bien m.fl., 2014). It can be argued that, in fact the study of followership is a particularly complimentary activity for middle managers, "*since individuals attempting to be leaders are only legitimized in the responses and reception of those willing to follow them*" (Uhl-Bien et al., 2014, p.96). Therefore followership and leadership are not to be understood to be mutually exclusive, and the educational practices of the LDP could be considered as facilitating an expansion of the legitimate *managerial stances* available within their professional identity. This legitimises followership to the organisational agenda, as much as leadership of the local institution. In this way, the LDP offered at MUC can be seen to be an effective tool in encouraging this type of active and engaged followership to the organisational agenda of the municipality.

Primarily, this serves to open up for a more expansive approach to managerial work oriented to the broader organisational agenda, instead of a kind of private professional practice with blinkered focus on the interests of their local institutions. The educational practices of the LDP are seen to encourage and legitimise *managerial stances* more immediately recognisable as *following* (superiors and the broader municipal agenda) rather than leading their employees. The managers are

seen to reframe organisational challenges - or problems- as managerial challenges, where they are to be made actionable through their approach to working with them.

At the same time however, a more nuanced understanding is necessary. The participants are seen to support one another in adopting an optimistic approach to the educational practices of the LDP, using these as an opportunity to develop their professional identities in a manner consistent with the changing organisational conditions within which they find themselves. The legitimate managerial figure and the appropriate stances emerging from the educational practices of the LDP is difficult to characterise as being of a certain type. Instead, it is a flexibility and adaptability which is emphasised. Here the relations between the communities of practitioners arising within the textually mediated social practices provide a framework for the reinterpretation of the meaning of their work, with implications for their professional identity.

The position of the middle manager as working within "a politically led organisation" and therefore being obliged to accept and engage with increasing levels of external regulation and control becomes a shared assumption. The traditional understanding of the day-care institution manager, whose position would be primarily based on "primus inter pares" status in the field of pedagogical knowledge and competence (Kjølseth Møller, 2009) is seen to be marginalised through this process, and the need for engagement with and competence in organisation and management theories collectively acknowledged. This can be recognised as facilitating a shift in professional identity from occupational professionalism to organisational professionalism (Elkjaer & Brandi, 2014; Evetts, 2003, 2013) where flexibility and adaptability are prioritized.

The relations arising among participants within the educational practices are seen to proliferate a strengthening of middle manager's collective identity. While it is

legitimate and acceptable to secede to the conditions within which they find themselves and accept these as being the conditions of their work, this is not the same as unequivocal surrender. An important element of this collective identity is knowing when and how to display resistance in an appropriate manner, attuned to the practices within which they participate and the participants populating them. Expressing this through the terms and concepts posited in the theoretical framework would suggest that the *practical intelligibility* of the participants is broadened. This broadened practical intelligibility provides an extended repertoire of potential *managerial stances* emerging from participation within situated practices. The participants become exercised in adopting appropriate stances within different and, at times, conflicting sets of situated practices populated by different participants.

At the same time, the professional managerial practitioner emerging from the educational practices of the LDP is seen to burden itself with great responsibility. The degree of success or failure with which the broader municipal agenda and reforms are translated into their local institution becomes an indication of the quality of their work. Here, the professionalization and responsibilisation of middle managers can potentially blur problematic issues within the reform agenda itself, precisely because organisational problems are rearticulated as managerial challenges. Organisational problems become personalised by individual managers as members of the collective managerial profession. Organisational failings become managerial failings.

Chapter 8: Standpoints, Problematics and Manifestos

> *What are the characteristics of the standpoints of the selected participants, and which problematics do they identify for their final exam project in the LDP?*
>
> *ii: What resources do they draw upon to address these problematics?*

Introduction

This chapter builds directly from the previous analysis of the observed practices of the final module of the LDP, where participation in a community of practitioners within the LDP was seen to support and legitimise a shift in professional identities, embracing followership and active engagement with the translation of municipal reforms as a central aspect of managerial work. The following analytical chapter seeks to establish a bridge between the LDP and the situated managerial practices of the participants within the study. In order to do so, these participants are introduced individually and in detail, to provide an insight into the conditions of their situated practices, while acknowledging the complexity of this endeavour and its limitations. Interview material as well as analysis of exam texts produced throughout their participation in the LDP – with emphasis on the final exam project - is analysed, to examine how the participants appropriate the resources from the LDP and the manner in which they articulate these in relation to their managerial work.

Approaching Exam Texts as a Binate Empirical Resource

As described in more detail in the methodology section, the participants were selected based on observable activity and their approach within the final module, with those exhibiting an active and serious interest in their project prioritised and approached to take part in the study. The nature of the exam project was also important; while some participants chose to invest minimal time in the project, reusing empirical material

collected during previous modules in the programme, others worked with more ambitious projects and aimed to utilise and apply their project practically within their organisation. The selected participants are representative of those that engaged actively with the programme.

The following chapter seeks to achieve two main objectives, using the exam texts completed by the participants to aid analysis in two different but complimentary directions. Firstly, this seeks to provide background information about the chosen participants, culminating with a description of the challenges identified in their final exam projects, summarised through the research questions formulated in these documents. The aim of these descriptions is to establish the *standpoints and problematics* (Smith, 2005) which shape the continuing analysis within the present study. The *standpoints* are represented by the specific managers and their 'situatedness' within organisational settings. The *problematics* are the challenges with which they choose to engage in their final exam project on the LDP. This enables the analysis to see through the person and into their position within wider bundles of practice-arrangements and the relations arising within them. The *standpoints* and *problematics* of the three participants in the research project: Eve, Sarah and Mary, are examined in detail, one at a time. Material collected in introductory qualitative interview is also drawn upon to provide insight into participants' own accounts of their motivation for taking part in the LDP.

The second objective of this chapter is to use the exam documents to provide insight into what these participants appropriated from the resources offered throughout the LDP, and how they intended to apply these resources in their managerial work. By looking more closely at specific examples from the texts of each participant, insight can be gained into the content of the LDP, the tools and resources offered and how this course content manifests in the exam projects of the chosen participants.

Plotting Rather than Tracing

Initially, this analysis intended to trace the full trajectories(Dreier, 1999; Wenger, 1998) of each of the selected participants through the course of the entire LDP, using all of the exam documents to focus on the progressive and iterative movement of these persons between the educational and institutional settings. However, in the development of the analysis, the complexity of such an approach became extreme. While such an analysis would undoubtedly be of value, and the empirical material necessary to conduct it is present, a different approach is taken here, in an effort to reduce the complexity of this section within the overall project. The analysis of trajectories remains an obvious avenue for further exploration.

Instead, to give an indication of the dynamics of the participants' iterative movement between the LDP and their local institution, an illustrative text from one of the earlier modules of the LDP is examined. This is then followed by a more in-depth analysis of their final exam document. Instead of tracing complete trajectories through the LDP, points are plotted for each of the participants.

The Structure of the Chapter

In order to do gain an idea of the particular *standpoints*, each participant is studied in detail. This begins with a description of their institutional background. Qualitative interviews are then used to reveal how they articulate their motivation for participating in the LDP, before an empirical illustration of their activity in the programme is examined. Emphasis is placed on the depth presented in the empirical material and maintaining its integrity. Therefore, while the excerpts are lengthy – particularly the interview sections in which the participants explain their motivation for taking part in the LDP – this is a conscious attempt to avoid compromising these narratives. The voice of the participants in interviews and texts is respected. The empirical excerpts reveal different, but representative and important themes dealt

with by the participants, providing insight into the manner in which course content of LDP is appropriated and applied.

A summary of their final exam project is then compiled to offer their definition of the particular *problematic* brought into focus and how the resources on the LDP are appropriated to address this. The exam documents are treated as subordinate texts within the intertextual hierarchy (Smith, 2005) of the municipality, where the *practice-arrangement bundles* of the municipality, the LDP and the local institution become interconnected through a common regime of textual coordination seeking to guide the actions of the participants within them. From this perspective, it becomes possible to discern and consider the practically legitimised professional identities emerging from the official regime of the LDP.

Standpoint: Eve and the Introduction of a New Team Structure

> **Eve**
>
> **Age at time of observations: 45**
>
> **Tenure in position: Twelve Years**
>
> **Character of the institution: Municipal Institution**
>
> **Size of the institution: 150 children, predominantly of ethnic minorities.**

Eve is mentioned in the previous chapter, where the changing problem statement of her final exam project is the basis for the analysis of the synopsis seminar of the LDP. Eve had been employed as the leader of the day-care institution The Acorn House for twelve years, with approximately 150 children between the ages of 0-6 years. The children are divided between two buildings:" The Hill" and "The Park," separated by a distance of around one kilometre. Eve was initially the institutional manager only of "The Hill" building, but after the cluster reform of 2011, the two houses merged, with Eve taking over the management of both and dividing her time between them.

Another implication of the reform was that this newly merged institution became a member of a "cluster," comprising three other day-care institutions from the local area, all coming under the remote management of an external "Cluster manager." Therefore, Eve's job title changed from "Institutional manager," to "Educational manager." As will become clear, the influence of the cluster reform and the unfolding restructuring of every day organisational routines plays a central role in the exam papers written by Eve throughout the LDP.

Eve's Articulated Motivation

In the first qualitative interview conducted with Eve, in September 2015, I invited her to open with an introduction of herself and description of her journey through the diploma programme. The following citation is the first part of this introduction and reveals how she articulated her reasons for starting on it and her overall approach to the education.

> **Eve:** *"Well then, to present myself – for the record, I was about to say! - then it is of course Eve, and I have been the manager in this institution for 13 years, and found out, back in 2010 I think - or 11 - I was at a meeting at our central administration, as our district had arranged a meeting with Lars Qvortrup*[81]*, where he talked about "managing potentiality,"*[82] *I think it was called. And as we sat and talked about how we should lead our employees based on the potential they have, and I was sitting in a group with some other managers, then a light just went on for me that said "I will study now" and "I will study to be a manager" - like: "I will take my diploma!" because I could hear just from that presentation that there were a lot of things that I actually just didn't know anything about, that could make my working life easier. You can say that, when you start as a*

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[81] (A prominent Danish researcher in management studies)
[82] In Danish: "Potentialitetsledelse"

manager, you don't get an instruction manual as you may otherwise get…it's just about doing it as well as possible, so this way of, like, putting some theory on some practice, I'd never done that before I started on the education. So it has been kind of like, what I thought would work, and then I have just done that, you know? So one of the biggest…..my biggest motivation for starting was that, there must be someone who knows something about how these things work, because I just do the best I can. So it became a lot like, that if I, like…I had a feeling that it would be really hard to start the education, but at the same time my experience from day one was that it made it easier to go to work. So a lot of the doubts that I have had through the years, or the insecurities that I have, they disappear, because I become more sure about what kinds of tools I can grab a hold of, or what kind of things I should think more about, so in that way it is definitely good to go to work." (Eve interview 1: 30.09.2015)

This account reveals how Eve attributes her exposure to discourses prevalent within the practices of central administration as leading to a realisation that her current mode of participation may be insufficient, within the wider organisation. Her movement across different *practice-arrangement bundles*(Schatzki, 2002), from those of her local institution to those of central administration highlights discrepancies in her membership and participation that could and should be addressed – her *practical intelligibility* (Schatzki, 2002) is challenged and stretched.

Shared experiences and interactions with other members of the wider community of practitioners – middle managers – are described as facilitating a shift in her understanding of her managerial role and professional work. The challenges and opportunities highlighted in the movement within and across these practices are

described as driving her to seek out participation in a third practice-arrangement bundle – the LDP, which offers opportunities to address these eventual discrepancies.

Eve attributes the decision to commit to participation in the LDP to the opportunity it offers her to gain a greater degree of control in her daily working life, despite the fact that she clearly sees the LDP as a significant challenge, as being "*really hard.*" She bemoans the limitations of her intuitive approach to managerial work "*there must be someone who knows something about how these things work*" and is therefore prepared to seek assistance. She deems her intuitive approach to be insufficient, she emphasises "*I just do the best I can*" but no longer perceives this to be good enough. The *learning curriculum* emerging from discrepancies made visible to her due to exposure to new discourses and practices in the central administration highlights a deficiency in her understandings and operability, which can potentially be addressed by her participation and investment in another bundle of practices – the LDP. She clearly attributes great significance to this participation, describing the outcomes of this as providing an increased level of professional confidence and understanding of self-efficacy; this is an understanding that becomes more explicit in further exploration of her activities in the LDP.

In order to get beyond Eve's accounts of her participation, analysis of an example of her exam texts in the programme will be conducted. This provides insight into the kind of resources offered in the programme and how Eve mobilises them.

Plotting a Point on the LDP: Eve's Radical Identity Work
Closer analysis of Eve's first exam paper completed in the LDP provides an illustration of the manner in which her *practical intelligibility* can be seen to change through her iterative movement between the *practice-arrangement bundles* of the LDP and her local institution. The repertoire of managerial stances available to her expands, and which of these it makes sense to adopt can be seen to shift. The changes

revealed suggest the activities undertaken by Eve are similar to the kinds of *identity work*(Alvesson et al., 2001; Ibarra, 1999) commonly associated with leadership development, where a noticeable shift in professional identity is recorded in her exam texts.

The following series of excerpts[83] are taken from this very first exam paper in the LDP. This is entitled:"*Language: From Hindrance to Possibility" (12-03-2012)*, and was written for the obligatory "Professional Leadership" module. Eve presents revealing appraisals of her professional actions and identity, and indicates how this is undergoing very deliberate revision in an attempt to align with changes in her understandings, attributed to participation in the LDP. While this exam text is written three years prior to the interview from which the citation above is taken, a striking consistency can be seen between the appraisals and conclusions drawn in them. This suggests that a robust change in the way Eve understands her work has taken place and persevered; Eve attributes her participation in the LDP as having a dramatic impact on her managerial work, as she states in the interview: *"from day one."*

"*Language: From Hindrance to Possibility" (12-03-2012)*

> *Problem statement: How can I, together with employees, create a new language game in the organization with which the personnel can pursue their dream and that which works - despite changes in available resources, due to the cluster reform."*

As the problem statement suggests, Eve reflects repeatedly in the exam paper on the status and importance of language and considers appropriate reactions to the cluster manager's reforms, from her position as educational manager. Four excerpts are taken from this first exam paper to illustrate the radical identity work described within it.

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[83] Parts of this analysis have appeared in a previously published article. See (Walker, 2016)

Excerpt 1:

> *"The "Acorn House" became part of a cluster structure on January 1st, 2011. At that time, I had been the Institutional leader for eight years, working alongside an assistant manager for only short intervals during that period, as part of a management team. For the majority of the time I had been alone with the task of management, working from the premise that "if everything works fine and everybody is happy and satisfied, then that is how we should continue to do things in the future." (Exam project, p. 3)*

Excerpt 2:

> *"My insecurity and doubts about myself as a manager came to the surface through the way I entered into the cluster structure. I made it obvious, in my language and attitude – both verbally and non-verbally – that I could not see the point in a cluster manager, that the cluster manager's values were vastly different to ours, and that it was completely unheard of to make cuts in the budget." (Ibid)*

Excerpt 3:

> *"From January to October 2011 - after the implementation of the cluster - I made it clear to my staff that our new cluster manager was 'picking' at all our good work by making budgetary cuts, withdrawing our right to use temporary relief staff and asking us to cooperate with other institutions in order to cover each other's staff shortages. I focused on the changes being made, without being able to see any reason for them, and requested values and visions from the cluster manager, so that I could understand why the changes occurred. I was passing my own frustrations over a faltering sense of meaning in my work, onto the personnel." (ibid)*

Excerpt 4:

> *"When I started on the development programme in September, it was with the intention of linking theory to the things that I already did in practice. I quickly realized that I have been more a pedagogue than a manager. I have focused on human relations and have not had the organization's development and needs in mind. 51/49[84]!!! I have to be aware that there are many stakeholders in play in the organization and am fascinated by the idea that there is no such thing as change management, but that management is change." (ibid; 9)*

In order to readdress the perceived errors and problems in her managerial approach, Eve draws on resources offered in the LDP to tackle the problems in the institution, and the staff's acceptance of the new cluster structure. Excerpt 1 provides an articulation of her experienced autonomy as a manager, prior to the cluster reform, where she had "*for the majority of the time been alone with the task of management,*" and adopted a hands-off and common sense approach to her work. Excerpt 2 provides an insight into how she experienced the advent of the cluster structure, and the increasing influence of the cluster manager, continued in excerpt 3, where she openly describes destructive behaviour in passing her frustrations with the cluster manager's interference onto her staff.

Excerpt 4 provides her account of the manner in which her participation in the LDP made her aware of position within the wider organisation, outside the specificities of her local institution. The articulated realisation that "*I have been more a pedagogue than a manager* "is worth noting, a concise appraisal of her professional identity –

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[84] "51-49" is a tool from the LDP. In the text, Eve refers to a slide from a session of the LDP, presented by the consultancy company Macmann Berg. The definition of this idea of 51/49 is as follows: ""51/49 reflects that the organization's perspective must fill at least 51 percent, whereas the employee's and the manager's perspective should not exceed 49 percent. If this balance tips we forget what our purpose and vision is. The fraction is a very good reflection tool for managers as well as employees, so the organization's basis for existence does not drown in assiduity and individual concerns." https://www.facebook.com/MacMannBerg/posts/1113230175406024 (retrieved 23.03.18)

giving rise to the possibility for a reinterpretation of the self (Lave & Wenger, 1991) brought about through participation and movement between situated social practice s of the LDP and her local institution. The "51/49" fraction appears throughout the empirical material relating to Eve, where she regularly uses this as a mantra in keeping her attention on the fact that organisational interests (51%) should always take precedence over managerial or employees interests (49%). Analysis of this first exam paper reveals a striking and radical change in understanding, giving rise to Eve's reflections about professional identity and the purpose of managerial work.

How Eve appropriates resources offered in the LDP to facilitate and support these reflections can also be appreciated through closer study of this text and the resources upon which it draws. Prescribing to a social constructionist approach, Eve refers to Wittgenstein, through a textbook[85]used in the LDP explaining Maturana's systems theory (Maturana & Varela, 1992). She writes: *"the staff are to be given a new language, we need to make room for a new language game."* In order to do so, she describes how she will use a "back casting"[86] model offered on the LDP. This is a model of reflection guiding participants in a structured manner, focusing on instances where team-work has functioned well, striving to identify the factors which made this possible as well as how to recreate this in future scenarios. Eve intends to initiate a process in which the staff will look back and evaluate their attitudes and approach to the introduction of the new team structure, in order for them to proceed within the structure in a more enlightened manner.

In order to do this, Eve explains that she will apply the method of "Appreciative Inquiry" (AI) (Cooperrider & Srivastra, 1987), with a commitment to the central tenet

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[85]Referring to: "Systemisk Ledelse: den refleksive praktiker" (Hornstrup, 2015)
[86] The backcasting model is formulated by Macmann Berg, a managerial consultant group sub-contracted by the municipality to provide specific modules on the LDP. https://macmannberg.dk/ (retrieved 20.04.18)

of AI- that "behind every problem, there hides a shattered dream.[87]" Therefore, her task during this planned evaluation process is to follow the "Heliotropic principle," described as a central idea in Maturana's systems theory and Appreciative Inquiry - based on the understanding that plants always grow towards the light. Therefore, inquiry is not to focus on problems and past difficulties, but dreams – the staff's visions for how their daily work can progress optimally is to be the engine for future considerations, discussions and actions, rather than frustrations with problems based in past experiences. This is deemed to provide the most fertile ground for positive growth and development – moving "towards the light."

The extent to which these understandings have pervaded the project are reflected in a reappraisal of the problem statement : "*How can I, together with employees, create a new language game in the organization with which the personnel can pursue their dream and that which works - despite changes in available resources, due to the cluster reform.*" The resources offered and theories offered on the LDP are used to make challenges managerially actionable, organisational problems become managerial challenges.

From "Destructive Consent" to "Constructive Dissent?"

The progression presented in this first exam paper reveals a marked change developing in Eve's understanding of her organization, her staff and her professional identity. A similar pattern is revealed in her other exam projects in the LDP, with Eve appropriating ideas of systemic management and trust based management. More critical reflections on these approaches do gradually become evident in the exam papers, as will be shown in analysis of her final exam project. Eve's *learning curriculum* can be seen to inform her investments and participation in the LDP, enabling new understandings: of the ongoing reforms and restructuring, of her

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[87]Referring to: "Den systemiske professionelle" Peter Lang, Vernon Cronen og Martin Little Erhvervspsykologi, volume 3, nummer 2, juni 2005

position and role within the wider organisational cluster structure, of the goings on in her own organisation, of her staff and of her own desired managerial identity.

When considering this in relation to the earlier argument emerging from observation conducted in the final module of the LDP, in which it was contended that the LDP involved the development of followership among participants, as much as leadership, the shift revealed in the excerpts from the exam texts is important. Here, Eve is seen to shift from clandestinely spreading negativity about the changes introduced by the cluster manager, to becoming more open to the possible potentialities of these, and engaging with them in a different manner. In using the terms operationalised by Grint (2005) for different forms of followership, the movement from an approach characterised by the subversive "*destructive consent*" to a more productive and desirable form of "*constructive dissent*," can be discerned in this first exam paper, and over the course of Eve's exam papers generally. Here Eve shifts from destructive consent, openly criticising and undermining the initiatives and actions of the cluster manager while officially following them, to constructive dissent, prepared to actively engage in discussions about these initiatives with the staff and the cluster manager. Therefore, Eve's participation in the development programme can be regarded as contributing to a reassessment of her organisational setting, achieving clarity over her own position and the purpose of her role, where she begins a process involving the shaping of her professional identity to respond to the new conditions, taking the cluster reform and organisational restructuring into account.

Eve's Final Exam Project: the *Problematic*

In the period since the introduction of the cluster reform, the cluster manager – securing cooperation with the collective of educational managers within the cluster- had introduced structural and organisational changes to the member institutions. The most prominent of these arose in the summer of 2014, with the decision to depart from the traditional arrangement of dividing the children in the pre-school (3-6 years)

department of "The Hill" into three groups of 12-24 members, with each group assigned their own room and a group of three pedagogues, responsible for the workings of this room. Instead, the inside of "The Hill" building would now be divided into three "zones" with eight pedagogues rearranged into a larger, more flexible, team; charged with coordinating all of the 60 + children in a more fluid manner.

The stated intention of this restructuring had been to reduce the child to-adult ration, allowing the pedagogues to work with the children in smaller groups. This flexibility would also enable and allow the children to find their peers among the wider group, and reduce the unavoidably large developmental gap between 3-6 year olds, inherent within the more traditional "room" structure. Observations reveal the Eve, and the staff of the Acorn House are found to perceive the restructuring fundamentally as "yet another cost-cutting exercise." The proposed changes were perceived to make the staff more interchangeable and capable of covering one another's sick leave, rather than calling in temporary staff to cover absenteeism.

The shifting forms of coordination and organisation resulting from this restructuring had proven to create discernible difficulties and confusion for all of the actors involved – the manager, the staff, the children and their parents. This was typically in relation to where each child should be, with whom and at what time.

Through participation in an earlier module of the LDP, which focused on the organisation of teams, Eve was introduced to the idea of replacing individual performance reviews with team performance reviews.[88] In light of the structural changes taking place at The Acorn House -rearranging the pedagogues into larger teams – Eve describes how she found this to be instantly applicable to her own organisation, an opportunity to develop a cohesive approach to working with teams in

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[88] In Danish: "TUS samtaler"

this way. She brought this suggestion to a managerial committee meeting, involving the cluster manager and the other educational managers of the member institutions, and was granted authorisation to implement the idea within her own institution, before it eventually spread to the whole cluster.

In her final exam project, Eve presents and evaluates her implementation of these team performance reviews in which she operationalised a specific ("5F"[89]) model presented in the LDP, based on principles of Appreciative Inquiry, which provides a specific model to structure the discussion and dialogue. Eve's final project builds on empirical investigations into the staff's experiences of the team performance review and theoretical reflections on this. The content of the exam text is summarised below. The consistent structure of the exam texts is used a frame for summary, where problem statement, theory, methodology, conclusion and evaluation of professional development were key elements.

Addressing the Problematic

The title for Eve's final exam project is "Team Organization in Day-Care," and the problem statement is recognisable from the previous chapter, reading reads thus:

> *How can the organisation of teams influence the planning of work, and thus the pedagogical efforts undertaken within the A house, to (continue to) be more focused?*
>
> *How does the organisation of teams effect the individual employee's way of structuring and understanding their work?*

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[89] 5F MODEL (Fokusere, forstå, forestil, fastlå, frigør.) In English this would be the "5D" model, a process model for approaching change at all levels of a system, comprising 5 elements: "Define," "Discover" "Dream" "Design" "Deliver/Destiny."

How do employees perceive their own and their colleagues' competences, and what does it require of me- as a leader-to bring the individual and the team into play?

Which differences are there in the ways in which the teams plan and work? As a leader, how can I support processes, understanding and development in the future, so that all of the teams operate optimally despite differences?

Ontology and theory

Eve delivers a succinct definition of her ontological positioning and approach.

"*My whole organisational understanding is based in Gergen and Gergens, as well as Gregory Bateson's social constructionist conceptual framework. The world is created in relations and reality is that which we achieve consensus on through relations, language and contexts. Reality is therefore always in development and movement, and everything is temporary and contextual. Social constructionism implies that there is no single truth, but that through relations, we build a collective future. "In a broader way, one can say that, while we communicate with each other, we construct the world we live in." [90] Final exam project;13)*

Within this ontology, Eve describes how she uses Marturana's domain theory, referring to secondary literature produced by Danish authors[91] presented as curriculum within the LDP. Eve explains that this draws attention to the "multiverse" of meanings and understandings inherent within the social world and the need to be aware of this in managerial work. Likewise Eve draws on another course text (Hornstrup & Johansen, 2013) and it's operationalisation of domain theory, as a tool for positioning the staff's understanding of the new team structure within the wider

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[90] (Referring to the following footnote: "Social konstruktion" kapitel 1, side 10.)
[91] Referring to (Danelund & Sanderhage, 2009)

organisational context, while the work of Edgar Schein (Schein, 1994) is also cited as a means of understanding the "hidden and complicated sides of the organisation" and its culture.

Recognising the importance of the "agenda of trust" within the municipality of Copenhagen, Eve reflects on the concepts and implications of trust-based management:

> *"According to Kampmann and Thygesen[92] trust based management is characterized as a calculated risk based on the expectation of increased value. The risk is that management lets go of control without losing oversight. There is not to be trust in the individual employee, but trust that the systems are meaningful, whereby an opportunity is created to lead in relation to the potential in the future. Focus falls on both managers and staff working towards the same goal, and that the task is deployed at the same time as the staff lifts the task. The responsibility of both parts in this relationship of trust is equally important for the working community to gain the best conditions."(Final exam project, p.32)*

Eve describes how she subscribes to the ideas of trust based management and has sought to implement this in her managerial work.

<u>Method</u>

Eve describes how she draws on theories and tools from the LDP to undertake the empirical investigation, conducting focus group and individual interviews with her staff to gain greater insight into their understandings of the team structure, where Appreciative Inquiry is described as being the basis for her approach.

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[92]Referring to (Thygesen & Kampmann, 2013)

"Appreciative Inquiry means investigating in an acknowledging/valuing manner. To explore the organisation, where process and result cannot be separated. Gregory Bateson expresses it as investigation and change happening at the same time.

I have taken my point of departure in Cooperider and Shivastra's theory and method "AI", because it describes a way of exploring the organisation's successes, resources, dreams and wishes, but also in the heliotropic principle; where that which we focus on grows." (ibid; 42)

Conclusion

Eve concludes that her investigation has revealed that her staff has become confused by the implications of the new team structure and the restructuring of the pedagogical routines in the institution, where they are unsure what constitutes what. She notes a difference in the capacity of the teams to navigate the new conditions, were some are particularly well functioning, and others in disarray. This is attributed to the different character of the meanings and understandings of the new team system, which have become dominant in these different teams.

"Trust based management has, besides its many benefits, also a number of challenges. For example, I have had unconditional trust that all four teams grasped and lifted the task of team organization, and should have introduced more control mechanisms. In this manner I risk missing out on important information about where the organization is in need of attention, or where a specific team is in need of help, at the same time as I signal indifference or negligence towards the staff that have problems completing a task that they would actually like to fulfil. The four teams have received the same information and tools, but have engaged with the

> vision of the team with different understandings and understandings of
> the self." (ibid; 64)

Eve ultimately takes responsibility for this failing, where her approach to trust based management is deemed to be a substantial part of the problem.

Self-evaluation on development of professional competence

> *"I have turned from seeing staff complaints as being irritating, to seeing*
> *them as an expression of concern about either their accomplishment of*
> *tasks or the organization – and that I can help them put in place by*
> *acknowledging their concern, helping to find tools to help them solve it or*
> *in other cases take the concern from them and solve it as the manager."*
> *(ibid; 68)*

Eve describes how a more appreciative approach has led to a change in the way she approaches dialogue and communication with the staff, where she strives to listen more actively to what they are saying and why they are saying it. Eve reflects on her approach to trust based management, which she still advocates, but confesses that her approach to it was "too loose" and that she "let go of them too quickly, trusting that they would approach her for assistance, should the need arise." Therefore, Eve concludes that she must be more proactive in following how each team is performing, and intervening more readily when she deems it appropriate.

Eve and the Problematic

This summary provides the opportunity to consider the problematic identified by Eve, and the manner in which the final exam project of the LDP guides the manner in which this should be tackled in a specific manner. The proclamation made by Eve that *"My whole organisational understanding is based in Gergen and Gergens, as well as Gregory Bateson's social constructionist conceptual framework"* is particularly notable. This is not an understanding which Eve held prior to the LDP,

suggesting that Eve's organisational understanding – or at least the manner in which she can articulate it- has been rebooted through participation in the LDP. Eve now describes reality as being negotiated and relational, as "*social constructionism implies that there is no single truth, rather that we build a shared future in our relations. 'In a wider sense, one can say that while we communicate with each other, we construct the world we live in.'*" This nuanced organisational vista instils Eve with the desire to use appreciative inquiry to "*explore her staff's experiences and ideas about the team's competences, where I am curious as to the staff's experiences of, and wishes for, working in teams.*"

In the exam text, Eve describes how, following Schein's depiction of the central elements of organizational culture, she goes about changing the visible artefacts within the institution, editing signs, registration forms and the documents carrying discursive vestiges of the previous room structure. The wording and appearance of these artefacts are changed to reflect the new team structure, with "zones " and "age groups" rather than membership of specific rooms. These artefacts, and the discourse in the institution are identified as the "easiest place to start" in order to facilitate the change process. *"As the manager it was important to constantly speak within this and call groupings, working methods and artefacts something different than before (p.31)*." Likewise, Eve explains how she is to go about identifying the *espoused values* and *underlying assumptions* in order to begin a similar process of changing these, making them more conducive to the new team structure.

The conclusion of the exam document focuses on Eve's adoption of Thygesen and Kampmanns (2013) depiction of trust-based management," as the foundation in her daily work with the staff." Eve describes trust based management as being *"a calculated risk based on the expectation of increased value. The risk being that management relinquish control without losing oversight (*Final exam project; p.32)."* This is to be built on mutual trust between management and staff that the system

makes sense and that management and staff is working towards the same goals within it (ibid).

However, Eve's investigations using the appreciative inquiry approach, reveal difficulties in these relations of trust. She discovers that there are vast differences in the manner in which team members perceive and understand the new structure, as well as surmising that her initial belief that, if she treated the teams equally, they would perform equally, was naïve. This leads to a reappraisal of her understanding and approach to how trust-based management informs her work going forward, where this is to be built on a more considered and contingent understanding of trust.

Interim Conclusion: Eve

Eve's standpoint positions her as the educational manager within an institution increasingly controlled and regulated by the cluster manager and the municipality. The narrative produced in qualitative interviews reveals that she regards the LDP as having a hugely positive influence on her approach to managerial work. Analysis of her first exam paper in the LDP reveals a significant shift in her engagement with the cluster manager and the initiatives if the municipality, which, in terms introduced by Grint (2005) can be described as representing a more desirable and productive form of followership, moving from "destructive consent", to "constructive dissent."

The *problematic* identified by Eve in the final exam project relates to the ongoing implementation of a new team structure within the institution, introduced by the cluster manager, as well as how this relates to the simultaneous pedagogical restructuring of daily routines and activities in which these teams work with the children. In the final exam project, Eve develops an approach to investigate the understandings of her staff in relation to these changes, recognising that they can be different from one another. To do so, she draws on a social constructionist ontology

which focuses attention towards discourse and language, making challenges revealed potentially actionable. The theoretical resources on the LDP encourage the shifting of these narratives away from problems and towards desired futures.

Eve commits to changing her approach to trust based management, and engaging more actively with the teams and how they are developing, monitoring them more closely and being prepared to intervene when she deems appropriate. This is contrasted to her previously a "naïve" or blind trust that teams would lift the tasks assigned to them, if she was brave enough to let go of them. Eve received and overall grade "C" for her final exam project.

Standpoint: Sarah and the Annual Wheel

Sarah

Age at time of observations: 56

Tenure in position: Thirteen Years

Character of the institution: Independent Institution within the municipal regime.

Size of the institution: 100 children, predominantly of Danish ethnicity.

Sarah was immediately interested in my research project, volunteering to participate after my presentation on the first day of the module. Sarah had worked as a leader in the public sector for 24 years, the last 13 of which had been as the institutional manager of a large independent[93] day care institution in Copenhagen, "The Cherub

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[93] The difference between an independent and a municipal institution is that the independent institutions are overseen by a committee, typically comprising parents of children in the institution and representatives from the institution's wider voluntary network. All of the decisions made by the committee must comply with the municipal

House" with approximately 35 employees and 100 nursery age children. Sarah describes herself as part of a "three stringed managerial team" (Final Exam project), comprising herself, her deputy manager and a department manager. Sarah describes her role as the strategic leader, with chief responsibility for economy and human resource development, as well as management of the institution "outwards and upwards" (ibid). Sarah describes the division of labour between the management team as being clear: "*the parents, children and personnel refer to the deputy manager and department manager, with the deputy manager and department manager referring to me.*"(ibid)

Sarah's Articulated Motivation

At the beginning of the first interview with Sarah in September 2015, I invited her to begin with an introductory narrative describing her entry into the LDP and the manner in which she participated throughout the education. The following excerpt is from this introductory description.

> **Sarah:** *"I have another diploma education in pedagogical professionalism,[94] from 10 or 15 years ago, and I have a supervisor education, I have many educations, but I didn't have the diploma in leadership, and in the municipality of Copenhagen it is a demand that one must have it. And actually I had given up on it a little as [here Sarah mentions medical issues which have impacted upon her working life], so I thought that it was out of reach for me, and then I thought – "no, well okay" so I signed myself up, also because it is a requirement, but I enjoy being in education, I signed up and it has gone one step at a time, as I am also working part-time, so I have also taken some years to do it, you*

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rules and regulations. The independent institutions receive the same funding as a municipal institution and must meet the same demands.

[94]In Danish:"pædagogisk faglighed"

*know? So I actually started on UCC[95] and took the first modules, and now I have moved over to MUC, and I have been a manager for 25 years, 11 years as a day-care manager… **[there arises some uncertainty about specific dates]… I** was employed to start my institution up consisting of 100 nursery children, where we have 35 members of staff, so there is no doubt that, despite the fact that I have the experience that I have, and I actually think that I have been good at my profession[96] in terms of, that I could measure satisfaction in different ways, and the attractiveness of the workplace- there is no doubt that I have gained new insights and can support... like, I can work strategically at a completely different level than I could before, with a totally different consciousness, and I have really gained that from this education, and I have known about many of the concepts and used them before, but my understanding of them and the way I use them today is much deeper. And I don't think a day passes that it is not the case that…like, it has been an integrated part of me. I have also worked rigorously with it, you know? So I think that I have been enriched by it, and I have of course been enriched by the realization that, well, I can learn, like .. also at a high…like I don't think that the diploma education is at a high level, but the things I have produced have generally been at a very high level, like, in relation to the average. So that aspect of it has also been a factor." (Sarah interview 1: 29.09.15)*

The account provides an interesting insight into Sarah's standpoint, and how this must be understood within wider organisational conditions. She emphasises the fact that her participation in the LDP is essentially an obligation bestowed by the municipality, but aligns this to her own enjoyment of being in education, suggesting that this regulation is not understood to be inexpedient. She describes her involuntary

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[95] University College Capital (UCC) Sarah completed 6 modules of the LDP at UCC and 4 at MUC.
[96] In Danish: "fag"

shift from UCC - another university college offering the diploma programme - over to MUC. This illustrates the implications of municipal decision to make MUC the sole provider of the education in the area. It later becomes clear that Sarah is critical of this decision and the implications it had on her experience of the programme, where she bemoans a perceived decline in standard in the shift to MUC.[97]

Sarah attributes huge significance to the impact of the education on her daily working life, with the description of gaining a "totally different consciousness" particularly striking, allowing her to work "strategically at a completely different level." It is worth noting that this reference to the LDP as giving rise to a "changed consciousness" is found repeatedly throughout participants' accounts across the broader empirical collection in this study.

Sarah's description of her understanding and approach to the education is revealing, it becomes clear that while she does not rate the education as being of a particularly high level, her participation within it has been "rigorous" and her performance well above average. The opportunity to participate in the educational practices and *communities of practitioners* allows her to surmise that she is performing at a high level in relation to them, which appears to be important for her understanding of how she has approached the LDP, her performance within it and the eventual implications of this on her developing professional identity.

It becomes clear later that Sarah deliberately shrinks from striving for a position of full participation and membership within the communities of practitioners in the LDP, seeing no great value in them. She states that for her, the value has been in the structured sessions in each module and the exam process, rather than engagement within in the community of practitioners. The manner in which she cites her extensive experience and expertise in the narrative provided gives an indication that

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[97] Interview 1 with Sarah (29.09.15)

the support network of the LDP may not be the primary attraction. Nevertheless it is an important point of reference allowing her to reinterpret her professional identity in relation to them, where she describes a conscious decision to remain on the periphery of the communities in the LDP.

Plotting a Point on the LDP: Learning of the Professional Self

In order to gain a greater understanding of Sarah's participation in the LDP, closer examination of an early exam project will now be undertaken, revealing resources offered on the LDP and how these are appropriated. Sarah's journey through the LDP is a little different to the other participants within the present study, with her exam papers and theoretical repertoire varying slightly. This is due both to her position as institutional manager, rather than educational manager, and her participation in two different educational institutions – UCC and the MUC. Her focus through the LDP is, at times, trained as much on "managing up the way" and dealing with external stakeholders in the municipality and the network of independent day-care institutions as much as issues within her own institution.

In the module *Personal Leadership*, Sarah reflects in the aftermath of a situation in which her attempts to engage in this type of management "up the way" had unintended and negative consequences. Her problem statement reads:

> *"Which competences are most advantageous for me to develop in my external leadership, now that all my best intentions have fallen apart?"*

In order to answer this question, Sarah explains how she draws on results of a personality profiling tool used in the LDP, based on the Myers-Briggs typology, in order to increase her understanding of what it is that drives her and how she - as a type and a person- acts and affects others, and how they affect her (Exam project;

p.5). Sarah receives the "ENTJ"[98] profile in the Myers Briggs typology, providing her with an account of her professional identity, upon which she can reflect and potentially act. The conclusions of these reflections are detailed below.

> *"My biggest challenge, I believe, lies in adapting my managerial telos to the actual conditions.*
>
> *The inclusion of MBT* [**Myers Briggs Typologi**] *has given me a greater self-knowledge and, not least deep emotional realisations. These point out that I have to work on balancing the contradictions I have within me. I have to find the balance between courage and determination so I avoid recklessness, and I have to work with my subjective virtue of justice. The urge for justice, where people are treated with respect and equality in the eyes of the law, risks taking over, because as a human being, I am very driven. Here I have to work on increased self-awareness in terms of reflecting upon on and being aware of what is happening within me in the situation. What feels right and what does not feel right ..." (ibid)*

The personality profile offered to Sarah by the Myers Briggs Typology offers a neutral and critical account of her managerial style and how this style may be perceived and experienced by others. It therefore provides an explanation for the difficulties she has experienced in her attempts to "manage up the way," and how these may be experienced as abrasive by others. Here, her reflections result in a commitment to strive for a more controlled, less "reckless" approach, keeping the purpose of her work in any given situation at the forefront, rather than deeper principles which have perhaps interfered in her ability to proceed in a more productive manner in the past. Essentially, the Myers Biggs Typology provides a

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[98] ENTJ: Extroversion Intuition Thinking Judgement

depiction of her managerial approach, allowing this to be appraised and amended – giving rise to a reinterpretation of the self within and across situated social practices.

While the focus chosen by Sarah is at times different to Eve, common references indicate a shared repertoire of theoretical resources drawn from those offered during the course of the LDP. Here the triumvirate of social constructionist ontology, systemic management as a middle range theory and Appreciative Inquiry as a concrete methodological approach is evident in a form similar to that presented in Eve's exam texts. In these exam documents, this equips the participants with the tools and motivation to explore what is happening in their institutions and seeks to gain greater insight into the relations comprising it and the understandings and opinions of their staff. On the background of this knowledge, they articulate an increased understanding of what is going on and a greater sense of involvement in it. This is regarded as establishing a more qualified basis for future action.

Sarah's Final Exam Project: the *Problematic*
Sarah's final exam project is based around the implementation and establishment of a specific management tool developed within the institution itself. Sarah describes this tool as something with which she has worked over the course of the LDP, attributing its very conception to her participation in a previous module. The tool in question is a specifically designed "Annual wheel" structuring the internal activities of the institution thematically over the course of a year, incorporating the demands and goals prescribed by central administration. This is an extensive instrument, with each theme running over the course of two to three months and outlining particular objectives for these intervals. These highlight relevant "attention points" within each interval, of which the managerial team, the staff, the children and their parents should be aware. Essentially, this assigns different, specific tasks for all parties, at all times, with the focus shifting with the different themes throughout the year. Sarah

articulates her understanding of the wheel in the following manner, during the first qualitative interview:

> **Interviewer:** *Can you say a little more about the annual wheel, how it..*
>
> **Sarah**: *Like, our "steering wheel?" It was about…it is also a…it is developed in relation to handling the complexity we are a part of and are subject to. Because we are subject to some legal conditions, we are subject to the municipality of Copenhagen, who have their fads,[99] and we are also dependent on those that set the political tone, and we have also our own…as management we are preoccupied by things, so how do we handle this in relation to, handling the complexity and making it manageable, so that we live up to delivering that which we should, but at the same time don't over-burden our staff, to give also…with the way large nurseries are developing, that we get a degree of common ground, where we do not lose sight of the central tasks, but where we support one another in producing quality, so that it goes to the children, so that it becomes a good learning environment for the children, and a place for them to be." (Sarah interview 1: 29.09.15)*

On various occasions during the shadowing intervals, the instrument is explicitly described by Sarah as a "technology of control," ensuring the practices of the local institution comply faithfully with the guidelines being put in place by central administration. The wheel is structured to delineate the different themes that are to be in focus in the given months and what should be driving the pedagogical work at these times.

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[99] In Danish: "kæpheste"

Figure 7 :The Annual Wheel:

The problem statement for Sarah's final project reads:

> *"How can we, through the management of employees, facilitate learning*
> *processes in connection with the implementation of the institution's*
> *Annual Wheel?"*

Sarah displays a willingness to embrace her participation within the LDP as an opportunity to work with deliberate and structured investigations into institutional practices, and further her managerial competence. Likewise, the central position of the "Annual wheel" in both her final project and the goings on in daily work represents a link between three sets of practices – the municipal, the educational and the institutional. Closer study of the manner in which work with this Annual Wheel unfolds can provide insight into the nature of the relationships between them and the implications this has for Sarah's developing professional identity.

Addressing the Problematic
In the final exam paper, Sarah positions the annual wheel as a tool potentially capable of addressing the practical challenges of increased regulation and evaluation from the

municipality. In the project she seeks to recognise and explore the implications of this from societal, organisational, managerial and professional perspectives (p.9). The introduction to the project begins with the following declaration:

> *"The public sector is challenged by two competing paradigms, NPM's* [100] *management thinking and the professional paradigm's professional thinking. The learning goal for my final project is to coordinate management thinking: 'Implementing a model of the Annual Wheel as a professional management tool for the professional." (Final exam project;* p. *4)*

In order to explain the design of this wheel, musical terms are propitious: the annual wheel seems to be intended as a transposition tool, or a kind of auto-tune device, through which discord between the organizational demands of the municipality and the actualities of daily institutional practices of the pedagogues can be addressed, bridging organisational and professional values. By entering the daily activities of the pedagogues and the institution into the framework of the wheel, these activities are transposed into the same 'key' or language as that of the municipal requirements. This seeks to the enable the situated practices of the pedagogues to be articulated and - potentially crucially – evaluated[101] in line with the terms put in place by the municipality.

As Sarah deems the uptake of the wheel by the staff to be slow, the point of departure for the final exam project is to gain a greater understanding of how to make the local

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[100] New Public Management

[101] In a shadowing interval with Sarah, I attended a conference with her, at which the Administrative Director of the Child and Youth Administration of Copenhagen held a presentation for managers of independent day-care institutions. During his presentation, he announced that he "couldn't care less" about how they organised themselves, as long as it worked. In the same presentation, he confirmed that that they should be prepared for formal and structured evaluation of their institution's performance later in the year. When asked what the criteria would be for these evaluations, and how they were to be carried out he explained that these were not yet finalised. The audience seemed far from impressed with his presentation. (Fieldnotes; 03.02.16)

implementation of the annual wheel more effective, framing the challenge as one of learning: namely, the learning processes of the employees.

<u>Ontology and theory</u>

Sarah describes an "eclectic" approach to the philosophy of science underpinning her investigation, drawing on elements of phenomenology, social constructionism and realism, where "intersubjectivity" is identified as a concept that these approaches have in common. She continues:

> *"The same is true of the understanding that the world we share is constructed as a shared world in a social and historical context." (ibid; 15)*

Within this eclectic ontology, Sarah describes how she has divided her theoretical approach in two parts, firstly from a managerial perspective and secondly from the perspective of the staff.

From the managerial perspective, Sarah explains that she will use domain theory as a way of understanding organizational cohesion as being based on the coupling of personal models and collective communicative processes, which shape participants' ability to create a cohesive understanding in concrete situations. Drawing on the presentation and application of domain theory in a central text[102] from the LDP she writes:

> *"From a domain perspective, there a 3 foundational dimensions of the interpersonal dimension: A rational, a cognitive and an emotional dimension. The rational dimension is made up of the production domain, focusing on information, decisions, goals and frames. The cognitive dimension is made up of the explanatory domain, where focus is on*

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[102]Referring to: (Hornstrup & Johansen, 2013)

understandings, meaning and an emotional dimension, the aesthetic
domain is where focus is on values, opinions and feelings." (ibid; 22)

The ability to remain aware of which domain(s) communication is taking place within is seen as an opportunity to control and direct this communication in the desired direction. Sarah couples this to Michel Foucault's concept of power as presented in the same core text book from the LDP, where power is to be understood as "a condition in every human relation" and therefore the manner in which the manager should deliberately "position themselves" in these is viewed as being important.

From the staff perspective, Sarah writes that she will draw on Peter Jarvis' and Knud Illeris'(Illeris, Andersen, Learning Lab Denmark, & Læring i arbejdslivet , 2004) approach to understanding learning processes, in order to better understand their engagement and application of the Annual wheel in daily work.

Method

Sarah describes the collection and selection of empirical material upon which the analysis is to be based.

> *"In the analysis and processing of data, I have chosen, organised and interpreted data made up of selections of text from a newsletter and sequences of talk drawn from transcriptions of a reflexive attentional exercise and interviews with four members of staff"(Final exam project,* p.*18).*

This reveals a varied data set, including external communication from the institution, transcribed interactions within a reflexive exercise conducted within the managerial team and interviews with staff members.

Conclusion

Through her analysis, Sarah discovers a "discourse of excuses" to be prevalent within the managerial team, which is deemed to inhibit the staff's engagement with the annual wheel.

> " In continuation of the analysis from a managerial perspective, where the central point was a "discourse of excuses" in relation to restrictions on implementation of the annual wheel, I have now been on an expedition into the life worlds of the staff, through analysis of interviews with 4 staff members, relating to their experience of the implementation process of the Annual Wheel. This has revealed that, behind these excuses, it can be found that we have had employees that have been on very shaky ground. Here, new knowledge has been the basis for setting a frame and to extend our understandings of the discourse of excuses from being that of excuses for "not getting it done" to looking at staff as people who have a high work ethic and would like to do things as well as possible, and that have different backgrounds for learning and acquiring new knowledge."
> (ibid;46)

This leads Sarah to conclude that by continuing this "investigative inquisitive" approach and building on their reflexive positioning and awareness of the implications of relational power through the use of language, the managerial team can gain insight into where each member of staff is in the developmental process. This would enable them to support each member of staff in the most qualified and appropriate way, to facilitate their learning processes. (ibid;44)

Self-Evaluation of Professional Development

> "I have learnt to corroborate things with staff before I make a conclusion. In hindsight, I can see that I/we have to a far too great degree tended to make conclusions without investigating the life-worlds of the staff. The

basis for the decisions I must make as the leader can to a great extent be qualified in the future by involving both the department managers and the staff.

An important element is also that the managerial team and the staff's life-world understandings are in different phases. Now that I have become more aware of this situation, I can – as the one going first- reduce the speed and potentially change direction. I will also be more capable of reaching the staff in their differences, so that I can get closer to them in the relational creation of meaning"(ibid;56).

Here Sara attributes huge significance to the realization that her understanding of situation is not necessarily definitively correct, which instils a commitment to corroborating understandings and perceptions with those held by the staff, before making decisions. An increased involvement of staff and her managerial colleagues in decision-making processes is reported as a direct influence of the LDP on her approach to managerial work. Likewise, Sarah states in continuation of this section that she has become more conscious of her "managerial style" and the manner in which she communicates, with particular attention to how she uses language. This emphasizes showing respect towards differences in opinion and the relational creation of meaning, and she states that she will continue to work on her communicative competences both written and orally.

> *"I conclude that I am on the way to being a strategically competent manager who thinks holistically and involves staff in activities and ways of communicating, from an approach where I also consider communication about my own actions, decisions and communication." (ibid)*

Sarah's description of her "eclectic" approach to change management as drawing on phenomenological, social constructivist and realist ontologies can be seen as reflecting the implications of the commitment to offering an "eclectic" package within the constraints of the LDP.[103] When the results of this are seen in practice, it evokes the image of an "all you can eat" buffet, where it is up to the participants to select different tools and items in a manner that they find appropriate while imposing their own restrictions. This can be seen to lead to contradictions and confusions within research design. Indeed it later became clear that these difficulties were a central element in the critique Sarah received during the oral defence of the project. However, the implications of these inconsistences, while academically unsettling, are not seen to disturb Sarah's investigation or the practical conclusions drawn from it to any significant degree.

Sarah states that she works with the "systemic understanding of organisation" as the unifying principle guiding her theoretical framework, drawing on "strategic relational management" and "domain theory" to understand "interpersonal dynamics" and how these can be managed, where there are "*basically three dimensions in the interpersonal dimension: a rational, a cognitive and an emotional dimension.*" By being aware of these dimensions and which one(s) that a given instance of communication is occurring within, it becomes conceivable to actively manage and guide this communication in a desired direction – by ushering it into the desired domain. The issue of power is also addressed, with a Foucauldian understanding of the relational nature of power used to present an understanding of the importance of positioning within these domains and relations. This is described as drawing her attention to which positions are available in the relations with staff – which ones she should claim and which ones she should allow.

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[103] See part 2: Document between MUC and municipality.

In analysis of reflection exercises in her management team, Sarah discovers what is labelled a "discourse of excuses" to be pervasive, where the managers are found to describe the staff as constantly coming up with excuses for not adopting the annual wheel in their daily practices. One of the managers however, describes an instance of a member of staff explaining that she did not understand what was expected of her, and how the annual wheel should be implemented in her work. In the exam text, Sarah describes how she seized on this to emphasise that they – managers and staff-should be aware of the "difference between excuses and explanations." Sarah reflects on the realization that this "discourse of excuses" becomes potentially dangerous as a "discourse of power," marginalizing the staff and the positions it is possible for them to adopt (final exam project, p. 30). The realization that such disparate understandings of the annual wheel and its role in the institution persist, leads Sarah to undertake four qualitative interviews into the "life-worlds" of selected members of staff. Analysis of this interview material results in the following conclusion:

> *"Here, new knowledge has provided a frame to expand our understandings in the discourse of excuses- from excuses for "not having done it" to seeing the staff as people with a high work ethic, wishing to do the job as well as possible, while having different backgrounds for learning and acquiring new knowledge" (Final exam project, p. 46)*

The problem is found to be that staff does not properly understand how they are to use the annual wheel, rather than simply not wanting to use it. Sarah describes this as providing learning outcomes, equipping her with a commitment to include her managerial team and staff in forming more accurate conclusions, rather than acting on assumptions. She also reports an increased competence in approaching relations with the staff and the awareness of appreciating their idiosyncrasies, avoiding assumptions of shared understandings and focusing instead on the relational production of meaning.

Interim Conclusion: Sarah

Sarah works as the institutional manager of a large independent day care institution within the remit of the municipality of Copenhagen. She is the head of a managerial team that also comprises an assistant manager and a department manager, who deal primarily with the day-to day operations of the two wings of the institution. Sarah engaged actively with the LDP, perceiving it as a welcome addition to her strategic managerial competence. Access to membership of the community of practitioners of peers participating within the LDP is not reported to be an important factor for Sarah, where it is instead the formal structure of the exam processes which are the primary benefit. In observations conducted during the final module of the exam, this can al

The problematic identified by Sarah for the final exam project of the LDP involves the implementation of an internally develop managerial tool – the Annual wheel, aimed at coordinating the setting of measurable goals for the institution throughout the year. This is designed as a "technology of control" aiming to simultaneously increase the professionalism and quality of the pedagogical work within the institution, while ensuring that their standards comply to and satisfy the increasing regulations and demands of the municipality for evaluation.

Sarah explores the understanding of the managers and the staff, as to why the implementation of the annual wheel is slower than desired. This investigation reveals that the managerial team perceive a "discourse of excuses" to be prevalent among staff, explaining their reluctance to engage with the wheel. However, on closer study a distinction is made between an "excuse" and an "explanation," where the individual learning processes of the staff are seen as the major factor in impeding the implementation. Rather than making excuses, the staff is struggling to understand how they are to engage with it practically in their work.

Sarah develops a managerial approach, drawing on an eclectic mix of ontologies and a theoretical framework including systemic management theory, domain theory and

cites a Foucauldian understanding of power as relational. This framework encourages her to investigate individual understandings and consider the manner in which she is positioned and positions others in relations during her managerial work. The investigation results in a commitment to involve and include the staff in decision making processes to a greater degree, rather than relying on her assumptions as being sufficiently representative. Sarah received an overall grade "B" for her final exam project.

Standpoint: Mary and the "Turn Around Project"

> **Mary**
>
> **Age at time of observations: 33**
>
> **Tenure in position: Newly appointed**
>
> **Character of the institution: Municipal Institution**
>
> **Size of the institution: 90 children. Predominantly of ethnic**
> minorities

Mary represented a different profile from the other participants on the final module of the development programme and was the youngest participant, at 33 years of age. She was not initially employed as a manager, working as a pedagogue in the same after-school club[104] for the previous seven years. Mary had been one of the few to reply to my invitation to complete a diary- type newsletter, but her status as a "non-manager" had initially eliminated her from my consideration. However, during the course of the final module of the LDP, Mary was offered a temporary position as the manager of a day care institution in a socially disadvantaged area of Copenhagen, "The Star House," with 22 members of staff and approximately 90 children. The children in this institution are predominantly from ethnic minorities, living locally in an area

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[104] In Danish: "Fritidshjemme"

appearing on the municipality of Copenhagen's so-called "ghetto list,"[105] which identifies the most disadvantaged areas of the city. Unsurprisingly, on confirmation of her appointment, Mary immediately changed the focus of her final exam project, using it as an opportunity to structure her efforts to gain insight into the daily life and the employees within this institution.

Aside from the dramatic circumstances and events unfolding within the organisation, Mary's profile as a fledgling manager made this an interesting case, presenting the opportunity to see how she unfolded a theoretically based approach to management in practice. This represents a contrasting dynamic to the more experienced participants, who unfold and test their practically developed managerial approach by bringing it into dialogue with the theories and concepts presented during the LDP.

Mary's Articulated Motivation
In the first qualitative interview with Mary, she provided a lengthy account of her journey into the LDP and her motivation for this.

> **Mary:** *"My name is Mary and I chose to take the diploma because…are you interested in hearing about it over a longer time? Okay, before the actual decision, okay. It comes from that I actually lots of times in my different working lives, whether it has been in a shop or whether it has been.…I have also worked in a bank and different places like that, I have experienced that I have been given tasks where I should kind of take responsibility for them, kind of like project-management tasks, and in different settings independent of one another, the managers have said to me that they thought that, "what about trying to become a manager yourself?" And it was never something which had struck me at all. But it kind of kept on popping up in different places independently of one*

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[105] See Municipality of Copenhagen policy document: "Policy for Disadvantged Areas of Copenhagen." http://kk.sites.itera.dk/apps/kk_pub2/pdf/869_yNq8vh4bJF.pdf (accessed 16.12.15)

another, as I said, and then I became a trained pedagogue and have been in an after-school club for 7 years, where I have been, or I was there for 7 years until I started here, and before that…or not before that, but before I, like, started on the education, I was signed up for a programme called the "managerial talent programme" in BUF, [106] and that was something my manager recommended that I sign up for because I had given the impression that I could, like, would like to do… that there was a bit more going on. I could feel that being a pedagogue was really interesting, but I had also contemplated..like, not to sound superior, but it was easy for me, and at one point…I reached a point where I felt so at-ease that maybe I felt that there was a little too much routine, and I could feel that after..when was it…5 years or so, where it really…I could feel that it was about time that I, kind of, did something else. And I had in the back of my head , and I had mentioned it to my manager a few years previously, and she actually picked it up and she told me that there was this managerial talent programme, and I went for a meeting with her, at that time she was my cluster manager and I actually had lots of reasons with me, written down - I had no relation to her at that time – and I come up there, and she says "well, you know what, shall we not just say that you get a diploma in leadership?" and I sat there and was actually convinced that I would have to fight tooth and nail to get the education, because it was something they would be paying. But at that time in the municipality of Copenhagen, there was a prognosis that there would be a shortage of managers in the municipality of Copenhagen, so therefore they were also interested in granting the education to people. What my -at that time- cluster manager, and now my mentor, wasn't aware of was that it would be in a "BUF" programme, and I wasn't so interested in that as in the proper – or what

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[106] In Danish: "Børne og Ungdoms Forvaltning" (Children and Youth Administration of the Municipality of Copenhagen)

should I say – the normal diploma programme, because I knew that at some time or another that I would maybe like to try a completely different genre than the public sector, and I couldn't be so clear about that as I also had to keep them interested in paying the education for me. And then I landed it with…I got good feedback from the industrial psychologist who coached me in the managerial talent programme, and there were also discussions with my educational manager at that time, and yes, at that time there was, as I said, the plan to educate some managers in the municipality of Copenhagen, and I got started on it, applied and was informed by my cluster manager that as long as I passed each module, I could apply for the next one. And then I have really just taken them in a sort of chronological order, and this year I have taken them extra quickly so that I can complete it this year and not wait 'til next year, as one normally would…so I have taken three elective modules at one time, you usually just wait with the last one, but I just wanted to be finished quickly, you know? So yes, and now we are standing here today" (Mary interview 1: 24.11.2015).

Mary's account gives the impression that rather than experiencing management as a vocational "calling" it is more something that she was repeatedly "called," describing various instances of being given responsibility for tasks and being encouraged to enter management by her superiors. Mary explains that management comes to represent a natural way of progressing in her career and continuing her professional development, an alternative to becoming stale in her work as a pedagogue. Her reluctance to take a diploma form specifically tailored for managers working in day-care institutions in the public sector illustrates her ambition to form a longer-term career path, and secure mobile competences to support a potential move outside the public sector at a later point. Her account is also illustrative of the sudden shift in the

conditions for managerial employment in the municipality of Copenhagen after the cluster reforms of 2010 and 2013 and their inherent cost-cutting exercises. Up to this organisational restructuring, there had been concerns about a dearth of institutional managers and a drive to recruit and train qualified managers to address this potential shortfall.

Plotting a Point in the LDP: Doing Future Competence

The cases drawn upon in Mary's exam papers produces throughout the LDP reveal that, despite not holding a managerial position herself, she was permitted by her manager to manufacture and stage instances within the everyday practices of the institution, through which she could take responsibility and simulate performing in the role of manager. These instances were coupled with theoretical exercises in the form of, "if I were the leader in this situation I would have…," as a way of performing the necessary practical exercises and theoretical reflections and applications demanded throughout the exam projects at the end of each of the modules of the LDP. In this way, identifying the competences necessary for her in the future and planning how to obtain these was a central exercise.

This is apparent in her first exam project on the LDP, written for the "Personal Leadership 1" module, entitled, *"Communication , Management and the development of Competence"(08.11.13).* In the exam text, the background for this project is described as follows:

> *"The theme for my project is concerned with considering pedagogically appreciative principles in an organisational context positioned within cross-pressures. I experience more and more tasks in managerial work that are related to operations and administration, and that demands - made by central administration and government respectively - are increasing in terms of documentation and verification. The cross–*

pressures are becoming heavier, and I experience this as leading to a
diminishing capacity for engaging in personnel management. "

Here, the prevalent issue of organisational cross-pressures is explicitly articulated, and identified as a central challenge for Mary's future work; one which she must be equipped to tackle. Mary reflects on how it could be possible to retain a focus on personnel management within the local institution as being a central task in managerial work, while satisfying the increasing demands from the municipality.

In the exam project, Mary describes how she works with a conceptual tool offered on the LDP to guide her current actions in order to meet the demands of an imagined future work scenario. In the scenario imagined by Mary (ibid; 3), she should be equipped to deal with the kind of cross-pressures described above. The tool offered on the LDP supports the building of a "competence bridge" [107](Danelund, Jørgensen, & Danmarks Forvaltningshøjskole, 2002), by articulating three aspirations for her future professional competence and making a plan for how these can be attained. In the exam project, Mary focuses specifically on advancing towards one of these identified goals, a projection of the competence her future self must have is defined thus:

> *"I have an appreciative communicative approach to my personnel and I*
> *am conscious of the dialogical space and the context of it. "(Exam project*
> *, p. 3)*

In order to move towards this goal and the building of this future self, Mary reflects on the very nature of this kind of dialogical space. She considers how to act appropriately within it, in a manner consistent with her desired communicative approach.

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[107]In Danish: "Kompetencebroen"

> *"In the manager–employee relation there will always be some kind of imbalance in the power relationship, as a manager still holds the power card and can, in principle, determine the employment status of the employee. One can try to strive for an equal dialogue by being aware of the character of this asymmetric relationship and achieving a common third. Focus can be placed on the common third in the conversation. When two people talk together about a subject, that subject is the common third. In the dialogical space, where a coming together and a conversation between employee and manager takes place, there will be more than one perspective. Each has their own attitude and perception of reality, depending on the context or relation they are in - the social construction. There must be consciousness of this reality, in order to achieve the common third. "(p.3)*

Referring to texts from the LDP[108], Domain theory is then introduced as a tool to help attain this common third, making meetings with staff and the dialogue within these manageable.

> *"The three domains: the aesthetic (the personal) domain, the reflection domain and the production domain. These domains can be used in one's managerial practice. In the given situation, where one wishes to achieve a common third in a dialogue, one can use specially prepared questions. These questions can be used, for example in an employee performance review to ensure that, as a manager, one makes it all the way around the employee's competences and resources. "*

Mary proceeds to describe how she will strive towards approaching meetings with staff in an appreciative and inquisitive manner allowing the "social capital"[109]of the

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[108] Referring to : (Olsen, 2011)
[109]Referring to: (Hasle, Thoft, & Gylling Olesen, 2012)

staff to reveal itself, and enabling it to "develop and flower" by opening up for more symmetrical forms of dialogue. Mary articulates that she is committed to the belief that this approach can secure an optimal form of *"appreciative followership"* from staff. Mary describes how she intends to train herself in this approach in her current position by preparing guidance meetings with youths in her after-school club in a manner similar to performance review meetings. Here, Mary explains that she will prepare questions within the different domains in order to manage the dialogue and direct it in ways conducive to the identified purpose of the given meeting.

Mary's Final Exam project: the *Problematic*

The Star House – where Mary was to take over as the interim educational manager- was in crisis at various levels, and had been targeted as part of a national initiative labelled the "Turn Around" project, allocated special funding within the Danish government's fiscal policy of 2015. This involved the Children and Youth Administration[110] of the municipality of Copenhagen identifying the day-care institutions in most need of extra support, making extraordinary funding available to them. The introduction and implementation of this project within the institution had been impeded by the fact the educational manager of the institution had been on long-term sick leave. Therefore, a chief task issued to Mary on her appointment was to work together with a pedagogical consultant to begin the implementation of the Turn Around project within the institution. A central element of this project was the recruitment of new, more qualified personnel, and the relocation of lesser-qualified personnel to other, better functioning institutions in the local area.

The frame for Mary's final exam project and her endeavour to develop a coherent managerial approach is provided by the three success criteria put in place by the Turn Around project, for improving performance standards amongst personnel. Firstly, the number of qualified personnel must increase. Secondly, the level of sick leave must

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[110] In Danish: Børne og ungdomsforvaltning

fall below the national average and thirdly, satisfaction levels amongst employees must increase. The area of employee satisfaction is identified by Mary as the area in which she can have most influence and she designs and develops her project with the goal of maximising this. The problem statement for her final exam project, entitled "Change Management" reads thus:

> *"How can I, through management, improve the working environment of the institution, in connection with the Turn Around project? In order to answer my research question, I will examine the following questions:*
>
> - *Which frameworks and realities does the Turn Around project set for the institution?*
> - *How do I best position myself in relation to employees and my managerial superiors?*
> - *How do the current changes effect employees and their experience of the work environment? "*

In addition to these main aims, Mary outlines a more general purpose for her project*:*

> *"Besides working with the institution's work environment and employee satisfaction in the Turn Around context, I will also investigate which possibilities I have to act, as a new manager. I find that I am in a situation where I need to position myself in relation to the employees and to the cluster manager. I must form a managerial identity within an institutional context affected by hectic change." (Final Exam Project,* p.*3)*

The explicit formulation made by Mary, that she "*must form a managerial identity within an institutional context affected by constant change"* represents at once her specific commitment to the object of study in her exam project, but is also representative of the work being undertaken by the other participants within their final exam projects. The writing of the final exam project, and indeed the exam

projects throughout the LDP are seen to involve the undertaking of targeted identity work (Alvesson et al., 2001), through which the managers draw on the repertoires of resources offered to them to realign themselves and their work in a manner appropriate within changing organisational conditions.

Rather than providing a summary of Mary's exam paper as I have done with Eve and Sarah, a more fluid analysis will be undertaken to consider the manner in which this managerial identity is formed in her exam paper, an analysis that also reflects the general processes emerging in the final exam projects of the other participants.

Addressing the Problematic: Developing a Managerial Manifesto

Mary's deliberate construction of managerial identity can be seen in the exam paper as an articulation of intent – akin to a manifesto. Mary adopts a bricolage approach to constructing this manifesto, attempting to form an explicit and coherent assemblage building on theoretical resources provided by previous modules of the LDP. To a certain extent this is a bespoke construction, in that it must satisfy particular educational and institutional conditions and demands. Therefore, the manner in which this manifesto is assembled also provides insight into the conditions within which it is formed. The exam papers then, as a subordinate text within the intertextual hierarchy, reveal the coordination of appropriate identities and how these are assembled and articulated.

Mary's manifesto begins at the ontological level, where social constructionism is identified as providing the basis for her approach. Drawing on a core course text (Molly-Søholm, Willert, Stegeager, & Damsgaard, 2012), this is described as providing an awareness of a "*multiverse of individual and social realities*," which must be considered in communication and the management of interactions. This is combined with an underlying subscription to the importance of recognition and acknowledgement in relations and dialogue - fundamental concepts within the pedagogue profession in Denmark, stemming from the work of Axel Honneth (1995),

and perhaps indicative of vestiges of her professional identity as a pedagogue informing her approach. *Systemic management theory* (Molly-Søholm et al., 2012) is then described as accommodating these fundamental ontological and theoretical convictions. With reference to an understanding of the *"Appreciative Management"* approach (Lyndgaard & Haslebo, 2013) covered in the course, her task is described as threefold: firstly she must establish positive communication; secondly support an ambitious culture in the organization and, thirdly, establish ownership of this amongst employees. The ultimate aim here is to create an understanding of both people and problems as resources (Final Exam Project, p.13).

This is described as an attempt to widen the horizons of those involved, thereby increasing their possibilities to act, inspired by another key concept offered in the LDP - Appreciative Inquiry (Cooperrider & Srivastra, 1987) which is identified as a concrete approach to supporting change processes in organisations and improving the work environment. Here, in dialogue with staff, the manager is to remain fixed on what works in the given situation and to concentrate on the resources available rather than eventual problems, thereby facilitating progression to desired outcomes. Next, the narrative approach to organisational development is drawn upon, referencing a course text (Schnoor, 2012) describing how the narratives surrounding a problem are of more interest than the problem itself. In this manner, it is deemed possible to deconstruct the articulation of a problematic narrative into its constituent parts and provide alternatives, thereby creating space for more positive and productive narratives.

With reference to another central course text, (Hasle, Thoft, & Gylling Olesen, 2012) the idea of the social capital of the organization is then considered, where this is regarded as a resource enabling the staff and leaders to fulfil core tasks and achieve collective goals effectively. This is described as being built on trust between members, a shared sense of fairness and the ability to cooperate. Here, the manager

must earn the trust of employees by displaying authenticity, integrity and competence and encouraging a sense of fairness by listening and remaining open to comments and suggestions from staff – particularly in conflicts and agreements.

Domain theory (Lang, Little, & Cronen, 1990; Maturana & Varela, 1992) is incorporated to the bricolage at this point, as a means of meeting the communicative demands of this approach, where the manager should develop a keen awareness of which domain (personal/aesthetic, production or reflection) they - and their employees – are speaking from during interactions. This is intended to provide a broader and more productive frame for understanding and ultimately controlling dialogue, thereby managing relations.

This bricolage represents an idealised approach to managerial work that is summarized as a "systemic appreciative method." From this perspective, Mary designs the collection of empirical material for her study, based on two methods. Firstly observations are to be drawn upon, focusing on relations within the organization - between herself and her staff, and between herself and the cluster manager. Secondly, she plans the undertaking of individual work environment interviews with each member of staff, conducting a "pilot study" of three interviews for the purpose of the final exam project.[111] Drawing inspiration directly from a presentation made by the instructor on the LDP (field notes; 17.09.15) which described the use of auto-photography as a research method, Mary invites the participants to take a picture of what they associated with a good work environment prior to the interviews. This attraction of this approach can be compared to her previous commitment to the benefit of establishing a "common third" in dialogue with staff.

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[111] Due to the hectic nature of everyday life in the organization, no more than these three interviews were ever conducted.

The aim of this is to allow an investigation into the narratives within the organization, focusing particularly on those concerning the Turn Around project. The interviews are also utilized strategically, as an attempt to establish trust:

> *"The reason for this choice is that, as a new manager, I want to appear harmless – by harmless I mean that the employees must have time to build up some kind of trust in me, as I have just walked in the door. If I am too pushy and seem too controlling, or show very clear signs that I wish to clarify their competences, gain insight into their professional affiliation and their priorities, it would be overwhelming. I expect that I will be able to ask relevant questions based on these photos and in this way gain insight into the staff on many fronts. I will gain an idea of how the employee is as a person, her conception of a good work environment and how I can accommodate this. Additionally, I can gain insight into her ideas of personal and professional well-being." (Final exam project, p. 19)*

Mary describes this empirical approach as providing the opportunity to gain awareness of how to position herself most advantageously and productively in relations with the employees and within the "culture that the social reality implies" (ibid; 11), enabling a deliberate and strategic positioning.

Furthermore, Mary's relation to her immediate superior – the cluster manager - is identified as one of specific importance, to be targeted strategically in order to establish herself as an effective manager. This relation is experienced as precarious by Mary, describing how she feels the cluster manager publicly undermines her authority, creating problems for the development of her relations with both staff and the parents of the children in the institution. This relation is targeted for specific and deliberate attention, where she plans to focus on the "micro-social positional

invitations" (ibid; 49) she receives from the cluster manager, to challenge these and thereby create a new context for the development of their relations.

> *"Furthermore, I can conclude that as a manager I have to work on leading upwards and not just downwards in the level of the personnel, if I am to succeed as a manager and achieve followership."(Final exam project, p.51)*

This illustrates Mary's awareness of her position within the wider organisation, the nature of the cross-pressures within it, and her planned approach to these.

Outcomes and Planned Future Actions

The conclusions which Mary draws from her exam project take the form of an organizational diagnosis, structured by a variation of a SWOT model of analysis – providing an appraisal of the condition of the institution, its strengths and weaknesses and the implications of these for her managerial approach. The social relations between staff are deemed to be good, and regarded as a resource – but these shared understandings are largely found to be to be built on a collective understanding of the Turn Around project as an intrusion into their well-functioning daily approach. In particular, the protracted removal and replacement of five long-serving staff members has galvanized this opposition. The empirical study conducted gives Mary the impression of a highly differentiated approach to pedagogical practices in the institution, with the staff responsible for the different groups of children largely following their own principles without a collectively - or indeed at times, professionally - informed approach.

Mary concludes that this analysis points towards a need for the development of a collective understanding of a shared pedagogical approach within the institution, not only to raise standards in general, but also in order to satisfy the increasingly stringent expectations and demands being put in place by central administration. The

implementation of structural changes to specific routines is identified as the first step in tackling these challenges, primarily involving a more rigid and regular meeting structure. This was to be effectuated immediately with the introduction of "morning meetings," where a representative from each group was to participate in a daily morning meeting to clarify the pressing issues of the day ahead.

Another, more long term goal was the planned introduction of meetings in reflective teams - an attempt to enable a more open culture of collective professional sparring and encourage an inquisitive approach to each other's pedagogical practice. This is also regarded as an opportunity to instil a more disciplined approach in the workplace, where employees were now to understand and conduct themselves primarily as members of the organisation and profession, rather than as private individuals, as was often deemed to be the case.

Interim Conclusion: Mary

Mary explains that she begins on the LDP as part of a deliberate career strategy, intending to broaden her horizons for future employment and move away from the pedagogue profession. She enters her first managerial position towards the end of the final module of the LDP, and her position and approach is therefore different from the other two participants who were employed as managers for a number of years before beginning the programme. This means that Mary's approach to managerial work builds primarily on theories offered in the LDP, rather than practical experience of working as a manager. This informs Mary's organisational understanding as being positioned immediately within cross-pressures, where the negotiation of these is accepted as a central professional task.

The problematic identified by Mary for her final exam project is concerned with implementing the "Turn Around Project," a specific support package provided by the municipality for the day care institutions most in need of support. Mary seeks to work

towards the key goals targeted by the project, essentially key performance indicators that are to be improved. In order to do so, she uses the exam project to develop a fitting and effective managerial approach developing a managerial manifesto based on a bricolage of theories and resources offered on the LDP. This builds from a social constructionist ontology, systemic management and domain theory and Appreciative Inquiry. This manifesto focuses on the importance of narratives and communication in managing relations and communication within the organisation most effectively. Mary received an overall grade "B" for her final exam project.

Commonalities in Standpoints and Problematics

Analysis of the exam projects completed by the participants and qualitative interviews conducted with them provides a qualified basis for understanding their *standpoints* and *problematics*. As middle managers of day care institutions, common tendencies are evident. A synthesis of these analyses is now to be made in order to provide a more simple presentation of the goings on in the LDP, allowing these to be carried further in the present study.

The participants are found to be positively inclined to the LDP, using it as an opportunity to actively engage with the most pressing issues in their institutions. In line with findings from observations conducted in the final module of the LDP, the problematics which they identify involve - in different ways – working with the implementation of organisational reforms and restructuring introduced by the municipality, or their superiors.[112] Eve engages with the team structure introduced by the cluster manager, Sarah works towards implementing the annual wheel that is designed as a response to increasing demands for documentation and evaluations from the municipality, and Mary selects overseeing the introduction of the municipal Turn Around project. These final exam projects are explicit in working towards

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[112] 19 participants handed in final exam documents on completion of the LDP. Analysis of this collection revealed that 17 were found to engage with this specific kind of problem, working within organizational and institutional cross-pressures. In the remaining two texts, focus fell on specific managerial goals and made no mention of wider organizational conditions.

ensuring the translation of change initiatives into their local institution. To adopt the terminology prevalent in the LDP – their managerial action space is delineated and positioned directly within the cross-pressures of the municipality, and their local institution. Theoretically, this is to be found at the intersection of different *practice-arrangement bundles*. The question is: what does the third practice-arrangement bundle – the LDP- do in this situation?

What does the LDP do?

Legitimate "Snooping Around"

Firstly as is clear from analysis of the different exam projects, participation in the educational practices of the LDP legitimises strategic and often very direct investigations and interventions into the daily life of the organisation and the activities of the staff. Such targeted studies are presented as an obligatory element of the managers' participation in the LDP, allowing actions that may otherwise give rise to suspicion among staff, or be experienced as an intrusion, to become deflected and distanced as more abstract exercises. In this manner the investigations are framed as tackling a shortfall or challenge in managerial practices, and are thus decoupled from the identification of insufficiencies or under-performance amongst staff.

This facilitates a detoxification, where the staff willingly gives consent to these investigations and participates within them. This can be regarded as providing the participants with a privileged position, enabling vantage points and the ability to gather information in a manner and of a type which would otherwise be difficult, and at the very least controversial. Thus, participation across the LDP and the local institution can be seen to empower the participants with a privileged position to conduct structured investigations, providing direct insight and knowledge into the goings on in their organisation and the activities of their staff. This knowledge and privileged insight equips the manager with the opportunity to plan actions and

interventions in a markedly different manner than would otherwise have been possible.

Coordinated Sequences of Actions - and Identities?

In analysis of the exam papers, a tendency for the texts to follow a common structure is revealed. Positioning these within an understanding of an intertextual hierarchy coordinating sequences of actions(Smith, 2005), makes it possible to conceive how the LDP operates as part of a wider organisational programme. In the exam texts, participants identify a problem or challenge emerging from their daily work, formulating the problem in a way in which their managerial practices are to provide an answer to it. In this way, there are no organisational problems as such – only organisational conditions which give rise to managerial problems. In order to address these problems, they are to mobilise tools and theoretical resources offered on the LDP in order to tackle the situation and work towards solving it in an appropriate manner. The LDP is to make the organisational problems actionable as managerial challenges.

As revealed in the analysis, the managerial problems are addressed by producing a type of manifesto, building a bricolage of the materials presented on the different modules of the programme. While these manifestos vary slightly, a recognisable model for them emerges, represented across the different participants. This centres on a triumvirate of social constructionist ontology, a systemic understanding of organisations where dialogue within it is perceived as being conducted in different domains. This is joined with a commitment to Appreciative Inquiry as the most effective approach to dealing with staff, focusing on relations between staff members and seeking to explore the understandings and experiences of staff in an open and inquisitive manner.

The exam material produced records how participation in the LDP equips the managers with a new understanding of their position in the organisation, the purpose of their work and the manner in which they should approach relations with their staff. The texts articulate experiences of empowerment, where the manager's report an increased sense of control in dialogue with staff. This can now be steered in the desired direction to achieve the designated purpose of any given meeting. The managerial practitioner emerging from the educational practices of the LDP becomes an almost omnipotent figure, armed with an arsenal of ontologies, theories and tools. They articulate an empowerment and readiness to undertake the necessary work to ensure the implementation of change processes in their institution. This is to be done primarily by tackling problematic and obstructive discourses and narratives by shifting the focus in dialogue – from problems and frustrations of the past, to dreams and wishes of how things can be in the future. The triumvirate providing the fulcrum for this revised professional identity facilitates an understanding that, as the social world and reality is socially constructed, they are therefore capable of influencing the manner in which this reality is constructed through their use of language in managerial work. This omnipotence and professional identity derives its authority from the relationship between the LDP and the municipal agenda, distancing them from the concern of their staff and local actualities. The participants become institutional agents, focused primarily on the implementation of reforms and restructuring.

Practicing a Professional Craft?
The pattern emerging from the participants' iterative movement between the LDP and the institutions reveals the coordination of managerial practices, as becoming conditioned to be of a particular kind. These coordinated managerial practices and the activities comprising them resonate remarkably well with the three acts of professional practice described in Abbott's "The System of Professions (Abbott,

1988, p.39). These are "*to classify a problem, to reason about it, and to take action on it: in more formal terms, to diagnose, to infer and to treat.* " These are practical skills which are to grow out of mastery of an abstract system of knowledge (ibid;8).

In this case, the abstract system of knowledge is essentially presented by the curriculum and tools offered in the LDP, in compliance with wishes of the municipality – as is revealed in analysis of the negotiations between these two parts in chapter 4 of the present study. Texts and books from the curriculum suggested by the MUC in these negotiations are cited directly in the participants' exam documents and in the development of their manifestos, illustrating another dimension of the intertextual hierarchy (Smith, 2005) at work.

The participants are exercised and ultimately evaluated in the application of this institutionally accredited system of knowledge that seeks to equip them with practical techniques and a level of abstraction – a repertoire to diagnose, infer and treat problems. The organisational implications of such a professionalization process will be considered in more detail later during the discussion in chapter 11, where Abbott's focus on professional jurisdiction provides an interesting position from which to contemplate these issues further.

Interim Conclusion: Standpoints within Explicit Cross Pressures - Developing a Managerial Manifesto

What are the characteristics of the standpoints of the selected participants, and which problematics do they identify for their final exam project in the LDP?

ii: What resources do they draw upon to address these problematics?

While the identified standpoints of the participants are different, varying in age, experience and status, the problematics that they identify, are of a very similar character. These emphasise their position between the cross-pressures of municipal reforms and demands and the actualities of their local institutions. The participants are seen to utilise their final exam projects on the LDP to actively engage with the translation of change processes into their local institution, as agents of the broader organisation.

Analysis of exam projects submitted by the participants throughout the programme reveals how participation in the LDP provides the opportunity for the managers to become more knowledgeable of the broader organisation and their position within it and of their staff and superiors and how to handle them. The participants gain a new perspective on the nature of their work within the organisation, facilitating changes in professional identity.

Reflecting findings from analysis of the situated practices of the final module of the LDP, the managers are seen to become increasingly accepting of organisational conditions and the nature of managerial work within it, where they must engage with problems and challenges from a position which allows them to tackle them. It is articulated explicitly that the translation of organisational initiatives into local institutions becomes a central professional task for middle managers.

In the final project the managers are seen to assemble a managerial manifesto, drawing on the resources and tools offered on the programme, designed to undertake these very tasks. Identifying the manner in which this translation work is to be undertaken becomes the professional objective for the middle manager. Here, a model for this professional managerial approach emerges, building on the triumvirate of social constructivist ontology, systemic understanding of organisations and an approach to dialogue and communication underpinned by domain theory and

particularly appreciative inquiry. This triumvirate encourages a managerial approach which perceives discourse and narratives as "creating reality." By engaging with this discourse and narratives, it becomes conceivable to shape and guide this reality in a productive manner, where focusing on desired conditions rather than problems provides a motor for growth and development, in line with the "Heliotropic Principle" proliferated on the LDP. This is a significant change in the way the participants perceive and articulate their approach to managerial work, where these conceptualisations become a central element of their professional identity.

The manner in which the participants present and operationalise their participation in the LDP suggests that, although the LDP is essentially obligatory, it is not experienced as an intrusion, or an unwelcome regulation. Rather they openly embrace it as an opportunity to adapt themselves in a deliberate direction – in accordance with what they regard as the new organisational reality in the wake of ongoing structural reform. During the LDP, and upon completion of it, they are inspired to go on a "voyage of discovery" (a metaphor often used by the participants) within their own organisations. This is driven by a desire to gain a more detailed and accurate understanding of the issues affecting organisational life and practices - both internally and externally - in order to manage them in a more professional manner.

Chapter 9: Tracing Managerial Stances in Practice

> *How does managerial work become oriented in situated practices?*

Introduction

This analytical chapter builds on the findings from the previous chapters, where the LDP was seen to shape legitimate managerial practices and professional identity, orienting these towards the translation of the broader municipal and organisational agenda into local institutions. Participants were seen to articulate an appreciation of their organisation and the implications of their position as middle managers within it. They developed an explicit manifesto for their approach to this work and specifically to the *problematic* identified in their final exam project, where the organisational problem became a professional challenge to be diagnosed and treated using the system of knowledge provided on the LDP. The aim of this chapter, then, is to investigate what happens "in the wild" and how this professional managerial figure emerging from the LDP compares to the manager emerging in situated wok.

This is to be done by selecting instances of this situated managerial work witnessed during shadowing intervals with the participants, drawing on field notes and audio recordings made during observations. The chapter begins with the illustration of a "normal work day," a depiction of the kinds of work and rhythms of a typical day as a middle manager within the day-care sector. The second part of the analysis is built on selected instances of managerial practices, where the orientation of work can be considered in more detail – do the managers continue as agents of the organisational agenda and to what extent are the manifestos developed on the LDP useful in their work?

"He says he wants to follow a 'normal week'!"

On approaching discussions with my chosen participants about planning and structuring the shadowing intervals in which I would follow them at work, I was met with a consistent response when I stated that I would ideally follow them during the course of a normal working week, in order to get an idea of how these proceeded. They found the suggestion that a working week could be "normal" to be comical, typically sharing the apparent naivety and absurdity of this notion with other colleagues and staff who seemed equally amused. A collective understanding of the work of middle managers in day-care institutions as being unpredictable – verging on chaotic - seemed to be commonly accepted by the managers and their staff.

A "Typical" Day

In an attempt to provide an example of the actual observable work done by a manager on a given day, the following section focuses in on one day at work with Mary. This day is not selected because it is particularly exciting or spectacular – there were days in which there were significantly more dramatic events than the one described. However, the description of the following day is representative of the characteristics of managerial work observed in the wider empirical collection.

The depiction of this working day begins with a detailed field note describing the previous evening's observations, my arrival at the institution in the morning, and the first ten minutes of Mary's working day. A shift is then made to a more cursory plotting of the work tasks undertaken by Mary during the course of the day. During the observations, I carefully noted the time of when the different observations were made, allowing the passage of the day to be followed closely. The aim of this section is to provide a representation of the tasks undertaken by the managers and the conditions and rhythms of their working day.

> *I arrive, at the institution a little before 9 am. I had followed Mary the*
> *previous evening directly from work, to an obligatory "Turn Around"*

project information meeting held at a location in the city, from 17:30 until 19:30. Mary and all the members of staff were to attend this information meeting organized by the chief municipal consultants responsible for the implementation of the Turn Around project, together with another day care institution enrolled in the Turn Around project. The meeting is at the forefront of my mind, particularly the rather crass depictions of different institution types introduced by a prominent researcher in the field, who had held a presentation on her research into day-care institutions. Three different categories of institution were identified as being typically situated in three different kinds of neighbourhoods: "A: Wealthy" "B: In between" and "C: Socially disadvantaged." She described the characteristics identified for these different ideal types and invited the audience to consider where they would place their own institution. The description of category "C" seemed to be the closest fit to The Star House, depicting it as socially disadvantaged. Mary was very much in the background of the proceedings as the staff discussed how they identify their workplace, where- despite some disagreement - there was a broad consensus that it is a "C institution." The implication of this categorisation was that their pedagogical work should therefore focus on "basic care,"[113]rather than the loftier aims of the other institution types, which were to focus on learning and development.

On entering the building, I meet Mary in her office, and ask her what she thought of the information meeting. She answers that she thought it had been very good, but that there had "been a lot of practical information" and that she had thought it would be more about how to support socially disadvantaged children through pedagogical work. I find it a little

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*surprising that she seems so ambivalent about it, and was expecting a
more energetic and critical response, particularly to the simplistic
categories offered for understanding the institutions, and the implicit
labelling of The Star House.*

*09:00: Mary has planned a morning meeting, where she will introduce
the new registration sheet for the staff's working-hours which she had
worked on yesterday – a temporary solution to the logging of work hours
due to ongoing problems with implementation of the electronic system
used in the municipality. The staff is to write the hours that they work on
a piece of paper and place it in a collective folder, at the end of every
week.*

*There is, however a lot of sickness among the staff on this day, and many
absentees. Mary receives messages from the staff passing by the office
that neither the "Sun" room nor the "Moon" room will be able to send
representatives to the meeting because they are missing members of the
team, therefore it must be all hands on deck in the rooms. At this point,
one of the senior pedagogues, Jane, enters the office and offers to be a
"fly" and hop around across the different rooms as is needed. She
suggests that she could start in with Beth, a younger pedagogue who is
receiving extra support and attention from Mary due to her ongoing
conflicts with a particularly difficult child and one of her colleagues,
James - who is one of those absent due to sickness. Mary looks at the
"day plan" folder on the table in the office and says aloud that there are
three members of staff that have called in sick – James, Theresa and Jean.
Mary sighs and says, in a matter of fact tone: "I think we'd be as well
forgetting about James."*

09:06: Mary sits down by the computer and begins to write a document, preparing an agenda for the morning meeting. One of the pedagogues pops her head in the office and asks if there will be a morning meeting, with Mary replying that there will, however two other members of staff enter with the same question shortly after, where Mary responds that the meeting is cancelled due to sickness among the staff. Mary states that she will send the relevant discussion points and information - which was to be covered in the meeting - around in a note later. From previous observations I understand that this involves placing printed sheets of paper in the staff room. I find the absence of electronic communication and registration systems surprising, all of the internal communication and coordination seems to be conducted physically, on paper.

09:10 Mary begins working on this document again, at this point a little girl comes into the office excitedly to show Mary her new dress – she is one of the group of children departing on the bus to the institution's "nature" area outside the city, these groups rotate, spending a week outside engaging in outdoor and nature activities. Because the child has a bulky thermal suit on, it is difficult for Mary to see the dress, but she eventually makes it visible and reads the text on the dress "'I love you to the moon and back,' that's lovely!" she says and guides the girl back out into the corridor, before returning to the computer and the document she had been working on. The three employees that are preparing to leave with the children to the nature area come into the office and pick up keys for the bus, check the schema for the day and say goodbye.

Mary opens a box which has been delivered in the morning post, it contains the filing folders which she had ordered yesterday. She had measured the cupboard into which they were to be placed carefully, and

when trying the new folders out is relieved to find "they fit!" One of the employees leaving for the nature reserve comes in with a document upon which the names of the children departing on the bus are written. Mary takes a copy of it on the photocopier and gives the original back to him. "Now they are on their way!" (Field note 1 -19.01.17)

Keeping Things Ticking Over

The introduction of the morning meeting mentioned in the note was one of the more prominent interventions made by Mary into the daily routines of the institution, emerging from her final exam project in the LDP. Here Mary had identified the lack of a collective pedagogical understanding and approach to work, and a lack of contact and understanding between the staff in the different rooms of the institution. The morning meetings were seen as a technology to encourage a shared understanding between the pedagogues in the different rooms as being part of the collective institution, with a shared purpose. However, as the note shows, the high level of disruption caused by absenteeism meant that the organisational slack necessary to facilitate these meetings was rarely present. In the note, Mary is seen to hold on to a hope that the meeting can still go ahead, while this hope gradually disintegrates until it become absolutely clear that it will not be possible.

The high levels of absenteeism and the challenges this caused for developing and fulfilling planned activities was a theme which was evident in all three of the participants I followed. The managers could literally have no idea about their staffing levels on any given day, until they met in on the morning. Often, the work of the managers was seen to involve maintaining an oversight over what was necessary to keep the daily workings of the institution going – keeping their heads above water. This was exemplified in the juggling of members of staff between rooms at different

times to ensure that the adult to child ratio[114] was defendable and within the regulations prescribed by the municipality. In the example above, one of the pedagogues offers to help in the achievement of this, by being the "fly." At other times the managers were seen to go in and move members of staff around in the rooms in an attempt to achieve some sort of justifiable balance – both satisfying the demands of the municipality and the idiosyncrasies of the staff. In these conditions, attempts to promote organisational synergy through strategic management are – understandably- seen to drop lower down on the list of prioritised managerial tasks.

(Almost) Always an Open Door

The entrance of the little girl, described in the note above, and the manner in which Mary deals with the situation provides a good illustration of more general observations made regarding the openness of the offices of the middle managers, and the incredibly high levels of accessibility to them. I was often surprised at the ease and speed at which it was possible for interested parties to "cold call" and secure meetings with the managers. Time was always made available to accommodate these interested parties, whether they were potentially interested parents, parents of children currently attending, potential job applicants, superiors from the municipality, or indeed salesmen offering new equipment. Such meetings were often scheduled for the next day, and typically before the end of the given week.

Similarly, a (literally) open-door policy was adopted by the managers internally in the institution, with children and staff free to come and go as they pleased. This was often seen to lead to disruption of the daily work tasks being undertaken by the manager, as is further illustrated in the description of work which follows below.

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[114] Day care institutions must follow strict national and municipal guidelines regarding this adult – child ratio, entitled "normeringer" (student ratios). In the municipality of Copenhagen, this ratio is 6 children per adult for the older age group, typically aged between 3-6 years (børnehavebørn) and 3.5 children per adult in the younger age group of 0-3 years (vuggestuebørn). Source https://www.kora.dk/aktuelt/nyheder/2016/se-normeringen-i-din-kommunes-daginstitutioner/ (retrieved 26.02.18). The challenges presented by these "normeringer" were a daily issue in the managerial work of the participants followed.

Only rarely was a red sign placed on office doors, indicating a meeting or discussion was taking place that was most definitely not to be disturbed. These signs were, during my observations, always respected. The managers explained that the open door policy was intentional, allowing them to remain in touch with what was going on in their institution and indicate their accessibility.

An Overview of a 'Normal' Work Day
Table 2

	The Star House Tuesday 19.01.18
Time	**Task**
09.00 09.06 09.10	Planning, arranging, and cancelling the morning meeting **(These ten minutes are covered in the previous note, written out in full.)**
09.22-27	Mary continues working on establishing the new filing system, using the new folders.
09.31	Mary sits at the computer, working on formulating the points that should have been covered in the morning meeting.
09.35 09.37	Mary continues on the note to staff. Mary plans the purchase of a gift for the temporary cleaner, who has his final day today. Mary continues on the note. Jane enters the office and agrees on when she should go to IKEA to purchase necessary items for the institution.
09.46 09.53	Mary plans a meeting between a new pedagogue, and the employee whom she will be replacing (who is going on maternity leave) over the telephone. Mary rings to the new employee, and confirms the details of the meeting, to be held in two days. Mary continues on the morning note, before sending it to the printer. While it is printing, she checks her mail and responds to an older email, further down her inbox. She proceeds to collect the printed notes, writing names of

	members of staff on them all, ensuring that everyone receives a personalized copy. Mary states that this also allows her to see who does not collect their copy. She goes to the staff room and puts them on the table, before coming back and placing a copy in the "morning meeting" folder.
10.05	A pedagogue enters the office and is furious that Mary has sanctioned the use of the toilet in "her room" for collective use for all of the children while they are outside in the playground. She shouts at Mary, who attempts to defuse the situation, emphasising that she should not deliver her grievances in that way and that it "is a general challenge in the house that there is talk of 'my children' and 'my room' - this should shift to the perspective of the children and the house as a whole." After some discussion the pedagogue storms off and the conflict is not resolved. Mary states that she will let her cool down.
10.17	Mary is back at the computer. She searches for the appropriate documentation to allow the employee departing on maternity go on leave early. Mary states that this is a win-win situation, as the institution does not pay her wages while she is on maternity leave, helping their budget.
10.23 10.31	A parent calls on the telephone enquiring about their child. Mary informs them when they can contact the appropriate pedagogues. Mary promises to pass the message on, and that the parents can come by on Thursday, unless they hear otherwise. Mary continues the search for the maternity documentation; she does not have the relevant authentication to access the online resources and contacts superiors by email to get login details.
10.42	Mary works on securing extra psychological support for one of the employees. She continues the search for the relevant maternity documentation.
10.56	Mary begins to read through the job applications she has received - 19 applications for 3 positions.
11.10	The cook enters the office, asking for help to enter details online about the level of organic food used in the kitchen. The cook cannot login to the computer. Mary finds another

	employee who knows the code, and passes it on to the cook.
11.17 11.45	Mary holds a planned meeting with a pedagogical consultant charged with supporting a particularly challenged child who attends the institution. The meeting was supposed to be about planning logistics of support and coordinating future meetings; however the consultant voices pressing concerns about a member of staff she has been observing. The employee is a temporary replacement for another member of staff on sabbatical. The consultant enquires as to whether the person is a trained pedagogue, as her contact with the child in question is worrying. Mary and the consultant decide to call the temp and the other member of staff in contact with the child into an impromptu meeting, to suggest alternative approaches to dealing with the child. This is judged to be necessary as the next possible time for such a meeting would be in several days. Mary is due to attend a meeting at another location in the city at 13:00, it is therefore decided that the consultant will hold the meeting alone. Mary receives a telephone call from the coordinator of the meeting she is to attend, she is informed that the other participants have assembled, and would like to begin as soon as possible, so she should come as quickly as possible. Mary exits the institution and we catch a bus to the meeting location.
11:59	
12.44	”Handover meeting.” Mary attends a meeting with the old cluster manager, the new cluster manager, the incoming pedagogical manager for the Star House and the pedagogical consultant connected to the Turn Around project. The purpose of the meeting is to share and collect all relevant experience and information about the situation in The Star House, specifically relating to the implementation of the Turn Around project. Throughout the meeting Mary is called upon to give up-to date accounts on the status in the institution – specifically about the staffing situation, the current outlook on necessary recruitment, relations between staff members, as well as their

	performance levels.
	Mary reports that the organizational structure must be improved – there are a lot of competent employees but there is no common mission statement or values – no shared vision.
15:30	The meeting ends and Mary goes home.

The Predictability of Unpredictability

The manner in which the working day detailed above unfolds is representative of the immediacy of much of the managerial work observed. It is exactly the *situatedness* of the managers within the specificities of their local institution which are seen to provide the frame for their work and the tasks they undertake; also punctuating the time and attention they give to them. For example, for the first hour of the day, Mary can be seen to consistently work towards addressing the initial challenge presented by the need to cancel planned morning meeting. She goes back and forth between the task of writing an information memo, and addressing other issues as they pop up. Such unforeseen issues and tasks pop up continually throughout the day – exemplified in the surprisingly direct verbal attack made by the pedagogue, frustrated with Mary's decisions. The response from Mary to this attack, emphasising the need for the staff to think in terms of the institution as a whole, rather than solely the room in which they work represents her broader managerial challenges and is consistent with the problematic and manifesto developed and made explicit in the LDP.

In daily work, the managers are seen to be flexible in their approach, which is most often seen to be characterised as reactive, arising in response to given events and situation. This figure stands in contrast to the proactive, strategic professionality of the managerial figure sketched in exam documents from the LDP. Exactly this elasticity and capacity to react to emergent situations will be the focus of the remainder of this chapter, where the concept of *managerial stances* can help to draw

out how managerial work unfolds, how particular stances emerge and the manner in which they can be seen to influence proceedings.

Tracing Stances in Managerial Practices

The idea of *managerial stances*, as the manner in which the work of the middle managers is oriented in its position between the cross pressures of the local institution and the wider organisation will be used as a frame for the following analysis of managerial practices. Two polar positions are introduced as markers for understanding this orientation – does managerial work orient primarily towards following the guidelines and interests of the wider organisation, or are those of the local institution at the forefront? This operationalisation seeks to establish a frame, a heuristic within which the orientation of managerial practices can be analysed.

In Kellog's (2014) study of the brokerage work of professionals in the implementation of centralised reforms, she considers the manner in which professional's undertake *buffering* (obstructing) work and brokerage *(connecting)* work*;* either restricting and withholding new information and demands from organisational authorities, or actively transferring them in to their local setting. These opposing poles are used to in the following analysis to bookend the possible stances adopted by middle managers in mediating between stakeholders in their situated managerial practices. It is not to be contended that managers simply do either- or, but that they are constantly operating within this continuum, responding to the *practical intelligibility*(Schatzki, 2002) developed within and across the practices within the different practice-arrangement bundles. *Managerial stances*, then, are regarded as manifestations of this *practical intelligibility* – what makes sense in the given situation?

The heuristic of buffering and brokering is operationalised to explore the empirical material for instances in which managerial stances – as manifestations of practical intelligibility- emerge, and how these can be characterised. The aim is to develop a

more detailed understanding of the stances adopted in practice. This enables contrast and comparison to the predominant stances presented within the LDP and exam projects, where the managers articulated that they universally brokered the organisational agenda into their local institution. In order to structure the unfolding analysis, I will draw on observations conducted with the different managers and consider the managerial work taking place within them.

The strategy for approaching this analysis identified two criteria on which to base the selection of empirical material for closer investigation from the vast collection of field notes and audio recordings. Firstly, instances in which the *problematic* identified by the participants in the LDP was in play were brought to the forefront. This was to allow continued study of these *problematics* and how the managerial challenges identified in them played out post-LDP. Furthermore, this provided a more detailed and accurate level of "members' knowledge" in the analysis, where I had a greater understanding of the issues being discussed. Secondly, the presence of *institutional texts* as a selected criterion allowed the interactions and work taking place within these situated practices to be understood in terms of the wider network of interconnected practices. As Smith writes,

> ""*For the ethnographer, individuals' engagement with a text is locally observable, and at the same time, it is connecting the local into trans-locality of the ruling relations. Discovering, then, how texts articulate our local doings to the trans-locally organized forms that coordinate our consciousnesses with those of others elsewhere and at other times is the objective* (Smith, 2006, p.66)."

How, then, were the coordinating attempts of these *institutional texts* dealt with by participants in situated practices? Situations witnessed in shadowing intervals with

Mary will be considered first, before selected instances from Eve and Sarah's managerial work are also investigated closely.

Mary and 'Marionetting'

The following section details a meeting[115] held between Mary and a pedagogical consultant[116] employed to liaise between the municipality and with the managers of institutions involved in the "Turn Around" project, supporting the implementation of these reforms into the local institutions. Part of this process involves the manager formulating a formal and structured plan of action, describing how they intend to approach the change process involved in the Turn Around project. The formulation of this plan follows an official document, [117]which structures the plan into different focus areas, such as the identification of specific targets, as well as reflection on what must be done by the actors on the different levels of the institution in order to achieve them –what must the manager do, what is required of the staff?

As the basis for her approach to this, Mary has distilled her final exam project from the LDP down to 6 pages, which she has distributed to her immediate managers and the consultant, as the basis for her plan of action. The following field note illustrates the manner in which the text of Mary's final exam project travels into the organisation, offering a formulation of her managerial approach – her *managerial manifesto*.

> *During the meeting, the consultant supports and guides Mary, as to how the content of her 6 pages can be plotted into the format of the official*

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[115] To be precise this observation occurs two days before the oral defence of her final exam project.

[116] Another note taken during the meeting with the consultant reveals the level of insecurity in the organisation, resulting from the ongoing cluster reform: "Mary asks for a list of the support team assigned to the Star House, as there are many actors of whom she is not aware, and that it would be nice to have an idea of all the people and titles being mentioned. The consultant states that she would like to give such a list but that the whole thing will be changed again anyway on December 6th, in the wake of the ongoing cluster reform. The consultant states that she "doesn't even know if she will be a consultant beyond that point," but that she hopes she will be. This means that the cluster manager, Mary and the consultant are all unsure of their position beyond the next fourteen days."(Field note 21 – 20.11.15)

[117] Regrettably I did not secure a copy of this document, making closer study of its format impossible.

Turn Around document. The consultant asks why Mary's paper has so much focus on the morning routines and how the children are welcomed into the institution. She replies that this is because it was something which she could see had been commented upon in a recent evaluation, and also something which some of the parents had remarked upon. The consultant states that this focus should be formulated as "relational work," relating to improving the reception of the children into the institution.

Mary is a little unsure as to how she can formulate the goals defined in her 6 page paper into the plan of action document – which is structured as a series of questions to which she must provide an answer. She reads aloud: "How can I, as manager, support that these described initiatives are completed in practice?" The consultant replies that this is meant to encourage reflection upon how she will follow up on any initiatives she introduces. The consultant guides the process, assisting Mary in reframing the content from her 6 page paper, into the structure of the official document. She uses an example, that Mary's introduction of a new routine of daily morning meetings amongst staff is an initiative aimed at ensuring better communication and increasing the stability of the organisation –formulating this as a "concrete initiative designed to increase the level of coherence in the institution."

The meeting proceeds with Mary and the consultant discussing how to engage the staff with the plan, by introducing workshops –or "reflection meetings," where they should reflect on the requirements of Turn Around and the action plan in place in the institution. Here, it would also be possible for the staff to contribute with descriptions and accounts to contribute to the plan and how the development of it proceeds. At one point in the meeting, the consultant goes to the bathroom, leaving Mary

and I alone. As we wait for her return, we discuss the fact that Mary has many balls to juggle, and I remark that it is really interesting to follow her in her new role, after the completion of the LDP. To this, Mary immediately replies- referring to the influence of her participation in the LDP -" Well it's also all that I have - I have nothing else...." (Field notes: 8,16,17,18 – 20.11.15)

Operationalising Smith's idea of the manner in which texts can coordinate the social, the *intertextual hierarchy* (2005) of texts which can be seen in this section is interesting. It draws attention to the manner in which the planned approach from Mary's final exam project is introduced by the consultant to the coordinates offered by the Turn Around action plan, acting here as the regulatory text in the intertextual hierarchy. The manner in which the description of local managerial practices is shaped and influenced trans-locally can be seen in the note, describing how the negotiation unfolds between the situated participants, where the texts in play are drawn upon as practical resources, as guidelines to be followed and thereby contributing to the organisation of practices.

The role of the consultant in guiding this process, and assisting Mary in the translation of her six -page paper into the Turn Around action plan is crucial to the way in which this negotiation plays out. She is seen to guide Mary in massaging her exam text to fit into the protocol of the action plan in an appropriate and acceptable manner – the approach outlined in her six pages is tweaked to provide suitable answers to the questions presented by the Turn Around document, whereby a corrective dialogue can be seen to take place. Indications of the next steps which are to take place are also evident, where the staff is to be enrolled in a similar process, becoming producers of their own texts appropriate within the *intertextual hierarchy* of the organisation, rather than just passive consumers of regulations from "above."

This provides a glimpse of how Mary's final exam project from the LDP travels beyond the educational bundle of practices and becomes directly operationalised within institutional practices, where the knowledge produced through her empirical study becomes an explanation and warrant for action. Simultaneously, Mary's final statement of "it's all I have!" offers a glimpse of the importance and gravitas which Mary applies to the outcomes of the LDP at this point – where it is a source of empowerment, a vital crutch and support, and the foundation which enables Mary to perform and tackle the tasks at hand. From the perspective of institutional ethnography, this would be seen as an example of textual hierarchies coordinating specific sequences of action. This offers possible coordinates for the stance which it makes sense for Mary to take in her work in the institution.

The *managerial stance* taken is a manifestation of her *practical intelligibility* emerging from participation within the practice-arrangement bundle of the local institution, but also informed by her participation in the LDP, and the influence of the consultant as a representative of the municipal agenda. Here we can see how managerial practices interconnect with the practice-arrangement bundles of the local institution, the LDP and the municipality. Within this slice of practices, the stance available to Mary, and the one she adopts is malleable, indeed at times it evokes an image of puppetry, where the strings are being pulled by the consultant and the text of the Turn Around Document, and therefore ultimately by the municipality. This can be seen to guide managerial work very much towards the "brokering" pole.

Mary and Bowdlerising

During the course of the meeting, Mary and the consultant take status of the most pressing affairs in the institution and discuss areas which require their specific attention. Here, they discuss events they both witnessed during a recently held meeting with the parent-council. This had proved particularly demanding, with some of the parents repeatedly expressing their concern and frustration with the

consequences of the Turn Around project – and particularly the insecurity arising from the redeployment of staff resulting from it.

A central element of the Turn Around project is that all employees working in particularly challenged institutions should be fully qualified pedagogues. Another central element is a commitment to language development, with the consequence that all staff must be proficient Danish speakers. These criteria resulted in the planned redeployment of three popular members of staff from the Star House, who could not meet these criteria, thereby opening up positions for more-desired candidates. However, the process of finding new positions for these three employees within the municipality, which was a requirement - as well as finding three new and qualified employees -, was proving challenging. This had resulted in a state of limbo and frustration stretching over a longer period, with uncertainty surrounding the status of the three members of staff. This was problematized by the parents and hugely troublesome for the three members of staff in question, fastening them in a prolonged state of extreme insecurity.

Mary and the consultant discuss how this can be addressed, and how the kinds of circular discussions about the Turn Around project which took place at the parents meeting can be avoided in a productive manner. Mary suggests that, for the next parent-council meeting, she could write a short "Cliffs notes" edition of her six page paper and action plan for how the Turn Around project is to be approached going forward.

The following transcription of interactions is taken from this discussion, and gives insight into the manner in which the appropriate managerial stance to be taken towards the issue emerges, and how this becomes sanctioned in practice. The participants are the Turn Around consultant (TA) and Mary (M):

1   **TA**: I also think that it was very clear to me after that meeting, that a lot of

2   communication was needed, right? And that…ehh… it would be really good to write

3   a cliffs notes version, to tell, and actually the different rooms should also come out

4   and, like, be more clear about what they are focusing on right now

5   **M**: Mmmm

6   **TA**: Because that is where - of course there is the overall thing with Turn Around and

7   that stuff, but maybe we should not talk so much about that..

8   **M**: Yes

9   **TA**: because… those bloody words, I..

10   **M**: Yes

11   **TA**: was about to say! Because it may well be that you are chosen to be part of a

12   special campaign, and that there are certain things that must be done in relation to

13   this, but in reality it's just about –just! – about developing practice. That is what…

14   **M**: Yes

15   **TA**: That is the essence of the whole thing.

16   **M**: But for them **[the parents]**, it is all about – Turn Around – about the

17   redeployments.

18   **TA**: I know that, mmmm and that is why maybe, that when you send something out

19   to the parents, that maybe it shouldn't say "Turn Around in The Star House.."

20   **M**: Mmmmm

21   **TA**: ehhh… as the headline…..but ehhh "Focus Points for the Next Six Months," or

22   however long you, however long you ….because that way we get it to, like, be about

23   the content that is

24   **M**: Yes, yes

25   **TA**: beneficial, also for their children, and less about the three employees.

26   **M**: mmm, mmm

27   **TA**: ..who will shortly be replaced by three new ones. It's not like we are just cutting

28   three employees…

First of all, this interaction provides an indication of the complexity of the mediatory role which Mary, and the other institutional managers followed are found to occupy. The cross-pressures within which they must navigate are multi-faceted and multi-directional; not limited to mediating between municipal reform agendas and the interests of her staff and the local institution. Observations in the field opened up for a greater appreciation of the complexity of the conflicting interests held by the many different stakeholders to whom the managers are accountable. The managers were seen to actively mediate between the municipality and their local institution, between members of staff and central administration, in disputes between members of staff, disputes between parents and members of staff, between the municipality and parents, and disputes between children and members of staff. The adoption of managerial stances –building on Dreier's understanding of stances as fleeting, as the taking of sides within conflicts of interest within structures of social practices -can provide an effective way of understanding the mediatory activities of the managers within this multiplex of cross pressures.

The consultant can be seen to marshal Mary in a particular direction throughout the interaction, guiding her towards strategically managing her communication practices with the staff and the parent group, and how to use her texts carefully and strategically in order to achieve the desired end. In line 7 seven she states "*maybe we should not talk so much about that*," and in lines 18 – 19 she sates, "*that is why maybe, that when you send something out to the parents, that maybe it shouldn't say 'Turn Around in The Star House.'*" The alternative approach is suggested in line 21 where she suggests disguising the message of the text, where the words "Turn Around" are strategically omitted.

The consultant herself seems frustrated with the whole Turn Around process and the challenge of managing the project, as illustrated with her despair in bemoaning "Turn Around" in line 9 as *"those bloody words!"* It seems as though the title of the project

has taken on a life and meaning of its own which has become difficult to control, polluting any discussion in which it arises with negative connotations, making her work more difficult. The consultant seeks to underplay the negativity surrounding the project, stating in line 13 in that it is ultimately "just" about developing practice, where her intonation indicates that she implicitly acknowledges this as being a big enough challenge in itself.

The pattern of the interaction is also revealing. The consultant is very much the most active participant, with Mary's responses largely limited to responding to her statements in an affirmative, although non –committal manner, merely saying "mmm" and "yes." The interactional pattern and Mary's responses can be interpreted in different ways. This can be understood as a reflection of the differing status of the participants, where Mary as a newly qualified and temporarily appointed manager is subordinate and submissive to the more experienced consultant. This situation is inadvertently alluded to by the consultant at line 22, where she draws attention to the implicit understanding that Mary may not in fact be the manager in six months' time. She stops short of making this explicit, saying "or however long you…" perhaps indicating the complexity and irregularity of the situation and a reluctance to go into discussing such eventualities.

However in line 16, Mary can be seen to adopt a more active stance, taking sides and supporting the legitimacy of the parents' concerns – representing their voice in the interaction: *"But for them, it is all about – Turn Around – about the redeployments."* Here Mary emphasizes the degree to which the project has become synonymous with disturbances created by the relocation of staff and the stance taken also seems to be empathic towards the parents' experience. This can be seen as an indication that Mary's affirmative responses are procedural, a way of ensuring progress in the dialogue to a point where it is more appropriate to interject.

After Mary becomes the voice for the parent's representing their position in the discussion, that their concerns about Turn Around are relevant, the consultant responds by suggesting that Mary should bowdlerise – to consciously edit and remove words and content which would could be considered objectionable or provocative - her future communication. In this way, despite the fact that the work in question is directly and inherently part of the Turn Around project, the words "Turn Around" are to censored from texts to avoid triggering worries of the parents and staff, and thereby increasing the chance of gaining their support and acceptance for the ongoing work.

This can be seen as a specific kind of managerial stance, legitimized and emerging from the practical intelligibility within the ongoing practice. Mary should facilitate *buffering* between the municipal agenda and local institutional actualities, where controversial words and phrases are to be deliberately lost in translation; the underlying municipal message and agenda should remain constant but implicit. This particular instance of buffering is, interestingly, encourage by the pedagogical consultant, who acknowledges the disturbances the initiative is causing within the institution.

Bowdlerising and other kinds of language games are found to be prevalent throughout the wider body of empirical material within this study. In particular, the response to changing demands from the municipality and the introduction of new buzz-words which are to guide pedagogical activities is repeatedly met with the response *"we can just call it that."* The activities do not change in the slightest, but the words used to describe them are altered to fit into the municipal langue, while the situated activities prevail.

Mary and Manifesting

The following note arises from a monthly personnel meeting held by Mary, held in the institution in the afternoon after all the children had gone home. It is obligatory for all staff to attend, and presents an opportunity for the manager to plan specific discussions and tackle emerging issues collectively. On this given evening, the agenda is filled by the ongoing implementation of the Turn Around project.

> *Mary has prepared a busy agenda for the compulsory, two-hour monthly personnel meeting, and declared earlier that she was dismayed that there was so little time to include and prepare a more stimulating session to provide practical and professional inspiration. This, she states is what she considers to be good management, and she appears frustrated that it is not possible to undertake it. The agenda includes a general status review, updates on changes to procedures for extra support applications for individual children, a surprise fire drill and discussions about the Turn Around project.*

> *After the first break in the meeting, it resumes with Mary distributing copies of her six-page plan of action for implementation of the Turn Around project to the participants, based on her diploma exam paper. The participants are given time to skim the document again, as they are expected to have already read the text which had been distributed to them previously. One of the participants, who had earlier been challenged by Mary to share her thoughts rather than whispering to her colleagues, comments to the person beside her that the goal outlined in Turn Around, regarding tackling the level of sick leave among staff and reducing it to under the national average is particularly unfair. This is picked up on by Mary, who invites her to elaborate. As the other participants read on, Mary encourages her to explain, and the employee states that, as their*

institution is of a type that performs a special task with specific challenges, that it is unfair for them to be judged by the same parameters as others institutions working in more favourable conditions. Mary acknowledges her point of view and states that she can understand this perspective.

As the other participants begin chatting amongst themselves, Mary concludes that they have had enough time to read the document, and explains that the aim of the text is to make the Turn Around initiatives – and how they are to be implemented in practice- more visible, and to provide a definition of them. She invites comments and discussion, with one participant stating that it is good that practicalities have finally been put in writing, and that it provides insight into how she can use it in daily practice. Another participant states that she feels it is still too vague, and that concrete deadlines for when the different initiatives are to be in place are missing. To this, Mary replies that she is being careful with specific deadlines, as she first wants to make sure that they are realistically capable of meeting them. Mary describes her meeting with the pedagogical consultant about her 6 page document and the Turn Around action plan, to the participants and explains that the completed action plan is to be sent in to another consultant who will compose a graphical rendition, depicting how it is to relate to everyday practice, and the specific actions which are to be undertaken.

One of the participants appears confused by the whole Turn Around project, stating that she thought part this process involved more employees starting at the institution – so far she has only witnessed people being replaced, with no increase in staffing levels. Mary explains that the Turn Around project involves a commitment to increasing the

number of qualified pedagogues working in the institution, and therefore not an increase in numbers. I can't help but think of this in terms of the "quality, not quantity" aphorism.

Mary moves onto one of the concrete initiatives put in place as part of the action plan – changes to the morning routines, and a more structured and standardized approach to how the children and their parents are to be met when they enter the institution. The general feedback from the participants is largely positive, with one participant commenting that - while they notice no great difference- it is always good to have their focus directed towards specific areas. (Fieldnotes 19,20,21: 25.11.15)

At the beginning of the note, we can see the lack of correlation between Mary's ideal vision of managerial work and the actual tasks at hand. She perceives little opportunity to be the inspirational managerial figure to which she aspires, when caught up in the constant mire of pressing tasks. Mary can be seen to introduce the conclusions of her LDP project, compressed into the six page document to the staff, in an attempt to establish a clearer collective understanding of what Turn Around means in practice and for their approach to work. Here, the text remains the same as the one presented to the Turn Around consultant, but is to be used in a different set of negotiations, articulating a potential coordination of the daily work of the institution for the people who will be undertaking it.

Discussions about this text meet vastly different responses from the group, highlighting their varying levels of understanding in relation to the agenda of the Turn Around project. An open discussion ensues which allows these varying understandings and perspectives to be aired freely, with the reading and discussion of the texts providing the opportunity for a new collective understanding. Mary can be seen to draw on her participation in the LDP and the reification of this into the six

page paper. The manifesto developed on the LDP is brought into situated managerial work in order to provide the staff with a tangible definition of what the Turn Around project is and how it will come to be represented in their daily work within the institution. She can be seen to use this *subordinate institutional text* produced by her own hand, in an attempt to facilitate local coordination of institutional work in step with the trans-local municipal agenda.

It becomes clear that the very meaning of the Turn Around project is contentious within the institution, despite the fact that the process has been underway for several months, the staff do not have a clear idea of what it is, or what implications it has for their daily work. Mary seeks to use the manifesto developed in the LDP to offer and instil a common definition and understanding of the project – of what it does and does not entail. This is very clearly managerial work which is positioned very much towards the "brokering" pole and consistent with the managerial figure emerging from the LDP. Mary is seen to be clearly operating as an agent of the organisation.

Mary and Distancing

The following section focuses on a particularly tense personnel meeting witnessed during a shadowing interval with Mary with the staff from one of the rooms in the Star House. The meeting takes place in Mary's office and is intended to address a particular controversy between the three team-members working in the room: Afaf, Thomas and Henriette.

The composition of this team is in itself contentious as Afaf is one of the pedagogical assistants waiting to be relocated under the edicts of the Turn Around project, while Henriette is one of the new and fully qualified pedagogues recently hired to meet the desired profile. Thomas is also a fully qualified pedagogue, who has worked in the room with Afaf for a longer period. Henriette instigated the meeting, due to her feeling uncomfortable in the working dynamics within the room, and the relationship

between herself and Afaf. Henriette particularly highlights her perception of an imbalance in the attention placed on slavishly following tacit routines for tidying and cleaning the room, as opposed to reacting more immediately to the needs of the children.

> *Mary formally begins proceedings by introducing the purpose of the meeting as an opportunity to gain insight into the status of the team and their work in the room, following the addition of Henriette. I am sitting at the end of the table with my notebook concealed under its edge, and become increasingly careful in the manner in which I take notes. The situation feels tense and I wish to be as inconspicuous as possible.*

> *Afaf is very clearly in a defensive position from the start of the meeting, and states that she does not understand why there is any criticism of the routines and the way they structure their work; everyone knows which task they should complete and it has always functioned well. Thomas states that he agrees with this, but adds that he "misses pedagogy." Afaf appears offended at the implications of this, bemoaning the fact that, as a pedagogical assistant, she is not present at the formal pedagogical meeting between Thomas and Henriette, and is instead "out in the playground looking after 20 children." At this point Mary interjects and underlines the fact that this is a structural dictate from the municipality of Copenhagen, and as in other cases it is based on a representative system, where those not present are to be informed of any decisions and important discussions taking place within these meetings. Therefore, Afaf cannot expect to attend these meetings, but can expect the outcomes of them to be communicated to her by Thomas and Henriette.*

Henriette then shares her frustrations at experiencing her approach to working in the room as a disturbance of the well-established routines and practices taking place. She recalls a specific example were she dropped the task of cleaning of tables after lunch in order to console a child who was upset, stating that she felt Afaf was annoyed by this prioritization. Henriette states that she will always "discard strict routines" in order to provide care. Again, Afaf is provoked by the implication that she would prioritise cleaning a table above caring for a child. Mary interjects that the meeting is not to be spent on them quarrelling with one another, emphasizing that they both have the best wishes of the children at heart, but have different ways of explaining it. Mary emphasizes that they must "trust one another as colleagues" that they each have "the best intentions" in what they do. Mary states that, while they have differences as people, these different perspectives must be recognized and appreciated, suggesting that they meet each other half-way, while emphasizing that Henriette is hand-picked form a selection of candidates and is therefore expected to initiate changes, and that this is to be expected and accepted.

Afaf is visibly upset, and begins to cry, uttering something about "those tables," and that these are not all that she thinks about. Mary is also visibly shaken. She explains that the cleaning of tables is merely an example of wider challenges regarding the strict routines they have developed in the room. Afaf becomes very upset and tearful, attempting to dry her face with her hands and her sleeve. Mary invites Afaf to explain her position more fully, but it is clear she is unable to do so in her current state. Mary says"we will just let you sit…" and proceeds to emphasise her impression that they are all fundamentally in agreement. Mary draws

attention to the fact that Afaf is a valuable resource as "a carrier of culture" and is capable of communicating this, so they can "decide what to keep a hold of and what to let go." Afaf explains that she tries to do this, but does not think she is taken seriously, due to her status as a pedagogical assistant – not a qualified pedagogue.

Mary acknowledges the difficulty of Afaf's position and particularly with relation to her impending and drawn-out redeployment. She seeks to mediate between Henriette and Afaf, seeking to be conciliatory and underlining the fact that she perceives that the challenge "goes both ways." She suggests that, if they experience working situations in which they struggle to understand the approach taken by each other, then they should wait until they have an opportunity to discuss it, and approach these discussions with a genuine curiosity as to each other's understandings and intentions. The meeting is concluded with an agreement that the three should meet again within the next two weeks to discuss how their work is progressing.

After the others have left, Mary and I sit alone in her office. Mary exhales deeply and explains that she finds it "incredibly difficult when they cry," and often also ends up crying herself. She explains that she needs to distance herself from the situation, stating that this was the reason for her saying that "Afaf should take a couple of minutes," as otherwise she would have started to cry herself. Mary reflects on the situation in detail, explaining that she is not accustomed to these types of meeting and simply has to be intuitive. She explains that she tries to draw on experiences from dialogues with girls in her previous work as a pedagogue, and that she is aware that it is not enough to dictate how she thinks things should be, but that she must offer a frame for how things can be in the future.

> *Mary explains that she felt her role in the meeting was to provide alternative perspectives, to enlighten the situation from every angle and focus upon how she could ensure progression in the situation. Mary explains that she can perceive the meeting "from different arenas, but I can't say that to them, but I think about it, I am thinking about it in that way during the proceedings. " (Field notes 27-29; 29.11.15)*

This note offers insight into two elements particularly relevant for the study at hand; firstly it provides opportunity to consider the nature and specificities of Mary's situated managerial work. Secondly, it concludes with a succinct illustration of a common reflection undertaken by participants during the shadowing intervals, in which they drew attention to the influence of the LDP on their managerial work.

The very circumstances which give rise to the problems aired in the meeting arise directly from the change agenda of the Turn Around project. Here, the introduction of new and more qualified staff is a direct attempt to disrupt established practices and encourage different approaches. It is the task of the middle manager to ensure that these changes proceed accordingly, and within the remit available to them. An understanding of the implications of working within a politically led organisation – a mantra recognisable from discourse in use on the LDP – can be recognised in Marys' assertion that some things are the way there are, and there is nothing they can do about them, specifically in the example of the municipal regulation that only qualified pedagogues should attend pedagogical planning meetings. This is to be regarded as a balancing of resources that can be managed, but not negotiated.

Mary enters the meeting in a manner consistent with her manifesto articulated in the LDP, where an approach characterised by appreciative inquiry is to bring forward the different perspectives held by the participants, and revealed in the narratives they produce. Mary can be seen to actively mediate, where the tension is palpable between

Afaf, who is engrained in the daily routines and rhythms of the room and the newcomer Henriette, who is essentially her direct replacement. Again, this fits the idea of the Heliotropic principle, guiding the staff "towards the light" aiming to shift the narratives in order for them to progress constructively. The meeting develops in a highly emotional manner, for which Mary seems ill prepared and ill-equipped. She acknowledges this in her reflections after the meeting, stating the she has no experience dealing with these kinds of emotionally charged meetings, and her only response to these difficulties emerges in her giving Afaf "two minutes" while she attempts to compose herself.

Besides this opportunity to examine the approach undertaken by Mary in this challenging situation, the reflections undertaken by Mary are representative of the wider empirical collection. Mary's description of how she can perceive the dialogue in the meetings as coming from "different arenas" is based on a theory of strategic management (Klaudi Klausen, 2013) offered on the LDP. This is not dissimilar to the prevalent domain theory, working towards making communication with staff more conscious and controllable. This abstraction provides a particular vantage point from which to perceive communication, allowing the manager to wilfully work with dialogue and moving it more appropriately for the intended purpose.

Situated learning theories, focusing on the importance of participation and membership within communities of practitioners for the learning processes and the development of identity can provides an interesting analytical perspective here. The reflections of the participants in achieving competence in an abstract set of concepts, and indeed a new language, can be seen to set them apart from their staff. Indeed, their participation in the LDP seems to equip them with a new understanding of their position and the membership to the community of the local institution. Mary reports that her participation in the LDP enables her to perceive situations in a manner that her staff would not understand. This distance to the specific situation and to the other

participants within it can be discerned in the *managerial stance* that emerges, where Mary mediates between the different stakeholders in an effort to ensure institutional operations can progress.

Eva and Mediating

The analysis now shifts to material collected from observations made while shadowing Eve in her daily work. This begins with the description and analysis of meetings observed in which Eve tries to directly connect the educational practices of LDP and those of her local managerial work. In her final exam project, Eve evaluated her implementation of team performance reviews, as a means of nurturing a new team system – in what can be seen as a deliberate attempt at supporting structural reforms introduced by the cluster manager. This, in itself reflects a change in her approach to such interventions, to which she had previously conveyed and displayed open disregard.

To hold these team performance reviews, Eve directly implemented a specific[118] model offered on the LDP to structure meetings, building on principles from Appreciative Inquiry (Cooperrider & Srivastra, 1987). This involved dividing the meeting into two parts, the first of which involved the group taking turns to identify and share their own competences and strengths, before receiving feedback from the rest of the group, on how they perceived their individual strengths. Eve facilitated this feedback session, writing the comments on a flip chart. The second half of the meeting was focused on specific issues and challenges facing the group in their daily work, and how the group could approach these challenges in a productive manner, and how they could draw on the identified competences of the group members. This connection was not made in the meeting, however, with the second half of the meeting taking on a life of its own. This was due to the level of frustration and dissatisfaction of the group members with their current work environment – primarily

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[118] This was called the"5F" MODEL. In English this would be the "5D" model, a process model for approaching change at all levels of a system, comprising 5 elements: "Define," "Discover" "Dream" "Design" "Deliver/Destiny."

due to difficulties arising from the new team structure and the pedagogical restructuring introduced by the cluster manager and municipality.

Discussions arising between participants within one of these team performance reviews revealed conflicting approaches to fundamental tasks and very different understandings of what was to be deemed the correct professional pedagogical approach in given situations – particularly regarding the manner in which the children's dining situation should be conducted at lunchtime. The manner in which the new team structure was implemented meant that these dining situations no longer involved the same, smaller group of children with the same team of pre-school teachers and assistants organising their own room. Instead, this now involved a communal dining form, with different children assigned to different constellations of adults at each mealtime.

This resulted in the team members' differing approaches to the dining situation becoming both apparent and problematic. The issues revealed within this initial team performance review gave rise to a series of meetings and a lengthy process aimed at reaching a productive consensus and a collective understanding of how to organise the dining situation. The field note below stems from observation of a team-planning meeting, a week after the original team performance review, where team members were invited to reflect upon their conflicting approaches and provide eventual reasons for them.

> *Eve invites them to explain the differing positions regarding how the*
> *children should dine, with the participants articulating two different*
> *approaches. The first group firmly believes that the children should be as*
> *independent as possible, helping themselves to the available food. They*
> *describe this as a valuable learning opportunity, developing fine motor*
> *skills, turn taking and independence – the children should not be*

"serviced." The other group believes that they should firmly control the dining situation, allocating the available food and ensuring that the process is structured and efficient. They explain that this kind of coordination is essential, because – due to financial cutbacks, there is rarely enough of the most popular food. Therefore, if there is no control over the situation, the quickest children always hoard the popular food on their plates, leaving nothing for anyone else. They also explain that it is necessary to distribute the food, as otherwise the children will handle it excessively, raising concerns about hygiene.

After the differing positions and opinions have been explained fully, Eve summarises and concludes this part of the meeting. She underlines that there can be no formal dining procedure, as there are too many factors which can influence which approach may be correct within the given situation – such as the group of children present, the staff involved, and the kind of food served. Eve and the team conclude that the situation demands alternation between the opposing positions, and individual flexibility in order to achieve this. Eve states that that their meeting on Monday which had been presented as unproductive, had actually been fruitful, providing a basis for progression. All of the participants agree, and move on to the final point on the agenda.

A recurrent theme throughout the meeting involved the participants discussing how they were to organise the children during the month of December, reminiscing about how the Christmas period had always been a happy and enjoyable time – they are unsure whether the same atmosphere will be achievable under the new structure. The pedagogues joke (but are very clearly serious) with Eve about reverting to the old "room system" for this period. By the end of the meeting, it is agreed that

the children are to be arranged into special "morning groups" for the month of December. The implications of this are initially unclear to me, but I can discern that this implicitly communicates that the institution is to revert to a structure resembling the traditional "room" structure for the month of December. Eve confirms this after the meeting, stating that the term "morning groups" is vague enough to avoid any suspicion, should the cluster manager enquire about their schedule. (03.11.15)

This note provides an illustration of how Eve strives earnestly to use the resources offered on the LDP to translate between the structural reforms introduced by the cluster manager, and the local institutional conditions and attitudes of the staff. To do so, she operationalises textual technologies of control offered on the LDP – more specifically the team development meeting and 5D model of Appreciative Inquiry. The targeting of a particularly controversial area by Eve - the new team structure-illustrates her commitment to using the LDP to engage with pressing organisational challenges, and to bring the activities and understandings of the staff into focus. The introduction of the team performance review opens up for a shared forum, where collective responsibilities and individual obligations are discussed, encouraging the kind of debate and reflection which she perceives to be necessary for her staff to make sense of the new structure and accept their role within it.

The ensuing debate reveals marked differences between the team members, attributable to fundamentally different understandings of the nature of their profession and the way they should approach their work. Eve's actions can be seen as consistent to the manifesto developed in the LDP, where traces of Appreciative Inquiry can be seen in the model used to shape the meeting, as well as her commitment to securing detailed narratives from the different positions of the groups and participants. Considering the idea of *managerial stances*, reveals that Eve

positions herself in a brokering capacity, focusing on successfully implementing the team structure within the institution. To do so, she mediates between the different positions in an attempt to secure a shared approach and understanding within the team. It is established that these different positions are to be accepted and acknowledged, but ultimately to be overcome. Eve's managerial work can be seen to orient towards delineating and defining future appropriate actions. The team structure is to be followed and made to work, whether the fundamental professional convictions of the participants are shared, or not. Here Eve is seen to be loyal to the cluster manager and the organisational agenda in her managerial work– very much in line with that which she has written in her exam projects. She attempts to mediate between the different positions held by the staff, and acknowledges them, before ultimately emphasising that these convictions are subordinate to the actualities of the conditions put in place by the restructuring; that demands a more pragmatic approach from the pedagogues to their work.

At the end of the note a significant twist is revealed. In order for the institution to have an enjoyable Christmas period, Eve sanctions a departure from the new team structure and a partial return to the traditional room structure. This shift is to be disguised in documents detailing the work schedules, by calling the activities something appropriately ambiguous. This is an example of the wider tendency to meet municipal demands with lip service in practice - "we can just call it that." Eve's *practical intelligibility* in the situated practices is seen to manifest in different *managerial stances* during the course of the meeting. Initially, she strives to *broker* between the different stakeholders, focusing on the organisational directives and interests. At the end, however she can be seen to effectively *buffer* between these and the actual workings of the institution. In order for the staff and children to have an enjoyable Christmas, Eve holds these organisational directives at arm's length and wilfully disguises this to avoid it being noticed by the cluster manager.

Eve and Hijacking

The following field note arises from observations conducted during a later shadowing interval with Eve. The parents of a child attending the institution had lodged a complaint, deemed to be unfounded by Eve, about two members of staff – the pedagogues Michael and David- over their use of excessive force and inappropriate language towards their child. In order to tackle the situation, Eve's immediate superior, the cluster manager, informed her that a meeting should be held with the parents and the employees in question, to resolve the situation. I shadowed Eve when she informed Michael and David of this and it was clear that they were furious at the suggestion, perceiving it as giving credence to the mother's allegations. Eve went to great effort to emphasise that they should attend the meeting and that she supported them, stating that they would use the meeting as an opportunity to present a united front against what they deemed to be clearly misguided allegations.

The cluster manager had, in fact, insisted on the pedagogues' attendance at the meeting, but Eve informed me that she felt that if she had told them this, they would protest and would definitely have refused to take part, regardless of the consequences. On the day of the meeting with the parents, Michael and David called in sick, thus avoiding the meeting. As a result of this, they were to attend individual disciplinary meetings in which they were to receive a formal written warning over their conduct.

Eve was to hold the meetings, assisted by a manager from another institution in the cluster (Lynne) who would be present to take the minutes of the meeting, before uploading them to the cluster manager for her approval - standard municipal protocol for such meetings. After they had held the first disciplinary meeting with David and uploaded the minutes, they received feedback from the cluster manager that they had "not been sharp enough" in warning David. It was made clear that they were expected to deliver a more categorical reprimand and warning over future conduct, which

should be reflected in the minutes. The following field note describes the disciplinary meeting held subsequently with Michael.

> *Michael steps into the office for the disciplinary meeting. Lynne is sitting opposite him, next to a stationary PC and is preparing to take the minutes of the meeting. Eve welcomes Michael and they sit across from each other at a little table next to the window. I try to reposition myself slightly, so that I can remove myself from Michael's line of sight completely, but this is not easy because the office is relatively small and cramped with furniture. I remain where I am to avoid creating further disturbance. Michael has consented to my presence and acknowledges me with a (very small) nod. He does not seem otherwise to be bothered by my presence, and at no point looks towards me during the proceedings.*

> *Eve begins the meeting officially with the words: "As with our meetings regarding sickness absenteeism, there are some formalities that I have to go through first." She follows protocol, asking Michael to confirm that he has been informed of the meeting in due time, and through the official Danish citizen email portal. Michael confirms this, and the meeting begins. Eve states that "I will not challenge you, about whether you were sick or not, but I expect you to participate in such meetings in the future." Michael explains "I actually did feel sick – my body told me that it would not be a nice situation to be in." He continues to explain that he did not think that he should have to apologise to the child's mother, which is exactly what he felt was expected of him. He explains:" I felt really terrible during the staff meeting the previous week (where Eve informed him about the prospective meeting with the parents), and would not have been able to act professionally in such a meeting with the mother – it was what I had to do to avoid it driving me mad. "After Michael has explained*

his perspective in detail, Eve explains that "I must be able to expect that you participate in things that you might not like so much, or that are challenging for you, and in the future, instances like this will have serious consequences for your employment here." Michael confirms that he is aware of this.

Eve enquires about the kind of relationship Michael now has with the boy and his parents, with Michael replying that it remains difficult between them. He describes how the boy's father is trying to make things better, but that he finds it difficult dealing with him and particularly with the mother. Michael explains that he has no desire to be accused of wrongdoing by the mother, just because her son has misunderstood something, or is simply telling lies. Therefore Michael states that he and a colleague have discussed moving the boy in question from their workgroup – adding that the boy has good friends in another group and it would therefore not appear strange or untoward, should he be moved. Eve categorically underlines the fact that "you must be able to work with all of the parents and their children. " Michael explains that he finds contact with the boy difficult and that this affects their relationship: "of course I don't ignore him if he approaches me or needs help, but otherwise I would rather have nothing to do with him. " Eve looks towards Lynne and asks:" Lynne, what have you written in the minutes?" Lynne answers: "that Michael must be able to work with all of the parents….I haven't written anything else down because it shouldn't be included here."

Eve suggests that Michael talks with the relevant teams and work towards moving the boy out of his group, but that this will be kept out of the minutes of the meeting. Following the progression in the document, Eve

reads up the section of the protocol for the disciplinary meeting in which their official and binding "future agreement" must be articulated: "Michael is expected to participate in planned meetings and to work together with all of the children and their parents." Eve encourages Michael to try to get the whole experience "out of his stomach and into his head" referring to how he had mentioned feeling ill because of the situation. Both Eve and Lynne advise him to seek the official crisis support available to employees through the institution, in order to move on. They provide him with the contact number and encourage him to use it. Michael says that he will consider it, and -seeming a little unsure- asks for a recap of what it was that would be kept out of the minutes of the meeting. Eve answers, "talk to your team and get the boy moved out of your group." She continues, "I don't think central administration would be too happy if we wrote that in the minutes….but that's how we look after one another." Michael leaves the room. Lynne prints a copy of the minutes of the meeting, collects it from the printer and hands it to Eve, saying markedly, "We'd better hope that this is sharp enough!" (Field Note 27.10.16:4)

By utilizing the bifocal capacity of the theoretical approach, the manner in which *practice-arrangement bundles*(Schatzki, 2002) and people are mutually constitutive provides an appreciation of both practices and the person – how particular *managerial stances* emerge and are adopted by persons within practices. This permits consideration of the character of these stances and the managerial work taking place, allowing this to be compared to the ideal managerial figure emerging from the LDP.

Drawing on Schatzki's (ibid) delineation of the four factors organizing practices as analytical handles to grasp how the situation unfolds, coupled with Smith's (2005) focus on the trans-local and textual coordination of social life, also allows for

exploration of the manner in which practice-arrangements can interconnect. In this particular situation, the document protocol of the disciplinary meeting provides an understanding of how local practices are connected to large scale phenomena (Nicolini, 2017a) – in this case the municipal and organizational agenda- but also how these are ultimately negotiated and enacted by situated participants. The participants become the decisive third element, positioned between the prescribed rules and norms of a given practice and the situated enactment of it.

The trans-local coordination of the wider organizational agenda within local managerial practices can then, in this instance, be traced directly in the situation by the presence of the formal requirements and documentation of the disciplinary procedure. Following Schatzki, this procedure instils very clearly the official rules in play, but also the teleoaffective structure (the appropriate and legitimate projects, means and ends) that is to be followed and accomplished in the practice. The official purpose of the meeting is to convey a serious reprimand to Michael, underlining the seriousness of his actions and emphasizing that a repetition of this will not be condoned. This is, indeed communicated clearly as can be seen in specific instances in the field note. However, the general and practical understandings of the participants – while acknowledging the official purpose- are clearly very different, and the enacted practice develops another character entirely.

Eve, in collaboration with Lynne, can be seen to pursue an alternative agenda, by initializing a very deliberate, but careful, deviation from the official rules and teleoaffective structure of the meeting. This presents an emergent opportunity for Eve to adopt her own stance, within the cross pressures of the municipal agenda and her own institutional actuality - a position of power from which she can display autonomy and pursue different ends within the unfolding meeting. The disciplinary meeting as a managerial intervention is, to a certain extent, hijacked.

Within the practice, Eve's *practical intelligibility* (Schatzki, 2002)– what it makes sense for her to do in the given circumstances- informs her course of action, manipulating the situation and circumventing the official rules and purpose of the practice in a very particular manner. The adoption of this stance - mediating and regulating the personal pursuit of concerns across times and places (Dreier, 2009, p.44)- appears to be oriented towards professional judgements informed by her occupational loyalties within the local institution, rather than the sanctioned orientation of the model organizational professional- as advocated in the LDP. This organizational professional has followership as its most prominent characteristic, a situated interpreter to ensure translation of the wider organizational agenda into local institutional practices.

In the situation described here, however, Eve's *practical intelligibility* is informed by understandings of the specificities of the given situation leading to a rebuttal of the official purpose of the disciplinary meeting. This is suggestive of defence against, and resistance towards, the organizational agenda, rather than signalling followership, or, indeed leadership. The managerial practice taking place here is something very, different oscillating between the two – managing the situation and keeping things "ticking over." Here managerial practices can be seen to orient in a different manner – to have a different "teleoaffective structure" to the iteration advocated and legitimised in the LDP.

This suggests that in this case, participation in the LDP and acceptance of its premise has not instrumentally changed the managerial approach of the practitioner. Rather, participation in the practices of the LDP has provided Eve with an increased repertoire and palette from which her practical intelligibility can be informed – the different kinds of stances which may be appropriate and legitimate to adopt. Through participation in the LDP, her repertoire of possible and legitimate stances within structures of social practices has been augmented, now including that of the

organizational professional. However the managerial stance which emerges, as a manifestation of this practical intelligibility, whether to buffer or broker (Kellogg, 2014) between the organizational agenda and the institutional actualities, remains intrinsically dependent on what makes sense in specific situated practices. This *augmented practical intelligibility* ensures that Eve can move between different practice-arrangement bundles, for example those of the LDP and the institution, in a manner that does not cause excessive disturbance to her daily managerial practice. She is capable of blending in, acting and speaking appropriately in the different sites, in a manner more akin to that of a double agent rather than a chameleon.

In this way, the person is to be seen as a persistent organic entity drawing on a repertoire of experiences and learned appropriate responses derived from participation in practice-arrangements of different kinds. This informs their practical intelligibility and adoption of managerial stances, which guide participation in practices and their orientation in the tricky position between organizational and institutional priorities, between rules, norms, and situated action. This manifests neither as a chameleon, nor a schizophrenic, but as a double agent playing for two sides and striving to satisfy both in a manner appropriate to the given circumstances.

By following this perspective too, it becomes clear that the managing is not something that is necessarily achieved proactively, as the result of a deliberate and planned intervention reliant on individual competence of the manager, as it manifests in the LDP. Instead, it emerges as a situationally bound opportunity arising within situated practice. Closer consideration of how the sequence unfolds reveals the manner in which Eve draws on the affordances available within the situation, switching stances along the way. Initially Eve follows the official protocol, rules and accepted norms of the disciplinary meeting, satisfying the official requirements of the meeting. Once this is completed, however, she indicates that this is, in fact, to be

subverted. This is achieved in compliance with Lynne (the official minute taker) by establishing subtly what has come "on the record" in the minutes being written.

From there a practical understanding is established upon which the emergent practice unfolds, departing from the rules and teleoaffective structures implied by the coordinating mechanisms and ruling relations of the organizational frame. The stance adopted within her double agency shifts. Here, the local relation between the practitioners and participants becomes central. This allows the centralized technology of control to be hacked; Eve wrestles with the potential textual agency of the minutes of the meeting, deflecting it into becoming a tool for her chosen agenda. The managerial practice is transformed from the castigation of a member of staff to supporting and protecting this member from what is perceivably construed to be an external and unreasonable interference.

This reflects classical understandings of the occupational professional, striving for autonomy from regulatory procedures and engaging in "private practice" rather than the more domesticated organisational professional seen in the LDP and exam papers. The loyalty of the manager is here very much focused on the interests of the local institution rather than wider organizational considerations. Indeed there is a marked resistance to this organisational positioning and the obligations it entails. The potential consequences of alienating Michael and losing a valued member of staff are seen to dominate.

Eve and Clarifying

The following section focuses the ongoing conflict and unrest in The Acorn House, arising from the team structure and pedagogical reforms introduced by the cluster manager. During the month of April 2016, the institution had slavishly followed a stringent schedule supplied by the cluster manager, in which the new team structure was the rationale driving daily operations. The interactions below are taken from an

emergency meeting called by Eve on the 11.05.2016; in response to what she sensed was an increasingly strained atmosphere and working environment, resulting from the staff's difficulties in accepting and adapting to this strict new iteration of the team structure. The day before, I had attended another meeting, in which a specialist consultant from the municipality gave the staff feedback on the manner in which they were approaching dining situations, which were still proving contentious and problematic.

During this consultancy session, the staff reports their continuing struggles in adapting to the implications of the new system and the implications of having to work with a broader selection of colleagues and children. This suggests that little progress has been made in the intervening period of six months, despite the implementation of team development meetings and the appreciative inquiry mediation of Eve's managerial work. At this point in time the institution had been working with this "new" team structure for two and a half years, with this meeting falling seven months after Eve's completion of the LDP.

The introductions of the team structure had wide reaching implications for the daily work of the pedagogues, besides the complicated dining situation. The flexible structure and division of the children and staff into zones meant that the pedagogues expressed frustration at losing "feeling" with the children – they no longer had a specific group of children that they followed all day, every day. They were assigned specific contact groups, but these children were often spread across the different zones and activities in the institution making it difficult to keep up with what they were doing and how they were getting along. Eve called the emergency meeting in response to a perceived escalation in staff complaints and confusion around their daily routines and schedules. She regarded the emergency meeting as an attempt to get to the bottom of things, stating that she had learned that it was a good idea to take these pressing issues as they developed, rather than waiting for the next designated

meeting. The meeting begins with the team members voicing their frustrations with the new team structure, comparing it unfavourably to the steadiness of the old room structure. Closer analysis of the interactions taking place within the meeting can be undertaken to reveal the kinds of stances being adopted by Eve within the meeting.

We join the interaction as Eve attempts to gather the comments and suggest the manner in which they are to proceed in relation to the team structure. The participants in the meeting are Eve (**E**) and the team of nine pedagogues, of whom Claire(**C**), Lizzy (**L**), and Beth (**B**) make audible contributions. At times it is impossible to verify the identity of the speaker in the audio recording; therefore these are marked as Unknown (**U**). Also there are times when many of the participants voice their agreement; this is marked as Many (**M**).

31 **Eve**: If we play with the idea that we have our rooms and we have our groups divided
32 by age – how then, can we do other things across the different rooms?

33 **B**: The same way that we did last December with those functions. Where there was
34 one person on a trip and there were other activities in the house which were mixed,
35 both with the adults and the children – I actually think that that worked really well.

36 **M**: **[Loudly voice their approval]**

37 **E**: But, but I need to have it like

38 **U**: We can just call them 'functions'

39 **M**: **[Inaudible comments]**

40 **E**: **[Raises her voice]** Well that would mean that you meet in your room with your
41 three adults, and do some kind of activity in the morning across the different rooms,
42 where someone takes a mixed group on a trip, someone makes biscuits with a mixed
43 group and the others do something else across the groups. Then you come back and
44 eat your lunch in your room and kind of figure out how the day should proceed from
45 there. On Tuesday, we had the groups divided by age almost all day, right? ….Aaahh,
46 no we didn't but you could maybe play with the idea that you are in your age group,
47 and that it was first in the afternoon that you went into your room, or that you were
48 just in your age-groups, right? And on Thursday, you would just do it as a room
49 because there would be staff reflections and meetings

50 **M**: Mmmmm

51 **E**: On Friday, you would, just like on Monday, meet in your room and the do some
52 activities across the groups.

53 **U**: YES!

54 **B**: That would make much more sense!

55 **E**: I hear you!

56 **U**: That would be worth a million!

57 **B**: That would make so much more sense

58 **E**: But I hear you all! **[Exuberantly]**

The interaction begins on line 31, with Eve inviting the group to come with concrete suggestions for how their daily routine would ideally be structured, and to work from there. It is worth considering that this point of departure is consistent with the Heliotropic principle advocated in the LDP, and drawn on by Eve in her exam papers, to focus on "dreams rather than frustrations" and possible solutions rather than problems. Here the energy of the group is to be focused on how to make things better, rather than remaining stuck in the criticism of problematic circumstances. Beth's suggestion, on line 33, is to implement a structure with stability, which they have previously followed with success, a suggestion which is met with overwhelming approval by the group in line 36.

In line 40, Eve audibly raises her voice and takes the position of speaker, processing the staff's comments by reciting how such a day would look from the perspective of the children. Emphasis is repeatedly placed on when the children would be within the more familiar room structure, with a steady team of three pedagogues -for example line 43 "*then you come back and eat your lunch in your room.*" The significance of the room structure becomes increasingly important within the daily structure under negotiation – a shift which is met with great approval by the group, reflected in lines 53, 54 and 56. Eve's statements at line 55, "*I hear you*", and line 58 "*but I hear you all*!" are significant. This is expressed in a manner of delight, Eve appears excited by the fact that she is engaging with the staff in this manner, and that she is displaying her capacity to listen to the staff and acknowledge their opinions. This fits with the managerial approach of Appreciative Inquiry championed in the LDP, where the recognition of employees and their opinions should be central in managerial work. This provides an explanation for the jubilant manner in which Eve celebrates the fact that she "hears" her employees. The manner in which Eve formulates a renegotiation of the structure more akin to the old room system is used to strengthen her claim that she "hears" the staff – by actively drawing on their contributions in order to

formulate a local iteration of the extra-local implementation of the team structure system.

It is worth noting that the deviant structure which emerges here is based on a repetition of the approach developed in the previous note, where Eve sanctioned a partial and secretive return to a more similar room structure to ensure an enjoyable Christmas period for all involved.

By regarding the team structure as an institutional text (Smith, 2005) seeking to coordinate the activities of the staff, it is possible to see the process unfolding as a situated negotiation of this in practice. Eve, in her role as middle manager is making the opinions of her staff heard, and granting legitimacy to their suggestions. A negotiation is under way in relation to the coordination of the imposed team structure, suggesting that it may be possible to circumvent this, and come closer to the practical wishes of the staff. The *managerial stance* taken by Eve can be to be oriented towards that which makes sense in the given circumstances, creating distance or a decoupling between the team structure implemented by the cluster manager, and the actualities of the daily routine in the institution. This kind of *buffering stance* can be seen to minimise the interference of the external restructuring on the actualities of their daily institutional work. While the participants in the meeting are positive about these developments, there is insecurity about whether it is acceptable to depart from formal instructions. This reticence voiced by Claire:

59 (**C**): But my question would be, because I was under the impression that the reason
60 that we had to try this in April, that was because of Elizabeth, **[the cluster manager]**
61 and we were ordered to do some things, and so forth. But now we have been
62 informed from somewhere or other-where, I cannot remember- that it is acceptable
63 for there to be differences from institution to institution.

64 (**E**): Listen here

65 (**C**): So then it would be legal? …If so, then that is just great!

66 (**E**)Well you could say that I am going in and saying 'well, what is the thinking
67 behind this?' About 'how do we get control of the children, how can we, what's it
68 called?...develop them and challenge them in the best way possible across the
69 different things.' And you can say that part of the thinking behind working across
70 teams is that you can't just stare blankly at your own room, and agree upon the fact
71 that 'it's just because that's the way Mohammed is.' But that you are challenged to
72 say ' it may well be that we experience Muhammed does certain things in this
73 context, so therefore we should challenge him in other ways because we have a lot of
74 colleagues we can work together with around him, so it should be possible for other
75 perspectives to be taken. Because, you could say that part of the things which have
76 been difficult about rooms in the old days, was that you were chained together to
77 these children, and there were some children that simply fell through the gaps, that
78 weren't seen. Here the experiment was kind of to say that you had to break that up,
79 and that you couldn't only focus on your own children, like 'your own' children.

80 **U**: Yes

81 (**E**): But you have to, like, know that many perspectives are taken, so if you were a
82 piss poor pedagogue, then there would be a colleague who notices that you were
83 doing shitty work.

84 (**U**): Mmmm, ja

85 (**E**): …(3 seconds) So that's basically what it's all about.

In this section, Eve begins, by allaying Claire's concerns about whether the
suggestion that they depart from the organisationally defined approach is acceptable
or not. Eve can be seen to take responsibility for this departure, emphasizing in lines
66-67 that "I am going in and saying, 'what is the thinking behind this?'" Eve can be
seen to delineate a managerial action space, and the stance which she intends to adopt
within it. Eve continues, in lines 66 to 79 to articulate her interpretation of the
intentions of the new team structure, literally providing a translation of the
organizational directives for the group members. At this point, Eve can be seen to be
adopting a brokering stance between the restructuring and the local actualities,

providing an explanation for the changes, and why they were deemed to be necessary. This brings forward the possible drawbacks of the old room structure, and the potential benefits of the new team structure. Eve seeks to provide a bigger organisational picture and emphasise what it is that the initiative is trying to achieve. The room structure is described as being too static, where the team structure offers dynamism; the children are followed by a wider community of pedagogues, giving them optimal opportunities to grow and develop, while also ensuring an ongoing collective supervision of the pedagogical practices taking place in the institution.

The frank language used by Eve in lines 82 and 83 leaves little to the imagination, a clear message is being sent to the group, free from municipal newspeak to which the staff have become increasingly sceptical. In this section, the managerial stance of Eve can be seem to resemble that of the "primus inter pares" - while trying to relay the good intentions and positives of the restructuring, the orientation of her attention is directed towards the applicability of this to staff and their daily work routines. This stance becomes clearer as the discussion continues:

101   (**E**): So you can say, it is something we must work with, and in that way I can see that
102   there are some…like, our children come under a lot more pressure than they did in
103   the old structure.

104   **(M):** Mmmmm

105   **(U):** Yes

106   **(E):** So my task is to look at how on earth I can get it accepted, that we are still
107   working as teams, because we will never come back to calling ourselves rooms

108   **(U):** No

109   **(B):** No!

110   **(E):** But how how will we be able to [inaudible word] work together as a team
111   around the children so that they get the developmental opportunities they must have,
112   and that there are those more sets of eyes on them. Would we be able to recognize it

113 from even before Autumn last year, where we said"but we can see that we are a team,
114 we actually do things differently, we are better at spreading ourselves out in a
115 different way, we don't just sit there and say "I am alone" ehmmmm…and have
116 actually held these reflection meeting and planning meetings and team meetings
117 which made us look at the children all together, so that gave something different. But
118 also the fact that you like, mixed around

119 **(U):** Mmmmm

120 **(E):** those two times a week and you didn't just say "yeah, so we are the red room,
121 and we only do things with the red room. "But now, said, "we are in the red room,
122 but would also like to be together with the green and yellow and blue , so therefore
123 we'll mix the children up" like we did at Halloween, like we did at Christmas and
124 like we did at Summer. Because it makes sense like that

125 **(U):** That it does

126 **(E):** But at the bottom of it all, knowing that "when Muhammed does that, then I will
127 work with him on this, and I will do between three and four, after we have eaten fruit.

128 **(U):** Mmmmm

129 **(E):** But otherwise I can't do it, because if Mikkel has him and he is in the
130 playground, then he has no idea what should be done with him between three and
131 four, eh?"

In lines 110-124, Eve is seen to summarise the challenge she faces as a middle manager. The team structure is something with which they must work, but this very structure has implications for the children in their institution, who are deemed to have different needs than those of a more typical Danish background. They deem the new structure to be causing particular problems for their children, and making it difficult to provide the support which they need. In lines 106-107, Eve defines her task and articulates the fluidity of the stance she must adopt – "*so my task is to look at how on earth I can get it accepted, that we are still working as teams, because we will never come back to calling ourselves rooms.*" Eve shares her thoughts and the difficulties of the task at hand with the group, underlining the fact that she is going to have to undertake an equivalent translation with her superiors. She is to convince them, that how they are working in the institution can still be classified as meeting the criteria and the goal of the team structure, while in actuality; it resembles more the classic room structure. It is necessary for Eve, as a middle manager, to be able to manoeuvre in both settings, to act as a double agent between them, blending in and acting appropriately - doing and saying the "right things in the right way" in an attempt to ensure the daily operations of the institution can be seen to continue satisfactorily – if not optimally- by all parties.

This instance and the switching of stances can be regarded as the kind of ability to identify and claim managerial action space, in the manner described in the support literature provided for public managers (Jørgensen & Væksthus for Ledelse, 2009; Rank Petersen & Væksthus for Ledelse, 2008), operating on the boundaries of rules and regulations to reach the optimal local solution. However, this kind work is not openly discussed in the LDP, which is seen to be a sterilised environment – at least in the official forums. Here it arises through situated practice, where the *practical intelligibility* of the participants guides the *stances* taken by the manager

and the ultimate actions taken by the group. In this case it is essentially giving rise to a level of disobedience, but a practical disobedience and decoupling in order to make the daily operations function, at least in the short term.

Sarah and 'Conduiting'

The analysis now moves into consideration of material collected during shadowing intervals with Sarah. The detailed field note below describes events in and around a personnel day held for the pedagogical staff in The Cherub House, in which Sarah works towards the strategic implementation of governmental demands. The initial meeting was held on a Saturday from 09.00 to 15:00 and was therefore outside of normal working hours. Sarah had planned the day in conjunction with her department manager, Claire, and an external consultant, James, who was a prominent researcher in the field of day-care institutions and child development. James was also involved with development of the annual wheel, and was therefore well known to the staff.

The main purpose of the morning session of the meeting was to broach the topic of the "core task" – a campaign in the municipality of Copenhagen – and nationally – to ensure that each day-care institution had a clear understanding of its core task. The importance of a clear definition of the core task was emphasised in specific legislation introduced in 2007, which was aimed at improving the quality provided by day care institutions. This legislation provided an explication of the core areas that should be addressed by day-care institutions:

> *"Children in day-care must have a physical, psychological and aesthetic environment which improves their welfare, health, development and learning."(*LBK nr 748 af 20/06/2016 § 7.)[119]

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[119] In Danish **§ 7.** Børn i dagtilbud skal have et fysisk, psykisk og æstetisk børnemiljø, som fremmer deres trivsel, sundhed, udvikling og læring

The following note details the personnel meeting in which Sarah seeks to engage the staff with this idea of the 'core task,' and work towards producing their own definition of it within their institution. The personnel day begins with an introductory presentation by the consultant, in which he presents the idea of the core task to the participants, including the formulations provided in legislation. The Annual wheel, the problematic with which Sarah engaged in her final exam project has a central part in how they are to understand the core task.

> *The consultant has prepared a slide show explaining the idea behind the core task, and why it is important – he states that it gives the possibility for "staff and managers to meet and discuss what is most important in everyday work." He explains that "the core of this" is to deliver welfare and for them to do it in a way that is of most benefit to the children. The staff seems to be genuinely interested and listen attentively. The consultant explains how the Annual Wheel is to communicate and express their understanding of the core task in the Cherub House, "and should illustrate their core task." Sarah takes over at this point and adds that the Annual Wheel should give a shared frame and rules of the game for everybody "a frame that we steer towards and ensures that we complete the tasks given by the municipality." She underlines here the fact that the Annual Wheel is a "control instrument." It is clear that Sarah is seeking to establish a common understanding of the link between the core task and the Annual Wheel, and that it should be at the forefront of their thoughts. A kind of ping pong develops between the consultant and Sarah, where she regularly interjects at times where she feels clarification is in order.*

The consultant explains that it is essential for day care institutions to have shared goals and direction. He states that this is where the Annual Wheel is important for them, as it ensures common focus areas and therefore a certain way of working with the children and driving their pedagogical approach, "It is a confrontation with the tendency for too much private practice." Sarah adds that the core task should also help to achieve the optimal return from human and economic resources. At the end of the introductory presentation, participants are divided into pairs, mixing staff across different rooms and departments. Sarah then invites them to go for a walk in these pairs, and "co-create a definition" of the core task for The Cherub House.

They meet again in plenum to summarise their group work. The consultant invites the groups to share their discussions about what their core task actually is. One of the pedagogues, Liz is keen to share, telling that –in their group – they more or less agree that their core task is to create as sense of security[120] and establish a relationship with the parents that make this possible. The consultant tries to tease something else out of Liz, implying that it can't just be about creating a sense of security. He suggests that this can be one of the methods, but that there are other things which could, and should, be more in focus. A tense atmosphere develops in the room, and it is clear that Liz feels she has received a public redressing. She asks the consultant directly, "Is that wrong then? "in reference to her definition of the core task.

Sarah steps in and takes over from the consultant, attempting to move the discussion forward. She emphasizes that "there is no right or

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[120] In Danish: "skabe tryghed"

wrong….." But Sarah states that, having said that, she doesn't believe that they can make a claim that they "sell a sense of security." Several people in the room laugh in an embarrassed manner, which seems to convey their agreement. Sarah states that the consultant is present to help them and guide them through the process, seemingly attempting to defuse any possible confrontations.

*One of the pedagogues asks Sarah directly "what is the core task then, Sarah?" She answers promptly "I position myself very closely to the municipality, with a definition including welfare, learning and development." The pedagogue seems relieved by this answer, referring to the definition they had prepared in the group, saying, "we have that as well." Another pedagogue states that her group believes that a sense of security is a personal quality in a child, and therefore cannot simply be regarded as a method with which they work, "it **IS** something that we must produce!" She asks subsequently "and so what if we have a different definition to the municipality?" Sarah suggests" it may well be that we end up with a flower." This goes unquestioned by the participants, and it later becomes clear that Sarah is referring to a theoretical diagram used previously, where conjoined concepts form the petals of a flower.*

The plenary discussion continues, with another of the pedagogues stating that she believes thinking about their actual task is useful, saying "what is our task, really?" Julie states that she is aware that she is employed to fulfil the core task defined by the municipality, and therefore fails to see why she has to sit there and make up something new. To this, the consultant responds that it is important that they develop their own definition "so that it doesn't just become a phrase,"

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an irrelevancy and something to which they do not adhere. He begins talking about the importance of the "partnership concept" and Liz, still clearly irked at being corrected previously, says to her neighbour (demonstratively loudly) "or working with parents, as it is called in normal language."

Several of the pedagogues underline the fact that they see their focus as being on what they do in practice, what they do to create a sense of security, with Anja explaining how the way in which she touches the children and speaks to them in a special way is very deliberate, in order to create and ensure a sense of security. A palpable gap is opening up in the discussion between theory and practice. The consultant seeks once again to get beyond the sense of security, and asks them whether there is anything else that they think could be important? Kristine explains that she believes that they must always "look towards the children's zone of proximal development." She states, "I think its fine with the Annual Wheel, because if there is too much of a gap between practice and theory, then we won't get anywhere…but it is practice that is most important." The consultant asks the next group what they have spoken about, and they announce that they have prepared their own definition, reading it aloud: "to create trust and a sense of security for all the children so that they can deal with things at their own tempo." They state that they believe it is important that the individual child comes into focus.

The consultant maintains, once again, that it is not just about a sense of security, but that it can be one element. Sarah takes over once again at this point, explaining that it is not enough to talk about trust and a sense of security, because it is what behind this that counts. She states

that, to work in that way, it is also necessary to think about relations, rhythms and structures, the psychological environment and interior design, as well as play and activity. She states that she believes the core task must focus on these things, and that they can use the Annual Wheel to work with these factors, and ensure trust and a sense of security that way. Diane explains that their group had taken their point of departure in the individual child when preparing their definition, and not so much "municipal performance indicators and so on," they preferred instead to focus on relations and being present within them.

A third group introduce their definition, stating that they found it important to distinguish between task and method when thinking about their core-task. They state that they believe their core task to be the creation of cognitive, emotional and motor development. Sarah seems to be pleased with the direction they are taking, and asks them how this could be done? They do not get the chance to respond, and she answers herself, stating that it "requires collaboration between the staff here to make it work." One of the pedagogues picks up on this, stating that "the core of the core task is finding a common goal..." The consultant confirms this, adding that this is why they shouldn't just copy-paste a definition provided by the municipality.

Sarah moves towards the whiteboard and draws a flower, made up of petals containing the words "development" "learning" and wellbeing." She writes "The Day Care Act"[121] and draws arrows from this to the flower. She then draws some arrows going out of the flower and asks, "What do we associate with this?" She provides an example, saying that welfare can mean trust and a sense of security. Julie

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[121] In Danish: "Dagtilbudsloven"

suggests that it may be a good idea to elaborate on the concepts, and place their own formulations in relation to them. One of the other pedagogues states "method is not a bad word, but the way that we do things in practice.

Here, apparently aware of the limited amount of time remaining before lunch, Sarah states that she will take managerial responsibility for the continuity for all of these discussions, because the content of them must inform their practice. Sarah reiterates that she will make sure this happens, and draws attention to the fact that they already have their official formulation of a learning plan to follow, which focuses on methods, and that they can talk about this another time.

The consultant continues the plenary discussion, while Sarah comes over to the department manager, Claire, who is sitting in the seat opposite from me. She says "I think we should drop this," and points at a section of the agenda for the day that details the planned afternoon activities. This session had been earmarked for an exercise where the pedagogues were to praise aspects of each other's work. Claire says "no," but before they can discuss it further, Sarah returns to draw on the white board in order to clarify some points that the consultant has made to the group. She draws their own local environment, comprising aspects of "theory", "practice" and "responsibility", but then frames this within a larger circle, stating "we are also part of a larger context." Therefore, she states that she believes it is important that they have a "shared understanding."

According to the schedule for the day, it is time for lunch and the séance is therefore finished, however the agenda for after lunch is introduced to the group. It is clear that the session has not gone to

plan, and that it has not ended where they had hoped. There is an open discussion about changing the afternoon programme to get things back on the desired course. There is broad agreement that more time is needed to work with the core task.

Sarah has to leave during the lunch break and will not be present during the afternoon session, but she clearly has a very strong opinion about how the session should proceed. Claire and Sarah think aloud in front of the group, discussing how to structure the session. They both attempt to tell the group what is to take place after the break, but contradict one another and the group becomes confused and frustrated. A decision is made that they will drop the exercise planned for the afternoon and continue working on the core task definition instead.

The session is officially over and the participants begin to clear up and set the tables for lunch. I can see Sarah having a focused discussion with the consultant, before she approaches Claire and states that it important that it is made clear to the participants that what they are working on is a draft of the core task, and that the version they produce will not be the final definition. Sarah states that she thinks that in the afternoon they should work towards including some actual work stories[122] into the discussion, which they should seek to couple a possible definition of the core task to the things that they do every day - "the things they already do, and how they actually already work with development, welfare and learning." Sarah states they should be made aware that they are already working with, and achieving, other things than just creating a sense of security.

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[122] In Danish: "Praksisfortællinger"

The managerial work undertaken by Sarah can be seen as that of a conduit in the note above, where she attempts to make the pedagogues aware of their position and obligations within the wider organisation and how they are to approach and articulate these tasks in an appropriate manner. Sarah states that they are already doing the required work, but need to phrase it appropriately, which the definition of the core task, supported by the Annual Wheel, can facilitate. It is clear that it is no longer acceptable or sufficient for the core task of pedagogues to be defined as encouraging a sense of security. The way in which they formulate their work is to be coupled more closely to the definition offered in legislation, Sarah works towards achieving this coupling, adopting a *managerial stance* to broker between the local institution and the wider organisation.

Defining the core task

In the afternoon session of the personnel day which followed the events described above, the consultant and the department manager, Claire, continue working on the core task definition, dividing the participants into three larger groups. At the end of the session, three potential definitions of the core task are presented, as detailed below.

> *Group 1: The core task is, working together with parents and the pedagogical staff, to create physical and psychological learning environments for the children, which promotes all the children's welfare, development and learning.*

> *Group 2: The core task is, working together with parents and colleagues, to create a secure and appreciative learning environment that promotes welfare, development and learning for all the children.*

> *Group 3: The core task is, in cooperation with parents and colleagues, to create physical, psychological and social learning environments that promote the individual child's welfare, development and learning.*

It is made clear to the participants that these are merely suggestions, and that Sarah will prepare the final version. This gives rise to some of the pedagogues complaining, once again, that they do not see the point in the whole exercise, as "Sarah is just going to make her own version anyway." Some of the staff also express frustration that Sarah was not present in the afternoon session of the personnel day, stating that this was a bad signal to send out, when everybody else had given up their Saturday.

On the following Wednesday, there is a staff meeting scheduled for the evening, at which I am present. It begins with a recap of the Core Task exercise from the previous Saturday, where Sarah reveals the final definition of the core task, which is subsequently sent out to the parents. It reads thus:

> **The core task is, in cooperation with the pedagogical personnel, to create physical, psychological and social learning environments for the children that promote the individual child's welfare, learning and development.**

The field note below describes this follow-up session as it progressed.

> *Sarah begins her presentation on the core task, with slides prepared and commented upon by James - the consultant from the session on Saturday- and also another pedagogical consultant from the municipality. She introduces the presentation by explaining that she had "sought support" from these sources, and emphasises that it is important to do so when working in what she believes to be a "learning organisation." Sarah explains that she felt that the meeting on Saturday was useful, stating that "we have been disrupted, " and must therefore talk things through. She goes through her slides, explaining that the core task is to be found at the national, municipal and institutional levels, and emphasizes that the Annual Wheel is*

important in relation to this. She states, "The Annual Wheel must be understood as a control instrument – I don't know if you are aware of that?" A sufficient number of participants nod for Sarah to proceed. Sarah asks if it makes sense to them, and explains that it is not enough to simply transfer the municipal definition of the core task, that it "is necessary to translate it into their own situation."

Sarah continues onto slide 2, explaining that a "shared strategy" gives a shared pedagogy which requires a shared footing, and that this contributes to "children having the optimal conditions for life competence." She emphasizes that there is no right or wrong, but that the goal of their definition of their core task is "to ensure straight-talking and their ability to be competitive" and therefore the legitimacy of their existence as an independent institution. Slide 4 shows her depiction of a diagram, where a field entitled "sense of security" encompasses individual concepts of "learning," "development," and "welfare." She states that, thinking in the way, it insufficient for them only to talk about "sense of security." At this point she addresses the fact that some of the participants may have been unintentionally irked by the consultant's remarks, stating that this was regrettable.

Sarah then explains how she has worked with the suggested definitions they made from the workshop on Saturday, and reads the final version aloud. She asks "what do you think?" The people in the room seem happy. Sarah explains how the definition points towards more than a sense of security and relational work. She states that is "fits with what research shows" to be important for child development.

The final slide details what the definition of the core task is to be used for, where Sarah emphasizes that "it must be able to be seen in the Annual Wheel," where it is to inform the goals that they set for self-evaluation going forward. Also, she states the core task definition can be boiled down to inform inquisitive parents that "they work with learning, development and welfare." Sarah admits that when she called for support, even the consultant from the municipality had difficulty formulating how the definition of the core task could be used practically. Sarah, recognizes the tendency that there can be a risk that these kinds of initiatives "don't quite make it", but states that she believes that the core task "is no longer merely a buzz word, at least not here."

To finalise the session, she invites comments from the participants, were one of the pedagogues, Jacob, is quick to say "Thanks for not changing the whole thing!" He explains that they were afraid that they would be met with something completely different to what they had presented, but that it had actually stayed close to the definitions they had worked with in their groups. The staff seems satisfied! (Field note 10; 28.09.16)

Approaching the events described in these field notes from the theoretical and methodological framework of the study can shed light on the interconnected nature of the practices studied, and the manner in which the work of middle managers unfolds in between the cross pressures of central administration and local institutions. By approaching this from a Schatzkian understanding of governance as an activity arising from within and across practice-arrangement bundles and striving to intervene and intentionally shape and direct activities taking place within others (Schatzki, 2015a, p.18) the influence of legislation on

the local practices of The Cherub House can be traced. By introducing the vocabulary of Smith's institutional ethnography, it become empirically conceivable to follow how the institutional text of the legislation seeks to trans-locally coordinate the practices taking place within the local institution. This can ultimately be seen to introduce the coordination of managerial practices, but also pedagogical practices and how these are to be performed.

It is the task of the manager to ensure that this translation takes place – an understanding of managerial practices which is fitting with the managerial figure emerging from the LDP. The work undertaken by Sarah is exemplary in seeking to translate the organisational agenda into her local institution, and matches the manifesto assembled through her participation in the LDP. Indeed, Sarah has developed her own transposition tool, in the form of the Annual Wheel in order to support this very process, to facilitate a controlled conversion of municipal demands into the setting of specifically tailored goals in everyday pedagogical practice. The findings of her final exam project revealed the disparate understandings held by the staff of the Annual wheel and how it should be implemented. The conclusion of this was that for tools and initiatives to be effective, a common understanding among participants must be achieved and monitored. Sarah's situated managerial work is found to be consistent with her managerial manifesto produced in the LDP, committing to investigating the opinions and attitudes of the staff more fully rather than acting on her managerial assumptions.

The discussions around the core task revealed dissonance between the participants, about what this task was, and how it should be understood. Sarah and the consultant are seen to try to shift the participants' understanding of the primary task of pedagogical practices to be promoting a "sense of security" in the children. There should be more to it, incorporating elements of learning and development as

introduced in legislation. The managerial practices, influenced by the practices of the legislature are seen to seek to influence the practices of the pedagogues. Sarah is not simply trying to brandish these concepts on an oblivious group of pedagogical practitioners. She is clear in her emphasis on the fact that they are already doing these things, and so much more than merely promoting a sense of security. The manner in which Sarah strives to depict the practices of the institution as situated within a broader organisation is also telling. She places the staff's description of their practices, and focus on trust and "sense of security" in relation to the demands of legislation and the control mechanisms of the municipality. In doing so, she seeks to lift the horizons of the pedagogues beyond the walls of the institution and provoke a broader understanding of their position within the organisation.

She sees the core task, and the Annual wheel as a tool capable of lifting the awareness of the practitioners and their understanding of their work in light of municipal demands, rather than fundamentally changing the work that they do. Sarah is not translating in one direction, but is operating as a conduit between the municipal demands and the pedagogical practitioners. She is striving to translate the municipality to the staff and the staff to the municipality where the Annual wheel is a prop for achieving this. Their capacity to remain competitive within these organisational conditions is described by Sarah as fundamental to their existence, where independent institutions must be even more in step with municipal demands if they are to survive the ongoing reforms of the day-care sector.

The comments by the consultant, that the goal is to confront "private pedagogical practice" hints at a more normative comment on the work of pedagogues, as requiring standardisation and professionalization, indicating wider reaching connotation of the initiative. This is contrasted in Sarah's report of the municipal

consultants' difficulty in offering a concrete practical application of the definition of the core task, and Sarah's admission that such initiatives "don't quite make it." Indeed, when the different iterations of the core task are compared, it is very clear that there is no great change from the formulation which appears in the legislation and that which becomes the definition of the Cherub House. Nonetheless, the staff seems satisfied that their voice has been heard.

Sarah's comment that the definition of the core-task risks becoming just another municipal buzz-word proves to be prophetic. In concluding interviews conducted with Sarah and selected members of her staff three months after the personnel day described above, it becomes clear that they have not worked with the definition of the core task in any meaningful manner since the staff meeting described above. This can be seen as an indication of how governmental initiatives are to be dealt with in an appropriate way, but at the same time make very little headway in altering how situated practices come to play out. In this way, the practices of the legislature, gain entry to and connect with the local institution, through managerial practices, but do not seem to disseminate in a forceful way and influence the pedagogical practices taking place. These practices remain relatively undisturbed, while the managerial practices have simultaneously satisfied the immediate and in this case largely symbolic demands of the legislation

Interim Conclusion: Middle Managers as Latent Double Agents

> *How does managerial work become oriented in situated practices?*

Exploration of situated managerial work conducted through the shadowing intervals revealed few instances of the omnipotent, strategic professional manager figure so prevalent in the exam texts of the LDP. This situated practitioner is seen to be a much more reactive figure, focusing on smoothing over the complexities and conflicts of everyday work life, and keeping the work processes of the

institution ticking over on a pressurized organization backdrop. The fundamental understandings of managerial work and the manifestos developed on the programme are, however, seen to be consistent with their approach to this work. The manner in which they approach working with the *problematics* identified in the LDP is also seen to remain consistent in subsequent periods of observation.

By focusing on how the managers deal with demands from the broader organisational agenda, in the form of institutional texts (Smith, 2005), the orientation of their work towards accommodating organisational demands and appreciating local actualities can be made observable. This reveals consistent attempts to support the organisational agenda, building on a heightened awareness of their position within the organisation. The *practical intelligibility* (Schatzki, 2002)of the participants is altered, providing an *augmented operability* (Schatzki, 2017a) achieved by their *learning trajectories* (Dreier, 2008) across structures of social practices populated by communities of practitioners (Gherardi, 2003; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998). This is not to be understood as an instrumental relationship, the managers do not become robotic organisational agents, instead developing a heightened awareness of their job and the capacity to operate as double agents, as organisational and institutional agents when the circumstances are deemed appropriate – guided by their practical intelligibility.

The middle managers are seen to be equipped, prepared and capable of adopting stances to facilitate the negotiation of these cross pressures, but not merely between the municipality and their local institution, rather multi directional cross pressures requiring negotiation and meditation between multitudinous stakeholders. Vestiges of the LDP can be traced, specifically in the application of tools appropriated from the LDP and particularly in their operationalisation of the principles of Appreciative Inquiry and a focus on securing detailed narratives from

staff, which is found to become cornerstone in approaching meetings and dialogue at work.

Overall, this figure becomes much more complex, shifting stances within their managerial work, within the continuum of brokering and buffering. The manager's capacity to shift between stances –both in the educational practices of the LDP and the managerial practices in institutional work, as well as within specific situated practices in the institution suggests an "augmented operability"(Schatzki, 2017a) - a sign of learning. Regarding the LDP as offering training in this flexibility, in the capacity to operate as double agents – capable of adopting stances fitting to the given situations within which they find themselves suggests a practical influence on managerial work in the organisational setting. They are seen to be capable of both buffering and brokering, depending on the circumstances within which they find themselves. Participation in the LDP can be seen to influence their propensity and capacity to undertake brokering work

Drawing on the theoretical framework, the extension of their institutions as "*site ontologies*" (Schatzki, 2002) to include the *practice-arrangement bundle* of the LDP provides new scope for the participants' understandings of the organisation and their position within it, along with their relations to their superiors and staff – facilitating a widening scope in potential identities. The relational and identity work undertaken in achieving membership of communities of practitioners in the LDP encourages the development of new understandings of self. Expansion of their practical intelligibility leads to an increased repertoire of legitimate stances becoming available within different kinds of practices. The managers are seen to be equipped to operate as double agents in their managerial practices, oscillating between the poles of buffering and brokering, depending on what makes sense in the given circumstances and situation. Participation in the LDP facilitates a

stretching, an augmentation of their practical intelligibility to increasingly appreciate and understand the conditions and agenda of the organisation.

Chapter 10: Reflections and Accounts

> *How do participants, their staff and superiors reflect upon the influences of the LDP on managerial work?*

Introduction

The findings of the empirical study up to this point suggest that participation in the LDP primarily facilitates a reinterpretation of the practitioners' understanding of managerial work and their position within the wider organisation. The engagement of theories and resources offered on the LDP with their identified *problematics* results in the development of an explicit and articulated *managerial manifesto*, shaping their approach to managerial practices going forward. Observation of situated managerial practices revealed that, while the opportunities for the kind of strategic managerial interventions championed on the LDP are limited, the participants' approach to practice embraces the articulations formulated in the managerial manifestos the LDP.

In order to answer the research question posited, the following chapter will consider and examine reflections and accounts given by the participants, their staff and their superiors of the influences they attribute to the LDP. The chapter begins, with a field note which illustrates the type of reflections in-situ, which were prevalent during shadowing intervals with the participants, providing insight into the manner in which participants attribute meaning to the practical influences and implications of the LDP. This illustration is followed by a thematic analysis of the interview data collected during the course of the study, drawing primarily on accounts provided by the chosen participants and their staff. This compliments the

previous chapters' focus on naturally occurring data, by securing explicit accounts of the participants' experiences and understandings.

Traces of the LDP

On the particular occasion detailed in the following note, which arises eleven months after her completion of the LDP, I had shadowed Sarah all day, following her across meetings. We sat in her office as she prepared to go home for a couple of hours rest before returning for a staff meeting in the evening. Sarah explains the events leading up to the departure of her assistant manager Jane. The process she describes is consistent with other accounts obtained and observations made during the course of the study. As detailed previously, due to its status as an independent institution the Cherub House had an atypical management structure in place, with Sarah at the top of the internal hierarchy as the institutional manager, followed by the assistant manager, Jane, and a department manager Claire. Jane and Claire took care of the day-to-day running of the two departments in the institution.

Jane, the department manager, had been an active participant in Sarah's daily work during my first period of shadowing, and on my return it was revealed she had been on sick-leave for an extended period, and that they were in the process of interviewing candidates to fill her position. There was to be a small but informal reception held the following day, to mark Jane's exit.

> *While sitting alone in her office before she left for home, Sarah asked*
> *me if there was anything further I would like to ask about. I said that,*
> *at some point, I would like to hear more about the process leading up*
> *to Jane's departure. She looked at her watch and said," Well, I have*
> *half an hour now, until I have to drive home." She explained how Jane*
> *had worked at the institution as assistant manager for ten years,*
> *initially together with another department manager, Veronica, but they*
> *were unable to work productively together. Sarah states that on the*

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*basis of seniority, she chose to keep hold of Jane and let Veronica go.
Sarah underlines however, that she feels that Veronica did things "the
right way" by resigning and holding a formal farewell reception –
with Jane's "way" of leaving therefore presumably to be understood
as the wrong way. Sarah tells how Veronica was replaced by Claire at
this point, who had previously worked in the institution as a nursery
nurse and shop steward.*

*Sarah tells how Claire had, in fact, been the first to begin and
complete the LDP, and that they had both completed managerial
profiles as an exercise in the LDP. They found they had very similar
profiles; both were quick, dynamic and effective. Sarah recounts how
she felt that Jane's careful approach initially seemed to compliment
them. Sarah states that once she also started on the LDP, Claire and
her began to share managerial terminology from the education, which
Jane simply "could not follow. " Sarah recalls how she encouraged
Jane to start on the LDP too, but she was reluctant and was not keen
on the idea. Sarah went to the lengths of investigating whether she
could force Jane to take the education and make it a condition of her
future employment – which she could and did, with permission of the
committee. This resulted in an agreement that Jane should, at least,
complete the six obligatory modules of the programme. Sarah recalls
that Jane had great difficulty at the start, and that she offered to pay
for extra support and supervision to help her through the programme,
which Jane refused. However, she seemed to be doing well on the LDP
and received good grades for the projects she completed, although she
refused to share these exam texts with Sarah and Claire. Sarah*

explains in great detail how the situation with Jane deteriorated rapidly, and asks what I think about the whole story.

I reply by stating that I can't help but think which role the LDP has played in it all, and that it seemed like it the introduction of it into the management team had been the start of the problems. Sarah explains that Jane received good grades for the projects she completed, ("3 B's and a C")but that she refused to show and share these exam texts despite the fact that this was exactly what she was expected to do – to "bring them into play."

Without any invitation from me, Sarah follows this by reflecting on her own returns from the LDP, and states "it has given me much greater insight into what kind of management structure we should have, in relation to our organizational form, as well as what it is I expect of a department manager." She continues," I have become much more conscious of the fact that they manage the employees and I manage managers – I facilitate management of managers." Sarah continues to explain that she regards competence development of managers as being essential to this process, where they can gain sustainable managerial competence, with education providing the resources to enable them to develop in line with the organization. She explains that "in relation to the heliotropic principle, they are strengthened in their managerial work" and that it makes works less "arduous" because the point of departure is "how do you want things to be?" Sarah explains that, in Jane's absence, she has taken the latest round of employee appraisal meetings for her department, and that she can see the difference it makes when you work with an appreciative approach, and that she wishes Jane had been able to do it this way, as the employees

can be seen to benefit greatly from it. She continues to reflect, stating
that she thinks that domain theory was possibly the most useful theory
from the LDP, "that you become conscious of whether you are in the
reflexive or productive domain – not the aesthetic domain. "That is
why we are here," she states, referring to operating within the
productive domain, before adding, "Maybe that is partly the reason
for the fact that there have been 5 dismissals this year." She concludes
the conversation by stating, "it is important that a management team
has a shared organisational understanding." (Field note 6: 28.09.16)

This note provides insight into two important aspects of the present study; firstly it
provides a description of how the theoretical terminology and language from the
LDP travels into local managerial practices and the experienced effect of this.
Secondly, it provides a succinct description of Sarah's opinion on the influence of
participation in the programme on her approach to managerial work. These aspects
will now be considered in more detail.

The Normative and the Practical Discursive Influence of the LDP

The account provided by Sarah, illustrates the discursive *line of transmission*
between the educational practices of the LDP, and the managerial practices taking
place in the local institution of the Cherub House. The transmission of managerial
terminology, acquired by Sarah and Claire through participation in the educational
practices and spread via their movement into local managerial practices is
perceived to marginalise Jane, and the legitimacy of her participation and
membership of the changing managerial practices in the Cherub House. She is no
longer deemed to be capable of participating in a competent manner, due to her
inability to understand and use this new language. This marginalisation is
recognised and addressed by Sarah, by forcing Jane to enter the educational

practices of the LDP, in an attempt to rehabilitate her to be capable of participating in the local managerial practices in a legitimate and appropriate manner. This deliberate effort to move Jane represents a forced *reterritorialization*, even more explicit than that engineered by the municipality in general, where the diploma programme was made a de-facto requirement. Here it is a definite ultimatum.

The transmission of language from the LDP into local managerial practices can be seen to have an effect on the way these practices are to be carried out, and how practitioners are to participate within them. This reflects Schatzki's description of governance (Schatzki, 2015a) and how certain practice-arrangement bundles can influence and regulate others, where the normative force of changes in discourse in use can reveal these regulatory attempts.

> *"Normativity is a contested notion, but under one interpretation for types of language to carry normative force is for combinations of words, ways of using them, and ways of constructing discourses to be acceptable for or enjoined (prescribed, required, expected) of people….. when normativity is so understood, some bundles and constellations are governed by distinct sets of (normative)language types."*(Schatzki, 2017c, p.139)

The normative force of the managerial language legitimised by the practices of the municipality and enacted in the educational practice of the LDP can be seen to influence directly the legitimate language in use within the managerial practices of the Cherub House. This provides an effective illustration of the mechanics of governance within a practice theory perspective, where governance is an activity arising from within and across *practice-arrangement bundles* that strives to intervene and intentionally shape and direct activities taking place within others (Schatzki, 2015a, p. 18). The transmission of this language creates a clear distinction between legitimate members and non-members(Lave & Wenger, 1991)

where the marginalisation of persons unaccustomed to the language provides a motor for their investment into learning it, in order to re-gain positions of legitimate participation within the community of practitioners via engagement with the LDP. In the present example, however, this is not seen to be the case, with Jane struggling to gain proficiency in the language.

In this way, the legitimisation and proliferation of the managerial language through the LDP provides a critical mass of practitioners versed in the discourse, enacting a normative force towards changing discourse in use. However, appreciation of Schatzki's delineation between *practical intelligibility* and *normativity* is useful in understanding the processes at play here,

> *"Falling under normativity- however, is a different matter than intrinsically being a normative phenomenon. Practical intelligibility is, in the first place, practical"*(Schatzki, 2002, p.76).

Under such conditions, the changing of managerial discourse used in-situ is not just a normative phenomenon, but a practical one. It is not just that the managers use the language because they "should," but that they "do" it because it makes sense within the practices within which they are participating. It makes it easier for the practitioners to communicate in a manner that they deem to be more effective - or, at least, more appealing. In other words, the new language makes sense to them in their situated practices.

Manifesting Manifestos

The reflections articulated by Sarah towards the end of the note are an illustration of how the theories and understandings appropriated from the LDP have prevailed, where it is worth taking into account that these unsolicited reflections arise ten months after completion of the LDP. Here, Sarah attributes a revised understanding of the wider organisation, her position within it and the purpose of

her managerial work to her participation in the LDP. The "Heliotropic Principle" of guiding narratives away from problems and towards possible desired futures is described as an effective tool for changing her staff's perception of work and how they approach it. Similarly, the influence of domain theory is attributed huge significance, where it is suggested that the disciplined approach to conducting communication with staff within the "productive" and "reflexive" domains and avoiding personal elements of the "aesthetic domain" has led to an unusually high number of dismissals. The implication is that these were members of staff who had proven incapable of operating in the managerially (and therefore organisationally) desirable domains. This suggests that participation in the LDP and the perspective offered by domain theory has made Sarah more aware of, and intolerant towards, employees who are not engaging with the organisational agenda in their work, leading to an acceleration in the dismissal of these employees.

Sarah clearly attributes huge significance to the influence of the LDP on her work and her professional identity. This is an understanding which is common to all of the participants in the study, where a strikingly similar understanding and appreciation of the LDP is described. These understandings will be considered in detail below. In order to avoid repetition of the same issues, the accounts provided by Eve are presented as being exemplary, where examination of these will be used to generate an analysis which is also representative of the reports accounts provided by the other participants.

Practitioner Accounts
Two extensive qualitative interviews lasting more than an hour were conducted with each of the selected participants from the LDP, Sarah, Eve and Mary. The first of these took place during their ongoing participation in the final module of the LDP in the autumn of 2015, and the second conclusive interview in March

2017. In interviewing the participants, narratives were encouraged on specific issues, in an attempt to gain insight into their understandings. The responses to these narrative prompts proved to be strikingly similar across the different respondents, with similar themes and patterns of responses emerging from the different interviews. The content of the narratives provided in the interviews were also found to be remarkably consistent with the material produced in the participants' exam documents and the reflections taking place within them. The presentation of professional identity in interviews was consistent with the professional identities emerging from the exam documents. Findings from the thematic analysis of these interviews are presented below.

Managerial Awakening

> *Eve: I met…when I started on this education, I met a manager colleague and she said, "Do you know what, Eve, after you have been away for the first weekend you will already start doing things differently on the Monday," and I was a bit like, "yeah right - it isn't a religion I am going into, eh?" I thought, "are you kidding?" But it was, because I actually did things differently when I went to work on the Monday, than I had done for the last eight years. And I think that has been typical for the education all the way through, that I can feel that I am doing things differently in practice just after being away at my education for one day. Like, I am then a different manager when I walk through the door the next day. I actually think that is really interesting. So you could say that some of the things that….the first modules, they are –can you say – very basic knowledge and that was where…..I could get those kind of huge aha-experiences and some…like, it was like meeting a new religion and finding out that,*

okay, management is actually a profession,[123] and this is something that you can do something within, and it isn't just me that is standing trying to invent the wheel or a.. so the part that basically every time that I had been on the course or read some of the things we had to read, I thought that I had become another…a different manager. Actually, you could say that I ……if I kind of look back, I can see that in some periods I have ….depending on which module I was studying, I have had some periods where I have thought, wow, this also has huge significance for how I act as a manager, and I have also had some periods where I said to myself: now this is what you have to keep an eye on, and for a long period, right at the start when I had just begun, I ran around and said" 51/49," and every time someone or other came in through the door, if I didn't say it to them then I just looked at them and in my head said, "51/49." I think that..listen to this…so you could say that the whole time as well…remembering some of those tools and then saying, okay, what is it then, that I am doing. Just like I have some staff members who might think that they should do things one way, and I would like them to do it another way. Whereas in the old days ten years ago I would have thought, it will probably sort itself out and in a little while they will do things the way I want, now I come charging and say, listen up, you shall do it like this, as a manager I want you to do it this way. I would not have done that ten years ago, or before I started on the education. Back then, I would have thought things would sort themselves out. "We will manage, they will realise it for themselves when I have done it a sufficient number of times", but they don't, because why the hell should they, right? So I think that it

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[123] The Danish word "fag" is used here, which is difficult to translate precisely into English. It covers elements, of both "profession" and "occupation" as well as a "craft."

has been a good investment for my employers, like, for central
administration, that they actually get some quality far out in the
legions that makes, that the pedagogical task with the children also
should be improved, right? (Eve Interview 1: 30.09.15)

Eve's description of her experience of the LDP as having an instantaneous and dramatic effect on her managerial work is consistent across the interviews and exam texts of all the participants. The managerial figure presented by Eve is described as being more organisationally aware, where 51% of the focus in any given situation is consequently trained on the organisational concerns and demands. This figure is also described as being more proactive and engaged, in comparison to the meek and passive manager to be found pre-LDP, who would shy away from potential conflict in the hope that the staff would discover and solve the problem themselves and in their own time. This illustrates a marked expansion of the *managerial stances* that Eve perceives as being available to her, as well as a shift in those adopted in her managerial work. The organizational concerns are described as becoming more pronounced, and trumping the concerns of relationships with staff and the conditions of their personal lives, which had previously played a much more central role. This is indicative of the shift in professional identity and sense of membership which the participants attribute to the LDP

Organisational Membership

The assertion that participation in the LDP had a significant impact on their understandings of the organization, and the nature of their position within it, was made by all of the participants. The interview excerpt detailed below, from the second and summative interview with Eve is characteristic of the way the participants described how the LDP had influenced these understandings. The excerpt follows Eve's reflections on this change in her organisational understanding.

Interviewer: But what role has the diploma played in it, has it played a role or is it just something that you become accustomed to?

Eve: No, I think so…I think that there has been a consciousness around the thing about looking at, that of course we have to solve a task in relation to a child, which is the primary task. But we also have to do it in a way so that, that the organisation of which we are a part actually also uses the resources it has, in achieving the goals it has for the children. So if I go in and support…while now….in the old days…like , before I started on the education, when central administration sent out…now we should work with this thing, then I would have been like, "yeah yeah, but I'll do it…I'll do it when it suits me. Or maybe I won't." Whereas today I go into it and think, "Okay, what is it they are trying to do? That sounds interesting, what is the thinking behind it? It's because they want to support these things, okay. Is this something that we know from something else," is it…how should I say…something I can gain from in relation to the things I already do? How can I combine these things, whereas before I would probably have thought, "yeah, well here is another task, thanks for that shit, and I would just have thought, yeah I will do it, if it suits me." But I don't do that today, today I go in and say," what is it they want to support, what is it that they think can be improved for me by introducing these things?" And it can be that once in a while that I think, yeah, that is not for my benefit, but you can say…to be more inquisitively critical, rather than just being reluctant you know? And that is something that has come with the education, also this thing with kind of saying, well then, I can also use the other parts of the organisation to support my task, like, be more brave about, that when

they have some resources in central administration or in the district
that we could use, to kind of say, what can they do for me, because I of
course do things for them when I complete this task. So the thoughts
they have thought and the thoughts I have thought should be able to be
combined. Whereas previously I would have thought, "I'm not doing it
and if they don't notice, then everything is fine." I always had the idea
that, yeah, if they want something from central administration, if they
had called and I hadn't taken the phone, then they would probably call
back again. I don't think that way today, now I think, I'll call them
back. Because we want to achieve something together. (Eve interview
2: 09.03.2017)

This experience of undergoing a "change in consciousness" was reported by all of
the participants. Again, this change can be characterized as organizational
concerns becoming increasingly dominant in managerial work, as well as evoking
a greater understanding and acceptance of new organizational initiatives and
reforms, and propensity to engage productively in working with these. Eve
acknowledges that the primary focus is, of course providing good- quality care for
the children, but that this must be achieved in a manner appropriate to the wider
organizational conditions. Eve reports an increased interest and engagement with
the organisational agenda behind the continual initiatives and reforms, explaining
that before her participation in the LDP, these were regarded as a nuisance and
something to avoid. Now, she describes her approach as being "inquisitively
critical." This shift bears a striking resemblance to Grint's *constructive dissent*
(Grint, 2005)*,* as the most desirable form of followership. Where initially Eve can
be regarded as approaching these initiatives with a kind of destructive consent,
basically ignoring them and hoping they would go away. Now she describes a

motivation to engage critically with them and the implementation of them within the institution.

Furthermore, the nature of Eve's understanding of her organizational *membership* seems to have been altered through her participation in the LDP. She describes herself as an active participant within the broader organization and emphasizes the reciprocal relationship of her work in the local institution with other actors and levels within the broader organization. Eve perceives herself as part of a much larger community of practitioners, rather than merely being the old-timer or master (Lave & Wenger, 1991) of the community populating the local practices of the Acorn House. Her membership is extended to the broader community of practitioners populating the practices of the wider organization, powered by a renewed understanding that they "want to achieve something together."

Professional Management and Securing Distance

Reflections on the significance of this organisational perspective and the importance of managerial work in promoting coherence were prevalent throughout the interviews, and were expressed in relation to the idea of professionalism, and the work of a professional manager. This was described in terms of adopting an appropriate approach to compliment the organisational demands at any given time and working towards advancing the overall agenda. This is elaborated in Eve's second interview, as detailed below.

> *Eve: Well then. I think that through the whole education that I have gotten a view of myself as a tool. Like, that I am not just…Eve the pedagogue or Eve the manager, I am part of an organisation, I am one of these cogs that should get the whole thing moving, so strictly speaking it doesn't…in a way it doesn't really matter what I think, as*

*long as I play along. And that is the same as I expect of my staff, that
we should be professional. We are not either private or personal in our
work, we must be professional, we must look at the task that is to be
solved – how can we solve it in the best possible way for the customer
in the shop and also for the organisation that is to solve it - how can
we do that. And not just sit down and think, well, what do I feel like
doing, how…and maybe go in a little childish huff because some
people think differently. I think that is important. And I think that we
have learnt that on the education, and I can see a significant difference
from before I started on the education compared to now. To look much
more at…what the result..the desired result is, and maybe not always
focus so much on the process, where you could say, in the old days we
always said that, with children, it was the process that it was all about.
It wasn't about what kind of product you could display…it was the
process, but where I think that some of the time, as managers, we have
to look at, well, what is the product? What is it that we are trying to
achieve at the other end? And then we have to see which process might
fit that, but the focus isn't on the process, it's not like we are all going
to sit in a circle holding hands and agreeing on everything and having
a cosy time. Sometimes we simply have to take some decisions, that we
have to reach so far and it may well be that we lose a few on the way,
but then maybe they shouldn't have been here at all. Because if they
aren't playing along and aren't one of the cogs, then they should find
some other cogs, where they are a better fit. And I think that is very
different to what I have done previously. (Eve interview 2: 09.03.2017)*

A distancing is evident in this account, which manifests in two ways. Firstly, there
is a distancing of the perceived relevance of Eve's own opinions and beliefs within

the wider organisational frame. Here, her personal views are described as being largely irrelevant and something which should not be brought into work. This is a de-sensitising which would not normally be associated with pedagogical activities. Secondly, a distancing between the manager and the staff, where the staff become merely another "cog" in the machine, and to be understood as infinitely replaceable – if they do not fit, "then they should go and find another cog." Eve notes this as being a markedly different approach than she has had in the past, where the staff is now expected to be strictly professional, excluding personal or private aspects of their life from their work. Eve's statements can be compared to those made by Sarah, where she attributed the higher number of dismissals among staff to her adoption of a similarly professional approach, where the perspective offered by domain theory is seen to reduce her tolerance of non-compliant staff.

Eve's focus on professionalism illustrates a change in the perceived orientation of managerial work, where the traditional professional values focusing on the pedagogical process were the primary motor. Instead the organisational focus on the final product becomes dominant. The professional identity becomes that of working as a cog in the broader organisational machinery, rather than a more traditional orientation towards occupational values. There, the shift from occupational professionalism to organisational professionalism (Elkjaer & Brandi, 2014; Evetts, 2003, 2013) is reflected. This organisational professionalism and the importance of the LDP in the development of it was also articulated in an interesting way during the first interview with one of the other selected participants, Mary, as detailed in the excerpt below.

> *Interviewer: Do you think that – now again it's a little special because you have just started, but how…what kind of influence do you think it will have for the organization that it is you in particular that is in charge now?*

Mary: I think that, exactly…because it is me, and I am new and schooled in this way – because after all it is a group from the municipality of Copenhagen that I have been part of, so they have had influence on the agenda of trust and so on, on my way through the course. So I think that I am very useful for the organisation and I'm not saying that others are not, but I think it is easier for me to have an open approach to all the changes that are being introduced to the institution and the cluster and central administration, precisely because I am schooled in that this is how it is, and that these are the conditions. Whereas those who have been managers for many years have maybe a little more difficulty in adjusting, because it has been very, very different, and I can feel it in just the seven years I have been in the pedagogue profession – I have also seen huge changes. So I think it's also a personal mind-set and a managerial attitude that – "well, this is how it is, and we can strive to lead upwards, but there is no point fighting against it because there are simply just some guidelines and some conditions and frames for all of this" (Mary interview 1: 24.11.2015).

This excerpt provides insight into how Mary directly attributes her participation in the LDP as being conducive to an acceptance of the ongoing organizational reforms and restructuring, and therefore formative for her approach to the implementation of these, mirroring the development of professional approach described by Sarah and Eve. Mary acknowledges that her standpoint as a newly appointed manager is, however, different to the other participants. For her, the LDP seems to serve as a kind of certificate of apprenticeship. The municipality's direct control over the content and design of the LDP, discussed in chapter 4, and specifically the orientation towards the "agenda of trust," is mentioned explicitly.

This is accepted as part of Mary's understanding of the nature and purpose of her role, to be equipped and prepared to operate within this established frame. Indeed, she regards herself to be more advantageously positioned to administer and implement the initiatives of the municipality, as she has known no other way of doing things. She is, as she states, exactly –"schooled" to work under these very conditions via her participation the LDP.

Translating as a Managerial Task

The participants were invited to explain whether the LDP had had a specific influence on their managerial work and the approach to it. A recurrent theme emerged, where translation work was described as being a key task. This is reflected in the following excerpt from the first interview with Eve.

> *Interviewer: Is that a specific organizational …like in your own organisation, are there any special challenges, or tasks or problematics that you understand in a different way, or that you…look at differently after the education.*
>
> *Eve: Like, that I do?*
>
> *Interviewer: Yes*
>
> *Eve: Yes. Like, you could say that I can..today I can see that many of the tools or.. - and it's control measures some of it - that central administration introduces, are based on a wish to ensure that there is a safety net for the children, that we don't miss some of them and that we actually fulfil our task properly. And you can say that if I hadn't been on the education, then I would think: bloody hell, they keep checking up, why do they keep on checking up all the time? But actually to have that understanding that, well they are doing it because they want to ensure the kids have a good childhood, and so that we*

don't miss anything in our work. So actually they are trying to give us some tools that will help us do better pedagogical work, because we become aware of more things. And I think that can sometimes be difficult to see down on the floor, because there it is just disturbing and irritating, and, "can we not just be allowed to get on with these projects or activities we are in the middle of and which were deemed to be good according to some curriculum or other?" And where I feel a little like, yes, we can do that, but we have to do the other thing first. So that we know how to target it.. Like..and the staff also need that to be explained, or to have an understanding of it, that we have to do these things and have to translate. There is really a lot of translation work involved in being a manager in relation to the tasks that we have, you know? Because you could say that, after we have come into the cluster structure, that there are more translation tasks than there are tasks that I kind of introduce myself. It is a difficult balancing act, that, it comes from the Child and Youth administration, it comes from the cluster manager, who has a vision for how the cluster should work, and you could say, where is there space for me? So there I have to play as part of the cluster by saying – as part of the managerial team- well, I think that we should focus on this, or, in the future can we work towards something, whereas in the old days I could sit on my own and think, like, yeah, we will probably do something with this. And I can't do that in the same way today, because the space to do things that I just thought were fun is less than it was earlier, in the old way of organising, you know?" (Eve Interview 1: 30.09.15)

Eve's response is indicative of the manner in which the LDP is described as facilitating a greater understanding and acceptance of the broader organizational

conditions, and reveals the implication this has on the manner in which they articulate their approach to work, and the character of the central managerial tasks inherent within it. Eve explicitly describes the work of translating organisational initiatives into her local institution as being an increasingly dominant task in her managerial work. Simultaneously, her managerial work is described as becoming increasingly coordinated and enrolled within the wider organisational regime, at the expense of a previously more autonomous selection of managerial activities, on the basis of what she deemed to be important and "fun."

The rhetorical question posed by Eve is interesting – "where is there space for me?" In following Smith's (Smith, 2005) assertion that the researcher should enter a dialogue with the empirical material, a possible answer to Eve's rhetorical question emerging from the ongoing analysis would be: *"The space for you…. is you!"* The answer to this question, which will be considered in more detail in the later discussion section, is based on reports that the selection of methods with which to conduct this translation becomes the room within which the middle managers can now act professionally and discretionally. The freedom to select and design ways of translating and enacting initiatives from the wider organization in the manner they deem most appropriate becomes their *"managerial action space."*

Experiential Accounts of the staff

The focus of the analysis now shifts to accounts provided by different respondents – the staff. In approaching the qualitative interviews with the participants' staff, a central aim was to discover their impression of the influence of the LDP at the organisational level, and on managerial work. As Mary had only achieved her position in the Acorn House during the final module of the LDP, her staff was not able to provide much insight into their experience of her work before and after the programme. The staff of Sarah and Eve were able to reflect on such potential

influences to a greater degree, and a strikingly similar response to these inquiries was received across the interviews with their staff. An example of this response is provided below, taken from an interview with one of Eve's employees, Brigid.

> *Interviewer: Yes, okay. Interesting. If I should ask you more specifically about something, it would precisely be about the process with the diploma programme, has it been something that you could notice in the institution, that Eve was taking the education?*

> *Brigid: That's not something that I have, kind of, thought about at all. Like..I...some special tools..well that is not something that I have thought about, in actual fact. Of course one has thought that she hasn't been around a lot because she has been away, but I don't think that I have , kind of, thought about there being anything extra. Because I actually think that Eve has always been good at both the written work and communicating some things out. So I don't think there is anything that I have thought about like that. At all.*

> *Interviewer: And what about along the way, she did some small projects and investigations and things like that, is that something that you have all noticed, or something you have talked about?*

> *Brigid: Not aside from the ones that..because I think she interviewed some people along the way, but I wasn't one of them. So it is only in relation to that, where you think, kind of, okay, so she's had some in for interviews. But otherwise it is not something that we have been a big part of.*

> *Interviewer: Okay, so it's not like you have noticed a huge difference, before, during and after?*

> *Brigid: No, I don't think so. Not anything I have thought about.*

<div align="right">

(Brigid: 21.12.16)

</div>

The formulation that there was no perceivable difference," apart from that she wasn't around a lot" emerged repeatedly in the interviews with Eve and Sarah's staff, when they were asked whether they had noticed any influence of the LDP. Brigid's account reveals that she was aware of Eve's participation in the LDP, but only very peripherally, and makes no connection to any perceived changes. Brigid's account also provides a secondary trait which emerged during these interviews, namely that the staff were very satisfied with their managers' and their work, also prior to their participation in the LDP. Particularly Eve's staff was supportive of her, and very clearly perceived the cluster manager and the wider organizational agenda as being the root cause of disturbances and difficulties in their everyday work, due to incessant reforms and restructuring initiatives. The difficulty of the position of the middle managers as being trapped within cross pressures was acknowledged by the staff in all interviews.

Lines of Flight under the Radar?

Another tendency emerged from analysis of the interview material conducted with the staff, when the issue of the *problematic* identified by the participants in the final exam project was discussed. The staff was found to attribute significance to the approaches adopted by the managers in dealing with these *problematics*, approaches that were specifically designed through participation in the LDP. The staff, however, did not make such a connection. The excerpt below is taken again from the interview with Brigid, a pedagogue in Eve's institution. The excerpt continues directly from where the previous excerpt detailed above, where Brigid

states categorically that she has not perceived any influence of the LDP, and that "it was not something that she had thought about."

> *Interviewer: Okay, one of the things I saw when I followed Eve around, was the team performance review meeting last year. How do you remember that?*

> *Brigid: Yes, that was very special, that everyone should, kind of, sit and say something positive about one another, and it is a totally different context than that which you are used to from performance review meetings, and where you don't…of course you set out some points, but it was more that part, and it is of course also team performance review, a team oriented conversation, but I think actually that it is OK to do it that way, where focus is put on the whole team rather than just yourself, and how you best can use the resources available within the team, all the resources. Well, I remember it like, okay of course that bit where you should receive praise from the others, that is a little bit, yeah, you have to just…but otherwise I think it was okay.*

> *Interviewer: How was it to receive that feedback from your colleagues, rather than from the manager? Was that meaningful?*

> *Brigid: It is always nice to get some positive things, yeah, some competences and all kinds of things that people value in you, but it is also difficult to take all that praise in, but I actually very much like that form of conversation where, at the same time it is a little scary that you are all sitting together, and then, "okay, now I should say something nice about somebody," like that…that is difficult, but I also think that it gives something. It also gives things to think about*

afterwards, that you get to talk to your colleagues in that way, because normally it is just like, you sit and talk about, okay, what is going on with that child, what can we do to strengthen that, but now it is all of a sudden one's own competences and resources that come into play, like, I think that is really exciting.

Interviewer: So there is no other forum like that, where you can talk to each other in the same way?

Brigid: Well, it's not like we sit like that and praise each other to the high heavens, absolutely not. Well, we did it at the last pedagogical meeting, where we were to hang a sticker on each other's back, about what you valued about that person, and again it…like it's difficult, because all that praise, you get a bit like, yeah it's a little hard to take in, and of course you can just give a colleague a pat on the shoulder and say "oh, that was well done" or something like that. But not like that, not like we did in the team performance review conversation. Absolutely not.

Interviewer: Did you feel that it was genuine, the feedback that people gave to each other?

Brigid: Yes, I think so, actually, and it seemed to ring true now that I think back on some of the things that were said. Like, it seemed genuine, I think people were genuine. It wasn't just like, okay, now I'll just make up something to say about you – I don't think so. But you could also…like, I think you could feel that people were a little more subdued than they would normally be, because it is the kind of situation, okay, now you actually have to sit and say something nice, otherwise I think we are very much like…with humour…always.

Always very much with humour and always laugh a lot together, but it becomes a little different...a bit more of a serious context, of course where you can still laugh a little together, but in a different way, I think, compared to when you just sit up in the staff room and have a break together. I think it's something different when you are sitting in that kind of context.

Interviewer: Is it something..that you have done since? Is it something that you..like, how would you feel about it in the future, like , is it something that you would rather avoid, or something that you think that you could use?

Brigid: No, I would gladly do it again, I think..I would probably be a bit like," oh no, now the focus is on me, now it's me that we have to talk about." I think I would be a bit like.."aaaarghhh," but I would definitely be able to do it again and sit and say some things about my colleagues, like definitely. And of course…oh yes, we also talked about our …you had to start by stating your own competences and things like that. I thought that was probably the most difficult, because there you have to think, okay, something positive about myself, you kind of have to say what you are good at. I thought that that was one of the hardest parts. It's never that difficult to say something positive about other people, but when it is yourself that you have to find something positive about, that is always the hardest. But I could … could definitely do it again." (Brigid; 21.12.16)

Here the manner in which Eve's participation in the educational practices of the LDP is reported to inform a conscious and deliberate change to her managerial practices, and how this is experienced by her staff can be considered. A line of flight for the team performance review is established between the educational and

institutional *practice-arrangement bundles*. This modifies the performance review practices, towards a collective meeting rather than individual dialogues. Brigid provides an account of how this was experienced, where it is clear that it has made an impression, with the shift in focus from an individual performance review to a team approach is deemed to be significant, opening up for consideration of the dynamics within the team. Brigid describes the experience as being almost overwhelming, where an appreciative inquiry inspired "5D" model driven by the "heliotropic principle" focuses dialogue towards identifying positive aspects of one another's work.

Brigid reports that the sheer volume of positive feedback produced in the meeting is unaccustomed, where the opportunity to collectively reflect upon one another's competences rather than on the challenges emerging from the working environment – which would be the more typical format for their meetings – is described as being particularly enlightening. The re-organisation of the activities within the practices of the team performance review can therefore be seen to facilitate a different kind of reflection among the participants, opening up for a collective reinterpretation of their approach to their work, and how this is seen by other practitioners.

A similar pattern is found across the interviews with staff. On initial reflection, they reported no awareness of any influence of the LDP, yet on further reflection on the *problematics* with which their managers engaged, and the manner in which they did so, the managerial approach emerging from participation in the LDP was seen to be recognised. This proved to be true with all of the participants, with Mary's staff reporting positively on her alteration of morning procedures and the introduction of morning meetings, and Sarah's work with increasing the staff's engagement with the annual wheel.

Therefore it may not be entirely representative to simply repeat the staff's impromptu evaluation of whether the LDP has had any organizational influences, without considering the implications of their manager's participation in LDP on the organization of practices in their daily work. The manner in which lines of flight between the educational and institutional practice-arrangement bundles contributes to changes in these practices may not necessarily be noticed explicitly, but traces of the implications of these lines of flight can be recognized in analysis of accounts of the practitioners involved.

Prevalence of Misunderstandings….or Simply Not Knowing.
Another central theme emerging from the qualitative interviews was that, in discussing the *problematics* identified by the managers in their final projects in the LDP with their staff, a clear tendency emerged in the way they talked about these issues. Closer consideration of the following excerpt of the interview conducted with Abigail, one of the pedagogues working under Mary in the Acorn House can illustrate the general dynamics around these issues revealed in these interviews.

> *Interviewer: How, exactly with Turn Around, how have you experienced the whole Turn Around process?*
>
> *Abigail: Well, to begin with, I thought Wow! And, "we are really investing many resources into this institution," and I saw it very much as a boost for the institution, I saw it as something that would at least give us a lift in competence. But as the situation is today, I think that it is a little vague, it's just about moving. Like, you come with a report and bang bang bang, it was very definite, and "now you are going to get a set of Turn Around pedagogues," and it all kind of stopped there. So I think there is a really lot missing, and those periods of observation that were also supposed to be conducted, or the subsequent supervision that we haven't seen at all, and it's the 1st of*

September soon. So I think it has been really really long, really stretched out, and they have said a load of things that they haven't actually delivered. And I feel a little like, "so don't start out with such a big project," like, you aren't delivering the half of it. So there you get a bit, there you can get the feeling of that pyramid where the central administration are sitting at the top and us pedagogues are down at the bottom. And you feel a little bit trampled on. And now you come down here and pull us up by the roots and we are to get a new educational manager that leaves and then we have another educational manager that comes in and does a great piece of work, but you choose not to keep her because there is some restructuring at the cluster level. And then we have to begin there all over again, then I totally think….It is just such a lot, it has been a really big mess.

Interviewer: And when you say "you," who is it that you think as "you"?

Abigail: Well, it's in relation to the personnel group, it's been a big mess for us because we have been through so many changes at the same time as this, and now we, well "we should also be better, and we must do this and that and we should also be supervised" but nothing actually happens. Then it is just difficult.

Interviewer: Yes. But you are a Turn Around pedagogue?

Abigail: I am a Turn Around pedagogue

Interviewer: What does that involve?

Abigail: Yes, that's funny because it was the old cluster manager and Mary that had appointed me to that together with my colleague, Sue,

because some of the new members of staff, they had specific competences. But what I was told by Mary and the cluster manager was that they thought I had a little extra in terms of engagement in relation to this, and they thought that in terms of parental contact, that I had an advanced view of that as being a potential resource. So now it is the new educational manager's task to get these things sorted out, as to what my role is to be. And I have come with some ideas myself things like café afternoons for the parents; I would really like to coordinate those.

Interviewer*: So in reality it is something that you have to fill out yourself, in some way?*

Abigail*: Well, yes, you could say that because it was like…because I think that when Mary and the old cluster manager appointed me to be a Turn Around pedagogue, they of course had some ideas and thoughts as to what they would use me for. But afterwards they both stopped, it just kind of drifted away and where it was just like, now I was a Turn Around pedagogue and I got a new contract, and that was that. But what my tasks were to be in relation to that, I don't know to this day, you could say. So I haven't been given any specific tasks and that is the case for many of the people here, they haven't been given specific responsibility areas because they are Turn Around. They have been employed because they have some competences. Me and Sue have just been re-compensated, you could say,..yes. (Abigail interview: 29.08.2016)*

Abigail's disillusionment with the Turn Around project is clear, despite her description of being initially impressed by the project initiatives and having great expectations. Her frustrations at being at the bottom of the "pyramid" are

primarily directed towards the municipality and central administration, where her portrayal of Mary is that of the wronged, an innocent part in the confusion surrounding the Turn Around Project. This confusion was found to be endemic in relation to the project, where no-one knew what the Turn Around project actually involved in practice - Mary was unsure about it, and the staff was simply confused, noticing only that it created disturbance and the forced redeployment of well-established and popular members of staff.

Abigail explains how Mary and the cluster manager at the time informed her that she was to become a "Turn Around pedagogue" and was given a new contract with improved remuneration. However, there were never any specific tasks or responsibility areas assigned to the position and this remains the case "up to this day today." Abigail's situation can be seen to be symptomatic of the lack of clarity in the implementation of the Turn Around project in the Acorn House and the concrete implications and tasks emerging from it. My attention to the fact that Abigail was, in fact a "Turn Around pedagogue" was a result of an interview conducted previously with another of the pedagogues in the Acorn House, who mentioned that there was an element of resentment towards those that had been awarded this title. This was essentially because the Turn Around Pedagogues were seen to receive an increase in pay, for no specific reason and in return for no extra work.

Similar dynamics were found in the case of Eve's team structure, where neither Eve, nor the staff could really understand how to make the new team structure functional. Sarah, was slightly different, and understood fully what the principles of the Annual wheel were – she had participated in its design- and how and why they should be implemented. However, only through her empirical investigation in the final module of the LDP did she become aware of the fact that this level of understanding was not shared by her staff, many of whom were struggling to

comprehend the Annual wheel, how it worked and why it was necessary. As revealed in chapter 8, this insight led to Sarah changing her approach to implementing the wheel, and the expectations she had of her staff and the manner in which they worked with it.

Analysis of the accounts and reflections of the staff on these issues highlights the importance of the practitioners' – both the managers and their staff-understandings of the issues at play. There was found to be great divergence between the changes being introduced into institutional practices, and the understandings of the practitioners performing them. This ranged from misunderstandings and conflicting understandings to a complete lack of knowledge about what was expected, as detailed in the analysis of Abigail's knowledge of her position as a Turn Around pedagogue. This underlined a problematic opaqueness in the strikingly obvious importance of the need for clarity in *what* the managers are expected to implement and translate, not just their acceptance *that* they should do it and the provision of tools as to *how* it could be achieved.

The View From Above

The respondent position shifts again now, where the confusion and misunderstandings reported by staff was also evident in accounts made during interviews with Mary and Eve's immediate superiors– their cluster managers – where these problems and the challenging nature of organisational conditions were acknowledged. Mary's cluster manager reported that she believed participation in the LDP had primarily provided Mary with a recognizable language for managerial work based on a shared theoretical repertoire, suggesting access to a position of legitimate participation within the community of practitioners (Lave & Wenger, 1991). In particular, the cluster manager noted Mary's focus on narratives

and the importance of language, as well as systemic understandings of organization and management central to the LDP.

Eve's cluster manager noticed no such change in her use of language; however she attributed significance to Eve's participation in the LDP consistent with the reports made by Eve throughout the process. This is highlighted in the interview excerpt below, taken from the interview with Eve's cluster manager.

> *Interviewer: Okay. Could you…feel a difference in your work together, before during and after?*
>
> *Cluster Manager: Yes, at the start….well I don't know if it was me as a person or it was that I had become cluster manager that wasn't so popular with her. Anyway, she thought that it was irritating to get a boss so close up. But she wasn't the only one. So at the start …I had a feeling of, that it was very much like, that when we sat at managerial team meetings, it was probably more just about putting in an appearance, and then she and some of the other managers, they went out and did their own thing afterwards, and maybe not always exactly the things that we had just agreed upon. Where I think that, over the course of the education, she became more like….understood what it was about and she also said to me "oh, now I understand all of a sudden what you are talking about, what it is that you actually want to do, why you are saying it like that, or what it is you can see in it, and why you are giving us these tasks." So I think that our work together afterwards has become better, and I think that in many ways she appreciates it today. And of course we don't agree on everything, we shouldn't, and she is definitely able to speak up and say no and say what she thinks. So I think she has definitely become more thick-*

skinned and braver[124] by taking the education." (Eve's cluster manager: 28.02.2017)

The cluster manager's account reflects the shift in Eve's approach during participation in the LDP, from being initially hostile to the initiatives of the cluster manager and the loss of managerial autonomy, to engaging more actively in working together. Eve's shift from *destructive consent* to *constructive dissent* presented previously in the analysis is also evident here as something perceived by the cluster manager. Her account explains that, rather than saying one thing in official meetings and doing another in practice, the cluster manager experiences Eve as being inclined to follow the implementation of initiatives more closely, while being capable of entering dialogue and expressing her own opinions, when she deems it necessary. She acknowledges that Eve had introduced the idea of replacing individual performance reviews with team performance reviews to the cluster, as a means of supporting the implementation of the new structure, and attributes this directly to her participation in the LDP.

Eve's cluster manager also reported that she believed the source of the difficulties in the institution to be that Eve did not fully understand the new system which was to be implemented and had made the structure more difficult and complicated than necessary. The cluster manager reported that she was now aware that she had been too distant in this process, and regretted not becoming involved at an earlier stage.

Interim Conclusion: Changed consciousness and the Alignment of (Mis)Understandings

> *How do participants, their staff and superiors reflect upon the influences of the LDP on managerial work?*

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[124] The actual phrase used here is:"thick skin on her chest by taking the education." (Danish: hård hud på brystet af at tage uddannelsen) This is interpreted as an interesting mixture of the sayings "more thick skinned" and "getting more hairs on the chest." The simplified translation is intended to ease understanding.

Qualitative interviews conducted with the participants Eve, Sarah and Mary towards the end of the diploma programme in leadership and again 16 months subsequently revealed uniform and consistent accounts of the positive influence of the LDP on their managerial work. The LDP is described as having a significant influence on their understanding of the wider organisation and their role within it, as well as providing concrete and useful tools and theories improving their work practically. This is described as making organisational problems actionable, establishing a fulcrum that provides them with purchase in order potentially to lift these challenges. The accounts given in interviews are found to be consistent with the reflections and conclusions found within their exam documents, where the manifestos developed are seen to travel beyond the confines of the textual regime of the LDP.

The managers are found to identify themselves increasingly as members of the wider organisational community of practitioners, rather than the local population of their own institution, reporting that their work becomes oriented accordingly. This is evident also in a common theme of achieving distance in everyday work – emotional distance in difficult situations through theoretical reflection, but also distance from the weight of close personal relations with staff within their local institution. This distance is explicated as being equivalent to managerial professionalism. Likewise the importance of actively engaging with the translation of organisational initiatives into their local institution is recognised as being a central task for this professional manager. The LDP is attributed credit for conveying the understanding that this translation work must be done and for providing theories and tools for how it can be undertaken.

The influence of the LDP reported by the participants' staff was more modest, with the most common response being that the only noticeable difference was the

fact that they were often absent from the institution due to their participation in the programme. However, closer analysis of the staff's responses to the managerial work undertaken in relation to the problematics identified in the final exam project of the LDP suggests that staff perceived influences of the LDP in managerial work. While this was not attributed to the LDP in any way by them, the approaches designed by the managers in their exam project were noted as memorable and as having a significant impact in the given situations. Examples of this were the impact of Eve's introduction of the team performance review, alterations made by Mary to morning routines and Sarah's altered expectations to the staff in terms of their engagement with the annual wheel. These staff accounts were found to reflect primarily on concrete changes in the organisation of the practices within which they took part, changes which can be traced to the work undertaken by the managers in the educational practices of the LDP and the *lines of flight* established between these two practice-arrangement bundles. Interviews conducted with the participants' superiors revealed that they perceived different influences of the LDP on the managerial work, including their proficiency in and application of a shared managerial language and approach, as well as greater openness to the engagement with the organisational agenda.

In all of the interviews conducted, reflections on the uncertainty, confusion and misunderstandings surrounding the *problematics* identified in the final exam project were found. The initiative being dealt with in each case – Sarah's annual wheel, Eve's new team structure, or Mary and the Turn Around project – was found to be troublesome for the staff, and - specifically for Eve and Mary - also for the managers. The nature and implications of the changes involved in the Turn Around project and the new team structure were found to be unclear for the managers themselves, therefore it is hardly surprising that this also proved to be the case with their staff.

A lack of clarity and understanding of what the phenomenon with which they were dealing actually represented and what the implications of these were for practice was evident. This suggests that there may be a challenge to be addressed regarding the manner in which initiatives from the municipality and central administration are designed and introduced, where the character of the reforms and initiatives themselves should be considered, rather than solely questioning the managerial administration of them.

Chapter 11: Discussion

Introduction

Analysis of the empirical material collected shows that the operability of the managers within the organizational frame is augmented. This augmentation suggests that they become more willing to, and capable of, engaging in managerial practices involving the translation of the organizational agenda and its reform initiatives into their local institution. Participation on the LDP is seen to provide access to membership of a new community of practitioners, removing them physically and metaphorically from their local institution and the community of practitioners populating it, establishing a distance which stimulates the reinterpretation of their professional identity. Through this participation the managers reconsider the nature of their membership within the broader organization and the orientation of their work within it.

They are seen to become exercised in a professional craft, drawing on the resources offered on the LDP, with which they are equipped to diagnose, infer and treat organizational problems. This craft concentrates attention towards their own possibilities for action – what are the conditions of the actual managerial action space available to them, and what can they do differently to solve the identified problem. In their final exam projects, the participants are seen to position this space between the cross pressures of institutional demands and the local actualities of their institution, where the purpose of this action space becomes the translation of centralized initiatives into their local institution.

Consideration of these processes in relation to literature focusing on societal tendencies towards hybrid professionalism (Noordegraaf, 2007; 2015) and hybrid

managers (Kragh Jespersen, 2005; Sehested, 2012) is immediately relevant. More specifically relating these tendencies to the changing conditions facing managers of day-care institutions in Denmark (Kjølseth Møller, 2009; Klausen & Nielsen, 2012; Krejsler, 2014; Togsverd, 2015) and the identified shift from occupational professionalism to organisational professionalism (Elkjaer & Brandi, 2014; Evetts, 2003, 2013), is compelling, particularly when a central goal of the diploma programme is to increase managerial professionalism in the public sector (Danmarks Evalueringsinstitut, 2012b; Regeringen, 2007; Weinreich, 2014).

Therefore, considering the LDP as an organisational programme, targeting a particular form managerial professionalization can provide a perspective for further analysis. The nature in which this process emerges through the interconnection of managerial, organizational and educational practices will be considered first, before looking more closely at the implications of this for the practitioners.

Practices: Professional Craft and (Prescribed) Jurisdiction?

The pattern which emerges from the iterative movement of participants between the LDP and their institutions reveals the manner in which managerial work becomes coordinated and conditioned to be of a particular kind. Changes in the demands and expectation towards middle managers are met by the development of a managerial manifesto, resembling the idea and function of a professional craft, as described in Abbott's "The System of Professions" (1988).

Abbott's concept of *professional jurisdiction* (ibid) opens up a productive way of understanding the LDP and its role within the wider organisational complex. Abbott contends that professional development is best understood by concentrating on the actual tasks and work done by groups and the strength of their claims to fulfil these, thereby shifting focus from an individual to a systemic view of professions. In this system of professions, the cultural and social

acceptance of their ability to claim societal tasks as their own is described as jurisdiction, the broader task area and proper unit of analysis (ibid;110).

> *"the central phenomenon of professional life is thus the link between a profession and its work, a link I shall call jurisdiction. To analyze professional development is to analyze how this link is created in work, how it is anchored by formal and informal social structure, and how the interplay of jurisdictional links between professions determines the history of the individual professions themselves" (ibid; 20).*

Such jurisdictional claims are built upon the "craft" (ibid; 8) and knowledge system held by the given occupational group, providing them with practical techniques and levels of abstraction; ultimately equipping them with a repertoire to diagnose, infer and treat problems arising in relation to the given tasks within their jurisdiction (ibid;52). Therefore, rather than a linear and functional development of professions, Abbott contends that occupational groups compete over and defend their right to hold such jurisdictions, using their established system of knowledge as the base for these claims. This is an understanding which embraces the ontological and theoretical framework of the present study, focusing on the actual practices taking place and the practitioners involved in them.

> *"Since jurisdiction is the defining relation in professional life, the sequences that I generalize are sequences of jurisdictional control, describing who had control of what, when, and how. Professions develop when jurisdictions become vacant, which may happen because they are newly created or because an earlier tenant has left them altogether or lost its firm grip on them. If an already existing profession takes over a vacant jurisdiction, it may in turn vacate another of its jurisdictions or retain merely supervisory control of it. Thus events propagate backwards in some sense, with jurisdictional*

vacancies, rather than the professions themselves, having much of the initiative. This simple system model shows how a set of historical stories can be analyzed without assuming a common career pattern, as in the concept of professionalization."

From this perspective, the changing demands and translation tasks facing middle managers can be regarded as the opening of a jurisdictional gap, in this case arising in this from the creation of a new jurisdiction due to organisational restructuring, rather than because the previous tenants have left or lost control of it. The holders of this new jurisdiction are to be expected to manoeuvre reflexively between performance and control measures introduced by municipal and governmental reforms, and the daily operations and actualities of their institution and the occupational knowledge within it.

The resources and practices proliferated in the LDP can then be regarded as a formalised representation of the craft to be expected of public sector middle managers to fulfil this jurisdiction, providing an introduction to, and education within this abstract system of knowledge. This establishes a common system of knowledge from which they are expected to base their approach to work, becoming the basis for a renewed professional identity.

> *"From time to time, tasks are created, abolished, or reshaped by external forces, with consequent jostling and readjustment within the system of professions. Thus, larger social forces have their impact on individual professions through the structure within which the professions exist, rather than directly."* (Abbott, 1988, p. 33)

Findings from the present study show that the managers can be hesitant in adopting this knowledge system and reluctant to practice the craft, and that their participation in the programme is essentially mandatory. This indicates that the

process taking place is something other than that of an occupational group competitively vying for control over a jurisdictional gap. At the same time, participants were seen to embrace the LDP as an opportunity to reposition themselves strategically, into a more favourable position and secure their managerial position on the backdrop of an increasingly competitive organisational background. Perceiving the gap as a kind of "*prescribed jurisdiction*," assigned to middle managers, as tasks which they should accommodate within their daily work in a "politically led organisation" acknowledges previous criticism of Abbott's theory and its failure to appreciate the role of the state and other factors influencing the development of welfare professions within the welfare states of the Nordic context (Brante, 2005). Here the nature of the system of professions within the Danish public sector requires a different mode of understanding, than the system outlined by Abbott but the central ideas remain pertinent and applicable.

Looking at the work being done by these middle managers, there is a lot of translation to be done, with regular initiatives and reforms being introduced by the state and by the municipality. The resources and learning processes offered on the LDP can be seen to help in these tasks: the managers are found to accept them more readily and can complete these tasks in a more accomplished way. At the same time, they are still seen to be in the engine room of everyday operations and putting out fires in unforeseen situations. However, when situations arise in which they must operate within the new prescribed jurisdiction, they are not bamboozled. The *augmented operability* arising through participation within the LDP can therefore be seen to reflect the demands of the prescribed jurisdiction.

In this manner, the LDP can be seen as a governmental initiative to support a process of professionalisation, or indeed *re*professionalisation (Evetts, 2003;Noordegraaf, 2007) where the LDP becomes a set of proxy practices seeking to align managers to the reform agenda of the municipality, and equipping them to

appropriate the prescribed jurisdiction of translating the organisational agenda into their local institutions. This provides an organisational dimension to the process of professional learning (Elkjaer & Brandi, 2014) - towards professional management. Through the structuring of participants' legitimate and shared experimentation with a particular character of professional identity, the LDP can be seen to encourage experimentation with shifting managerial identities building upon a more organisationally oriented foundation, rather than the values and loyalties of their initial vocation as pedagogues.

Changing Jurisdictions and Changing Practices

The work of Abbott and the concept of jurisdiction is not alien to a practice theory approach, allowing consideration of how complexes of practices interconnect, change and shift across different groups of practitioners, with jurisdictional qualities changing as practices of education, socialisation and organisation fall under the remit of particular occupational groups (Blue & Spurling, 2017). In the present study, the opening of a jurisdictional gap can be seen to arise between municipal demands towards managerial practices and the actual competences, understandings and work being done by the situated practitioners. A gap between the organisationally desired practices and actual activities of practitioners is identified by the municipality and sought to be addressed. This manifests in the evolution of the diploma programme in leadership and its eventual status as a de-facto requirement for employment as a public sector middle manager in the municipality of Copenhagen. The managers are to be familiar with the craft in order to fulfil the prescribed jurisdiction; the practitioners are to be appropriately equipped and capable of carrying out the required practices.

Bringing these findings and observations into the framework and vocabulary of a Schatzkian practice theory ontology enables consideration of the implications of the relationship between the *practice-arrangement bundles* of the municipality,

the LDP and the local institution, as well as the conditions this provides for the managerial practices of the participants in the present study. To recap, Schatzki defines practices thus:

> *"As indicated, practices are organized nexuses of actions. This means that the doings and sayings composing them hang together. More specifically, the doings and sayings that compose a given practice are linked through (1) practical understandings, (2) rules, (3) a teleoaffective structure and (4) general understandings. Together the understandings, rules and teleoaffective structure that link the doings and sayings of a practice form its organization."* (Schatzki, 2002, p.77)

The LDP can be perceived as a *practice-arrangement bundle* specifically designed to influence the organisation of managerial practices, this allows consideration of how it facilitates their rehabilitation. The understandings, rules and teleoaffective structures – the legitimate means, ends and projects – propagated on the LDP offer a reorganisation of managerial practices. The documentation requirements of reforms and initiatives can be seen as explicit rules to be followed, the legitimation of teleoaffective structures which are to explicitly promote these initiatives, and practical and general understandings relating to managerial practices are reconfigured. The LDP can be perceived as a set of proxy practices, engineered to align and coordinate the organisation of situated managerial practices to those consistent with the agenda of the broader organisation.

Changing Practices and Changing Practitioners
The change in demands to managerial practices – the "prescribed jurisdiction," has implications for the practitioners and the character of the professional identities which become practically legitimate. It is not suggested that these practitioners simply become robotic organizational agents, but that the space for the person

within these managerial practices becomes more considered and conscious. Consideration of organizational conditions as shaping and being shaped by the capacity of the managerial practitioner to act within this prescribed jurisdiction can be illuminated by the idea of managerial action space, an idea which was found to be prevalent in the empirical study, as shown in chapters 3 and 7.

Managerial Action Space and Managerial Discretion

An emphasis on this *managerial action space* can be seen in the major policy reform (Regeringen 2007) which ultimately laid the foundation for the introduction of the diploma programme in leadership, and is also evident in advisory literature produced for managers cooperatively by the Danish trade unions and public sector employees (Jørgensen and Væksthus for Ledelse 2009; Rank Petersen and Væksthus for Ledelse 2008). Observations in the final module of the LDP, as detailed in chapter 7, show that it was also an element of the discourse in use among participants.

As detailed in Brødsgaard et al (2015) this idea of managerial action space can be traced to the concept of *managerial discretion* discussed by Hambrick and Fineklstein (1987). This is defined as the "latitude of managerial action available to a decision maker" (ibid) in a particular situation, and how this is enabled and constrained by three factors: the task environment, internal organisational characteristics and individual managerial characteristics. This is fitting to the understandings of the present study; where actions and agency are understood to arise within situated practices.

The concept of *managerial discretion* has predominantly been applied to understanding and evaluating the decision making processes of top-level managers and CEOs (Wangrow, Schepker, and Barker 2015; Espedal 2015). However, with the addition of a fourth factor in considering managerial discretion, namely the characteristics of different managerial tasks and activities (Finkelstein and Peteraf

2007), the underlying dynamics of the concept lend themselves perhaps even more to analysis of the work of middle managers, allowing their selection of tasks to be considered. This provides a potential theoretical definition of the elusive idea of *managerial action space* as the "latitude of managerial action." What is the latitude of managerial action available to the participants in the managerial practices observed in the present study?

Finkelstein and Peteraf (2007) describe managerial activity as "a discrete managerial function or task, involving a course of action that could be configured in a variety of ways," while acknowledging that the organisational setting means that the potential set of actions "may be broadly or narrowly circumscribed" (ibid; 239). It is suggested that a dynamic understanding of this relationship brings the manager's creation and selection of activities into focus, inferring that any changes to managerial skill sets or perspectives would influence the manager's ability to perceive, select and enact high discretion activities irrespective of the discretionary level offered to them within the organisational setting (ibid; 244). Essentially, the actions of the person come to the fore of the practices within which they are situated. What tasks do they choose to focus on and which courses of action are followed?

In the presentation of managerial discretion by Finkelstein and Peteraf, there is a clear distinction made between symbolic and substantive discretional domains, within which managerial courses of action can be undertaken.

> "*Broadly speaking, the chief executive can be thought to operate in a host of both substantive and symbolic domains* (Pfeffer, 1981; Romanelli & Tushmann, 1983). *Substantive domains include resource allocation, product market selection, securing resources, competitive initiatives, administrative choices (eg., reward systems and structure), and staffing. Symbolic domains include language, demeanour and*

personal action that the chief executive might use to alter or reinforce standards or values (Hambrick & Finkelstein, 1987).*"*

While the "internal organizational characteristics" for a chief executive and a middle manager in the public sector are different, the distinction made here between substantive and symbolic discretionary domains is informative. In the present study, it is clear that the discretionary domains within which the middle managers are operating are, for the most, symbolic, their latitude of managerial action and the courses of action selected by them are not seen to arise within the substantive domain. This is slightly different in the case of Sarah, who has substantive dimensions due to her position as institutional manager of an independent day care institution, and is therefore also capable of certain discretionary activities in the substantive domain, such as budgetary prioritization and recruitment of staff. The study would undoubtedly have looked different, had the participants all worked as cluster managers, with a much greater degree of activity in substantive discretionary domains open to them.

However, within the present study, the manner in which the participants identify and engage with *problematics* in the final exam project show that the courses of action selected involve discretionary activities in the symbolic domain. These selected activities largely target the managers' perception of how they present themselves, and their approach to communication with staff within established and accepted organisational conditions, rather than any giving rise to any attempts to seek to change troublesome organisational conditions. Consideration of Mary's definition of leadership, arising during the second qualitative interview conducted with her illustrates this and provides an interesting perspective:

> *"By leadership…I understand that, that I am attentive to whether I have followership. Because..you can say , I can…I have to set some frames for where we can be. What I mean, the difference between a*

leader and a non-leader considering that, that you are a little more boss-like, if you can say it like that, it is, that you include the personnel in the decisions that are to be made, and that is not the same as that all decisions must come up for discussion, because there are some decisions that shall not and cannot..because I also have a manager, and after all am employed in a politically led organization, so there are also some conditions there that you have to accept, because you have chosen to when you are employed such a place. But from the leeway there otherwise is, and the freedom of method[125] *there is, that is where I think, that it is me, that is involved in creating that direction, but I don't mean that I can….I can't create it alone… That is what I see as leadership." (Mary interview2: 15.03.2017)*

The account provided by Mary indicates that she is particularly aware of the extent of the discretionary activities available to her as a middle manager, where "there are just some conditions that you have to accept." Her focus on freedom of method suggests that it is precisely within the symbolic domain that she has the potential to shape her managerial work. Her latitude of managerial action and the course of action selected are expressed as the freedom to select particular methods and ways of translating the organizational agenda. The organizational problem becomes a managerial challenge which she must approach in a professionally appropriate manner. Mary selects a course of action targeted at designing how she communicates with her staff in order to successfully achieve this professional task. The LDP provides a veritable buffet of resources from which the managers can choose to achieve this, developing their own personalised *managerial manifesto* for the task. The discretion of middle managers becomes emphasized as a

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[125] In Danish: "Metodefrihed"

methodical discretion – *how* are they to complete the projects fitting to the organizational agenda?

This is the basis for a professional identity that evokes the words of the serenity prayer, a popular Christian prayer composed by the philosopher of religion Rienhold Niebuhr, which is, incidentally, sometimes referred to as the Leadership prayer:[126]

> *God, grant me the serenity to accept the things I cannot change,*
> *the courage to change the things I can,*
> *and the wisdom to know the difference.*

A consistent element emerging from analysis of the influence of the LDP is that the "thing" which is changed, is the managerial approach and understandings of the organisation and work within it. Remaining within the language of the serenity prayer, analysis shows that the LDP helps the participants to understand and accept that the organisational conditions cannot change, provides courage and opportunity for them to modify and adapt their own managerial approach, while remaining true to an understanding of their work as meaningful.

This is reflected in the manner in which Eve accepts the loss of autonomy in the shift from being an institutional manager, to an educational manager within a cluster structure. Her increased awareness and operability in symbolic domains, facilitated by participation in the LDP, can be seen to make this easier to accept, she comes to understand her work as educational manager as being just as – if not more – important than her earlier work as an institutional manager. Participation in the LDP can be seen to support acceptance of a shift of the locus of control (Wangrow, Schepker, & Barker, 2015, p.103) from being traditionally internal to increasingly external.

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[126] For further exploration of this prayer in relation to leadership and managerial work, see (Case & Gosling, 2007)

Findings suggest that the discretionary dimensions operationalised by the middle managers are largely within the symbolic domains, amounting essentially to working on the 'situated' self – identity work. (Alvesson et al., 2001) The LDP contributes to the participants' enlightened understandings of themselves, their position within the wider organisation and their relations to the staff. They become increasingly conscious of how they can approach their work strategically in order to achieve desired goals, where those of the organizational agenda are increasingly prioritized. Participation in the LDP could therefore be regarded as a process of appropriating the professional tools and craft introduced within it to diagnose, infer and treat their own managerial insufficiencies.

To continue in professional and medical terms, it could be regarded as facilitating self-medication. This echoes the answer offered to Eve earlier in the analysis, when she asked "where is the space for me?" The answer is, again, apparently: the "space for you is you." This is especially true of the managerial figure emerging from the LDP, where the identification of managerial action space is found to involve deliberate alterations and adaptation of professional identity – a tailoring which is ultimately bespoke to fit the organisation. In situated managerial work, however, instances are observed where the managers subvert the organisational agenda in order to ensure institutional operations continue in an optimal manner, within the prevailing conditions. This kind of managerial work and managerial action space is, however, not found to be included in the exam papers produced within the official regime of the LDP.

Chapter 12: Conclusion

The overall research interest for this doctoral study has been to investigate the organisational influences of a diploma programme in leadership, provided for managers employed within the municipality of Copenhagen. To this end, the broader problem statement for the study was, as follows:

> **In following selected participants in the Diploma Programme in Leadership, how are the educational and institutional practices seen to inform one another? How do participants navigate within and between these settings and what are the implications of this for their professional practices and identity? Ultimately, in what manner and to what extent does the programme have an organisational influence?**

To offer a succinct answer to this problem statement, it is found that the engineered intersection of the organisational practices of the municipality, the educational practices of the LDP and the institutional practices of the local day-care institutions are found to shape participants' approach to and enactment of situated managerial practices. The managers are found to engage actively with the LDP, drawing on the resources offered within it to develop a new articulation and understanding of their position within the organisation and the meaning, scope and orientation of their work – a reinterpretation of professional identity. This middle manager is, for the most, seen to become more compatible and aligned to its positioning within the organisation as a whole, where the horizons for managerial work are lifted beyond the interests of their local institution and staff. Therefore,

the findings of the present study suggest that the Diploma Programme in Leadership can be seen to facilitate a rehabilitation of the professional identity and work of middle managers, fitting to the wider organisational agenda of the municipality of Copenhagen.

From the theoretical and methodological approach undertaken within this study, establishment of *lines of transmission* between the *practice-arrangement bundles* of the municipality, the LDP and the local institutions are seen to shape the participants' approach to situated managerial practices. The identification of specific *standpoints* and *problematics* within these interconnected practices provided a position from which an explorative project of ethnographic enquiry could proceed. Following participants and their responses to *institutional texts*(Smith, 2005) and how these 'happen' in situated practices, it was possible to analyse how the managers negotiated this coordination in the LDP and their work, and how their activities within practices were oriented. The *practical intelligibility* (Schatzki, 2002) of the participants is seen to stretch, providing an extension in the repertoires of appropriate *managerial stances* available within their professional identities. In this way, the LDP facilitates learning, understood as the *augmented operability* (Schatzki, 2017a) of the managers within and across the practices in which they participate.

Approaching the answers provided for the individual research questions within the study incrementally provides warrants for the claims made above. These are summarised below.

Research Question1:
 How do the educational practices of the final module of the LDP shape professional identity?

> Analysis of material collected during observations of the final module of the LDP suggested that these shape the professional managerial

identity of practitioners in a particular way, providing a space for identity work, where *followership* to the organisational agenda becomes collectively legitimised and supported. The participants are seen to adopt organisational problems as managerial challenges, which are to be made actionable.

Research Question 2:

i:What are the characteristics of the standpoints of the selected participants, and which problematics do they identify for their final exam project in the LDP?

ii: What resources do they draw upon to address these problematics?

i: Analysis of interview material and exam texts produced by participants throughout the LDP shows that there are commonalities in the *standpoints* and *problematics* of the selected participants. The most important commonality is found to be that the final exam project of the LDP is used to actively engage with the translation of initiatives and reforms from the broader organisation into their local institutional setting.

ii: A common model for the managerial approach developed by participants in the LDP becomes apparent, where a social constructionist ontology and a systemic understanding of management drawing on domain theory and appreciative inquiry is articulated. This is termed as a "*managerial manifesto*" in the dissertation. Focus is trained on the significance of discourse, narratives and language, and the management of communication with staff, away from problems and towards desired futures – following the "Heliotropic principle" proliferated on the LDP.

Research Question 3:

How does managerial work become oriented in situated practices?

Shadowing intervals, following managerial work revealed that the strategic manager emerging from the LDP was more difficult to spot in everyday work, which was more occupied with problem solving and coordinating operations in a reactive manner. By focusing on instances where managerial work involved dealing with the coordination attempts of *institutional texts*, the *managerial stances* taken by the managers – whether they *buffered* or *brokered* between their local institution and the wider organisational agenda - became the unit of analysis. Here it was found that the managerial approaches displayed were consistent with the *managerial manifestos* produced in the LDP, working towards faithfully translating the organisational agenda.

This is not to say that the managers become robotic organisational agents. Instead, the shifting of stances between *brokering* and *buffering* could be seen, suggesting that the managers were capable and prepared to manoeuvre within these positions in the manner which was most meaningful to the given practices in which they were participating, and the communities of practitioners populating them. While this cannot be attributed causally to participation in the LDP, professional identities across the educational and organisational settings are found to be consistent.

Therefore, and idea of the LDP facilitating an *augmented operability* within and across these practices evoked the idea of the managers as possessing a double agency, capable of acting appropriately depending on the situation within which they found themselves. The flexibility, where middle managers are exercised in acting as double agents is seen to be consistent with the practices of the LDP. The managers'

ability to manoeuvre within and across different practices and the communities populating them is augmented.

Research Question 4:
How do participants, their staff and superiors reflect upon the influences of the LDP on managerial work?

> Qualitative interviews conducted with participants, their immediate superiors and their staff provides insights into their experiences and accounts of the influence of the LDP on managerial practices. The participants attribute huge significance to the LDP, where this is described as providing a new consciousness, building on reappraisal of their position within the wider organisation and the meaning and purpose of their work. Their staff is considerably more modest in their appraisal, where the most common response is that the only noticeable difference was that the managers were continually absent in order to attend sessions of the LDP. However, staff is found to attribute significance to specific elements of managerial work connected to participation in the LDP, when questioned more closely.

To offer an analogy drawing on the world of espionage and spy-movies, the managers are seen to be latent double agents, 'activated' in the appearance of institutional texts. When these texts are present and require their reading of them, the managers are seen to be capable of orienting their work towards both institutional and the organisational interests. Their actions are seen to be guided by the *practical intelligibility* available with the given circumstances - What makes sense? While this practical intelligibility has been stretched and augmented by their participation in the LDP, it does not mean they instrumentally follow these texts to the letter, using them instead to achieve that which makes most sense in

the given situation. They are prepared to *buffer* and *broker* on the background of what makes sense in the given circumstances.

This should not be taken to mean that the programme is found to have no influence, but that perhaps a more humble understanding of the functional effect of the LDP should be considered. A potentially important influence resulting from the LDP can be seen as the development of middle managers as double agents, capable of adopting managerial stances appropriate to the practices within which they find themselves, negotiating within, between and across them. They are prepared to adopt a broader repertoire of stances, not just characterised by leading, but also following. They become more adept at navigating the different languages and demands of the municipality, central organisation and managerial profession, while remaining engaged within the particularities of their local institution.

This is a shift which would arguably be capable of supporting a process of re-professionalization and the shift from the occupational manager to the organisational manager. If perhaps it may be excessive to term this as a re-professionalisation, then it can reasonably be regarded as facilitating an organisational rehabilitation of the middle manager to the nature of the tasks presented to them, and the manner in which they are expected to approach these. The metaphor of rehabilitation is particularly useful, and fitting to the ideas developed within the study. In this way, the educational practices of the LDP can be regarded as not dissimilar to a kind of physiotherapy, involving the active stretching and massaging of participants into the *managerial stances* to be adopted within the horizon of the practically appropriate professional identity.

Limitations and Avenues for Future Research

The emergent approach undertaken offers an interesting point of departure for future research, providing detailed insight into the practices and content of both the LDP, as well as situated managerial work. The observable learning trajectories

presented in the exam material is a valuable resource, which could be utilised in many different ways, through the development of a more structured analytical approach, building on the findings from the inductive method used within the present study.

The length of observations and shadowing periods could be increased to provide even more detailed insight into the relationships between the practices of a given LDP and those of situated managerial work. In particular, shadowing intervals of one whole week were found to provide an integrity and cohesion in the study, allowing specific issues and events to be followed over time. This would be the primary approach adopted in future shadowing, with less energy spent on specifically targeted shadowing of single days and meetings.

The study and analysis of situated practices and the manner in which these respond to the coordinating efforts of institutional texts is a promising avenue for further research. The application of stringent techniques as presented in the ethnomethodology tradition (Garfinkel, 1984; Heritage, 1988) and conversation analysis (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974; Schegloff, 2007) in particular would offer a more sophisticated and accomplished approach to investigating these situations.

The dialogue between social practice theory and social theories of learning is a challenging one, where clarity between the different concepts and how they relate to (and contradict) one another requires much more work. The delineation of what is a practice and what is an identity is a primary task which would be addressed, the lines between these are unavoidably blurry, but much can be done to make possible distinctions and delineation more clear and productive for analysis. An obvious avenue for an analytical sharpening would be to engage ideas of *identity work* (Petriglieri, 2011; Sveningsson & Alvesson, 2003) as an alternative vocabulary for focusing on tensions between practices and the person. This could

potentially provide a more mature set of analytical concepts against which concepts from the present framework could be sharpened. This could also compliment ideas of identity work by reframing them within a wider consideration of situated learning and learning processes more generally. Likewise a more detailed appreciation of power and power relations (Fleming & Spicer, 2014) and how these are to be understood within and across practice-arrangement bundles could provide a more fruitful approach than the rudimentary consideration of governance undertaken within the present study.

Contributions to Practice

What about what?

The study reveals that participation in the LDP facilitates an increased acceptance *that* the translation of reforms and initiatives from the municipality is a key aspect of the work of middle managers, through the renewed understanding of their position within the organisation in a wider sense. The practices of the LDP are also seen to equip the managers with an array of theories and tools, providing an enhanced repertoire of techniques for *how* this can be done in different ways. However, field work reveals that the primary obstacle in the successful translation of these initiatives is not necessarily resistance to them, or a lack of willingness to engage with them. Instead a fundamental lack of clarity and understanding of *what* these initiatives represent and entail is seen to be the major stumbling block – for the managers and for their staff.

From this perspective, the LDP is seen to successfully equip the participants with an acceptance that they must translate, providing a repertoire of tools and theories as to how this can be done, but this does not necessarily make their mediatory work more effective, when there is a limited understanding as to *what* it is they are to translate. From an organisational perspective, this would call for more attention to be paid to the specificities of the reforms and initiatives being introduced and

the way in which this is done. Each of the middle managers within the present study were operating with new reforms and initiatives which were, at best vague, and which depended on them making sense of them in their own terms. For example, the paucity of information available for Mary in her dealing with the Turn Around project, and the threat of increased evaluation haunting Sarah – while the details of what was to be evaluated, and how, were not forthcoming. Therefore, the clarity and quality of these reforms and the initiatives must be considered, rather than merely pointing towards managerial misunderstandings of them.

Within Which "Site of the Social:" the LDP or the Institution?

The analysis suggests that the LDP works towards the legitimisation of organisationally sanctioned managerial stances, which has a domesticating effect on managerial work. In the LDP, it becomes neither appropriate nor legitimate to illuminate nor operate on the boundaries of the municipal agenda in situated managerial work. The important managerial work observed in practice: the work of challenging, buffering, bowdlerizing, ignoring, manipulating organisational intitiatives becomes invisible as it does not fit within the understandings of legitimate managerial work presented on the programme.

If this were to be the case, then a wider spectrum of potential managerial stances should be explored, exercised and experimented with in practice - not only the instrumental form of brokering and translation of the municipal agenda into institutional practice as is seen to be the case. The LDP does something else, however. It provides a safe environment in which participants can support each other in the rehabilitation of professional identity and surrendering previously held notions of autonomy. The development of a collective professional identity – approaching managerial professionalism and departing from occupational professionalism can be seen to be supported through participation in the

programme. Here the participants become members of a community of practitioners building on a shared repertoire of understandings relating to their institutional situation and their understanding of the meaning of their work. The ontologies, theories and models offered on the LDP provide a language through which this membership and identity can be displayed and claimed.

The very removal of the managers from the work environment emphasises the disconnection between the educational practices and the institutional practices. The stated intention of the LDP for the managers to operationalise their local institution as an 'experimental laboratory' becomes inverted. Instead, the LDP becomes the laboratory in which managerial identities and stances are experimented upon. This can be seen to create a kind of "artificial intelligence" within a discrete and closed environment. There is therefore no way of knowing whether this artificial intelligence passes the "Turing Test" in and of everyday work. This distortion could possibly be corrected by shifting the focus of the experimentation and identity work back into situated managerial work.

As indicated in several methodological notes, the presence of an observer in this situated work provides occasion and opportunity for situated reflection in managerial practices. Mimicking this with structures peer supervision would provide a rich opportunity for learning - where the meaning of the work, and the goals and ends of engagement in specific tasks would become more explicit, where reflections and discussions on observed situated practices could wrestle them from their tacit status, potentially making them amendable.

Contributions to Research
The purpose of this section is to underline contributions to research which can be taken away from this doctoral study. Primarily the dissertation contributes to existing research concerning the organisational influence of leadership development, by offering a detailed qualitative study of a diploma programme in

leadership provided for middle managers within the municipality of Copenhagen. This provides a situated study of the links between a specific and LDP and its wider organisational context.

The ethnographic approach, informed by Dorothy Smith's Institutional Ethnography offers a method of enquiry beginning in the actualities of people's lived lives. By follows participants' iterative movement between educational and institutional settings, focus can be trained on how these interconnect and inform one another, and the implications that this has for professional identity. The focus on the textual coordination of social life draws attention in the study to the manner in which different texts are produced and negotiated by participants within and across the different settings, making the interconnections empirically observable. This offers a productive and qualified approach to empirically establishing links between different sites and practices.

Developing Followership - From Destructive Consent to Constructive Dissent?

Whereas previously, the practical intelligibility of mangers would be largely informed by the practices of the pedagogic profession, and would perhaps more traditionally question restructuring and reforms introduced by central administration, the practices of the LDP succeed in shifting these horizons. The factors organizing the practices of managerial work are altered, leading to greater acceptance of managerial principles and organizational agendas. This ultimately leads to consideration of whether it would be more representative to consider the practices taking place on the programme as offering a diploma programme in *followership*, as much as leadership. Here, the enduring organisational influence of the LDP would be equipping managers with a greater understanding of broader organisational conditions and acceptance of reforms and restructuring. This could be characterised as achieving a managerial approach characterised by followership

– building on an engaged and constructive dissent rather than destructive consent (Grint 2005). The intricacies of the complex relationship found between leadership and followership identities and how these can complement and contradict one another in the work of middle managers can be elaborated further through engagement with existing literature on these issues (Larsson & Nielsen, 2017; Uhl-Bien & Pillai, 2007; Uhl-Bien et al., 2014).

Managerial Action Space

Ideas of management space and managerial action space are prevalent within the present study, but it is an elusive phenomenon. The analysis reveals that this manifests predominantly as the work of the manager in accommodating the wider organisational agenda within the local institution, as well as within their own professional identity and managerial work. The managerial action space is found, for the most, to involve acceptance of organisational conditions, the commitment to work in continuation of these and the selection of a coherent approach. The managers are for the most unable to make decisions in "substantive discretionary domains," where the symbolic domain of their own discursive practices and approaches to work becomes that which they act in a discretionary manner. Therefore the professional craft of diagnosing, inferring and treating problems proliferated on the LDP, becomes targeted on themselves, where they attempt to address their own managerial shortcomings within the organisational conditions. The freedom to select appropriate methods of operating in an appropriate manner to the wider organisational agenda becomes the chief opportunity for discretion open to the managers. This offers a depiction of managerial action space, presenting a specific iteration which can enable further discussion and debate on how it is to be understood, and how it manifests empirically.

Managerial Stances

The social practice theory of Theodore Schatzki offers a conceptualisation of educational and institutional settings as representing interconnected bundles of social practices, allowing consideration of the movement of entities within and between them and the implications this has for the practices taking place. This offers a vocabulary for understanding and analysing the complexity of social practices. In order to gain a richer understanding of the interactions and learning of the people undertaking these practices, a dialogue between social practice theory and social learning theories is facilitated. This offers the opportunity for a bifocal perspective, to be trained on practices and the people populating them, where the shaping of the professional identity of middle managers can be explored. The idea of *managerial stances,* building on Ole Dreier's presentation of personal stances offers a tenderfoot approach to investigating the manager within managerial practices.

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