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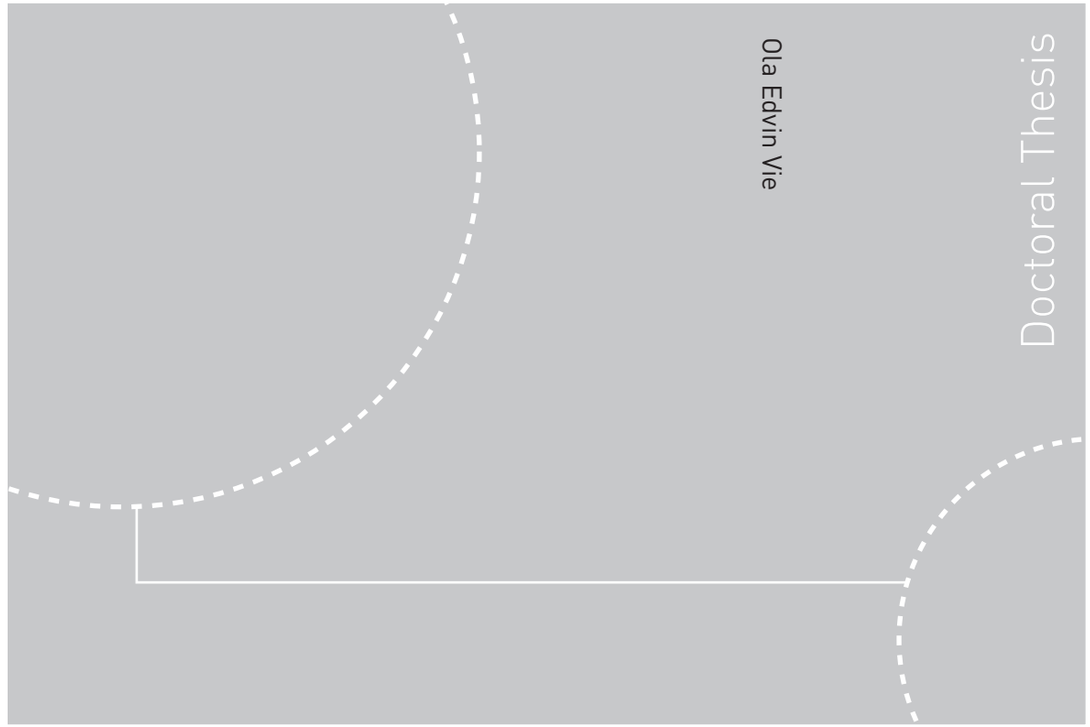

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Thesis for the degree of philosophiae doctor

Trondheim, August 2009

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ABSTRACT

Within the Managerial Work and Behaviour tradition, researchers have for nearly 60 years studied what managers do in their everyday work. However, these studies have to a little extent acknowledged the emotional nature of managerial work. In this thesis, I examine why and how managers engage in care towards their subordinates. Based on empirical data derived from shadowing four managers for a complete week each, supplemented with interview data from the manager and their co-workers, I show that managers accomplish care through mundane activities like listening and chatting. It is also evident that shadowing is a well-suited method for studying the emotional reactions from managers and others in organizations.

The research question "Why do managers engage in care?" is explored at three different levels of analysis. On the individual level I find that managers engage in care by observing that it can immediately reduce tension in a relationship. On the interpersonal level I find that managerial care affects co-workers both directly and indirectly through social influence processes. On the institutional level I find that managers engage in care because of authority derived from their formal position. Together these three explanations integrate the phenomena managerial care across micro and macro levels of analysis. I argue that the managerial authority also includes certain duties, which is influenced by the legal framework and more importantly by the employees' expectations. To manage other people, and especially having personnel responsibility, makes the manager more inclined to perform emotional labour. It is therefore important to recognize the positive aspects of care and also to observe the flip side of this coin.

My study shows that managerial care can be experienced as burden for those that must engage in it. My findings should encourage managers, management educators, and scholars to acknowledge emotions in organizations and particular to recognize the emotional burdens of being a manager. It is time to acknowledge that managers are human beings with emotions, both positive and negative, and that an understanding of these is necessary to understand the total nature of managerial work.

SAMMENDRAG

Innenfor forskningstradisjonen kjent som Lederarbeid og lederatferd, har forskere i mer enn 60 år studert hva leder gjør i sitt daglige arbeid. Disse studiene har i liten grad anerkjent lederarbeidets emosjonelle natur. I denne avhandlingen har jeg undersøkt hvorfor og hvordan ledere viser omsorg ovenfor medarbeidere. Basert på empiri fra å fotfølge fire leder for en hel uke hver, samt intervjudata fra lederne og deres medarbeidere, viser jeg at ledere utfører omsorg gjennom hverdagslige aktiviteter som lytting og å slå av en prat. Jeg viser også at fotfølging er en godt tilpasset forskningsmetode for å studere emosjonelle reaksjoner hos både ledere og andre i organisasjoner.

Forskningsspørsmålet om hvorfor ledere viser omsorg blir diskutert på tre ulike analysenivåer. På det individuelle nivået finner jeg at ledere kan vise omsorg etter å ha observert at det umiddelbart kan redusere spenningsnivået i en relasjon. På det mellommenneskelige nivået finner jeg at lederomsorg påvirker andre både direkte og indirekte gjennom sosiale innflytelsesprosesser. På et institusjonelt nivå finner jeg at ledere viser omsorg på grunn av autoriteten de har gjennom sin formelle posisjon. Til sammen integrer disse forklaringene fenomenet lederomsorg på tvers av mikro- og makroanalysenivåer. Jeg argumenterer for at lederes autoritet fører med seg bestemte plikter. Disse pliktene påvirkes både av det juridiske rammeverket, og i enda større grad av medarbeidernes forventninger. Å lede andre mennesker, og spesielt personalansvar, krever at ledere må utføre emosjonelt arbeid. Det er derfor viktig og ikke bare anerkjenner de positive sidene ved å vise omsorg, men også synliggjøre medaljens bakside.

Min studie viser at lederomsorg kan oppfattes som en byrde for de som må utøve det, og at omsorg er en viktig og integrert del av ledelse i organisasjoner. Mine funn bør oppmuntre ledere og forskere til å ikke bare anerkjenne følelser i organisasjoner, men også å anerkjenne byrdene av å være leder. Det er på tide å erkjenne at også ledere er mennesker med følelser, både positive og negative, og at en forståelse av disse er nødvendig for å forstå totaliteten av lederarbeidets natur.

PAPERS

This thesis is based on following papers:

Paper I. Vie, O. E. "*Have post-bureaucratic changes occurred in managerial work?"* Paper undergoing a second review.

Paper II. Vie, O. E., Wallin, M. W. & von Krogh, G. "*Reducing tension and promoting integration in the hyper-text organization - The importance of managers showing care."* Paper presented at the 9th EURAM conference 2009 and the 25th EGOS colloquium 2009.

Paper III. Vie, O. E. *"In search of influence - Leading knowledge workers with care."* Paper undergoing review, and previously presented at the NEON-conference 2008, Tromsø, NO.

Paper IV. Vie, O. E. (2008) *"Shadowing – A field technique for discovering emotions in work."* Revised version of paper presented at the 24th EGOS colloquium 2008.

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This PhD project was conducted at the Department of Industrial Economics and Technology Management (IOT) at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU). My visit to ETH Zürich was funded by the Norges tekniske høgskoles fond and a NTNU PhD Travel grant. I also wish to thank the companies where my study took place for covering travel and accommodation expenses during data collection, although the companies must remain anonymous due to participant confidentiality and anonymity.

My deepest gratitude is directed to the four managers that allowed me to shadow them for a whole week each. Spending almost every single minute at your workplace for an entire week with a curious stranger is an achievement in itself that deserves recognition. Thank you for your kindness towards me and others; I could not have done this thesis without you. I also wish to thank all the people encountered during shadowing observations, both those I interviewed afterwards and those who just happened to be at the same place as the managers I shadowed.

The two most important persons for my academic progress is my main supervisor, Monica Rolfsen (IOT, NTNU), and co-supervisor, Morten Levin (IOT, NTNU). I wish to thank Monica for her encouragement, advice, and patience with me and my numerous drafts throughout the whole process. Without Morten I would not have started my PhD project at all, nor visited ETH Zürich. Thank you for your inspiring comments and suggestions. I also wish to acknowledge the support and encouragement from my other colleagues at the 'top floor'. Roger Klev has been my neighbour across the hall for as long as I can remember. There have been many informal conversations, some of which have also been about research. Thanks to former and present PhD colleagues Frode Heldal, Jostein Engesmo, Torild Oddane, Erlend Dehlin, Thale Andersen, Roar Stokken, and Kristianne Ervik for discussion and encouragement. Special thanks to Ingunn Hybertsen Lysø, Kristian Mjøen, Kjersti Bjørkeng, Jonas Ingvaldsen, and Bjørn Haugstad; you have been my brothers, and sisters, in arms. Thank you for keeping the spirit up, and for discussing and showing care. I would also like to thank all participants at the monthly 'lønningspils' at the department. Finally, Carolyn Gale deserves praise for her outstanding, helpful and patience copy editing service. However, I take full responsibility for the final product.

The turning point for my PhD research was undoubtedly the four months I spent in Switzerland, staying at and participating within the Chair for Strategic Management and Innovation at ETH Zürich. Over many discussions, I was gradually convinced that I indeed

have some qualities as an academic. It was also extremely inspiring and helpful to be part of an environment that is so good and professional at the whole publication process. I will direct special thanks to Georg von Krogh for his unfaltering enthusiasm and good ideas, Martin W. Wallin for being an excellent discussion partner and being a good friend, and Heidi Remmen for pleasant interactions when we shared an office. I also wish to thank Sebatian Späth, Stefan Haefliger, Zeynep Erden, Seonwoo (Andrew) Kim, Matthias Stürmer, Peter Jäger, and Jan Henrik Sieg from the Chair, and Fredrik and Aino Hacklin, David Klang, Gilles Daniel, Martin Inganäs, and Fredrik Ullmann from the MTEC Department, for valuable comments, discussions and social pleasures.

During my PhD research, I also had contact with several editors, anonymous reviewers, conference conveners, and participants. Thank you all for your time and comments; I have improved my understanding of research and writing publications. Without your feedback I could not have learned as much as I have done, although I still have much to learn. I would also like to thank everyone that I have met and interacted with throughout my different organizational involvements. Without these experiences, I might not have sought to understand organizations, management, and leadership as deeply as I have done in my PhD project.

Finally, I would also like to thank my closest family members for their support and encouragement; not at least for reminding me that there are other important things in life besides research and publications. Although neither my toddler nephew Erik Andreas nor my baby niece Emma Marie have contributed directly to my research, they have undoubtedly made me take myself much less seriously and thus contributed enormously to the quality of my leisure time. Last, but definitely not least, I give my warmest gratitude and affection to my wife Gunnhild. Your indomitable faith in my abilities, help with reading proofs, help with other practical matters, being my sounding board, being my joy of life, and bearing with me through better or worse: I could not have made this accomplishment without you. I owe you a great deal, and this product is as much yours as mine.

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> "*The origin of this book should really be traced back ... to the time when, as a child, I wondered what my father did at the office. He was the president of a small manufacturing firm, but his job was not at all clear to a six-year-old. Some people operated machines, others typed letters. All he ever seemed to do was sit in his office, sign an occasional letter, and talk. What did managers do?"* (Mintzberg, 1973, p. viii)

1. INTRODUCTION

To care for someone creates an effect on another; and managers do show care to others within their organizations. In this thesis, I focus on these particular effects and attempt to understand how the concept of care is related to managing people. What managers do has attracted research interest since the 1951 classical study of executive behaviour by the Swedish researcher Sune Carlson. One of the most recurring findings throughout many years of research is that managers spend much of their time talking, as indicated by the above citation. In a review of earlier research, Hales (1986, p. 98) concludes that managers spend between two-thirds and four-fifths of their time communicating with other people. Human beings are basically emotional creatures; because people constitute an organization's emotions, understanding the emotional nature of work is also a vital part of any organization (see Fineman, 2003). This implies that when managers interact with others, they also deal with the emotions of these people. However, many newly-promoted managers are unprepared and surprised that handling people's emotions and feelings are such a vital part of being a manager (Hill, 2003; Watson & Harris, 1999).

A review of literature on managerial work and behaviour reveals that few have given attention to emotions in the interaction between managers and employees. Because managers are of flesh and blood with emotions and feelings, it is not surprising that they are also engaged in care towards their employees. Managers engage in care through mundane activities like listening and chatting. In this thesis I argue that such managerial care is an important and integrated part of managing and leading in organizations. I further argue that managers are engaged in care because on an individual level they learn through observation that care can immediately reduce tension and thus help integration in organizations. On an interpersonal level managers can see that care influences others, which can increase knowledge workers' loyalty and performance. On an institutional level, managers engage in care because of their formal position and authority. However, authority consists not only of rights and prerogatives, but also of duties and expectations from subordinates. I argue that

expectations to what personnel responsibility comprise, combined with legal definition and duties of this responsibility, guide the managers to engage in care. Because these duties are not completely in the managers' control, they feel this responsibility as an emotional burden, which also suggests that managers perform acts of emotional labour.

1.1 Reflections on my personal background

I would like to begin the section with some reflections on my background and how that I developed interest in the subject of this thesis. The opening paragraph in the preface of Henry Mintzberg's *The nature of managerial work* (1973), resonates well with how my own curiosity and interest for organization, management and leadership was raised. In contrast to Mintzberg, my father was not a president of a firm, but instead a farmer. However, being a farmer is not necessarily just about animals, plants, livestock, machines, and working the land; it may also be about organizational issues through participation in agriculture associations, political constructs, and the agricultural co-operative industry. My father was involved in all three types of the above organizations, on boards, and assemblies at various levels all the way to the national level. For as long as I can remember, he often had to travel somewhere to attend some type of meeting, but what exactly did people do at these meetings? He had a home office: a room stuffed with books, documents, and papers; and he talked a lot on the telephone. Was this what managers were doing in everyday life?

As a youth, I started to unravel some of these questions by first entering a party organization and attending meetings. Experiencing the different management styles various people applied to these meetings triggered my interest in organization and leadership. This interest also guided my choice of studying for a Masters degree in Industrial Economics and Technology Management, and later to another Masters degree in Personality Psychology. However, being engaged in an organization was not just about attending formal meetings; it was also about getting to know, and getting close to, other people. Typically, the formal and social program was marked as separate realms on the many conferences I attended around the country, although both were emphasized as important. In hindsight, I see clearly how the informal social interaction was the glue that kept the organization together, and was the most vital fundament to prevent heated discussions to be factual and not become personally toxic. The more experienced members took responsibility to include everyone in the ongoing social activities on equal terms, but even more importantly; everyone looked after each other so nobody was left behind. I did not recognize it then, but now I realize that the most crucial

responsibility of the elected political leaders was to care for thus they had responsibility for, and especially for newcomers like me.

During my studies at the university I learned the same lesson in different organizations. When I took part in UKA, the biannual student culture festival and the largest cultural festival in Norway, I was one of approximately 1400 students volunteering to bring all the numerous events to life. Students are attracted to take part in such organizations because we like to be socially involved with others. Again, this experience showed that if a group has fun together and takes care of each other, then they have a solid foundation to do their tasks well. Successful leaders in UKA know that they have to provide care for their unit, and do this mainly through arranging social gatherings, both within and across different units.

I also entered university and student politics, which lead me to positions at the board of the Student Welfare Association in Trondheim. Again my experience was that friendly social interaction among board members and administration helped the board to function well. Not only did we have a lot of fun, but the developed friendships also helped to resolve criticism in a constructive manner. However, positions as a board member also put me in close contact with many others within the organization. Having access to and spending much time at the headquarters interacting and observing managers lead to a revision of my interest. From being curious about what happens in a board meeting, I became eager to understand what managers did between meetings. From regular visits, I observed that this organization was not that different from my other experiences of volunteer organizations. There were plenty of social gatherings, and most people tried to be generally pleasant towards others. However, I did not yet recognize the role managers played to foster care and concern in organizations. This revelation came finally upon me during this PhD-project.

1.2 Finding my research approach

My initial research interest when I started my PhD project was to grasp what managers do in the everyday. Surprisingly, my educational background from the fields of organization and leadership did not provide me with satisfactory answers. My impression at that time was that the literature, in particular the introductory textbooks, rarely dealt with everyday experiences of managers. However, not only did I seek answers to this question, I also wanted to get as close as possible to managerial practice; I wanted to experience and see what it is like to be a manager.

The research approach that could best help me achieve these objectives was found within the managerial work and behaviour approach (MWB) (Stewart, 2008). MWB is a

distinct approach which is both empirical and inductive in its orientation (Noordegraaf & Stewart, 2000). Scholars within this approach focus on what managers do and how to understand such work. Studies have focused on the form and content of managerial work by collecting behavioural data about individual managers to understand managerial work as a whole. There are several different methodological approaches available within this tradition (see Mintzberg, 1973, p. 229ff, for a review), but because I sought a deep understanding of what managers do, shadowing was the most appropriate method for my study. McDonald (2005, p. 456) defines shadowing as "… a research technique which involves a researcher closely following a member of an organization over an extended period of time."

The shadowing method resonates with Barley and Kunda's plea (2001) for bringing work back into organizational studies. According to the authors, closing the widening gap between organizational theories and reality can be accomplished by applying more field methods that can generate further empirical data on what people actually do in organizations. In contrast to the "… highly romanticized, heroic views of leadership" (Meindl, Ehrlich, & Dukerich, 1985, p. 79), Alvesson and Sveningsson (2003c) draw attention to the more mundane aspects of leadership like listening, chatting, and being cheerful. Based on these studies, one of the main objectives with this thesis is to provide a more empirically-grounded understanding of managerial work and behaviour to promote a more realistic picture of managers' everyday activities and experience.

Few leadership research studies have given much attention to emotions (see Humphrey, 2002), with the recent exception of George (2000), Dasborough and Ashkanasy (2002), and Dasborough (2006), all of whom argue that emotions are central to leadership as a social influence process. A growing interest in emotions is also evident from a number of edited volumes by Stephen Fineman (1993; 2000b; 2008), where several researchers present studies that show how emotions are embedded in organizations. It is also evident in the establishment of positive organizational scholarship (POS) initiated by Jane E. Dutton among others (Dutton, 2003; Quinn, Dutton, & Cameron, 2003), which seeks to understand how positive emotions can energize organizations. Others have recognized that management in knowledge-intensive firms sometimes play on emotions to accomplish normative control (Alvesson, 1995, 2004; Kunda, 1992).

Despite increasing interest in these issues, and "a significant emotional dimension to managerial work" (Watson, 1994/2001, p. 180), surprisingly few MWB studies have given attention to managers' feelings and emotions. However, presuming that human beings—and the relationships between them—are fundamentally emotional, the personal and emotional

aspects of a person can never be kept totally apart from their professional aspects. As noted by Solomon (1998), even though caring in corporations is sometimes denied, people working in these corporations can, and do, care about one another. Together with my own experiences with various organizations, this suggests that care is an important ingredient in managers' everyday activities and experience.

However, despite the commonsense tone in this reasoning, the emotional nature of managerial work is disregarded in general. This is a serious neglect because many newly-promoted managers are unprepared to handle emotions and feelings (Hill, 2003; Watson & Harris, 1999). After a while, unpreparedness is overcome by gaining experience in managing, but as interviews reported by Watson and Harris (1999) show, it takes quite some time to adapt to being in the position of manager. To advance and acknowledge emotions in management and organizations can hopefully reduce the amount of time it takes to become a manager as well as reduce the initial level of ambiguity in this period. It is therefore necessary to promote a more realistic picture of managers' everyday activities and experiences to take emotions into account. The main objective with this thesis is to explore the emotional aspect of care in mundane managerial activities.

1.3 Care and my overall research question

Care has been conceptualized in various ways. Webster's Dictionary defines care as "painstaking or watchful attention", while Oxford Dictionary defines care as "serious attention, a feeling of concern and interest". Milton Mayeroff (1971, p. 1) has the following definition: "to care for another person, in the most significant sense, is to help him grow and actualize himself". Notice the similarity between this definition and Burn's (1978) definition of transformational leadership as "engagement with each other to raise one another to higher levels of motivation and morality". What is perhaps underemphasised in these definitions of care is that to help someone grow not only calls for providing support, but also to provide challenge (Liedtka, 1999).

The expression 'to care for' is a fascinating ambiguous expression, which could refer to an activity (without necessarily containing emotion) or to a set of feelings (without necessarily being expressed through action) (Solomon, 1998). This ambiguity is also reflected in Heidegger (1962), who differentiates between a dominating and authentic care for others. Eide (2006) explains dominating care as manipulative, cure-like, and determinate, where others are relegated to passive objects without the right to speak or interact as equal partners with valuable knowledge. On the other hand, authentic care is about taking care together,

which also implies taking care of things like food on behalf of and with concern for the other. For Heidegger, to take care of others means to direct and relate to other people through continuous interaction.

Although care usually is introduced and portrayed as something purely positive, it can also be a burden. According to Solomon (1998), to care for someone can not only involve supporting and nurturing affection, but also involve being possessive, vengeful, and hurtful. He further elaborates that caring can be conceived as taking another's interest as one's own, which could be illustrated by a leader defending the interest of his or her followers despite the danger of personal reprisals. Solomon (1998) continues by noting that while care is directed towards someone in a close relationship, compassion can be directed towards millions of people at a safe distance.

The concept of care has also been applied within knowledge management literature. Von Krogh (1998), building on the definition provided by Mayeroff, argues that care is essential for innovation in companies, because high-care relationships can promote creativity and knowledge sharing by overcoming mistrust, fear and isolation. Together with co-authors, he identifies a number of practical steps managers could take to enable strong, positive relationships for knowledge creation with the use of care. Managers are encouraged to create trust, to increase active empathy, to foster helping behavior, to act as mentors and promote lenience in judgment, and to instill courage as central values in the organization (von Krogh, 1998; von Krogh, Ichijo, & Nonaka, 2000). However, I find it unlikely that increased knowledge sharing is the only outcome when managers are engaged in such activities of care. This, together with the call from Hales (1999b) to move beyond studying what managers are doing to why managers do what they do, informs the research question which I address in this thesis: *Why do managers engage in care?*

The research question is explored in three empirically-based papers, one methodological paper that includes empirical illustrations, and this introductory and unifying paper. Following this introduction, I proceed to the Literature Review in Section 2, reviewing important aspects of relevant literature building upon the lines drawn thus far. Here I also formulate three subordinate research questions that together provide answers to the overall research question. In Section 3, I discuss the methodological considerations, while providing summaries of the individual papers in Section 4. In Section 5, I discuss the primary research question in light of the results from these papers. Finally, I draw conclusions and provide implications for both management and future research in Section 6.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

The aim with this section is to clarify central concepts and to develop subordinate research questions that can provide answer to the overall research question. I start with clarifications and discussions of central concepts for the thesis; what is a manager, and what constitutes managerial work, activities and behaviour. Then, I discuss relevant weaknesses in the MWB approach. Based on the review and discussion, I outline my approach to answer the overall research question, before narrowing the discussion, which concludes with the formulation of research questions. I end the section with a summary of all research questions and the connection between them. However, my starting point is to define managers and management before discussing what constitutes managerial work, activities and behaviour.

According to Grint (1995, p. 46), neither the typical definitions of a manager as "a person who manage", nor management as "the act or process of managing, executive ability, persons managing the enterprise", are really helpful. More informative definitions are provided by Watson (2006, p. 167), who defines management as "the overall shaping of relationships, understandings and processes within a work organization to bring about the completion of the tasks undertaken in the organization's name in such a way that the organization continues in the future", and managers as "those people given official responsibility for ensuring that the tasks undertaken in the organization's name are done in a way which enables the organization to continue in the future". Management is thus a necessary function that can be carried out by one or more managers, but also non-managerial person can and do contribute to the process of management. The reverse is also true, and although a manager is conceived as a formal position, he or she can also carry out technical functions or non-managerial work activities whilst at work (Hales, 2001, p. 7).

My methodological approach positions my research within the managerial work and behaviour approach (MWB) (Stewart, 2008). I have followed this approach, and taken a positional orientation to management through studying those who are formally appointed as managers (Noordegraaf & Stewart, 2000, p. 432). Stewart (1976, p. 4) defines a manager as "anyone above a certain level, roughly above foreman", and middle managers as "all those below the small group of top strategic managers and above first-line supervision" (Dopson, Risk, & Stewart, 1992, p. 40; Livian, 1997, p. 4). I adopt both definitions in this study. This positional orientation also has implications for discussions around the popular distinction between managers and leaders (e.g. Kotter, 1990; Zaleznik, 1977). Alvesson and Sveningsson (2003c) point out that the border and overlap between the two concepts is considerable. Because they found that managers doing everyday mundane activities, like chatting and

listening, were viewed as leaders, I will follow Dasborough (2006) and use the terms leaders and managers interchangeably.

What separates managerial tasks from other tasks? Whitley (1989) argues that managerial tasks are relatively little standardized, changeable, involves developing routines and restructuring, and rarely leads to overt outcomes that can be associated with individual inputs. However, as Grint (1995, pp. 46-47) counter-argues, is this really different from tasks performed by most soldiers in war? He similarly argues that what managers do—lead, liaise, monitor, allocate resources, maintain production, maintain peace, innovate, plan, and control—is not different from what parents do in their families. This suggests that such activities are only managerial because they are ascribed as actions of management conducted by managers (Alvesson & Sveningsson, 2003c).

I will return briefly to Stewart (2008), because I wish to comment on the fact that she is the first to name this approach the managerial work and behaviour approach (MWB). This is a rather lengthy name for a research approach, but it is actually a great accomplishment to unite the various names used previously. Both 'managerial work' and 'managerial behaviour' have been applied to describe this field of research. Although the terms managerial behaviour and managerial work are often used interchangeably, they are not synonymous (Hales, 1986). According to Barnard (1938, p. 13) "an important characteristic of individuals is activity; and this in its gross and readily observed aspects is called behaviour." However, the emphasis in managerial behaviour studies is usually context-free (Hales, 1986), and thus managerial work has been used to indicate a more contextual orientation. Because both understandings are prominent within this approach, it is a wise idea to include both terms in the name of the approach, as is done by Stewart (2008).

The main strength of studies within the MWB approach is an inductive and empirical micro-level orientation to managerial everyday practice, in contrast to the more mainstream prescriptive and normative management theory (Noordegraaf & Stewart, 2000). However, the MWB approach also has weaknesses which are relevant to address in this thesis. First, the approach is accused for being overly atheoretical and too descriptive (Hales, 1986, 1999b). Although Noordegraaf & Stewart (2000) try to repel this accusation, it is still evident that studies within this approach have made little effort to link findings to the general theoretical developments within management and organizational research, and vice versa (Tengblad, 2006). This can be explained by the oppositional orientation of the approach, or its status as unfashionable, which both reduce the likelihood for other scholars to follow up on new

avenues of suggestions (Stewart, 2008). This implies that it is necessary for me in this study to also consider other theoretical bodies of literature.

Second, Hales (1999b) argues that MWB has been too preoccupied with describing and documenting variation in managerial work at the expense of considering commonalities in managerial work. He argues further that this has led to too much attention on what managers do, and too little on why managers do what they do. Finally, he suggests a model in which he points out the institutionalized characteristics of managerial responsibilities as an explanation for commonalities. This implies that I also need to take the institutional level into account when trying to understand why managers engage in care.

Third, as also stated in the introduction, the MWB approach has neglected emotions, although "there is a significant emotional dimension to managerial work" (Watson, 1994/2001, p. 180). In this regard, the MWB approach does not stand outside the normal organizational and administrative discourse, which has suppressed or at least marginalised emotions and feelings in the work place (Fineman, 1994). This implies that I need to consider other bodies of management literature.

Alvesson and Kärreman (2001, p. 1000) are critical to knowledge management scholars who use a vocabulary of community, sharing, caring, and nurturing social relations. The two authors argue that such concepts give the management an extremely weak and limited role, compared to the conventional ideas of management as a bureaucratic phenomenon associated with hierarchy and control. Despite this criticism, I find knowledge management literature appealing in my search for relevant literature on managerial emotions because of its focus on 'softer' management practice (see e.g. Newell, Robertson, Scarbrough, & Swan, 2002).

Von Krogh, Ichijo and Nonaka (2000, p. 4) point out that the concept of knowledge management becomes rather limited if information technology and measurement tools are overemphasized. They acknowledge that the term management implies control, but argue that the process of knowledge creation is uncontrollable, or at least stifled by heavy-handed direction. They propose that instead of controlling knowledge creation, managers should rather support the process through knowledge enabling. "At a deeper level, however, it relies on a new sense of emotional knowledge and care in the organization, one that highlights how people treat each other and encourage creativity-even playfulness" (2000, p. 4). Their emphasis on care as an important enabling factor for learning and innovation is grounded in their view that human skills that drive knowledge creation are based on relationships and community building (2000, p. 27). High-care relationships can thus overcome mistrust, fear

and isolation and promote voluntary knowledge sharing (von Krogh, 1998; von Krogh, et al., 2000). Von Krogh (1998), building on the definition provided by Mayeroff stated in the introduction, defines care rather broadly as the five dimensions of mutual trust, active empathy, access to help, lenience in judgment, and courage. Although I endorse this understanding of care, I think it is also necessary to determine the kind of managerial activity that care is expressed through. For a broader discussion of care, I refer the reader back to the discussion in Section 1.

When describing the dimension of active empathy, von Krogh et al (2000, p. 50) explain that one cares for others through "active questioning and alert observation", and through a "listening and questioning attitude" in conversational dialogue. This is very similar to the mundane leadership activity of listening by Alvesson and Sveningsson (2003c). Von Krogh (1998, p. 145) also suggests that managers can cultivate care through social events like informal chats around the water cooler, which likely stimulates good relations. This conceptualization is indeed very similar to concept of chatting, which is the second major mundane leadership activity (Alvesson & Sveningsson, 2003c). Although the main objective in Styhre, Roth and Ingelgård (2002) is to relate the concept of care to collective sense-making (see also Weick, 1995; Weick & Roberts, 1993), it is interesting to note some of their excerpts. One researcher emphasized the importance of "listening leadership", while the project leader emphasized "walking around and talking to people", i.e. coffee breaks (2002, p. 516 & 512), which both seem to be in accordance with Alvesson and Sveningsson (2003c). Based on these studies, I suggest that care is expressed through the ordinary and mundane activities of listening and chatting.

However, there are also some shortcomings with knowledge management literature that make it difficult to rely on this research field alone. Firstly, knowledge management literature has given priority to the firm level, which has resulted in little attention to the micro level and the linkage between micro and macro level (Nonaka & Peltokorpi, 2006). Secondly, knowledge management scholars have been more interested in theorizing about knowledge than about management (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2001). Field techniques to gather detailed data on what managers actually do are seldom applied within this research field. This means that empirically-detailed studies highlighting the relationship between managers and employees is also lacking. I therefore needed to search for other relevant fields of research that could help me understand care between managers and employees.

Leadership is one of the research traditions that recognized the importance of relationships between managers and employees for the longest time. However, its long history

of leadership supportiveness stretches back to studies conducted at the Ohio State University, which focused on unravelling the behavioural indicators of effective leadership (see Stogdill, 1950). These studies isolated two factors known as Consideration and Initiating Structure (Fleishman, 1953), which corresponds to employee- and production-centred leadership from the studies at the University of Michigan (see Likert, 1961). The first style has a strong focus on production and work accomplishment, while the second is about a clear interest in the workers as human beings. Perhaps the most well known model of managerial behaviour and leadership is the Managerial Grid developed by Blake and Mouton (1964), which suggests that individuals scoring high on both task-oriented and relations-oriented leadership behaviour perform better as leaders.

These approaches to leadership research were developed in reaction to the previously dominant trait approach. One of the main critical arguments against the trait approach to leadership was a lack of a uniform framework of personality (Northouse, 2004; Yukl, 2002). However, as is noted by Yukl (2002) and Clegg et al (2005), the five-factor model of personality theory (McCrae & Costa, 1995) has now been recognized as the most reliable trait based measurements of personality. The five dimensions are: Neuroticism (N) represents the tendency to experience negative emotions such as anxiety, insecurity and depression. Extraversion (E) is the disposition to sociable, assertive and to experience positive affects as energy and zeal. Openness to Experience (O) represents the tendency to be curious about inner and outer world, as well as imagination and preference for variety. Agreeableness (A) is a dimension of interpersonal tendency to be altruistic, trusting, compliant and sympathetic to others. Conscientiousness (C) contains qualities as planning, organizing, achievement striving, punctuality and reliability.

Interestingly, Agreeableness, the dimension thought to correspond best to a supportive leadership style, has low correlations significantly with job performance for managers (Barrick & Mount, 1991; Barrick, Mount, & Judge, 2001; Salgado, 1997). In another meta-analysis by Judge et al. (2002), the correlations coefficients between leadership effectiveness and Agreeableness was significant, but the regression analysis concluded that the dimension was not significantly predictive of leadership effectiveness. These negative results discourage me from pursuing a trait and personality approach to my study of care.

In contrast to the trait approach, the importance of supportiveness from leaders is recognized as key in R&D organizations within leadership research (for reviews of R&D leadership research see Elkins & Keller, 2003; Farris, 1988; Scott & Bruce, 1998). Traditionally, leadership has not been very concerned with innovation and R&D, although

this has been markedly changed with the two-part special issues of *The Leadership Quarterly* on *Leading for Innovation* (2003-2004), where one of the main conclusions is that leadership and leader behaviour make a difference on innovation (Mumford & Licuanan, 2004). Although technical expertise and creative problem-solving skills are usually regarded as the most essential skills for leading creative people (Elkins & Keller, 2003), Pavett and Lau (1983, 1985) found that all R&D managers rated human skills as most important for a successful job performance. This is also confirmed in a more recent article which found that technical skills became less important and people skills became more important after succeeding with providing a stimulating environment (Cordero, Farris, & DiTomaso, 2004). Although these studies point to the importance of people skills, leaders' capability to care has been recognized only by a few leadership authors. Sashkin (2004) equals caring with demonstrating respect and concern for people, while Sarros and Santora (2001) equal caring with treating people like individuals. Interviewing R&D leaders and employees about the spirit of their communities, Judge, Fryxell and Dooley (1997) noted that family feeling, trust, and care were commonly used to describe the culture.

Despite the long history of attention to leadership support, few leadership scholars have given much attention to emotions (see Humphrey, 2002). However, more recent leadership research, like George (2000), Dasborough and Ashkanasy (2002), and Dasborough (2006), argue that emotions are central to leadership as a social influence process. Dasborough and Ashkanasy (2002), argue that leadership is intrinsically an emotional process in a study on the transformational qualities of leader-member relationships focused on the perceived intentionality of leader behaviour. The emotional nature of leader-member exchange and interaction was later confirmed in an empirical article by Dasborough (2006). Zhou and George (2003) recognized the importance of shaping followers' emotions in a creative setting, while Pirola-Merlo et al. (2002) found that a transformational leadership style could help buffer the negative impacts from obstacles on R&D teams.

What these leadership studies—especially those based on transformational leadership or leader-member exchange (LMX)—highlight is the importance of not only managers/leaders' behavior, but also of employees and their reactions. Leadership studies echo knowledge management literature when noting that creative people value autonomy (Mumford, Scott, Gaddis, & Strange, 2002; Oldham & Cummings, 1996) and dislike to be directed by a supervisor (McAuley, Duberley, & Cohen, 2000). The implications are the same: leaders of creative people cannot appear to be controlling without risking severe resistance; therefore, a more supportive leadership practice is encouraged. The need for

'softer' management practice in this setting has been recognized at least since Burns and Stalker (1961). Interestingly, Burns started out with writing MWB articles (see T. Burns, 1954; 1957).

There are also many connections between leadership research and the MWB approach. Mintzberg (1973, p. 19ff & 209ff), for instance, includes the Ohio State Leadership Studies in his review of earlier research, and many leadership studies (see e.g. Bass, 1990a; Bedeian & Hunt, 2006) include references to managerial work studies, especially Mintzberg (1973). It is also worth to note that both the works of Rosemary Stewart and Leonard Sayles have been covered in Leadership Classics features in the journal of *Leadership Quarterly* (Lowe, 2003; Osborn, 1999). In this light, it is indeed interesting to also note how Stewart (2008, p. 50) makes an effort to set the MWB approach apart and in contrast to leadership studies, and especially simplistic quantitative studies.

Also, several critical management scholars have defied such research and argue that respondents subordinate themselves to predefined and standardized responses (Alvesson, 1996; Alvesson & Sveningsson, 2003b; Deetz, 1996). They argue that the rich diversity of the social world is thus suppressed and forced within a frame shaped by the researcher's assumption, design and procedure to sustain an impression of objectivity. I do not intend to resolve this discussion, but both critical and more mainstream scholars agree that large parts of managers' mundane and everyday activity, like listening, are marginalized in the contemporary leadership field (Alvesson & Sveningsson, 2003c; Bryman, 1996; Yukl, 2002).

This criticism also applies to the emerging leadership literature on emotions. All the empirical articles reviewed above relied on quantitative data as most leadership studies, with the exception of Dasborough (2006) who makes a quantitative content analysis based on qualitative data. Although the number of qualitative leadership studies has increased, observation methods have rarely been used (Bryman, 2004). I will argue, in line with Barley and Kunda (2001, p. 84), that field techniques to gather detailed data on what people actually do in an organization are highly valuable. In addition, I will also argue that such data on everyday activities can provide sound empirical basis for studies of emotionality in organizations (see also Fineman, 2000a). Because the main strength of the MWB approach is to provide such detailed empirical data, this approach is quite complementary to both leadership and knowledge management research. Together, the individual strengths of these theoretical bodies of literature can be applied to cancel out their respective weaknesses. They will therefore be applied in the following theoretical discussion that concludes with subordinate research questions for this thesis.

However, before I start with these discussions, it is necessary to recapitulate the discussions and conclusions so far. This section started with clarifications and discussions of central concepts for the thesis like what is a manager and what constitutes managerial work, activities and behaviour. This was followed by a discussion of relevant weaknesses in the MWB approach. Because the approach is rather atheoretical and descriptive (Hales, 1986, 1999b), and because it has neglected emotions in organizations, I was forced to consider alternative management literature to inform my overall research question. I found that knowledge management literature, with its focus on 'softer' management practice, was relevant for my study, especially the conceptualization of care by von Krogh (1998; von Krogh, et al., 2000). However, because knowledge management literature has given priority to the firm level (Nonaka & Peltokorpi, 2006), it was necessary to consider even more relevant fields of research. I found that leadership research has a long history of recognition of the importance of supportive relationships between managers and employees. This has also been recognized as being important for leading creative people in R&D organizations (Elkins & Keller, 2003), as part of a more recent leadership research interest in innovation and R&D (Mumford & Licuanan, 2004). However, the emerging leadership studies on emotions, as most leadership studies, rely usually on quantitative data, which uphold a distance between data and everyday organizational reality. Following both Fineman (2000a) and Barley and Kunda (2001), I conclude that the MWB approach can complement both leadership and knowledge management theories with its empirical orientation to collects contextual and detailed empirical data.

To summarize, I combine the empirical orientation of the MWB approach with a focus on emotions and care from knowledge management literature, together with leadership literature that focuses on the relationship between managers and employees. However, this combination is preoccupied at the interpersonal level and thus promotes a too-narrow frame for answering the overall research question "*Why do managers engage in care?*" Following Hales (1999b), who states that the MWB approach has been too little concerned with commonalities and the institutional level of the management, I also consider the impact from the managers' formal position and authority in the upcoming discussions. However, to stay clear from an overstatement of the importance from institutional level, I will start the discussion in the next subsection with a clarification of the amount of choice managers have, which is one of the oldest debates within the MWB approach.

2.1 Managers' choice and learning to engage in care

Already in the first study within the MWB approach, Sune Carlson (1951/1991, p. 46) (see also Tengblad, 2003) raised a concern that the CEO was like "…the puppet in the puppet-show with hundreds of people pulling the strings and forcing him to act in one way or another." This study initiated not only the MWB approach, but also the work activity schools within this approach. Carlson's pioneering study of managers was the first to describe how top managers distributed their time among different tasks, activities, contacts, media, locations, and groups of people. Following this study, a number of other work activity studies were also recorded, measuring time allocation by applying the diary method (T. Burns, 1957; Dubin & Spray, 1964; Horne & Lupton, 1965; Stewart, 1967/1988), activity sampling (Kelly, 1964) or direct observation (Guest, 1956; Jasinski, 1956; Walker, Guest, & Turner, 1956).

The next major contribution in the debate concerning whether managers were in control came with *The nature of managerial work* by Henry Mintzberg in 1973. This study is probably the most citied and most well-known MWB and work activity study, and although the study inspired numerous other studies (see Martinko & Gardner, 1985, 1990) it also drew critics (e.g. Carroll & Gillen, 1987; Hales, 1986; Willmott, 1987). Mintzberg's study attracted attention both with his award winning article in the *Harvard Business Review* (1975), and nearly identical replications by Kurke and Aldrich (1983). Later, Mintzberg (1990, 1991) expressed disappointment with the lack of new research following his 1973 study. Instead it was followed by a number of replications (Kurke & Akdrich, 1983) and studies demonstrating merely correlations between managerial work and other variables (Allan, 1981; Kraut, Pedigo, McKenna, & Dunnette, 1989; Whitley, 1989). However, work activity studies have grown in number and especially comparative studies in different countries (Akella, 2006; Boisot & Liang, 1992; Doktor, 1990; Hales & Mustapha, 2000; Hales & Tamangani, 1996; Luthans, Welsh, & Rosencrantz, 1993; Shenkar, Ronen, Shefy, & Hau-siu Chow, 1998; Stewart, Barsoux, Kieser, Ganter, & Walgenbach, 1994) or sectors (Hales & Tamangani, 1996; Noordegraaf, 2000a, 2000b; Pavett & Lau, 1983, 1985). More recently, there also seems to be a greater interest in managerial work in small companies (Florén, 2006; Noel, 1989; O'Gorman, Bourke, & Murray, 2005). Also the most recent contribution to the work activity school, Tengblad (2006), is a comparative study.

The general impression from work activity study followed Mintzberg (1973, pp. 171-172) who concluded that: "The manager's activities are characterized by brevity, variety and fragmentation" and that "…the burden of his work results in the manager's being carried along by his job to a large extent." These conclusions were in line with earlier writings of Carlson (1951/1991, p. 46); however, they appear to be built on the assumption that

fragmentation can be taken as a measure of managers' inability to control their own working time. As Hales (1986) pointed out, the observed absence of planning may be more apparent than real. Following this line of argument, a more positive view of managers' ability to exercise control over their own time was gradually developed within the other major school within the MWB approach: the leader behaviour school.

However, this school consists of two clusters of studies with fundamentally different methodological strands (Mintzberg, 1973). The first is the quantitative Ohio State Leadership Studies, which examined managerial behaviour by distributing questionnaires with a list of statements concerning managerial behaviour. The result after factor analysis revealed two major dimensions: Consideration and Initiating Structure (Fleishman, 1953). In the second and far more influential cluster within the MWB approach, we find rich qualitative empirical studies by American scholars from industrial sociology, who applied qualitative methods of interviews and ethnographies. These scholars were influenced by the human relations movement of the 1930s, and made valuable contributions to our understanding of informal leadership (Whyte, 1943/1993), foreman on the automobile assembly line (Walker, et al., 1956), middle managers' informal and ambiguous situation (Dalton, 1959), and middle managers as participants in the complex, interdependent, stabile and changing process of workflow (Sayles, 1964).

Stewart (1976, 1982), after gradually turning away from the work activity school, was the first to describe a theoretical model of managerial work which reflected the demands, constraints and choices which the job consisted of. Choice was defined as the "opportunities that exist in a job for one jobholder to do different work from another." (Stewart, 1976, p. 118) Also Kotter (1982) emphasizes managerial choice and argues that managers have greater opportunities to influence their work by establishing agendas and by building and using personal networks. He was also able to explain how chaotic conversations might in fact be highly effective: "…the agendas and network allowed all the GMs to engage in short and disjointed conversations that were often extremely efficient" (1982, p. 89). This view was reinforced by Noel, who followed the behaviour of three managers for a month each and found that "the longer we observed, the more continuity appeared in the apparently unrelated observations" (1989, p. 45). Later studies within this school by Jackall (1988), Hannaway (1989), Watson (1994/2001), Watson and Harris (1999), and Noordegraaf (2000a) have drawn attention to the uncertainties, ambiguities, and contractions of managerial works, as well as organizational politics and the contested identity as managers. Together, these studies suggest that the debate concerning managers being in control, have taken a new turn after

concluding that managers face both choice and constraint. Within the new theme, they now explore how managers handle the ambiguity they face.

I find the work by Tony J. Watson especially intriguing. In his ethnographic study of managerial work he concludes that the image of management emerging from his "search for management" was "essentially ... a social and moral activity ... a human social craft". What is required by individuals was "the ability to interpret the thoughts and wants of others—be they employees, customers, competitors, or others—and the facility to shape meanings, values, and human commitments" (Watson, 1994/2001, p. 223). Later he expands this view and argues that "the skills that we might expect to see people developing to perform this kind of work are therefore likely to be basic social, political, cultural and rhetorical skills. ... then the process of 'becoming a manager' becomes an especially interesting one. It would lead us to argue that learning to become a manager is as much about 'learning for life' as it is about acquiring a set of professional competencies" (Watson, 2001, p. 222).

In a study conducted with Harris, where they conducted lengthy interviews with managers relatively new to managerial work from diverse sectors, they conclude that 'management learning' can in fact both occur before holding the formal position, but the most significant learning occur continuously holding the managerial post (Watson, 2001; Watson & Harris, 1999). The managers they interviewed stressed how they learned by "being thrown into the 'deep end' of the swimming pool and then discovering which actions and styles help one to float and which lead one to sink. This learning is done with reference both to one's own actions and by the actions of other managers" (Watson & Harris, 1999, p. 107).

Underlining this statement is also the notion of the managers as observers watching how others respond to their actions. This implies that observable organizational outcomes are vital for managers when they asses and test the effect of their activities through trial and error. However, I wish to stress that I do not endorse a psychological behaviouristic stimulus and response understanding (see e.g. Atkinson, Atkinson, Smith, Bem, & Nolen-Hoeksema, 2000), which implies that managers are unconsciously conditioned to be engaged in care because of immediate positive feedback. Instead I hold that the observable outcomes and reactions from others is one, but not the only source for managers to evaluate the impact from their activities. From the review of the MWB literature in this section it is clear that managers have choices regarding their actions, despite institutional forces. Because observations of organizational outcomes are vital for managers' learning and evaluation for what activities they chose, and holding as a premise that manager are indeed engaged in care, this also applies for activities of care. This leads up to first subordinate research question:

a) What are the observable outcomes of managers' engagement in care?

This question covers the individual relationship level between the managers and others, viewing it from the perspective of managers. However, the manager is only one of the parts in this relationship, and in the next subsection I will turn to how others can be influenced by care.

2.2. Influence of care on knowledge workers

From the previous subsection it is clear that managers use observations of the outcome of their own and others' actions as important background material for choosing their actions. We know that such observations are more effective to promote learning when it is incorporated in a learning process that include processes of reflection upon these experiences (e.g. Kolb, 1984; Schön, 1983). However, managers seldom take time to actively reflect on these matters, and management books and courses are mainly used to consolidate and legitimate their present knowledge and practice (Watson & Harris, 1999, p. 111). This implies that managers may be more interested in what 'works' rather than why. However, I am inclined to dig deeper and examine the underlining mechanisms of how care can influence others. To further this aim, I use leadership literature as a starting point for the theoretical discussion.

Leadership is commonly understood as a process of intentional influence by one person over a group of people to accomplish a given goal (Bass, 1990a; Yukl, 2002). A number of studies have examined proactive influence tactics, which are used to get someone to carry out requests (see Higgins, Judge, & Ferris, 2003; Yukl, 2002; Yukl, Seifert, & Chavez, 2008). Influence in this regard seems to be used as a synonym for persuasion, but while persuasion is consciously sought, influence may be unintentional (Hargie, Dickson, & Tourish, 1999, p. 24). This implies that managerial activities and behaviour can influence people both intentionally and unintentionally. Therefore, leadership researchers should examine managerial influence from a broader perspective than influence tactics.

An alternative perspective is the framework by Cialdini (2001; Cialdini & Goldstein, 2004), which recognizes that the social influence process can also be subtle, indirect and outside of awareness. This is parallel to the view that emotions can be spread implicitly through emotional contagion (Hatfield, Cacioppo, & Rapson, 1993). As previously noted, recent leadership studies have recognized the importance of emotions in the leadership process; for instance, Dasborough and Ashkanasy (2002) argue that leadership is intrinsically

an emotional process. Social influence theory is suitable because it accounts for indirect influence outside awareness.

A focus on care as part of an influence process highlights that the manager is only one of the parties involved in this process. In the previous subsection, I was primarily interested in understanding care from the managers' perspective, but here I broaden the view to include how knowledge workers are affected by care. According to Cialdini (2001), people have a tendency to act according to fixed-action patterns, usually triggered by a single feature of relevant information in the situation. In a world with more information than people can handle, relying on such heuristics helps an individual choose a correct course of action without having to analyse the situation carefully. The disadvantage of reliance on an automatic pattern lies in its vulnerability to make silly and costly mistakes, which could be exploited by compliance professionals like salespersons. Because one of the main tasks of leadership is to influence others, it is possible to make the case that leaders are a type of compliance professional. Cialdini (2001) states several dimensions of influence that can be used by compliance professionals:

- Reciprocation is a powerful process which influences by making people feel psychologically obliged to return favours (Cialdini, 2001, p. 19ff).
- Commitment is the process through which we feel pressure to be consistent with what we already have done or to which we have committed (Cialdini, 2001, p. 178ff).
- Social proof works as influence because of our tendency to observe what other people are doing as a means to decide our own actions (Cialdini, 2001, p. 98ff).
- Liking is influenced by physical attractiveness, similarity, increased familiarity through repeated contact, and association, which works because people prefer to say yes to individuals they know and like (Cialdini, 2001, p. 143ff).
- Authority is the process through which occupational titles increase compliance (Cialdini, 2001, p. 178ff).
- Scarcity makes items or opportunities more valuable to us when they are more rare and less available (Cialdini, 2001, p. 203ff).

One of the most striking features of Cialdini's (2001) presentations of how compliance professionals utilize influence dimensions is how mundane these tricks are. This might explain why the framework has not been applied more within the leadership field. Recently,

Alvesson and Sveningsson (2003c) also draw attention to the more mundane aspects of leadership. They claim that ordinary communicative activities—listening, chatting and being cheerful—were ascribed as more important, significant, and extraordinary when framed as leadership by the managers themselves (2003c, p. 1454). Following Solomon (1998) and my previous discussion, we can assume that care is an ordinary and everyday activity expressed through communicative activities. However, I intend to move one step further and apply Cialdini's (2001) framework to understand how care can influence others. This leads to second subordinate research question:

b) *How can knowledge workers be influenced by managerial care, expressed through ordinary daily managerial activities?*

The two first subordinate research questions have focused on care at the interpersonal level. The first question takes the perspective of the manager, while the second takes the perspective of knowledge workers. This second question will also help explain not only what observable outcomes stem from care as addressed in the first subordinate research question, but why these outcomes happen. In the next subsection, I will raise the perspective from an interpersonal level and higher to a more institutional level.

2.3. Care and the manager as a formal position

From the previous subsection we know that authority is one of Cialdini's (2001) social influence dimensions. The implication of this is that the occupational position is embedded with authority through their titles, which alone can increase compliance. Authority is usually described as legitimate power (Clegg, 1989; Pfeffer, 1981; Watson, 2006), and can be traced to Weber's (1911/2000) three forms of authority: Legal-rational, Traditional and Charismatic. Managers thus gain their authority, which involves rights, prerogatives, obligations, and duties (Yukl, 2002, p. 142), from their position in a hierarchical organization rooted in laws. However, Weber's three forms of authority are ideal types kept separate to promote understanding and discussion of them; it does not exclude the possibility that different forms of authority are intervened. Barnard (1938, p. 163), for instance, understands authority relations not as given, but dependent on acceptance of all people involved. Thus it is the persons whom authority addresses that define the acceptance or extent of authority, not the persons of authority.

This is particularly relevant for R&D organizations where the need for 'softer' management practice has been recognized at least since Burns and Stalker (1961). It is also

possible to understand the use of a vocabulary of community, sharing, caring, and nurturing social relations in knowledge management literature (see Alvesson & Kärreman, 2001), as an expression of the same phenomena. In the same manner, it is not unlikely that the national setting contributes to, or at least supports, 'softer' management practice. Compared to the USA, Norwegian culture is very low on the masculinity dimension (Hofstede, 1980). This difference implies that people in Norway and other Scandinavian countries highly value dialogue and consensus, preferring the quality of human relationships more than material rewards. This picture of Norwegian democracy, organizations, and management is also supported by the historical developments in these countries (Byrkjeflot, 2003).

Within both organizational knowledge creation and the knowledge-based theory of the firm, knowledge is one of the key factors for creating value and sustaining competitive advantage for firms (Grant, 1996b; Nonaka, 1994; Nonaka & Takeuchi, 1995; Nonaka & Toyama, 2003). However, because R&D organizations are extremely dependent on their employees' unique knowledge and expertise, they are very vulnerable to undesired turnover (Alvesson, 1995, 2000, 2004). To counter this vulnerability, many organizations try to increase or sustain their employees' commitment and loyalty. However, because creative people value autonomy (Mumford, et al., 2002; Oldham & Cummings, 1996) and dislike being directed by a supervisor (McAuley, et al., 2000), leaders of creative people cannot appear to be controlling without risking severe resistance and possibly undesired turnover. Not only does this suggest that R&D managers are in search of influence, but this also highlights how the expectations from subordinates can shape the conduct of managers.

Nevertheless, this need for influence implies that there are profound differences and inequalities between employees and managers within organizations. Acknowledging this fundamental inequality also involves acknowledging issues of institutional power in organizations. In his effort to outline a metatheory of management, Tskouas (1994) maintains that management literature has conceived management as either a set of individual practices or as a collective institutional necessity. He states that management is indeed both, and tries to unite the two opposing views in his framework (for a critical view on this framework see Willmott, 1996). My theoretical ambitions are not so grandiose, but the lesson from Tskouas (1994) is that understanding of managerial behaviour needs to take both context and institutional aspects into account. This has not always been recognized. Traditionally, MWB studies have been rather descriptive and focused on variation at the expense of commonalities; thus, they have not made much effort to link or contribute to general management or organizational theory (Hales, 1986, 1999b).

However, in reviews of this approach, Willmott (1984, p. 350) argues that "the work of managers is widely (mis) represented and idealized as a technical, political neutral activity." Although some MWB scholars like Dalton (1959) and Kotter (1982) have studied power and politics among managers, both are criticized for neglecting that this issue also involves the production and reproduction of institutions that appease the conflict between labour and capital (Willmott, 1984, 1987). However, Willmott (1997, p. 1343) also reminds us that "managerial work is not reducible to a function of capital". Actually, the capitalistic economic system furnishes managers with a dual nature of managerial responsibilities, as being both manager and managed (Hales, 1999b, p. 345). They are both responsible for the work of others, but at the same time also held accountable for that work.

It seems like managerial responsibility continues to be defined by a system of hierarchical relationships and rules (Hales, 2002, p. 62), in spite of claims of radical changes in managerial work (Drucker, 1988; Kanter, 1989; Peters, 1989; Zuboff, 1988) as a consequence of the introduction of post-bureaucratic organizations (Daft & Lewin, 1993; Grey & Garsten, 2001; Heckscher, 1994). Despite the fact that steep hierarchical structures have flattened and loosened, senior managers have not eliminated the hierarchy, individual responsibility, or vertical accountability (Leavitt, 2005). The natural result of this reluctant attitude is far from the post-bureaucratic, and both middle managers and first line managers are engrossed in bureaucratic routines and regulations (Hales, 1999a, 2002, 2005; Hales & Mustapha, 2000; Hales & Tamangani, 1996).

From the previous subsection, it is clear that influence and persuasion are fundamental for managers and leaders alike. From the discussion and review of the literature thus far, and especially in the two previous subsections, it is evident that the managerial activities of care have the potential to influence others and thus have observable organizational outcomes. However, to understand why managers seek such influence in the first place, it is necessary to move beyond the interpersonal level, which the two previous subordinate research questions address. From the literature discussed in this subsection, like Tskouas (1994), Hales (1986, 1999b) and Willmott (1984, 1987, 1997), it is evident that institutional factors need to be taken into account when trying to understand why managers do what they do. While engaging in care is one of things managers do, this implies that the institutional level also needs to be considered when I try to determine why managers engage in care. To connect the institutional level with managerial work and behaviour, I will focus the last subordinate research question on the connection between care and the manager as a formal position in bureaucratic organizations. The last subordinate research question is stated as follows:

c) How is care connected to the formal position as manager?

In the next subsection, I will recapitulate the discussions and conclusions from the literature review. I will also detail how the three subordinate research questions relate to each other and to the overall research question.

2.4. Summary of research questions

Based on discussion of relevant literature, I have identified three different levels that can inform the inquiry into this question overall research question "*Why do managers engage in care?*" For each of the three levels—individual, interpersonal and institutional—I have formulated a corresponding subordinate research question. In this section I will discuss how answers to the three subordinate research questions together contribute to answering the overall research question. For each level, I will also discuss other potential themes that could have been examined, and state the rationale for choosing each subordinate question.

Typically, leadership research has focused on the individual level. One of the earliest approaches for studying leadership was the trait approach which is preoccupied with the task of comparing and differentiating leaders' personalities from non-leaders (Yukl, 2002). This approach has focused on identifying the innate characteristics possessed by great leaders (Northouse, 2004, p. 15), and thus is dubbed the "great person theory" (Barker, 2001). After a very influential and critical review by Stogdill in 1948, scholars moved away from the trait approach to a behavioural style approach in leadership studies (T. A. Judge, et al., 2002; Northouse, 2004). One of the main critical arguments against the trait approach to leadership is a lack of a uniform framework of personality (Northouse, 2004). However, as noted by Clegg et al (2005), the five-factor model of personality theory (McCrae & Costa, 1995) has now been recognized as the most reliable trait based measurements of personality, and the five-factor model has increasingly been connected to different psychological variables as performance and leadership effectiveness and styles (see e.g. Barrick, et al., 2001). However, because this approach relies on administration of quantitative inventories, it is not directly involved in the everyday of organizations and thus unsuitable to provide the kind of realistic data that I request.

When choosing to focus on organizational observable outcomes as a basis for managers' learning, I have restricted the scope of understanding how managers learn considerably. Based on the few studies examining the process of becoming a manager (Hill, 2003; Watson, 2001; Watson & Harris, 1999), I could have focused my inquiry on the

managers' background, prior experience, or how they have developed their identity. However, at the moment when I decided upon my research design, I was not aware of these studies and thus unable to gather enough relevant data on these issues. On the other hand, choosing a focus on observable organizational outcomes fits better with the methodological orientation of doing an observation-based MWB study. The answer to the first subordinate research question should provide insight into why managers engage in care on an individualistic level.

However, observing the reaction in other people underscores that it is difficult to understand why managers do what they do by just focusing on the manager alone. To balance the individual perspective, it is also necessary to consider employees. This argument is parallel to the movement within leadership research from the trait approach to more situation-specific analyses and behavioural style approach to leadership studies (Yukl, 2002). Some of the earliest studies conducted at the Ohio State University focused on unravelling behavioural indicators of effective leadership (see Stogdill, 1950). The studies isolated two factors known as Consideration and Initiating Structure (Fleishman, 1953), which corresponds to employee- and production-centred leadership from studies at the University of Michigan (see Likert, 1961). Perhaps the most well-known model of managerial behaviour and leadership is the Managerial Grid developed by Blake and Mouton (1964), which suggest that individuals scoring high on both task-oriented and relations-oriented leadership behaviour perform better as leaders. However, in the late 1960s leadership research increasingly emphasized the importance of the contextual factor, which was evident in the development of Fiedler's contingency theory (1967), the situational leadership model from 1969 (Hersey, Blanchard, & Johnson, 2000) ,House's path-goal theory (1971), and the leader-member exchange (LMX) theory (Dansereau, Cashman, & Graen, 1973; Dansereau, Graen, & Haga, 1975). However, because these theories also rely on quantitative inventories, it is inappropriate to apply such instruments when my goal is to get a realistic sense of what occurs in organizations.

As stated in Section 2.2, leadership is commonly understood as a process of intentional influence by one person over others (Bass, 1990a; Yukl, 2002), but managerial behaviour can influence others both intentionally and unintentionally. Social influence theory (Cialdini, 2001; Cialdini & Goldstein, 2004) offers a broader perspective which also accounts for indirect influence outside awareness. However, by choosing to focus on how knowledge workers can be affected by managerial care through mundane activities, I excluded the reciprocal element of the influence process typical for dyadic leadership theories like LMX (Yukl, 2002). I could have rather focused on employee characteristics or broadened the scope and considered the relationship between managers and employees as group processes instead

of dyadic relationships. Although LMX primarily focuses on single relationships between a manager and an employee, it also acknowledges that a manager has multiple dyadic relationships. I assessed that the rather individualistic methodological orientation of the MWB study called for choosing a more dyadic than group-oriented perspective. This was also a better fit with the first subordinate research question. The answer to the second subordinate research question should thus provide insight into why managers engage in care on an interpersonal level through a focus on the influence processes.

Because care takes place in relationships, the first two subordinate questions focus on the interpersonal level. However, it is also necessary to move beyond this level and up to the institutional level to understand why managers are engaged in care. This move also changes the perspective from a short-term to a more long-term understanding. Although Hales (1986) criticised studies within the MWB approach for neglecting the context in which managerial behaviour have been studied, my review of the approach in Section 2.1 shows that more recent studies have broadened the perspective by conducting studies within both the public and private sectors, in many different research settings, and in many different national cultures. However, it still seems that MWB scholars have neglected the political dimensions of management, i.e. the conflict between labour and capital (Willmott, 1984, 1987, 1997).

Although I did not pursue a full-scale investigation of managerial forms of control (see e.g. Alvesson & Willmott, 1996; Kunda, 1992), my choice to focus on the manager as a formal position opens this possibility. However, I found such an endeavour too demanding for the present project, and I have therefore restricted my scope more to responsibilities and expectations attached to this role as suggests by Hales (1986, p. 108). In the same manner I have not chosen to focus on organizational culture (Schein, 1985), although I am aware that organizational culture can be used by management as a control mechanism (Alvesson, 1995, 2004; Kunda, 1992).

By focusing on the connection between engagement in care and the formal position as a manager, I am consistent with the positional orientation of the MWB approach. According to Noordegraaf and Stewart (2000, pp. 428-429) this approach adopts a micro-level orientation by studying the behaviour of individuals in formal manager positions. As evident from my discussion in this subsection, this has also been guiding my choices regarding the two other subordinate research questions. However, Noordegraaf and Stewart (2000, p. 431) also note that "because of the explicit emphasis on individual managers, the organizational and social embeddedness of managers might have been neglected." I argue that I counter this danger by linking managerial work to the institutional level through focusing on managers'

formal roles, which also highlights the commonalities in this kind of work as advanced by Hales (1999b).

In his work on institutional leadership, Selznick (1957, p. 4) asserts that "no social process can be understood save as it is located in the behaviour of individuals, and especially in their perceptions of themselves and each other. The problem is to link the larger view to the more limited one, to see how institutional change is produced by, and in turn shapes, the interaction of individuals in day-to-day situations." In my mind, this implies that to study managerial work as a whole (Noordegraaf & Stewart, 2000, p. 429) means to take the individual, interpersonal, and institutional levels into account. I argue that the combination of my three subordinate research questions is indeed very suitable to answer why managers engage in care, because it take all three levels into account. A restriction in scope to just one of these levels would severely limit the understanding of managerial care as phenomena.

The connection between care and the formal position as manager within bureaucratic organizations presuppose that there is no antagonism between the two. However, the debate concerning whether managerial work is stable or changing portrays just such antagonism. The debate has recently focused on the notion of post-bureaucratic organizations. Although numerous concepts for characterizing such organizations have been proposed (see Barley & Kunda, 2001; Hales, 2002), characteristics of such organizations usually include less rule-following, less hierarchical control, more flexibility, more coordination based on dialogue and trust, more self-organized units, and more decentralized decision-making (Daft & Lewin, 1993; Grey & Garsten, 2001; Heckscher, 1994). The claims of radical changes in organizational forms were paralleled by claims about radical changes in managerial work (Drucker, 1988; Kanter, 1989; Peters, 1989; Zuboff, 1988). According to these authors, managers should be less preoccupied with bureaucratic control and routine administration, and more engaged in leadership of empowered employees by providing support, consultation and inspiration.

Empirical evidence supporting that managerial work and behaviour has changed towards the post-bureaucratic ideal is provided by Stefan Tengblad (2006) in a comparative study with that of Mintzberg (1973). The changes in the behaviour of top managers can be grouped in two broad patterns: less preoccupation with administrative work, and a more dialogue-oriented contact pattern. It should be noted that the findings by Tengblad (2006, p. 1453) on top managers' behaviour does not automatically imply that managers at lower levels have changed their behaviour as well. Indeed, studies by Hales with colleagues (Hales, 1999a, 2002, 2005; Hales & Mustapha, 2000; Hales & Tamangani, 1996) have found little evidence

of post-bureaucratic managerial work for neither middle nor first-level managers. Also Watson (1994/2001), in an ethnographic study of middle managers, suggests that managerial behaviour is not noticeably affected by talk of cultural change, empowerment and customer focus. So far, no studies of middle managers have supported the existence of a post-bureaucratic managerial practice. This implies that there is an antagonism between a more supportive managerial practice, and a hierarchical and bureaucratic organization. However, I view the existence of this antagonism as an empirical question that I will illuminate through Paper I.

Based on discussion of relevant literature so far, I have identified three different levels that can inform the inquiry into the overall research question "*Why do managers engage in care?*" These are the individual, interpersonal, and institutional levels to which I have formulated the subordinate research questions. Together, these questions combine micro and macro perspectives, which should secure a broad treatment of the overall research question. I will return to with a further discussion of the overall research question, and connection between the research questions, in Section 5.4. The questions has been developed in accordance with the micro-level orientation of the MWB approach, which focuses on studying individual behaviour in formal manager positions (Noordegraaf & Stewart, 2000, pp. 428-429), and are formulated as:

a) *What are the observable outcomes of managers engaging in care?*
b) *How can knowledge workers be influenced by managerial care, expressed through ordinary daily managerial activities?*
c) *How is care connected to the formal position as manager?*

The answer to the first subordinate research question will be grounded mainly in empirical findings of Paper II, although Papers I and III also have some relevant findings. The second question is mainly addressed through empirical findings in Paper III, although the outcomes of care in Paper I and II are also relevant. The last subordinate research question is addressed by the empirical findings of Papers I, II, and III. Because the literature review shows that care and leadership support are particular relevant and important for creativity and innovation, R&D organizations are an especially suitable research setting for studying care. In addition, the review highlighted the relationship between managers and knowledge workers, which implies that managers from the lower echelon of the organization that are most relevant to study. Before summarizing the empirical finding of these papers, I will discuss and detail the research project methodology in the next section.

3. METHOD

In this section I will not just discuss different methodological issues, but also give a detailed account and reflect on the actual research processes. In addition to this subsection, Paper IV is a methodological paper about shadowing. Some of the discussions from the paper are repeated here, although this section is more concerned with the methodological orientation of the PhD project as a whole. The first subsection describes the methodology I have chosen for this research project. Research strategy and design are the issues of the second subsection, followed by an outline of how I gained access and selected and recruited informants. In the fourth subsection, I describe the participants and their organizations. This is followed by a description of how I gathered the data, while how I analyzed the data is described in the next section. The trustworthiness of the study is examined, before discussing ethical considerations made during this project the last subsection.

3.1 Methodology

In the introduction I stated that among the different methodologies within the MWB approach, I chose to apply shadowing. However, there are many different variants of shadowing. According to McDonald (2005), researchers have used shadowing (a) to gather quantitative data, qualitative data, or both, and (b) from either a positivistic or interpretive research approach. Placing myself within this framework, it is evident that I belong to the combination of mixed data collection with an interpretive research approach along with Mintzberg (1973). It is not surprising that he is placed in this frame when we know that he combines methodological elements from the two major schools within the MWB approach.

Before Mintzberg (1973), most work activity studies applied the diary method. Mintzberg (1973) placed his own study within the work activity school, but was critical to pre-coded categories used in the previous diary studies and developed his own method named structured observation. He described it as "a method that couples the flexibility of open-ended observation with the discipline of seeking certain types of structured data. ... *The categories are developed as the observation take place*" (1973, p. 231, italics in the original). As noted by Czarniawska (2007, p. 26), Mintzberg's examples of his codifying procedures could have been used as an illustration of grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). This inductive orientation illustrates how he was substantially influenced by the more qualitative-oriented part of the leader behaviour school like that of Sayles (1964). The connection between Mintzberg and Sayles is quite direct and explicit, as indicted by Mintzberg in the foreword to Sayles (1993). When Mintzberg was trying to publish his PhD-

thesis from 1968, the manuscript was sent from the publisher to Sayles for a review. He not only recommended its publication, he also volunteered to write a foreword.

Mintzberg (1990, 1991) later expressed disappointment with the lack of new research following his 1973 study. Instead it was followed by a number of replications, and studies demonstrating merely correlations between MWB and other variables. His comments can be understood in light of assertion that structured observation that use pre-defined categories to structure what they are seeing and recording, "offers, at a higher cost, little more than the diary method" (1973, p. 227). I will not dwell further on the fact that these opinions imply disapproval of the more statistical- and quantitative-oriented researchers like Martinko and Gardner (1985, 1990). However, replications of earlier studies could also be the target of criticism following the line of argument from Mintzberg (1973). Sticking too close to a replication strategy or only taking field notes on how managers distribute their time can lead researchers to miss the opportunity to generate rich, contextually sensitive data through directly observing informants in their natural work setting.

However, Mintzberg (1973) is also critical towards ethnography because the method is unstructured and non-systematic; also, researchers cannot replicate or validate their findings. In contrast, Kotter, leaning heavily on Whyte (1943/1993), explains that field research in general cannot be done in a "clean way that fits traditional notions of 'science'" (1982, p. 152). It is perhaps healthy to be reminded that Mintzberg wrote within the era of "system rationalism", when computer science metaphors and systems thinking were the backbone in the management thinking on rational administrative routines and behaviour (Barley & Kunda, 1992). This influence on Mintzberg is illustrated by his writing extensively about programming the manager's work (1973, p. 166 ff). However, it should be noted that Mintzberg later expressed a less 'scientific' attitude illustrated by the following statement: "What ... is wrong with samples of one? Why should researchers have to apologize for them? Should Piaget apologize for studying his own children, a physicist for splitting only one atom?" (1979, p. 583).

Reading Mintzberg (1973, 1979, 1990, 1991) leads me to conclude that he valued fresh and revealing understanding over incremental replication, and that he emphasized inductive insights from qualitative research more than systematic pictures from time-based work activity studies. I agree with McDonald (2005) when she states that it is the qualitative variant of shadowing, in contrast to the quantitative, that has the greatest potential for extending current organizational research. However in contrast to her, I do not think that this implies that work activity studies are totally useless. Further comparisons across national

cultures, sectors, hierarchical levels, functional specialities, and time all contribute to incremental expansion of our knowledge. Consistent use of similar categories is then needed to secure comparability (Hales, 1986; Martinko & Gardner, 1985). However, I believe that it is feasible to hold field notes on both how managers distribute their time, as well as richer and more detailed descriptions as illustrated by Mintzberg (1973). On this ground I defend my choice of choosing mixed data collection—including time distribution—combined with an interpretive research approach primarily directed at understanding the managers' perspectives.

3.2 Research strategy and design

Although shadowing can be understood as a methodology on its own, it is also possible to see it as a data-gathering technique and thus part of another overall research strategy. Taking this perspective further means that my entire research study also can be viewed as an exploratory case study (Yin, 2002). It is possible to object that a study cannot both be a shadowing study and a case study. The answer to that objection depends, in my opinion, on what perspective we are speaking from. It should also be noted that other researchers have portrayed what seems to be the same overall study as somewhat different studies using different methods (Alvesson & Sveningsson, 2003a, 2003b, 2003c; Sveningsson & Alvesson, 2003).

Yin (2002) argues that case studies investigate contemporary phenomena within a real-life context, which relies on multiple sources of evidence. This research approach is well suited to answer how and why questions, and is focused on understanding processes. I will argue that any person that is shadowed can be viewed as a unit of analysis in a case study because data gathering is focused on this particular person. However, one manager's work style and behaviour cannot be separated from the context and the relationships that he or she is entangled within. It is thus possible to also view the manager's organizational unit as a larger unit of analysis, with the shadowed person as subunits of analysis.

One of the major advances and challenges with shadowing is that the researcher may become very sympathetic to the shadowed persons views and problems. Although McDonald (2005, p. 459) warns of uncritical acceptance of a single view of the organization, she has no better advice than that the researcher must retain sight of the research question. However, viewing shadowing as one of many data gathering methods within a case study suggests other and more concrete approaches to resolve this issue. One obvious strategy to counter one-eyed managerial perspective is to shadow non-managerial informants. In qualitative studies of the relationship between work and family time, Perlow (1998, 1999) shadowed both managers

and engineers in a software development group. These studies also illustrate that shadowing can be combined with other methods like ethnographic observation, diaries, and in-depth interviews.

Barley and Kunda (2001, pp. 84-85) note that interviews are not particularly credible sources of information, but are useful for understanding how people make sense of what they are doing. Furthermore, they recommend the combination of field observation with real-time interviewing, but such interviews are not always easy to bring about because managerial work is very hectic. However, their recommendation points to the value of including interviews as a supplementing method where the researcher and the informant can discuss concrete episodes and reflect together based on their shared experiences. In addition, other informants could also be interviewed to provide non-managerial perspectives, background information, and multiple perspectives on the shadowed person. Such interviews could also be used to gather data on the particular context and history within organizational unit, and I have therefore included interviews with the shadowed manager, his/her superior, and subordinates.

3.3 Gaining access and selecting informants

Gaining access is a general concern for organizational research, but because shadowing is more extensive than interviews and more focused on individuals than ethnography studies, gaining consent from informants and organizations to participate might be harder (Kotter, 1982; McDonald, 2005). Through my supervisors' network, I gained access to a R&D unit where I was allowed to shadow two first-level managers working on two separate locations. The managers were suggested by the manager of the unit together with a corporate human resource specialist on leadership development. The two managers accepted to participate in the study. Following my research design, I interviewed both managers prior to shadowing them. The interviews did not only provide me with useful background information, but also a chance to meet and get to know the manager prior to shadowing. At the end of the week of shadowing, I conducted an interview with a focus on mutual reflection and feedback.

A couple of weeks after the shadowing, I contacted each manager and made arrangements to individually interview five of their subordinates. I selected the ten employees based on whom I had met during shadowing combined with an effort to interview a range of genders, experiences and ages. The managers forwarded my interview requests and booked conference rooms. By accident in both instances, one of my chosen employees was prevented from participation on the scheduled date. Both were replaced by someone else, selected in

consultation between myself and the corresponding manager. I later interviewed the common superior manager for both managers. This occurred during the 2006 Spring semester.

During this phase of the study, I learned that one of the shadowed managers was about to transfer to another R&D unit. Through this manager I was introduced to his superior, and was allowed to present my research project for his management team. During this meeting one of the managers volunteered to participate and be shadowed, and I later interviewed him before the shadowing week. However, none of the other first-level managers wanted to participate. At the end of the week-long shadowing of this manager, the manager of the unit, a second-level manager, approached me and indicated that I could also shadow him. The recruitments of the two last managers are typical examples of snowball sampling. Weeks after interviewing and shadowing this last manager, I contacted the managers to arrange subordinate and superior interviews. The two managers were formally assigned to separate geographical locations, although they both worked at both campuses.

I chose subordinates in the same manner as in the first unit. Again, the managers forwarded my interview requests and booked conference rooms. And again by accident, history repeated itself: two of my chosen employees were prevented from participating and were replaced. All eleven interviews were conducted during three days in the 2006 Autumn semester. I also tried to gain access to a third R&D unit, but unfortunately failed with this attempt.

A total of 30 separate interviews were conducted. This includes interviews with all four managers both before and after the observation, with their superior, and with five of their subordinates. Only two superiors were interviewed because one of the shadowed managers was a second line manager above another, and because two of the shadowed managers had the same superior. Among the 20 subordinates interviewed, five were female, and eleven had project management experience. In the next section, I will describe more details about the four shadowed managers and their organizations.

3.4 The participants and their organizations

The two departments in this study were both part of companies that produce advanced technical products for an international market. The two corresponding companies had operating revenues of approximately 400 million Euros. Sales outside Norway accounted for at least 70%, divided equally between Asia, North America, and Europe (excluding Norway). The companies had around 1500 employees: of these between 75–90% are Norwegian. The composition of the employees was similar with regards to age, gender and education. The age

distribution was fairly balanced, but the majority are between 30 and 50 years old. About 20% of the workforce was female, and women occupy approximately 10% of the managerial positions. Around half of the employees have a technical education of up to three years of higher education, while graduate engineers and others with more than four years of higher education constitute nearly a quarter of all employees. Research and development activities are important to both companies, on average spending 10% of their operating revenues on R&D over the last decade.

Both R&D units were part of bigger divisions, made up of other departments which included the production of technical products and equipment. The two R & D departments varied in their number of employees and sections, and the size of the projects they were involved in. The biggest department was composed of about 150 employees organised into seven sections, while the smaller department had four sections and about 60 employees. Both companies are organized as matrix organizations where line managers have the long term responsibility for the employees and the organizational unit, while the project organization has a limited responsibility to deliver results within certain confines of budget and time. The biggest difference between the two departments was the size of the projects in which they are involved. While the biggest department had been mainly involved with one giant project for the last couple of years, the other department had been involved in many smaller projects, each lasting less than a year.

The four shadowed managers were all males between 36 and 51 years of age with an educational background in engineering and having either Bachelor, Master, or PhD degrees. Three of the shadowed participants were first-level managers, while one was a second-level manager. They had managerial responsibility for between 12 and 60 persons. The managers had worked in their company for an average of 14 years, had seven years experience with managerial responsibility, and had held their current positions for three years. With the exception of one manager, they have all participated in many of the in-house leadership development courses offered by their companies, and one also has additional qualifications in business and administration.

3.5. Data gathering

The chronological order of data gathering already appears in Section 3.3 and will not be repeated here. In this section, I will focus instead on the technical and procedural steps behind my data collection, starting with how data was gathered through shadowing and interviews.

To shadow a person means to literally follow wherever he or she goes, all while constantly writing in a small, hardcover notebook. (In my study, I even followed the managers to the lavatory, although I waited outside.) During the shadowing both qualitative and quantitative data were collected. Field notes covered anecdotal and chronological data of the managers' activities, factual information derived during observation or answers to short questions, as well as my ongoing thoughts and reflections. Observations were limited to managerial work either at the workplace or in transit to the workplace. I was usually picked up by the managers on their way to work, and was together with them until they left work. Work at home or in the weekends was not included, but 11 hours of work not directly observed (because of sensitivity or confidential issues) was recorded. This unobserved work was recorded based on short interviews with the managers about participants and content. A total of 191 hours of work, by the four managers combined, was covered by shadowing.

One of the difficulties of shadowing is how to define and record an activity. I followed the approach suggested by Mintzberg (1973, p. 271), to start a new activity at any point at which there was a change in the basic participants and/or the medium. The length of the activities was recorded to the minute. Again following Mintzberg (1973, p. 231), I recorded all activities in a number of ways, using categories that I developed as the observation took place. I return to the final categorizes in the next section. In many of the formal and prescheduled meeting, I also sketched the conference room and the placement of the different participants. Perhaps not surprisingly, recording and noting in motion requires some skill, which increased by gaining experience during the study. This resulted in more detailed accounts of meetings, including real-time dialogue, observed while shadowing the last two managers.

One of the major disadvantages with shadowing is that it is very time consuming and physically demanding (see also Czarniawska, 2007; Kotter, 1982; McDonald, 2005; Mintzberg, 1973). This is a result of a combination of several factors. First, accuracy of the observation requires constant attention, which can become quite tiresome. Second, writing down all the details generate immense amount of data, which makes data management and analysis quite challenging. Third, the managers' days are usually very hectic: sometimes there are long days of work, along with many interruptions. One of the managers was somewhat more challenging to shadow than the others; as a former top-level athlete, he walked very fast. Some of his colleagues even suggested that his competiveness made him increase his speed, if I came closer than two steps behind.

In addition to shadowing managers, I also conducted 30 interviews, including two interviews with each manager, with one before and one at the end of the week of shadowing. The interviews typically lasted for one hour, although somewhat longer for those in managerial positions. All interviews were electronically audiorecorded and later transcribed, except for one reflection and feedback interview with one of the shadowed managers due to technical problems. During this interview I luckily made personal notes, which were later expanded to reflect the main points of the conversation. With the exception of the reflection and feedback interviews, all interviews were prepared and conducted with the help of a semi-structured interview guide (Bryman, 2008; Kvale, 1996). Generally the informants were first asked to outline their own history and role in the company. The themes covered in this guide were the informants' preference of being managed, mutual expectations between them and their manager, and how they related to line and project managers. The most sensitive theme was how they perceived the managers. Although I covered all themes in the interview guide, the order of them varied. During the interviews I often asked them to elaborate on answers, and I felt free to probe issues outside the interview guide.

The reflection and feed-back sessions had the form of unstructured interviews, although I had prepared some remarks in advance. As part of the agreement to participate, I gave all managers personal feedback on how I had perceived them during the week. We also discussed the interpretation of some concrete episodes, clarified background information, and generally reflected on the week behind us.

3.6. Data analysis

The analysis process consisted of several steps, and in this section I will attempt to describe the chronological development of the research process. The starting point involved structuring the vast amount of data gathered from shadowing and to first focus on categorizing managers' work activities. Because I wanted to be able to compare my result with those of both Mintzberg (1973) and Tengblad (2006), it was natural to first consider the taxonomy and concepts developed by Mintzberg (1973, p. 230ff). This choice was also supported by the call from Hales (1986) for consistency in categories used for managerial work and behaviour studies. Mintzberg's work is still an important and well-known source of reference for management research, and his very detailed and thorough description of his research approach and his categories are exemplary. Such detailed description is scarce in previous work activity studies.

However, both Mintzberg (1973) and Tengblad (2006) reported problems in recording the purpose of verbal contacts. Tengblad (2006, p. 1443) writes: "… a larger difficulty was how to make a single, best representation of an activity into a predetermined category scheme." I resolved these difficulties by opening up for more than one purpose or more than one kind of participant in verbal contacts, as recommended by Martinko and Gardner (1985). I also recognized the flexibility and possibility to develop new concept inherit in Mintzberg's (1973) description of his own method. I therefore revised his original terminology when it was necessary. This minor revision is detailed in Paper I, and I will concentrate on the new categories developed to describe the purpose of contacts.

'Resource allocation' was included to denote instances where the managers had to control, plan, approve, or decide upon the placement of subordinates in different projects. This was a very pronounced purpose for many of the interactions the managers were engaged in, probably because of the chosen matrix organization in both companies. The two categories of "Request interaction" and "Information dialog" were developed to capture verbal contacts where requests or information go back and forth. All these three new categories so far were pretty straightforward, but a large amount of observed vernal contacts in this study were still unaccounted for. It was especially the more informal events—from coffee breaks, lunches, and small talk to when the manager just popped by an office and asked the person there how things were going—that proved difficult to categorize using Mintzberg's taxonomy.

At the time when I was trying to address this issue, I happened to be a visiting scholar at ETH Zürich as part of the Chair of Strategic Management and Innovation, led by Professor Georg von Krogh. To participate fully in the group, I made an effort to read their publications. Within the knowledge creation literature, I particularly noticed the concept of care (von Krogh, 1998; von Krogh, et al., 2000). Inspired by this concept, I developed the category "Care and consideration" to cover greetings, social chit-chat and displays of concern for other people. This decision is undoubtedly the most crucial for the direction of this thesis, which would otherwise not have focused on the emotional nature of managerial work.

The subsequent process since this revealing moment is rather complex and I will not go into great detail regarding it. After the successful tabulation of how managers spent their time, which remains the core empirical finding of Paper I, it took quite some time to discover how this material could be used to make a theoretical contribution. This process brought me through many presentations, numerous comments from helpful persons, and some editorial rejections, before the paper emerged in its present form. On the positive side, through this process of trial-and-error I have developed and refined my writing skills, recognized the

importance of theoretical contributions, and gained some knowledge on how to position a paper. The major breakthrough came upon realising that I needed to restrict the scope of the paper to post-bureaucratic change in middle managerial work. A close reading of Tengblad (2006) revealed that his empirical evidence for post-bureaucratic change consisted of six concrete changes, that could be applied to concentrate the analysis. However, I also learned that it was wise to supplement the quantitative table with more qualitative findings, which I think has strengthened the paper considerably.

Out of the long process and many comments to different versions of Paper I, ideas for the three other papers were also initiated. Paper IV picked up several threads developed in relation to the early work on Paper I, especially the potential methodological contributions from the shadowing method. After developing the "Care and consideration" category, I naturally turned back to MWB theory to examine if someone else had noted the same phenomena. I must admit that I was quite surprised upon realising that few had written anything about emotions, with the notable exception of Watson who noticed that "there is a significant emotional dimension to managerial work" (1994/2001, p. 180). However, my impression was that he was not so concerned with the direct relationship between managers and employees; could this be explained by differences between ethnography and shadowing? That became one of the question I tried to answer in Paper IV. By now, I realized that I had stumbled across a major gap within the MWB approach, and therefore also included some empirical material to support my claim that shadowing is a suitable method for noticing the more emotional nature of managerial work.

The next phase in the analysis process consisted of a return to observational data mainly guided by a case study approach (Eisenhardt, 1989; Yin, 2002), but also inspired by parts of the grounded-theory approach (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Multiple reading of field notes and interview transcripts resulted in write-ups of many observed episodes interpreted as involving care. Further analysis pointed to a recurrent theme that managers showed particular care towards subordinates on long-term sick leave, which signalled care as an important element of personnel responsibility and relationships. These were included as illustrations in Paper IV and further developed in Paper II and III.

During the work with Paper IV, I became aware of the criticism of MWB approach as disconnected and without impact on the general management and organization literature. I strongly believe that the MWB approach has great potential to make a huge impact; however, it then needs to connect to other bodies of literature. The literature on knowledge creation (Nonaka, 1994; Nonaka & Takeuchi, 1995; Nonaka, von Krogh, & Voelpel, 2006) focused

the analysis in Paper II to understand the case companies as hyper-text organization. Combining these various elements, I and my co-authors formulated a proposition that care, understood as five dimensions (von Krogh, 1998; von Krogh, et al., 2000), could act as an integration mechanism between the different layers in the hyper-text organization. We tested this proposition with regards to both the case companies and the managers, which resulted in several attempts of conceptualization and revisions until we reached theoretical saturation. At the end of this process we recognize that the layers in the hyper-text organization have their own particular internal logic that is partly incompatible with the other layers. In organizations, different persons operate as spokespersons for these different logics, which shows itself as tension between these persons. From the data, it was quite clear that care contributed to a reduction in such tension. Based on the concept of indwelling (von Krogh, 1998; von Krogh, et al., 2000), we also suggested that the reduction in tension could help the participants to start a process, in which they freely share their experiences, perspectives, and concepts.

One of the major theoretical inspirations to the development of Paper III was the concept of "mundane leadership" (Alvesson & Sveningsson, 2003c). This influence prompted me to read about knowledge-intensive firms (Alvesson, 1995, 2000, 2004), and together with the recent development within leadership literature, set me up to realize that R&D managers are in search of influence. I wanted to examine how care and consideration, expressed through mundane activities, could influence others. From social influence theory (Cialdini, 2001), influence does not need to be intentional and the response would usually be unnoticeable. Because of this, it is extremely difficult to gather reliable empirical data that can prove a causal connection between a particular mundane managerial activity and a particular outcome. Although the analysis in this paper only suggests how managerial activities can influence others, I still think it highlights the importance of emotions and indirect influence in the leadership process. The implication of more focus on emotions in leadership studies is a growing need to acknowledge that behaviour can influence people both intentionally and unintentionally. This is particularly important when studying managers' daily activities, because the effect of intentional and unintentional influence is difficult, if not impossible, to keep separate.

3.7. Trustworthiness

Within quantitative research, quality is evaluated based on assessment of reliability and validity (see e.g. Bryman, 2008, p. 149ff). However, because these concepts have been developed in connection with statistical analysis and requirements, it might be unfortunate to

use such criteria to test the design of case studies as done by Yin (2002). What I find particularly questionable is the underlying premise that as the researcher, I had not influenced the research process. The implication that another researcher following the same research design and gathering the same data in the same manner as I, should come to the same conclusion as I have done, is based on a particular view of reality as given. This result in belief that data is uncovered, and truth can be proved by means of statistical generalization based on cause and effect relationships. According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), these criteria are shaped by positivistic perspective based on the assumption of naive realism.

In contrast, the "constructivist paradigm assumes a relativist ontology (there are multiple realities), a subjectivist epistemology (knower and respondent cocreate understanding), and a naturalistic (in the natural world) set of methodological procedures" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 24). Interestingly, Lincoln and Guba (1985) emphasize that a naturalistic paradigm is not antiquantitative, and encourage naturalistic investigations to also utilize quantitative data. This encouragement has also been recently echoed by Barley and Kunda (2001). The assertion that quantitative data can be conducted within a constructivist or interpretative paradigm fits nicely with the framework developed by McDonald (2005) to classify different approaches to use of the shadowing method.

Because of the fundamentally different views on what constitutes reality and knowledge, the positivistic criteria of internal and external validity, reliability and objectivity is replaced with criteria of credibility, transferability, dependability, and conformability when considering the trustworthiness of research inquires within this paradigm (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). In the following section, I discuss the trustworthiness of my study in light of these criteria.

3.7.1 Credibility

Credibility concerns the question of how to establish 'truth value' of the research carried out in a specific context, which means that I need to show that I have represented the subject's multiple constructed realities in an adequate manner (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The two authors suggest seven techniques that can be useful for establishing credibility: Prolonged engagement, persistent observation, triangulation, peer debriefing, negative case analysis, referential adequacy, and member checking.

Prolonged engagement investigates sufficient time onsite to develop a thorough understanding of the setting, to build mutual trust between me and the organizational members, and to possibly correct distortions introduced by either informants or by me as an

inquirer (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). One of the major differences between a shadowing study and ethnography is the amount of time spent in the field. Although I cannot claim to have spent many years in the respective organizations, my choice of shadowing managers from the same units extended my engagement with the respective organizations considerably compared to the usual work activity study. I was in contact with each unit for more than six months from the first email to the last interview. I have already made a point of supplementing shadowing observation with interviews of other organizational members around the shadowed person. However, this does not only provide multiple points of view, but also extends the time of engagement considerably compared to the typical week-long shadowing. The combination of shadowing and interviews both before and after observation gave good opportunities to sort many misunderstandings. Overall, I claim that I had a more prolonged period of engagement than traditional work activity studies, although not as extensive as ethnographic leader behaviour studies.

Persistent observation provides in-depth knowledge of the most characteristic elements in the situation. By avoiding premature closing and through continuously labelling the salient activities and studying them in detail, the most 'uninteresting matters' can turn out to be the most important issue (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Although I have not vowed any strict allegiance to the principles of grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990), I think the description of the data analysis in the previous subsection shows how my understanding has emerged. Both using this process and writing reflections during the shadowing observations helped me best reflect upon what I saw and heard. I will also note that spending every minute of roughly 50 hours of a week together with one person, provides ample depth of both the person and his or her surroundings.

Triangulation corresponds to the use of multiple and different sources, methods, investigators, and theories (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Yin, 2002). As already stated a number of times, I found it particularly helpful to supplement shadowing observation with interviews. This combination gave me two different methods to gather data about the shadowed manager, and several additional data sources by interviewing both superiors and subordinates of each manager. Although I interviewed some peers by chance late in the study, and observed many of them during shadowing, I will plan to include interviews with members of this peer group the next time I engage in a similar study, due to the amount of time a manager spends with them. However, I am certain that this study proves that triangulation of both methods and informants strengthen the MWB approach. Although Lincoln and Guba (1985, p. 307) argue that findings cannot exist independent of the "theory within those framework they achieve

coherence", I cannot see that this argument excludes the possibility for reliance on different strands of literature. I will argue that my reliance on several supplementary fields of research strengthens rather than weakens my findings. Multiple investigators were not an option in my study because of time and resources. However, I am aware that multiple investigators have been used in a intercultural MWB study (see Stewart, et al., 1994), although I would caution that different observers of the same action inevitably will notice different aspects of the same situation. This implies that several investigators could increase credibility by adding multiple interpretations, and not by strengthening accuracy.

Peer debriefing is an activity that strengthens credibility by exposing oneself and one's research to disinterested peers to explore and clarify my implicit assumption about the inquiry (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Regular advisory sessions with my advisors have of course been the most extensive and longest lasting source for peer review. Also discussion with colleagues both here locally at NTNU, but also from ETH Zürich, where I was visiting and my two co-authors are located, have been a recurring source for discussion and reflection. Journal reviews have perhaps been the most helpful, but also hurtful, activity to test the quality of my conceptualizations. In addition, participation at conferences and PhD-courses both locally and abroad, have also contributed to expose my ideas and findings to various viewpoints.

Negative case analysis is described as the process of continuously revising and testing one's understanding with hindsight (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). As the previous subsection shows, I have indeed revised my understanding several times. I do not think that such refinement is particularly novel, but rather a natural part of a gradually developing understanding of the findings in the study. However, I do not see any natural endpoint of this refinement process, and I expect my understanding of the phenomena in this study will continue to evolve also after submitting this thesis.

Referential adequacy means that I should display my 'raw data' to others, which implies a need for conserving data in a manner that makes it accessible to others (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Although I saved the interviews through recordings and wrote out transcripts of both these interviews and my field notes, I have not granted anyone access to these. The reason is that I promised my informants both anonymity and confidentiality, which prevents sharing this data with others. This technique has therefore been irrelevant for this study.

Member checks provide direct testing of data, findings, and interpretations with the informants (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). During shadowing observations, clarifications and testing of my interpretations is an ongoing activity. In addition, I also had the opportunity to

test my ideas in the review session with each manager at the end of each shadowing period. After the shadowing week, I sent each manager my chronological and factual field notes, and afterwards sent various case studies, analyses, and paper drafts. However, I must be frank and admit that member-checking was more useful and extensive with regards to data than analysis. Although I received some clarification of minor details afterwards, I did not receive any substantial input on my analysis. This is of course a major drawback, but I can only invite discussion and feedback; I cannot force myself into management team meetings to present my findings. While I wished for more feedback, the lack of protest to material sent gives at least a vague hint of consent to my findings and interpretations. However, taking all the seven techniques for strengthening credibility together, I feel confident that my study can be viewed as credible.

3.7.2 Transferability

According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), the establishment of external validity is impossible within constructivist research, because the naturalist inquirer assumes several realties and thus reject the conventional understanding that universal generalization is possible. Instead, a research study can have transferability, which means that the findings from the study are relevant and applicable in other settings besides this study. However, the possible transferability of the research findings is not judged by me as the investigator, but is in the eye of the beholder. It is up to other researchers or practitioners reading my findings to assess the similarity between my research context and their own context. To assist the reader in his or her assessment and to reach a conclusion whether a transfer is possible, the main responsibility for the researcher is to provide a "thick description" (see e.g. Geertz, 1993) of the empirical data and the particular research setting. Throughout the papers and in this section I have tried to provide sufficient thick description of my data and contexts were it was gathered. Although the restricted space in each paper naturally limits the possibility compared to what is possible in a monograph, I hold that I have provided enough detail to ease judgement on the transferability of my findings.

3.7.3 Dependability

This criterion concerns the constituency and the degree to which my empirical findings depend on my interest, theoretical position, and former research experience. Lincoln and Guba (1985, p. 316) argue that "since there can be no validity without reliability (and thus no credibility without dependability), a demonstration of the former is sufficient to establish

the latter." However, they still hold that it is also necessary to deal with dependability more directly, and propose to do that through an inquiry audit looking at the research process and not only the product.

Compared with the extensive peer review that my research findings have been subject to, my research process has not been exposed nearly as much. Hopefully, these debriefings have made me aware of my biases. As I stated earlier, advisory sessions during my PhD study have been the most significant arena of exposure of the research process. However, by spending much time and space on the method in this thesis, I also tried to expose the real research process. I think it is also possible to argue that assessment of this thesis is one way of conducting an inquiry audit, although it will focus on my description of the process (particularly in Section 3.6.) and not be a part of an ongoing evaluation.

3.7.4 Confirmability

Confirmability replaces the conventional claim of objectivity, and seeks to ensure that the research findings are grounded in data on events and not merely in my personal constructions as the investigator. This can be confirmed through a confirmability audit (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). This implies that another person that audits my data should be able to reconstruct how I have interpreted the data, and be able to reach the same conclusion. However, such a process faces the same problems concerning confidentiality and anonymity as the referential adequacy technique discussed earlier. One of the underlining premises of these techniques is that data, in the form of something concrete and sharable, is the only thing necessary to form interpretations and reach conclusions. However, this understates the vital role of tacit knowledge that is involved in the research process. In addition, I will also argue that the experience of intensive field work including shadowing, lead the researcher to develop embodied knowledge (Blackler, 1995) that can be difficult to articulate and share with others.

Although I doubt that it would be possible for another person to reach exactly the same conclusion based on the same data I collected, I will not discard the possibility that a similar study could recreate the research method applied here, and eventually conclude in a similar manner as I have done. However, there are no guarantees that the next person shadowing managers will notice or give attention to the same things as I have done, but keeping the possibility of emotionality in the back of one's head increases the possibility for seeing the same things as I did. Following Yin (2002), I have tried to compose my research paper in such a way that the chain of evidence is exposed and open for possible criticism. In

my writings I have presented the empirical data in a rather detailed manner to help the reader to decide if the interpretation and analysis are believable or not.

However, it is necessary to stress that all research writing and given accounts are selective and rhetorical constructions that are not neutral reports of incidents (Watson, 1995). I think there is always an element of persuasion in research writings, including my own products, which seek to convince the reader that both the process and product is valid. Even confessional tales, where researchers demystify the research process and admits shortcomings and errors, can be used to persuade the reader that the product is trustworthiness (see Van Maanen, 1988).

3.8 Ethical considerations

During the research process I had to manage several ethical issues. Of special concern to this study were the issues of confidentiality, anonymity, negation of access, and the role of the researcher. I will now discuss these matters.

As part of the agreement of allowing me to shadow managers, I signed a confirmation of confidentiality with the companies. From the start of the project, it was emphasized that I should not focus on trade secrets, but rather on what the managers were doing. As a consequence of this, I did not record the details of business or technology in my field notes. Both managers and other subordinates were informed about the purpose of the project before the interviews took place. At the same time they were also guaranteed individual anonymity and confidentiality, informed that participation was voluntarily, that they could refuse to answer a question, or to stop the interview at any time. At the end of the interview everybody were also given the opportunity to comment the interview. Afterwards the participants has been notified, and given the opportunity to protest, when I have intended to use portions of the interviews in papers.

Paradoxically, I interpreted the companies to be more worried about this issue of confidentiality than anonymity. However, securing anonymity for the participants has been one of the main concerns in my presentations of the data, and I have taken several steps to achieve this. Although I was not asked to hide the name of companies, I have replaced their names with pseudonyms and changed minor details about the companies to prevent identification of the participants. Because of the disproportion of females in the units, I have also given all persons male pseudo-names to ensure anonymity. I believe that these measures have secured the anonymity of the participants.

However, because of the sensitive nature of the shadowing method, renegotiations about access might have continued during the actual shadowing due to exposure to sensitive information (see also Czarniawska, 2007). I experienced few incidents of such direct renegotiation with either the managers or their colleagues. Before I shadowed them, managers informed their respective units about them being shadowed, presented me to their team, and introduced my research study as an effort to find out what managers do. They also repeated this procedure when we met uninformed persons during the week of shadowing. However, on some occasions subordinates felt uncomfortable about my presence, and I therefore left these meetings. Field notes on these unobserved meetings were afterwards written based on short interviews with the managers. That exclusion from these meetings was initiated by subordinates also illustrates that it was more difficult for this group to grow accustomed to a researcher than for the shadowed managers.

The role of the researcher is indeed an important issue in shadowing studies. Czarniawska (2007) writes about problems of blending in to the research context, and how similarity between the researcher and shadowed person can hamper access. I did not experience any of these problems, and it is not unthinkable that the combination of my age, gender, and educational background ease these tensions. Many of the participants had similar backgrounds, and it is possible that many saw my endeavour of understanding what managers are doing, as a form of apprenticeship and natural continuation of my studies of Technology Management. I will not speculate further in what could have happened if I had conducted the study in another context, or had different age gender or educational background, but it is quite possible that this would have had some effect.

I cannot rule out that my research had any observer effect, but my impression from asking the managers and their subordinates was that none was particularly disturbed in their daily activities. Some of the managers reported that they were a bit more self-conscious in my presence, and that they tried to be more efficient. However, this typically related to situations where they were undisturbed and doing desk work, and not when they were meeting and talking to other people. Usually, the managers were quite hectic and often moving rapidly from one person to another in unscheduled meetings. This indicated that they mostly acted ‘automatically’ and in line with their habits, and that my presence did not influence them considerably. My experience that it was easier for managers than others to grow accustomed to my presence, and easier for those interacting frequently with the manager during shadowing, is in agreement with McDonald (2005).

There is no doubt that shadowing is an invasion of the shadowed person's privacy. As Mintzberg (1973, pp. 271-272) noted, I found it inappropriate to include details about the contact between the shadowed managers and his family or other contacts about leisure activities. Although I abstractly registered these activities, I did it within a combined category named "Observer interaction and personal activities" to protect the manager's privacy. As part of the agreement to participate, I conducted a longer reflection session with each manager, which is the longest lasting activity within this category. During the research process I have sent each manager my field notes, timetables, and descriptions of observed events, with an invitation to comment or protest. All comments and suggestions from them have been incorporated in the data set and analysis.

4. SUMMARIES OF PAPERS

In this section I will briefly summarize and present the papers, although I refer the readers to appended papers themselves for fuller treatment and more details. An overview of the papers and their current status is given in Table 4.1. However, because it has been a while since Section 2, I will remind the reader that my overall research question is "*Why do managers engage in care?*" and that my subordinate research questions are:

a) *What are the observable outcomes of managers engaging in care?*
b) *How can knowledge workers be influenced by managerial care, expressed through ordinary daily managerial activities?*
c) *How is care connected to the formal position as manager*

The answer to the first subordinate research question will be grounded mainly in the empirical findings of Paper II, although Paper I and III also have some relevant findings. The second question is mainly addressed through the empirical findings in Paper III, although the outcomes of care in Paper I and II are also relevant. The last subordinate research question is addressed by the empirical findings of Papers I, II, and III. Paper IV is a methodological paper, which primarily has informed my methodological discussion here (although also inspired some of the discussion in Section 5).

Table 4.1. Overview of the papers

Title	Status
Have post-bureaucratic changes occurred in managerial work?	Under second review in European Management Journal
Reducing tension and promoting integration in the hyper-text organization -The importance of managers showing care	Presented at 9th EURAM conference 2009, Liverpool, GB. Presented at 25th EGOS colloquium 2009, Barcelona, ES.
In search of influence - Leading knowledge workers with care	Under review in Administrative Science Quarterly. Presented at the NEON-conference 2008, Tromsø, NO.
Shadowing – A field technique for discovering emotions in work	Presented at Workshop at Chemnitz Univeristy of Technology, 26th -29th of March 2009. Revised version will appear as book chapter in a book edited by, Schulz, Kerosuo, Geithmer and Blackler. Presented at the 24th EGOS colloquium 2008, Amsterdam, NL.

4.1 Summary of Paper I

Title: Have post-bureaucratic changes occurred in managerial work?

This paper reports a comparative study with those of Henry Mintzberg and Stefan Tengblad. Empirical findings are based on work activity data and supplemented with data from interviews with both managers and employees. It is quite remarkable that the research findings in my study supports 10 out of the 12 propositions made by Mintzberg (1973) study over 35 years later. This is even more remarkable when we consider that the studies are situated in different cultures and different organizational settings like R&D. The general support for these propositions suggests that commonalities in managerial work are more profound than the variation. In contrast to Tengblad (2006), I did not find any indications of less preoccupation with administrative work.

Taking advantage of Mintzberg's method as a flexible method where categories may be developed during and after observations, a number of new categories were developed in this study, especially connected to describe the purpose of verbal contacts. Of these, the category of "Care and consideration" is included to cover greetings, social chit-chat and displays of concern for other people. The shadowed manager in this study spent 16 percent of his time in verbal contact with the purpose of showing care or consideration.

Although the study could not support that a post-bureaucratic practice had materialized, the following characteristics support the existence of a human-relations-oriented management practise: high proportion of care and consideration, information dialogue, a high volume of receiving and giving of information, interaction requests, many group meetings, and many meetings with subordinates. These findings also mean that there is indeed no antagonism between managerial care and bureaucratic organizations. Interestingly, the supportive practice by R&D managers towards knowledge workers might actually contribute to increased task fragmentation, personal interruptions, and administrative work for the managers. It is highly unlikely that all routine administrative work disappears by itself. Someone needs to 'grease the engine' and ensure that detailed tasks are completed, from subordinates having functioning equipment to small problems like having appropriate tea on hand. For the R&D companies in this study, it appeared that it was the subordinates that delegated administrative tasks upward to their manager. As expressed by one of the managers, it is probably good business to have a manager, with administrative responsibilities, taking care of such issues so that the technical staff and can be as productive as possible.

Another manager expressed that personnel responsibility also meant taking employees' personal needs into consideration. Yet, another manager explained that he

believed that it was through sustaining the well-being of the employees the company can succeed, which suggests one explanation for why managers engage in care. Together, the managers' focus on both administrative and personnel responsibility suggest the importance of taking this and other institutional factors into account in the following discussion.

4.2 Summary of Paper II

Title: Reducing tension and promoting integration in the hyper-text organization -The importance of managers showing care

This paper follows an exploratory case study design, and combines the theoretical perspective from organizational knowledge creation theory with the empirical detailed and analytical inductive orientation from the MWB approach. The paper uses the concept of care and its five dimensions (von Krogh, 1998) as a starting point for a micro-level perspective that shows how managers can contribute to integration in organizations through engaging in care. The empirical findings reported in this paper are based on observations of interaction between managers and others.

Presentations of three observed episodes show that caring behaviour by middle managers can contribute to reducing the immediate tension between different actors. Because the different layers in the hyper-text organization (see Nonaka, 1994; Nonaka & Takeuchi, 1995) have different goals and internal logics, different organizational members representing and promoting the goals and logics of his or her layer have often incompatible understanding of the same situation. These different viewpoints and understandings can create substantial tension between actors representing different layers, something which can be reduced by care. This reduction in tensions helps the participants to start a process of indwelling (von Krogh, 1998), in which they freely share their experiences, perspectives, and concepts.

However, care towards one person can actually increase tension in a relationship with another. This is a not a phenomenon particular to the business world, but also quite common in many families. Intuitively, most people know that in a typical family with two toddlers, giving attention or giving a gift to just one child does not improve one's relationship with the other child.

The first observable outcomes of managers' engagement in care are an immediate reduction of tension, although occasionally care towards one person can actually increase tension towards another. The implication of reduced tension to a workable level, where different people try to understand each other's position and help each other, is that it helps the overall organization through better coordination across different levels and units. An

underlying premise in the managers actions, which will be further explored in the forthcoming discussion in Section 5, are their responsibilities to find solutions, resolve conflicts, and put out 'fires'.

4.3 Summary of Paper III

Title: In search of influence - Leading knowledge workers with care

Starting out from an understanding that R&D managers are in search of influence, as knowledge workers value autonomy and dislike direct supervision, this paper examines how leadership support can influence others. The empirical materials reported in this paper are interviews with knowledge workers and observations and interviews with managers. From the interviews, it is evident that although knowledge workers preferred autonomy, they did not want to be completely left alone. They expected to work independently within constraints, and expected their manager to be supportive and take an interest in them as complete persons.

Excerpts from interviews showed that the managers wanted to lead by delegating work to autonomous employees, ensuring that they are doing well, and taking responsibility for organizing the work environment. The managers acknowledged that personnel responsibility is perhaps the hardest part of being a manager. This responsibility was solved by getting to know the employees, and as observed, by engaging in care through mundane activities like listening and chatting.

An analysis based on social influence theory (Cialdini, 2001) shows that such mundane managerial activities can influence others both intentionally and unintentionally. In addition the analysis shows that knowledge workers are not only directly influenced by managerial care, but also indirectly influenced by observing or becoming aware of care between his or her manager and a colleague. Although all people can influence each other, managers' behaviour is still considered to be more influential than other people due to their position and formal authority. This is also one of the main explanations why knowledge workers expected their manager to relate to and care for them.

However, what is important in these particular research settings is the first-line managers' authority to regulate the knowledge workers' hours of work. Therefore these managers have the means to shield, and if necessary, provide custom-made working arrangements for knowledge workers living through rough personal situations. This means that when knowledge workers are talking to their manager about problems at work or at home, they are not talking to just anyone. They are talking to someone that can actually intervene and make a decision that can have an impact and help them. However, this implies

that the influence from 'soft' managerial practices like support and care cannot be separated from the influence derived from 'hard' hierarchical and formal positions.

Caring for employees does not necessarily exclude the potential influence from this behaviour. Leaders can both feel concern for others as well as notice that their actions can have positive and instrumental influence. Support and care can thus potentially be used to influence others also in negative and unwanted directions, which should not be forgotten even when studying positive and good behaviour like care.

According to this paper, managers engage in care because it is expected of them, because they can influence others through it, and because they can secure long-term loyalty and favours from the knowledge workers. This will be further elaborated in the upcoming discussion in Section 5.

4.4 Summary of Paper IV

Title: Shadowing – A field technique for discovering emotions in work

The shadowing method is one of several field techniques that can be used to gather contextually-rich empirical data, as called for by Barley and Kunda (2001) in their paper on how to bring work back into organization studies. It is a bit surprising that they do not discuss the methodological contribution by Mintzberg (1973), when they at the same time argue for the value of grounded quantitative data as a supplement to qualitative field data. Following the growing interest in emotions in organizations, Fineman (2000a, p. 14) calls for "contextually rich 'real time' emotion studies of organizational life". Also this suggests a call for more extensive uses of field techniques. Although "there is a significant emotional dimension to managerial work" (Watson, 1994/2001, p. 180) , managerial work and behaviour studies have not given attention to emotions despite the use of different field techniques as shadowing. I respond to this shortcoming with a methodological paper that develops a four-dimensional framework to highlight the distinctiveness of shadowing compared with other research methods. Trying to understand what is actually going on in organizations requires, in the language of this framework, researchers to study informants' natural behaviour directly through observation in their natural work setting. Studies should primarily rely on qualitative data, but it is also advised to use grounded quantitative data as a supplement.

Both shadowing and ethnography fully meet these methodological demands, but the researcher may get access to events otherwise not available by shadowing a person. This is illustrated in the paper by giving a description of a highly-emotional interaction between a

manager and one of his employees. Tagging along with a particular organizational member helps the researcher gain unique insight into this person's perspectives and day-to-day experiences, which is the major contribution of this method. Other contributions are gathering of detailed, mundane and first-hand accounts of what is going on in organizations, as well as contextualized data that allows researchers to take a holistic approach when trying to make sense of individuals' situations, behaviours, and intentions.

The major problems with this method are: access to subjects, time consumption, physical demands, vast amounts of data, and the relationship with the shadowed person. In the latter point, a researcher will gain an increased understanding of the situation and motive of the informant, and might become quite sympathetic to the informant's point of view. The use of interviews as supplements to observation can counter this and is recommended for two reasons: first, by giving valuable data on how managers themselves understood their situation, and second, by providing non-managerial perspectives through interviewing other people than the person being followed.

The empirical illustrations in this paper show that many managers find their personnel responsibility very delicate and emotional. The emotional nature of managerial work, including understanding it as emotional labour (Hochschild, 1983), is understudied, and shadowing is a very suitable method for broadening our understanding of this phenomena. The growing trend to acknowledge emotions in organizations should also be recognized within the managerial work and behaviour approach. Through shadowing or other field techniques, it is possible to secure a sound empirical foundation for future theories. However, this highlights the importance of closer integration between organizational theory and the managerial work and behaviour approach. Shadowing is a suitable method for not only studying emotions in organizations, but also as a valuable field technique for bringing work back into organization theorizing. I join McDonald (2005) in encouraging researchers to apply this method in their own work.

5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this section is to discuss the research questions in light of the summaries of empirical findings from the attached papers. After discussing each of the three subordinate research questions in turn, I summarize these discussions and discuss the overall research question. This subsection is followed by a discussion of the theoretical, methodological, and practical implications of this thesis, before ending with concluding remarks.

5.1 Observable outcomes of managers' engagement in care

In the preliminary work leading to the formulation of the first subordinate research question in Section 2.1, I emphasized that managers can choose their actions. Because of this, I argued that it is more relevant to consider how managers learn about being a manager. Based on the studies by Watson and Harris (Watson, 2001; Watson & Harris, 1999) it is clear that one vital source for managers' learning is observing the outcome of their and others' actions. I therefore formulated the first subordinate research question as "*What are the observable outcomes of managers engaging in care?*"

From Paper II and the presentation of three observed episodes where managers engaged in care, it is evident that showing care can instantaneously reduce tension. As argued in the paper, a reduction in the level of tensions between actors can help the participants to start a process of indwelling (von Krogh, 1998), in which they more freely share their experiences, perspectives, and concepts. In the paper, I explained the existence of tension as a result of the different goals and internal logics of the different layers in the hyper-text organization (Nonaka, 1994; Nonaka & Takeuchi, 1995), which often are incompatible with each other. Because of these diverse goals and logics, tensions between organizational members representing different layers will be quite common. This explanation is parallel to how Arvidsson (2009) explain the sources of tensions in projectified matrix organizations.

Managers can observe that their caring actions reduce tension, which can promote sharing of perspectives which again can promote better integration across the different layers in the hyper-text organization. However, this raises at least two additional questions. The first question relates to why managers would feel obliged to engage in actions that reduce tensions and promote integration? From Paper I, it is evident that managers confirmed that one of their main tasks was to clean up problems and remove any obstacles for their subordinates. The responsibility to resolve such short-term problems, dubbed 'fire-fighting', are well known (see Grint, 1995, p. 45ff) and contribute to the managers' often hectic and fragmented

working day. According to Barnard (1938, p. 215) "Executive work is not that *of* the organization, but the specialized work of *maintaining* the organization in operation." However, as pointed out by Sayles (1964, p. 163) in his study of middle managers: "The manager's objective, then, is not a static system of human relations. Rather, he is seeking a dynamic type of stability, making adjustments and readjustments to both internally generated and externally imposed pressures. By these responses to variations in the environment, he hopes to maintain a *moving equilibrium*." This understanding highlights how managerial work is located within organizational processes, which demands continuous negotiation with external and/or internal actors.

Because a manager is invested with formal authority to represent his or her organization or organizational unit, managers as a whole are seen as negotiators and must take charge when their unit negotiates with others (see also Mintzberg, 1973, p. 97 & 99). This means that managers participate in such negotiations by virtue of the roles of figurehead, spokesperson, and resource allocator. In addition the manager also needs to develop networks of contacts in which information and favours are traded for mutual benefits. As stated in Paper I by one of the managers, it is about 'greasing the engine' and is probably good business to have a manager, with administrative responsibilities, taking care of such issues so that knowledge workers can be as productive as possible. Thus the answer to why managers feel obliged to engage in actions that reduce tensions and promote integration points to their formal authority, which is connected to the institutional level; a theme I will discuss further in the next subsections.

In the second question I ask: "*If managers can observe that showing care leads to a positive outcome, why do managers not engage in care all the time?"* As evident from Paper II, one of the reasons is that care towards one person can simultaneously increase tension in relationships with others. People in organizations expect others to treat them and others with certain fairness, which means that no one should receive undue special favour. However, what is perceived as undue will naturally vary from different contexts and persons, but also vary across time and situations for the same persons and contexts. This suggests at some of the complexity in organizations, and illustrates why inflexible recipes for managerial practice are seldom successful. This also suggests that managers need extensive experience and multiple observations of the same phenomena before they get a feeling of when and to whom certain activities (like care) have the intended outcome or not.

The importance of experiencing what 'works' is also highlighted by Barnard (1938, p. 121). In his advice to executives seeking to "learning the ropes", he advised them to stay clear

of “excessive concentration of the problems of formal organizations”. Instead, understanding organizations “is learning who’s who, what’s what, why’s why, of its informal society”. I interpret this statement as a signal to managers to engage and experience the people of the organization. Although this sounds like commonsense advice, Hill (2003) noted how 19 new managers underestimated the importance of relationships and the ‘people challenge’ when they started their position. From Papers I and III, it is evident that managers in this study acknowledged their need to sustain employee well-being as part of their personnel responsibility, which is perhaps the hardest part of being a manager. This responsibility was solved by getting to know employees through engaging in care through mundane activities like listening and chatting. It seems plausible that the managers had learned to engage in listening and chatting through initial trial-and-error, although I have no concrete empirical findings to support this argument. However, the importance of such mundane activities as part of doing leadership has been made evident by both Alvesson and Sveningsson (2003c) and Styhre, Roth and Ingelgård (2002), which thus support my suggestion.

Because managers observe that care towards one person can increase tension towards another, they do not engage in care all the time. However, based on the empirical findings of Paper III, I argue that care—expressed through mundane managerial activities like listening and chatting—is especially suitable in one-to-one interactions between a manager and an employee. The reason for this is that a private conversation without any spectators gives more room for intimacy and less fear for accusations of undue favours from others. Although such contact can reinforce mutual trust, it is also necessary to be aware that managers seldom have a perfect relationship with everyone. Although I have advanced that managers learn through observing the outcome of one’s own and others actions the discussion in this subsection, which implies that actions like care affect others, I have not yet explained how this happens. To examine this requires me to move beyond the manager to also consider how knowledge workers and others are influenced by care. This is the topic in the next subsection, which addresses the second subordinate research question. Before going there, I will summarize the discussion in this subsection.

Based on the discussion of the answer to the first subordinate research question, I argue that managers engage in care because they can observe that showing care can reduce tension in their relationships with others. The reduction in tension can promote organizational integration, which managers seek to support as part of their formal authority and responsibility to their organizational unit. Because managers also observe that showing care towards one person can increase tension towards another, they do not engage in care all the

time. I also suggest that this is the reason why managers engage in care through mundane managerial activities like listening and chatting, as part of their personnel responsibility, and mainly in private without any spectators.

5.2 How knowledge workers can be influenced by managerial care

In the discussion leading up to the second subordinate research question in Section 2.2, I noted that although leadership is commonly understood as a process of intentional influence by one person over a group of people to accomplish a given goal (Bass, 1990a; Yukl, 2002), influence in this regard seems to be used as a synonym for persuasion. While persuasion is consciously sought, influence may be unintentional (Hargie, et al., 1999, p. 24). Following the argument by Dasborough and Ashkanasy (2002) that leadership is intrinsically an emotional process, combined with a recognition that emotions can be spread implicitly through emotional contagion (Hatfield, et al., 1993), I argued for examining the leadership process by applying social influence theory (Cialdini, 2001; Cialdini & Goldstein, 2004). This framework is particularly suitable because it recognizes that the social influence process can be subtle, indirect and outside of awareness for those affected by such processes. I argued further that care, expressed through mundane leadership activities like listening and chatting (Alvesson & Sveningsson, 2003c), could affect and influence others. I thus formulated the second subordinate research question as: "*How can knowledge workers be influenced by managerial care, expressed through ordinary daily managerial activities?*"

The qualitative description of activities of care in Papers II, III, and IV all show how managers can show care through mundane and ordinary activities like listening and chatting. The analysis of these activities in Paper III show that knowledge workers can be influence by care through several social influence processes (Cialdini, 2001).

Following the same argument as stated in the previous subsection, I argue that observing the organizational outcomes from actions by oneself and others is also an important source for knowledge workers' learning. This implies that knowledge workers are not only directly influenced by managerial care, but also indirectly influenced by observing or becoming aware of care between his or her manager and a colleague. Because of this awareness, they might expect equal favours and treatment if they find themselves in similar situations. Thus, the belief in potential future favours could influence them to feel a higher degree of commitment towards the manager. However, as made clear from the discussion in the previous subsection, lack of similar treatment increase the likelihood for viewing a favour to someone else as undue, which may increase tension towards the manager.

When knowledge workers observe through public e-mails, common activities, or in conversation that a manager cares about another person, these observations could strengthen the liking of this manager. From Section 2.2 it is clear that liking is one social process of influence (Cialdini, 2001). A strengthened liking helps to build trust, while increasing contact with people one already likes increase the amount of liking that person. Heightened liking could later lead to higher cooperation when the manager asks for a favour or makes assignments. Showing observable care or doing public favours could also stimulate a more helpful environment. Through the process of social proof (Cialdini, 2001), knowledge workers could increasingly help others, therefore emulating managers' acts of providing favours. This process could also explain how managers can act as role models by showing cheerfulness and 'walk the talk'.

This analysis highlights the importance of mundane activities like listening and chatting, which echoes the findings in Alvesson and Sveningsson (2003c). However, the two authors claim that because everyone influences each other, the influence from managers is pretty mundane and not particular. This raises an additional question: *Is the influence from managers different than from others?* While the social influence dimensions of liking, reciprocation, and social proof are common for all people, I argue that processes of scarcity and authority are more profound for managers than others.

A manager's attention is limited, and his responsibilities bring along a number of mandatory activities and meetings. According to Cialdini (2001), the scarcity principle makes items or opportunities more valuable to us when they are more limited and less available. In our setting, this would mean that a manager's mundane activities is perceived as more valuable when he or she has less time to spare. This would also lead to a perception where the manager's attention is seen as more valuable when the demand for attention increases. Attention from the manager should therefore be more valued if the manager has personnel responsibility for a larger group of people than a smaller group. In the same manner, demands for a manager's attention would also increase if the manager is not always present at the location of work. Because workers have many colleagues but only one manager, they would value the manager's attention more than attention from others. Because of scarcity, more value would be placed on listening and chatting conducted by the manager compared to others.

The positional authority of being a manager can also take on a more subtle form. According to Cialdini (2001), social influence process, like that of authority, can be subtle, indirect and outside of awareness. This view is in accordance with Fineman (2000a, p. 11),

who noticed that emotional processes may be unconscious. The implication is that managers can and do influence others both intentionally and unintentionally through mundane activities. A further implication is that even managers' care and concern for others can have a positive yet instrumental influence on employees, as stated by one of the managers in Paper III. This has also been noticed by Kunda, who reported that a manager told project managers to get to know their employees and show care and concern towards them to prevent burnout: "we need them for a long, long time" (1992, pp. 203-204). Although I acknowledge that this can also be seen as an example of normative control, which Kunda (1992, p. 11) defines as an effort to direct organizational members by controlling the underlying experience, thoughts and feelings that guide their actions. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to examine this subject to explore this issue further.

Although the managers in this study worked to reduce power differentials, they cannot escape their position as manager. Their occupation is embedded with authority through their title, and the title alone can increase compliance (Cialdini, 2001). The paradox of working to reduce power differences is that such work actually confirms that differences in status exist. If all employees were equal there would be nothing to play down. It seemed like all managers appeared to be similar to the knowledge workers, and thus downplayed the status difference during lunch or other informal settings by engaging in non-work related topics. However, by the end of the day it is still the manager who assigns knowledge workers to their projects and negotiates their salaries. This implies that the manager as a person cannot separate himself from his formal position or the authority that is invested in being a manager. This could also have implications for knowledge workers: if they view their manager as not only a person, but also as a representative for the organization, it is not totally unlikely that increased feeling of liking, or increased commitment towards the manager through the process of reciprocation (Cialdini, 2001), can also be attributed to the organization as a whole. However, this suggestion moves beyond the relationship between knowledge workers and the manager towards an institutional relationship between the managers and the organizations. This is the topic in the next subsection, which addresses the third and last subordinate research question, but I will first summarize the discussion in this subsection.

From the discussion of how knowledge workers are influenced by managerial care in this subsection, it is clear that knowledge workers are affected by care, expressed through the mundane activities of listening and chatting, through several of the social influence dimensions formulated by Cialdini (2001). However, in addition I also argue that that they are not only directly influenced through these processes, but also indirectly influenced by

observing or becoming aware of managerial care between his or her manager and a colleague. This can create expectations of similar treatment in the future, which can turn into increased tension towards the managers, if these expectations are not fulfilled. I further suggest that care for others can have a positive, yet instrumental, influence on employees, which may be exploited to gain normative control. Although the social influence dimensions of liking, reciprocation, and social proof are common for all people, I argue that processes of scarcity and authority are more profound for managers than others, which is counter to Alvesson and Sveningsson's (2003c) claim that managerial influence is no different from influence from anyone else. From this and conclusions from the previous subsection, it is clear that managers engage in care because they observe that they can affect and influence others through these activities.

5.3 The connection between care and the formal position as manager

Both in the discussion in Sections 2 and 2.3, as well as in the two previous subsections, I argue that it is necessary to consider the institutional level to fully understand why managers engage in care. To connect the institutional level with managerial work and behaviour, I chose to focus the last subordinate research question on the relation between care and the manager as a formal position formulated as the research question in Section 2.3: *How is care connected to the formal position as manager?* However, as the discussion in Section 2.4 reveals, to answer this question presupposes that there is no antagonism between care and the formal position as manager within bureaucratic organizations.

However, based on the lack of empirical findings that suggests less preoccupation with administrative work in Paper I, it is not possible to conclude that a radical new post-bureaucratic managerial practice (Drucker, 1988; Kanter, 1989; Peters, 1989; Zuboff, 1988) had materialized as a consequence of the introduction of post-bureaucratic organizations (Daft & Lewin, 1993; Grey & Garsten, 2001; Heckscher, 1994). Managerial responsibility thus continues to be defined by a system of hierarchical relationships and rules (Hales, 2002, p. 62). Despite the fact that steep hierarchical structures have flattened and loosened, senior managers have eliminated neither the hierarchy, individual responsibility, nor vertical accountability (Leavitt, 2005). The natural result of this reluctant attitude is far from the post-bureaucratic, and both middle managers and first line managers are engrossed in bureaucratic routines and regulations (Hales, 1999a, 2002, 2005; Hales & Mustapha, 2000; Hales & Tamangani, 1996).

Although there is no evidence of less preoccupation with administrative work in Paper I, there is empirical support for a more dialogue-oriented contact pattern. Verbal contacts between the shadowed managers and others were so fluid that I found it necessary to create more interactional categories. Introducing the concepts of "Information dialogue" and "Request interaction", which signalled both giving and receiving, support the post-bureaucratic notion of more dialogue and fluid communication. Together with a high proportion of receiving and giving information, requesting interaction, facilitating many group meetings and individual meetings with subordinates, these findings support the existence of a human-relations-oriented management practice by the managers in my study. This finding also means that there is no antagonism between managerial care and bureaucratic organizations.

However, it is difficult to argue that such practice is particularly novel, considering its roots back to at least the Human Relations movement in 1925 (Barley & Kunda, 1992, p. 372). For instance, Walker et al. (1956) described how foremen established personal relationships with their employees. Friendliness between managers and employees is actually in accordance with some basic view of authority. Authority is usually described as legitimate power (Clegg, 1989; Pfeffer, 1981; Watson, 2006), and can be traced to Weber's (1911/2000) three forms of authority: Legal-rational, Traditional and Charismatic. Managers thus gain their authority, which involves rights, prerogatives, obligations, and duties (Yukl, 2002, p. 142), from their position in a hierarchical organization rooted in laws. However, Weber's three forms of authority are ideal types kept separate to promote understanding and discussion of them; it does not exclude the possibility that different forms of authority are intervened. Barnard (1938, p. 163), for instance, understands authority relations not as given, but dependent on acceptance of all people involved. Thus it is the persons whom authority addresses that define the acceptance or extent of authority, not the persons of authority. I will not problematise this interesting discussion much further, but rather point to the interesting connection it has to the relationship between knowledge workers and their managers.

The typical understanding of knowledge workers and creative people is that they value autonomy (Mumford, et al., 2002; Oldham & Cummings, 1996) and dislike to be directed by a supervisor (McAuley, et al., 2000). However, although interviews in Paper III confirmed that they do work autonomously, they did not want to be completely left alone; they expected to work independently within constrains. Most also expressed that they expected the managers to follow up on them, give them feedback, and if necessary correct their direction if they were drifting too far from their objective. Both the empirical findings in this paper, as

well as the theoretical review, show the importance of support from their manager. From interviews with the managers reported in Paper I and III, it is apparent that they emphasized the importance of making sure that their employees were doing well and thus be supportive towards them. Expectations from employees and acknowledgement of these expectations are thus one explanation of why managers show care towards their employees.

I argue that knowledge workers do not dislike authority in itself, but dislike authority in the form of a command-and-control management style. The fact that employees indicated that it was only natural to involve a manager when their personal life affected work suggests that they inform the manager because of his authority to regulate the knowledge workers' hours of work. Therefore these managers have the means to shield, and if necessary, provide custom-made working arrangements for knowledge workers living through rough personal situations. This means that when knowledge workers are talking to their manager about problems at work or at home, they are not talking to just anyone. They are talking to someone that can actually intervene and make a decision that can have an impact and help them. In this situation, the managers' authority is indeed very welcome.

There are several reasons why employees' expectation that managers should show care is viewed as legitimate. I have already noted the particular setting of R&D where the need for 'softer' management practice has been recognized at least since Burns and Stalker (1961). It is also possible to understand the use of a vocabulary of community, sharing, caring, and nurturing social relations in knowledge management literature (see Alvesson & Kärreman, 2001), as an expression of the same phenomena. However, a major fact that legitimate expectations of managers as people who show empathy, are easy to talk with, have time to talk, and understand employees as complete persons, is found in the managers' personnel responsibility. One should remember that authority is not only about rights, it is also about obligations and responsibilities. This implies that in the same manner that authority is dependent on employee acceptance, employees can also influence obligations and expectations connected to a manager's personnel responsibility and authority. Such duality in the authority concept may explain why knowledge workers expect managers to fix practical or administrative matters for them, and why managers comply. As is noted by Watson and Harris (1999, p. 172), the way managers can "manage is constrained by the expectations of their staff and the culture they are used to and are re-creating". In other words, employees' expectations and construction of what personnel responsibility implies influence managers' demands, constrains, and choices (Stewart, 1976, 1982). This also implies that managers engage in care because it is expected by them by others.

I also would like to briefly note that the expectation that managers should engage in care towards their employees is also institutionalized through legal frameworks concerning labour relations, including the Norwegian Work Environment Act and the National Wage Agreement between the trade unions and employers' association, which is supported by the national government. A general pattern in these guidelines is the employers' responsibility, often delegated to the immediate supervisor, to follow up on employees on long-term sick leave and make adjustments to help them back to a regular working life. In addition, it is not unlikely that the national setting contributes to, or at least support, 'softer' management practice. As I have noted previously, compared to the USA, Norwegian culture is very low on the masculinity dimension (Hofstede, 1980). This difference implies that people in Norway highly value dialogue and consensus, and preferring the quality of human relationships more than material rewards. This picture of Norwegian democracy, organizations, and management is also supported by historical development in these countries (Byrkjeflot, 2003).

However, emotions in organizations do not only arise because human beings working within organizations have emotions and feelings, but also because certain types of work formally require people to engage in what Hochschild calls emotional labour. "This labour requires one to induce or suppress feeling in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others" (1983, p. 7). She further notes that private social life has called for the management of feeling for a long time (1983, p. 18). Just think about the norms and feeling rules that surround funerals, weddings, family gatherings, parties or any social gathering. What differentiates emotional labour from such everyday emotional management is that feeling becomes a resource to make money in a commercial setting (1983, p. 55).

Emotional labour is performed through face-to-face or voice-to-voice contact (Steinberg & Figart, 1999, p. 10). According to Hochschild (1983, p. 35), influenced by Goffman's (1959) dramaturgical views of interactants as actors concerned with appearances, we can alter our emotional expressions in two ways. She further outlines that surface acting is when we change our outward emotional expressions through actions, body language, or utterances, without trying to change our feelings at the same time. In contrast, deep acting is when we actively try to self-induce ourselves to feel the same feeling we want to display. In addition, Ashford and Humphrey (1993) argue later that also authentic expression of "spontaneous and genuine" emotion, illustrated by a nurse feeling sympathy for an injured child, should be regarded as emotional labour.

Hochschild's (1979, 1983) research was based on studying flight attendants and bill collectors, and although later studies on emotional labour focused on frontline service workers (Humphrey, Pollack, & Hawver, 2008), emotional labour is also called for by clerical workers, sales workers, professional and technical workers, administrators, and managers (Hochschild, 1983, p. 234). Emotional labour is not only restricted to external relationships with clients or customers, but also performed within organizations (Steinberg & Figart, 1999, p. 12). However, Hochschild's concept of emotional labour is focused on managerial control and monitoring of such work (1983, p. 156), thereby creating an antagonism between managers and workers doing emotional labour. This might explain why relatively few scholars have studied managers' emotional labour.

Traditional administrative theory, represented by Fayol, Weber, Gulick and Urwick, stressed the functional aspects of organizations, in which different subunits work independently and jointly to achieve the organization's objectives (Fineman, 1994, p. 75). Gulick (1937, p. 13) formulated one of the earliest management acronyms, POSDCORB (Planning, Organizing, Staffing, Directing, Coordinating, Reporting, and Budgeting) to explain managerial work. Although Mintzberg (1973, 1975) severely attacked POSDCORB, he did not reject the underlying rational perception where signs of emotion were excluded. It is perhaps healthy to be reminded that Mintzberg wrote within the era of 'system rationalism' (1955-80), when computer science metaphors and systems thinking were the backbone of management thinking on rational administrative routines and behaviour (Barley & Kunda, 1992). This influence on Mintzberg is illustrated by his writing extensively about programming the manager's work (1973, p. 166 ff). Because the MWB approach was founded in the same era it is likewise not surprising that no one paid attention to this issue. However, some scholars have noted how managers used humour (Kotter, 1982; Stewart, et al., 1994), their involvement in internal politics (Dalton, 1959; Kotter, 1982), and their entanglement in moral mazes (Jackall, 1988). More recently, Watson (1994/2001) and Noordegraaf (2000a) have drawn attention to the uncertainties, ambiguities, and contractions of managerial works, as well as the issues of identity. Thus, some modest progress to acknowledge the emotional nature of managerial work has been made within the MWB approach.

According to Watson (2003, p. 202), the rediscovery of feelings and emotions is often connected to the influence of Weber and his ideal type of bureaucracy. Although Weber (1911/2000) conceived a bureaucracy as no place for love, hatred, and all purely personal, irrational and emotional elements which escape calculation, Albrow (1997, p. 99) points out that Weber did not exclude emotion from bureaucracy, only those beyond calculation.

Jumping forward in time, we can see how a hierarchical bureaucracy harnesses workers' emotions to reach its goals in Hochschild's (1983) description of the training of flight attendants in the company's rules and regulations of emotional labour.

Also, Weber's (1911/2000) concept of charismatic authority can be viewed as an result of his acknowledgement of emotions. Of the three ideal types of authority, charisma is the most individualistic, and the most dependent on followers' support and acceptance of authority. Charismatic leaders are most prone to emerge in situations of chaos and crisis, in which an individual can attract followers based on his or her vision and arousal of emotional devotions. Charisma has later become a vital ingredient in more recent developments of leadership theories like transforming and transformational leadership (Bass, 1985, 1990b, 1999; Bass & Avolio, 1990; J. M. Burns, 1978). While Burns, in his original conception of transforming leadership, focused on social reform and moral elevation of followers, later theoretical developments have focused more on achieving task objectives in a more pragmatic notion (Yukl, 2002, p. 241). This more functionalistic approach is also evident in a recent attempt to connect leadership and emotional labour. Unfortunately, Humphrey, Pollack, and Hawver (2008) emphasize and use the concept "leading with emotional labour" to refer to leaders' efforts to influence followers' moods and emotions through displaying and expressing appropriate emotions. Although they make many valuable points in this conceptual paper, I am left with an impression that they encourage future research to test their propositions statistically. I think this is unfortunate, as research on emotional labour has typically either been qualitative case studies from the service sector or quantitative investigations (Steinberg & Figart, 1999). If leadership research continues with statistical analysis like Brotheridge and Grandey (2002), they will fail to provide qualitative, insightful description that can contribute to a theoretical leap (Alvesson, 1996; see also Bryman, 2004; Conger, 1998).

Following the same line of reasoning implies that quantitative work activity studies within the MWB approach will also fail to generate much insight in the emotional nature of managerial work. Instead MWB studies that follow the qualitative leader behaviour school, applying observational field methods, like ethnography and shadowing, have greater potential to provide such insight (Barley & Kunda, 2001; Fineman, 2000a). I do not think it is a coincidence that it is the more ethnographically-inspired studies like Dalton (1959), Kotter (1982), Jackall (1988), Watson (1994/2001), and Noordegraaf (2000a), that have touched upon emotions. Work by Kunda, which shows how managers and professionals were expected to display loyalty and commitment to their high-technology company, is also based

on ethnographic data (Kunda, 1992; Kunda & Van Maanen, 1999; Van Maanen & Kunda, 1989). These works emphasizes the human costs of emotional labour like stress, emotional numbness, and burnout, but the empirical picture so far is actually mixed (Steinberg & Figart, 1999). Both personality and social context undoubtedly have some influence on the effects of emotional labour (Fineman, 2003, pp. 141-142).

Emotional labour for managers can not only consist of expected displays of loyalty and commitment to their employer, but also be connected to conflicts and internal politics as illustrated by Watson (1994/2001, pp. 180-181). However, these types of emotional labour should not obstruct the fact that other parts of being a manager can be emotionally burdening. In a series of interviews, Watson and Harris (1999) get a glimpse of how recently promoted managers describe their experiences. Many talk about "playing the part" of being a manager, of the importance of controlling their feelings, "biting their lips", finding ways to avoid confrontations and "explosions". Some managers also talked about the importance of being seen as being supportive and being a human that has time to listen (1999, pp. 153-155). A good manager is a humane and caring person, but good deeds can also help the manager to manage, although "that's not why you do it" as one manager put it. However, another manager raised the question of supportive and caring acts is "verging on the manipulative". Finally, some managers in this study were aware of the potential positive effect of showing care, and as the analysis Paper III shows, care expressed through mundane activities like listening and chatting can definitively influence others.

I am not able to judge if the managers I shadowed were involved in surface acting, deep acting or genuine emotions when they showed care to their employees. However, I am certain they felt that personnel responsibility was a burden and the most challenging part of being a manager. The managers in Watson and Harris likewise talk about both the smooth and the rougher side of the people thing (1999, p. 167ff). For example, one of the managers in their study talked about how she felt when having to dismiss a person: "I just felt like a bad person. But I wasn't, I was making a management decision for the best of the company. But as a person, I felt lousy for days" (1999, p. 174). Although I did not observe anything as dramatic as a dismissal, I was personally surprised—on the verge of shock—to see the demands and burdens of personnel responsibility. Although taking disciplinary action was seen as being emotionally difficult, the manager's realization of the power and influence they had over another person's life weighed heavily on them (Hill, 2003, p. 188). However, I would like to emphasize that caring can also be seen as a burden. According to Solomon (1998), to care for someone can not only involve supporting and nurturing affection, but also

being possessive, vengeful, and to be hurt. He further elaborates that caring can be conceived as taking other interest as one's own, which could be illustrated by a leader defending the interest of their followers despite the danger of personal reprisals. Interestingly, Webster's Dictionary defines care as both to make provisions for someone and to be concerned, and also as having a troubled state of mind. One of the managers in Watson and Harris (1999, pp. 154-155) talks about how he found it tough to deal with staff facing personal crises and tragedies like death and illness in the family. Based on my findings, I would also add relationship break-ups and child custody arrangements.

In the preceding paragraphs, I have given some reasons as to why emotional labour literature has not focused much on managers, and why MWB studies did not focus on this matter. In addition, most MWB studies have focused on top-level managers. It is possible that the burden of personnel responsibility is more profound for managers supervising ordinary employees vs. other managers. It is also possible that expectations towards managers in the setting of R&D or other knowledge-intensive firms are more focused on being supportive. It is perhaps not a coincidence that the concept of care was developed by von Krogh (1998; 2000) within knowledge management literature. However, I still find it hard to believe that emotions and care do not play a more significant role for other managers as well. Managers are actually human beings as everyone else, fully capable of feelings and emotions like care. I agree with Hales (1999b) that we should focus more on commonalities than variation in managerial work, and to also understand the structural conditions surrounding their work. Such a focus should also increase our understanding of why managers engage in care.

From the rather lengthy discussion in this subsection regarding the connection between care and the formal position of managers, I will now underline several points. First, the discussion of findings from Paper I establish no antagonism between managerial care and the formal position as manager. Second, managers' authority depends on acceptance from all people involved, which mean that knowledge workers' expectations certainly affected which of the managers' actions were viewed as legitimate. This further implies that managers engage in care because it is expected of them as part of their personnel responsibility stemming from their formal position as manager. I also briefly noted that this is also institutionalized through the legal framework concerning labour relations in Norway. Third, managers' engagement in care highlights that their work implies at least some emotional labour, something which have received scant attention. Managers' engagement in care further illustrates how emotions in a hierarchical bureaucracy are not excluded, but rather harnessed in the interest of the organization. I strongly emphasize that showing care and being a

manager—and especially having personnel responsibility—can certainly be an emotional burden. This burden is part of the duties related to the formal position as manager, something that comes as a surprise for many newly-appointed managers. This suggests that the concept of care has received alarmingly little attention. In the next subsection, I will further elaborate upon the relationship between the subordinate research questions and the overall research question.

5.4 Why managers engage in care: connecting the subordinate research questions

In Section 2.4, I argue that the combination of my three subordinate research questions, representing the individual, interpersonal and institutional level, is indeed very suitable to answer why managers engage in care because it brings multiple views of this phenomenon. Although the three previous subsections were dedicated to only one subordinate research question and one level each, the discussions reveal that the three levels and questions are indeed interwoven into each other. First, while Section 5.1 views observational outcomes from the managers' point of view, Section 5.2 takes the knowledge workers' viewpoint. Together these two subsections illustrate that it is not enough to just consider the individual level, but also necessary to consider it in connection with the interpersonal level. In the same manner, knowledge workers were not only directly influenced by managerial care, but could also be indirectly influenced by observing the interaction between the manager and other colleagues. Based on these observations, they can form expectations to how they should be treated by the manager. However, as the discussion in Section 5.4 illustrated, these expectations were not only directed at the manager as a person, but also to the manager as a position. Based on the discussion in Section 5.1, managers learn to fulfil these expectations through trial and error, which connects all three subordinate questions.

Based on the previous discussions, I conclude that managers engage in care, expressed through mundane listening and chatting activities, because they on an individual level learn through observation that care can immediately reduce tension. On an interpersonal level this reduction in tension is explained by the fact that care influences others, both directly and indirectly. On an institutional level, managers engage in care because of their formal position and authority, which causes them to seek integration in their organization beyond their own unit. Authority is also one of the reasons why influence from managers is seen as more important than influence from others. Finally, I argue that managers' authority also brings additional duties influenced by employee expectations and the legal framework. Because

these duties are not completely in the managers' control, they feel this responsibility as an emotional burden, which also suggests that managers conduct emotional labour.

5.5. Implications and contributions

In this subsection, I discuss some of the theoretical, methodological and practical implications of the findings in this thesis. In addition, I suggest some themes and areas for future research.

5.5.1 Theoretical

The main theoretical contribution from this thesis is the development of the concept of care within the MWB approach, leaning heavily on the care concept developed by von Krogh (von Krogh, 1998; von Krogh, et al., 2000) within knowledge management literature. As discussions in the previous sections show, acknowledgement of emotion and care within the MWB has been lacking with few exceptions. This is not particular to this approach, but rather a more general feature to management research (Fineman, 1994, 2000b). In the same manner, and as noted by Solomon (1998), caring in organizations is sometimes denied, despite the fact that people—including managers—can, and do, care about one another. There is a growing trend to acknowledge emotions in organizations, and this should also have some influence on the MWB approach. By highlighting care in this thesis, I made a first step to open the approach to also consider the role of emotions in managerial work. Hopefully, such broadening of the scope will make MWB somewhat more relevant and fashionable as well. Future research is encouraged to further examine the emotional nature of managerial work, and to study how managerial care is influenced or limited by national culture, sector type, managers' functional area, and other organizational factors.

The thesis and Paper I also make a contribution to the ongoing debate on the changing or stable nature of managerial work. The backdrop of this debate stems from claims about radical changes in managerial work (Drucker, 1988; Kanter, 1989; Peters, 1989; Zuboff, 1988), following the radical change in organizational structure from bureaucratic to post-bureaucratic (Daft & Lewin, 1993; Grey & Garsten, 2001; Heckscher, 1994). The thesis concludes that post-bureaucratic work has not yet been materialized as practice by middle managers. However, there is evidence that a supportive managerial style with a dialogue-oriented communication, including showing care and consideration, has indeed been institutionalized in the studied companies. In contrast to the top manager study by Tengblad (2006), I am unable to conclude that my managers were less preoccupied with bureaucratic control and routine administration. Combined with the lack of any concrete example that

exemplifies a post-bureaucratic organization (Heckscher, 1994, p. 17), this implies that post-bureaucracy is only a language construct that has little impact on everyday practice in organizations. In particular, the proclamation of a general downfall of hierarchic structure in organizations stands in sharp contrast to empirical reality (see Leavitt, 2005).

Interestingly, bureaucratic resiliency can actually explain and reconcile the discrepancy between this thesis and Tengblad (2006). The bureaucratic line of authority implies that it is possible for managers higher in the hierarchy to delegate administrative and routine tasks downward. The evidence from Paper I shows how knowledge workers actually can delegate administrative tasks upwards to their manager. In addition, discussion in the previous sections made clear that a manager's hierarchical position within a bureaucracy is accompanied with the responsibility to care for their employees. The theoretical implication is that administrative work is a very central part of being a middle manager; future research needs to take this, and other institutional factors, into account. This also applies to studying the impact of emotions and emotional labour. A focus on formal positions can not only contribute to guiding further studies towards commonalities in managerial work as suggested by Hales (1999b), but also provide a link between managerial activities and activities at the institutional level.

This thesis also contributes to knowledge management literature, where the concept of care originated. Being nice to people is generally a worthy endeavour, but as is evident in this thesis and especially in Paper II, showing care towards others can also relieve tension and help the organizations' integration process. The importance of integration of knowledge from individual organizational members into organizational capabilities is highlighted by the knowledge-based theory of the firm (Grant, 1996a). In the same manner as caring behaviour is a prerequisite for indwelling with regard to creating new knowledge, such behaviour is also a prerequisite for indwelling with regard to integration. The process of indwelling enables different people to share each other's experiences, perspectives, and concepts. Indwelling alone does not generate integration; however, through generating shared understanding of each other's perspectives, it is easier to find workable solutions. This is important because the different layers in the hyper-text organization have different goals and internal logics; different organizational members representing and promoting the goals and logics of his or her layer will inevitable develop incompatible understanding of the same situation. One of the theoretical implications is that it is important to have integration between all three layers in the hyper-text organization, and not just between the knowledge-based and the business-system layers as previously conceptualized (Grant, 1996a).

Although care cannot provide integration by itself, it can provide a healthy foundation and an environment for accepting differences and finding common ground. However, care towards one person can actually increase tension in one's relationship with another person. This illustrates some of the complexity for managers applying caring behaviour in a setting with two or more actors, and how hard it is to accomplish integration across the three layers in the hyper-text organization. Another theoretical implication is recognition of the impact of sharing, caring, and nurturing social relations as important factors not just for knowledge creation, but also for integration. Future research is advised to ignore the claim by Alvesson and Kärreman (2001) that such managerial practice is weak and not important. In addition, the thesis also shows how theoretical concepts from knowledge management literature successfully can be combined with the MWB approach.

The major theoretical implication to leadership studies in this thesis is to highlight the importance of emotions and indirect influence in the leadership process. This view is in accordance with Fineman (2000a, p. 11), who noticed that emotional processes may be unconscious. The implication of more focus on emotions in leadership studies is a growing need to acknowledge that behaviour can influence people both intentionally and unintentionally. This is important when studying managers' daily activities, because the effect of intentional and unintentional influence is difficult, if not impossible, to keep separate. More qualitative leadership studies are needed to examine the impact from mundane leadership activities.

This thesis also contributes to broadening R&D leadership research to also include the relationship between first-line R&D managers and knowledge workers to examine more long-term effects in this organizational setting. More detailed studies on different groups of actors are recommended for the future. However, it should be emphasized that even support and care can potentially be used to influence others in negative and unwanted directions. Issues of manipulation and power should not be forgotten, even when studying positive and good behaviour. Future studies should also be encouraged to further examine how supporting leader behaviour, like care, can influence others, and in what extent such behaviour is used consciously or unconsciously by managers as means of normative control.

5.5.2 Methodological

The major methodological contribution in this paper is to show that shadowing is a well-suited method for studying what people actually do in organizations. This requires "field studies that examine work practices and relationships in situ" (Barley & Kunda, 2001, p. 84).

Detailed descriptions of organizational work life are only available if researchers become closely involved in organizations. Using the terminology in the framework in Paper II, Barley and Kunda (2001) call for researchers to study informants' natural behaviour directly through observation in their natural work setting. Studies should primarily rely on qualitative data, but it is also advised to use grounded quantitative data as a supplement.

With regard to the work activity school and studies of how managers spend their time, the thesis and Paper I reaffirm the usefulness of Mintzberg's original formulation of structured observation as "a method that couples the flexibility of open-ended observation with the discipline of seeking certain types of structured data. ... *The categories are developed as the observation take place*" (1973, p. 231, italics in the original). Future studies should be aware and take advantage of the flexibility offered by the original formulation. Following the suggestions of Martinko and Gardner (1985), Paper I opens the possibility of using multiple categories with regard to meeting participants and the purpose of verbal contacts. Such flexibility is necessary to avoid the problems of pre-coded categories, which reduces open-ended observation into little more than diary recoding (Mintzberg, 1973). This means that researchers miss the opportunity to generate rich, contextually sensitive data through directly observing informants in their natural work setting. It seems like the future for the time-based work activity school is restricted to further comparisons across national cultures, sectors and time spans. However, field notes on how managers distribute their time can be combined with recording of richer and more detailed description as illustrated by Mintzberg (1973).

The call for more flexibility in work activity studies highlights the influence on Mintzberg's (1973) qualitative-oriented part of the leader behaviour school. This thesis clearly illustrates that shadowing is a well-suited method for studying people and managers' emotional reactions. The greatest strength of shadowing and following a specific organizational member is that the researcher gains unique insight into this person's perspectives and day-to-day experience (McDonald, 2005). Working alongside managers gives a different perspective from being together with a shadowed manager every minute of the day for a week. For many managers the personnel responsibility is one of the most delicate tasks to manage, as illustrated by the empirical findings in the papers. I argue that the shadowing method could provide better access to situation where managers experience demands from having personnel responsibility. Personnel issues are not something done in public or in formal meetings with many participants, but rather handled discreetly in one-to-one settings between the manager and the person in question. By being present when managers interact with their personnel either face-to-face or over the phone, the researcher

enters a private arena accessible to few. Using Goffman's (1959) theatrical terms, the researcher enters the more personal backstage of manager-employee interaction compared to front-stage interaction in public.

In addition, the individual perspective provided by the shadowing method enables research of not only what the shadowed person is doing, but also what the person is *not* doing. By always being present and noting whom the shadowed person interact with, it is also possible to determine whom he/she has not interacted with during the observation period. Having accurate data on what the person is not doing opens the possibility for inquiring why some actions or interactions were not conducted. Such accurate data is difficult to obtain with other methods.

One of the major challenges with shadowing as a method is the changing nature of the relationship between researcher and informant (McDonald, 2005; Mintzberg, 1973). During the shadowing and through repeated interaction, the researcher will gain increased understanding of the situation and motive of the informant. At the end of observation the researcher might become quite sympathetic to the informant's point of view. This thesis has shown how the shadowing method can be supplemented with interviews with colleagues of the shadowed manager to counter the one-eyed managerial perspective. This is also important because managerial work studies need to include a broader set of perspectives to make more theoretical contributions and strengthen their links with organizational theory. In a qualitative study of the relationship between work and family time, Perlow (1998, 1999) shadowed both managers and engineers in a software development group. These two studies also illustrate that shadowing can be combined with other methods like in-depth interviews, ethnographic observation, and diaries. I advise MWB researchers to broaden their studies to include non-managerial perspectives, either by shadowing non-managerial persons or through qualitative interviews with other organizational members (as is done in this research).

Last, but not least, Papers II and III show that the shadowing method as a field technique also can be applied as a method for gathering data within knowledge management and leadership studies. Both bodies of literature could certainly benefit from applying this method to gather more micro data closer to the realities of everyday work. Although the number of qualitative leadership studies has increased, observation methods have rarely been used; instead, conducting qualitative interviews is the preferred research method (Bryman, 2004). It is a similar picture for knowledge management literature as well. According to Fineman (2000a) and Barley and Kunda (2001), observational field methods, like ethnography and shadowing, have the potential to secure a sound empirical foundation for

future theories about organizations and management. I believe this is true, and I thus join McDonald (2005) in her call for more management and organizational scholars to apply this method.

5.5.3 Practical implications

This thesis highlights the emotional nature of managerial work by providing illuminating empirical material, which also has some practical implications. The first is an echo of Fineman (2003), who calls for managers to acknowledge emotions in organizations and take them into consideration to a larger degree than today. I agree that an important factor is to increase the manager's awareness of emotions, and legitimise its place in organizations. Human beings are basically emotional; it is what defines us as humans. Because emotions are so fundamental for us, we cannot completely leave our feelings aside by the gate before we enter our workplace. This means that all organizational members, including managers, need to deal with others and their own emotions in everyday private and work lives. I do not think that experienced managers will deny this statement, but it is necessary to acknowledge emotions more strongly in the future. Doing so increases the likelihood that a newly-appointed manager will not be so surprised by the burden of becoming a manager, as illustrated by Hill (2003).

Management education is of particular interest for introducing potential managers to the emotional nature of managerial work and the weight of personnel responsibility. This should help prepare future managers better understand managerial duties and obligations. I will recommend basing such education on detailed real-life case narratives. In addition, it could be helpful for both potential and newly-appointed managers to have a more senior manager as a mentor, under the presumption that such interactions acknowledge also the emotional aspects of managing. I will also recommend that established management groups, particularly on the lowest level, establish reflection arenas were managers can discuss their experiences with personnel responsibilities. Here, both newly-appointed and more experienced managers can come together with peers to suggest and develop solutions to these problems. Such regular meetings have the potential to promote an ongoing leadership development activity that is closely connected to the managers' everyday organizational reality (see e.g. Knutstad, 2004).

Finally, I will also recommend that managers recognize that their activities have the potential to influence others both directly and indirectly. This should not be interpreted as an advice for managers to be constantly on guard to their own actions or others' reactions. Such

amount of concentration is indeed impossible to maintain for a long period of time. However, I suggest that it might be a good idea for the manager to become more aware of the expectations towards them. After all, these expectations place constraints and demands on what a manager can do. I will also encourage managers to be more realistic and mundane in their descriptions of their own activities. Talking more about the mundane character of managing and some of the burdens of personnel responsibility might recalibrate the overestimated expectations to what managers actually do. This could provide potential managers a better grasp of what being a manager implies, and at the same time reduce expectations from others to a more realistic level.

5.6. Concluding remarks

Towards the end of my work with this thesis, it is time to make some final reflections on the outcome of the project. Working on a PhD is not just a research project; it is also a highly personal project. I therefore return to my previous experience detailed in Section 1 and try to determine what I have learned. In hindsight, the greatest surprise for me has been the realization of how managers felt the burdens of personnel responsibility. I consider myself a well-read person on management and leadership literature, but still the importance of emotions in management came as a small shock. In some ways, I was relieved, as Hill (2003) stated that newly-hired managers were also unaccustomed to the importance of people management. This research has opened my eyes to the importance of care as an important element of people management, and has possibly prepared me for the day when I will eventually become a manager myself. However, something tells me that although I might be better prepared for the burdens of personnel responsibility than the managers in Hill (2003), I am still in for a surprise. Although shadowing is the research method that gets me closest to understanding the managerial experience, being a research manager is still different from being a corporate manager.

Shadowing managers, or doing other kinds of field work, will continue to highlight the mundane aspects of managerial work. If we look for such signs in organizations, we will likewise notice the existence of emotions like care. Future research is advised to start looking for these issues. This is not the final study on the emotional nature of managerial work, and I hope that this thesis can represent a new beginning for a broader discussion of our understanding of management. It is time for extending management research to also include the concepts of emotion and emotional labour. This is necessary if we as scholars shall truly understand more regarding the burdens of management. If not, we face the danger of not

grasping the totality of management, and thus creating a widening gap in our understanding of the nature of managerial work. For the future, the question to investigate should not be whether managers care about their employees or not, but rather what are the circumstances and situations where they do not. Emotions are present in every organization where there are human beings. It is now time to recognize this, and to bring the concept of emotions to organization and management theories.

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Paper I

Vie, O. E. "*Have post-bureaucratic changes occurred in managerial work?"*

Have post-bureaucratic changes occurred in managerial work?

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ABSTRACT

This article examines if managerial work below the top management level has changed to become more post-bureaucratic. This should be indicated by less preoccupation with administrative work and a more dialogue-oriented contact pattern, with both conditions needing to be supported for a positive conclusion. Empirical findings support the existence of a human-relations-oriented management practice, but are unable to provide evidence of less administrative work. The conclusion is that a post-bureaucratic model has not yet been materialized into practice by middle managers, and is reached despite using a sample of middle managers that should have been highly receptive to post-bureaucratic ideals. This conclusion corresponds with previous studies of middle managers and implies that future research should redirect their focus to less-studied issues like the commonalities in managerial work.

-Key words: Managerial work and behaviour, Middle managers, Post-bureaucracy, R&D

1. INTRODUCTION

Few would dispute that the world of business has changed considerably the last 40 to 50 years. Among these changes is a transformation in organizational structure from bureaucratic to post-bureaucratic, with principles of more flexibility and less hierarchical control (Daft & Lewin, 1993; Grey & Garsten, 2001; Heckscher, 1994). Managers in a post-bureaucratic setting should not only work less with bureaucratic control and routine administration, but also be engaged in the leadership of empowered employees by providing support, consultation and inspiration (Drucker, 1988; Kanter, 1989; Peters, 1989; Zuboff, 1988).

Empirical evidence supporting that managerial work and behaviour has changed towards the post-bureaucratic ideal is provided by Stefan Tengblad (2006) in a comparative study with that of Mintzberg (1973). The changes in the behaviour of top managers can be grouped in two broad patterns: less preoccupation with administrative work and a more dialogue-oriented contact pattern.

However, in contrast to these findings of post-bureaucratic behaviour by top managers, Colin Hales (1999a, 2002, 2005) has found little empirical evidence of similar post-bureaucratic behaviour for middle or first-level mangers. Therefore, the purpose of this article is to re-examine if managerial work below the top management level has become more post-bureaucratic. This is accomplished by presenting a comparative study with that of both Mintzberg (1973) and Tengblad (2006). Following the findings from the latter study, the discussion examines whether middle-managerial work has become more post-bureaucratic by managers being less preoccupied with administrative work and more oriented towards a dialogical contact pattern. Because of little previous support to changes in middle managerial work, the managers in this study have been chosen to maximize the possibilities for finding such evidence. This will be detailed in a later section.

Hales (1986) called for consistency in categories used for managerial work and behaviour studies, and is the primary argument for applying the method and concepts developed by Mintzberg (1973) in this study. Mintzberg's work is still an important and well-known source of reference for management research, and his very detailed and thorough description of his research approach and his categories is exemplary. Such detailed description is scarce in previous work activity studies of middle managers (like Horne & Lupton, 1965). An additional reason for being consistent with the method and categories of Mintzberg (1973), is that they are applied by Tengblad (2006) in one of the few studies presenting empirical finding of post-bureaucratic change in managerial work.

Although Mintzberg studied CEO behaviour, he also focused on generalities of managerial work and pointed to the similarities in the work of foremen, presidents, and other managers (1973, p. 4). This indicates that he believed that different managers should behave in a similar fashion across levels and functions, which means that a comparison of middle managers and his CEOs should be meaningful.

The article starts with a presentation of claims about radical changes in organizations and managerial work. This is followed by a short description of the managerial work and behaviour approach, including a specification of which managerial behaviours should be taken as indicators of change. Subsequent sections detail the reasoning behind choosing the particular managers, methodology, empirical setting, and results. Finally, these empirical results are analysed, explanations for diverging results are discussed, and general implications from this study are provided.

1.1. Post-bureaucratic changes in managerial work

A widespread impression of substantial changes in organizational structures from bureaucratic to post-bureaucracy was established late 1980s and 1990s. Although numerous concepts for characterizing post-bureaucratic organizations have been proposed (see Barley & Kunda, 2001; Hales, 2002), characteristics of such organizations usually include less rule-following, less hierarchical control, more flexibility, more coordination based on dialogue and trust, more self-organized units, and more decentralized decision-making (Daft & Lewin, 1993; Grey & Garsten, 2001; Heckscher, 1994). A debate about bureaucracy is outside the scope of this article and other sources should be consulted (e.g. du Gay, 2000; Hales, 1999a, 2002). However, the claims of radical changes in organizational forms were paralleled by claims about radical changes in managerial work (Drucker, 1988; Kanter, 1989; Peters, 1989; Zuboff, 1988). According to these authors, managers should be less preoccupied with bureaucratic control and routine administration, and more engaged in leadership of empowered employees by providing support, consultation and inspiration. For example, Zuboff (1988, p. 402) highlights the importance of communication across hierarchical ranks, and managers need to foster dialogue by joining the "workers in asking questions and searching for answers."

The shift in emphasis from rational administration to leadership through culture and emotions is also evident in the development of management thinking. According to Barley and Kunda (1992), the shift in managerial rhetoric occurred around 1980 with the rapidly expanding interest in organizational culture and quality. Before this shift, the "system

rationalism" era of 1955-80 gave way to computer science metaphors and systems thinking as the backbone of management thinking (Barley & Kunda, 1992). That Mintzberg (1973) belongs to this era of thinking is clear and evident by his extensive writing about rationally programming the manager's work (p. 166 ff). By using this study as a basis for comparing managerial behaviour, we are able to note differences between behaviour conducted in two different eras of management thinking and rhetoric. It is natural to expect behaviour to be different at these two points in time, based on the claims about radical changes in managerial work.

However, despite numerous claims about radical change, there is little empirical evidence in support of radical changes, neither in organizations (Barley & Kunda, 2001) nor in managerial work (Hales, 2002, 2005). Even Heckscher (1994, p. 17) confesses that he is unaware of any concrete example that exemplifies a post-bureaucratic organization, before detailing an ideal type. This lack of concrete empirical findings is a serious challenge for post-bureaucratic proponents, and raises the possibility that post-bureaucracy is only a language construct with little impact on everyday practice in organizations. In contrast to such organizational theorizing, which is weakly grounded in empirical data, the managerial work and behaviour (MWB) approach consists of much more empirical evidence, but few attempts to explain these findings (Hales, 1986, 1999b). In the next section we turn to this approach, and the ongoing debate concerning the stability in managerial work.

1.2. Stable or changing managerial work and behaviour?

MWB is a distinct approach which is both empirical and inductive in its orientation (Noordegraaf & Stewart, 2000). Probably the most citied and most well-known MWB study is *"The nature of managerial work"* by Henry Mintzberg in 1973. This study has both inspired numerous other studies (see Martinko & Gardner, 1985, 1990) and also drew critics (e.g. Carroll & Gillen, 1987; Hales, 1986; Willmott, 1987). Mintzberg's study attracted attention both with his award winning article in the *Harvard Business Review* (1975), and a nearly identical replications by Kurke and Aldrich (1983).

According to Rosemary Stewart (2008, p. 49), two of the most remarkable features of the MWB approach are its longevity and status as unfashionable. Although Mintzberg's study is often citied and MWB continues to attract some researchers, the approach is clearly unfashionable compared with leadership research (Stewart, 2008). Scholars within MWB focus on what managers do, and how to understand such work. Studies have focused on the form and content of managerial work by collecting behavioural data through diaries or direct

observations of individual managers. Observation of managers' everyday activities stands in sharp contrast to leadership research, where observation is rarely used as a prominent method of qualitative data collection (Bryman, 2004).

The longevity of the MWB approach can be traced to the Swedish scholar Sune Carlson and his diary study of top managers in 1951. This research is still regarded as one of the defining studies of this approach. The reviews by Hales (1986, 1999b) and Noordegraaf (2000), together with the anthology by Stewart (1998), are all highly recommended as an introduction to the MWB approach.

Many studies have been conducted within the managerial behaviour approach since 1973, but few have focused on changes in managerial work. For instance, Mintzberg expresses a view on MWB as general and stable: "In essence, managers work today is as they always have" (1973, p. 161). Based on previous research and his own empirical work, Mintzberg formulated 13 general propositions of managerial work (1973, pp. 51-53), provided in Table I. These propositions have a rather universal and timeless aura, and according to Mintzberg these stable characteristics are explained by the strength of the structural conditions surrounding managers.

In a recent study by Tengblad (2006), only two of the propositions do not receive any support, as evident from Table I. However, despite the general similarity with Mintzberg (1973), he still maintains that there has been considerable changes in work for top managers towards the post-bureaucratic ideals. The empirical evidence presented to support this conclusion can be grouped in two broad patterns. First, less preoccupation with administrative work is expressed through (1) less fragmentation of time, (2) less time spent on desk work, (3) fewer requests and solicitations. Second, a more dialogue-oriented contact pattern is expressed through (4) more meetings in group settings, (5) more meetings with subordinates, and (6) greater emphasis on giving information.

INSERT TABLE I ABOUT HERE

All six concrete changes refer to the categories developed in Mintzberg (1973) and comparisons with the original findings. In this study, these six changes are used as specific

indicators to decide if managerial behaviour by middle managers has changed towards the post-bureaucratic ideals. In addition, a comparison with Mintzberg's propositions is used as a general indication of changeability or stability in managerial work. Although these two strategies are the main tools used to focus the discussion, it is also necessary to be open for discussing other signs of more post-bureaucratic managerial work from the extensive empirical material.

It should be noted that the findings by Tengblad (2006, p. 1453) on top managers' behaviour does not automatically imply that managers at lower levels have changed their behaviour as well. Indeed, studies by Hales with colleagues (Hales, 1999a, 2002, 2005; Hales & Mustapha, 2000; Hales & Tamangani, 1996) have found little evidence of post-bureaucratic managerial work for neither middle nor first-level managers. Also Watson (1994/2001), in an ethnographic study of middle managers, suggests that managerial behaviour is not noticeably affected by talk of cultural change, empowerment and customer focus. Because of lack of empirical support for post-bureaucratic managerial behaviour for managers below the top management level, middle managers in this study were chosen to maximize the probability of finding such evidence—if they exist at all. This is accomplished by selecting managers that should, in principle, be most supportive for post-bureaucratic ideals, and is the subject in the following section.

1.3. Maximizing the chance for finding post-bureaucratic managerial work

Tengblad's (2006) study was conducted in Sweden, which is the only country where substantial changes in managerial work and behaviour has been found. Sweden and other Nordic countries are described as the leading "post-modern countries in the Western world (Inglehart & Baker, 2000; Tengblad, 2006). The cultures of Norway and Sweden are widely acknowledged to be very similar; compared to USA, they are very low on the masculinity dimension (Hofstede, 1980). This difference implies that people in these two Scandinavian countries highly value dialogue and consensus, and prefer the quality of human relationships more than material rewards. This picture of Norwegian and Swedish democracy, organizations, and management is also supported by historical development in these countries (Byrkjeflot, 2003). The characteristics of both Norway and Sweden appear to provide a very supportive context for post-bureaucratic organizations where coordination is based on dialogue, trust, self-organized units, and more decentralized decision-making (Daft & Lewin, 1993; Grey & Garsten, 2001; Heckscher, 1994).

Also, less rigid rules and hierarchy characterize some organizational settings. The special nature of R&D and knowledge-intensive organizations has been recognized since Burns and Stalker (1961). Managers in these settings often face large groups of expert employees who dislike to be directed by a supervisor (McAuley, Duberley, & Cohen, 2000) or subordinate themselves to managerial hierarchies (Oliver & Montgomery, 2000). Because of these characteristics, managers reduce their direct control and give knowledge workers more freedom to organize themselves, which highlights the importance of indirect and facilitating leadership (Alvesson, 1995; Drucker, 1988; Mintzberg, 1998). Mintzberg argues for such a facilitating conductor because "professionals require little direction and supervision. What they do require is protection and support" (1998, p. 146). Managing in R&D organizations appears to increase the likelihood for behaving according to the post-bureaucratic ideal.

In an older study of middle managers, Horne and Lupton (1965, p. 32) concluded that managers " ... swop information and advice and instructions, mostly through informal face to face contact in their own offices." These conclusions received support more recently from Stewart et al. (1994) in a study comparing middle managers in Britain and Germany. Also Mintzberg (1973, p. 130) concludes that informality and fragmentation is more profound for managers the further down you go in the organization. The connection between high fragmentation and closeness to operations is also supported in a Nordic setting by recent empirical findings of managerial work in small Swedish firms (Florén, 2006; Florén & Tell, 2004). Therefore, we cannot expect to find evidence of a reduction fragmentation and brevity for the managers in this study.

Definitions of managerial positions below the CEO level are inconsistent. Stewart (1976, p. 4) defined a manager as any person in an occupation roughly above that of foreman, and middle managers as all manager positions below the group of top strategic managers and above first-line supervision (Dopson, Risk, & Stewart, 1992, p. 40; Livian, 1997, p. 4). However, Hales (2005, p. 473) categorised a first-line manager as someone at the first level of management to whom non-managerial employees report. Because project managers are responsible for day-to-day operations, including supervising employee work progress in the companies involved in this study, and because traditional supervision and control is unusual in R&D organizations, the R&D managers in this study are categorized as middle managers.

2. METHODS AND SETTING

A number of different methods have been applied for studying managerial work and a good review of the different methods is found in Mintzberg (1973, p. 229ff). Mintzberg himself used structured observation which he described as: "… a method that couples the flexibility of open-ended observation with the discipline of seeking certain types of structured data." (1973, p. 231) The method, which some of the managers dubbed as being "shadowed" (Mintzberg, 1975, p. 50), could be seen as a distinct research technique combining quantitative and qualitative approaches (McDonald, 2005). Shadowing has also been applied as a method within other fields within social science (see Czarniawska, 2007).

Structured observation, as every other method, has certain disadvantages. In addition to difficulties of getting access to participants, having the possible observer-effect, and using a method that is both time-consuming and physically demanding (McDonald, 2005), there are a number of other problems. From a quantitative standpoint, Martinko and Gardner (1985) is critical to Mintzberg's work (1973) because of the small sample size and a lack of focus on effectiveness. Noordegraaf and Stewart (2000) counter the criticism by pointing to the possibility to use analytical generalization, although possibilities for statistical generalizations are limited (Yin, 2002). However, small sample sizes do not hinder possibilities for deriving insight and understanding of managerial work.

Both Hales (1986) and Martinko and Gardner (1985) are critical to the categories used in previous managerial work studies and are worried about comparability. To overcome these obstacles, this study has followed Mintzberg (1973) closely. Readers are advised to read Appendix C where he details the method and categories used. In this section, he also acknowledges difficulties of coding data, where the most fundamental problem is how to define and record an activity. His solution, which is followed in this study, is to start a new activity at any point at which there was a change in the basic participants and/or the medium (1973, p. 271). Applying the flexibility in the method, Mintzberg's (1973) original terminology is revised when necessary as described below. This study also allows for recording more than one purpose and more than one kind of participant in any verbal contact, as recommended by Martinko and Gardner (1985). This approach leads to a greater total sum of time spent with different purposes than the total time spent in verbal contact. What follows is a detailing of departures in this study from Mintzberg's description of method and categories.

Chronological record

The category "Observer interaction and personal activities" captures managers' personal activities and situations where managers interact with the researcher. Such interaction is commonplace (Mintzberg, 1973, p. 269), and a similar category has been used before (Martinko & Gardner, 1990). The two types of activities are combined to protect the manager's privacy. As part of the agreement to participate, the researcher conducted a longer reflection session with each manager at the end of the observation week.

Managers who are accompanied while travelling are registered as having unscheduled meetings. When the manager received phone calls during accompanied travels, time spent on the telephone is subtracted from time spent in unscheduled meetings. Time spent on the telephone and in unscheduled meetings is at the same time registered as transportation, but subtracted from the total working hours. This explains why the total working time is different from the sum of the seven chronological categories in Table II.

Initiation of verbal contact

The initiators of verbal contacts have been recorded by ignoring previous contacts, a practice outlined by Mintzberg (1973, p. 274). When a manager ignores an incoming call during a scheduled meeting and calls back later, he is registered as initiating the second call. The term "Mutual" is used when both parties take the initiative of making verbal contact, and "Clock" is used when the contact has been planned for a specific time.

Purpose of verbal contact

The categories of "Request interaction" and "Information dialog" capture verbal contacts where requests or information go back and forth. "Care and consideration" is included as a category to cover greetings, social chit-chat and displays of concern for other people. "Resource allocation" is included to denote instances where the managers have to control, plan, approve, or decide the placement of subordinates in different projects.

Hours of observation

In this study, four R&D managers were shadowed for one week each, totalling 191 hours. The observations are limited to managerial behaviour at the workplace or in transit to the workplace. Work at home or in the weekends is not included, but 11 hours of work not directly observed (because of sensitivity or confidential issues) is included. This unobserved work is coded based on short interviews with the managers. In addition to shadowing, a total of 30 separate interviews were conducted. This includes interviews with all four managers both before and after the observation, with their superior, and with five of their subordinates.

Only two superiors were interviewed because one of the shadowed managers was a second line manager above another, and because two of the shadowed managers had the same superior. Among the 20 subordinates interviewed, five were female, and eleven had project management experience. Data gathering took place in two main clusters of time in 2006, each concentrated on one of the two departments in order to benefit from continuity in the observation. Both managers and their co-workers expressed that they were not unduly influenced by being observed. The scope of this paper is primarily restricted to the work and behavioural characteristics of lower level managers, although some qualitative data from the interviews is also presented to explain quantitative findings in the same manner as Tengblad (2006).

2.1 The participants and their organizations

The two departments in this study are both part of companies that produce advanced technical products for an international market, and where R&D activities are central. The two companies are very similar, with each having operating revenues of approximately 400 million Euros and approximately 2000 employees in 2006. The employees' age, gender and education are also similar: approximately 50 percent have a technical education of up to three years of higher education, and nearly a quarter have more than four years.

Both R&D departments are part of larger divisions. The biggest one consists of roughly 150 employees in seven sections, while the smaller one has four sections and about 60 employees. Both companies are organized as matrix organizations. The biggest difference between the two is the size of the projects. While the biggest department has been mainly involved with one giant project, the other department has many smaller projects.

The four shadowed managers are all men between 36 and 51 years with a Bachelor, Masters, or PhD degree in engineering. Three are first level managers, while one is a second-level manager. Their employee reports ranged between 12 and 60 persons. On, average they have been in the company for 14 years, have 7 years managerial experience, and have held their current positions for 3 years.

3. EMPIRICAL RESULTS

Table II shows that the managers in this study worked approximately the same hours as in Mintzberg's study (1973), with the amount of desk work somewhat higher. Compared with Tengblad (2006), the mangers worked much less and proportionally more on desk work. The

biggest departure reported in this study is a much smaller proportion of time spent in verbal contacts than in the two other studies: the time spent in scheduled meetings is particularly lower than that in Mintzberg (1973). Less time spent in scheduled meetings increases the possibilities for other types of verbal contact such as unscheduled meetings, tours, and telephone calls. The increased amount of time spent in transit reported by Tengblad (2006) is supported in this study.

INSERT TABLE II ABOUT HERE

The most characteristic aspect of the managers' working day is an enormous amount of different activities, usually lasting for a short length of time, as reported in Table III. Overall, the number of activities is much higher in the present study, and the average duration is naturally much less, than in Mintzberg (1973) and Tengblad (2006). A high degree of fragmentation is clearly illustrated by the number of activities lasting less than five minutes being almost twice the total number of activities registered in the previous two studies.

INSERT TABLE III ABOUT HERE

Table IV shows that the managers in this study have many more meetings, especially dyadic meetings, compared to two other studies. Although three-quarters of the meetings are dyadic, these meetings accounted for only one-third of the total time spent in verbal contact. At the same time, meetings with more than four persons accounted for almost half of the total time, while only representing one-tenth of the number of meetings. More activities take place in group settings, as reported in found in Tengblad (2006), but dyadic meetings are substantially more common for the managers in this study.

INSERT TABLE IV ABOUT HERE

Table V shows that the managers in this study spend considerably less time talking with people outside their own organization, and more time talking with their superiors and peers compared with the two other studies. The managers also spent more time with subordinates compared with Mintzberg (1973), but not as much as reported by Tengblad (2006). It should be pointed out that a manager often attended regular meetings where both peers and superiors were present. Note that because more than one category of participants could take part in a single verbal contact, the total sum of time spent with participants is higher than the total time of verbal contact.

INSERT TABLE V ABOUT HERE

Because more than one category of purpose could apply to a single verbal contact, the total sum of purpose of contact is higher than the total time spent in verbal contact. From Table VI it is clear that one verbal contact covered two purposes on average. Compared with CEOs in the two other studies, managers in this study spend less time on secondary work and decision-making. The managers spent the same level on handling information as in Tengblad (2006), which both is much higher than reported in Mintzberg (1973). However, the managers in this study spent much more time on verbal contacts containing requests. The request interaction category is meant to cover instances where a request from either the manager or the opposite party is answered with another request. This means that few requests are made only to the managers. On average, 16 percent of the verbal contacts involved care and consideration—either in the form of social chit-chat, humour, greetings, or expressions of concern for others.

INSERT TABLE VI ABOUT HERE
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4. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The first step in the examination of the changeability of managerial work and behaviour below the top management level is to consider if this study supports Mintzberg's (1973) 13 general propositions of managerial work (see Table VII). This is a general indication of

changeability or stability in managerial work. The discussion below is restricted to the unsupported propositions and some of the less clearly supported propositions.

INSERT TABLE VII ABOUT HERE

Proposition 3, *Managers appears to prefer brevity and interruptions*, is supported by this study, in contrast to Tengblad (2006). The indication of this preference is found by the fact that managers often interrupt their own work to initiate contact with others about issues both related and unrelated to their current activity. Although the managers in this study spend more time on tours, they still did not spend much time on these activities, and Proposition 9, *Tours can give valuable information but the manager spends little time on them*, is therefore supported. Proposition 10, *External contacts outside the organization generally consume one-third to one-half of the manager's contact time*, does not receive support because the managers spend only 2 percent of their time with suppliers. Proposition 11, *Subordinates generally consume one-third to one-half of the manager's contact time*, is partly supported because managers spend more than half of their total verbal contact time with their subordinates. Proposition 12, *The manager spends relatively little of his time with superiors*, is not supported because the managers in this study spend as much as 16 percent of their total time in verbal contacts with superiors. Proposition 13, *The manager can exert control by extracting information, exercising leadership and in many other ways*, is too vague to be considered.

It is quite remarkable that this research supports 10 out of the 12 propositions over 35 years after Mintzberg's (1973) study. This is even more remarkable when we consider that the studies are situated in different cultures and subjects are R&D middle managers. General support for the propositions suggests that commonalities in managerial work are more profound than the variation. Although the general impression points to managerial work and behaviour as something stable, there are many differences between Mintzberg (1973) and this study (as noted in Table VIII). However, the main focus in this article is to examine if middle managerial work has changed towards the post-bureaucratic ideals. The next two sections examine whether the managers in this study are indeed less preoccupied with administrative work, and have a more dialogical and inclusive contact pattern with their employees.

INSERT TABLE VIII ABOUT HERE

4.1 Less administrative work?

The empirical evidence for less preoccupation with administrative work given by Tengblad (2006) is (1) less fragmentation of time, (2) less time spent on desk work, (3) fewer requests and solicitations. These indicators are the main guiding foci of the following examination.

This study found evidence of not less, but greater fragmentation of time for the managers (see Table III). This is similar with findings from a number of other studies (see Carlson, 1951/1991; Florén, 2006; Florén & Tell, 2004; Mintzberg, 1973; Stewart, 1967/1988; Walker, Guest, & Turner, 1956) confirming that fragmentation is indeed greater for those further down in the organization and therefore closer to day-to-day operations. In contrast to top level managers who actively use a secretary or administrative assistant to act as a buffer (Tengblad, 2006, p. 1452), the managers in this study did not have a secretary and were therefore forced to return all unanswered calls on their mobile phone after meetings. Although the impact of new communication technology is outside the scope of this article, findings indicate that the communication pattern of managerial work has changed. Despite long hours at the office and in transit , the managers in this study had real breaks and did not work in an unrelenting pace without any true breaks as reported in Mintzberg (1973, p. 30).

Desk work seems to make the manager available for interruptions; the increase of desk work in this study compared with Mintzberg (1973) (see Table II), contributes to a higher fragmentation of time. Mintzberg (1973, p. 34) notes that managers frequently interrupted their desk work to place telephone calls, request for colleagues to stop by, or because colleagues popped by the office on their own. A similar pattern was also observed in this study, where managers were interrupted doing desk work, but left undisturbed during scheduled meetings. Desk work includes preparing presentations and reports, reading documents for review, scheduling meetings, reading and writing e-mails, sending information to their unit, planning personnel allocation and approving man-hour reports and costs.

When the managers in this study were interrupted, it was commonly about information or requests (see Table VI). These interactions were usually connected to day-to-day operations as also proposed by Mintzberg (1973, p. 130) and Sayles (1964). Many of the requests were about practical or administrative matters that their subordinates expected the

managers to fix. It should be noted that the managers did not solve many of the issues themselves, but often passed on the request to someone else or gave advice on what action the person should follow. This pattern resembles the notion by Mintzberg (1973, p. 72) of the manager as a nerve centre in the organization.

The administrative responsibilities of the managers were clearly acknowledged by both the managers and their subordinates in the interviews. A common understanding was that both line and project managers, should take care of the "boring" administrative issues and routines as much as possible so subordinates could work on the "exciting" technical issues. This is illustrated by the following statement from an experienced subordinate with project management responsibilities:

"I have been asked, both before and after I started here, if I was interested in more administrative management position. I have answered no every time they asked me, because I quite simply find it much more fun to pursue technical than administrative management tasks."

In interviews, different managers unanimously confirmed that one of their main tasks was to clean up problems and remove any obstacles for their subordinates. One manager expressed that one way of doing this was to organize the conditions surrounding the knowledge workers like equipment, resolving administrative issues, and prioritizing tasks for them. The fire-fighting duty of managers to resolve short-term problems are well known (see Grint, 1995, p. 45ff), and one of the managers gave the following explanation for such behaviour:

"It is about greasing the engine, because if a subordinate is unable to do his work because of some obstacle, it is good business for the company to take care of the obstacle and get rid of it. If it takes me three minutes to fix it and get the person back in work, it is a good investment in preference to me reviewing a document or working on something other with a more long-term perspective."

The examination in this section has not found support to any decrease in administrative work for the managers in this study. This supports previous studies by Hales (1999a, 2002, 2005), which indicates that middle and lower level managers are preoccupied with administrative routines and work because managerial roles consist of individual responsibilities. Quotes from the above interviews with subordinates and managers illustrate the presence of such similar expectations in this study. In the next section, we turn to communication, which is the other central part of post-bureaucratic managerial behaviour.

4.2 Towards a more dialogue-oriented communication?

The empirical findings in this study mirror the findings in Tengblad (2006) of: (4) more meetings in group-settings (see Table IV), (5) more meetings with subordinates (see Table V), and (6) a greater emphasis on giving information (see Table VI). This indicates preliminary support for the claim of a more post-bureaucratic managerial work style. However, underlying the writings on post-bureaucracy is that this model is something new and represents a radical change. This also implies that it is necessary to examine if the contact pattern by managers in this study represents change or stability. In that regard, it is also necessary to rule out other explanations for results related to national culture, hierarchical level, and functional specialisation.

The contacts with subordinates in this study were either dyadic and short, or lengthy in large meetings. The high number of dyadic meetings is a direct result of a high number of interruptions, requests, and closeness to day-to-day operation, all of which is more typical for middle and lower mangers than CEOs in large companies. It is also worth noting the strong interactional pattern between all managers in companies involved in this study (see Table V). Increased contact with peers and superiors could be explained by managers being in subordinate roles. However, it is also possible that this represents evidence of an institutionalized group-oriented practice, which combined weekly team meetings with continuous informal contact in-between. High numbers of group meetings are similar to the results in Tengblad (2002, 2006), and could be a result of a common group-oriented culture in Scandinavia. Interestingly, both Carlson (1951/1991) and Tengblad (2002) reported that CEOs spent 30% of their time in meetings with subordinates.

In regards to getting or giving information, it is interesting to note the similarities in Carlson (1951/1991) and Tengblad (2002, p. 557). Although this comparison is rather crude and imprecise, the findings are very similar—especially for managers in decentralised organizations. In this setting, the two studies report that 53 to 55% of a manager's activities are spent on getting or receiving information. Although findings empirically support a dialogical and inclusive contact pattern for the managers in this study, many group meetings, much contact with subordinates, and giving or receiving information are rather stable characteristics in Scandinavia and not something new introduced by the idea of post-bureaucratic organizations. The similarities between this study, Carlson (1951/1991), and Tengblad (2002, 2006) can indicate some stable culture characteristics in Scandinavia unaffected by the introduction of post-bureaucratic organizations. However, it should be noted

that management thinking in Scandinavia has not been stable, with major change in the early 1980s (Byrkjeflot, 2003; Tengblad, 2006, pp. 1441-1443). It should also be noted that both this study and Tengblad (2006) lie within the normal range of time managers spend on giving or receiving information (Hales, 1986, p. 98).

However, the findings in this study regarding purpose of verbal contact (see Table VI) can be interpreted as evidence of post-bureaucratic managerial work (see Section 1.1). Verbal contacts were so fluid, it became necessary to create more interactional categories, and indicate a difference in the contact pattern compared to Mintzberg (1973) and Tengblad (2006). Introducing the concepts of information dialogue and request interaction, which did not separate between giving or receiving information or requests (see section 2), supports the post-bureaucratic notion of more dialogue and fluid communication. Together with the rare activity of decision-making, this contact pattern also indicates the lack of command-and-control management style, which is replaced by managers suggesting and discussing solutions with fairly autonomous subordinates. That the managers were engaged in leadership support of subordinates, as suggested by post-bureaucratic managerial work, is also illustrated by the high proportion of time spent on care and consideration.

The supportive leadership style displayed by the managers fulfilled subordinate expectations, which focused on the importance of managers possessing people skills. A good leader should be emphatic, understand human nature, be easy to talk with, have time to talk, and know employees as complete persons. They did not expect a manager to solve their private problems; rather, they expected to talk about private and sensitive issues with the belief that the manager would try to shield them from excessive work demands during rough periods in private life. Employees indicated that it was only natural to involve a manager when their personal life affected work. Interestingly, several subordinates connected the expectation that managers should have human skills with an ability to take actions and fix problems:

"When you are a line manager you have personnel responsibility, which means that you need to recognize that you are working with people and to take their personal needs, in their different phases of life, into consideration. ... You should also take care of all the formalities, all those little small matters that create bugs and annoyance for everyone that is supposed to do the work."

The manager clearly viewed fixing problems as a central part of their role. The following story illustrates service orientation in practice:

The only second-level managers in this study chatted with one of his subordinates beside the coffee machine, when the subordinate complained that there was only fruit tea and not any "real" tea left. The manger took immediate action to fix this problem. To get more black tea, he had to stop by an office to find and bring along a charge card, walk up two floors to the canteen, order the tea, pay with the card and settle the formalities, walk down and return the card to the office. All of these actions did not take more than 10 minutes, but left the subordinate clearly impressed.

Afterwards, responding to a question by the researcher, the manager explained his reason for taking action by pointing out it was the quickest and most efficient way to resolve the issue. This story, as well as the following quote, illustrates also the common human relations oriented managerial practice among the managers:

"I am totally convinced that, to be engaged with, and to sustain the well-being of the employees, is the way this company can succeed."

These findings are also in accordance with writing that highlights the importance of indirect and facilitating leadership, especially in knowledge-intensive organizations (e.g. Alvesson, 1995; Drucker, 1988; Mintzberg, 1998). The combination of both an R&D context and matrix organization probably contributes to managers having more time to deal with their subordinates than in more short-term-oriented operational units. This does not mean that a supportive leadership style cannot be found in such organizations. For instance, Walker et al. (1956) described how foremen established personal relationships with their employees. However, it is difficult to argue that this practice is particularly novel. The Human Relations movement started in 1925 (Barley & Kunda, 1992, p. 372), while the need for "softer" management practice in R&D organizations has been recognized at least since Burns and Stalker (1961).

Although the empirical findings illustrates a dialogue-oriented contact pattern and a supportive leadership style, it is not possible to state that this management practice was developed as an result of the introduction of post-bureaucratic claims. The discussion in this section suggests that this practice has also been developed under long-lasting influence from both national culture and the functional speciality of R&D.

5. CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

To conclude that managerial work below the top management level has become more post-bureaucratic, two conditions need to be met according to the claims of radical changes in managerial work (Drucker, 1988; Kanter, 1989; Peters, 1989; Zuboff, 1988). First, managers should be less preoccupied with bureaucratic control and routine administration, and second, they should be engaged in both a dialogue-oriented communication and a supportive leadership style. Although the second point has received support in this study, middle managers in this study were not less preoccupied with administrative tasks. The first point is not supported, in contrast to the top manager study by Tengblad (2006), and therefore the conclusion is that post-bureaucratic has not yet been materialized as practice by middle managers.

This negative conclusion supports a previous lack of findings by Hales (1999a, 2002, 2005) and Watson (1994/2001). Future studies of middle managers within the MWB approach are therefore best served by focusing on less-studied issues like the commonalities in managerial work, than looking for signs of post-bureaucratic managerial work.

Instead, empirical findings suggest that a human-relations-oriented managerial practice has indeed been institutionalized. This raises the possibility to argue that human relations practice is a vital part of post-bureaucratic practice, but that implies that post-bureaucracy has a long history and is not a recent concept. The diverse findings for top and middle managers can be interpreted as resulting from profound difference between them. It is possible that a human-relations-oriented practice by managers who supervise knowledge workers contributes to increased task fragmentation, personal interruptions, and administrative work. In contrast, higher-level managers have the option to delegate administrative tasks to their subordinate staff to a much larger degree. This implies that the combination of less administrative work and more supportive leadership practice is more feasible for top than lower level managers.

However, both possibilities raise serious doubt about the conceptualization of post-bureaucratic managerial work. Combined with the lack of any concrete example that exemplifies a post-bureaucratic organization (Heckscher, 1994, p. 17), this implies that post-bureaucracy is only a language construction that has little impact on everyday practice in organizations. Especially the proclamation of a general downfall of hierarchic structure in organizations stands in sharp contrast to the empirical reality (see e.g. Leavitt, 2005). Together this also illustrates the soundness in the call from Barley and Kunda (2001) to secure solid empirical foundation for future theories about organizations and management.

It is highly unlikely that all routine administrative work disappears by itself. Someone needs to ensure that detailed tasks are completed, from subordinates having functioning equipment to small problems like having appropriate tea on hand. For the R&D companies in this study, it appeared that subordinates delegated administrative tasks to their manager. As expressed by one of the managers, it is probably good business to have one person that takes care of administrative issues so that the technical staff and can be as productive as possible. Future research needs to acknowledge the fact that administrative work is a very central part of being a middle manager. Basing future organizational theorizing on observational field work, as suggested by Barley and Kunda (2001), should hopefully correct this potential delusion.

Although the findings in this study suggest a great deal of continuity of managerial work, illustrated by support for 10 of the 12 propositions about managerial work by Mintzberg (1973), this study should not be interpreted as evidence for a non-changing managerial work. This article has also found empirical evidence of many changes in managerial work, although the focus has been on post-bureaucracy. Fragmentation of space for CEOs (Tengblad, 2002, 2006) as evident by more time spent in transit (see Table II) seems to be more profound and also affect middle managers. Due to the narrow sample in this study, further research is needed to determine how widespread this is. Communication technology is an integrated part of managerial work, and further research on mobile phone and computer mediated work is needed and should probably use another methodology (Barley & Kunda, 2001, p. 85). This study also reaffirms the usefulness of Mintzberg's (1973, p. 231) original formulation of structured observation as a flexible method where categories may be developed during and after observations. Future studies should be aware and take advantage of the flexibility offered by the original formulation of the structured observation method.

5.1 Limitations

The primary reliance on work activity data on how the managers spend their time can be questioned. It is possible to interpret the lack of clear support in this study as a result of the lacking ability of work activity studies to separate between bureaucratic and post-bureaucratic patterns of behaviour. As Tengblad (2006, pp. 1444-1445) also points out, not only is it difficult to examine the complex link between managerial behaviour and management ideas like post-bureaucracy, it is also hard to separate this influence from such ideas against national culture and functional speciality. However, it seems fair to expect that for any

concept that claims to represent profound changes (i.e. post-bureaucracy) should make itself known in the context of managerial work and how managers spend their time.

As already noted, the structured observation method restricts the extent of credible generalizations, but the aim of this study has not been to derive statistical generalizations. As outlined in Section 1.3, the sample of middle managers was chosen to maximize chances for finding post-bureaucratic changes in managerial work. This was done because there was doubt that such evidence exists at all. It is possible to criticise the choice of using the six post-bureaucratic changes found by Tengblad (2006) as indicators for post-bureaucratic managerial work. However, these are the most concrete findings available to date. The focus on the six changes has clearly restricted the scope of the discussion, but this was partly countered by also including qualitative data. A more extensive analysis of all differences and similarities between this study, Mintzberg (1973), and Tengblad (2006) was not possible due to restriction of scope and space in this paper.

5.2 Concluding remark

It is fascinating to observe that the manner in which managers spend their time has not changed much since Mintzberg (1973). Future studies need to redirect attention from variation to commonalities in managerial work, and from describing commonalities to explaining them. We need to know more about the emergent manager (Watson & Harris, 1999) as well as a renewal in the effort to understand the structural conditions surrounding their work. This is the time for developing new answers to why managers do what they do (Hales, 1999b). Only then can managerial work and behaviour studies become more relevant again.

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Table I. Mintzberg's (1973) 13 propositions of managerial work compared with Tengblad (2006)

Mintzberg's 13 propositions	Tengblad (2006)
1: Managerial work consists of great quantities of work conducted at an unrelenting pace	Yes
2: Managerial work is fragmented and interruptions are commonplace	No
3: Managers appears to prefer brevity and interruptions	No
4: The manager gravitates towards live action	Yes
5: The manager prefers verbal media	Yes
6: The manager gives mail cursory treatment	Yes
7: Telephone and unscheduled meetings are mainly used for brief contacts between persons that know each other	Yes
8: The scheduled meetings consume more time of the manager than any other medium	Yes
9: Tours can give valuable information but the manager spends little time on them	Yes
10: External contacts outside the organization consume one-third to one-half of the manager's contact time	Yes, partly
11: Subordinates generally consume one-third to one-half of the manager's contact time	Yes, partly
12: The manager spends relatively little of his time with superiors	Yes
13: The manager can exert control by extracting information, exercising leadership and in many other ways	To vague to be considered

Table II. Total working hours average values per manager

	This study			Mintzberg			Tengblad		
	h/week	share*	range*	h/week	share	comp.	h/week	share	comp.
1. Scheduled Meetings	15	31 %	22-36%	23,9	54 %	-37 %	?		-
2. Unscheduled Meetings	8,2	17 %	13-23%	4	9 %	106 %	?		-
1-2 Total Meetings	*23,2*	*49 %*	*45-48%*	*27,9*	64 %	*-17 %*	*45,7*	63 %	*-49 %*
3. Tours	2	4 %	3-7%	1	2 %	101 %	0,9	1 %	124 %
4. Telephone calls	3,8	8 %	7-9%	2,6	6 %	48 %	5,4	7 %	-29 %
5. Desk work	10,6	22 %	15-29%	8,9	20 %	19 %	9	12 %	18 %
6. Transportation	7,9	17 %	5-20%	3,5	8 %	125 %	11,2	16 %	-30 %
7. Observer interaction and personal	3,2	7 %	6-8%	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sum of activities	50,7	106 %	44-55	43,9	100 %		72,2	100 %	
Total working time per participant	47,7	100 %	44-54	43,9	100 %	9 %	72,2	100 %	-34 %
Total working time incl. a 7 hour trip	47,7	100 %		45,3	103 %	5 %	72,2	100 %	-34 %

* These shares are computed as a percentage of total sums of activities

Table III. Number and duration of activities

	This study			Mintzberg			Tengblad		
Activities lasting:	no.	share	range	no.	share	comp.	no.	share	comp.
Less than 5 min.	226	65 %	183-262	-		-	-		-
Less than 9 min.	279	81 %	242-323	54	49 %	417 %	63	45 %	343 %
Between 9 to 60 min.	53	15 %	37-76	45	41 %	18 %	59	42 %	-10 %
Longer than 60 min.	9	3 %	4-16	11	10 %	-16 %	17	12 %	-46 %
Total number of activities per participant	346	100 %	318-390	109	100 %	217 %		100 %	149%
Avr. duration in min.	8		7-10	24		-66 %	31		-74 %

Table IV. Size of meetings/tours

	This study			Mintzberg			Tengblad		
	no.	share	range	no.	share	comp.	no.	share	comp.
1. Manager and one person	85	76 %	72-84%	32	68 %	164 %	34	50 %	149 %
2. Manager and two persons	8	7 %	4-11%	4	9 %	106 %	10	15 %	-18 %
3. Manager and three persons	6	5 %	2-7%	3	6 %	83 %	6	9 %	-8 %
4. Manager and four persons or more	13	11 %	7-14%	8	17 %	59 %	19	28 %	-33 %
Total no. of meetings/tours per week	111	100 %		47	100 %	136 %	68	100 %	63 %

Table V. Participants in verbal contact

	This study				Mintzberg			Tengblad		
	h/week	share *	share**	range**	h/week	share	comp.	h/week	share	comp.
1. Subordinates	18,5	45 %	64 %	33-90%	15,1	48 %	22 %	32,3	69 %	-43 %
2. Superiors	4,8	11 %	16 %	0-36%	2,2	7 %	116 %	1,6	3 %	197 %
3. Peer	5,7	12 %	20 %	3-41%	5	16 %	13 %	4,3	9 %	32 %
4. Others from org.	10,1	24 %	34 %	26-42%	?	-	-	?	-	-
5. Client, supplier, associate	0,7	2 %	2 %	0-9%	6,3	20 %	-89 %	3,3	7 %	-78 %
6. Independent and others	1,8	3 %	6 %	0-12%	2,5	8 %	-29 %	5,1	11 %	-65 %
7. Unknown	0,5	1 %	2 %	0-5%	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sum	*42,1*	*100 %*	*145 %*	*138-167%*	*31,2*	*100 %*	*35 %*	*46,6*	*100 %*	*-10 %*
Total time in verbal contact	*29*				*31,6*		*-8 %*	*52*		*-44 %*

* Computed as a percentage of total time in verbal contact with participants

** Computed as a percentage of total time in verbal contact

Table VI. Purpose of verbal contact

	This study			Mintzberg				Tengblad		
	h/week	share*	share**	range	h/week	share	comp.	h/week	share	comp.
1. Organizational or practical work	0,2	0 %	1 %	0-2%	0,6	2 %	-60 %	0	0 %	-
2. Scheduling	1	2 %	3 %	1-6%	0,8	3 %	27 %	0,7	1 %	45 %
3 Ceremony	0,1	0 %	0 %	0-1%	3,7	12 %	-97 %	8,2	16 %	-99 %
4. External board work	0	0 %	0 %	0 %	1,6	5 %	-	1,9	4 %	-
1-4. Total secondary	*1,4*	*2 %*	*5 %*	*1-7%*	*6,6*	*21 %*	*-80 %*	*10,8*	*21 %*	*-88 %*
5. Status request and solicitations	0	0 %	0 %	-	0,4	1 %	-	?	-	-
6. Action request	2,1	4 %	7 %	3-11%	3,7	12 %	-39 %	?	-	-
7. Manager request	5,9	10 %	20 %	14-27%	1,7	6 %	261 %	?	-	-
8. Request interaction	10,2	17 %	35 %	11-53%	?	-	-	?	-	-
5-8. Requests and solicitations	*18,3*	*31 %*	*63 %*	*36-79%*	*5,7*	*18 %*	*228 %*	*4,3*	*8 %*	*334 %*
9. Observational tours	1,9	3 %	6 %	5-11%	0,2	1 %	840 %	0,9	2 %	109 %
10. Receiving information	3,9	7 %	13 %	5-19%	5	16 %	-22 %	11,4	22 %	-66 %
11. Giving information	2	3 %	7 %	2-20%	2,4	8 %	-16 %	10,1	19 %	-80 %
12. Information dialog	16,6	28 %	57 %	24-70%	?	-	-	-	-	-
13. Review	4,7	8 %	16 %	0-30%	5	16 %	-7 %	9,1	18 %	-49 %
9-13. Total informational	*29,1*	*49 %*	*100 %*	*84-119%*	*12,6*	*40 %*	*134 %*	*31,5*	*61 %*	*-6 %*
14. Strategy	2,2	4 %	8 %	0,3-17%	3,9	13 %	-43 %	3,6	7 %	-38 %
15. Negotiation	1,7	3 %	6 %	0-16%	2,3	8 %	-28 %	1,8	3 %	-8 %
14–15. Total decision-making	*3,9*	*7 %*	*13 %*	*0,3-26%*	*6,2*	*21 %*	*-37 %*	*5,4*	*10 %*	*-28 %*
16. Care and consideration	4,5	8 %	16 %	11-21%	?	-	-	?	-	-
17. Resource allocation	1,4	2 %	5 %	1-9%	?	-	-	?	-	-
18. Unknown	0,5	1 %	2 %	1-3%	?	-	-	?	-	-
Sum	59,1	100 %	203 %	148-251%	31,6	100 %	90 %	52	100 %	16 %
Total time in verbal contact	29				31,6		-8 %	52		-44 %

* Computed as a percentage of total time in verbal contact with participants

** Computed as a percentage of total time in verbal contact

Table VII. Mintzberg's (1973) 13 propositions of managerial work

Mintzberg's 13 propositions	This study
1: Managerial work consists of great quantities of work conducted at an unrelenting pace	Yes
2: Managerial work is fragmented and interruptions are commonplace	Yes
3: Managers appears to prefer brevity and interruptions	Yes
4: The manager gravitates towards live action	Yes
5: The manager prefers verbal media	Yes
6: The manager gives mail cursory treatment	Yes
7: Telephone and unscheduled meetings are mainly used for brief contacts between persons that know each other	Yes
8: The scheduled meetings consume more time of the manager than any other medium	Yes
9: Tours can give valuable information but the manager spends little time on them	Yes
10: External contacts outside the organization consume one-third to one-half of the manager's contact time	No
11: Subordinates generally consume one-third to one-half of the manager's contact time	Yes, partly
12: The manager spends relatively little of his time with superiors	No
13: The manager can exert control by extracting information, exercising leadership and in many other ways	To vague to be considered

Table VIII. Differences between this study and Mintzberg (1973)

Substantial increases	Substantial decreases
Unscheduled meetings	Scheduled meetings
Time spent on transportation	Number of very lengthy activities
Number of short activities	Meetings with clients, suppliers, and associates
Meetings with one participant	Secondary work
Meetings with many participants	Decision-making
Meeting with subordinates	
Meetings with superiors	
Requests	
Informational work	

Paper III

Vie, O. E. (2008) *"In search of influence - Leading knowledge workers with care."*

Reducing tension and promoting integration in the hyper-text organization

- The importance of managers showing care

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ABSTRACT

According to the knowledge-based theory of the firm, integration is the primary role of organizations. We investigate the role of middle managers in the integration process within hyper-text organizations using an exploratory case study design. Data was gathered by interviewing, observing and shadowing four managers for a week each. By presenting three observed episodes, this paper shows that caring behaviour by middle managers can contribute to the integration of the three layers of the hyper-text organization by reducing the immediate tension between them. This helps the participants to start a process of indwelling, in which they freely share their experiences, perspectives, and concepts. Although care can reduce tension in the relationship with one person, it can simultaneously increase tension in relationships with others. Successful integration is an ongoing daily struggle that calls for managers and others to create a high-care environment.

-Key words: care, hyper-text organization, integration, knowledge management, managerial work and behaviour, organizational knowledge creation theory

INTRODUCTION

Ask anyone working in an organization what they consider important ingredients for the success of their organization, and many will suggest people, or perhaps 'knowledgeable people'; some might even say 'nice people'. Surprisingly, however, organizational literature does not clearly address the link between the people that populate organizations and the knowledge they possess, act on and contribute with. Instead, knowledge is often abstracted away and disconnected from the actions of people.

In many respects, researchers agree with laypersons' claims that knowledge is one of the key factors for creating value and sustaining competitive advantage for firms (Grant, 1996b; Nonaka, 1994; Nonaka & Takeuchi, 1995; Nonaka & Toyama, 2003). Thus, knowledge has a central role in explaining how organizations function. For example, the heart of the knowledge-based theory of the firm is the idea that the firm's primary role is the integration of knowledge from individual organizational members to organizational capabilities (Grant, 1996a). The implication of viewing firms as institutions for integrating knowledge is that a hierarchical structure is ineffective as a mechanism for knowledge integration, since no manager can efficiently integrate the knowledge of his/her subordinates (Grant, 1996a, p. 118; 1997, p. 453). This brings us back to the layperson and their observation that people matter, i.e. to the question of how individuals in their work practice integrate disparate pieces of knowledge and transform them to organizational-level knowledge. In other words, we turn our attention to organizational knowledge creation, "the process of making available and amplifying knowledge created by individuals as well as crystallizing and connecting it with an organization's knowledge system" (Nonaka, von Krogh, & Voelpel, 2006, p. 1179). More precisely, we are concerned with the role of managers, specifically, middle managers in the knowledge integration process.

Literature has long distinguished between tacit and explicit knowledge (Nonaka, 1994; Polanyi, 1967). Explicit knowledge can be put on paper, formulated in sentences, or captured in drawings, while tacit knowledge is tied to the senses, body movement, individual perception, physical experience, rules of thumb, and intuition (von Krogh, Ichijo, & Nonaka, 2000, p. 6). Although organizational implications of this proposed dichotomy are not well understood, there are some important exceptions. According to Hedlund and Nonaka (1993), Western firms have traditionally formed organizational units based on the bureaucratic principles of specialization

and division of labour within a hierarchic structure. This hierarchical organizational form creates boundaries between organizational units, which results in units being placed in a competitive vs. a collaborative situation. This makes sharing of tacit knowledge across units excessively difficult (Osterloh & Frey, 2000). In contrast, Japanese firms have followed a different organizational path which enables them to create both tacit and explicit knowledge in formal (project and task force) or more informal groups spanning several organizational units (Nonaka et al., 2006). Such groups work on a given problem within a specified timeframe in a flexible, adaptable, and participative fashion. Hedlund (1986, 1994) names and describes this organizational form as a "heterarchy". He claims that compared with the hierarchy, the heterarchy is superior for knowledge creation, although inferior in aspects of economic efficiency. Our aim is not to belabour the potential differences between Eastern and Western management styles, but to respond to the call by Grant (1996a) for better understanding of the organizational processes through which knowledge is integrated by investigating organizations that are not purely hierarchical. In fact, field studies in both Eastern and Western environments have revealed that many organizations do not rely on an exclusive organizational form, but rather on hybrid forms combining elements from heterarchy and hierarchy. The concept of a "hyper-text organization" was developed to explain these findings and, as the name indicates, was conceived as a layered structure of activities (Nonaka, 1994; Nonaka & Takeuchi, 1995).

The hyper-text organization combines the efficiency and stability of a hierarchical bureaucratic organization with the dynamism of the flat, cross-functional task-force organization. In other words, the hyper-text organization combines properties of the mechanistic system with the organic system (cf. Burns and Stalker 1961). The *business system* layer is where normal and routine tasks are carried out within a hierarchical and bureaucratic structure. In contrast, the *project team* layer consists of heterarchically-organized project teams engaged in knowledge creation activities in parallel with *business system* layer activities. Both layers feed into the organizational *knowledge base* layer, which encompasses an organization's global learning through technology, knowledge vision, and organizational culture. In sum, the organizational form that best coordinates and enables knowledge creation is an amalgamation of three layers working in parallel: the *business system*, the *project team*, and the *knowledge base* (Nonaka et al., 2006, p. 1190). However, accounts of how integration across these three layers is

accomplished are not very developed and deserve closer attention. With this study, we investigate the integration between the different layers of the hyper-text organization.

Rather than investigating the contribution from organizational routines to integration, as suggested by Grant (1996a, p. 384), we are interested in the contribution from managers towards the integration process. According to Alvesson and Kärreman (2001), knowledge management scholars have been more interested in theorizing about knowledge than about management. Although they give Nonaka (1994) credit for explicitly linking together managerial practices and knowledge creation, they criticize him for viewing managers as 'catalysts' which they find too vague compared with the conventional ideas of management as a bureaucratic phenomenon associated with hierarchy and control (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2001, p. 1000). In a similar manner, they also claim that authors that use a vocabulary of community, sharing, caring, and nurturing social relations give management an even weaker and more limited role than Nonaka. Our opinion is that such management practices are important when it contributes to knowledge creation and innovation, and is therefore well worth empirical examination.

In contrast to the ordinary view of middle management as an obstacle to change (Huy, 2001, p. 178; Scarbrough & Burrell, 1996), middle management has a central position within the knowledge creation theory. Nonaka (1988, 1994; Nonaka & Takeuchi, 1995) has proposed a "middle-up-down management" model where middle management works as a bridge between the visionary ideals of the top management and the frontline's everyday business reality. This model of management becomes even more efficient if supported by a hyper-text organization structure. Middle managers are able to take on this task because of their position in the intersection of both vertical and horizontal flows of information. They can then synthesize the tacit knowledge of frontline workers, top managers, customers, and suppliers; help convert tacit knowledge to explicit; and incorporate this now-explicit knowledge into new concepts, technologies, products or systems (Nonaka et al., 2006). To this end, middle managers not only facilitate knowledge creation at various organizational levels, but also create their own concepts and make these known to the rest of the organization (Nonaka, Toyama, & Konno, 2000). Because of the important position of middle managers, their managerial practice is the focus in our investigation.

Much of the knowledge management literature refers to the firm level, which makes the linkage between micro and macro levels rather untouched by scholars (Nonaka & Peltokorpi, 2006). In this paper, we make a first attempt to address this shortcoming by investigating what types of middle manager behaviours can contribute to the integration of the hyper-text organization. Our work is also a response to the call by Barley and Kunda (2001, p. 84) for field studies that examine work practices and relationships in situ. In our effort, we apply a shadowing observation technique used within the managerial work and behaviour (MWB) tradition (Mintzberg, 1973; Stewart, 2008). This method is preferred because we are able to observe conversations between managers and employees, actions taken by managers and the immediate response by employees—all of which are often not captured by traditional ethnographic accounts. This is particularly true for managerial activities related to fulfilling personnel responsibility towards subordinates.

In the next section we will introduce the MWB approach and discuss care as an enabling factor for organizational knowledge creation. We conclude this section by specifying our research question. We proceed in the next section with a discussion of methodology and the organizational context. Then we present a description of observed activities between managers and others, followed by a discussion of the findings and implications for MWB and organizational knowledge creation theory.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

In their plea for bringing work back in, Barley and Kunda (2001) argue for strengthening the empirical foundation for organizational theory development. They note that early organizational theory (Dalton, 1959; Sayles, 1964; Walker & Guest, 1952; Walker, Guest, & Turner, 1956; Whyte, 1943/1993) was tightly linked to the study of work and was based on field accounts of routine work all the way since Taylor (1911/1967). However, interest shifted away from work and turned towards an organization's relationships with the environment (2001). Fortunately, several organizational theoretical contributions that are empirically grounded in detailed studies have started to emerge, i.e. Feldman (2000) and Bechky (2006). Interestingly,

Barley and Kunda (2001) did not give attention to a strand of research called the managerial work and behaviour approach (MWB) (Stewart, 2008).

The MWB approach is both empirical and inductive in its orientation (Noordegraaf & Stewart, 2000). However, studies within this approach have been descriptive, without prioritizing general theory development (Hales, 1986, 1999). One exception that succeeded to combine detailed empirical data and theoretical development is *"The nature of managerial work"* by Henry Mintzberg in 1973, which is the most-cited and most well-known MWB study. This study has both inspired numerous other studies (see Martinko & Gardner, 1985, 1990) and drawn criticism (e.g. Carroll & Gillen, 1987; Hales, 1986; Willmott, 1987).

What managers do was the starting point for Mintzberg's (1973) seminal study of managerial work. Mintzberg grouped managerial activities in three groups – interpersonal relationships, transfer of information, and decision-making. Based on previous research and his observation of five top-level managers, he described ten managerial roles that form an integrated whole of what managers do. These roles were also grouped under the same three headings. Interestingly, these three sets of activities are often understood as the central elements in knowledge management. In essence, a manager's formal position and authority places him or her in interpersonal relationships, which provide a unique position to obtain information. Through unique access to subordinates in his unit, and combined with external contacts, the manager serves as an informational nerve centre distributing information among contacts and taking responsibility for the organization's strategy and decision-making system.

In general, managers spend between two-thirds and four-fifths of their time communicating with others (Hales, 1986, p. 98). It is therefore surprising that few managerial work and behaviour studies have given attention to emotions in the interaction between managers and others, except for the use of humour (see Kotter, 1982; Stewart, Barsoux, Kieser, Ganter, & Walgenbach, 1994). However, presuming that human beings and the relationship between them are fundamentally emotional, a person's personal and emotional aspects can never be kept fully separate from their professional ones. As noted by Solomon (1998), although caring in a corporation is sometimes denied, people working in these corporations can—and do—care about one another.

Care has been conceptualized in various ways. Webster's Dictionary defines care as "painstaking or watchful attention", while Oxford Dictionary defines care as "serious attention, a feeling of concern and interest". Milton Mayeroff (1971, p. 1) has the following definition: "to care for another person, in the most significant sense, is to help him grow and actualize himself". To care for someone is to help her to learn, to help her to increase awareness of important events and their consequences, and to help nurture her personal knowledge creation while sharing insights. Mayeroff argues that care gives rise to particular behaviours in relationships. Building on this idea, von Krogh (1998) identifies a number of practical steps managers can take to enable strong, positive relationships for knowledge creation. Managers are encouraged to create trust, increase active empathy, foster helping behaviour, act as mentors, promote lenience in judgment, and instil courage as a central value in the organization. Mutual agreement and understanding are primarily reached through caring for one another (Styhre, Roth, & Ingelgård, 2002).

The relational nature of care, and the focus on taking others' perspectives and understanding their meanings, highlights why care has special relevance for sharing and creating knowledge. A subsequent stream of knowledge creation literature suggested a number of knowledge enablers that would support knowledge creation: instilling a vision, managing conversations, mobilizing activities, creating an appropriate context, and globalizing local knowledge (von Krogh 1998; von Krogh, Ichijo and Nonaka 2000). However, the authors also suggested that care was a key and underlying enabling condition required for the previously suggested knowledge enablers to function properly and support knowledge creation. High-care relationships can not only overcome mistrust, fear, and isolation, but also promote voluntary knowledge sharing (von Krogh, 1998; von Krogh et al., 2000). More recent literature suggests that trust in both a person's competence and benevolence enables knowledge creation (Abrams, Cross, Lesser and Levin 2003). However, literature has not been enriched by detailed accounts of what managers actually do in their working lives to enable knowledge creation—instead, prior research has focused on projects, initiatives, and procedures. To be consistent with a perspective of care as behaviour manifested in relationships between people calls for studies of care that use people as their unit of analysis. Similarly, Burns and Stalker (1961, p. 10) argued for observing micro level interaction, which is "The observable way in which people in a concern dealt with each other […] could therefore be regarded as the most important element in a concern's

organization […] It expresses the framework of beliefs which decision-making invokes. In a realistic, operational sense, it *is* the organization."

Our main intention with this paper is to provide a micro-level perspective on integration in the hyper-text organization. We do this by combing organizational knowledge creation theory with the empirically detailed and analytical inductive approach from the MWB approach. The importance of care as an enabling factor and condition for knowledge creation sensitizes us more to the emotional aspects of managerial work and behaviour than what is usual within this approach. The middle-up-down management model points out the importance of middle managers. Specifically, we believe that these managers are of particular importance with regard to both integration and care, because they have extensive and intensive interaction with others from various units. This implies that we should narrow our investigation to answering the following research question: *"How can caring behaviour by middle managers contribute to the integration between the different layers of the hyper-text organization?"* In the next section, we turn to the research setting where this study was conducted and to the method used.

METHODS

Research sites

This paper presents an explorative case study (Yin, 2002) of how caring behaviour by middle managers can contribute to the integration of the different layers of the hyper-text organization, and is a result of a research project that examines managerial work and behaviour (MWB) among mangers in two different research and development (R&D) units. The managers and departments involved are part of companies that produce advanced technical products for an international market, and where R&D activities are central. The two companies are very similar, with each having operating revenues of approximately 400 million Euros and around 2000 employees in 2006 (during data collection). The employees' age, gender and education are also similar in the two companies. The age distribution is fairly balanced, but the majority is between 30 and 50 years old. Around 50% have a technical education of up to three years of higher education, and nearly 25% with more than four years. About 20% of the workforce is female,

with women occupying approximately 10% of the managerial positions. Please note that all persons in this study have been given male aliases in order to secure their anonymity.

The particular case companies are suitable to provide insight into our research question because they both can be described as organizations consisting of a hierarchical *business system* layer and a flatter *project team* layer. The *business system* layer has the long-term responsibility for personnel, while the *project team* layer has a more limited responsibility to deliver results within certain limits as budget and time. The activities in these layers contribute to the organizations' global learning, both through organizational culture and infrastructure (i.e. databases). Taken together, both organizations can be understood as hyper-text organizations, where successful integration between the different layers is crucial. The particular case companies are therefore suitable to provide insight into our research question.

The research is conducted within two R&D departments organized within each of the two companies. Both departments are part of a larger division, which also consisted of other departments including production of technical products and equipment. The two departments are involved in projects of different sizes ranging from a giant project lasting for more than five years to smaller projects lasting less than a year. Data was gathered during 2006 in two clusters of time focused on one of the departments. Although these two departments are the larger unit of analysis, the four managers in this study are to be considered as subunits. Mangers' work and behaviour cannot be separated from the context and the relationships that he or she is entangled with. Our study thus has an exploratory multiple embedded case study design.

Observations through shadowing

A number of different methods exist that could be used to gather data on managerial work and behaviour (see Mintzberg, 1973, p. 221 ff). Dissatisfied with the shortcomings of the other methods, Mintzberg developed his own methodological approach and named it structured observation, which he described as: "…a method that couples the flexibility of open-ended observation with the discipline of seeking certain types of structured data" (1973, p. 231). The term structured observation is unfortunate because it deemphasises openness and flexibility, which are important aspects of this method. Alternatively the method could be named semi-

structured observation (Noordegraaf, 2000, p. 107) or shadowing (Mintzberg, 1975), which is the term used for the rest of this paper. McDonald (2005, p. 456) defines shadowing as "…a research technique which involves a researcher closely following a member of an organization over an extended period of time." Shadowing is not a particular method for the managerial work and behaviour approach, but has also been applied as a method within many field of social science (see Czarniawska, 2007). Empirical data collected with this method can be quantitative, qualitative or a combination of the two. The method has certain disadvantages: difficulties obtaining participants, behavioural changes due to observer presence, and a time-consuming and physically-demanding data collection method (Kotter, 1982; McDonald, 2005; Mintzberg, 1973). However, the main advantage with the method is the access to situations otherwise closed to researchers. By following a particular member in the organization, the researcher experiences data on the mundane and everyday activities in which the person is involved, and especially how he or she interacts with other people during the work day.

In this study, three first-level and one second-level manager were shadowed for one week each by one of authors, totalling 191 hours. This includes 11 hours of work not directly observed (because of sensitivity or other reasons). Observations took place in two main clusters of time, each concentrated on one of the two R&D departments to benefit from continuity in the observation. The observer identified himself as a researcher in the case companies and did not take part in the observed activities, except for coffee and lunch breaks. Both qualitative and quantitative data were collected. The field notes covered anecdotal and chronological data of the managers' activities, factual information derived during observation or answers to short questions, and the researcher's ongoing thoughts and reflections. The field notes were expanded and reflected on each night after leaving the workplace.

Interviews

In addition to the nearly 200 hours of recorded activities, semi-structured interviews were conducted with all four managers, their immediate superior, and five of their subordinates. All together, 30 interviews were conducted and transcribed. Among the 20 subordinates interviewed, five were female, and eleven had project management experience. Interviews with the managers' immediate superior and their subordinates were conducted after the week-long observation of the individual manager. During observations the shadowed managers and other organizational

members were informally asked questions; some discussion between a manager and the researcher took place as well. Discussion between the observer and the managers is commonplace (Mintzberg, 1973, p. 269) and not particular to this study. As part of the agreement to participate, the researcher conducted a longer review and reflection session with each manager at the end of the observation week. Both the informal and more formal interviews explained the background and context of certain events and provided a more in-depth understanding of what was happening within the company.

Analysis

Data analysis was mainly guided by a case study approach (Eisenhardt, 1989; Yin, 2002), although we were also partly inspired by the grounded-theory approach (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The analysis process consisted of three steps in chronological order. The first step involved structuring the vast amount of gathered data. Because the research project started as a MWB study, it was natural to first focus on the managers' work activities and apply the taxonomy and concepts developed by Mintzberg (1973, p. 230ff). However, during this analysis it became apparent that some adjustments to categories were needed to cover all the observed activities. Although Mintzberg developed thirteen categories to describe the purpose of contacts in which the managers were involved, none of these categories fit well to a large amount of observed contacts in this study. It was especially the more informal events that proved difficult to address: coffee breaks, lunches, small talk, and even when the manager just popped by an office and asked the person there how things were going.

The second step started as an effort to develop a new category to cover the unaddressed observed activities. Noticing the weak theorizing within the MWB approach, other strands of literature were consulted. Within knowledge creation literature, the concept of care (von Krogh, 1998; von Krogh et al., 2000) provided the basis to develop and include a new category named "Care and consideration" in the first analysis. Together with other minor changes in Mintzberg's taxonomy, this led to a successful tabulation of how managers spent their time.

The third step involved a return to the data to produce a more contextual and qualitative understanding of care as a managerial activity. Acknowledging the embedded nature of

management within an organization, observational data was supplemented by analysis of the interviews with other organizational members. The analysis consisted of multiple readings of field notes and interview transcripts and resulted in write-ups of episodes interpreted as involving care. Further analysis pointed to a recurrent theme that managers showed particular care towards subordinates on long-term sick leave, which signalled care as an important element of personnel responsibility and relationships. However, many other caring episodes involved people from different units, which sensitized us to the broader context. The literature on knowledge creation (Nonaka, 1994; Nonaka & Takeuchi, 1995; Nonaka et al., 2006) focused our analysis to understand these cases in the context of a hyper-text organization. Combining these various elements, we formulated a proposition that care, understood as five dimensions (von Krogh, 1998; von Krogh et al., 2000), could act as an integration mechanism between the different layers in the hyper-text organization. We tested this proposition with regards to both the case companies and the managers, resulting in several attempts of conceptualization and revisions until we reached theoretical saturation. At the end of this process, we recognize that layers in the hyper-text organization have their own particular internal logic that is partly incompatible with other layers. In organizations, different people operate as spokespersons for these different logics, which then appears as tension between persons. From our data, it is apparent that care can contribute to a reduction in such tension. However, care can also have the opposite effect. In the following section we will present episodes that illustrate both effects.

EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

As made clear in the previous section, our analysis reached theoretical saturation when we realized that caring behaviour by middle managers reduced tension in social situations. Tension increased especially in situations where organizational members acted as spokespersons for internal goals and logics in the different layers of the hyper-text organizations. In this section, we will present three episodes of interaction between organizational members that shows the effect of caring behaviour. All three episodes were directly observed by one of the authors, and we describe them in some detail to help the reader understand the particular contexts. The first episode shows the contrast in communication in the absent and present of care.

The gathering of 16 people is starting up again after a ten-minute break. Every manager and every member of the Technology Development department who is involved in the "Axe" project gathered in a large conference room located away from their usual work site. The one-hour discussion before the break was mainly focused on the organizational implications of the project. The discussion was initiated after introductions from Greg, the head of the department, and Steve, one of his group managers. Before the meeting moved from organizational issues and proceeded to more detailed technological issues, several technical specialists complained that they do not have enough time to complete their technical projects before being forced to move to new assignments.

The technical discussion debate is launched by a rather lengthy introduction by Ralph, the most outspoken lead technologist in the department. After a period of polite exchanges of views and questions, both managers and the technology specialist raise three critical-yet-vague statements against the conduct of the project. Don is the only person from the department sitting in the top management team of the "Axe" project, and vigorously defends the conduct of the project from all charges. However, Don is interrupted by Andrew, a first-level manager. Andrew reminds people about a concrete situation where the department had only three days to respond to a detailed technical inquiry from the project, which was considerably less than other departments. Don does not reply to Andrew's comments. After these remarks, the discussion returns to technical issues with polite exchanges of views and questions. After two-and-a-half hours, the department head calls for summarizing comments on the meeting and outlining the way forward. Don is the first to speak. He acknowledges the statement by Andrew, and admits that other departments were given more time than this department, and he takes the opportunity to apologize for how the requirement process was conducted. After some further comments the head of the department wraps up the meeting with some positive closing words.

As people start leaving, Andrew approaches Don and asks him about a concrete project assignment and how things are working in the project more generally. Andrew takes a seat while he is listening to the situation and a more-specific problem. Don ends his description by pointing to the misfortune that nobody from Andrew's group is assigned to the project for the moment. There is no bitterness or accusation in this statement, just a statement that admits that the

project lacks this competence. Andrew responds: "Then help us to finish our current assignments!" Don nods and declares that it is bad that nobody seems to see the possibility to reshuffle the resources and helping each other out. During the conversation, Steve, Greg and a project manager have gathered around them. One after the other soon takes part in a dialogue focusing on how the different actors have experienced the situation, and how they can contribute to helping others. When Don admits that the project's top management team lacks competence and experience with such large projects, Steve reminds him that this experience and competence is present in his group: "Please ask us, and we can help you out." After half an hour with calm conversation, much listening, non-aggressive follow-up questions, efforts to understand the others situation and finding common ground, the participants leave after scheduling a new meeting focusing on finding solutions.

It is striking to note the great contrast in the tone of the interaction in the smaller group compared with the larger gathering. The starting point of the reconciling process starts when Don acknowledges and apologizes for mistakes made by the project referring to a concrete episode. The description shows how a more fruitful debate starts when Andrew expresses *active empathy* by listening to how Don experienced his situation in project. The managers do not condemn Don and his work in the project, and thereby show *lenience in judgement*. By voicing their true opinions and formulating how they understand their own situation, they show *courage*. The line managers also offer actual *help* by suggesting a number of possible activities that could ease the difficulties between the project and the department, especially regarding allocation of knowledge workers and competence. It also seems reasonable to interpret the honest and frank exchange as a sign that Don and the line managers *trust* each other because they reveal their uncertainties and insecurity.

The caring behaviour by Andrew towards Don reduces the immediate tension between the *project team* and *business system* layer to a constructive level. This makes it possible to listen and understand to the other person's perspective and problems, which is a necessary step to initiate a collaborative search for common solutions. Apparently it seemed easier to find common ground in the smaller group when representatives from only two layers are present than when all three layers were present. Although the tension between the project team and *business*

system layer is the most prominent in this episode, we should also note the complaints from the technological specialists. Their desire to have more time to work on new technologies and develop new knowledge was partly ignored in the concluding discussion. However, as the next episode shows, the desires of knowledge workers, the technological specialists, are not always ignored.

At this moment only Henry, a first line manager, and Owen, one of his subordinates, are present in the office. Henry has organized a course on a new software tool for the document control system for the next day. According to Henry, the course is essential for administering projects in an orderly fashion. Henry looks up from the computer, turns around, and asks Owen if he will attend the course tomorrow. Owen looks up, and tells Henry with a low voice that he might not be able to attend the course tomorrow. Henry hesitates for a few seconds before he starts to probe by asking a few questions about Owen's work situation in the project. Henry does not seem to be pleased with his responses and the interaction ends with Henry insisting on participating in a meeting between Owen and his project manager. The silence between them is somewhat tense when Henry leaves the office for the restroom.

Henry returns and after a while he turns around and asks Owen if he could demonstrate the equipment he is working on now. Together they walk out of the office and down to the laboratory, where Owen explains the technical status of the various projects. Henry is smiling, shows enthusiasm, offers praise, and appears impressed. The tour lasts for about ten minutes before Henry leaves the laboratory.

Later the same day Owen enters the office and tells Henry that he cannot attend the course tomorrow. He explains this with a reference to an upcoming release in the project, with the fact that he has still a lot of work left to complete it. Henry's body language suggests that he is not happy with this, but he still tells Owen that he will not pressure him to attend. He also express that he trust his judgment of the workload, before they both continue with some more work.

In this episode we notice the tension between Henry and Owen that could have easily escalated. The turning point in this interaction happens when Henry suggests visiting the laboratory together with Owen. By listening, showing interest and conversing with him, Henry displays *care* and *supportiveness* that eases some of the tension between them. This reduction in tension probably enables Owen to show *courage* and *trust* when he tells Henry straight up that he will not the course tomorrow. In response Henry expresses *trust* in his judgement. It is doubtful that the issue would have been handled as calmly if they had not relieved some of the tension through the joint visit to the laboratory.

This episode becomes even more interesting if we interpret how the two assess the value of the course as expressions of the different internal logics of layers in the hyper-text organization. For Henry, the course represents an important opportunity for upgrading project administrative skills among his knowledge workers. In the long run, this should contribute to greater efficiency and effectiveness in future projects, but perhaps not contributing much to immediate knowledge creation. In contrast, Owen seems to prefer to develop new knowledge and technologies instead of learning about a project document administrative system. The upcoming deadline in the project could be a welcome excuse to skip the course and secure more time working on the exciting technology project. The different viewpoints on the value and importance of the course illustrate the sometimes-incompatible goals between the layers, and the subsequent tension this creates. So far it is evident that care can contribute to reduce tension between the layers. This reduction helps organizational members who represent different layers make an effort to understand the position, perspective, internal logic and goals of other members and layers. Mutual understanding across the layers is necessary in to integrate them. However, as the next episode will show, care can also have the opposite effect.

The weekly resource allocation meeting is in progress. Greg, the department head manager, is chairing the meeting, where his first-level managers are present together with all relevant project managers. In advance of the meeting, the project managers have registered their request for the personnel from the department to their project. When a person has been requested by more than one project, his name is marked in red and the conflict of interest is to be resolved in this meeting.

The discussion moves back and forth as the group resolves one resource conflict after another. Certain comments made by some participants are rather accusatory, and the mood is gradually deteriorating. In particular, Ronny, the only external project manager present, shows dissatisfaction with how conflicts are resolved in his disfavour. When his request for a particular knowledgeable technology specialist is turned down, his disapproval raises yet another notch. Greg addresses the other participants and asks them to help out if there are other available people that could be assigned to this project. Instead of answering the question, one of the first-level managers criticises Ronny's project for its policy of physically isolating itself away from the rest of the organization. This makes it difficult to take part in this project on a part-time basis, especially when combined with other project commitments. Greg agrees and worries that the knowledge workers might shift away from their current projects too soon, before their projects are fully completed.

Later, Ronny speaks up and demands that Greg should "Stop the trip and be a boss", with reference to a technology specialist's desire to attend a scientific conference despite a fast-approaching deadline in his current project. Greg had already approved the trip under the condition that the specialist returned one day earlier than planned. However, this information does not come up in the meeting; instead, accusations are thrown back and forth between Ronny and others. A solution that could have satisfied Ronny is not found, and he expresses disappointment with the department. He is not soothed by promises that he will get the request personnel as soon as they finish up their current assignments. When the meeting ends half an hour later than scheduled, the mood is rather strained; no one appears pleased with the resolution of the many resource conflicts.

It is difficult to argue that this meeting is characterized by much *care* between the participants, especially towards Ronny. Instead there is grievance and tension over the allocation of personnel. Of special interest is Ronny's complaint about the forthcoming trip by a technology specialist. What is not evident for Ronny in this meeting, and what Greg does not attempt to explain to him, is that the issue with the knowledge worker had already been resolved. It is possible to argue that Greg showed *trust* towards this knowledge worker and his judgement when settling for this compromise. The most noteworthy take away from this episode is that *caring*

behaviour towards one person can adversely affect another person in the organization. Greg's *care* towards the knowledge worker, operating under the logic of the *knowledge base* layer, is given by a representative of the *business system* layer at the expense of the *project team* layer represented by Ronny. This effect illustrates the difficulties involved in coordinating and integrating the different activities within a hyper-text organization. In this situation, *care* did not promote integration between the differing objectives of the layers; rather, it contributed to increasing the tension and fragmentation because the goals and desires of the layers were not compatible with each other.

However, as the other episodes have shown, tension can be reduced to a level where disagreement can be discussed in a constructive manner, and common ground can eventually be found. In this episode, both Greg and Ronny could probably have displayed more *caring behaviour* towards each other, which could have had a calming effect. The absence of *care* suggests some prerequisite to such behaviour. The two only interact at the weekly resource allocation meeting. In contrast to others involved in the previous episode, whom had extensive experience with each other going far back in time, Greg and Ronny have never worked together at the same department. This suggests that it is probably easier to show *care* towards people you already know. We return to this in the next section, where we turn to a broader discussion of our findings, their implications, and conditions that can influence how care is enacted and responded to.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This study offers an unusual micro perspective on elements of organizational knowledge creation theory that contributes to integrating MWB managerial work and behaviour, care, and the concept of the hyper-text organization. Empirical findings provide detailed accounts of how showing care toward others can contribute to reducing tension. Because different layers in the hyper-text organization have different goals and internal logics, different organizational members representing and promoting the goals and logics of his or her layer will inevitably develop incompatible understandings of the same situation. This is not necessarily negative because the differences between the layers are what make them prosper at their respective tasks.

If the three different layers could work in complete parallel from each other without any need for contact, tension between their respective representatives would not be visible. However, coordinating resources across layers is a critical factor (Nonaka, 1994, p. 33), especially when the *business system* and *project team* layers are forced to be in contact with each other over access to knowledge workers. These situations point to the importance of integration between all three layers in the hyper-text organization, and not just between the *knowledge base* and *business system* layers as previously conceptualized (Grant, 1996a).

However, as the last episode in the previous section shows, care towards one person can actually increase tension in your relationship with another person. This is a not phenomenon that is particular to hyper-text organizations and the business world, but also quite common in many families. Intuitively, most people know that in a typical family with two toddlers, giving attention or giving a gift to just one child does not improve your relationship with the other child. This small example illustrates some of the complexity of applying caring behaviour in a setting with more than one other actor, and how hard it is to accomplish integration across the three layers in the hyper-text organization.

We wish to stress that care cannot provide integration by itself, but it can provide a healthy foundation and an environment for accepting differences and finding common ground. According to von Krogh (1998, pp. 138-139) organizational relationships range from high-care (characterized by considerable mutual trust, active empathy, access to help, lenience in judgment, and courage) to low-care (characterized by distrust, no empathy, little or no access to help, authoritative judgment, and cowardice). This means that in a hypercompetitive context, where care runs low, knowledge sharing will be blocked because individuals will try to capture knowledge rather than share it voluntarily. In contrast, when care runs high, it is possible to share tacit knowledge and create social knowledge like indwelling. Following Polanyi and Prosch (1977), indwelling is a dramatic shift of perspectives from "looking at" to "looking with" the concept. In developing shared tacit knowledge, the challenge for knowledge creation participants will be to consider the experiences, perspectives, and concepts of other participants (von Krogh, 1998, p. 141).

We propose that indwelling is not only important for knowledge creation, but just as important for integrating layers in the hyper-text organization. It is when representatives from

different layers are able to dwell in each other's experiences, perspectives, and concepts, that they develop an understanding of the other layers' internal logic and goals. In the same manner as caring behaviour is a prerequisite for indwelling with regards to creating new knowledge, such behaviour is also a prerequisite for indwelling with respect to integration. Indwelling alone does not generate integration, but it is easier to find workable solutions through generating shared understanding of each others' perspectives (as evident from our presented episodes.)

However, it is important to recognize that creating high-caring relationships among multiple people is not a one-time accomplishment, but rather a recurrent process. Because the different layers in a hyper-text organization have different goals and internal logics, in the long run tensions will rise again and again. Our empirical findings show that care can ease and reduce tension in a conflict, but this needs to be done repeatedly and not just in one particular situation. For this reason, repeated positive interaction over a long time span and a high degree of shared language and experience increase the probability for showing care. However, as the third episode shows us, this also makes it more difficult to take the initiative to show caring behaviour to relative strangers.

Being nice to people is generally a worthy endeavour, but as is evident from this paper, showing care towards others can also relieve tension and help an organization's integration process. The managerial implication of this is advising people to display courage and take the initiative to show you care about others. Taking the time to listen and showing active empathy, offering and providing accesses to help, showing lenience in judgment, and respecting other perspectives, and building mutual trust over time: these are all-important in the daily proceedings of organizations. Caring behaviour is particularly important towards people you do not know too well, although a bit harder as well. We encourage managers to recognize the impact of sharing, caring, and nurturing social relations, and to ignore the claim by Alvesson and Kärreman (2001) that such managerial practice is weak and not important. This paper has expanded the traditional view of managerial work and behaviour by taking also more emotional aspects into account than usual. Thus we have contributed a vital connection between the empirically detailed and analytical inductive approach from the MWB approach with organizational knowledge creation theory.

Limitations

Some limitations confront our research. First, our conceptualizations are developed on the basis of data from two companies and four managers. It is known that qualitative research is not suited for broad generalizations in a statistical manner. The empirical data in this study were gathered in two R&D units from a small country, and is therefore not suitable for generalization to all managers. However, the main strength and contribution of qualitative research is to provide insightful examples and analysis (Conger, 1998). Our empirical findings provide examples from a particular organizational context that hopefully can provide insights of more general interest. Further research is needed and encouraged to examine how widespread managerial care is in other companies, organizations, contexts and nations.

Second, compared with USA, Norwegian culture is very low on the masculinity dimension (Hofstede, 1980). This difference implies that people in Norway value dialogue and consensus highly, and prefer the quality of human relationships more than material rewards. This picture of Norwegian democracy, organizations, and management is also supported by the country's historical development (Byrkjeflot, 2003). Altogether, this raises the possibility that organizations that display care in this national context are more profound than elsewhere, although this is probably countered by the fact that care is a fundamental human quality.

Concluding remark

One of the main contributions from this paper is the integration of several previously-separated concepts within organizational knowledge creation theory. By recognizing that different layers of the hyper-text organization have different and partly incompatible goals and internal logics—along with the inherit tension this creates—we have laid the groundwork for showing how high-care relationships contribute to integration across these different layers. We have provided empirical findings from field studies collected through a shadowing observation technique, which responds to the call from Barley and Kunda (2001) to bring work back in to organizational theorizing. By doing so, we have also produced a link between micro and macro levels of knowledge management. This linkage is necessary for a better understanding of the

relationship between managerial everyday practice and activities, and the organizational form. Care—in the form of mutual trust, active empathy, access to help, lenience in judgment, and courage—can contribute to reducing tension so that a process of indwelling can be started. This process helps participants gain a deeper understanding and respect for the experiences, perspectives, and concepts of others. However, we also wish to warn that although care can reduce tension in a relationship with one person, it can at the same time also increase tension in relationships with others. Successfully integrating a hyper-text organization, or any other organization, is a daily ongoing struggle that calls for further research. Our contribution has been to show how caring behaviour by middle managers can contribute to integrating the different layers of the hyper-text organization by reducing the immediate tension between them.

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Paper IV

Vie, O. E. (2008) *"Shadowing – A field technique for discovering emotions in work."*

In search of influence
- Leading knowledge workers with care

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ABSTRACT

R&D managers are in search of influence because knowledge workers value autonomy and dislike direct supervision. The purpose of this article is to explore if and how leadership support is connected to influence. Through interviews with knowledge workers, it is evident that they expect their manager to be supportive and take an interest in them as complete persons. Observations and interviews with managers reveal that they fulfill these expectations by engaging in listening and chatting. In addition, the data also illustrates that managers can care about their employees. The analysis shows that these activities can influence others both intentionally and unintentionally. However, the discussion makes clear that influence from "soft" managerial practices like support and care cannot be separated from the influence derived from "hard" hierarchical and formal positions. This intertwinement suggests that future studies should broaden the understanding of influence in the leadership process.

Key words: Care, leadership, R&D, influence

1. Introduction

Traditionally, leadership has not been perceived as an important source of influence on creativity and innovation (Mumford, Scott, Gaddis, & Strange, 2002). This could probably explain why so little leadership research has been conducted in research and development (R&D) organizations or contexts (Elkins & Keller, 2003). R&D organizations are very vulnerable to undesired turnover because they are extremely dependent on their employees' unique knowledge and expertise (Alvesson, 1995, 2000, 2004). To counter this vulnerability, many of these organizations try to increase or sustain their employees' commitment and loyalty. However, because creative people value autonomy (Mumford, et al., 2002; Oldham & Cummings, 1996) and dislike to be directed by a supervisor (McAuley, Duberley, & Cohen, 2000), leaders of creative people cannot appear to be controlling without risking severe resistance and possibly undesired turnover. Therefore, it can be argued that R&D managers are in search of influence.

Henry Mintzberg (1998) suggests that leadership needs to be indirect and covert because professionals require more support and less direct supervision. This resonates with more recent leadership research like George (2000), Dasborough and Ashkanasy (2002), and Dasborough (2006), arguing that emotions are central to leadership as a social influence process. Although few leadership scholars have given much attention to emotions (see Humphrey, 2002), others have recognized that the management in knowledge-intensive firms sometimes plays on emotions to accomplish normative control (Alvesson, 1995, 2004, p. 151; Kunda, 1992). However, neither of these accounts details how ordinary daily managerial activities in this setting are connected to influence of knowledge workers.

To explore this issue, an open and qualitative research strategy was chosen for this study, because of the relatively few leadership studies conducted in R&D organizations (Elkins & Keller, 2003). Qualitative research plays an important role in leadership research because of its ability and flexibility to explore the unexpected (Conger, 1998). Although the number of qualitative leadership studies has increased, observation methods have rarely been used; instead, conducting qualitative interviews is the preferred research method (Bryman, 2004). Conger (1998) has warned against over-reliance on interviewing as the only data source, and both he and Alvesson (1996) encourage the use of observation as a valuable method for data collection. Therefore the qualitative data in this study were collected both from interviews and observations.

The article is structured as follows. The first section after this introduction discusses leadership as intentional and unintentional influence, before reviewing leadership in R&D organizations. Here, the review has a special focus on leadership support and emotions to explore how this may be related to social influence as indicated above. Afterwards the method applied in this study and the research settings are described, before the empirical findings are presented in the next section. The findings explore what knowledge workers expect of their manager, how the managers perceive these expectations, as well as what the managers do to fulfill these expectations. The following section analyses these managerial activities as social influence. The article ends with a discussion of the findings and the implication of this study.

2. Theoretical background

2.1 Leadership as influence

The elusive character of leadership is illustrated by the numerous and different definitions of the concept, but some common elements recur across definitions. Leadership is commonly understood as a process of intentional influence by one person over a group of people to accomplish a given goal (Bass, 1990; Yukl, 2002). A number of studies have examined proactive influence tactics, which are used to get someone to carry out requests (see Higgins, Judge, & Ferris, 2003; Yukl, 2002; Yukl, Seifert, & Chavez, 2008). Influence in this regard seems to be used as a synonym for persuasion, but while persuasion is consciously sought, influence may be unintentional (Hargie, Dickson, & Tourish, 1999, p. 24). This implies that managerial activities and behaviour can influence people both intentionally and unintentionally. Therefore, leadership researchers should examine managerial influence from a broader perspective than influence tactics.

An alternative perspective is the framework by Cialdini (2001; Cialdini & Goldstein, 2004), which recognizes that the social influence process can also be subtle, indirect and outside of awareness. (This is parallel to the view that emotions can be spread implicitly through emotional contagion (Hatfield, Cacioppo, & Rapson, 1993).) A range of Cialdini's (2001) well-known principles of influence will be described and applied later in the analysis section, while the common premise for these processes is the focus in this section.

According to Cialdini (2001), people have a tendency to act according to fixed-action patterns, usually triggered by a single feature of relevant information in the situation. In a world with more information than people can handle, relying on such heuristics helps an

individual choose a correct course of action without having to analyse the situation carefully. The disadvantage of reliance on an automatic pattern lies in its vulnerability to make silly and costly mistakes, which could be exploited by compliance professionals like salespersons. Because one of the main tasks of leadership is to influence others, it is possible to make the case that leaders are a type of compliance professional. However, different organizational settings would constrain both a leader's need and ability to induce influence. In this study, it is therefore necessary to give particular attention to leadership and influence in R&D contexts and organizations.

2.2 R&D Leadership

In the two-part special issues of *The Leadership Quarterly* on Leading for Innovation (2003-2004), one of the main conclusions is that leadership and leader behaviour makes a difference on innovation (Mumford & Licuanan, 2004). Among the articles in these issues, we find an extensive review of leadership in R&D organizations (Elkins & Keller, 2003), which illustrates that the main focus has been on R&D project groups and leaders.

Organizations can chose to organize their project as different degrees of a matrix structure between the two extremes of functional hierarchy and project hierarchy (Turner, 1993). Either form of matrix organization is accompanied by positions as project leaders and functional line leaders. However, line and project leaders have different impacts, as illustrated by Keegan and den Hartog (2002) in a study of two groups of employees reporting to either a line or project leader. Although both groups of leaders were perceived to have a similar transformational leadership style, significant relationships between leadership and outcome variables like commitment, motivation and stress were only found for employees reporting to line managers. This study indicates that more studies of line managers in R&D organizations should be welcomed, especially when considering more long-term issues.

In the relatively few studies of leadership in R&D organizations, a number of different approaches to leadership have been covered (see Elkins & Keller, 2003; Farris, 1988; Scott & Bruce, 1998). In the following section we will focus on some of the research examining transformational leadership, leader-member exchange (LMX), and leader skills.

The concepts of transformational leadership was initiated by Burns (1978) and developed further by Bass (1985). The process of transformational leadership may be understood as a deliberate attempt to influence followers to support the organizations' vision and direction. This is accomplished by creating an environment of trust where the followers

are empowered to achieve these goals, which in theory implicitly means enhanced follower performance. Bass and Avolio (1990) described four dimensions of transformational leadership: Idealized influence, Inspirational motivation, Intellectual stimulation and Individualized consideration.

In a study of top-level R&D leaders by Jung, Chow and Wu (2003), transformational leadership was linked to organizational innovation measured as patent awards, as well as related to empowerment and supportive climate for innovation. The authors also suggested that a transformational leader increases follower's intrinsic motivation which again leads to more creativity, but Shin and Zhou (2003) found that intrinsic motivation only partially mediated the suggested relationship.

Scholars applying the leader-member exchange (LMX) theory (Dansereau, Cashman, & Graen, 1973; Dansereau, Graen, & Haga, 1975) have recognized that managers indirectly influence innovative behaviour through the work climate. Scott and Bruce (1994) found that a high-quality leader-member exchange (LMX) relationship between R&D managers and their employees was related to both innovative behaviour and perception of the general work environment as supportive for innovation. A high-quality relationship is marked by mutual obligations, trust, mutual liking, and respect (Graen & Uhl-Bien, 1995). In a subsequent article, Scott and Bruce (1998) argue that transformational leadership, especially the individualized consideration dimension, is related to characteristics of leaders in high LMX dyads.

The emotional and transformational qualities of leader-member relationships were recently highlighted by Dasborough and Ashkanasy (2002), who focused on the perceived intentionality of leader behaviour and argued that leadership is intrinsically an emotional process. The emotional nature of leader-member exchange and interaction was later confirmed in an empirical article by Dasborough (2006). Zhou and George (2003) recognized the importance of shaping followers' emotions in a creative setting, while Pirola-Merlo et al. (2002) found that a transformational leadership style could help to buffer the negative impacts from obstacles on R&D teams. Together these studies point to the importance of emotions in the relationship between R&D leaders and subordinates.

Usually, technical expertise and creative problem-solving skills are regarded as the most essential skills for leading creative people (Elkins & Keller, 2003). Although acknowledging that technical skills were consistently positively related in previous research, Farris (1988) also pointed to the importance of having human relations skills and using the

leader as a catalyst for the innovation process. Summarizing previous studies, he wrote: "Human relations skills are related positively but less consistently to group performance" (p. 14).

Katz (1974) proposed that like conceptual, technical, and human skills, the importance of managerial skills varies across both hierarchical level and functional area. Testing this theory, Pavett and Lau (1983) found that all managers, including R&D managers, rated human skills as the most important for successful job performance. The perception of human skills as the most important was also confirmed in a later study of R&D and non-R&D managers from both private and public sector (Pavett & Lau, 1985). This is also confirmed in a more recent article which found that technical skills became less important and people skills became more important after succeeding with providing a stimulating environment (Cordero, Farris, & DiTomaso, 2004).

Also, Amabile et al. (2004) have examined the links between leaders and the work environment. Staring from the componential theory of creativity (Amabile, 1988, 1997), they suggest that leader behaviour influences subordinates perception of leader support, which in turn influence creativity. In their study, they found a relationship between the creativity of subordinates and seven specific team leader behaviours, out of 14-categories in Managerial Practice Survey (MPS) (Yukl, 2002). Although the seven categories of behaviour could be classified as either task- or relationship-oriented, their qualitative descriptions revealed that leader behaviour had elements of both types of orientation.

Although a large number of studies have recognized the importance of leader support for subordinates' creativity (Mumford, et al., 2002; Shalley & Gilson, 2004), especially supportive, non-controlling supervision (Oldham & Cummings, 1996), leaders' capability to care has been recognized only by a few authors. Sashkin (2004) equals caring with demonstrating respect and concern for people, while Sarros and Santora (2001) equal caring with treating people like individuals. Interviewing R&D leaders and employees about the spirit of their communities, Judge, Fryxell and Dooley (1997) noted that family feeling, trust and care were commonly used to describe the culture. For instance, a technician stated: "I like coming to work; we really care about each other here – it's not just a job" (p. 75). This suggests that care should be examined further, and we turn to this subject in the next section.

2.3 Leading with Care

Taking as a premise that both human beings and their relationships with others are fundamentally emotional, the personal and emotional aspects of a person can never be kept totally apart from their professional aspects. As noted by Solomon (1998), even though caring in corporations is sometimes denied, people working in these corporations can, and do, care about one another. In light of this, the lack of attention to care in leadership and organizations is quite striking.

Care has been conceptualized in various ways. Webster's dictionary defines care as "painstaking or watchful attention," while Oxford dictionary defines care as "serious attention, a feeling of concern and interest." Milton Mayeroff (1971, p. 1) has the following definition: "to care for another person, in the most significant sense, is to help him grow and actualize himself." Notice the similarity between this definition and Burns' (1978) definition of transformational leadership as "engagement with each other to raise one another to higher levels of motivation and morality."

The expression "to care for" is an ambiguous expression, which could refer to an activity, without necessarily containing emotion, or to a set of feelings, without necessarily being expressed through action (Solomon, 1998). This ambiguity is also reflected in Heidegger (1962), who also states that to take care of others means to direct and relate to other people through continuous interaction.

The relational nature of care and the focus on taking other peoples' perspectives and understanding their meanings highlights why care has special relevance for sharing and creating knowledge. Von Krogh (1998) argues that care is essential for innovation in companies, because high-care relationships can overcome mistrust, fear and isolation and promote volunteer knowledge sharing. Care gives rise to mutual trust, active empathy, access to help, lenience in judgement, and courage (von Krogh, 1998; von Krogh, Ichijo, & Nonaka, 2000). Mutual agreement and understanding are primarily reached through caring for one another (Styhre, Roth, & Ingelgård, 2002).

In this review of leadership in R&D organizations, we have highlighted the importance of leader support and some of the emotional aspects of this like care. To focus our investigation on these issues, we explore the situation of R&D line leaders with personnel responsibility. Because these leaders do not have the day-to-day responsibility for completing projects, relationship-oriented actions should be more profound than task-oriented actions. We turn to the empirical findings after describing the method applied in this study and the research settings.

3. Methods

The qualitative data in this study were collected through interviews and observations following the structured observation method by Mintzberg, which he described as "a method that couples the flexibility of open-ended observation with the discipline of seeking certain types of structured data" (1973, p. 231). The method, which some of the managers dubbed as being "shadowed" (Mintzberg, 1975, p. 50), could be seen as a distinct research technique combining quantitative and qualitative approaches (McDonald, 2005). Shadowing has also been applied as a method within other fields within the social sciences (see Czarniawska, 2007). However, to counter the method's one-eyed managerial perspective, interviews with non-managerial employees are also necessary.

In addition to shadowing and observing four R&D managers for one week each (totalling 191 hours), a total of 30 separate interviews were conducted. This includes interviews with all four managers both before and after the observation, with their superior, and with five of their subordinates. Only two superiors were interviewed because one of the shadowed managers was a second line manager above another, and because two of the shadowed managers had the same superior. Among the 20 subordinates interviewed, five were female, and eleven had project management experience. Everyone has been given male pseudo-names to ensure anonymity. The observations were made and the interviews conducted in 2006. Data gathering took place in two main clusters of time, each concentrated on one of the two departments to benefit from continuity in the observation.

3.1 The participants and their organizations

The two departments in this study are both part of companies that produce advanced technical products for an international market, and where R&D activities are central. The two companies are very similar; in 2006, and each had operating revenues of approximately 400 Million Euros and approximately 2000 employees. The employees' age, gender and education are also similar in the two companies. The age distribution is fairly balanced, but the majority are between 30 and 50 years old. About 20% of the workforce is female, and women occupy approximately 10% of the managerial positions. Approximately 50 percent have a technical education of up to three years of higher education; nearly a quarter have more than four years.

Both R&D departments are part of larger divisions. The biggest one consists of about 150 employees in seven sections, while the smaller one has about 60 employees in four

sections. Both companies are organized as matrix organizations. The biggest difference between the two is the size of the projects. While the largest department has been mainly involved with one giant project, the other department has many smaller projects.

The four shadowed managers are all males between 36 and 51 years with a Bachelors, Masters, or PhD degree in engineering. Three are first level managers, while one is a second-level manager. They have responsibility for between 12 and 60 persons. In average, they have been in the company for 14 years, have 7 years managerial experience, and have held their current positions for 3 years.

3.2 Data analysis

The data analysis was done in an open manner, which allowed for a shift in focus when specific themes seemed interesting. The preliminary data analysis involved reading through the interview transcripts and observational field notes several times in totality. The interview data was thematically analyzed (see Bryman, 2008, p. 554ff) and summarized, along with an effort to identify illustrating examples. The analysis of the interviews with knowledge workers focused on their expectations regarding leadership in general and the relationship with their manager in particular. These expectations were later compared to the manager's perceptions of the same issues. In addition, both interview and observational data were analyzed in order to provide a description of what the manager were doing. The observational data were first categorized according to Mintzberg's (1973) taxonomy; however, many of the activities did not fit within this framework. A new category titled "care and consideration" was developed to cover greeting people, using humour, conversing in the form of informal talk and displaying empathy. The analysis reported in this article moves one step further and examines how care and consideration, expressed through mundane activities, can influence others. According to the social influence theory (Cialdini, 2001), influence does not need to be intentional and the response would usually be unnoticeable. Because of this, it is extremely difficult to gather reliable empirical data that can prove a causal connection between a particular mundane managerial activity and a particular outcome. Therefore, the analysis in Section 5 is restricted to how managerial activities can influence, and not to a causal explanation of how these activities influence knowledge workers.

4. Empirical findings

4.1 What knowledge workers expect of R&D managers

Knowledge workers, including project managers, were asked to indicate how they wanted to be lead. Their unanimous expectation was to work autonomously on their assigned task. Although they preferred autonomy, they did not want to be completely left alone; they expected to work independently within constrains. Most also expressed that they expected the managers to follow up on them, give them feedback, and if necessary correct their direction if they were drifting too far from their objective. Some also mentioned the importance of clear responsibilities and the importance of having authority as well as responsibility. A representative account is given by the young knowledge worker, Sonny.

> *"... I want that the leader in one way gives me responsibility and a free hand, but that he or she, at the same time, places clear demands and follows up the things one asks for or wants to have, in such a way that you have freedom, but you need to, in a way, to be responsible for reporting back, and that the leader actually follows up what you are doing, you know, and shows interest in that way. ... A good leader is one who has control, you know, and that knows what is going on around here. ... And also, he also ought to have human qualities as well. Yes, some empathy, understand people."*

When asked to characterize a good leader, some of the knowledge workers also emphasized the importance of the manager's technical competence. However, the importance of this competence was not related to an expectation that the manager should provide detailed technical advice (which were rather sought from experienced colleagues), but as a prerequisite for the managers to maintain an overview of departmental activities and what people were working on. In contrast, surprisingly many focused on the importance of the managers possessing human skills. A good leader should be emphatic, understand human nature, be easy to talk with, have time to talk, and know employees as complete persons. They did not expect a manager to solve their private problems, but they expected to be able to talk about private and sensitive issues with the expectation that the manager would try to shield them from excessive work demands during rough periods. Employees indicated that it was only natural to involve a manager when their personal life affected work. The following statement from Lars, an employee with project management responsibilities, is representative.

> *"... I expect, at least, that [the line manager] is a person I can relate to on a, what should I say, on a more human term than is necessary with others. To whom I can discuss issues, and yes, discuss different matters, my well-being, how, how things are experienced in the project ... I don't expect the line manager to, to be a discussion partner, privately, I would say, on a private term. But if there is something, I would say, something on, if personal matters should*

come to interfere with the work, then it is naturally to talk about, I would say to inform, explain and discuss it."

4.2 R&D managers understanding of expectations towards them

R&D managers on different levels were asked to explain how they wanted to lead others. Although different managers used different words, their responses can be grouped in three areas: delegating work to autonomous employees, ensuring that they are doing well, and taking responsibility for organizing the work environment.

All managers wanted to delegate tasks and assignments to autonomous subordinates, but at the same time offer themselves as a sounding board and conversation partner. However, several managers pointed out that it was necessary to take individual consideration into account during the assignment process. Although managers at all levels considered getting to know each other as very important, one of the second-line managers expressed that the personal relationship between manager and employee is more important for first-line managers than other managers. This difference could explain why the first-line managers emphasized the importance of making sure that their employees were doing well. One manager expressed that one way of doing this was to organize the conditions surrounding the knowledge workers like equipment, resolving administrative issues, and prioritizing tasks for them. Another manager also pointed out the importance of securing adequate projects and work for subordinates. Several managers also perceived that knowledge workers expected them to be present and provide attention. This is well expressed by Greg, a second level manager.

"They expect presence … that you actually are physically present, they expect to see me, to use that expression … I think they expect that you should have time for them, like, care about them, and they expect also that I shall prioritize what they should be doing, or what they should not be doing."

As noted by many knowledge workers and managers, it is important for managers to know their people. Here, Andrew, a first line manager, explained why and what kind of knowledge about his employees he feels he needs to know.

"… [I] try to build up the trust over time, you know, like, you have, at least in appraisal interviews, to use that as a starting point, there I engage with sensitive personal issues. Where you try, well, to get to know new people, to listen to their family situation. … it's okay that people care about how they are as persons, and when they are at home, because, I mean, it's a

lot of things like that you need to know when you consider how much work to put on people, what kind of situation they are in. Therefore I see that as an essential point to, to have a fairly good sense of the social situation of people, like, I know when people have small kids at home, and if they get too preoccupied with their work I tell them to buzz off back home, 'you can't be sitting here and be working overtime now, now it's time for you to take care for your family."

All first-line managers wanted to know both about their employees' work and home lives to balance the amount of work with their current life situation. Because these managers had the responsibility to assign people to different projects and to approve the use of overtime, they were in a position to intervene on behalf of the knowledge workers. The following statements from first-line managers Steve and Henry illustrate the connections.

"I try to, I shall be available to people with problems. And I have, I readily invite people to come and tell me if they have problems ... And then I know about the situations, so if anything arises, then I can shield them to a certain degree."

"I have, in such a situation [relationship breakup], then I can give the message that I expect that your contribution decline. That is perfectly natural, that is okay. It is as it should be when you are in the middle of such a situation. And then the person I am talking about has been given a custom-made working arrangement."

4.3 What R&D managers do to fulfil expectations

"The personnel responsibility, which is perhaps the hardest part in this job, is solved mainly by being around to check how people are doing and listening to how they are doing with their project work."

As the statement from Steve, a first line-manager, illustrates, listening is an important managerial activity. This activity, together with chatting, is two of the main ways managers get to know their employees. During the weeks of shadowing, there were numerous situations when the observed managers engaged in chatting or informal small talk with their colleagues. All four managers generally used to have their lunch together with their subordinates or peers. During these lunch-breaks, people usually talked about non-working related topics. In these conversations people talked about their family and their hobbies. Work related topics were usually limited to the end of the lunch, and then usually to schedule short meetings afterwards.

The managers in this study also spent time asking and listening to their colleagues in informal meetings. Sometimes the talking was initiated by the colleague, but most of the time the manager took the initiative. For example, Andrew stopped by each of his five assigned colleagues on a regular basis to check on them by asking "How are you doing?" This introduction encourages the colleague to bring up not only any work-related issue for discussion, but also more private matters. It is important to note that it was up to the individual colleague to provide topics for discussion. These status rounds of walking from office to office were consciously enacted and gave the manager valuable information and a good opportunity to exchange feedback.

So far we have a picture of R&D managers who are involved and knowledgeable about knowledge workers' personal and family lives. This knowledge is attained by mundane activities like listening and chatting. However, having knowledge about people does not say anything about their emotional attitude towards others at work. The traditional picture of managers as rational and professional beings does not provide room for managers to have feelings for their employees. During the weeks of shadowing, two particular events stand out as sharp contrasts to the traditional picture. Two of the managers from different companies, interacted with employees on sick leave, and one of the events will now be described in detail.

> *Henry, the line manger is sitting in his office and reading e-mail. The corner office is rather spacious and painted white, with a wood-colored office desk and a conference table for at least 3-4 persons. The office is located not far from the entrance and reception area, has many windows, a number of bookshelves, and a big green plant. Henry gets up and closes the door before returning to his desk. He picks up the phone and starts to dial a number. It seems like he has memorized the number. He tells me that he is calling Colin, one of his employees on long-term sick leave. I cannot listen in on what Colin says; I only hear what Henry is telling him. Henry's voice is more soft-spoken than usual. He starts with a greeting, and asks Colin how things are. Apparently he has just returned back home after a hospital admission. Henry does not say very much, he just listens to Colin's history and lets him steer the conversation. As far as I can tell Colin talks about his treatment, his prognosis and his state of health. Throughout the conversation Henry expresses understanding, empathy, and care. He asks a number of follow-up questions before telling Colin what the unit has been working on since the last time they spoke. Colin listens and asks Henry to tell him more about the activities in the different projects. Towards the end of the conversation, Henry airs the possibility for Colin to come by at work some time. "We are all thinking of you, and it would be very nice to see you around." Colin apparently answers that it would take some more time before he is able,*

but he wants to come. Before hanging up, Henry makes the promise to send out an e-mail to the unit on behalf of Colin. Henry looks exhausted, moved and quite concentrated. The phone conversation lasts for about 20 minutes.

Together we walk down to canteen for lunch, where Henry shared information about Colin's situation with some of the employees gathered there. After returning from lunch, he sits down and takes his time writing a lengthy e-mail about Colin for the unit.

The above event illustrates nicely how care can be expressed through the mundane activities of listening and chatting. However, it is important to note that observations of listening and chatting cannot be taken as evidence of a caring relationship between a manager and a knowledge worker. In this case, Henry talked about his feelings towards Colin and employees in general during an interview. The combination of observations and interviews is necessary to convincingly claim that managers can care about their employees. The following interview also illustrates the general sentiment among R&D managers towards knowledge workers.

"I am totally convinced that, so to speak, to be engaged with and to sustain the well-being of the employees is the way this company can succeed. And then we have our, like, actually, better and worse period occurring in life, and it is also employees that have more than other employees throughout life. And I have, I try to bear in mind the employees, you know. I have one, who unfortunately has gotten cancer, serious cancer diagnosis, who is 63. What we did then, we sent flowers before we knew he got cancer. I have visited him at home; we have talked over the phone several times. The unit sponsored an iPod which we then filled with music, through some volunteering here, which we gave to him. It is very important for me in relations with him, whom I am very fond off, and I see that, I do not try to hide that I think it is important towards the others that we show that we really care about him. It is important for the employees here to see that if they come in the same situation, that the workplace cares about you. I genuinely care about him, but I know in the back of my head that it serves more than one purpose. "

This last sentence above illustrates that caring activities have the potential to influence others. When the managers were asked about how they could influence others, they all acknowledged that they had influence, and gave examples of activities that they engaged in. The examples given were about being sociable, cheerful, and a solid supporter; giving individual consideration; and "walk the talk." However, managers did not seem to be particularly articulate about the influence process and how they influenced others. Therefore, in the next section we turn to Cialdini's (2001) description of social influence tactics.

5. Analysis of social influence

In R&D organizations Cialdini's (2001) liking dimension is both relevant and important. People prefer to say yes to individuals they know and like. Liking is influenced by physical attractiveness, similarity, increased familiarity through repeated contact, and association. In R&D organizations in this study, where managers are promoted from the ranks of knowledge workers, similarity is ensured based on similar educational backgrounds. If the managers also have worked previously within the same unit, then they share much common experience and history with the other knowledge workers.

The R&D managers spend much time with their subordinates and are usually available for short exchanges of information or requests. The manager and knowledge workers participate in many common activities and meetings, both formal and informal, where they can interact and observe each other. Especially in the more informal settings like lunch and coffee breaks, talking about leisure-time interest can highlight common interests, or at least provide a fuller picture of the persons they are dealing with. When knowledge workers observe through public e-mails, common activities, or in conversation that a manager cares about another person, these observations could strengthen the liking of this manager and thus be a source of influence. A strengthened liking helps to build trust, while increasing contact with people one already likes increase the amount of liking that person. Heightened liking could later lead to higher cooperation when the manager asks for a favour or makes assignments.

Showing care can also be understood through two other sources of influence: reciprocation and social proof. Cialdini (2001) identified reciprocation as a powerful process which influences by making people feel psychologically obliged to return favours. When a manager is doing some kind of favour, knowledge workers could feel obliged to return the favour by working harder or longer. In this case, it is possible to argue that in addition to the employee that receives attention and care from the manager, other employees who observe or are aware of this exchange can feel psychologically obliged to work harder. Because employees notice the manager's caring behaviour, they might expect equal favours and treatment if they find themselves in similar situations. Thus, the belief in potential future favours could influence them to feel higher degree of commitment towards the manager.

Social proof works as influence because of our tendency to observe what other people are doing as a means to decide our own actions (Cialdini, 2001). Doing observable favours could stimulate a more helpful environment among employees. The employees could emulate

the managers' acts of doing favours and increasingly help others. It is also possible that the managers could act as role models; note that Henry, on page 17, took initiative to include some of the employees in the activities to illustrate care and concern. This could be interpreted as an effort to not only encourage other employees to be more caring towards Colin, but also to other employees in the community. Social proof could also explain how the managers can act as role models by showing cheerfulness and "walk the talk."

Influence through scarcity is another possibility to why emotional support from the manager is perceived as valuable. A manager's attention is limited, and with this responsibility brings along a number of mandatory activities and meetings. According to Cialdini (2001), the scarcity principle makes items or opportunities more valuable to us when they are more rare and less available. In our setting, this would mean that mundane activities together with the manager is perceived as more valuable when the manager has less time to spare. This would also lead to a perception where the manager's attention is seen as more valuable when the demand for attention increases. Attention from the manager should therefore be more valued if the manager has personnel responsibility for a larger group of people than a smaller group. In the same manner, demands for a manager's attention would also increase if the manager is not always present at the location of work. Because workers have many colleagues but only one manager, they would value the manager's attention more than attention from others. Because of scarcity, more value would be placed on listening and chatting conducted by the manager compared to others.

Although the managers in this study worked to reduce power differentials, they cannot escape their position as manager and members of the management. Their occupation is embedded with authority through their title, and the title alone can increase compliance (Cialdini, 2001). The paradox of working to reduce power differences is that such work actually confirms that differences in status exist. If all employees were equal there would be nothing to play down. It seemed like all managers appeared to be similar to the knowledge workers, and thus downplayed the status difference during lunch or other informal settings by engaging in non-work related topics. However, by the end of the day it is still the managers that assign knowledge workers to their project and negotiate their salary. The manager can be seen as both a person and a position.

6. Discussion

The interviews in this study support previous findings that knowledge workers value autonomy (Mumford, et al., 2002; Oldham & Cummings, 1996) and dislike to be directed by

a supervisor (McAuley, et al., 2000). However, it should be noted that knowledge workers expected autonomy within predefined constrains and managers that followed up on them and showed interest in their work. This can be interpreted as a need for affirmation of the value of their work, which could also explain their focus on emotional support from their manager.

The R&D managers in this study were working in matrix-organization and they did not have the day-to-day responsibility for completing projects. This situation means that relationship-oriented actions should be more profound than technical- and task-oriented actions. Because the R&D managers have personnel responsibility in the matrix organization, they have authority to approve how much the knowledge workers actually work in the projects. As the analysis above shows, ordinary activities like listening and chatting, as well as caring for someone, can influence others through social influence processes. The perceived importance of these activities by the manager echoes the findings in Alvesson and Sveningsson (2003), and also confirms that also subordinates attach high significance to these activities in spite of the expectation by Alvesson and Sveningsson (2003, p. 1455).

As noted by Alvesson and Sveningsson (2003), all people can influence each other, so why are mundane activities conducted by managers viewed as more important than others? The social processes of scarcity and authority is part of the answer given in the analysis. However, even more important in these particular research settings is the first-line managers' authority to regulate the knowledge workers' hours of work. Therefore these managers have the means to shield, and if necessary, provide custom-made working arrangements for knowledge workers living through rough personal situations. This means that when knowledge workers are talking to their manager about problems at work or at home, they are not talking to just anyone. They are talking to someone that can actually intervene and make a decision that can have an impact and help them. Employees at universities are not generally used to department heads that can intervene and improve working hours; and therefore might overlook this important aspect in other organizations.

In spite of accounts of corporate life as a web of intrigues (Dalton, 1959; Jackall, 1988), leaders are capable of genuinely caring for their employees. However, caring for others and behaving with care towards employees do not necessarily exclude the potential influence from this behaviour. At the same time as leaders can feel concern for others, they can also notice the positive, yet instrumental, influence their action can have on employees as Henry mentioned in the interview. This has also been noticed by Kunda who reported that a manager told project managers to get to know their employees and show care and concern towards

them to prevent burnout: “we need them for a long, long time” (1992, pp. 203-204). This can also be seen as an example of normative control, which Kunda (1992, p. 11) defines as an effort to direct organizational members by controlling the underlying experience, thoughts and feelings that guide their actions. It is beyond the scope of this article to examine this subject further, but future studies could continue the effort to relate influence and normative control to mundane managerial activities like listening and chatting.

This study has highlighted the importance of emotions and indirect influence in the leadership process. This view is in accordance with Fineman (2000, p. 11), who noticed that emotional processes may be unconscious. The implication of more focus on emotions in leadership studies is a growing need to acknowledge that behaviour can influence people both intentionally and unintentionally. This is important when studying managers’ daily activities, because the effect of intentional and unintentional influence is difficult, if not impossible, to keep separate. More qualitative leadership studies are needed to examine the impact from mundane leadership activities. According to Fineman (2000) and Barley and Kunda (2001), observational field methods, like ethnography and shadowing, have the potential to secure a sound empirical foundation for future theories about leadership.

The topic of this article could also be viewed as a contribution to a debate about leading as emotional labour (Humphrey, Pollack, & Hawver, 2008). Also, managerial work involves a certain aspect of emotional labour (Hochschild, 1983), which is an “element of work activity in which a person is required to display certain emotions in order to complete work tasks in the way required by an employer” (Watson, 2006, p. 131). This is previously illustrated by ethnographic data from a high-tech company, where both managers and professionals were expected to display loyalty and commitment to their employer (Kunda, 1992; Kunda & Van Maanen, 1999; Van Maanen & Kunda, 1989). Future research is advised to explore further the emotional aspects of the leader and employee relationship.

Many more leadership studies within R&D organizations are highly needed, but future research is recommended to broaden its focus away from just project groups and leaders to include other actors. This study has focused on the relationship between first-line R&D managers and knowledge workers to examine more long-term effects in this organizational setting. Although the particular sample was chosen to highlight the importance of leadership support and emotions, even more detailed studies on different groups of actors is recommended for the future. However, it should be emphasized that even support and care can potentially be used to influence others in negative and unwanted directions. Issues of

manipulation and power should not be forgotten, even when studying positive and good behaviour. Future studies should also be encouraged to further examine how supporting leader behavior, like care, can influence others and in what extent such behavior is used consciously or unconsciously by managers as means of normative control.

It is well known that qualitative research is not suited for broad generalizations. The empirical material in this study is drawn from two R&D organizations from a small country, and is therefore not suitable for generalization to all managers. However, the main strength and contribution of qualitative research is to provide insightful examples and analysis (Conger, 1998). The empirical findings provide examples from a particular organizational context that can provide insights of more general interest. It is also worth to stress that the given accounts are selective and rhetorical constructions that are not neutral reports of incidents (Watson, 1995). Our experiences as researchers influence our understanding of the phenomenon we study and how we present empirical findings. In this study, the empirical data is presented in a rather detailed manner to help the reader to decide if the interpretation and analysis are believable or not.

7. Conclusion

The main conclusion from this article is that care expressed through ordinary activities like listening and chatting can influence others. R&D leaders looking for influence can thus lead knowledge workers with care. However, both managers and employees need to be made aware that activities and behavior can influence others and that this can be both intentional and unintentional. Although all people can influence each other, managers' behavior is still considered to influence more than other people due to their position and formal authority. This is also one of the main explanations why knowledge workers, especially in this particular R&D setting, expected their manager to relate to and care for them. Paradoxically, this also illustrates that even influence from "soft" managerial practices like support and care, cannot be separated from the influence derived from "hard" hierarchical and formal positions. This intertwinement forces us as researchers to broaden our own search for influence in the leadership process.

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Paper IV

Vie, O. E. (2008) *"Shadowing – A field technique for discovering emotions in work."*

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Shadowing - A field technique for discovering emotions in work

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1. Introduction

In their plea for bringing work back into organizational studies, Barley and Kunda (2001, p. 84) called for more empirical data on what people actually do in an organization. This is necessary to close the widening gap between organizational theories and reality. They call for more extensive use of field techniques to gather detailed data, and argue for the value of grounded quantitative data as a supplement to qualitative field studies. It is therefore a bit surprising that they did not discuss the methodological contribution from Mintzberg (1973) or other managerial work and behaviour studies (MWB) (Stewart, 2008).

MWB is distinct in its approach by being both empirical and inductive in its orientation (Noordegraaf & Stewart, 2000). Scholars within this approach focus on what managers do and how to understand such work. Studies have focused on the form and content of managerial work by collecting behavioural data about individual managers to understand managerial work as a whole. This approach takes a positional orientation to management by studying those who are formally appointed as managers (Noordegraaf & Stewart, 2000, p. 432).

However, the MWB approach has been accused for being overly atheoretical and too descriptive (Hales, 1986, 1999). Although Noordegraaf & Stewart (2000) try to dispel this accusation, it is still evident that studies within this approach have made little effort to link its finding to general theoretical developments within management and organizational research, and vice versa (Tengblad, 2006). This can be explained by the oppositional orientation of the approach, or its status as unfashionable, which both reduce the likelihood for other scholars to follow up on new avenues of suggestions (Stewart, 2008). That Barley and Kunda (2001) do

not discuss any MWB studies in detail further illustrates the lack of impact from such studies on organizational theory. To paraphrase Hales (1999): while general management and organization theories are in search of empirical evidence, managerial work studies are in search of theories to explain their empirical evidence. It is thus evident that both organization theory and the managerial work approach would mutually benefit from closer integration.

There is a growing interest in studying emotions in organizations, as evident from a number of edited volumes by Stephen Fineman (1993; 2000b; 2008) and in the establishment of positive organizational scholarship (POS) initiated by Jane E. Dutton and others (Dutton, 2003; Quinn, Dutton, & Cameron, 2003). However, despite increasing interest in these issues, and although "there is a significant emotional dimension to managerial work" (Watson, 1994/2001, p. 180), surprisingly few MWB studies have given attention to managers' feelings and emotions, even then, it is only towards humour (see Kotter, 1982; Stewart, Barsoux, Kieser, Ganter, & Walgenbach, 1994). However, presuming that human beings—and the relationships between them—are fundamentally emotional, then personal and emotional aspects can never be kept fully separate from professional ones.

Fineman (2000a, p. 14) calls for "contextually rich, 'real time' emotion studies of organizational life". However, because neither he nor Barley and Kunda (2001) discusses the methodological contributions from the MWB approach, the main purpose of this paper is to discuss whether shadowing is suitable for generating empirical data on emotions in organizations. The paper will start with a historical account of the development and application of the shadowing method within the MWB approach, where it has been most prominent. This is followed by an elaboration of the shadowing research method by developing a framework to compare characteristics of this and other research methods. Combined, these two first sections should provide indications toward new areas of study, which will be illuminated by presenting findings from an empirical investigation of MWB. The paper concludes with a discussion of these findings and the appropriateness of the shadowing method.

2. Theoretical framework: The MWB approach

In his seminal work, Henry Mintzberg (1973) reviews both different research methods and literature on leadership and managerial work. From his classification of different theoretical schools, two stand out as the most influential within the managerial work approach: the work activity school and the leader behaviour school. These two schools differ especially in their methodological approach. Prior to Mintzberg (1973), the work activity school applied the diary method, while ethnography was the method used by the qualitative leader behaviour school. Because Mintzberg (1973) merges the method from these two schools into the shadowing method, it is interesting to review the historical development of these two schools both before and after his study.

The Swedish scholar Sune Carlson founded both the managerial work approach and the work activity school in 1951. His pioneering study was the first to describe how top managers distributed their time among different tasks, activities, contacts, media, locations, and groups of people. Following this study, a number of other work activity studies also recorded and measured time allocation using either the diary method (Burns, 1957; Dubin & Spray, 1964; Horne & Lupton, 1965; Stewart, 1967/1988), activity sampling (Kelly, 1964) or direct observation (Guest, 1956; Jasinski, 1956; Walker, Guest, & Turner, 1956). Mintzberg (1973) placed his own study within the work activity school, but was critical to pre-coded categories used in previous diary studies and subsequently developed his own method. Based on previous research and his own empirical work, Mintzberg formulated propositions about commonalities and variation in managerial work, as well as different managerial roles. Mintzberg (1973) attracted attention both because of his award-winning article in the *Harvard Business Review* (1975), and the nearly identical replications by Kurke and Aldrich (1983). The study also inspired numerous others (see Martinko & Gardner, 1985, 1990), but also drew critics (e.g. Carroll & Gillen, 1987; Hales, 1986; Willmott, 1987).

Later, Mintzberg (1990, 1991) expressed disappointment at the lack of new research following his 1973 study. Instead, it was followed by a number of replications and studies demonstrating merely correlations between managerial work and other variables (Allan, 1981; Kraut, Pedigo, McKenna, & Dunnette, 1989; Whitley, 1989). However, work activity studies have grown in number, especially with comparative studies in different countries (Akella, 2006; Boisot & Liang, 1992; Doktor, 1990; Hales & Mustapha, 2000; Hales & Tamangani, 1996; Luthans, Welsh, & Rosencrantz, 1993; Shenkar, Ronen, Shefy, & Hau-siu Chow, 1998;

Stewart, et al., 1994) or sectors (Hales & Tamangani, 1996; Noordegraaf, 2000a, 2000b; Pavett & Lau, 1983, 1985). More recently, there seems to be a greater interest in managerial work in small companies (Florén, 2006; Noel, 1989; O'Gorman, Bourke, & Murray, 2005). Also the most recent contribution to the work activity school, Tengblad (2006), is a comparative study. In this study, the stability of top managerial behaviour is examined by comparing the work characteristics of top managers with Mintzberg's findings (1973). Although Mintzberg (1973) placed his own work within the traditionally quantitative-oriented work activity school, he was substantially influenced by the more qualitative-oriented part of the leader behaviour school, which we turn to next.

The leader behaviour school consists of two clusters of studies with fundamentally different methodological strands. The first is the quantitative Ohio State Leadership Studies, which examined managerial behaviour by distributing questionnaires with a list of statements concerning managerial behaviour. After using factor analysis, the results revealed two major dimensions: Consideration and Initiating Structure (Fleishman, 1953). In the second and far more influential cluster, we find rich qualitative empirical studies by American scholars from industrial sociology, who applied qualitative methods such as interviews and ethnographies. These scholars were influenced by the human relations movement of the 1930s and made valuable contributions to our understanding of informal leadership (Whyte, 1943/1993), the role of the foreman on an automobile assembly line (Walker, et al., 1956), the informal and ambiguous situation for middle managers (Dalton, 1959), and middle managers as participants in the complex, interdependent, stable, and changing process of work flow (Sayles, 1964).

Gradually switching away from the work activity school, Stewart (1976, 1982) conceives managerial work as containing elements of demands, constraints, and choices, in an effort to develop a theoretical framework of variation in managerial work. Also Kotter (1982) emphasizes managerial choice and argues that managers have greater opportunities to influence their work by establishing agendas and by building and using personal networks. Some MWB scholars have noted managers' use of humour (Kotter, 1982; Stewart, et al., 1994), involvement with internal politics (Dalton, 1959; Kotter, 1982), and entanglement in moral mazes (Jackall, 1988). More recently, Watson (1994/2001) and Noordegraaf (2000a) have drawn attention to the uncertainties, ambiguities, and contractions of managerial works, as well as the issues of identity. Thus, some modest progress to acknowledge the emotional nature of managerial work has been made within the MWB approach.

Shadowing is only one of many methods that can be applied to find out what people do in organizations, but has been prominent within the MWB approach. In the next section, I will discuss and differentiate this method from other methods.

3. The shadowing research method

According to McDonald (2005), researchers have used shadowing (a) to gather quantitative data, qualitative data, or both, and (b) from either a positivistic or interpretive research approach. In her framework, she asserts that Mintzberg (1973) uses a combination of mixed data collection with an interpretive research approach, which is not surprising given that he combined methodological elements from the two major schools within MWB. Before Mintzberg (1973), most work activity studies applied the diary method. Mintzberg (1973) placed his own study within the work activity school, but was critical to pre-coded categories used in the previous diary studies and developed his own method of structured observation. He described it as "a method that couples the flexibility of open-ended observation with the discipline of seeking certain types of structured data. ... *The categories are developed as the observation take place*" (1973, p. 231, italics in the original). As noted by Czarniawska (2007, p. 26), Mintzberg's examples of his codifying procedures could have been used as an illustration of grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). This inductive orientation illustrates how he was substantially influenced by the more qualitative-oriented part of the leader behaviour school like that of Sayles (1964).

Because the shadowing method is not very well known, it is useful to differentiate it from other research methods. To focus the comparison of methods, it is necessary to confine the discussion to a limited number of dimensions. The basis for the conceptual framework in this paper is Hofstede (1984, p. 17), with some refinement, and creating two additional dimensions. The first dimension in my conceptual framework characterizes the nature of informants' behaviour. According to Hofstede (1984, p. 17), an informant's behaviour can be characterized as " 'provoked' (stimulated by the researcher for the purpose of the research) or 'natural' (taking place or have been taken place regardless of the research and the researcher)."

Hofstede (1984) also separates behaviour between words and deeds, but as pointed out by Noordegraaf (2000a), because managerial work is dominated by written or spoken words this dimension needs some adjustment. The second dimension, adopting Noordegraaf's

(2000a, p. 102) refinement, characterizes the researchers' access to informants' behaviour as derived either from indirect accounts or directly observed by the researcher.

The third dimension is meant to capture the researcher's degree of involvement and participation in the data collection. Atkinson and Hammersley (1998) are critical to a dichotomy between participatory and nonparticipatory observation, and advance a fourfold typology of degrees of involvement. In my framework, the researcher's involvement can be characterized by one of these four types, which Noordegraaf (2000a, p. 109) describes as:

- Complete participant: The researcher participates, but is not considered as a researcher by other actors.
- Participant as observer: The researcher participates, and other actors are aware that she/he is also undertaking research.
- Observer as participant: The researcher identifies oneself as researcher, interacts with other actors, but do not actively participate.
- Complete observer: The researcher is not directly a part of the research situation.

The fourth and last dimension further distinguishes between quantitative or qualitative empirical data, where qualitative data refers to data that is "not arrived at by means of statistical procedures or other means of quantification" (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 17). Please note that exceptions probably exist for each of the research methods, and that the major point with the comparison is to highlight similarities and differences between shadowing and other methods.

The survey and the shadowing method do not share any common characteristics. According to Mintzberg (1973), questionnaires are not suitable for obtaining knowledge on what mangers do, as it is only appropriate for gathering knowledge on mangers' perceptions. The data provided with this method gives only indirect accounts of what managers perceive they are doing. Although researchers are not directly involved when subjects answer questionnaires, they have great indirect influence through the wording of the statements. The fixed nature of surveys restricts the informants' ability to use their own words to describe their perceptions. The empirical data generated with surveys is generally quantitative, although a few collect qualitative data.

The only shared characteristics between the shadowing method and experiments, in both field and laboratory settings, are their direct access to informants' behaviour. However, the two methods are different on all other dimensions. The major point with experimental

research is to isolate and distill the effect of certain variables and examine the effect they have on outcome variables. Researchers are not actively involved in the experiment itself, but through their control of the research design they will nevertheless influence and restrict the informants' potential behaviour. Experiments usually generate quantitative data in the same manner as surveys.

Prior to Mintzberg (1973), the diary method was usually the method of choice for MWB studies (e.g. Burns, 1957; Carlson, 1951/1991; Stewart, 1967/1988). The purpose of the diary method is to record how managers spend their time and what activities they perform in their natural setting, a feature shared with shadowing. The method is very efficient and well suited for large numbers of informants, because the informants themselves fills out and generate the data. Researchers do not usually take part in the actual recording, but their design and formulation of diary categories restrict informants to indicate their time allocation among known categories. It is not a given that informants record their activities consistently and continuously, a concern noted by several authors (Burns, 1957; Carlson, 1951/1991; Mintzberg, 1973; Stewart, 1967/1988). Because the closed framework of the diary generates only quantitative data, it is not suited to generate understanding of work content or more unknown factors of work.

The two field observation methods of ethnography and shadowing are quite similar. Both methods take place in the informant's natural setting and give the researcher direct accesses to the behaviour; however, these methods consume much of the researcher's time. However, the two methods differ with regard to researchers' involvement. With the exception of few studies like Dalton (1959), researchers doing participant observation are usually open about their intention of undertaking research. This research method enables the researcher to generate understanding of new and often complex dimensions of the situation and work in question.

Interviewing is similar to shadowing with regard to researchers' involvement. In both cases, the researcher is identified as a person who interacts with the informants, but without acting as an active participant in the organization. This is previously described above under the term *observers as participant*. In contrast to shadowing, an interview does not take place in the informants' natural setting, but is situated and separate as an arena of its own. Although the researcher and the informant may engage in common reflection and construct new insights, the interview can only provide direct accounts of behaviour in the interview situation itself. In the same manner as surveys, an interview can only provide data on the informants' perception of a situation. However, the more open nature of the interview method enables the

informant to explain oneself in his or her own words. In addition, the researcher may probe and ask informants about their intentions and interpretations of events.

The shadowing method gives the researcher direct access to informants' behaviour in their natural setting. The researcher is identified as such and interacts with other people, but does not actively engage as a regular participant. Empirical data collected with this method can be quantitative, qualitative or a combination of the two, while the data analysis can follow either positivistic or interpretative research approach (McDonald, 2005). The method is highly relevant for researchers applying Activity Theory (Engeström, 1987) or Action Nets (Czarniawska, 2004). My four-dimensional framework is given below in Table 1, which summarizes similarities and differences between shadowing and other research.

Table 1. Similarities and differences between shadowing and other research methods

Research methods	*Survey*	*Experiment*	*Diary*	*Shadowing*	*Ethnography*	*Interview*
1. Nature of informants' behaviour	Provoked	Provoked	Natural	Natural	Natural	Provoked
2. Access to informants behaviour	Indirect accounts	Direct observation	Indirect accounts	Direct observation	Direct observation	Indirect accounts
3. Involvement of researcher	Complete observer	Complete observer	Complete observer	Observer as participant	Participant as observer	Observers as participant
4. Type of empirical data	Quantitative	Quantitative	Quantitative	Quantitative/ qualitative	Qualitative	Qualitative

The shadowing method can make at least three contributions to organizational research. The first main contribution is that the researcher gains unique insight into a person's perspective and day-to-day experience (McDonald, 2005). Tagging along with a particular organizational member could also give the researcher access to events that might otherwise be restricted to others, including researchers performing ethnographic studies. The second contribution is the gathering of contextualized data that allows the researcher to take on a holistic approach when trying to make sense of an individual's situation, behaviour and intentions (McDonald, 2005; Noordegraaf & Stewart, 2000). The third contribution is the research method's ability to generate detailed, mundane, and firsthand accounts of what goes on in organizations (McDonald, 2005). Such data could meet the call from Barley and Kunda (2001) to provide the empirical foundations for organizational theory.

Problems with this method have also been identified, and with the first being that of access (Kotter, 1982; McDonald, 2005). This is a general concern for organizational research, but because shadowing is more extensive than interviewing and more focused on individuals

than ethnographic studies, gaining consent from informants and organizations to participate might be more difficult. Negotiations about access might also continue during the actual shadowing due to exposure to sensitive information. The second disadvantage with this method is that it is very time consuming and physically demanding (Kotter, 1982; McDonald, 2005; Mintzberg, 1973). Due to managers' hectic days, constant attention is required to maintain accurate observations; also, writing down every detail generates an immense amount of data. The vast abundance of data also makes data management and analysis quite challenging (McDonald, 2005; Mintzberg, 1973). The third major challenge is the changing nature of the relationship between researcher and informant (McDonald, 2005; Mintzberg, 1973). In the beginning of the observation period, both parties need time to adjust and acclimate to the rather unusual situation. Other people interacting with the informant might need a longer time to adjust. Some may never be comfortable around the researcher and might change their pattern and content of interactions with the informant because of this. During shadowing and through repeated interaction, the researcher will gain an increased understanding of the situation and motive of the informant. At the end of observation, the researcher might become quite sympathetic to the informant's point of view.

One obvious extension of the shadowing method that could counter the one-eyed managerial perspective is to shadow non-managerial informants. This is also important because managerial work studies need to include a broader set of perspectives to make more theoretical contributions and strengthen their links with organizational theory. In a qualitative study of the relationship between work and family time, Perlow (1998, 1999) shadowed both managers and engineers in a software development group. These two studies illustrate that shadowing can be combined with other methods like in-depth interviews, ethnographic observations, and diaries. Taken together, this implies that managerial work researchers should not only consider broadening their study to include non-managerial perspectives, but also consider the use of complementary research methods. In my opinion, researchers should at least do qualitative interviews with other organizational members to be exposed to necessary counter-perspectives.

Shadowing is suitable for studies regarding the emotional nature of emotional work because the method can provide access to situations where the manager is in emotionally-laden situations. The appropriateness of the method is illustrated by presenting empirical findings from my research on what managers do, but before that I will present the research setting and how I have applied the shadowing method.

4. Method and research setting

The empirical data in this paper was collected as part of my PhD project about Research and Development (R&D) managers. This group of managers is interesting because they operate in an organization characterized by less rigid rules and hierarchy than in other settings. Managers in R&D units or knowledge-intensive firms often face large groups of expert employees who dislike being directed by a supervisor (McAuley, Duberley, & Cohen, 2000) or subordinating themselves to managerial hierarchies (Oliver & Montgomery, 2000). Because of these characteristics, managers need to reduce their direct control and give knowledge workers more freedom to organize themselves. Writings on leadership in R&D and knowledge-intensive organizations emphasize the importance of indirect and facilitating leadership (Alvesson, 1995; Drucker, 1988; Elkins & Keller, 2003; Mintzberg, 1998).

In this project I shadowed and observed four R&D managers for one week each (totalling 191 hours). During the shadowing both qualitative and quantitative data were collected. Field notes covered anecdotal and chronological data of the managers' activities, factual information derived during observation or answers to short questions, and the researcher's ongoing thoughts and reflections.

In addition to shadowing, a total of 30 separate interviews were conducted. This includes interviews with all four managers both before and after the observation, with their superior, and with five of their subordinates. Only two superiors were interviewed because one of the shadowed managers was a second-line manager above another, and because two of the shadowed managers had the same superior. Among the 20 subordinates interviewed, five were female, and eleven had project management experience. All persons have been given male pseudonyms to ensure anonymity. The observations were made and interviews conducted in 2006. Data gathering took place in two main clusters of time, each concentrated in one of the two departments to benefit from continuity in the observation.

The two departments in this study are both part of companies that produce advanced technical products for an international market, and where R&D activities are central. The two companies are very similar; in 2006, and each had operating revenues of approximately 400 million Euros and approximately 2000 employees. Employees' age, gender and education are also similar in the two companies. The age distribution is fairly balanced, but the majority are between 30 and 50 years old. About 20% of the workforce is female, and women occupy

approximately 10% of the managerial positions. Approximately 50% have a technical education of up to three years of higher education; nearly 25% have more than four years.

Both R&D departments are part of larger divisions. The biggest one consists of about 150 employees in seven sections, while the smaller one has about 60 employees in four sections. Both companies are organized as matrix organizations. The biggest difference between the two is the size of the projects. While the largest department has been mainly involved with one giant project, the other department has many smaller projects.

The four shadowed managers are all males between 36 and 51 years with a Bachelors, Masters, or PhD degree in engineering. Three are first-level managers, while one is a second-level manager. They have responsibility for between 12 and 60 persons. In average they have been in the company for 14 years, have seven years managerial experience, and have held their current positions for three years.

In the next section, I turn to some empirical findings from the study, which is meant to illustrate the appropriateness of the shadowing method for studying emotions in organizations. Noting the lack of research on the emotional nature of managerial work, data on emotional interaction between manager and employees are chosen as illustrations.

5. Emotional managerial work

The traditional picture of managers as rational and professional beings does not provide room for managers to have feelings for their employees. During the weeks of shadowing, two particular events stand out as sharp contrasts to the traditional picture. Two of the managers from different companies interacted with employees on sick leave, and one of the events will now be described in detail:

> *Henry, the line manger, is sitting in his office and reading e-mail. The corner office is rather spacious and painted white, with a wood-colored office desk and a conference table for at least 3-4 persons. The office is located not far from the entrance and reception area, has many windows, a number of bookshelves, and a big green plant. Henry gets up and closes the door before returning to his desk. He picks up the phone and starts to dial a number. It seems like he has memorized the number. He tells me that he is calling Colin, one of his employees on long-term sick leave. I cannot listen in on what Colin says; I only hear what Henry is telling him. Henry's voice is more soft-spoken than usual. He starts with a greeting, and asks Colin how things are. Apparently he has just returned home after a hospital stay. Henry does not say very much, but just listens to Colin's story and lets him steer the conversation. As far as I can tell, Colin talks about*

his treatment, prognosis and state of health. Throughout the conversation Henry expresses understanding, empathy, and care. He asks a number of follow-up questions before telling Colin what the unit has been working on since the last time they spoke. Colin listens and asks Henry to tell him more about the activities in the different projects. Towards the end of the conversation, Henry airs the possibility for Colin to come by the office sometime. "We are all thinking of you, and it would be very nice to see you around." Colin apparently answers that it would take some more time before he is able, but he wants to come. Before hanging up, Henry makes the promise to send out an e-mail to the unit on behalf of Colin. Henry looks exhausted, moved and appears buried in concentration. The phone conversation lasts for about 20 minutes.
Together we walk down to canteen for lunch, where Henry shared information about Colin's situation with some of the employees gathered there. After returning from lunch, he sits down and takes his time writing a lengthy e-mail about Colin for the unit.

The above event illustrates nicely how care can be expressed through the mundane activities of listening and chatting. However, it is important to note that observations of listening and chatting cannot be taken as evidence of a caring relationship between a manager and a knowledge worker. In this case, Henry talked about his feelings towards Colin and employees in general during an interview. The combination of observations and interviews is necessary to convincingly claim that managers can care about their employees. The following interview also illustrates the general sentiment among R&D managers towards knowledge workers.

"I am totally convinced that, so to speak, to be engaged with and to sustain the wellbeing of the employees, is the way this company can succeed. And then we have our, like, actually, better and worse period occurring in life, and it is also employees that have more than other employees throughout life. And I have, I try to bear in mind the employees, you know. I have one, who unfortunately has gotten cancer, serious cancer diagnosis, who is 63. What we did then, we sent flowers before we knew he got cancer. I have visited him at home; we have talked over the phone several times. The unit sponsored an iPod which we then filled with music, through some volunteering here, which we gave to him. It is very important for me in relations with him, whom I am very fond off, and I see that, I do not try to hide that I think it is important towards the others that we show that we really care about him. It is important for the employees here to see that if they come in the same situation, that the workplace cares about you. I genuinely care about him, but I know in the back of my head that it serves more than one purpose. "

These empirical findings illustrate some of the emotional nature of managerial work, especially related to their personnel responsibility. Although the example given here is particularly emotionally intense, it was not unusual for the shadowed managers to show care and consideration for other people. The results from the work activity part of this research project indicated that on average, managers engaged in such acts during 16% of their time while interacting with other people. Shadowing as a method was invaluable to provide access to arenas where emotional managerial work was conducted. The observation data presented could be difficult, if not impossible, to obtain with other methods.

6. Discussion

Trying to understand what is actually going on in organizations requires detailed description of work life in organizations, which implies the need for a researcher to become closely involved in an organization (Barley & Kunda, 2001). Returning to their call to reintegrate studies of work and organization theorizing, it is necessary to consider the correspondence between their methodological demands and what different methods can offer. What they demand is "field studies that examine work practices and relationships in situ", which can provide detailed, contextually sensitive data, not excluding grounded quantitative data or computer mediated data (Barley & Kunda, 2001, p. 84). Taken together with the four dimensions in Table 1, this means that the authors are calling for researchers to study informants' natural behaviour through direct observation in their natural work setting. Studies should primarily rely on qualitative data, but it is also advised to use grounded quantitative data as a supplement.

Generally, the quantitative-oriented methods of surveys, experiments, and diaries fall short to the demands from Barley and Kunda (2001). The problem with these methods is the use of pre-coded categories, which severely restricts the possibilities for revealing unexpected findings. The same kind of critic could also be directed against quantitative-oriented work activity studies within the managerial work approach (like Martinko & Gardner, 1985, 1990). Using pre-coded categories as a starting point reduces open-ended observation into little more than diary recoding. This means that researchers miss the opportunity to generate rich, contextually sensitive data through directly observing informants in their natural work setting. However, field notes on how managers distribute their time can be combined with recording of richer and more detailed description as illustrated by Mintzberg (1973). It seems that the

future for the time-based work activity school is restricted to further comparisons across national cultures, sectors, and time spans. Tengblad (2006), in his most recent work activity study, concludes that detailed observational studies could provide the necessary empirical foundation for theoretical development—especially studies that use open coding techniques. This in the line with arguments from both Barley and Kunda (2001) and Hales (1999).

Both shadowing and ethnography fully meet the methodological demands from Barley and Kunda (2001). Watson (1994/2001) is an ethnographic study within the qualitative leader behaviour school of the managerial work approach, together with Dalton (1959), Sayles (1964), and Kotter (1982). Although the study from a high-technology firm provides a compelling story of how these middle managers manage being managers, the close attention to language illustrates both the advantage and disadvantage with ethnography. Grasping the 'native point of view'—through interviews, conversations, and participatory observations—restricts the researcher's access to certain arenas of managerial work and experience. To my knowledge, not a single ethnographic researcher has worked as manager with actual personnel responsibility. Working alongside managers gives a different perspective from being together with a shadowed manager. For many managers, personnel responsibility is one of the most delicate tasks they should manage, as illustrated by the empirical findings.

The shadowing method could provide better access to situations where managers experience the demands from having personnel responsibility. Personnel issues are not something done in public or in formal meeting with many participants, but rather handled discreetly in one-to-one meetings between the manager and the person in question. By being present when managers interact with their personnel either face-to-face or over the phone, the researcher enters a private arena not accessible to many others. Using Goffman's (1959) theatrical terms, the researcher is entering the more personal backstage of manager-employee interaction, compared to a front-stage public interaction.

The individual perspective provided by shadowing enables a researcher to not only observe what the shadowed person is doing, but also what the person is not doing. By always being present and noting who the shadowed person has interacted with, it is also possible to figure out whom he/she has not interacted with. Having accurate data on what the person is not doing opens the possibility for inquiring why some actions or interactions were not conducted. Such accurate data is difficult to obtain with other methods.

Barley and Kunda (2001, pp. 84-85) note that interviews are not particularly credible sources of information, but are useful for understanding how people make sense of what they are doing. Furthermore, they recommend the combination of observation with real-time

interviewing, but such interviews are not always easy to secure due to the hectic nature of managerial. However, their recommendation points to the value of including interviews as a supplemental method where the researcher and the informant can discuss concrete episodes and reflect together based on their shared experiences. The use of interviews as supplements to observation is particularly important to managerial work shadowing studies of two reasons: first, by giving valuable data on how managers themselves understood their situation, and second, by providing non-managerial perspectives through interviewing other people than the managers being followed.

The empirical findings in this paper clearly illustrate that shadowing is a well-suited method for studying people, and especially managers' emotional reactions. However, it is not easy to give a decent explanation to why the emotional nature of managerial work has previously been largely ignored. One of the possible reasons could be found in the underlying positivistic assumption about research in many of the work activity studies. For instance, this is evident in Martinko and Gardner's (1985, pp. 686-687) criticism of Mintzberg (1973) for its lack of reliability checks and small sample size, which precludes formal hypothesis testing with inferential statistic. In the same manner Mintzberg (1973) is critical to participant observation because the method is unstructured, non-systematic, non-replicable, difficult to validate findings. In contrast, Kotter, leaning heavily on Whyte (1943/1993), explains that field research in general cannot be done in a "clean way that fits traditional notions of 'science'." (1982, p. 152). It is perhaps healthy to be reminded that Mintzberg wrote within the era of "system rationalism", when computer science metaphors and systems thinking were the backbone in the management thinking on rational administrative routines and behaviour (Barley & Kunda, 1992). This influence on Mintzberg is illustrated by his writing extensively about programming the manager's work (1973, p. 166 ff). However, it should be noted that Mintzberg later expressed a less 'scientific' attitude illustrated by the following statement: "What ... is wrong with samples of one? Why should researchers have to apologize for them? Should Piaget apologize for studying his own children, a physicist for splitting only one atom?' (1979, p. 583). As noted by Noordegraaf and Stewart (2000), a small sample size clearly limits the possibilities for statistical generalization, but does not prohibit the possibilities for analytical generalization (Yin, 2002).

Although the main objective with the empirical findings presented in this paper was to illustrate the shadowing method, the findings also have implications for the managerial work approach. Despite accounts of corporate life as a web of intrigues (Dalton, 1959; Jackall,

1988), leaders are capable of genuinely caring for their employees. The emotional nature of managerial work is understudied, and shadowing is a very suitable method for studying this aspect. Future research is encouraged to examine how widespread managerial care is for employees, and to further study how managerial care is influenced or limited by national culture, sector, a manager's functional area, and other organizational factors. Such research foci could also help link the managerial work approach with more general organizational theories.

However, emotions in organizations do not only arise because human beings working within organizations have emotion and feelings, but also because certain types of work formally require people to engage in what Hochschild calls emotional labour. "This labour requires one to induce or suppress feeling in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others" (1983, p. 7). Hochschild's (1979, 1983) research was originally based on studying flight attendants and bill collectors. Although later studies on emotional labour focused on frontline service workers (Humphrey, Pollack, & Hawver, 2008), emotional labour is also called for by clerical workers, sales workers, professional and technical workers, administrators, and managers (Hochschild, 1983, p. 234).

Personnel responsibility is probably the most challenging part of being a manager, and requires one to also engage in emotional labour. The managers in Watson and Harris likewise talk about both the smooth and rough sides of the people thing (1999, p. 167ff). Although taking disciplinary action was seen as emotionally difficult, the manager's realization of the power and influence they had over other person's life weighted heavily on them (Hill, 2003, p. 188). However, I would like to emphasize that caring can also be seen as a burden. According to Solomon (1998), to care for someone can not only involve supporting and nurturing affection, but also the negative characteristics of being possessive, vengeful and to become hurt. He further elaborates that caring can be conceived as taking other interest as one's own, which could be illustrated by a leader defending the interest of their followers in spite of the danger of personal reprisals.

7. Concluding remark

There is a growing trend to acknowledge emotions in organizations, and this should also have some influence on the MWB approach. By highlighting care in this paper, I have made a first step to open up the approach to also consider the role of emotions in managerial work.

Hopefully, such broadening of the scope could make MWB more relevant and fashionable as a research topic.

According to Fineman (2000a) and Barley and Kunda (2001), observational field methods like ethnography and shadowing have the potential to secure a sound empirical foundation for future theories about organizations and management. Through this paper, I have contributed to greater awareness of the many advantages and possibilities offered by the shadowing method. Also, by giving illustrations of empirical findings, I established that this is an appropriate method to study emotions in organizations. Finally, I thus join McDonald (2005) in her call for more management and organizational scholars to apply this method.

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