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**Leader  
Development  
as a Cultural  
and Narrative  
Phenomenon**



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<b>Julkaisun nimi</b> Johtajuuteen kasvaminen kulttuurisena ja narratiivisena ilmiönä		
<b>Tiivistelmä</b> Tämä väitöskirja tutkii johtajuuteen kasvamista narratiivisena ja kulttuurisena ilmiönä. Tutkimuskohteena on suomalainen johtajuusdiskurssi, jota lähestytään dialogisen johtajuuspuheen ja kulttuurisesti merkittävän kaunokirjallisuuden kautta. Päättökysymys on: Millainen johtajuuteen kasvamisen prosessi on kulttuurisena ja narratiivisena ilmiönä? Pääkysymykseen vastataan seuraavien alakysymysten avulla: Miten sisäisen tarinan käsite voidaan teoreettisesti kehittää illustroivaksi sisäiseksi tarinaksi? Millaisia illustroivia sisäisiä tarinoita voidaan rakentaa haastattelumateriaalin sekä romaanien Tuntematon sotilas ja Täällä Pohjantähden alla, osa III narratiivisista luennoista? Kuinka nämä tarinat suhteutuvat toisiinsa? Millaisia käytännön seurauksia näillä illustroivilla sisäisillä tarinoilla on johtajuuteen kasvamiselle sekä johtajuudelle ylipäätään?  Tutkimuksen teoreettinen viitekehys on Vilma Hännisen (2004) tarinallisen kiertokulun malli ja sisäisen tarinan käsite, jota on kehitetty edelleen illustroivaksi sisäiseksi tarinaksi Bourdieun (1992) habitus-käsitteen avulla. Tutkimuksen empiiristä osiota varten on haastateltu kahtatoista johtajaa eri toimialoilta merkityksellisiksi kokemista asioista johtajuuteen kasvamisen prosessin kannalta. Haastatteluista on viiden narratiivisen luennan avulla rakennettu alustavat johtajuuteen kasvamisen tarinat, jonka jälkeen Väinö Linnan romaanit on analysoitu erityisesti suhteessa niistä löytyviin johtajuuteen kasvamista kuvaaviin habituspohjaisiin tarinoihin. Näitä tarinoita on tämän jälkeen käytetty vertailun ja täydentämisen välineinä suhteessa haastatteluista rakennettuihin tarinoihin. Tutkimusmateriaaleista on identifioitu johtajuuteen kasvamisen kannalta yhteiset diskursiiviset resurssit, joihin pohjautuen on muodostettu kaksi ideaalityypistä tarinaa kahdella eri habituksella; tarinat on nimetty ”Miner” ja ”Settler”-tarinoiksi. Tutkimus osoittaa, että tiettyjä johtajuuteen kasvamista koskevia, kulttuurisesti vakiintuneita diskursiivisia resursseja uusinnetaan haastattelutilanteessa syntyvässä johtajuuspuheessa. Näistä resursseista koostuvia narratiiveja voidaan hyödyntää johtajuuskasvatuksessa ja johtajuuden kehittämisessä.		
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<b>Abstract</b> This dissertation examines the process of leader development as a narrative and cultural phenomenon. The object of interest is Finnish leadership discourse which is approached through dialogical leader talk and culturally significant literature. The main research question is: What is the process of leader development like as a cultural and narrative phenomenon? The main research question is resolved by answering the following sub-questions: How can the concept of inner narrative be theoretically developed into an illustrative inner narrative? What kind of ideal typical illustrative inner narratives can be constructed from the narrative readings of the interview material and the lay reading of the novels Unknown Soldiers and Reconciliation? How do these illustrative inner narratives relate to each other? What types of practical implications may these illustrative inner narratives have on leader development and leadership in general? The theoretical framework of the study is Vilma Hänninen's model of narrative circulation and concept inner narrative which has been developed into an illustrative inner narrative through use of Bourdieu's (1992) concept of habitus. For the empirical section, twelve leaders of different fields have been interviewed about the factors they find significant regarding their growth journeys. The interview material has been examined through five readings which have resulted in two compiled development narratives. These narratives have then been compared to and complemented with a lay reading of Väinö Linna's novels and particular leader development trajectories in them. From these research materials, shared discursive resources regarding development have been identified and built into narratives with different habituses. Those narratives have been named "Miner" and "Settler". The study shows that in an interview, a number of particular established discursive resources are being reproduced. The narratives constructed out of them can be used in development of leader education and leadership in general.		
<b>Keywords</b> Leadership, development, narrative research, literature, discourse		



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At Easter 2021





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## PROLOGUE

In this dissertation, I will look at the cultural idea of becoming a leader through examination of spoken and written stories. Such cultural ideas may be empowering and bring about positive change. However, they may also be suffocating and hinder progress in thinking on cultural, communal, and individual levels, which may be the case in Finland at the moment. I have had a sense that the cultural models for narrating about one's development journey to leadership do not serve leaders quite the way those models should; it is as if there were something missing from our imagery of leadership. A closer look into it may therefore be necessary.

This work approaches leadership and development with the help of literature. Within the organization studies, the use of fiction in research is already an established practice, but an academic use of fiction combined with a narrative and cultural focus still seems to be missing from the sphere of my interest – the process of becoming a leader. As conceptions related to leadership tend to have their roots in cultural history, for me they are the culturally significant, iconic (Tarasti, 1990) works of art that best capture their culturally and historically layered meanings which will be the objects of interest in this dissertation. Packed with such meanings, authors', in particular Väinö Linna's, production which Finland's 100-year celebration again brought to the fore, is in my opinion a well-justified choice for a closer examination.

Why have I chosen to look specifically at development from this perspective? Firstly, this study was originally based on the desire to do research which might somehow contribute to counselling-based (leader) development practice and theory, because all types of development methods interested me. Secondly, I had found myself to be strongly development-oriented without necessarily knowing why; I did not know where the drive for internal self-development and improvement came from and what it was aimed at, which fascinated me and pushed me to explore the theme further. The approach used in this dissertation made it possible for me to look at the phenomenon from a bird's eye point of view.

Thirdly, I had noticed that a leader was often seen as an "ideal (wo)man", just as an entrepreneur was often seen as "an adventurer" – as a modern day Marlboro (Wo)Man, who -at least seemingly- was free to choose his/her own path. Leader as a notion seemed to connote something exceptional, even mythical; irrespective of the reality, the title seemed to refer to an awe-inspiring superhuman, whose undertakings were always something special. As such, leadership probably came closest to the embodiment of the (cultural) ideal human being and therefore

something to aim at and grow into, which was why I chose leadership as my object of interest. To me, leader development as a practice and as an industry ultimately seemed to strive for this unattainable ideal through use of different development tools. Even though I understood the impossibility of ever reaching that goal, the need for it still fascinated me and I wanted to explore and understand the phenomenon more deeply.

Fourthly, much like an author, I had noticed that individuals often displayed appearances, characteristics, modes of expression, and ways of being which could be extrapolated into abstract, yet identifiable ideal types (c.f. Klinge, 1998: 288). My observation was nicely worded by Syrjä (2004: 316), to whom: "...it is interesting to see both individual and typical features in a person. It would seem that the features which create a type awaken a literary reader, the need for analysis, and the need for naming the type. --- A close look at the surface look shows a type in all of us." (My translation) I suppose I could be considered as such a literary reader. However, unlike Syrjä, to whom the construction of types meant typing individuals' lives, to me it meant constructing typified narratives; I wanted to weave ideal-typical, plausible narratives of lives unfolding from the past to the present and to the future. This academic work became a way of showing, what an ideal-typical development journey to leadership does look like in particularly Finnish cultural context, and, also, how this knowledge could be made use of by leader development practitioners.

## 1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this dissertation is to study leader development. Often, leader development is understood as encompassing all kinds of practical development measures which can be used to increase individual's capacity to lead. Nowadays, this type of leader development is an enormous industry, both in Finland and elsewhere in the world, and the interest towards the topic seems only to increase. There is a huge amount of leader development programs, courses, books, and other resources on offer for organizations, practitioners and leaders themselves.

This dissertation, however, does not focus on such practical tools of development. Instead, it sees leader development in a process-type fashion (understood here as "johtajuuteen" or "johtajaksi kasvaminen" in Finnish) and, eventually, as a cultural, narrative, and discursive phenomenon. As the aim of this dissertation is to study contemporary leaders' oral development stories in the light of historical written development stories, ultimately the object of interest is leader development discourse in Finland (c.f. Juuti, 2001). This type of approach is considered as both necessary and useful for leadership thinking, leader development industry, and leader development research, because it makes it possible to understand leadership and development in a more nuanced, cultural manner (Ford, 2010), to deepen and personalize (Petriglieri, Wood, Petriglieri, 2011) narrative-based leader development measures, and to expand leader development research into a more cross-disciplinary and contextual direction.

Indeed, academic research on leader development is still in its early stages and even the definition of the concept is in dispute. On the whole, such literature seems to understand and theorize development from five main perspectives. The first perspective emphasizes the importance of development of leader skills and competencies; the second is interested in the sources of learning. The third perspective sees development as a gradual change in individual's cognitive meaning structures, whereas the fourth focuses on increasing self-awareness and authenticity. Finally, the fifth perspective emphasizes the central role of leader identity in the development process. These branches of research seem to concentrate mostly on development as a leader's internal, psychological process, instead of looking at it as a scientifically diverse or cross-disciplinary phenomenon.

Leader development research also rarely seems to be interested in *where* individual leader's development takes place. From the point of view of leadership development (i.e. leadership as collective capital, see section 2.2.), there are some culture-related studies (e.g. Edwards & Turnbull, 2013), but hardly any from the point of view of individual leader's development. Considering the formative stage

of leader development as a field of research, these limitations unnecessarily narrow down the range of available research options. Also, as the development process seems to *mean* the same thing for everyone everywhere and to *occur* in the same way across differing contexts, subtle differences between people(s) are usually bypassed by both leaders themselves and by professionals trying to foster their growth.

Hence, it would seem that there are enough reasons for studying and problematizing these common ways of understanding development in order to find alternative avenues for thinking, research, and practice (c.f. Alvesson & Sandberg, 2011). To answer calls for more contextual and culturally sensitive approaches to leadership in research (e.g. Ford, 2010), I've chosen to approach the individual leader's development process particularly from a social-psychological and sociological point of view. More specifically, I focus on the role of language as a carrier of culture in construction of the idea of leader development so as to enhance the cultural and sociological sensitivity towards the topic. In this, I adopt the narrative view on leader development process as a starting point.

## 1.1 Narrative view on leader development process

The narrative conception of the phenomenon is based on the premise of ontological narrativity according to which "human beings think, perceive, imagine and make moral choices according to narrative structures" (Sarbin, 1986). Hence, extensively, the idea of understanding individual's identity as a narrative has been gaining footing (e.g. Ricoeur, 1991; Ezzy, 1998; Ochs & Capps, 1996; Gergen & Gergen, 1983). The narrative identity, constructed for the self and others in different contexts creatively connects the past, present and future, while exhibiting a (wo)man's need for both continuity and change (e. g. Ricoeur, 1991; Bruner, 2004).

Thus far, little research combining leader development, identity, and narrative has been published (e.g. Shamir & Eilam, 2005; Sparrowe, 2005; Erikssen, 2009; Albert & Vadla, 2009). For instance, in authentic leader development research, development has been seen to happen through working with one's narrative identity; in practice this has been referring to the process of constructing and revising of one's own life story, either in dialogue or in writing (e.g. Albert & Vadla, 2009; Shamir & Eilam, 2005). However, also here, only little attention has been directed to language, interaction, or culture in concert with narrative identity (Shaw, 2010).



Through examination of language and stories it is, however, possible to delve into both individual's life and his/her surrounding culture (Daiute & Lightfoot, 2004: x). For a culturally oriented researcher, stories are a fruitful object of study, since they convey simultaneously both individual experience and culturally and historically crystallized forms of knowing (Pietikäinen & Mäntynen, 2009: 105). Stories and narratives have also been noted to bridge "the gap between science and art" (Hänninen, 2004), which, as will be shown, is an important aspect of the approach adopted in this dissertation.

The research material of this dissertation consists of two parts: firstly, of leaders' stories about their growth journeys to leadership, and secondly, of two culturally significant fictive novels with leader characters who also go through their leadership development journeys. Although such stories seem to be "composed" (Gubrium & Holstein, 1998) entirely by the speakers and the author themselves, those stories are shaped by cultural conventions such as cultural master narratives, plotlines, and discursive resources (Atkinson & Delamont, 2006; see also Pietikäinen & Mäntynen, 2009: 105; De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012: 149). Therefore, as Riessman (2008: 105) notes, "stories are social artefacts, telling us as much about society and culture as they do about a person or group" and therefore form a natural research material and analytical approach for a leadership study such as this.

Even though this dissertation has a cultural and narrative focus, Cultural Studies as a field of research will be excluded from the theoretical frame of this dissertation. The intertwining of individual and culture in a narrative will instead be approached from the social-psychological point of view through use of Vilma Hänninen's model of narrative circulation (1999; 2004). To her (1999: 110), the basic idea of the model is that people interpret their life situations and create their future projects through use of stories, drawn from the surrounding cultural stock of stories. The inner narrative - an interpretation of one's life with the help of available narrative models and meanings (Hänninen, 1999: 20) - which arises from this process, affects the lived life by shaping the actions and choices in the lived narrative. This again shapes the situation and the conditions of individual's future endeavors. Events of the lived narrative can be retrospectively narrated and presented as told narratives, which, as social acts, simultaneously become a part of individual's lived narrative as well as a part of the cultural stock of stories (Valkonen, 2007: 42-43).

## 1.2 Objective of the study

The main research question for this study is:

*What is the process of leader development like as a cultural and narrative phenomenon?*

The main research question is resolved by answering the following sub-questions:

How can the concept of inner narrative be theoretically developed into an illustrative inner narrative?

What kinds of ideal typical illustrative inner narratives can be constructed from the readings of the interview material against the lay reading of the novels *Unknown Soldiers* and *Reconciliation*? How do these illustrative inner narratives relate to each other?

What types of practical implications may these illustrative inner narratives have on leader development and leadership in general?

This work has a fourfold objective. The first objective is to map out and problematize existing approaches to the notion of leader development and to adopt an alternative, narrative, approach to it. The second objective is based on the empirical material; the aim is to “pan off” “illustrated” narratives out of the interview materials. The events of these narratives do not necessarily directly match any of the interview stories but are typifications which combine several stories into a few narratives (Eneroth, 1984).

To reach this second objective, twelve leaders of different sexes, ages, and fields participate in interviews about the factors they find important to their journeys to leadership, be those factors from occupational or private life. Alongside the interview materials, high quality novels are used as points of comparison and complementation in construction of these typified leader development narratives; *the interview material is read against the novels*. Leader development is thus examined through study of language – both the transcribed interview texts and the texts of the novels. *The overarching objective of the analysis is to see, whether the themes found in the (contemporary) interview material match those found in the (historical) novels and to what extent, and whether it is possible to build ideal-typical narratives that bridge the two. The ultimate objective is thus to distil or “pan off” the shared discursive resources and construct narratives out of them.*

The third objective of this dissertation is to use Vilma Hänninen’s model of narrative circulation in concept development. On the basis of the empirical

material, the aim is to develop the concept of illustrative inner narrative with an additional component to Hänninen's concept, namely the dimension of habitus, i.e. a system of internalized, enduring attitudes, ways of being, and tastes specific to a certain field of life (Bourdieu, 1992). In this dissertation, I also adopt the view about narrative as a practice (e.g. Peterson & Langellier, 2006; LaPointe, 2011; De Fina, 2003) and therefore see the idea of leader development as a narrative phenomenon - as an illustrative inner narrative. As a concept, the illustrative inner narrative is defined as ***a narrative practice related to leader development, synthesizing established discursive resources of a particular habitus into a logic which both enables and restricts personal storytelling.*** Finally, the fourth objective of this dissertation is to map out implications these illustrative narratives may have on leader development practice and leadership in general.

### 1.3 Method of analysis

As the lines above suggest, this work understands the process of becoming a leader as a discursive and narrative phenomenon. The approach and concept developed here therefore derives ideas from discursive leadership research which often concentrates on cultural and social aspects of leadership and uses qualitative methods in studying different discursive resources used in social interaction (Fairhurst, 2007: 11, 19, 110). Discursive leadership research also sees society and individual as inseparable and thus in a mutually reproductive relationship with each other, which, as will be shown, is important for the concept of illustrative inner narrative developed in this dissertation.

As a starting point for answering the research questions, I understand the terms story and narrative in the same way as Hänninen (1999: 20) to whom "a story is a presentation of some truth or possibility through an individual case; it is an expression of a plot brought into the form of concrete actions. Narrative is an abstraction which can be applied to different types of contents and which may manifest in different forms." (My translation) In my understanding, a narrative may therefore also comprise of a multitude of individual stories (e.g. Hänninen & Koski-Jännes, 1999; Valkonen, 2007). Leader discourse will generally be understood as the language use concerning leadership by leaders themselves, other people, or different media, whereas the noun, leader discourse, refers to an established and coherent manner of describing and giving meaning to leadership (c.f. Pietikäinen & Mäntynen, 2009: 50-51; Syrjälä, et.al., 2009). Finally, I understand narrative practice as "a form of social practice centred on discourse

that both reflects social beliefs and relationships and contributes to negotiate and modify them” (De Fina, 2003).

The construction of illustrative ideal typical inner narratives will happen by using several, mutually complementary readings to get a comprehensive view of the research material in its totality (c.f. Feldman, Sköldböck, Brown & Horner, 2004; Beyes, 2009). First, the interview material will be studied through two holistic readings and three thematic readings. Based on these readings regarding habituses, development resources, leadership ideas, and life themes, the compiled narratives will be constructed. These compiled narratives will then be read against the leader development stories that have been found in the Finnish cultural stock of stories (DeVault, 1990; Sliwa & Cairns, 2007). Here, such leader development stories have been identified in Väinö Linna’s novels *Unknown Soldiers* (2015) and *Under the North Star*, more specifically, in its third part, *Reconciliation* (2003).

The choice of Linna and his novels is justified by several factors: Linna’s personal position as an author of culturally significant, leadership-related novels (e.g. Haapala & Sipilä, 2013: 28-29; Storbom, 1992: 267-278), the idea of these novels as intersections of typically Finnish themes (e.g. Nummi, 1993: 14, 168; Varpio, 2006: 301-305), the sociological perspective of these novels, in particular regarding class and habitus (e.g. Martikainen, 2013: 13; Willner, 1980: 101), and, finally, the presence of these novels in contemporary Finland in different forms, for instance as parts of leader development programs (e.g. Oksala, 2006: 201-202; Koskela & Lankinen, 2010: 113, 173, 39). As significant representatives of the cultural stock of stories, the chosen novels are here viewed as reflections of larger cultural master narratives which also individual leaders draw from when they make sense of their own developmental trajectories and habituses in the interviews (Bamberg, 2004; Zilber et. al., 2008).

For these reasons, the novels are used as points of comparison and complementation with regard to resources concerning growth, leadership, life, and habitus in the interview materials. In the final narratives, habituses ultimately serve the task of illustration - of displaying subtle differences in the ways in which a mode of being in the world is conveyed through narrative means; in an illustrative inner narrative, habitus thus acts in a glue-like manner and ties all the discursive elements together into a culturally recognizable whole.

In this way, by bundling the information from the phases of analysis, it is possible, in a step-by-step-manner, to combine several stories with similar logics and elements into ideal-typical narratives. The aim is to present the typified storyline and habitus of each narrative as clearly as possible and to place it in the contemporary world to represent both sexes. This approach is a combination of

the methods used by e.g. Hänninen (1996a, 1996b), Hänninen & Koski-Jännes (1999), Prokki (2013), Julkunen (2010), Luoto (2010), LaPointe (2011) and Valkonen (2007).

## 1.4 Expected contributions

Theoretically, this dissertation tries to contribute to the existing knowledge and literature in several ways. One way of doing this is the problematization of the psychologically oriented leader development literature. By adopting a discursive-narrative developmental view, this study attempts to provide a more nuanced picture of growth and make personal-cultural “narrative paths” and resources visible (Fairhurst, 2007: 19). In contrast to the existing literature, this type of approach and knowledge enables looking at leader development as a situational, language-dependent, socially constructed notion or, for instance, as an inter-generational, even historical phenomenon (c.f. Collins & Hoopes, 1995: 638). Through this type of approach is also possible to show, how people make use of cultural master narratives in making sense of their own experiences (c.f. LaPointe, 2011).

This dissertation also tries to build on and contribute to Vilma Hänninen’s (1999; 2004) work on the model of narrative circulation and the concept of inner narrative. The concept has already been employed by for instance Hänninen (1996a) and Valkonen (2007), who both have constructed ideal typical inner narratives out of their qualitative materials. This study adopts a similar approach by constructing typed inner narratives and by seeing them as shared by groups of people. However, this dissertation differs from Hänninen’s and Valkonen’s works in that it strengthens and adds some dimensions to the construction of ideal types as well as concentrates on examining closely one aspect of the model: the duality of cultural stock of stories and personal stock of stories.

Moreover, this dissertation tries to contribute to the two literatures which come together in it: habitus and use of literature in organization studies. In Finland, the research on habitus started in late 1970s’ with studies on distinction, and it continued with applications of Bourdieu’s ideas to the Finnish cultural context. The interest in distinction and habitus remained as a part of a number of studies in the 1980s’ and 1990s’, but a comprehensive study on Finnish taste emerged only fairly recently (see Purhonen, et. al., 2014). To my knowledge, the current study is the first look into leader development stories and habitus in the Finnish context. Moreover, as the interviewees’ stories are read against novels which are used as resources to identify elements of life trajectories exemplified by each ideal typical

narrative, this dissertation will also take part in the practice of examining organizational life through use of literature (Easton & Araujo, 1997).

Finally, although this dissertation does not directly position itself in the field of coaching, it will try to enrich the emerging research and theory of its narrative branch, based on principles of narrative psychology and, more specifically, narrative therapy (White & Epston, 1990). According to narrative therapists, individuals develop stories about themselves, believe them, and then act according to them. As these stories are directed, shaped, and restricted by normative cultural narratives, a large part of experience is always left outside one's story and it forms a large stock of material for alternatives (White & Epston, 1990; c.f. Hänninen, 1999). The existing literature on narrative coaching builds mainly on psychological grounds. This work is a social-psychological and sociological response to Drake's (2007) call to extend the scientific sphere from which to derive ideas to the narrative coaching practice.

Narrative researchers often approach stories with the hope of some type of practical application and this is the case also here. The leading idea of language use as a narrative practice is adopted due to its possible usefulness in personalized leader development activities. To meet the development needs for each individual leader, the results of this dissertation can be utilized in leader development measures such as work counselling and culturally sensitive narrative coaching. Also, by increasing this type of knowledge, this dissertation tries to facilitate collaboration in organizations. Leaders can not only better understand themselves and improve their personal well-being and work-life quality, but also identify the similar types of subtle qualities in their subordinates and colleagues, take these differences into account in mutual interaction, and thus improve the quality of leadership and collaboration.

The study is structured as follows. Chapter two begins by presenting some background developments which have resulted in the evolution of leader development as a phenomenon and a notion and continues with a discussion separating between leadership development and leader development. Next, the notion of a leader is touched upon before proceeding to examine the different approaches to leader development in the existing academic literature. Chapter three discusses the use of a cultural approach in organization studies and presents the elements of Vilma Hänninen's model of circulation, for instance the notion of cultural stock of stories, of which literature is taken as an example of. The chapter then continues by proposing the idea of using fiction in organization research as well as by providing the reasons for using it in this study.

Chapter four presents the elements of the methodological concept of illustrative inner narrative. It also reveals the steps of the narrative analysis process through which ideal typical illustrative inner narratives have been constructed from the interview material and the novels. Chapter five presents the results of the analysis, i.e. the two illustrative inner narratives. Finally, chapter six gives the overview of the study, discusses the implications of the results, draws conclusions, sums up the theoretical and practical contributions of the work, looks critically at the restrictions and reservations regarding the study, and finally, maps out directions for future research.

## 2 LEADER DEVELOPMENT

This chapter discusses the customary ways in which leader development and related concepts have been understood in the academic literature. The chapter begins with a brief presentation of the historical developments which have resulted in the need for developing leaders. The section then explores the differences between leadership development and leader development in the academic literature. Next, the concepts of manager development and leader development are discussed; the discussion serves as a basis for the presentation of mainstream approaches to leader development and some of the criticisms those approaches have received. These approaches are shown to neglect the contextual and cultural aspects of development whether it is understood as a process happening in the material world or as an abstract, culture-based concept. For this study, this abstract, cultural view will be adopted as the very starting point of inquiry and the budding research from this point of view will be discussed. The chapter ends with the positioning of this dissertation within that particular branch of leadership research.

### 2.1 Origins of leader development

The emergence of the need for leadership development is due to the emergence of managerial career and evolution of organization of work in general. The idea of management as a career arose from industrialization at the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when large metal factories were born. As the amount of mass production increased, so did the amount of administrative and supervisory positions and increasingly complex vertical organization of work. As those in higher positions were given power over those in the lower positions and were generally regarded as more competent, power and expertise were located at the top of the organizational hierarchy. By the time of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the importance and social value of the position of a manager already exceeded that of a skills or profession-based position (Allred, Snow & Miles, 1996; Zabusky & Barley, 1996: 188-189; Osterman, 1996; Watson & Harris, 1999; see also Pollard, 1968 for emergence of management).

For decades, the managerial path was therefore an appealing career option. However, from the end of 1980s global competition changed the organization of work and numerous mid-managerial positions disappeared (e.g. Allred, Snow & Miles, 1996; Reitman & Schneer, 2003; Osterman, 1996). Out of necessity, the less prestigious, horizontal career development or “career of achievement” (Zabusky & Barley, 1996: 187) usually associated with professionals and experts now emerged alongside vertical managerial career development. As organizations were



structurally transformed into matrixes and networks, managerial work now meant less use of power and more of expertise and collaboration with a large variety of diverse people; mere management of one's own function (e.g. R&D) was no longer enough and learning business and especially leadership skills now became paramount (Zabusky & Barley, 1996; Allred, Snow & Miles, 1996). Leadership skills have since been essential all the way to 2000s and continue to be as such.

The roots of contemporary leader development can presumably be found from the Human Relations School of leadership thought and its successor HR with its emphasis on people, especially leaders, as the most important resources of the organization. These key resources were and still are to be nurtured by enhancing their well-being, skill set, identity, and growth at work (Seeck, 2012: 107-157). Nowadays, the industry aimed at developing individual leaders is enormous, both domestically and elsewhere. There is a vast market of all kinds of managerial and leadership development *measures* and *practices* available, ranging from academic leader development education for both youngsters and adults, leader development courses and trainings both outside and inside organizations, different types counselling-based methods such as executive coaching, work-counselling, or career coaching, experiential learning methods such as job enriching, job rotating, or expatriate periods, to a huge number of practical layman guides which are published every year for leader self-development and development practitioner use.

Academically, however, leader development as a branch of research is still in its infancy and despite the obvious need for knowledge of the topic, unanimity on both the definition and the theory of leader development as a *process* is yet to be reached which makes the study of leader development rather challenging (c.f. Day, Harrison & Halpin, 2009; O'Connell, 2014). Hence, when proceeding to explore the phenomenon in more detail, one must clarify some of the related concepts. The following sections separate between both leader development and leadership development and manager development and leader development. The five mainstream conceptualizations of leader development, understood in a processual manner, will be discussed after that to finally come to the approach used in this dissertation.

## 2.2 Leader development and leadership development

In academic literature, as concepts, leader and leadership development are often used interchangeably. However, in determining the term to be chosen the decisive factor is whether the development happens in the sphere of individual's personal

capital or in the sphere of social capital of the organization. The most common conception of leader development concentrates on individual leader and his/her personal capital, and here, leadership is understood as an individual-level property. *Leader development* thus focuses on enhancing the skills and knowledge one has regarding one's own, intrapersonal realm (Day, 2000; Popper, 2005; Iles & Preece, 2006).

Yet, as Day (2000) notes, leadership is more than merely a collection of leader's internal properties. Instead, to him, it is a complicated social process which happens in interaction with other people on the basis of these internal qualities which serve as bases for leader's social competencies such as one's ability to trust, convince, or to hold space for others, for instance. Contrary to leader development, then, *leadership development* generally sees leadership as a shared property between members of the organization and relates to their ability to take on a leader role, situationally or in the long term. Hence, leadership development as a notion builds on development and use of interpersonal competences between formal leaders, peers, and subordinates in accomplishing the tasks and objectives of the organization. The focus of leadership development is thus in increasing organizationally shared social capital which is of essence in all dyadic and group level leading processes (McDermott, Kidney & Flood, 2011; Day & Harrison, 2007; Day et. al., 2014).

Still, as was mentioned above, these collective leading competencies must be built on individuals' internal competencies and properties. As leader and leadership development are thus often found to be mutually intertwined (e.g. Moroosi, 2013; Dalakoura, 2010), Moroosi (2013) suggests, that "leader development should be the starting point for leadership development, as the two are mutually inclusive." For this reason, the terminology of this work arises from the idea of development of an individual leader, not leadership.

### 2.3 Manager development and leader development

Another conceptual distinction made in the academic development literature is between the notions of leader development and manager development, although in many cases also these terms are used interchangeably. According to general view, the function of management is 'to do things right', i.e. "to create stability by managing routines and future by planning, organizing, directing and controlling"; its purpose is "to stabilize the operation of the organization by implementing standard procedures." (Barker, 1997) In practice, managerial work is often understood as applying proven solutions to familiar problems. As management

development is often designed to meet organizational and positional needs, in literature it has been argued to be rather objectifying: it tends to see managers as fixable resources rather than as individuals capable of self-directed transformation for the benefit of the company (Cullen & Turnbull, 2005; Day, 2000).

In contrast to these points, this work adopts the concept of leadership due to the interviewees' leadership experiences and development trajectories. Overall, it is very hard to pinpoint, how development of a leader happens, i.e. what exactly makes a leader and how leadership develops in an individual. Leadership itself has been seen to arise from for instance specific personality features, traits, and dispositions (Stodgill, 1974), behaviour (Lewin, et.al., 1939), personal charisma (Conger & Kanungo, 1998), authenticity (Luthans & Avolio, 2003), power (French & Raven, 1960), ability to enhance growth in other people through inspiration, example, and challenge (Burns, 1978), or humility and self-sacrifice in the service of the organization and its mission (Greenleaf, 1970), just to mention a few.

In consequence, the concept of leadership has evolved and changed through the years, resulting in numerous definitions (see e.g. Yukl, 2006: 2-3). The majority of definitions of a leader, however, reflect the view according to which leadership "involves a process whereby intentional influence is exerted by one person over other people to guide, structure and facilitate activities and relationships in a group or organization" thus emphasizing the role of a single leader over followers (Yukl, 2006: 3). This work makes use of this widely cited definition of a leader.

Also, leader development as a concept still lacks an agreed definition (O'Connell, 2014). As the function of leadership is to create change, development in leadership generally refers to an increased capacity for complex and inclusive thinking which translates into an increased situational adaptability and flexible decision-making (Day, 2000; Barker, 1997). Depending on the literature, however, the emphasis may be on different aspects of leaders' inner life, starting from those observable from outside such as skills or experiences, continuing with those on more "intermediate" levels such as identity, authenticity, or self-awareness, and finally ending at perhaps the most profound level – gradual change in perspective or meaning structures (c.f. Helsing & Howell, 2013). These views are discussed in more detail in the next sections where leader development will be understood primarily in a process-type fashion, i.e. as growing to become a leader, and eventually as a cultural, narrative, and discursive phenomenon.

## 2.4 Approaches to leader development process

On the whole, the mainstream research is found to approach the process of becoming a leader from five perspectives: learning specific leader skills; learning from practical experience, either in work or in private life; developing leader identity; increasing personal authenticity and self-awareness; and development as change in leader's cognitive meaning structures. These five approaches tend to overlap and interact with each other in numerous ways, for instance in some identity development theories, development occurs in a stage-like fashion characteristic of constructivist-developmental phase theories (e.g. Lord & Hall, 2005), and in some leader development models, authenticity is seen as a leader skill (e.g. Day, 2000). It is therefore best to understand these approaches only as emphases within leader development research, not as clear-cut branches of it.

When one pores over this literature, one notices that much of this mainstream writing seems to be largely ontologically essentialist meaning that in a person there is discoverable, innate quality of leadership which may be identified and cultivated through different types of development measures. For this reason, these major approaches to leader development also direct their attention to leader's internal, psychological processes of development (Fairhurst, 2007: 11; c.f. Burr, 1996: 6, 19, 184). This underlying starting point can be interpreted as a kind of an "in-house assumption" (Alvesson & Sandberg, 2011) of this particular branch of research, and such an assumption may be shown and possibly also problematized by examining few major or typical studies and the debates they arouse in the midst of academic community. For these reasons, in the next chapter, each of the major leader development approaches is discussed with a short description of its major features and some of the main criticisms the approach in question has received.

### 2.4.1 Development of competencies and skills

The first conceptualization has concentrated on the *development of competencies and skills* a leader should learn so as to perform better in the role of a leader (e.g. Mumford, Campion & Morgeson, 2007; Conger, 1992; Hollenbeck, McCall & Silzer, 2006; Mumford, Marks et.al., 2000; Mumford, Campion & Morgeson, 2007; Lord & Hall, 2005; Whetten & Cameron, 1984; Riggio & Lee, 2007). Leadership competencies represent individual's ability and invisible potential to leadership skills and behaviours, which again are externally observable. Because these two concepts, leader competencies and skills, are often used in an interchangeable way, here they are grouped together. The skills view is based on a functionalist view of the phenomenon which refers to the idea that leadership is in some way definable, identifiable, and measurable; it is assumed that it is possible

to locate and separate the most effective and profitable leader skills and competences and target development measures on them (Carroll & Levy, 2010; Mabey, 2013; cf. McKenna, 2004; du Gay, Salaman & Rees, 1996). As such, the skills view of development resembles the idea of management development discussed above.

The skills view is roughly divided into two: skills that are needed for leadership in general and skills that are specific to certain situations, e.g. parts of organization or levels of hierarchy. The research on generic leader skills and competencies has produced extensive lists or sets of different leader skills and competencies to be developed, ranging from intrapersonal skills such as self-efficacy, self-regulation, and self-motivation to interpersonal skills, such as listening, communicating and motivating and to group skills such as change management, empowering, and team building, just to mention a few (e.g. Day, 2000; Conger, 1992; Degeling & Carr, 2004; Allio, 2005; Popper & Lipshitz, 1993; Klagge, 1997; Campbell et.al, 2003; McCauley & Van Velsor, 2004; Avolio & Luthans, 2006; Riggio & Lee, 2007). As this view of development implicitly assumes that developing a certain set of leadership skills guarantees an effective leader, it tends to attract researchers, practitioners, and leaders alike (Hollenbeck, McCall & Silzer, 2006).

The other branch of this research has looked at development of leader competences from the point of view of organizational career or position-related development: what skills are needed in a specific organizational leader position and/or at a certain stage of a leader's career in an organization (e.g. Mumford, Marks et.al., 2000; Mumford, Campion & Morgeson, 2007; Lord & Hall, 2005; Charan, Drotter & Noel, 2011). Leader's position in the organizational hierarchy (e.g. shop floor manager or corporate head) may indeed considerably affect the skills needed in one's work. When a leader progresses in his/her career upwards in the hierarchy, s/he faces several transitions which all require new skill sets, valuations, and time frames within which to work, starting from learning to manage one's own self and continuing to learn the skills to manage others, manage managers, manage a function, manage a business, and finally, to manage the entire enterprise (Charan et. al, 2011). Hence, for instance at lower level managerial positions, acquiring interpersonal and cognitive skills have been found to be important, whereas at the top level, strategic and business skills may be more in demand (Mumford et.al., 2007).

Also, leader's experience-based career stage (e.g. novice or expert) affects the skills one should be learning, and this branch of leader skills development research overlaps with the one discussed in the next section ("Learning from experiences"). Within this branch of research, a number of studies have attempted to create more

nuanced developmental models by studying cognitive factors in skills development. Such stage-like models see development as a multilevel and longitudinal process that continues all through one's career (e.g. Mumford, Marks et.al., 2000; Lord & Hall, 2005; see also Day et. al., 2014). All in all, both the career branches tend to suggest that learning a certain skill may be more useful for the individual at some point of one's career, whereas some may have value at some other.

Despite its merits, the skills view has also been criticized. Some see it as too functional and as directed only at enhancing corporate performance (e.g. Carroll & Levy, 2010), whereas others complain that it diverts attention from work to the individual (Hollenbeck, McCall & Silzer, 2006). Also the idea of developing skills that will guarantee success as a leader has been considered too simplistic. Due to the contingent and contextual nature of leadership, one cannot use a particular set of skills or behaviours with everyone and get similar results. Hence, to critics, competent leadership is not a permanent state of affairs but arises from leader's ability to "read" the situation accurately and to apply the necessary skills (Lord & Hall, 2005; Hollenbeck, McCall & Silzer, 2006; c.f. Watson & Harris, 1999; McKenna, 1999; McKenna, 2004).

Another point of criticism has been the tendency to develop skills as if they were somehow isolated, both from other leadership skills as well as the leader as a person. Critics have pointed out that even though skills are often applied in clusters (e.g. listening together with empathy), they are rarely developed as such (Hollenbeck, McCall & Silzer, 2006). Furthermore, development does not only mean improving skills, but the change of the whole person, and the focusing on skills must not ignore this parallel process of leader identity development (or lack thereof) over time and career (c.f. Watson, 2009; Watson & Harris, 1999; McKenna, et. al., 2010).

#### 2.4.2 Learning from experiences

Skills are derived from knowledge and practical experience. Thus the second common conceptualization concerning the process of growing to leadership concentrates on *learning from experiences* (e.g. McCall, Lombardo & Morrison, 1988; McCall, 2004; McCall, 2010; Bennis & Thomas 2002; DeRue & Wellman, 2009; Popper, 2005; Kornives, Owen, Longerbeam, Mainella & Osteen, 2005; Van Velsor, Moxley & Bunker, 2004; Lindsey, Homes & McCall, 1987; Burgoyne & Hodgson; Amit, Popper, Gal, Mamane-Levy & Lisak, 2009; Courtright, Choi & Colbert, 2014). Traditionally, the most common way of developing leaders has been through teaching formal knowledge. Yet, leaders generally do not regard

formal education especially important to their personal development, but instead find practical experience, preferably during an extensive period of time, to be the chief source of leadership learning (McCall, 2004; 2010; Amit, et. al., 2009).

Development can be seen to arise experientially from work experiences or life experiences in general (Thomas & Cheese, 2005; Hammond, Clapp-Smith & Palanski, 2017; Clapp-Smith, et. al., 2019; Vogelgesang Lester, et. al., 2017). Since a person in a leader position has no choice but to do the work through his/her own personhood, it is impossible to separate the lessons one learns from private life from those originating from work life, especially nowadays, when these domains of life and the identities they produce increasingly overlap due to the rapid developments of technologies and careers (Hammond, Clapp-Smith & Palanski, 2017; Ramarajan & Reid, 2013).

One can learn leadership skills in different roles with responsibility and human interaction for instance at school or during leisure time; experience in team sports, volunteering, or student union activity often counts as such. Indeed, the leader role and identity chosen as an adult is often based on these experiences in leisure leader roles as a youngster (Popper, 2005; Kornives, Owen, Longerbeam, Mainella & Osteen, 2005; Yeager & Callahan, 2016; Amit et. al., 2009; c.f. Meijers, 1998). Later in life, leadership behaviours and skills may be learned from similar leader roles in private life domains such as family and friendships or in different types of communities one is active in (church, non-profit organizations, military service, etc.). Leader behaviours learned in these contexts may then 'spill over' from private life domains to the work domains and vice versa (Hammond, Clapp-Smith & Palanski, 2017; Clapp-Smith, et. al., 2019; Vogelgesang Lester, et. al., 2017).

One may of course learn from practical experiences in the role of a leader at work (e.g. Van Velsor, Moxley & Bunker, 2004; McCall, et.al., 1988; McCall, 2004; McCall & Hollenbeck, 2008; Lindsey, Homes & McCall, 1987; Burgoyne, & Hodgson, 1983). There, knowledge acquired from previous work experiences often proves important; often some element of leadership such as independent decision-making, teaching, or skill in some technical or functional area serves as training for leadership. Also, early work experiences which show the individual the challenges one has to face when one works with and through other people assist in the process of adapting to the realities of leading (McCall, et.al., 1998: 17, 21; Lindsey, Homes & McCall, 1987: 191-215).

For this branch of research, by far the best and most effective means of growth in the work environment is a large and diverse variety of challenging work assignments during one's leader career (e.g. DeRue & Wellman, 2009; McCall, et.al., 1988; McCall, 2004; McCall, 2010; McCall & Hollenbeck, 2008; Mumford,

Marks, Connelly, Zaccaro & Reiter-Palmon, 2000). Learning to lead is a hard, time-consuming, life-long process, and some of it may happen unassisted, through informal sources such as work-related role models, networks, or mere daily interactions, some may happen assisted, through formal, work-related sources such as feedback, simulations, or executive coaching. In all challenging situations, learning is not seen to happen automatically, but rather to require intentional focusing and reflecting on personal experiences (Van Velsor, Moxley & Bunker, 2004; McCall, 2004, 1988; McCall & Hollenbeck, 2008; Allen & Hartman, 2008).

Although the view of enhancing personal development through experiential learning events and periods is widely accepted, some have expressed reservations and concerns regarding the effectiveness of the measures and their actual benefits (e.g. McCall, 2004; McCall & Hollenbeck, 2008; Mumford, Marks, Connelly, Zaccaro & Reiter-Palmon, 2000). For organizations, the process of planning developmental assignments for their leaders is a challenge for several reasons. The extent to which a leader benefits from a certain developmental experience is dependent on his/her prior work experience and career stage which underlines the importance of timing in choosing developmental assignments (McCall, 2004; McCall & Hollenbeck, 2008).

Also, the level of a developmental measure must be evaluated correctly for it to be of any benefit. Even though challenging assignments are generally regarded as prerequisites for effective learning (Ohlott, 2004), overly challenging tasks may hinder it (DeRue & Wellman, 2009) and even lead to emotional fatigue and lax leadership (Courtright, 2014). Also, leader's learning is dependent on the stage and strategy of the organization; for instance, an established company requires different skills from its leader than a newly founded one (McCall, 2004). In sum, anyone designing experiential developmental measures must take their quality, appropriateness, and timing under consideration (McCall & Hollenbeck, 2008; Mumford, et. al., 2000).

### 2.4.3 Identity development

Learning from practical experiences often enhances individual's view of oneself as a leader. Consequently, the third, recent conceptualization of development is related to the two previous ones and sees it as *identity development*, originating mostly from work-based learning as a leader. Leader identity is "the sub-component of one's identity that relates to being a leader or how one thinks of oneself as a leader" (Day & Harrison, 2007) and it is considered to be an important element of development in an increasing number of research papers (e.g. Day & Lance, 2004; Lord & Hall, 2005; Day & Harrison, 2007; Day, Harrison & Halpin,



2009; Carroll & Levy, 2010; Day & Sin, 2011; Murphy & Johnson, 2011; Petriglieri, 2011; Ibarra, Snook & Ramo, 2010; Moroosi, 2013; Guillen, Mayo & Korotov, 2015; Zheng & Muir, 2015; Nicholson & Carroll, 2014; Hammond, Clapp-Smith & Palanski, 2017; Clapp-Smith, et. al., 2019; Vogelgesang Lester, et. al. 2017).

The broad academic attention given to leader identity stems from the view that its existence has a considerable impact on individual's motivation to act as a leader or to develop oneself in that role. Leader identity is also seen as a support structure on which leader skills and expertise can develop in the course of one's career (e.g. Hall, 2004; Lord & Hall, 2005; Day & Harrison, 2007; Day, Harrison & Halpin, 2005; see also Guillen, Mayo & Korotov, 2015). Moreover, leader identity development is seen to have a positive impact on leader's ability to interact with subordinates, thanks to improved interpersonal skills (e.g. Day, Harrison & Halpin, 2009; Lord & Hall, 2005; Vogelgesang Lester, et.al. 2017). Leader development from the identity perspective has been studied on a general level (e.g. Hall, 2004) or in a more nuanced manner by focusing on the development of the extent (strength, integration) or content (level, meaning) of leader identity (see Hammond et.al, 2017; Clapp-Smith, et.al., 2019; Vogelgesang Lester, et.al. 2017).

According to identity development research critics, however, this type of view of developing leader identity is all too simplistic and naïve. Such researchers argue that leaders act within dominant discourses and practices which regulate their thinking, speaking, and acting towards the ends which are ultimately in the interests of the power holders (Carroll & Levy, 2010). In consequence, leaders in development become invisibly lead identity workers, who are being seduced (Sinclair, 2009) to view themselves through the authoritative and normalizing eyes of the power keepers, be they organizational stakeholders or educational experts, and regulate their selves accordingly so that their self-improvement is of acceptable kind (Alvesson, Ashcraft & Thomas, 2008; Nicholson & Carroll, 2014).

Also, to critics, mainstream writings on leadership and development tend to present leaders as "masculine, aggressive and controlling self-reliant 'perfect beings'" (Edwards, et. al., 2013). This masculine hero idea is seen to be detrimental to leadership, since leader development measures often support only this type of image and concentrate on standardized, measurable competencies or behaviours, implicitly suggesting that leadership would mean only a set of specified masculine behaviours or traits (Zheng & Muir, 2015; Carroll & Levy, 2008; Sinclair, 2009; Ford et. al., 2008; Cunliffe & Linstead, 2009). This type of control subtly narrows down the range of possible leader identities and sometimes even deforms what the individual him/herself holds authentic (Cunliffe & Linstead, 2009; Nicholson & Carroll, 2014; Shaw, 2010; Edwards, et. al., 2013).

The scholars critical towards the mainstream, psychology-based, leader identity development research try to reveal these types of exercises of social power by looking closely into these discursive demands and their possibly detrimental, even anxiety-inducing effects on leaders. These scholars emphasize the importance of both leaders' and leader educators' awareness of these discourses and demands and promote identity work that enlarges individual's possibilities regarding his/her leadership, i.e. opportunities and spaces for creating and maintaining alternative, perhaps more edifying stories about oneself (Carroll & Levy, 2010; Petriglieri & Petriglieri, 2010; Cunliffe & Linstead, 2009; Shaw, 2010; Nicholson & Carroll, 2014; Edwards, et. al., 2013).

#### 2.4.4 Increasing self-awareness and authenticity

Practical leading experiences tend to lead not only to a sense of oneself as a leader (or a sense of lack of it), but also to a heightened awareness of one's strengths and weaknesses. The fourth conceptualization identifiable in the literature therefore concentrates on the role *increasing leader's self-awareness and authenticity* when growing to become a leader (e.g. Avolio & Gardner, 2005; Luthans & Avolio, 2003; Nyberg & Sveningsson, 2013; Berkovich, 2014; Ladkin & Taylor, 2010; Gardner, Coglisier, Davis & Dickens, 2011; Shamir & Eilam, 2005; May et. al., 2003; Sparrowe, 2005; Chan et. al., 2005; Avolio & Hannah, 2008; Baron & Parent, 2015; Cooper, Scandura & Schriesheim, 2005; Erikssen, 2009). The concept of authentic leadership has received broad academic attention since its appearance in fields of education and sociology in the 1990s'. In leadership studies it was first conceptualized by Avolio and associates in attempt to create a positive leadership theory based on transformational leadership (Chan et. al., 2005; Avolio & Gardner 2005; Luthans & Avolio, 2003; Nyberg & Sveningsson, 2013).

Luthans and Avolio (2003) originally defined authentic leadership as "a process that draws from both positive psychological capacities and a highly developed organizational context, which results in both greater self-awareness and self-regulated positive behaviours on the part of leaders and associates, fostering positive self-development." Since then, numerous studies have been produced on the concept, but despite researchers' interest, an agreed theory of authentic leadership is yet to be developed and different conceptualizations highlight different aspects of the phenomenon (Berkovich, 2014; Ladkin & Taylor, 2010).

Nevertheless, one can identify three themes which cut through the differing views (Ladkin & Taylor, 2010). The first is the idea of 'true self' which is seen as the basis of authenticity. The notion of authenticity here refers to self-referential fidelity, to "owning one's personal experiences, be they thoughts, emotions, needs, wants,

preferences, or beliefs, processes captured by the injunction to know oneself". Because of this, authentic leader "acts in accord with the true self, expressing oneself in ways that are consistent with inner thoughts and feelings" (Harter, 2002: 382). The second, closely related, theme in the sphere of authentic leadership is self-awareness. A thorough and objective awareness of one's strengths and weaknesses is seen to increase self-referential fidelity and acting in harmony with one's authentic self and values. The third and final underpinning theme is ethical behaviour which an authentic leader is seen to naturally prefer. Authenticity and self-awareness make it possible for an authentic leader to make high quality moral decisions even in situations which might tempt the leader to choose otherwise (May et. al., 2003).

In authentic leader literature, development is seen as a life-long development project which occurs in different contexts. Hence some of the leading scholars of authentic leadership research have emphasized the importance of triggering life experiences, planned or unplanned, as sources of leader's learning (e.g. Gardner, et.al., 2005; Avolio, 1999; 2005; Avolio, & Hannah, 2008; Baron & Parent, 2015; Cooper, Scandura & Schriesheim, 2005) For Avolio (2003; 1999), a positive trigger event might mean for instance getting married, changing careers, moving to another country, reading a perspective-changing book, or meeting an inspiring person, whereas negative triggers may mean crises and negative events such financial hardships or health issues. Irrespective of the quality of the trigger, it should be reflected upon and used for increasing self-awareness and authentic behaviour (Luthans & Avolio, 2003: 249-250; Gardner et. al., 2005).

Despite its popularity among researchers, the view on development as an increase in authenticity has been severely criticized. Critics question the notions of authenticity and true self (e.g. Berkowich, 2014; Sparrowe, 2005; Ford & Harding, 2011; Ford, Harding & Learmonth, 2008) and suspect whether it exists at all or whether it really can be found through reflection (e.g. Fairhurst: 2007: 103), whether the notion makes masculine leadership the norm (e.g. Fox-Kirk, 2017), whether authentic leadership equals good leadership (e.g. Nyberg & Sveningsson, 2013; Fox-Kirk, 2017), or whether leader identity should be central to leader's overall identity and visible in both work and private life for a leader to be authentic (e.g. Shaw, 2010).

Moreover, according to this critical literature, authenticity and true self with its values is treated in authentic leadership literature as a stable, static, and consistent internal entity, which must be identified, regulated, and developed (Berkowich, 2014; Sparrowe, 2005; Fairhurst, 2007: 98). This is said to happen by turning inward and by increasing self-awareness of leader's self in isolation from other

people, organization, and culture. These surrounding environmental factors are acknowledged, yet implicitly regarded as sources of inauthenticity or “contamination” to authenticity (Ford & Harding, 2011; Ford, Harding & Learmonth, 2008: 146; Shaw, 2010; Sparrowe, 2005). Finally, as personal flaws, weaknesses and insecurities are signs of inadequacy, to be authentic, leaders have to be a flawless and morally impeccable at all times which easily leads to the reflection of personal shortcomings on other people. This has been seen to lead to a basic orientation which some regard as narcissistic and detrimental to subordinates’ sense of subjectivity and overall wellbeing (Fairhurst, 2007: 103; Shaw, 2010; Ford, Harding & Learmonth, 2008: 139-161).

#### 2.4.5 Change in meaning structures

The fifth and final common conceptualization of development sees it as a gradual change in world view or meaning structure (e.g. Kegan, 1982; Loevinger, 1976; Torbert, 1987; Kohlberg, 1969; Kitchener, 1983; regarding leadership, see e.g. Bass, 1985; McCauley, 2008; Kegan & Lahey, 1984; Drath, 1990; Van Velsor & Drath, 2004; Harris & Kuhnert, 2008; Helsing & Howell, 2013; Day & Lance, 2004; Day & O’Connor, 2003; Ghosh, Haynes & Kram, 2013; Kegan, 1980). This view differs from those presented above as it looks at the process of development instead of its content; as Ghosh, Haynes and Kram (2013) put it, it is interested in the “structures (i.e. if self is distinct or fused with others) that regulate the meaning of the self as an entity”.

Characteristic of this approach is that it emphasizes the move from one developmental stage to another. This move is characterized by a shift in individual’s meaning-making capability from simple to a more abstract and complex, yet simultaneously more detailed and nuanced, enabling a qualitatively different way of perceiving the external and internal worlds and of acting on the basis of it (Bartunek, Gordon & Weathersby, 1983; Caldwell & Claxton, 2012; Day & Halpin, 2004). This developmental process may occur either naturally or through challenging situations which reveal the restrictions and limits of individual’s current meaning system or stage, be it for instance in one’s action logic (Torbert, 1987) or in conception or motive of moral action (Kohlberg, 1969).

These constructivist-developmental (Kegan, 1982: 4) phase theories comprise of two aspects of cognitive development: the organizing principles that regulate how people make sense of things (orders of development) and the way these principles are continuously re-constructed over time (developmental movement). Hence these theories concentrate on interpretations and meanings that people continually assign to their experiences in increasingly nuanced and complex ways

over the life span (McCauley, Drath, Palus, O'Connor & Baker, 2006; Day & O'Connor, 2003: 14).

McCauley, et.al. (2006) mention three successive orders of development and meaning-making frames which adults construct to understand themselves and others: dependent, independent, and interdependent. Leaders that represent the dependent order are characterized by dependence on other people's support as well as on the direction provided by the internalized social values, because they are not separate from those. Leaders that represent the independent order, however, are able to differentiate between other people and the self. Such leaders have personal sets of values and standards which enable them to move independently between different views, but which occasionally make them blind to their own personal ways of thinking and their limitations. Finally, leaders representing the inter-independent order are subject neither to other people's systems of thinking nor to those of their own; instead, they are capable of looking at both as if from a distance and change themselves if necessary. As their personal boundaries are clear and do not "dissolve" to social interaction, inter-independent leaders are capable of staying fully as themselves when relating with other people (Ghosh, Haynes & Kram, 2013; Drath, 1990).

Also, the constructivist view has been criticized for several reasons. It has been accused of seeing development as too unified, linear, and cognitive (Carroll & Levy, 2010) as well as of being too focused on an individual leader instead of leadership system (Day & O'Connor, 2003). These theories have been argued to be somewhat useless for leader development practitioners and to lead to morally questionable educational processes; also, they have been criticized of being too restrictive and normative and not meeting the needs of adult education (Rossiter, 1999). Critics have also questioned the essentialist view underpinning these theories as well as their final stages and developmental ending points which have been argued to be too vaguely defined. Finally, the generalizability of these linear, individualist theories has been under question. They have been built on studies of Anglo-Saxon white males, so do they take gender, class, race, or culture into account? (Courtenay, 1994)

#### 2.4.6 Leader development as a narrative, contextual phenomenon

Above, the normative view of leader identity development was divided roughly into two branches, general and more nuanced processes of identity development; the third, social constructionist view was found to be slightly critical towards these psychologically oriented approaches. This dissertation loosely joins this third branch of identity development research but approaches the phenomenon of

leader development through the “lens” of narrative leader identity from an entirely different point of view - by looking at leader development as a personal-cultural narrative practice.

Writings on leader development with a starting point in language, interaction and narrative are few; this budding research can be found in the field of authentic leader development. For instance, Sparrowe (2005) has investigated the narrative process through which authenticity in a leader emerges. He discusses Ricoeur's (1991) view of self as a narrative project and argues that authenticity is not achieved through awareness of one's inner values or purpose but through a narrative process where self is not discovered in isolation, but is rather constituted in relation to other people. For Sparrowe (2005), development as a leader is achieved in social interaction using autobiographical memory and narrative and by presenting the self through narrative identity (c.f. Ricoeur, 1991).

Shaw (2010), again, has criticized authentic leadership and the idea of shaping narrative identity as a tool for development, i.e. of approaching authenticity through increased self-awareness and constant reflection of one's self-narrative and identity (see e.g. Shamir & Eilam, 2005; Erikssen, 2009; Albert & Vadla, 2009). According to Shaw, there is an inevitable gap between individual's narrative identity and his/her experience, and they do not necessarily meet in an individual; therefore, (authentic) leadership researchers should not automatically equate the two, either.

Shaw also points out the contextuality and discursivity of narrating the self. To her, leaders' autobiographical stories always occur within different power relations and cultural frameworks which set different meaning paradigms and rules of narrating for them to follow. For these reasons, leaders' life stories tend to reproduce universally and culturally available leader discourses and present these discourses as leaders' own, 'authentic' views and ideals. These ideals are then attempted to be brought into existence so that one would embody something understood as an 'authentic leader' (Shaw, 2010).

Shaw (2010) addresses this gap between mind and body and points out the need for authenticity, which, she claims, reflects the individual's need for unity between one's narrative identity and material being. Hence, to Shaw, authenticity neither means embodying universally recognizable leader qualities nor telling one's life story through use of these narratable and recognizable leader ideals and resources. She points out that authentic leadership discourse tends to bypass the aspect of material being and this sometimes results in leaders with strong leader identities but with no actual acts of leadership. Because of this, she suggests that leader development measures should aim at adding awareness of leader identity as a

story. To her, the narrator (leader) is always separate from the narrated (story), which makes it possible for a leader to reflect on his/her story and its elements in an externalized and objectified manner. Shaw (2010) also encourages taking interest in leaders' early childhood economic, social, and cultural surroundings as well as in significant persons and situations in them, thereby opening a path for a more sociologically aware branch of leader development research.

## 2.5 Towards the illustrative inner narrative

To conclude, in leader development literature there seems to be a shortage of research which would consider the development process as an interactive, contextual phenomenon. One such option is a social-psychological approach. Development must not be seen only as an internal, psychological process, but also as a social, narrative construct which in a symbolic interactionist fashion is formed in continuous (re)negotiations about its meanings (Mead, 1963; Blumer, 1969). Some of these meanings related to leadership are only short-lived, whereas others seem to be more enduring, established, and repeatedly produced in cultural and social interaction.

Hence, in this dissertation, meanings related to leader development are understood to be socially constructed. In leadership research, the so-called interpretive discourse is interested in the social construction of leadership (development) in different contexts. The interpretive discourse, much like symbolic interactionism, emphasizes the role of language as a mediator of meaning. By using creative analysis methods such as literature or fictive characters and by revealing existing assumptions about reality, interpretive discourse helps "individuals to look critically at the choreographed narratives in which they and others participate." (Mabey, 2013; see also Mabey, 2013b; Deetz, 1996) This is exactly, what this dissertation is trying to do – to discuss the "self-evident" ways of telling about the journey to leadership.

Use of language, stories in particular, provides a gateway to the culturally shared reality. Through examination of different types of stories present in a particular community it is possible to dig deep into its culture and into the life of its individual member; this is because stories combine both individual experiences and culturally evolved modes of knowing (Pietikäinen & Mäntynen, 2009: 105). To access this (sub)cultural reality, this dissertation investigates spoken and written stories.

The relationship between story and culture has been studied roughly from three perspectives (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012: 52-85). The first approach has

examined that relationship through narrative activities a speaker uses; this approach intertwines both tradition and innovation together by understanding storytelling as a performance in a particular *context* of interaction. This perspective, rooted especially in ethnography, is interested in the way a narrative produced in a certain situation “reflects and builds upon shared knowledge, belief systems, and structures of social organization” characteristic of a specific culture; to this research branch culture means continuously emerging social action with a narrative performance as its instantiation (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012: 58, 83).

The second branch has investigated the narrative involvement and participation in situational interaction. More specifically, it has focused on narrator’s narrative *style*, understood as a communication strategy and rhetorical approach and as a mode of communication with story recipients and co-narrators. This approach is interested in the specificities of interaction within a certain culture, which is often understood to be somewhat unified and homogeneous. Recent, more nuanced developments within this view have, however, come to appreciate more diversity and contextuality in their understandings of the notion of culture (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012: 68-73, 84).

The third, sociolinguistic, approach has related narrative to culture through the *content* of narratives, mostly values and ideas, seeing narrative as a sort of a grammar of cultural features: by examining talk one may identify and define cultural features and values which are distributed and shared characteristics of storytelling in a social group, ethnic group, or culture. Although also this approach was initially excessively unifying and homogeneous in its view, lately there has been a shift to a more nuanced approach of investigating specific contexts and/or smaller groups of people and the way they draw upon cultural styles and resources of narrating (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012: 83). As the emphasis of this dissertation is more on the content and situation of storytelling and less on the rhetorical style, the study builds mainly on the socio-linguistic and ethnographic views of culture and narrative in the construction of the final narratives.

All in all, *this thesis sees development into a leader as an illustrative inner narrative*. The process of constructing this new type of a narrative will be presented in the empirical section. As illustrative inner narratives arise from and feed to the culture, a model which approaches narratives from such a socio-cultural point of view is needed. In this dissertation, the model chosen for that purpose is Vilma Hänninen’s model of narrative circulation. The model and its use in culturally oriented organization research will be discussed in the next chapter.



### 3 USING THE MODEL OF NARRATIVE CIRCULATION IN CULTURALLY ORIENTED ORGANIZATION RESEARCH

This chapter discusses the model of narrative circulation and the way in which it and its elements can be used in in culturally oriented organization research. The chapter will begin by outlining Vilma Hänninen's (1999; 2004) model of narrative circulation and by discussing its most important elements relative to this study: cultural stock of stories, personal stock of stories, situation, inner narrative, and told narrative. Of these, particular attention will be given to the notions of told narrative and cultural stock of stories, because in the empirical section leaders' personal stories will be read against two pieces of literature, chosen as specimen from the cultural stock of stories. As this type of approach is somewhat rare in organization studies, the chapter continues by presenting ways in which literature has been used within its sphere, by discussing some of the reasons why the approach might be of interest for its scholars, and by presenting the reasons why it is being used in this particular study.

#### 3.1 The model of narrative circulation

In this dissertation, the narrative intertwining of individual leader and Finnish culture is approached through Vilma Hänninen's (1999) model of narrative circulation. Hänninen's model is based on Vygotsky's ideas about the development of mental processes which are seen to arise from the culture (Hänninen, 1999: 13; 2004). A central concept of this model is an *inner narrative*, defined by Hänninen as

*“An organized set of values, principles, cognitions and emotions, including an understanding of the past and anticipation of the future. It is a systemic whole, in which a change in one aspect calls forth changes in other aspects.”* (1999: 107, my translation)

The concept inner narrative stems from Vygotskian (1982) idea of inner talk, which refers to a silent, self-directed process that merges both personal and social meanings. In devising his developmental theory, Vygotsky was interested in the way in which the mind internalizes the culture in which it is nurtured and to him, language had the main role in this process. As people use language for organizing thoughts and experiences, it is through language that culturally developed ways of understanding and classifying the world enter individuals' minds (Vygotsky, 1982; Hänninen, 2004).

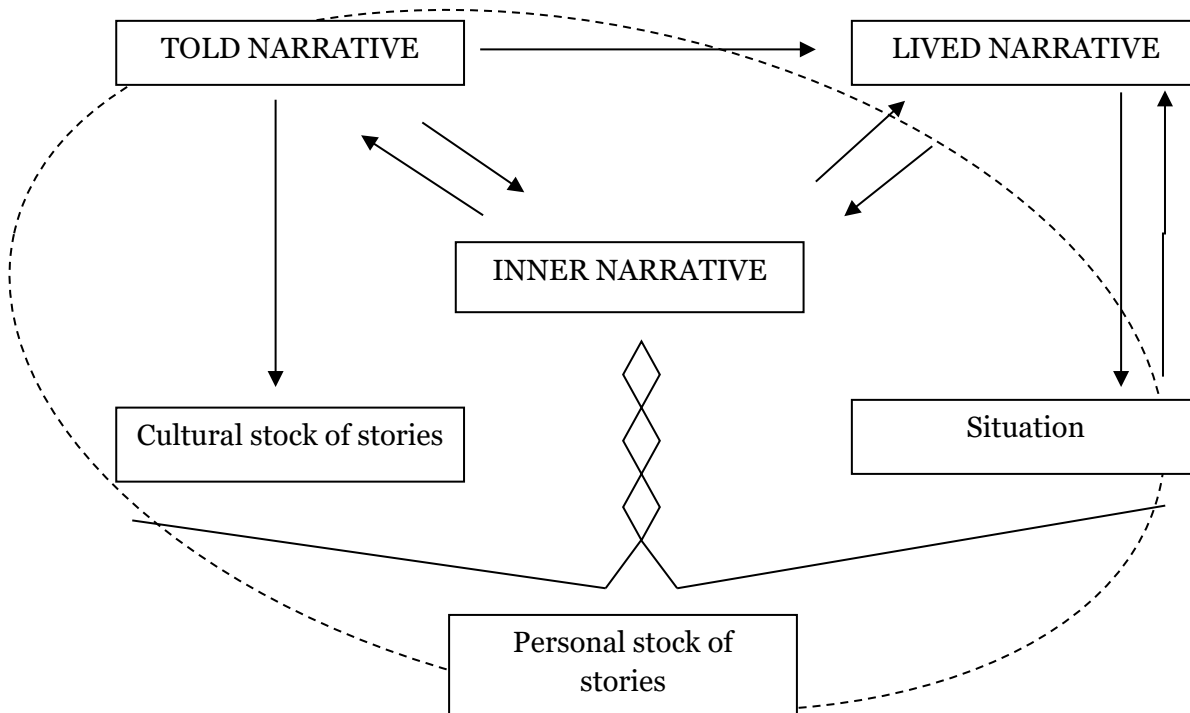
By adopting this linguistic heritage through interacting with knowledgeable adults, an infant learns to make use of linguistic “tools” shared in that specific culture. First, a child uses these tools and meanings with others in external talk, which –as addressed to other people- must be intelligible and complete in form. However, later, this external process is gradually transformed into internal talk. Since the function of this talk is to direct only individuals’ internal processes, this type of speech may be somewhat unintelligible and fragmented (Hänninen, 1999: 48; Vygotsky, 1982: 207-249; see also Wertsch, 1985: 108-128; 1991: 41-42). In the course of time, the interplay between one’s past experiences, cultural model narratives, and material life situation(s) produces an inner narrative of life or a particular section of it. In practice, this narrative exhibits itself as an inclination to interpret things in certain, habitual ways. As such, the inner narrative functions as a “central organizer of experience and action” in that domain of life (Hänninen, 2004).

Hänninen’s model is based on the ideas of Bruner (2004), Carr (1986) and Sarbin (1986) about the narrative quality of human experience. To them, narrative is not only a form of representing things (as is the case for instance in literature), but also a human way of interpreting and understanding life in general, both retrospectively and prospectively (Hänninen, 1999; see also Bruner, 1990). This narrative quality of existence is defined by Sarbin (1986) “as a structure of meanings related to human events, by which the events are seen as parts of a plot, related to human predicaments and attempted resolutions.” From this starting point Hänninen (2004) presents her model of narrative circulation (Figure 1.).

For Hänninen, narrative form may take three modes of existence. The most familiar is the told mode, *told narrative*, which is a symbolic representation of events, most often either in a spoken or written form. The concept of *inner narrative*, again, refers to the internally told story, which, as based on individual’s own interpretations of experiences, is “the experiential mode of narrative form.” (Hänninen, 2004) In Hänninen’s model, the third mode of existence -the idea that human life has a narrative quality in itself- is represented by the concept of *lived narrative* or *drama*. Hänninen (2004) refers to McIntyre’s (1981) view that human life can be understood as consisting of many life episodes with beginnings, middles, and ends typical of a story. Narrativity is thus seen to be present already in the lived narrative, not only in the interpretations or tellings of it (Valkonen, 2007: 42). The narrative organization of life into time-related episodes forms the basis for organizing the totality of lived experience into told and written stories through which life experiences can be shared with others (Carr, 1986).

All these modes of narrative operate in interaction with a specific contextual, cultural, and historical situation. Hänninen's model makes use of the ideas of Murray (1989; see also Ihanus, 1999: 229-231) and Harré (1983). In Harre's theory of psychological space, personal experiences are seen to circulate between the private and the public realms through appropriation, transformation, publication, and conventionalization processes. According to Harré (1983), a sense of self may be achieved only through social meanings. Thus, to be able to gain a sense of personal identity, one has to turn inwards and appropriate the social realm and stories into one's private realm of experience so as to make sense of them.

Yet, to achieve a sense of social identity, one must direct this process outwards: one has to transform one's private experience into an intelligible form with the help of language. In practice, this means that one creates one's own life story which then becomes published and socially evaluated. This story may either become rejected, in which case it may be seen to point to some type of deviancy or abnormality, or, more preferably, become accepted, in which case it becomes a part of the cultural stock of stories (Harré 1983: 258). The mechanisms that filter the offerings of personal stories to public audiences regulate the cultural story repertoire available for identity construction in a particular culture (Hänninen, 2004; 1999: 22).



**Figure 1.** The model of narrative circulation

The dotted line added into Hänninen's (2004) model shows the most important elements which this dissertation will discuss. Of all the elements in the model, this study is mainly interested in individuals' use, or, rather, reproduction of culturally established narrative resources in their personal stories regarding leader development. In the following sections, the relevant elements of the figure are discussed in more detail. Due to the cultural base of Vygotsky's and Hänninen's theories, I will start with the cultural stock of stories.

### 3.1.1 Cultural stock of stories

The first important element in Hänninen's model is the cultural stock of stories (see also e.g. Heikkinen, 2001a: 207; Saastamoinen, 2003: 137; Pietikäinen & Mäntynen, 2009: 104-105). This stock of stories as a notion refers to all the stories related to leadership a person encounters during his/her life, and individual's personal life story is mostly built on and relative to those (Hänninen, 2004). Culture has therefore a considerable role in what is told and how, when a leader speaks about one's life as a leader, and in a given culture, certain ways of speaking about leader development are considered appropriate, whereas others are not. Hence, when a leader explains, how and why he or she has ended up becoming a

leader, his/her use of language often maintains these already existing social customs of narrating. As Shotter (1990) puts it: “What we talk of *as* our experience of our reality is constituted for us very largely by the *already established* ways in which we *must* talk in our attempts to *account* for ourselves – and for it – to the others around us.” (italics in the original) Within a given culture, a socially acceptable mode of narrating about leader development thus presupposes applying specific narrative resources.

Each culture has a depository for such resources. In this depository, i.e. cultural stock of stories, there are different types of model narratives which set different expectations for groups of people (such as leaders) of how to steer one’s life sensibly, morally ‘correctly’, and in a culturally acceptable manner (c.f. Hänninen, 1991: 50-52, 94-95; Valkonen, 2007: 42; Kekäle, 2007: 23). By using such narratives as ‘templates’ for own stories, members of a particular culture, community, or even an occupation may shape their life stories to demonstrate a shared view of life with the others. Still, one must note that generally such model narratives are not permanent, but subject to gradual change (Bruner, 2004; Hänninen, 2004; 1999: 21, 51-52).

Some model-type narratives and resources, however, seem to persist in time and place, and they are therefore important ways and means of building a shared worldview amongst the members of a culture. As vehicles of interaction, such narratives tend to carry prior generations’ modes of narrating as inscribed in them and for their part contribute to the ethnic identity (Pietikäinen & Mäntynen, 2009: 108; Sintonen, 1999). To Sintonen (1999), an ethnic identity is a narrative-discursive construct, built of language and of cultural meanings. It is constructed both on individual and collective levels as well as transmitted to future generations through the use and reproduction of cultural stories and meanings (50-51; see also Heinonen, 1997: 19). Those may include for instance the ethos of surviving and coping in the face of hard life (Kortteinen, 1992), fighting against this hardness of surroundings by earning one’s place through relentless hard work, self-discipline, and thrift (Sintonen, 1999; Heinonen, 1997: 49-53), and doing this as a homogeneous collective that suppresses deviant voices in favor of unity (Heinonen, 1997: 48-52).

These types of deep-seated meanings seem to function as models for making sense of the world still in contemporary Finland, even though industrialization and urbanization have somewhat altered them and have made the idea of a unified nation more distant due to the increasing number of subcultures (Heinonen, 1997: 47-50). This, according to Jokinen (1997: 36), is characteristic of an identity of a nation.

One central vehicle of reproduction and transmission of these meanings is literature. The questions and themes which culturally significant fictional works and characters carry have been seen to produce, transmit and reproduce elements of Finnishness (Kirstinä, 2007; Käkälä-Puumala, 2001: 241-242; Jokinen, 1997: 7, 39, 55). The role of literature seems to be particularly important when it comes to meanings related to Finnish leadership; the traditional view on leadership has been said to be largely based on works of art such as *Kalevala*, *Seven Brothers*, and *Unknown Soldiers* (Aaltonen, 1997). Judging from this literature, the traditional Finnish view of ideal masculine leader seems to be a combination of persistent and skilful action, quiet level-headedness, and a caring disposition (c.f. Heinonen, 1997: 81-82; Aaltonen, 1997).

Characteristic for literary female leader figures (e.g. in *Kalevala*, *Niskavuori*-series), again, seem to be virtues of strength and boldness instead of orientation to human relations, nurturing, and other features traditionally understood as feminine. The influence of such figures on the cultural leader imagery and ideal is probably smaller than that of male figures (c.f. Olsson, 2002; Olsson & Walker, 2004). Still, female leader figures may shape Finnish female leaders' views of leadership towards a culturally desirable direction.

Of course, in addition to literature, story models may be found also from movies, television, newspapers, sports, or politics. Those models may be of domestic or foreign origin; after all, in the globalized world stories travel fairly freely and and mix with other stories, characters, and images related to leadership. From among all these available stories, a leader chooses some which s/he includes in his/her personal collection of stories.

### 3.1.2 Personal stock of stories

The cultural stock of stories forms the basis also for the second important element of Hänninen's model - individual's own model story collection, i.e., personal stock of stories. In the course of life, a person adopts some stories from the cultural stock stories and includes them into one's personal stock of stories; that personal stock also includes stories which the person has created from those life experiences which s/he personally finds most important or somehow defining to one's being. Such memories blend with suitable and adopted cultural stories and together constitute an individual's own personal stock of stories regarding leadership (Hänninen, 1999: 19, 21, 53; 2004; Valkonen, 2007; Kekäle, 2007: 31-32).

Individual's personal stock of stories is not only connected with cultural stock of stories but also with individual's the inner narrative on leadership. This is because

one's core life experiences affect the very formation of the inner narrative and hence the apparatus in individual's mind that acts as the interpreter of the meaning of different leading experiences and life in general. Hence, these past life experiences also tend to set the tone (positive, negative) one has on life as well as colour one's own personal "quality" in the leadership role (e.g. "visionary", "mother", or "coach") (Hänninen, 1999: 52-53).

### 3.1.3 Situation

The third element of Hänninen's model discussed in this dissertation is situation. Hänninen (2004) uses the term to refer to the "actual conditions of life, the various possibilities, resources and restrictions of action among which the person finds him or herself in. These are partly beyond the individual's control, but partly result of his or her actions." These may include large societal "frames" of action such as legislation, rules, or norms regarding one's life as a citizen and as a leader. However, they may also include more personal level factors that enable or restrict his or her life such as leader's place of living and working, his/her family relationships and state of health. The inner narrative is seen to arise from the midst of all of these (Hänninen, 1999: 20-21, 107).

However, even though these material conditions do play a part in the formation of one's inner narrative, in this study, it is mainly the immediate situation of narrating (i.e. interview) which is of interest; the inner narrative and the told story are both affected by it. This immediate situation is discussed in connection with the told narrative (see section 3.1.5.)

### 3.1.4 Inner narrative

The fourth important element of Hänninen's model is the inner narrative. The concept refers to the narrative organization of experience, i.e. to the way in which a person interprets her/his life or an aspect of it -for instance, what does it mean to be or to become a leader- through use of cultural story models. These cultural story models are not somehow separate from individual's personhood but are rather present in both his/her personal stock of stories and thus also the inner narrative; with reference to Vygotsky (e.g. 1982), Hänninen writes: "...in the same way as the external speech becomes a tool for inner functioning, the cultural story models can be seen as tools for organizing the inner narrative. Seen in this way, these models are not present in the telling only but also in the inner narrative." (2004) As a continuous mental process, this culture-based inner narrative arises from individual's present life situation, creatively weaving cultural and personal

stories and their interpretations into new stories and meanings (Hänninen, 1999: 20-21, 107; Valkonen, 2007: 41-44)

Inner narrative can be seen to serve many functions. It not only helps in making sense of and giving meaning to the past and current life experiences, but it also assists in envisioning possibilities; this is because of the intentionality and time-relatedness of the inner narrative (c.f. Bruner, 2002). As individual's "central organizer of experience and action" (Hänninen, 2004), it creates future-oriented narratives some of which will be chosen to be enacted in the material world. Those actions have consequences in the form of changes in individual's life situation. The change in situation and context may, again, lead to re-evaluation of future-oriented projects and the means of accomplishing them, which leads to changes in the inner narrative and one's goals. An inner narrative is thus not only realized through action, but also created by it. In addition to providing the goals which to pursue, the inner narrative as "an organized set of values, principles, cognitions, and emotions" (Hänninen, 1999: 107) also provides the morals according to which to do it (Hänninen, 1999; 20-22, 123, 107-108; 2004; Valkonen, 2007: 43-46).

An inner narrative is also essential for leader identity construction. Inner narrative has several intertwined functions, two of which are especially important for this study. The first of them is its significance in structuring and selecting experience. One's inner narrative directs individual's attention to some development experiences and their meanings, whereas some, irrelevant from the vantage point of the inner narrative, are left unregistered; in other words, according to the Hänninen's model, it is the inner narrative which steers the way in which experiences are being interpreted and valued, often automatically and in certain, familiar ways (Hänninen, 1999: 133; Valkonen, 2007: 41-42).

The second important function of inner narrative is identity. The inner narrative as identity comprises of three levels. The first is the level of actualization or drama in the material world through choice and execution of parallel and consecutive narrative projects in different areas of life. The second level is the level of morals which refers to the limits, values, or principles which the person wants to follow in his/her life as an individual and as a leader. The moral identity is developed partly through socialization to cultural norms, partly through working with the narrative models obtained from the culture. The third level of inner narrative is the level of reflected or interpreted identity which is formed through the stories the leader chooses to tell about oneself as a leader (Hänninen, 1999).



### 3.1.5 Told narrative

The fifth and final important element of Hänninen's model is the told narrative, which refers to the stories a person tells about him/herself to others (Hänninen, 1999: 22); it is “the symbolic, social presentation of past events interpreted in the light of the inner narrative.” (Hänninen, 2004) Telling one’s story basically means transforming one’s inner interpretation, i.e. the inner narrative regarding leader development into a socially understandable form - words. However, telling one’s story does not mean expressing an already formed inner narrative, but instead, in a social situation, the speaker reflects and reorganizes one’s inner narrative, because social norms and conventions regarding storytelling in different social contexts shape the story (Hänninen, 1999: 49, 55; 2004).

Through selecting certain parts of one’s life and through expressing them as a story, a person inevitably also constructs one’s narrative identity in some way. Narrative identity may be broadly understood as “a person’s internalized and evolving life story, integrating the reconstructed past and imagined future to provide life with some degree of unity and purpose”. Through it “people convey to themselves and to others who they are now, how they came to be, and where they think their lives may be going in the future.” (McAdams & McLean, 2013) In short, narrative identity helps in maintaining a coherent experience of selfhood in the midst of myriad life experiences, contexts, and people across life span (Hänninen, 1999: 58-71; c.f Sparrowe, 2005) as well as in conveying the meanings of those life experiences to other people. As leader chooses particular life-events, weaves causal, time-related, and explanatory connections between them, and converts those interpretations into language and a future-oriented life story, s/he simultaneously renders those events logical, comprehensible, and ultimately somehow meaningful – both to him/herself and to others (e.g. Ezzy, 1998; Polkinghorne, 1988).

Above, it was mentioned that a leader’s life situation has an effect on his/her inner narrative. However, also the immediate situation is important from the vantage point of the inner narrative, told story, and narrative identity in particular. Namely, the narrated leader identity is constructed in a particular situation (e.g. an interview) for a particular audience (e.g. an interviewer) which inevitably directs the interviewee’s narrative identity construction towards the kind of identity s/he personally finds suitable and appropriate for such an occasion (Hänninen, 1999: 26; Bruner, 2003; Ochs & Capps, 1996).

Narrative identity therefore has also a performative side to it and this performativity is particularly important when considering leadership (Goffman, 1971; Rapley, 2001; Atkinson & Delamont, 2006; Jakobsen, 2009: 107; Kekäle,

2007: 21). As leader discourse is generally grandiose in nature, leaders may try to become recognized as leaders on the basis of the criteria of what leader should be like (Shaw, 2010; see also Fairhurst, 2007: 5). Hence, in an interview situation leaders of both sexes may be tempted to convey as brave, positive, determined, and morally impeccable an image of themselves as leaders as possible (c.f. Hay, 2013).

The way in which a person presents him or herself socially reveals also what the person as a member of his/her reference group considers being important to tell about life and development (c.f. Hänninen, 2004). Since an ideal leader is almost an embodiment of an ideal human being, leaders' autobiographical stories can be seen to reach for the moral order of ideal human being and the discourses related to it. The notion of moral order here refers to those modes of feeling, being, acting, and talking which are self-evidently accepted or rejected in a particular group of people (Harre', 1983: 242-246; Katila, 2000: 12; 31-33; see also Saastamoinen, 2003: 153). Still, Riessman (2001: 12; see also Jakobsen 2009: 107) points out that the performativity of leader identity does not mean that the identity is intentionally constructed as fake or inauthentic, but only that it is "situated and accomplished in social interaction."

All in all, Hänninen's view of the relationship between cultural story models, inner narrative, and life is that individuals are relatively free actors in their lives instead of being in the mercy of cultural imperatives. In her opinion, cultural model-type narratives neither allow free use nor restrict agency - those narratives do a bit of both (Hänninen, 2004; c.f. Valkonen, 2007; Bruner, 2004). This view of model-type narratives and their elements acting as both resources and as restrictions of narrating forms the basis for my view of narrative practice. To me, even though there is room for variation and personal agency in constructing one's life story (Gubrium & Holstein, 2012), some cultural meta-level narratives and their elements seem to be reproduced in a path-like fashion in (contemporary) speech and in (historical) writing. I have chosen Hänninen's model to be used in this study, because through it it is possible to approach the relationship between development, individual's story, and culture in the present moment but also with keeping an eye to its possible historicity (c.f. Collins & Hoopes, 1995: 638); in short, the model is a fruitful basis for developing and constructing illustrative inner narratives.

Hänninen's model of narrative circulation suggests that when a leader tells one's personal story in an interview situation, s/he draws from personal and cultural stocks of stories. As in this dissertation I will use novels as representatives of this cultural stock, the use of literature in organization studies will be discussed next.

### 3.2 Literature in organization studies

As a means of organization research, the use of literature is not new, even though in Finland such works are rare (for an exception, see Hietikko, 2008; for use of fiction in research of culture and leadership, see also Furu, 2012). Starting from the 1950s', numerous scholars within the field of organization studies have made use of novels, in particular those by Kafka, Pynchon, and Murakami, in attempt to increase understanding of organizational themes such as "the organization man" (Whyte, 1956), work place envy (Patient, Lawrence & Maitlis, 2003), sensemaking (Munro & Huber, 2012), power relations (McCabe, 2014), as well as symptomatology (Beyes, 2009), resistance (Rhodes, 2009) or sacredness of leadership (Sliwa et.al., 2013) among others. Through the years, the use of fiction has remained as a rather peripheral, yet an established practice in the sphere of organization research (Rhodes and Brown, 2005b).

Usually, in research, a clear distinction is made between scientific knowledge and narrative knowledge/fiction. However, for those promoting the idea of literature as a research method, organization research is not objective, but rather created through stories, and such scholars view researchers as storytellers – as producers of texts in which narratives are made use of in various ways. Hence, in their opinion, it is becoming increasingly challenging and perhaps even unnecessary to separate between narrative and scientific writing (De Cock & Land, 2005; Rhodes & Brown, 2005a, 2005b; Czarniawska, 1997; Czarniawska-Joerges, 1995; Watson, 2000; Easton & Araujo, 1997).

Therefore, one may justifiably consider the option of using fictional stories to inform scientific stories even though this type of research strategy may raise concerns of excessive subjectivism among the scientific community. There, traditionally, narrative knowledge has not been considered legitimate even though it has been made use of to support and to legitimate scientific knowledge (e.g. in the form of quotations). From this point of view, the reserved attitudes towards the use of narrative knowledge have been considered strange (e.g. Czarniawska-Joerges, 1995). Rhodes and Brown point out that a cognizance of the resemblance between 'factual' and 'fictional' writing is a prerequisite for ethical, reflective, and responsible research which openly acknowledges its own fictional nature as well as its role in constructing reality (2005b; see also Watson, 2000). All in all, the use of fiction and literature as a means of scientific study is thus not as farfetched an idea as it may seem at the first glance.

In organization research, fiction may have several uses. It can be used for instance as research material, as a vehicle for understanding organizations, or as a site for

theoretical experimentation and development; in fact, Talbot (1998: 8) points out that solutions made in fiction may become “narrative formulae” of problem solving, because “the contradictions that are ‘solved’ are material world phenomena.” A story may also serve as a space for presentation of alternative modes of thinking as fictive characters and developments can be examined in an open-ended fashion (e.g. Beyes, 2009; Rhodes, 2009; Rhodes & Brown, 2005a); as Czarniawska-Joerges and de Monthoux put it, through conveying tacit or narrative knowledge, literary works “grasp the complex without simplifying it”, and “render the paradox without resolving it in a didactic tale.” (1994: 13) The use of narrative fiction thus allows a more aesthetic approach to research, adding finesse which is often beyond the reach of ordinary type of research (Czarniawska-Joerges & de Monthoux, 1994: 8-9, 200; Phillips, 1995). For these reasons, fiction is a good resource for investigating subtle nuances regarding leadership (Furu, 2012).

Literature may thus successfully serve many roles in organization studies. Organization theorists have, however, generally made use of literature (understood here broadly) for roughly three types of purposes: they have subjected research texts to literary or rhetorical analyses, illustrated organizational phenomena or theories with the help of literature, or have either presented their theories and findings in fictional or semi-fictional forms or included fictional elements to their academic texts (De Cock & Land, 2005; Watson, 2012). Also, of all literary means or resources of analysis, by far the most used form has been the novel: it has been made use of either as a case study, an analogy, or an instrument of discussing abstract phenomena, much like the concept of habitus in this study (Land & Sliwa, 2009).

The purpose of using novels in this dissertation is to use them as “sounding boards” for contrasting, complementing, and conveying two different ways of developing and of being in the world in the form of two narratives. Examples of this type of use of a novel in the sphere of organization studies include papers by Beyes (2009), Munro & Huber (2012), and Rhodes (2009). Beyes explores a novel by Thomas Pynchon of symptomatology of organization and examines the relationship between the organization and novel through its three readings. Munro and Huber, again, make use of Franz Kafka’s work to enrich understanding of sensemaking processes in organizations by discussing them, the novel and theory, in parallel. Finally, Rhodes examines Charles Bukowski’s work in relation to contemporary theory in organization studies and considers the ways in which the literary depiction of resistance to organization can be used to extend theoretical debates on the subject. My approach has features of all three.

### 3.2.1 Why use literature in culturally oriented organization research?

What would motivate a culturally oriented organization researcher to choose to use literature in his/her study? As was mentioned above, literature is a means of production and transmission of cultural meanings related to leadership. This means that the contents (e.g. characters, themes, images) of literary works can crystallise cultural tacit knowledge concerning leadership which is then passed on to future generations (Pietikäinen & Mäntynen, 2009: 108; Käkälä-Puumala, 2001: 241-242). Culturally significant literature may therefore display features of cultural identity through its content.

Literature may also display cultural conventions of expression through its form. As novels are written in interaction and in relation to prior domestic and international works of literature as well as to other culturally acceptable forms of expression (Nummi, 1993: 16-17), they act as both products and producers of literary practices of a culture. Examples of such practices may be for instance customary narrative tones (tragedy, irony, comedy, satire) or plots (possible examples of these might be for instance “Rags to riches” for the Americans in aspiration to create a better life or “Overcoming the monster” for the Finns in fight against the elements of nature) (c.f. Booker, 2004). Novels can be seen as collections of such conventions of expression and therefore be used for studying them.

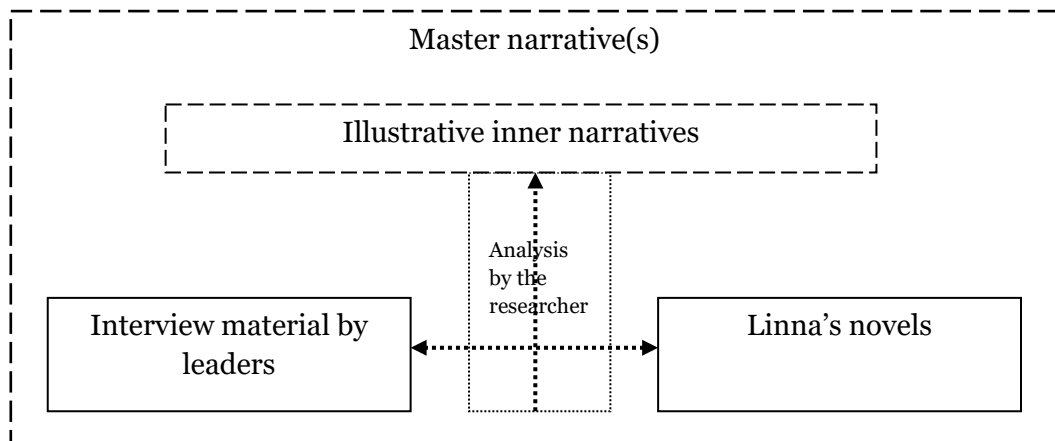
Finally, literature may be used to study ideologies of a particular culture. Through the choices regarding the form and content of one’s work, a novelist may intentionally try to influence the whole or a part of discourse regarding leaders and leadership. However, due to the changing needs, valuations, and interpretations of the audience as well as the contexts in which they arise, an author’s writing may also be used by other people for discussing, refuting, questioning, or for promoting culturally “forbidden” themes, known “truths”, existing worldviews, or everyday practices; Väinö Linna, for instance, hardly knew, that his work *Unknown Soldiers* would be used for educating Finnish leaders in leadership or used in a doctoral dissertation to discuss the topic. All in all, stories such as novels have been “*widely acknowledged as significant sites of ideological construction and transmission*” (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012: 141-142, my italics), which aspect of literature and language may be of great interest for a culturally oriented researcher and which will prove important also for this dissertation later on.

### 3.2.2 Why use established literature in this study?

Despite the reasons that justify the use of literature in culturally oriented organization research, one may also wonder, why choose novels from the 1950s and not from more recent periods; would not such novels be more up-to-date with current cultural “leadership climate”? The first impulse for my decision to use this type of literature was based on Aaltonen’s (1997) observation that the Finnish view of leadership builds heavily on ideas originating from the culturally significant literature. When it comes to this dissertation, it was indeed noted early on that the accounts the leaders gave of their lives brought to mind features of familiar leader figures from Väinö Linna’s *Unknown Soldiers*, but it was somewhat difficult to pinpoint, what properties of speech gave this impression. As in the analysis phase the novel seemed to meet the requirements of the interview material, I decided to lean on Linna and this one of Finland’s most acclaimed cultural products in literature and its lay reading for comparison and complementation. Since the early years of one of the chosen characters were depicted in the third part of Linna’s other major work, *Under the North Star*, that novel was used support the analysis as well.

The second impulse for choosing these novels came from Bamberg (2004), Zilber et.al. (2008), LaPointe (2011: 60), and Van De Mieroop et. al. (2017), who discussed cultural Big D, master, or meta narratives, i.e. “socially accepted associations among ways of using language, of thinking, valuing, acting, and interacting” (Gee, 1999: 17), saying that they usually evade analysis due to their invisibility. However, in the course of the analysis of the interview material I began to see *Unknown Soldiers* and *Under the North Star* as reflections of one or more such cultural master narratives; they seemed to give to these works (at least some of) their cultural power.

In consequence, I decided to use the concept of master narrative as a kind of a supporting concept in constructing the illustrative inner narratives; I surmised that even though the processes of participating in an interview and of writing a novel were two entirely different genres with different rules (De Fina, 2009; Hodge & Kress, 1988: 7), my interviewees and Väinö Linna still came from the same culture and therefore possibly also drew from the same meta narrative(s) in the process of assigning meanings to leader development (c.f. LaPointe, 2011); this applied to me as a researcher as well. Figure 2 clarifies this idea.



**Figure 2.** The relationships between the main elements of the study

As Linna's novels possibly were not only skilfully and perceptively crafted reflections of cultural meta narratives, but also intertextual (Nummi, 1993: 17-18) compilations of culturally significant discursive resources, those novels were read and used as points of comparison. The study will now proceed to describe this empirical process in detail. The next chapter first describes the concept of illustrative inner narrative and after that presents the readings of the two materials, interviews and novels, as well as the comparisons inbetween them.

## 4 CONSTRUCTING ILLUSTRATIVE INNER NARRATIVES

In this chapter, the practical process of constructing illustrative inner narratives is described. The chapter begins with the central concept, illustrative inner narrative and its elements, and continues with the presentation of the narrative approach and the outline of the progress of the analysis phase. All this “paves the way” for the empirical part of the study – a description of collecting the interview material and its five readings. The chapter then continues with a description of lay reading: the process of choosing the novels and leader characters in them as well as the development resources, leadership ideas, life themes, and habituses of the chosen leader figures in *Unknown Soldiers* and *Reconciliation*. In short, the readings on interviews are bundled together into so-called *compiled narratives* which are then read against the novels to build the illustrative inner narratives presented in the results.

### 4.1 Constructing the methodological concept for analysis

The inner narrative and its formation based on social interaction and individual’s personal history was described above in detail. However, so as to reach the practical aims of this particular dissertation, a slightly modified concept of inner narrative is needed, and in Hänninen’s model this concept will be “located” mainly in the interface of individual’s personal stock of stories and cultural stock of stories as exhibiting their duality.

#### 4.1.1 Habitus

In this dissertation, Hänninen’s concept of inner narrative is complemented with habitus. Habitus (e.g. Bourdieu, 1972) as a notion refers to a set of durable and transposable dispositions in perception, thought, speech, and action. In habitus, the totality of person’s earliest experiences concerning one’s economic situation, societal position, and culture is seen to evolve into a characteristic way of being; it is individual’s personal “history turned into nature” (Bourdieu, 1972: 78; see also Ihanus, 1999: 98). In the illustrative inner narratives, habitus serves the task of illustration.

The concept of habitus originally stems from Bourdieu’s theory of division concerning social power and control. In the theory, this division is seen to be caused by individual’s economic, cultural, or social capital (or lack of them). Economic capital consists of property and income, whereas cultural capital



encompasses embodied dispositions and values, objectified forms of capital such as learned scientific methods, and institutionalized forms of capital such as educational merits (Kaipainen, 2008: 35). Bourdieu regards the cultural capital as especially important to social esteem and power because it is a scarce, slowly accumulative resource which is exchangeable to other forms of capital and transferable to future generations (Purhonen et. al., 2014: 17; Jokinen, 1997: 70).

Social capital as the last form of the three refers to individual's social obligations and rights supported by one's network and mutual, trust-based relations; social capital also encompasses "insider knowledge" about the code of conduct in a particular area of life. When people act in it, they tend to internalize its different dimensions in the form of enduring and transferable attitudes and ways of being and speaking (Bourdieu, 1972; see also e.g. Antikainen, Rinne & Koski, 2010: 34-35; Kaipainen, 2008: 31-35) Although the 'contents' of capitals in a certain area of life may change across times and cultures, their habitus-related forms still act as symbolic markers of identity and sameness with a certain group of people and of separation and distinction from those not like oneself (Purhonen et.al., 2014: 13, 19).

Habitus as a notion is also relates to taste which, together with different forms of capital, contributes of the development of the concept of illustrative inner narrative. To Bourdieu, lifestyles and tastes are hierarchically organized and those hierarchies correspond to the social positions and hierarchies of people, groups, and social classes in the society. There, the competition for status and power happens through visible and not-so-visible taste-based distinctions between individuals and groups. According to Bourdieu's theory, different life conditions and spaces of action produce different habituses and 'natural' tastes. Especially individual's cultural capital or lack thereof is said to function as a classifier of different types of practices (e.g. language-use) or objects (e.g. choice of clothing) and to become visible through individual's taste-based consumption and lifestyle choices which are alignment with each other and with those of the same social class (Purhonen et.al., 2014: 11, 17; Kahma, 2011: 24). As individual's taste-based lifestyle and habitus tends to reveal his/her class-based reference group, habitus is an effective instrument in the process of building a recognizable and plausible character for instance in film, theatre, or literature.

Therefore, I will use the concept of habitus to illustrate the inner narratives. However, *I do not apply Bourdieu's theory in a representationalist manner, meaning that I would try to make direct inferences or claims about respondents' backgrounds and real life habituses based on their development stories and their uses of language.* The illustrative inner narratives are constructed out of the text

material(s) and in that process, *my interest is not directed in the individuals, but in the text and leader development discourse they produce*. Thus, I will look at leaders' stories (and the novels) in a textual, extrapolated, abstracted, and ideal-typical fashion and study the habituses and tastes based on the cues distinguishable in those texts. In fiction, an author's conscious use of such cues in construction of a fictive figure is called characterization.

#### 4.1.2 Characterization

Habitus-based tastes and modes of being are used in fictional writing as tools of building a character (Pfister, 1988; Culpeper, 2001: 163-233, see also Rimmon-Kenan, 1983). Constructing a character in a novel happens of course through use of language and in that process the author has to make numerous decisions regarding which linguistic resources to use. So as to depict a character (e.g. a leader) in a plausible manner, the author must use prevalent cultural modes of representation. Also, in order to author's leader characters to reach a central position in a culture, they have to be made to represent culturally shared modes of seeing the world which to readers seem familiar and natural and to be composed of culturally prized features and traits (Chatman, 1978: 49; Käkälä-Puumala, 2008: 240-24; Sintonen, 1991; Heinonen, 1997). For these reasons, when we discuss the characters in culturally significant literary works, the discussion "does not concern literature only, but it is influenced by our cultural view of humanity and simultaneously the social code according to which people are classified and evaluated" (Käkälä-Puumala, 2008: 241, my translation). Characters and the way they are built by a nationally celebrated author may thus implicitly reveal a great deal about valuations and world view(s) of a nation.

A novel may have several different types of characters. Some, rather peripheral characters are made simplistic and caricature-like, comprising only one or few features ('flat'), whereas others, often more central, are made more multidimensional, deep, complex, and evolving through a rich use of qualities and a description of character's inner life ('round') (Forster, 1929; Ewen, 1971; Pfister, 1988: 178; Chatman, 1978: 132-133). In practice, fictive characters are built by the author through use of different characterization techniques, either explicitly or implicitly. The author may build a character through use of character's explicit verbal self-commentaries in presence (dialogue) or absence (monologue) of others or through outside commentaries, i.e. explicit description of the character by other characters or the author/narrator (Pfister, 1988: 184-189).

An author may also build a character through use of implicit characterization (Pfister, 1988: 190-194) such as character's style of interaction with others

(complexity, mood, accent or dialect as well as other features of speech), its visual features such as clothing or general appearance, contextual features such as living surroundings and company, and action, be it habitual or one-off (Culpeper, 2001: 163-233; Rimmon-Kenan, 1983: 77-86; Chatman, 1978: 122-123). Finally, also implicit authorial characterization may be used for instance in the form of names which define the character indirectly (e.g. Mäkilä is an Ostrobothnian name and denotes to that area of Finland) or explicitly (e.g. the name Karjula refers to pigs) (Pfister, 1988: 194-195).

Also Väinö Linna uses these techniques in his novels. On the whole, he seems to use both explicit and implicit characterization techniques in depicting the figures' characteristics, growth resources, leadership conceptions, and habituses; still, his techniques of choice seem to be either implicit characterization through descriptions of styles of interaction, visual features, contextual features, or actions and explicit authorial characterization ("omnipresent narrator") when describing characters' relation to external events or internal states. These elements, especially implicit ones, may effectively convey also character's class and habitus.

As was mentioned above, the construction of a character in a text happens, of course, through use of language, and so does also the construction of the illustrative inner narratives. That process, however, will not happen by using any specific characterization techniques, but by study of language - by identifying and using shared linguistic and discursive resources that the interviewees and the author have used to construct narrative journeys to leadership. The shared linguistic and discursive resources used to build them are of particular interest, because they are here seen to reflect both the speakers/the author and the context in which they are continuously being produced.

In this dissertation, the view of language "tightens" the idea of circulation of stories to reproduction of them which is implicitly present also in Hänninen's (2004) thinking; the idea of closing the gap of dualism between the individual and the cultural is therefore behind the illustrative inner narrative. Also, language is regarded as something which by its very nature does things, i.e. a form of action. This type of dynamism fits Hänninen's (2004) view of language as simultaneously both restrictive and enabling, yet brings the idea of recursiveness (c.f. Giddens, 1984; 1990) and functionality (Halliday, 1978; Austin, 1962) of it as a discursive practice (Peterson & Langellier, 2006; LaPointe, 2011) more clearly to the fore.

In trying to develop the concept of illustrative inner narrative, I do not separate between culture and language and instead see them as "sides of the same coin"; this basically means understanding culture as a system of meanings and language as one of its social subsystems. I see this language system as both enabling and

hindering; in order to be able to express oneself, there is no alternative but to use the linguistic resources one has in one's disposal. Yet, this always has to be done by abiding to the rules and customs of meaning making of the ever-evolving language system as a whole (Halliday, 1978; Halliday & Hasan, 1989; Hodge & Kress, 1988: 6, Luukka, 2002: 104-105; Van Leeuwen, 2005: 95).

In my view, language-use is not only social but also ideological; I see different interests and power relations between groups of people as shaping, maintaining and modifying available discursive resources and meanings and the discursive field is therefore a site of ideological contestation and struggle (Hodge & Kress, 1988: 5, 122-123; Halliday, 1978). For me, power basically means the ability to define the 'truth' about the world: within a particular community, some modes of narrating and speaking are rendered somehow 'illegitimate' by power holders, whereas some, accepted as the 'legitimate' ones, will be shared among the members of the community and become adopted as self-evident. As such legitimate modes are monitored and controlled by members of community themselves as well as reproduced in social interaction and stories people tell, individuals using such modes of expression will be viewed as 'normal' within the community (Van Leeuwen, 2005: 47-48, 55, 93; Hodge & Kress, 1988: 3-5, 121-123; c.f. Giddens, 1990: 83).

"Normal" discourse is thus determined not only by those with power –the ability to determine what is true and good -, but also by the ideology - "a systematic body of ideas, organized from a particular point of view" (Kress & Hodge, 1980: 6) – they promote. For instance, in the sphere of leadership, such discourse may refer to the adoption and use of different types of management fads which the academic institution with its authority produces and feeds to the management and leadership discourse. Such fads may be either long- or short-lived, but they nevertheless have to be adopted and used in personal discourse in order to be recognized and accepted as a knowledgeable leader or leadership/management professional; other ways of talking about for instance HR-issues, management, leader development, or leader career may not necessarily be as valued, convincing, or up-to-date (c.f. Barley, 1989; Giddens, 1990: 64). As practitioners and leaders adopt these fads, they indirectly accept the voice and authority of the academic institution in the field and simultaneously maintain and possibly even strengthen it.

The very social structure of a (sub)culture therefore regulates language use within its sphere. Through interaction, people with similar (sub)cultural or work life backgrounds learn to habitually give prominence to similar forms, contents, styles, classifications, and meanings in language-use across different types of situations,

thereby also acting out and reproducing the prevalent social structures, “affirming their own statuses and roles, and establishing and transmitting the shared systems of value and of knowledge” (Halliday, 1978: 2), both to other community members and those outside it (Hodge & Kress, 1988: 79-91, Halliday, 1978: 24-26, 113-114; see also De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2008a; 2012; De Fina & King, 2011).

However, choices regarding language arise also from the demands of the cultural and situational contexts in which it is being used; as Coupland and Jaworski (2001: 139) put it, “discourse practices are turned into genres”. An example of such a genre is an interview (De Fina, 2009) which sets its own requirements for how language should be used in such a situation to achieve the desired end result - which ever it may be. For me, language is therefore also functional: a told story about one’s journey to leadership in an interview situation provides knowledge about the phenomenon not only from some (sub)culturally available, ideological perspective, but also from one appropriate for the situation (e.g. interview) and role (e.g. interviewee) in it. From among all the possible approaches and resources, the story regarding development and leadership gets a particular form and content which for its part functions in the cultural discursive sphere, both as a producer and a product of it (Halliday, 1978; Hodge & Kress, 1988: 79-91, 184-185; Kress & Hodge, 1980: 62-84; Luukka, 2002; 98-99; Foley, 1991: 20, 24-25; Halliday & Hasan, 1989: 10-11, 45-47).

Ultimately, then, to me an illustrative inner narrative is not a static narrative entity, but a socially constructed, ideological, discursive and narrative practice (Peterson & Langellier, 2006; LaPointe, 2011: 44, 52; De Fina, 2003; De Fina & Georgakopoulou 2008a; 2008b; Bamberg, 2004). I understand the notion of a discursive and narrative practice “as a form of social practice centred on discourse that both reflects social beliefs and relationships and contributes to negotiate and modify them” (De Fina, 2003). To me, such a practice “captures habituality and regularity in discourse in the sense of recurrent evolving responses to given situations, while allowing for emergence and situational contingency. Thus, it allows for an oscillation between relatively stable, prefabricated, typified aspects of communication and emergent, in-process aspects.” (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2008a)

In scientific literature, such a practice has been said to result from the interplay between the acts, resources, and contexts of narrating (e.g. Gubrium & Holstein, 1998; LaPointe, 2011: 52). Here, the resources of narrating are seen to reflect all three as encapsulated in the stories that are being produced (c.f. Halliday, 1978: 33; Halliday & Hasan 1989: 11). I adopt the term resource, as it implies both

discursivity (Fairhurst, 2007: 19) as well as context-specific, pragmatic use, which here is understood as the precursor of meaning (c.f. Van Leeuwen, 2005).

These symbolic resources of course manifest in various ways in situationally produced individual life stories. However, as these manifestations often reproduce established rules and resources of narrating characteristic of a particular type of situation (e.g. an interview) and individual's role in it (e.g. an interviewee), they tend to form a narrative *path* or *trail* which is habitually "treaded upon" (c.f. Atkinson & Delamont, 2006; LaPointe, 2011: 43-44; De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2008a). Because of this metaphor, I would prefer a slightly altered terminology. In the model of narrative circulation, cultural narratives form the cultural stock of stories from which narratives are adopted, made use of in social interaction, and passed again on to narrative circulation. For me, the concept of cultural stock of stories is slightly problematic since it seems to imply that stories could somehow be put to rest into a stock from which they could be taken out of again.

Aforementioned choices also affect the manner in which the language in the interview material is being read and looked into; it, too, differs slightly from that of Hänninen (1996). Generally, in social and narrative constructivism which the idea of inner narrative represents, stories that people tell may be seen to provide windows to their inner worlds. Hence, narrative identities and told narratives are often seen to represent the narratives located in the mind, and inner realms of experience may thus be studied through stories people tell (Hänninen, 2004; Sparkes & Smith, 2008). My concept, however, represents social constructionism (c.f. LaPointe, 2011; Peterson & Langellier, 2006) which, instead of searching for identities and narratives within people, locates them "between people", i.e. in the contexts and discursive resources of narrating. For this reason, my concept also represents narrative constructionism for which narratives (such as illustrative inner narratives) are "social practices that people *perform* and *do* in relation to others as opposed to something they *have*" (Holstein & Gubrium, 2008: 299, italics in the original).

As narratives and identities are thus understood as relational phenomena - as ongoing practices which people produce situationally and contextually (LaPointe, 11: 44) -, in my analysis I do not try to peek into leaders' inner realms to search for inner narratives. Instead, I approach their stories "as forms of social code, addressing stories as dialogically constructed and not as expressions of internal states." (Andrews et. al., 2008: 5) In Hänninen's terms, I assume the duality of cultural stock of stories (novels) and leaders' personal stocks of stories and examine this duality through told stories by staying on the textual level only. I look

at the “surface” or “appearance” (Czarniawska, 2004: 92) of leaders’ told stories and the texts of the novels in the similar, “flat”, way.

In sum, based on the aforementioned literature I will define my methodological concept of illustrative inner narrative **as a narrative practice related to leader development. This practice synthesizes established discursive resources of a particular habitus into a logic which both enables and restricts personal storytelling.** The illustrative inner narrative is a hypothetical construction based on scientific analysis – an imaginative, yet hopefully plausible caricature, which covers a whole range of individual cases. For this reason, the results of the analysis will be presented in the form of ideal-typical narrative to show, how different elements of the illustrative inner narrative(s) relate to each other (Eneroth, 1984; Coffey & Atkinson, 1996: 143-144). In the following sections I dig deep into the method(s) and material(s) of constructing those narratives.

## 4.2 Narrative approach

In my study, I utilize narrative as both a research material and a method of analysis. The use of narrative approach in organization studies is a fairly recent phenomenon. In it, narrative research received some academic interest already at the 1970s, but it was frowned upon as an inferior, even unscientific an approach by the proponents of the dominant, objectivist research paradigm. In the wake of new paradigm in 1990s the use of narratives increased, and publications started to emerge both internationally and domestically (Koskinen, Alasuutari & Peltonen, 2005; Czarniawska, 2004; Auvinen, 2013: 19; Heikkinen et. al. 1999). In Finland, an increasing number of dissertations adopted a narrative approach to leadership and management (e.g. Peltonen, 1998; Siljanen, 2007; Frantsi, 2009; Sirén, 2009; Julkunen, 2010; Prokki, 2010; Salovaara, 2011; Auvinen, 2013) or to entrepreneurship (e.g. Luoto, 2010; Kantola, 2014), and the amount of these studies is still growing, this dissertation being one of them.

There are four different ways in which the concept of narrative has been used in scientific discussion and which all are relevant to this study (Heikkinen, 2001a: 185-193; 2001b: 118). Firstly, narrativity has been understood as the nature of the research material. The object of narrative analysis is most often a story of some type, be it written or spoken, in which case the material is often brought into a written form for analysis. Still, the collected empirical material is mainly in a narrative form, as is the case in this study; the informants reminisce on their journeys to leadership. During this process, some of them produce fully-fledged

stories with a beginning, middle, and a sense of ending, whereas others tell about their journeys in a manner which is more fractured but which will produce as equally fruitful a data as the form-wise more unified stories. The novels, of course, are unified narrative wholes as they have been created and revised by the author and the editors.

Secondly, the concept of narrative has been used to refer to the quality and mode of knowledge/knowing. Bruner (1986) has divided ways of knowing into two, interrelated, modes of organizing and processing information: paradigmatic and narrative. The two modes differ considerably from each other; as Kekäle (2007: 19) succinctly puts it, “a good narrative and a well-formulated argument are two very different things”. Paradigmatic knowledge tries to convince with universal truths, laws, or principles which can be verified by the observable or measurable correspondences between arguments and reality, and so as to formulate them, it often has to sacrifice the individual and the local (c.f. Heikkinen, 2001b: 126; Kekäle, 2007: 20). As the realm of science and logic, paradigmatic knowledge has often been regarded as somehow superior to narrative knowledge (Czarniawska-Joerges, 1998).

Heikkinen (2001b: 124), however, defends the narrative view by pointing out that verity comes into being in a qualitatively different manner through it. Instead of the general and universal, a narrative researcher’s interest is in the local and contextual – in the the time, place, and social setting of certain knowledge. Therefore, narrative knowing does not try to convince with objective truthfulness, but rather with recognizability: the plausibility and verisimilitude with human experience, evaluated ultimately by the readers and hearers themselves (Czarniawska-Joerges, 1995; Heikkinen, 2001b: 127; 2001a: 24-25, 188; Ihanus, 1999: 55). Proving the truthfulness of narrative knowledge would be challenging indeed, since stories and narratives are vehicles of creating and transmitting knowledge (Heikkinen, 2001a: 192; 2001b: 116, 126-127).

The third way of thinking about narrative is to see it as practically, as a tool (Heikkinen, 2001b: 116). Although in the sphere of leader development research any type of use of narrative is still scarce, here the focus has been remarkably practical, i.e. working with narrative identity to accelerate leader’s personal growth. In my dissertation, the practical dimension of narrative will be found from with workplace collaboration and narrative coaching in which the meanings of leader’s life story may be examined.

The fourth and final point by Heikkinen (2001a: 185-193; 2001b: 116) is seeing narrative as a method of analysis.



#### 4.2.1 Narrative analysis

It is quite difficult to define narrative analysis, or, more specifically, whether there are any actual narrative methods or not. Some approach narrative analysis in a systematic manner whereas some treat it as a smorgasbord of qualitative methods from which everyone can choose freely. Nevertheless, characteristic of narrative analysis is that it investigates narratives by utilizing theoretical and methodological ideas from humanities, especially from literary criticism and sociolinguistics (e.g. Heikkinen, 2001a; Czarniawska, 2000; 2004).

Narrative analysis methods can be roughly divided into two branches, structural/narratological and postmodern (e.g. Auvinen, 2013: 39; Kekäle, 2007: 18), and of those the former ones fall into the category of more systematic methods. Structural or narratological analysis methods (e.g. Labov & Waletzky, 1967; Greimas, 1980; Propp, 1928/1984) have been used in studying myths and folktales and in searching for generic functions, patterns, or relationships between characters or actions in them. In contemporary research, these methods are often used when examining the way in which story or narrative proceeds from the beginning to the end.

In addition to structural analysis methods, also postmodern methods have been used. With less focus on structure and more on function as process or discourse, postmodern researchers have concentrated on the meanings narratives create in social interaction, and instead of using any structural models, they have created their own methods of analysis (Bleakley, 2005; Prokki, 2013: 64). In this dissertation, both approaches, structural and postmodern, are combined; the study tries to show the elements which the illustrative inner narratives consist of (thematic readings), how they proceed from beginning to end (concise stories, structural reading, i.e. beginning, middle, ending), and how these discursive elements relate to each other and illustrate different habituses in the two materials (holistic readings, lay reading). In my study, I thus use multiple narrative readings (c.f. Frost, 2009; LaPointe, 2011: 73).

However, before the study proceeds to the actual analysis phase, a glance at close literature is necessary. As it seems that empirical papers on leader development, not to mention those using narrative analysis methods are missing almost entirely, an attempt to attach my approach to existing narrative leader development research would be futile. Hence, so as to clarify the approach and the “layered” use of narrative readings in this dissertation, examples of narrative studies in close methodical proximity, i.e. with a social constructivist/constructionist approach and use of narrative analysis methods are pored over and provided in table 1.

**Table 1.** Examples of social constructivist organization studies using narrative analysis methods

Author	Field	Focus	Empirical material	Narrative analysis method	Findings
Feldman, Sköldberg Brown & Horner, 2004	Public administration	City administration employees views on change	12 individual and one group interview data	Story summaries  Identifying opposition (s)  Syllogisms	Presents an example of narrative analysis for generating a theory of change
Jakobsen, 2009	Business studies	Leaders' identity work during leader development program	Observation and facilitation of 5 leaders  Two interview data: active and semi-structured, each by 5 leaders  Written documents by 5 leaders	Structural analysis by three time-related empirical materials  Thematic analysis  Temporal analysis: narrative storylines  Relational analysis: subject positions	Examines processes and contents of leader identification  Identifies five paradoxes of leadership: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Care vs. Efficiency</li> <li>• Autonomy vs. Organizing</li> <li>• Empowerment vs. Monitoring</li> <li>• Collaboration vs. Executing Power</li> <li>• Nearness vs. Distancing</li> </ul>
Julkunen, 2010	Business studies	Meanings of collaboration and their	Narrative interview material by 11 managers	Structural analysis: past, present and future	Constructs one community narrative combining three stories: past,

		changes in time between retailers and management		Thematic analysis	present and future
Kallio, 2014	Org. psychology	Middle managers' forms of organizational identification	Filmed coaching discussion data with 15 managers into text Evaluations Documents	Content/thematic analysis Compressed identity narratives Combined narrative	Identifies four identification forms: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Positive</li> <li>• Neutral</li> <li>• Ambivalent</li> <li>• Disidentification</li> </ul> One combined identity narrative
Kantola, 2014	Entrepreneurship	Necessity entrepreneurs' coping styles	Narrative interview material by 16 interviewees	Narrative storylines (landscapes of identity) Structure and common phases of stories Four concise stories, representing each coping style	Constructs four different coping styles: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Drowned</li> <li>• Drifters</li> <li>• Sailors</li> <li>• Ashored</li> </ul>
LaPointe, 2011	Career studies	Business graduates' identity work in	Narrative interview material by 12 interviewees	Structural analysis Thematic analysis	Identifies three practices of identity work: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Positioning</li> </ul>

		career transition		Key episodes Linguistic choices Metaphors and vocabularies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Temporal ordering</li> <li>• Negotiating</li> </ul> Constructs three master career narratives: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Disruption</li> <li>• Mismatch</li> <li>• Life renewal</li> </ul>
Luoto, 2010	Entrepreneurship	University and polytechnics students' meanings related to entrepreneurship	Narrative essays by 162 students Role play method	Structural analysis Critical discourse analysis Critical metaphor analysis Subject positions	Constructs: Model narrative on entrepreneurship Coaching method for reconstructing meanings
Prokki, 2013	Business studies	Reconstructions of relational leadership	30 Adult students' written essays on leadership	Thematic analysis and meta-themes Follower narratives Composite follower narratives (8, both genders) Moral-functional contrasting of four realms	Constructs four realms of leadership: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Excellence</li> <li>• Balance</li> <li>• Quasi</li> <li>• Anarchy</li> </ul>

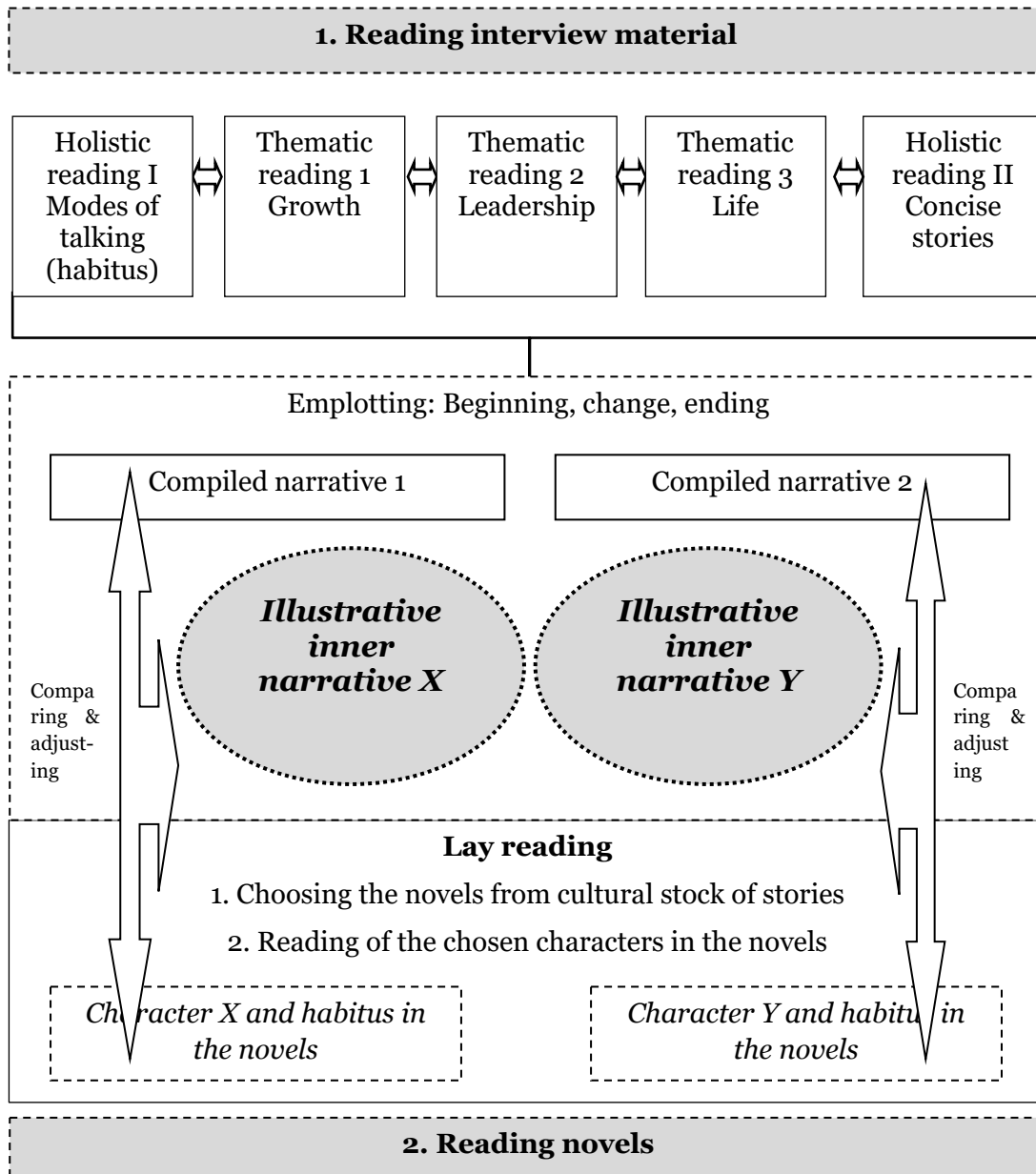
				Core construct of each realm	
Siljanen, 2007	Business studies/ HR	Expatriates' cross-cultural adaptation, identity transformation and learning	Theme interview material of 30 interviewees	Structural analysis  Narrative abstracts of individual interviews  Composite stories	Constructs four different story profiles: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Global careerists</li> <li>• Balanced experts</li> <li>• Idealizers</li> <li>• Drifters</li> </ul>
Sinisalo & Komulainen, 2008	Career studies/ Entrepreneurship	Creation of coherence through career transition narratives	1 Theme interview material	Structural analysis	Sees coherence as not only internally but also dialogically created

#### 4.2.2 Research process

Figure 3 illustrates the total process in which illustrative inner narratives will be constructed. The process begins with holistic and thematic-structural readings of the interview material in order to be able to build causal connections that bridge experiences and meanings between the accounts (c.f. LaPointe, 2011: 58; Prokki, 2013: 67). The readings of the interview material inform each other and focus modes of narrating, resources of growth, ideas of leadership, and life themes in the modern leaders' speech. These readings produce the outlinings of the illustrative inner narratives based on the interview material, i.e. *compiled narratives*. These narratives are then read against the novels and the chosen characters in them.

Out of these intertwined and comparative readings between the interview material and the novels, interviewees' ideal typical illustrative inner narratives concerning leader development journey will be constructed (c.f. Ahmed, 2013; Ahmed & Rogers, 2016). The objective of all these readings is thus to create narratives with organizing themes that tie the specifics of the narratives together into meaningful

wholes (i.e. plots) and to simultaneously try to sketch a description of antecedents, mutual relationships, consequences, and meanings of these specifics in relation to the end or goal states to which the narratives aim at (c.f. Valkonen, 2007; Pentland, 1999). Generally, a plot may be woven around the content or the chronology of the narrative (Julkunen, 2010: 81); this dissertation uses the latter approach.



**Figure 3.** Constructing illustrative inner narratives

The study will now proceed to its empirical section which is divided into two parts: reading the interview material and reading the novels. As a whole, the empirical section represents the sample approach to research. Since such an approach refers to the researcher’s interest in the reality of the research material instead of how

the material describes the reality outside itself, the text of twelve accounts collected for this study and the texts of the novels are the very objects of examination (c.f. Alasuutari, 1999: 114-115; Czarniawska, 2000; 2004: 49). Discursive reading (e.g. Burr, 1996: 163; Potter & Wetherell, 1987: 6, 33, 175) sees those stories as cultural products and assumes that in a culture there are mutually competing signification systems (i.e. discourses) which narrators use to assign meanings and to shape reality in different social practices through the functions those meanings have in them (c.f. Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2010: 227).

### 4.3 Reading the interview material

This section with its subsections presents the first part of the analysis phase – the five readings of the interview material. The construction of illustrative inner narratives begins with these readings which together produce something that I call *compiled narratives*, exhibiting different modes of speaking of leader development and of being in the world in a particular way (i.e. habitus). A description of the process of collecting the interview material for the analysis is provided next.

#### 4.3.1 Collecting interviews

The phenomenon of leader development was first approached through leader talk. For this purpose, I collected an interview material from fourteen leaders from different fields. As my object of interest was constructing sociologically enriched illustrative inner narratives in an abstracted, ideal typical fashion, it did not seem necessary or useful to select interviewees on the basis of field, gender, organizational position, or years of leading experience even though all these could affect the themes the interviewee brought up. Instead, because the focus of the interviews was in the interviewees' personal histories about leadership and the significant life experiences, themes, and people in them, my aim was to find interviewees of both genders and from as wide a range of fields, ages, or organizational positions as possible. Yet, common to all the interviewees was that they all had immediate subordinates.

Out of the fourteen interviewees, six were men and eight women; however, two (male) interviews were left outside the study due to their accounts focusing mostly on organizational issues instead of the interviewee's personal growth. After this, the total sum of interviewees was four men and eight women. Seven of the interviewees had an academic (Science University) education, and there were as many as four PhDs among them. The age range was from 35 to 63 years; two

interviewees were about to retire. Interviewees' experience as a leader ranged from 4 years to 40 years, so there was considerable variation in age and leading experience among them (Table 2.).

**Table 2.** Narrators

Gender	Age	Highest degree of education	Leader experience, yrs	Industry
Male (M1)	63	B.A.	40	Education
Female (F1)	62	PhD	10	Education
Male (M2)	42	M.A.	12	Metal industry
Female (F2)	48	Specialist	5	Health care
Female (F3)	46	M.A.	20	Education
Female (F4)	35	M.A.	4	IT
Female (F5)	50	Occupational health administrator	8	Public service
Male (M4)	37	B.A.	14	Retail
Female (F6)	49	PhD	14	Health care
Female (F7)	40	B.A.	10	Education
Male (M5)	52	PhD	10	IT
Female (F8)	50	PhD	15	Public service

The interviews were collected within a year. The process was thus relatively slow and finding suitable interviewees rather challenging. Respondents were sought based on how well they could contribute to the quality of the data, especially through an ability to reflect on personal development and the factors contributing to it. This problem was partly solved by using the snowballing technique (e.g. Polkinghorne, 2005; Warren, 2002), i.e. by asking the interviewees each to name a leader, whom they considered to be a self-reflective candidate for an interview.

As finding interviewees with good self-reflection skills was important, interviewees were searched through channels such as leader development programs and individual work counsellors and coaches all over Finland (these recruitment



methods and their possible effects on the research material were of course kept in mind later during the analysis of the material). The coaches were contacted to recruit their clients, who during their work counselling and coaching processes had gotten accustomed to reflecting on personal development and meaningful experiences. In work counselling and coaching one often focuses on such (at least partly) work-related experiences which have had a considerable impact on individual's leader identity. Thus, people with work counselling and coaching experience were regarded as "information rich cases", from whom the researcher could possibly learn a great deal about the phenomenon (Polkinghorne, 2005).

Still, the number of interviewees was rather small and only one single interview was made with each interviewee (c.f. Polkinghorne, 2005). Nevertheless, in qualitative research a large size data is generally not considered a prerequisite for the study to be successful as the material is not intended to cover the whole of the phenomenon but only to be a sample of it. Hence, instead of aiming at quantity, it is common to concentrate on only few cases or interviewees and to examine the material thoroughly for solid conclusions (Alasuutari, 1999: 87, 114-115; Eskola & Suoranta, 1998: 18, 62, 68). For the purposes of this study, then, single interviews combined later with the novels seemed to provide enough material for such a sample type analysis.

In regard to collecting data for constructing inner narratives, the most favourable material have been said to be narratives of some type, either written or spoken, since they show the structure and the values delivered by the story (Hänninen, 1999). Here, the method of collecting the interview material was an unstructured, semi-open interview (Rapley, 2001) with a great deal of narrative elements. According to Rapley, through a semi-open interview it is possible, through topic-initiating and follow-up questions, to obtain rich data that is produced "in and through" interaction between the interlocutors.

The topics of the interviews dealt with interviewees' childhood background; the development process i.e. factors that one felt had affected one's development to leadership; one's current position; one's thoughts of leadership; and, finally, one's current life situation and future plans. From these, especially the question regarding the leader development process and the different factors important for it produced a great deal of narrative material. The "arch" of each interview followed the logic of beginning, middle, and end, but not necessarily in that specific order or in equal measures between the parts.

In practice, the interviews typically started with me explaining the idea of the interview, namely that I wished to hear about the interviewee's journey to leadership, in particular the experiences, situations, people, courses, *anything* that

might have been subjectively evaluated as important from the point of view of the development journey to leadership. I stressed that such factors could come from any area of life, work or leisure, and could be big or small. Then I usually asked them to start from childhood (if they felt comfortable doing so), and this phase of the interview usually produced most of the narrative material. From thereon, the interview usually flowed naturally, with me asking additional questions to clarify the narrative with questions like:

*What was it that prompted you to study education then, later in life?*

*You were in a quite tough situation there. What did you do, how did you proceed from there?*

*You acted as a deputy supervisor for a year, what did you learn from it?*

*You felt that you were not very credible in a leadership position and they did not think you were very credible either, apparently, so how did you deal with that...?*

*You said it was a rewarding period in your life. What was it that made it rewarding?*

*How did you...you did, after all, feel very strongly that you had nothing to give, so how were you able to do it anyway?*

*What do you mean when you say that you have read a lot (literature)? How does it relate to this?*

*You said that this had an impact on your leadership. In what way?*

*Are you able to pinpoint what has motivated you into studying?*

*What was it like for you, being an instructor?*

*Did you learn something from it? What exactly?*

*Now that you have now gone through the whole arch of your development, have you had any so-called tough spots or turning points or such during your career?*

As the story had progressed to the present moment and to the present position, I asked the interviewee to describe it – the interviewee's daily work, whether s/he had immediate subordinates, and so on. From there, discussion proceeded to questions about the interviewee's views on leadership: what the interviewee thought leadership was; what s/he considered important in leadership; how the

interviewee felt s/he had changed (or not) during development into leadership; where were his/her personal points of development, and so on:

*You have now talked a lot about leadership. What do you think it is?*

*You said that you still feel that you are not good enough. Do you think that you have specific areas in which you should develop, as a person or in some other ways...? Specific points of development so to speak?*

*What have you learned about yourself during this journey?*

*How do you handle the double role of being between the management and your subordinates?*

*What developing as a leader is in your opinion?*

*What makes you a leader?*

*Has something changed in your leadership during this time?*

*You talked about leader's loneliness; how do you deal with it?*

*Do you have things which you consider to be especially important in leadership or as more important than others?*

*As you talk about leadership, you keep bringing up family. What is the meaning of family in this for you?*

*What is your conception of leadership now?*

*Do you feel that you have changed somehow as a person during this journey?*

After that, the interview proceeded to discuss the current life situation and plans. The interview often ended with me asking if there were something to add to the themes we had discussed with and sometimes there were; for instance at this point the newly found significance of organizational or childhood factors for the process could be brought up. In sum, although the interviews generally followed a fairly linear path, the very process of narrating could make the interviewee aware of factors contributing to personal development. Hence, the interviewees were told that if something came to mind afterwards, they could email those things to me to be included in their stories. In all this, the interviewees themselves decided, whether they wanted to reply to my questions, which sometimes were bypassed or left unanswered altogether.

Overall, I was a rather active party in the interviews which were fairly informal and mostly flowed naturally in a manner of discussion (c.f. Andrews, et. al., 2008: 49). As no (futile) attempt was made to somehow “neutralize” the interviewer’s role so as to make interviewees’ answers more “true” to their possible internal states, I as a researcher also took part in the creation of the form and content of interview material as a whole. For this reason, in the analysis phase, the interview materials and meanings were be regarded as jointly and dialogically constructed by the interviewees and myself (Andrews et.al., 2008: 5; Mishler, 1986: 15, 34, 117; Rapley, 2001; Saastamoinen, 2003: 156).

I usually held the interviews in the interviewees’ own organizations; three were held in my organization due to the interviewees’ request. For most of the interviewees, the interview was the first time they met me; I knew only one interviewee beforehand. The duration of the interviews varied from 30 minutes to 2 hours and they were recorded. After the interviews, I transcribed the interviews wholly myself; however, long sections of the interview which did not relate to the interviewee him/herself (e.g. organization-related themes) I occasionally left out, which resulted in total of 262 pages of transcribed text.

#### 4.3.2 Master narrative

I had collected the interviews and now sought for ways to proceed with my study. At this point of the research process I came across the aforementioned concept of master narrative (also called for instance as “meta-narrative”, “dominant narrative” or “script”, see e.g. Zilber et.al., 2008; LaPointe, 2011: 60; De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012: 149; Daiute & Lightfoot, 2004: xiv; Barley, 1989; Andrews, 2002) and wondered if it could be applicable to this culturally oriented study in some way; after all, the concept of master narrative as “a larger, across-contexts story” (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2008b) seemed to refer to socioculturally available narrative resources one makes use of when writing or telling one’s own stories.

Indeed, the notion of master narrative can be approached from two, intertwined, levels. The first, more inclusive, top-down level understands it as a “pre-existent sociocultural form of interpretation” (Bamberg, 2004: 360) or a “web of meanings” reflecting “cultural themes and beliefs” (Zilber, et.al. 2008) which one cannot help but to resort to when composing one’s own story in a particular culture. The second, bottom-up way of approaching the notion, works from the level of immediate interaction towards larger cultural narratives. This level refers to the ways in which individuals use cultural narrative resources for building their life stories so as to render them coherent and culturally legitimate (Zilber, et al. 2008;

see also LaPointe, 2011: 43). As the more inclusive, first-level master narratives act as “blueprints for all stories” created in a specific culture, second-level personal narratives tend to reproduce the elements of first-level narratives in some way (Andrews, 2002).

In this dissertation, I understand master narrative as a large, cultural meaning system which gives shape and meaning to individuals’ stories. Since a culture holds many different master narratives for different areas of life, experiences are reported slightly differently or given different emphasis depending on which master narrative the narrator draws from (c.f. LaPointe, 2011: 43; Zilber, et. al., 2008). Therefore, Zilber et. al. (2008) advice researchers, who try to detect larger master narratives from their materials in the following way: “They are to be extricated bottom-up through interpretative moves. They are discovered (and reconstructed) by reading and comparing many stories and abstracting general cultural patterns (plot lines, figures’ roles, moral lessons, typical scenes, etc.).”

In the first phase of the analysis, these lines prompted me to proceed by trying to identify abstract patterns, discursive resources, and compiled narratives from it so as to eventually possibly detect the cultural master narrative(s) they might be drawing on. In analyzing the material, I chose to make use of narrative analysis, more specifically, of multiple narrative readings (Frost, 2009; LaPointe, 2011). I began the process with the interview material, because even though this type of analysis pays attention to both micro and macro levels, it always starts at the micro level (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2008a). Also, I tried to keep my eye on the practical contribution of this dissertation to narrative coaching (see section 6.4.); I started off with the assumption that the talk in an interview situation would be fairly close to that produced especially in the beginning phase of a narrative coaching process.

The analysis of the interview material proceeded as follows. After interviewing the leaders and transcribing the recordings, I first decided to look at all the stories in their transcribed, group-level totality, and in a holistic manner. Then, three other group-level readings regarding growth resources, leadership ideas, and life themes followed. Finally, I took another holistic look at the interviews, but now on an individual level, and built a concise story out of each leader’s account. Finally, all the readings of the interview material were tied together into compiled narratives through emplotting (Ricoeur, 1991).

#### 4.3.3 Holistic reading I - Modes of narrating

The purpose of the first reading phase was to study the interview material as a whole. I therefore began the analysis with a holistic approach (Lieblich et.al., 1998) in which the researcher looks at the stories in their totality, at this stage of the process on a group level. The holistic view sees a story as a culturally and historically situated entity against which its parts are interpreted to observe the overall narrative patterns. In this, I followed Czarniawska (2000) who suggests searching for recurring patterns and connections between the elements of stories. To her, such regularities imply a shared knowledge of cultural modes of discourse and enable mutual understanding between writers/speakers and the readers/hearers as “producers and consumers of the same set of human institutions”. In practice, this reading meant going through the whole interview material several times and attempting to look at it as objectively as possible for different patterns and themes. I thus “thought about” the stories and looked at them analytically “from a distance” instead of holistically and empathetically “entering” the narratives and “thinking with” them (Bleakley, 2005).

During this first holistic reading phase, I surmised that creation of contrast might help in distinguishing the general characteristics of leader talk (in comparison to the characteristics of the talk produced by other groups of people). Therefore, in order to “improve my discursive eyesight”, I read stories by blue collar workers (Kortteinen, 1997), immigrants (Sintonen, 1999), and unemployed (Laaksonen & Piela, 1993) alongside those by leaders for comparison and contrast. As Polkinghorne (1988: 167) points out, “such comparisons can serve as a means for pointing to the story’s special figurational aspects in relation to the cultural stock of stories available to the teller.”

In the course of listening and reading the interview material holistically, I gradually started to distinguish a couple of different styles of speaking and narrating about development to leadership. At first, I tentatively identified three such modes of narrating, but after a closer examination, the third mode of telling one’s journey seemed only to be a version of the second; therefore, two preliminary modes of narrating were identified. These modes seemed to have very subtle, yet identifiable general differences between them, for instance in protagonist’s space of action (freedom/obligation), worldview the mode of talking seemed to reflect (cosmopolitan/local), setting in which the story was mainly located (urban/rural), what leadership seemed to mean to the speaker (resource/reward), main development resource to leadership (education/experience), and the main capital which seemed to carry the person to leadership positions (cultural/social) (Table 3.).

These general impressions of the two modes of narrating and their properties seemed to connote two different habituses (upper middle class/lower middle class) and in this, especially the space of action or lack of it (i.e. freedom/obligation) seemed to be important, as it seemed to color the whole mode of narrating. Yet, this preliminary assumption needed to be explored further. In the course of the analysis of the interview material presented in the following sections, I experimented with different resource combinations for their plausibility and still found the preliminary dichotomous setting to be *habitus-wise* most “true”.

Even though at first I felt that only two narratives were too small an amount -after all, there were as many as 12 stories to be typified-, this type of *dichotomous setting between the narratives still felt most plausible and recognizable* – somehow more *established* in comparison to alternative interpretations and habituses which possibly could be delineated from the interview material and discursive resources it was constituted of. I eventually came to interpret this sense of constancy of the compiled narratives and their resources as a sign of *them as drawing from some cultural master narrative(s)*.

**Table 3.** Criteria for separating between the modes of narrating

Frame		Mode of narrating 1	Mode of narrating 2
	Space	Freedom	Obligation
	Worldview	Cosmopolitan	Local
	Setting	Urban	Rural
Leadership		Resource	Reward
Growth		Experience	Education
Capital & habitus	Capital	Cultural	Social
	Habitus	Upper middle class	Lower middle class

The construction of compiled narratives continued by reading the interview material several times again to identify discursive resources which -linked together- would produce plausible “modes of being” i.e. habituses in a narrative form. A useful view for proceeding was found from Polkinghorne (1995: 5-21), whose *narrative analysis* suited the purpose. In this view, the aim of analysis was to build new narratives from existing interview stories and as such the process resembled fictive writing (Heikkinen, 2001b: 123-124). Since my interview material consisted of several individual stories which again consisted of numerous descriptions of diverse actions, events, and incidents, I now decided to examine

the stories thematically and then to configure the most central themes into narratives under the habitus-based modes of narrating.

Generally, such emplotting (Ricoeur, 1991) proceeds in a hermeneutic, iterative manner: the analysis moves from parts to the whole and from whole to the parts on the basis of the features of the research material. In this, the researcher evaluates which features of the material are relevant enough to be included in the emerging narratives and in what order. Individual details chosen to be included in the narrative have to make sense in the context of the narrative as a whole and if they do not, the plot has to be reconfigured in relation to its end state – being a leader. This end point reveals the change of the plot and thereby also determines the very meaning of the narrative (Czarniawska, 2004: 83; Valkonen, 2007: 66; Polkinghorne, 1995).

Three thematic readings (Riessman, 2003) of the interview material were therefore performed in order to deepen the construction process. In narrative research, thematic analysis can be approached from two emphases, either from that of the narrators or that of the researcher. In the first, the researcher's role and construction process is central: it is s/he who examines the themes in the empirical material and interprets and organizes them into coherent and logical narratives; in the second, primacy is given to the narrators' patterns of narrating as they are expressed in the stories (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008: 219; Riessman, 1993; Ahmed & Rogers, 2016; c.f. Ahmed, 2013). Here, the latter, the material-centred, approach was chosen.

#### 4.3.4 First thematic reading – Growth

With the first thematic reading, I tried to identify and separate themes that were relevant especially to leader development to build a “skeleton”, i.e. the plot out of the growth resources. First, I used a colour coding system to mark the different types of growth in the transcribed interview text so as to see the respective amounts and “functions” of different growth resources in the interview material; in this, I made use of game-related metaphors for describing different resources for my personal purposes only (e.g. understanding periods of reflection as “time-outs”, difficulties as “opponents” or encouragers as “coaches”). This helped me to understand roughly the respective amounts and qualities of growth resources in the material. Generally, the role of different forms of formal education was prominent, work-related learning coming second; the amount of other life experiences and hobbies seemed to be relatively small.



Next, I listed and organized all means of growth identifiable in the text in more detail. There were altogether 64 different types of growth methods mentioned in the material, and they were then grouped into five main theme categories of formal education, trainings and courses; informal learning, i.e. work-related experiences; counselling; other life experiences; and hobbies. Examples of those categories are discussed below.

1. Formal education, training, and courses

*High school education/academic second-degree education.* High school education in itself did not seem to have any particular meaning for leader development other than acting as a theoretical foundation for further studies; this theme which appeared in the beginning stage of leaders' stories was also often but not always linked to further academic education. However, the theme seemed to be linked to good performance in primary school meaning that if one had performed well at primary school, it was self-evident that one chose high school education; if one had chosen otherwise, it was explained in detail.

*...of course, I went to high school and matriculated. (M4)*

*I was a good girl, who did well in school in all subjects...who in high school studied.. there were plenty of language studies and an advanced course in mathematics and physics and chemistry and everything... (F8)*

*Well, at the time there was an age limit of 17 years of age and I thought what I was going to do... I could not apply yet, so I went to high school and already in the beginning made it very clear for everyone, teachers and my parents too that I would not finish it, because I knew what I wanted: I would apply to child minder school and if it accepted me, I would drop out of high school. At that time, it was very reprehensible, so to speak, it was something quite extraordinary that someone would make such a decision...*

*K: What was it that was reprehensible about it?*

*Not finishing high school. --- I remember teachers saying to me that "you are doing so well here in high school, why wouldn't you finish it, apply after that." I received that message from counsellors and teachers that how come you have come to this kind of decision? (F7)*

*Occupational education* as a theme seemed to be similar to to the theme of high school in the sense that it appeared in the beginning phase of story and mostly did not seem to have any direct meaning to leader development as such. Nevertheless,

it seemed to have the meaning of a path to get one's hands to concrete work or for merely acquiring practical skills for it.

*I always said to them that I was so certain about my desire to take care of children that there was no point sitting there (high school) for three years when I could get to work already. (F7)*

*When I had graduated as a nurse, I went to work as a pediatric nurse... (F5)*

The theme of *academic education* in its different forms could be found in all parts of the interview stories. Depending on the phase of the development trajectory, the theme seemed to have the meaning of a theoretical foundation for a career (beginning) for those with academic education, of supporting the leader in his/her growth process alongside work through its content (middle) for those with occupational education, and of enhancing career and development progress (ending) for all.

*In a way, determinedly educating oneself and getting a good job were the most important things... and of course I went to high school and graduated. My dream was engineering. --- It was my ideal, kind of, I thought of machinery and all that....and natural sciences, physics and mathematics interested me. But after a few life phases I ended up studying mathematics here in (city) (M4)*

*At the same time I applied to study health administration science, it was the thing which aroused a greater interest in supervisory work. For me it was a good choice that I started those studies there alongside work. Those studies were arranged in (city) then and they benefited my work and my work again benefited those studies. (F5)*

*I got a child during my studies and my husband's mother helped in childcare so that I could finish my studies and graduate on time and was able to take on the job. (F7)*

*Well, I see the future... At some point I almost gave up studying because of the work exhaustion, but now my mind has changed, and I want to finish my studies. --- I want to do them for myself. And I think I would have opportunities (related to union work) in (city), if I had a master's degree. I still want to do other things, too. (F5)*

Academic studies could also mean "breathing spaces" from the daily mid-career routines while they simultaneously promoted one's career.

*Then after a couple of years I thought that I have to get some type of breathing space and I will study psychology... I graduated as a bachelor's in psychology -- - There, I forgot all the problems I had in my workplace. (F6)*

*I got some room in my private life. I had sought for it already through master's studies when I had combined working and nursing and family and studies... (F8)*

*At that point I had lead a (name) about 8,5 years and I started to be a bit...well not bored, but it did not offer me anything new, so I went to study in the Open University; I thought that if nothing else, I could proceed and become a Master of Business Economics like some people in our company if I studied long enough. But then this job came along and I did not have time for studies anymore. (M3)*

*Doctoral education.* The obvious meaning of doctoral education was to increase one's scientific expertise and knowledge about the chosen topic, but another meaning the resource had seemed to relate to decision-making and self-leadership: choosing what to study and how to do it, making decisions along the way, and motivating oneself to put the effort into the work persistently and consistently until it was finished. The theme also had a kind of "self-evident" quality to it, meaning that the doctor's thesis was something that just had or needed to be done to promote one's career; another meaning of academic doctoral education as a growth resource thus seemed to relate to developing and maintaining determination and perseverance. The resource generally appeared in the change phase of the story.

*In the beginning of 1990's I did my licentiate thesis and at in the late 1990s doctor's thesis and that opportunity to proceed to a researcher career and to study and develop and to apply the results into my work was very interesting and provided me a very independent way of working which in a way was self-leadership. So self-leadership was the thing, the whole idea where the doctoral studies arose from. I was able to find the motivation, delimit what I wanted to study, and then to invest time and effort into it and move forward on my path in that way. --- And self-leadership was not, of course, the only thing and there was, of course, a scientific interest involved as well, but I saw clearly, as a part of my career development, that I was supposed to...or that I wanted to write a doctor's thesis. (M4)*

*And of course the doctor's thesis and the decision to do it - it's pretty tough to write a dissertation alongside a demanding job.--- I never would have been able to pull it through, to do project work with several projects, it's so demanding and being a supervisor... the opportunity to get away from it (job) for a while.. And*

*the whole decision that you just have to finish it (dissertation) and that's it. Decisions such as those do direct your life. (F8)*

*Courses e.g. work supervisor, entrepreneur, teacher. Different types of mid-career courses seemed to have the meaning of increasing the ability to think rationally, justify personal choices on the basis of the basic task of the organization, and to look at situations conceptually and holistically; they seemed to add new tools for leader's "toolbox".*

*I knew as quickly as lightning that I have to act against it, our staff won't be able to deal with it, this a message which brings us back to (negative) history. --- But it came to me...it was self-evident, it came as quickly as lightning that I have to act here and values-based action comes automatically and I can justify everything, I can always give rational arguments and to support our basic task in that way. This is for our patients and they are the reason we are here and I approach it from there. In fact, entrepreneurship education and work supervisor education and all that have been a great help for me in this. (F2)*

*Well, also during that time I learned a lot - pedagogical teacher studies were really good, because you really learned to conceptualize how people learn, and for a person, who had been leading an organization of experts, this knowledge was incredibly important. So, I think it was really good.*

*K: So, do you think teacher education has had an impact on your leadership in some way?*

*I think it has had a considerable impact on it. I understand different ways of learning so much better now than before. I had noticed that people are motivated by different things and they learn differently, but now I have a kind of a conceptual system through which to look at it. (F6)*

## 2. Informal learning, work-related experiences

*Expertise* seemed to mean a sort of an own "kingdom" to be mastered and the resource appeared in the middle phase of individual's career; an expert position was a space in which one could gain practical experience (especially for those with academic education) and grow to work independently, i.e. to learn to evaluate information holistically, to make and implement decisions, and to carry responsibility alone.

*You are an expert of specific work places and you have to be able to see your clients and tell them what is going wrong and suggest alternatives from the point*

*of view of leadership and subordinates' work and the work place as a whole: what are the roles and problems there. (F5)*

*In a way, my journey to leadership has been quite long and unusual and it has pretty much happened through expertise. What motivated me in it was that I was pretty much able to decide and do things independently... (M4)*

*Then I moved on from a marketing job into a Product Specialist role. --- There I worked as a Specialist for two years and after that I moved on into the role of Product Manager, which meant that I was responsible for certain (names of products) and services. (F4)*

*Conflict situations seemed to have a couple of different meanings. Firstly, conflicts seemed to be signs of a lack of acceptance of the speaker's leadership. A "mild" type of conflict resulted from lack of credibility. The theme seemed relate to age and experience and could therefore mainly be found in the beginning phase of development story. As a leader with only little age and experience, one used any means possible to increase one's plausibility and to win the older and more experienced subordinates' trust. Therefore, the resource was accompanied by the idea of "right attitude", which meant humility and the requirement of authenticity from the part of the leader.*

*I was 24-25 years old then, very young. And there were some plausibility issues. And I noticed them very quickly and thought that I'll start with a very humble attitude and not try to be something I am not. (F7)*

*...I went and did the job as well as I could. The only way for me was to get to know these child minders, try to prove with my own action that I'm somehow worthy of their trust. I had one ace in my sleeve; what those child minders would always say -and it probably saved my neck- was that "you know a little about this job, because you are a child minder's daughter yourself." That was something which increased the respect towards me a bit. At that time, I was happy, if I managed to win any respect and get collaboration working, for whatever reason, as it (being a childminder's daughter) increased my plausibility a little and made work easier. (F3)*

A more "severe" meaning of conflict was related to working alongside one's colleagues and then becoming promoted to a leader position instead of someone else in the organization, the situation resulting in denial of one's leadership from their part. This meant that the person was being viewed with hostility, maliciousness, or envy and being excluded from the circle of colleagues as an enemy of theirs, even when one came from outside of the organization. Growth in

such situations seemed to happen by tolerating the difficult situation or by setting limits to the negative behavior.

*There were people, colleagues, who felt that they should have gotten the position and there was a bit of competition going on... Maybe it can be clarified by saying that before you were a friend, now you were a bit like an enemy. So, you were in a wrong camp. So, the work community does not necessarily tolerate.... I myself felt that work community does not necessarily appreciate that someone from within it is promoted to become a manager, and when before you were an equal and a colleague, you are now a supervisor and the work community has to deal with it, too. (F5)*

*...when I went to lead this unit...I would not have gone there, if I'd known that I was chosen instead someone who applied for the job from within the organization. Namely, the first year was pretty awful. --What happened was that s/he tried every possible way to get the personnel to reject me. Rejection was perhaps the goal. And it was nasty because the other members of the personnel did not know what to do. I talked about those issues in shared meetings several times, saying that I have not superseded you, they were the power holders who have chosen me, I'm not guilty of this situation.... (M1)*

*But it was no easy situation, because my colleague had also applied for the job and s/he wasn't asked like me... s/he did not receive same special treatment I had gotten, and s/he was not chosen. It was an extremely difficult situation, as s/he got upset and did not accept me as the boss. ---. S/he was passive, totally, did not listen or work practically at all. Eventually there was a situation, in which I gave him/her a task and as s/he said that s/he will not do it, I kind of lost my nerves. I went to his/her room and said that I will not tolerate this anymore; I understand s/he is hurt and disappointed, but I cannot help the situation. I demanded that s/he approached the matter in a more adult manner. (F4)*

Thirdly, the theme of conflict could relate to the resistance towards the other people's demands or opinions and to the determination to hold firmly on to one's own opinion. Such situations meant sharpening the leader's view of one's own self, that is, one's self-awareness, self-knowledge, and leader identity and clarifying the values the leader did or did not want to promote through one's work. The conflict-theme often appeared in the middle/change phase of story.

*Leadership issues regarding identity and life in general started to become urgent after (year) when changes in (company) started to become apparent and we were in a pretty turbulent situation. As I said, this business has been pretty turbulent and at that time there was also turbulence coming from the market which then*

*had an effect on my and my team's work...and everything it had to face, good and bad, in those situations. My leader identity started to develop properly, as a conscious process because of those challenges, situations which were really difficult, and I tried to think about ways to handle them. The situation forced me to search for ways... what is leadership, how do I cope, what are the things I need to strengthen in my leadership and my personhood so that I am able to manage these situations. ---*

*I encountered very intense... at certain point I felt that I was on an entirely different wavelength with my superiors, and I felt that...there was no connection between us and an entirely different paradigm of thinking about things. And I was in a very difficult situation with them, because they were above me in the hierarchy and had the power to make decisions over me and to make my situation very difficult... and their way of trying to direct me was... I might add that they were foreigners and their ways of thinking were different...*

*K: So the difference in paradigm was cultural?*

*Culture, yes, their priorities and values, they were different from mine. I guess the question was, how to act in this business and in this environment, how the action should be evaluated, how success should be evaluated and measured... they emphasized different things than I did. In those situations, I had to stretch my limits, and, in a way, it made me grow... It forced me to seek specifically for my own point of view of how will I have the strength to carry on, what carries me and my work forward, what do I think about this, and what are my priorities in my work.*

*K: What did "stretching your limits" mean in that situation?*

*It meant that they tried to force me into their own mold, and I just had to struggle and resist! (laughter) (M4)*

*Positive and negative role-models.* The leader role model theme, positive or negative, seemed to mean a range of good and bad leaders from which the one could learn from; the theme could be in all phases of the story. Such people meant "sounding boards" against which, depending on one's career phase, it was possible to evaluate one's own current or future action as a leader; one could adopt and emulate for example role model's positive attitudes, ways of working, spirit, or values (beginning or middle phase of story), or, in the case of negative role models, decide what not to be or do as a leader (ending phase of the story). The theme seemed to be linked to values.

*This other person, a childcare supervisor colleague who had been chosen to this very same position as me, is one of the most significant people of my career. She had a huge amount of experience; she had acted as a kindergarten director in several places in Southern Finland, and she was such an amazing leader and person. --- I absorbed, admired and absorbed influences from her and tried to study my own leadership... the kind of attitude she had, the way she handled things and... the fervor of working and fighting spirit and... if she saw that something was good for the child minders and the children, she did not accept refusals, it had to be done no matter what! (F3)*

*And well...a strong role model of leadership for me was the leader of that student home to whom the ideal of equality and listening were clear. Those ideals were transferred to me in the sense that as I had inherited them from home, s/he strengthened those values even further. I saw how effective those ideals were in the leadership work and s/he was highly respected without him/her needing to demand respect, it came naturally. (M1)*

*And of course, I have seen different leaders in different workplaces. You always remember the good leaders, so I may have adopted some modes of action which I consider to be good, and again I remember such leaders which I cannot hope for anyone. In one of my previous workplaces there was senior physician who had a break-down-and-rule... he had favourites and a break-down-and-rule-politics and so on... (F2)*

The theme of *entrepreneurship* appeared in the middle or the ending parts of the stories. The theme meant a mid-career decision which acted as a valuable lesson of productivity and results-orientation for leadership later. It could also have the meaning of a personal dream – a challenge for testing oneself and one's limits in one's current life situation. Finally, it also had the meaning of a kind of back-up plan, in relation to the current position or to the retirement.

*...I decided I'm going to start a business; through it, I wanted to fulfil my own dream of a good working place. --- So, in that sense entrepreneurship taught me to think of course... result is what matters and it is why we exist in the first place. (F2)*

*Yeah, well I've always had a desire to try entrepreneurship, to see what it is like, and it is kind of a plan B to fully jump into it at some point of my career. (M2)*

*If working gets impossible or very difficult (physically), I've thought I would like to have a private reception. I've planned of doing that in any case during retiring. (F6)*



*Union work*, for instance in the form of political activity during one's academic studies seemed to have the meaning of learning to act for the benefit of others and to carry responsibility of particular areas of influence; the resource appeared in the beginning stage of the story. At the ending stage of leader trajectory, union work seemed to have the meaning of expansion; even though union work was technically a hobby, it made development work possible beyond organizational borders and functioned as a platform for expanding one's sphere of influence to regional and even national levels.

*And as I was a social and active person, I participated in student union activity and was a member of the board. I was responsible for education policy and it was a really nice time. I studied leadership and management and thought I would become a big boss in the future. I had a rather naive idea of what work life really is. (F4)*

*If I see things which should be changed, I start doing something about them. I've been active in associations, too. If some activity aligns with my values, I easily get involved in it. For one year I was the head of student association in (city) where I did the basic studies, and during that time I was a candidate in municipality elections and became elected; I was in the local council and committee in (city). (F2)*

*Nearly all through my career I have belonged to our trade union in the sense that I have been active in the board. --- This is where I get to develop my field on the national level, and I enjoy it very much. --- I get to do things which affect the whole field on a national level. (F5)*

*Teaching.* The theme appeared in several texts and in all -beginning, change, and ending- phases of a story. In the beginning-phase teaching had the meaning of being able to increase people's skills so as to attain a particular goal or objective, whereas in the middle phase teaching was found to be important for learning public speaking; being a leader demanded the ability be in front of people and teaching was considered a good way to practice this.

*Well, I noticed that it was fun to get people there (in the military service) to... When I was there as a leader and new recruits arrived... to get them to learn something after they have known nothing about it...that they learned something with my help, it was some way... I noticed teaching to be interesting and rewarding...that you could increase people's skills and certain type of intentions that "hey, this is what we are going to do and this is a good thing and we can do this"... (M3)*

*Well I think that...I was not in any way oriented to the idea that I would become a leader at some point. In fact...when I was working at the health centre...the thought had never even crossed my mind. I suppose the work itself has trained me into it. I have been quite timid and shy, so...when I decided to become an Occupational Health Nurse I sort of trained myself into it. One has to be able to perform in front of people. So at that point I decided to begin to teach First Aid; I thought I'll go and teach First Aid - I'll need it in my job, but I'll get experience from public performing also. And it has been pretty good, because it has taught me a lot. (F5)*

In some stories, leadership seemed to act as preparation for the teaching task during the late stage of one's career. In these texts, teaching meant an extension from leadership.

*K: So you think teaching is somehow an extension to what you are doing now (leading)?*

*Yes, yes, it is. It is and, combined with a coaching style of leadership, it is... not only teaching but also leadership in the sense that I walk alongside the person and give support through coaching. (M4)*

*Mistakes and misevaluations.* In the material, this resource seemed to relate to beginning and mid-career stages and their insecurities and challenges; such experiences could focus one's attention into details and prompt to deeper learning and expertise.

*In the beginning of my career there were situations in which I did not recognize a heart attack or something like that which could have been disastrous for the patient. Those are pretty scary situations. Or when you try to revive drowned children alone during Midsummer, those are just terrible situations if you cannot save the child's life and then then panic comes... whether you have all the knowledge and skills, intubating and all such things.... which I had never done on a child at that stage of my career. --- Those situations were even a bit traumatic, but I was able to handle them. They did not cause anything which would have prevented me from treating patients, but I did small mistakes which taught me to realize that I had to be very careful in my work and that I had to learn more. (F6)*

Sometimes such growth experiences did not seem to mean errors, but rather misevaluations, which were results from somehow faulty perception of the situation or of one's own self.

*I wanted to bring out my vision of a good working place by founding a company in 2008. I did not manage to get it...I am no bureaucrat and cannot think about things from the profit point of view, but I thought... I had thought about growing the business, but I came to the conclusion that it would not work – I worked harder than ever, and I got less money than ever. I got exhausted and could not make it so profitable that it would have made sense to expand it. --- Ending my own company and coming to that conclusion in the situation, where the company is like your own child...it was a pretty difficult place for me to realize that I cannot make money this way and I will have to end it. I was pretty depressed for a couple of weeks, but, on the other hand, it was a huge relief: I realized only then... I admitted to myself that it did not work and how alone I had been in there...that I had had faulty ideas about myself, thinking that my own personal resources would be endless. (F2)*

*Direct or indirect positive feedback seemed to occur in the beginning phase of the story, where direct feedback related to the increased self-confidence because one's successful performance. Indirect feedback could also relate to the idea that the person was being trusted upon and being given responsibility for things.*

*I got very good feedback from those child minders plus from my supervisor, also s/he said that "hey, you came with no experience, you're very young for this position, but you are doing well here (in a supervisory position)". That was very important for me... (F7)*

*At the age of 15 I got a summer job in a kiosk and I worked (blurred) there and after two years the owner asked me, if I wanted to act as the supervisor there and do the shift lists and train others. I said yes and it was really nice – I hired all my friends there (laughter).*

*In the middle part of story, indirect feedback got similar forms, such as getting invites to different posts without applying for them or as getting information about one's colleagues' opinions about oneself indirectly. Here, the theme strengthened individual's conception about oneself as a leader.*

*I had received a job offer already before that...to become a Controller of a Business Unit. (M2)*

*When I was being interviewed for this post, I remember I was asked -they had looked at my resume, where there were many supervisory tasks- that have you applied for these positions? Then, for the first time I stopped and thought about it and simply said that "actually I have not – I have been asked and invited to them". (F7)*

*In the Reserve Officer Training the whole group was asked whom it would send ... I, too, received a questionnaire, where they would ask me, whom of your peers you would send to the leadership training? Well, my name was mentioned reasonably often in those questionnaires which meant that I should be sent there. I don't know if the guys just wanted to get rid of me or what (laughter), but it felt natural for me. I thought ok, I'll go and receive the leadership training provided by the government. (M3)*

When *positive feedback* appeared mostly in the beginning or middle phase of the story, *encouragement* appeared in the middle or ending part of it. The theme of encouragement generally seemed to be of great importance, as the events and persons giving the encouragement were described in detail and it was mentioned that it had come from multiple sources/people. The received encouragement, whether it came from one's supervisors, colleagues, family members, or otherwise important figures such as personal role models seemed to have the meaning of increasing one's trust in other people's support and of strengthening one's decision to advance in one's career as a leader. This was especially the case when the theme appeared near the end phase of the story.

*In 2009 there were organizational changes and I knew they were searching for a leader for my work group, but I did not feel I could manage it, because all the others were engineers and technically very qualified, and I somehow felt that I did not have the kind of knowledge that I should have had in order to be a leader. But when the application process had been running for a couple of weeks, my boss came to me and asked, "would you be interested in applying for that position?" And I was so surprised that "what, me, why?" But of course, when s/he asked me, I thought about it for a couple of days. Then I thought "well, of course I could try it", like that. So, I applied and got the job. (F4)*

*Senior physicians said to me that for you (name) these circles are getting too small for you; you have to move on (and advance in your career). And also, others...maybe my PhD dissertation supervisor (name) encouraged me... it's a bit funny; they have been men who have prompted me to move forward. (F8)*

*My husband encouraged me to apply for that job and I did not want to believe him either...but then this idol and role model of mine about whom I talked about earlier, she had retired years ago and I got her post as a kindergarten teacher, I had gotten it years ago, when she retired, I forgot to tell you about that... But what was amazing was that she emailed me that "Did you notice that advertisement for a position, do apply for it. --- I thought about this idol of mine that...well, her opinion was so very important to me also... I was... I literally cried*

*when I received that email, I thought “Oh my God, she really does believe that I am able to do this!” (F7)*

*Practical experience.* The multiplicity of practical experiences from all kinds of tasks of the field, especially in the beginning stage of one’s leader trajectory, seemed to have the meaning of capital irrespective of the objective value of those tasks in the organizational hierarchy; proceeding from somewhat menial tasks to more prestigious ones seemed to have the meaning of an increase in one’s occupational “weight” and of a justification for the right to lead others.

*I myself feel that in the field of early education I have done so many kinds of jobs, I definitely haven’t been choosy, I have mopped the day-care centre floor, I have cooked porridge and... I have also seen what a child minder’s work is like, and I myself have looked after children in their homes... (F3)*

*I learned quickly and was able to do the (leadership) work. Even though the thought of acting in a leadership position in the future became clearer, I still did not try to seek such tasks. --- I suppose I thought...I cannot quite remember... I remember that even though this (leadership) had been a good experience, I still did not try to apply for supervisory positions. Instead, I had the thought that I’m able to succeed better as a leader if I do grass-root work, I wanted to do it too. But that in the future I might be suited for a supervisory position also. And I did do some (grass-root) work for a couple of years. (F7)*

For some, however, practical experience meant going through a period of learning practical skills and of overcoming one’s own insecurities.

*In Med school you have to do these practical trainings, the orientation phase, and I was in health centres a couple of times. I was worried if I can treat patients. --- How... all those practical things like patient records and everything which is all very routine – I have had a certain insecurity related to them meaning that how will I be able to manage them (practical tasks). (F6)*

*Multiple perspectives on organization.* This resource seemed to have a somewhat similar meaning as did *multiple occupational experiences*, but when *multiple occupational experiences* seemed to emphasize experiential learning, a deepening task and skill set, and an increase of occupational “weight”, *multiple perspectives on organization* as a resource meant an expansion in the individual’s ability to view and to understand the work, organization, and leadership from alternative points of view.

*I took that job and it was then a corporation-level position. --- In that role I got to see things from a different perspective, in a way from a bird's eye perspective. (M2)*

*Mostly my role has of course been...originally, I came to work in Quality and currently I am again in Quality. I have been in Business Development, also in IT, I have led all kinds of teams. (M4)*

*And of course, during (company name) ...I was in (country) for a while working for our subsidiary, it was this training program with a mandatory training period abroad...It was only six months, though. It was a very educational period, too, very interesting.*

*K: In what sense?*

*M: --- From there I could see the company from the local perspective... from somewhere else. (M2)*

*Transition from practical to administrative work.* As the name implies, this resource seemed to mean a kind of a change point in the stories in which this resource was found: the abstract and holistic aspects of work were found to be more rewarding and perhaps closer to one's personal strengths and growth aspirations than the concrete and practical ones; such tasks also provided more challenges. The resource was found in the change part of the story.

*I'm not a typical day care teacher, in fact all the time... I do like being with children, but it is not my strength to...I like to cuddle with them and interact with them, but I do not have any special talent to music, sports, crafting... I don't even feel I'm particularly good in the practical work itself. I was more interested in organizing and those sorts of things, which others... Human Resources and such... I actually quite like paperwork and organizing which to many is unfathomable...I'm quite good in all that. If there are sudden changes, my mind immediately starts thinking that "ok, this is the situation", we'll do this and this and this. (F3)*

*I have started working in occupational health services in the local health centre in -97 and then in 2004 my boss wanted to take a leave of absence. So, if I have joined occupational health services in -97, in 2004 I have acted as deputy during my boss's leave of absence. Then my boss came from leave of absence and wanted to continue working part-time so I continued doing the other half of his/her work. And of course at that stage, when I acted as a deputy to my supervisor, I had been working in occupational health care for a long time and small businesses were*

*my responsibility, there were all these small details which were related to certain industries. And I thought at some point that this is a job I will never grow tired with, but...after a while, when you have the same businesses year after year and certain things repeat every year and so on and you learn those things, you get the feeling that what should I do to get some new challenges, and then the deputyship came. (F5)*

### 3. Counselling

*Counselling* referred to either informal discussions with individual's colleagues or to formal work counselling. As a growth resource, counselling had the meaning of mental support, i.e. of becoming seen and heard in a (challenging) life situation. Another meaning the resource had was structuring, organizing, prioritizing, and eventually even changing one's way of working or future career aspirations. The resource appeared in middle or end phase of the story.

*After 1,5 years I got exhausted. My body started to react, and I had to take a leave of absence due to dysrhythmia and then my occupational health doctor started to do regular checkups. S/he said I was exhausted, and s/he was right even though I argued against it. Thanks to that I got to go to work counselling.*

*K: What has it been like for you?*

*I find it very good; it has helped me a lot, it has helped me to structure and organize my work. (F5)*

*I had to seek after people with whom I could reflect and discuss things...for them to act as mirrors for me, because mirroring in those (challenging) situations is absolutely essential... in a way to look into and reflect on things with the mirroring person and alone. For example (name) has walked alongside me and given me feedback and has been able to see where I am mentally. It has been incredibly important. (M4)*

*We four ladies were able to go to work counselling and... regarding leadership, that process has been so very important in my career. I discussed with my work counsellor about my desire to do something else... that I felt that I can do other things too and I even felt guilty about it - could I feel this way? Is it ok to want to proceed in one's career, is it allowed, and the work counsellor said to me that us women often experience such feelings: if one from the group wants to move forward, she notices that she is somehow stuck (to the work group she is in). (F7)*

## 4. Other life experiences

*Parenting* as a theme meant growing as a person through increased self-awareness, self-knowledge, and strength. The resource seemed to relate to leadership in that parenting meant thinking about things from other people's perspective, providing direction and guidance, and organizing things for them. Even though the theme appeared often in the beginning phase of the story as a general life situation when having children, as an actual growth theme parenting was a rarity. The resource could be found in the middle or ending phase of the leaders' stories; it seemed to relate to maturation.

*Sometimes I think it would be easier not to be a leader... that I should just give the whole thing up, but then again, I notice that I have learned and developed as a person so much during this time. You somehow learn to be stronger; you learn about yourself. When I came back from maternity leave, one guy said to me that I had developed during it a lot, I had matured, he said. Maybe it is true; it is pretty tough to be a mother (laughter). --- Well, in a way...leadership and a supervisory position...it (parenthood) can be compared to leadership in the sense that you have to think about others first and organize things so that everything is well with others...and to teach them. But being a leader is more difficult, because I can say to little boys that "put on your overalls now, we have to hurry", but I cannot be equally direct with my subordinates (laughter). (F4)*

Another rare growth resource was *divorce*. In the instances in which the resource was used, it seemed to have the meaning of breaking free from external restrictions and from negative influences in one's private life.

*Yeah, maybe from the point of view of private life...when I was a Development Manager, I filed for divorce and got divorced...and became a single parent... Maybe that decision brought a certain kind of mental freedom.*

*K: From what?*

*I don't know. Belittling, trivializing, something like that.*

*K: So you did....*

*...room for myself, yes room, I got some room in my private life. I had sought for it already through master's studies when I had combined working and nursing and family and studies, but then when....and as the financial situation also improved as I made the decision... It (divorce) has been pretty significant in my life, it has made me pretty strong. (F8)*



*Time-out* as a theme referred to a period when life, for some reason or another, had come to a halt and the new direction was yet to be found. A time-out period seemed to mean active self-reflection to be able to “join the world” again, but this time from a different, renewed angle. Time-out as a resource could be found from the change-phase of the story.

*In 2011, I came to a kind of seeking phase in my life; I ended my business, moved 60 kilometers to the Swedish-speaking countryside and rented a croft there. I took a part-time job in a hospital in (city) and treated my own patients part-time in (city). I wanted to think about what I was going to do, what my next career move was going to be. --- I pondered and reflected on it and lived a pretty quiet life and it was just wonderful... I did not have to work so much, and it was the time to quiet down. Then, in that year I was working in (city) and during that time I learned that they were recruiting senior physicians in (city)...(F2)*

*(After resignation) I thought that I could not act as a health center doctor anymore, because I had been a Specialist for ten years, I didn't even remember basic medicines. I thought about it for one evening... it was March... and decided to apply to a university. --- Then I studied Public Law, Gerontology, and Leadership and Management also. The incentive for that... and Psychology also –it was Work Psychology which interested me the most- was that it had been a pretty traumatic experience that I had had to resign and I tried to analyze, what the leadership should have been like so that similar problems would not happen in the future. (F6)*

*Taking care of a person with special needs.* The theme referred to challenging private life experiences which “spilled” to the work life as resources from which to draw insight and wisdom to one’s daily work as a leader; they meant having a perspective, which widened the pool of resources from which to draw understanding for one’s work.

*I have encountered so much in my personal life and through my own children, things have not always gone the way they ought to. One thing that affects my leadership is this very wide perspective to things - through life experiences and work experiences and through following societal life and destinies of other people. I feel that understanding things from a wide perspective somehow has an effect on the way you act as a leader.*

*K: What do you mean by that?*

*That I understand... I do not necessarily accept everything but I kind of understand and am able to see the thoughts and factors behind someone’s*

*behavior. When meeting childrens' parents... Irrespective of the kind of parent the person is, I can respect him/her as the child's parent and understand why the situation is what it is.*

*K: Yeah, like nuances, in the child and in the parent and...*

*Nuances, yes, kind of... My own child has special needs and I have been needing the special childcare services and worked together with people from different supporting networks both as a mother and as a day care worker.*

*K: That's a whole new perspective.*

*It is. I notice I have a very different perspective to work compared to some other day care workers, who have graduated and worked in a kindergarten and everything has gone smoothly with their own children. Those experiences have not been easy, I have questioned my own expertise too... I have had to go through things in the hardest possible way, but I think that something good comes out of it now - I can bring this perspective to my subordinates that "hey, now stop and think, really think about this." Being a leader is such an interesting job. (F3)*

## 5. Hobbies

Different *hobbies* as growth resources related to private life only and appeared in the beginning phase of one's leader trajectory. Even though these resources were not seen to be as important as some others and were rare in the interview material, they still seemed to have meaning in developing a personal world view and in looking at things from different perspectives, in being able to use language proficiently, and in thinking in a strategic and logical manner.

*And I think that...I have always read a lot...it has helped...--- I do think that...just like Jörn Donner says, reading always pays off. Especially when I was young, I read a lot of books, I believe it helps with linguistic expression and then...it is active exercise for the brain...and I think that the more you read the more you understand the world and are able to look at things from different perspectives. I believe reading has developed me... (M2)*

*As a kid, I played a lot...when computers came... different types of strategy games and I do believe that playing has helped developing my logical thinking and world view; it has had its own effect, at least I believe so. (M2)*

After the above analysis, I identified the core quality of each growth resource. Examples of growth resource categories, growth methods, their core qualities, and alternative manifestations are presented in Appendix 1. The core qualities were

used in the constructing the plots of the compiled narratives; alternative manifestations of core qualities were identified for the purpose of both clarifying and sharpening the core qualities and of using those alternatives in the final, ideal-typical narratives. Out of the growth resources, I now began to sketch the plots and the narratives by dividing them structurally into three parts according to Czarniawska's (2004: 83) view of a narrative -beginning, change, and ending- and by starting to place growth themes under each mode of narrating and to suitable parts of the narratives.

The plots, i.e. the organizing themes describing the leader development process (Polkinghorne, 1988: 19-29; Ezzy, 1998) began to take shape as the chosen growth resources were organized in a processual manner. At this stage, the choices were made on the basis of the places of the resources in the interview stories, on the basis of their roles in contributing to the development of each ideal typical plot, and on the basis of their cultural recognizability and plausibility in the context of each mode of narrating. As great care was taken to make sure that these growth plots would make sense in relation to the habitus-related modes of narrating, all the growth themes and their placements were continuously adjusted in order to find a good balance between the organization of the elements in the interview material and an ideal typical narrative as a mode of presentation. This principle of matching the themes both *with each other* and *in relation to each other* continued all through each reading, all the while adding, removing, adjusting, and reorganizing the themes if necessary.

#### 4.3.5 Second thematic reading - Leadership

Thus far the two readings of the interview material had left the question of leadership unanswered: what types of conceptions of leadership did the interviewees resort to when they told about their journeys to leadership? The second thematic reading was therefore directed at it. In practice, the themes were again identified by grouping and regrouping small subthemes into more comprehensive themes. If there were themes, which seemed to be important to the profile and the narrative as a whole, they were included in the list of themes even if only few people mentioned them; after all, in qualitative research it is not the quantity but the quality of the data which is of importance. Examples of such leader themes and excerpts from the interview material are presented below.

The theme of *influence* seemed to have several meanings in the interview text. Firstly, the need to influence things seemed to be understood as one of the reasons, even as a personal feature which had brought the individual to the leadership path. The other meaning was related to leadership as a function; influencing things was

an integral part of leadership itself. The third way to understand influence seemed to relate to the need to create a positive effect on the world through participating and contributing instead of just observing how things are.

*I've always been very active in my hobbies and I have wanted to be there to influence things...and I have been social. Those are at least some of the things that have brought me here. (F4)*

*It has always been my personal characteristic that... I have always...been able to speak up in situations in which I've thought that things are about to go awry...I have wanted to bring my own contribution to the discussion or decision making situation...and since childhood I have obviously always wanted to lead and be a thought leader in a sense....rather than the one being lead.. (M2)*

*To me, one of the features of leadership is active influencing and doing and proceeding in some way which then radiates to the workplace and your own family and environment you interact with. (M4)*

*It (leadership) means believing that by doing things and by taking initiative you can influence things. And it is one characteristic of leadership that you take initiative and believe in what you do and the effects it will have even if it is not always so obvious. (M3)*

*Then I thought that well I cannot just complain. I don't want to listen to complaining, I don't believe in complaining... I think one has to go and influence things... (F8)*

The theme of *empowerment* seemed to relate to trust and to have the meaning of a leadership tool; the effect of trust in subordinates' personal growth was considered rewarding. The expression of trust to generate feelings of success also seemed to have the meaning of an inducement or incentive; empowerment was a way of getting the subordinates' knowledge and skill into full use at work. Another meaning the theme had related to the creation of psychological safety in work; subordinates had to feel seen and heard, so that they would value and trust themselves enough to act independently.

*In leadership (important for me is) when I'm able to inspire and encourage people and I notice that they overcome something in themselves. For me, it is utterly delicious to see, when someone gets something from me, when I'm able to in a way lift someone up so that the person feels like "Damn, I was able to do that", or "I never thought I could do this". --- Sometimes I feel that I push them from behind so that they overcome the obstacle, and then there is this enormous enthusiasm*

*in them, with eyes shining bright they tell me how they succeeded in something like “Hey, I succeeded, thank you for believing in me and not budging”. (F7)*

*As there is so huge amount of knowledge and skill in our company, so why not make use of it and in a way instil people with feelings of success that they managed to pull something through and they were also trusted to be able to do so. (M3)*

*...and I’m sure that safety and increasing self-esteem plays a significant role in finding the courage to discuss and bring things to the table and to make decisions alone. (M1)*

*Fairness as a theme related to leader’s relationship to one’s followers – to one’s loneliness as a leader. This meant that fairness, in one’s own eyes and in the eyes of others’, required keeping all the followers at a similar distance from oneself. Fairness also meant that none of the subordinates received special treatment.*

*To me, fairness and equality and that everyone is equal is a value. I’m not friends with any of my employees outside the workplace. That is my ideal in order to be able to avoid...and I evaluate very carefully...I usually do not go to anyone’s Tupperware party, because then I feel I should go to everyone’s...I try to maintain a certain boundary there. (F3)*

*I have thought it so that I must be fair to all my subordinates, and it does not happen if I’m too close a friend with a couple of them. (M3)*

*One has to act the same with everyone, encounter them in a similar fashion and I cannot...I cannot be friends with anyone, I have to be a friend similarly with everybody and...that is what is called leader’s loneliness. (F8)*

*But in that situation, I also had to think that as a supervisor one has to be fair. Therefore, I could not lift one of my team members higher than the rest; it, too could arouse negative feelings. (F4)*

*Diligence as a theme could be regarded both as a life and a leadership theme which was reflected in the meaning it received as a leadership theme; even though diligence was generally conceived as a positive thing, here the meaning it received could be negative due to its harmful effects on health or family life.*

*... during that project I worked a lot, and we did long hours and during weekends and when the public utility started, during the first year my hours were more like 12 hour days instead of eight, I probably did not have eight-hour days at all, they were 10-12 hours. It felt burdensome and after 1,5 years I got exhausted. My body*

*started to react, and I had to take leave of absence due to dysrhythmia and then my occupational health doctor started to do regular checkups. S/he said I was exhausted, and s/he was right even though I argued against it then. --- I had to change the situation because of the heart problems and of course my husband pressured me a bit, too. It was easy to work long hours when my husband was working abroad, but nowadays he comes home every day, so it is not possible anymore. Our children are all grown up, so they don't miss me, but my husband calls me pretty quickly if I don't get home on time. (F5)*

*I think something in me was liberated through that (divorce), like "well now I am able to work in peace and no-one is bothered with me working a lot." (F8)*

Despite the occasional negative meanings diligence had in connection to family and health, the general meaning the theme had was that of satisfaction, sometimes even amusement towards one's personal a way of working:

*For instance, in the (city), Finance Manager -who did retire soon- ... we got many external projects and external funding and they all had their own rules which messed up his accounting system.... He once came to me and said "please (name) - couldn't you take it a bit easier?" I will always remember him there in my room, agonizing... I was like um, well... (laughter). (F8)*

*When you were awake in the middle of the night, it was a good chance to write (work emails) ... I began to receive slightly ironic messages in which people would ask me "don't you sleep nowadays at all, aren't you supposed to be on paternity leave" and so on... (M4)*

*Delegation* seemed to have several different meanings in the interview material, for instance the ability to give things to others to handle so that they would commit to the decisions that were being made. *Delegation* also had the meaning of trust in other people, their expertise, and decisions so as to make it possible for them to grow and experience the joy of success.

*I think that it will be a more lasting decision, if they themselves can decide how they share the work. I guess that is delegating and giving responsibility. (F1)*

*I've aimed at... people can think, and they can ponder and solve things, so I can leave some things for them to decide. (M3)*

*And of course I believe in...above all I try to involve people and delegate responsibility, otherwise they will never grow, if you lead with a sort of pyramid-...model, where every minuscule decision has to go through you. I've always strived at giving people responsibility, otherwise they don't develop. (M2)*

*...what I've always tried to emphasize is that you don't have to ask me every little detail, you are professionals, I trust what you do, and my task is not to somehow supervise this machinery. (F7)*

*You should trust people, give them the opportunity to do things, so that...I mean in such a way that you do not always watch over their shoulders but... trust them. If you have to say something like hey, we plan to do this in this way and it should produce so-and-so results, you should trust them to do it...you should give them the opportunity to do it....so that they too could feel that they succeed in their work instead of just monotonically going through the motions in a tight conceptual framework. (M3)*

The theme of *collaboration* seemed to have the meaning of being positioned in opposition to the traditional directive and domineering way of leading people; collaboration seemed to refer the idea of the leader being hands-on in work with the followers and of him/her leading them from the middle.

*... every time I have gone to a new workplace -I have rarely done that- I've told them that I'm responsible for this activity, but that I'm your colleague, we build together, work together. And I can honestly say that during my career as a leader I have never told anyone what to do by bossing them around. (M1)*

*...But using power to boss people around, emphasizing a powerful position, that I do not want, I do not think it is relevant in leadership, it is meaningless. One cannot get any results in that way. Instead, one must work together and find a common goal and then work to achieve it, even though the leader has to fill the responsibilities assigned to her/him. (F7)*

Collaboration could also get a "milder" meaning in the form of participative discussions about issues and goals of the activity with the followers and colleagues.

*...we discuss a lot with my closest employees and in collaboration take forward those points of view which have arisen... (M2)*

*With my own team I have quite a lot of meetings in which we think many things through...that if goals are so-and-so, how can we meet those goals... so that they themselves come up with something which is not handed to them from above but instead they have themselves thought it together through, like "hey, goals are so-and-so, should we do this...?" (M3)*

*Protection* seemed to link to leader's own personal values, in particular those which were related to other people. In the material, protection got the meaning of safeguarding the subordinates from threats from inside the organization (i.e. other

parts of it) or defending the customers of the organization through protecting the quality of services the organization provided to them.

*Some new tasks or requests may come to us from somewhere which... they may ask if we could possibly do them, but now I've learned to say no which I can say is justified. Our people cannot take this task anymore, it is not going to happen, try somewhere else. (F1)*

*...I have said to the management that I do not accept this; people will not be treated badly in the unit which I lead. (F2)*

*During the worst times I even...I was pretty anxious about what it (change) will mean for the quality and customer service in general, and I even wrote to XXXX (blurred) that this -in my opinion- will not work. I put myself on the line incredibly much there. (F6)*

Authenticity seemed to be contrasted with being fake, which meant that the person adopted the leader attributes and acted in a leader role while simultaneously leaving one's personality out of the equation. In short, authenticity seemed to mean integrating the leader role in one's personality and personhood in a way which seemed plausible and genuine. In the material, authenticity also seemed to denote honesty in the sense that the leader did not pretend to be something that s/he was not.

*When it comes to leadership, I think it has to look like you. Of course, you learn and adopt things from good leaders and think about something they did which was good and you take influences from them, but ultimately you have to be your own person, it is important, people sense that you are inauthentic from miles away. If you are being inauthentic in how you proceed in things or what you say....it is hard to keep up a role, one has to do things in one's own way, no matter what people say... (M2)*

*...and I've thought that even if you are in a leadership role, it does not mean that you must follow a certain formula - the role has to adjust to your own personality and way of being. I cannot change as a person just because I become a leader... (F4)*

*You have to be comfortable in your own skin. Be who you are and do not pretend. You have to be able to do leadership as the person you are. (M1)*

*...people have begun to trust that I'm genuinely interested and authentic in what I seem to be and what I am. (F2)*



Being *firm* referred to leader's self-reliance - his/her trust in one's own view and judgement about the issue; in the material, firmness meant keeping one's opinion and justifying one's reasons even when the issue was unpleasant or there was opposition against it. Firmness could also mean orienting from within instead of being tossed around by organization or by other people's views. In the material, being consistent in firmness was considered to be a prerequisite for winning other people's respect.

*...maybe during Master's studies there was some unlearning going on...you can not...as a leader you must also be able to be unpleasant to other people from time to time...it is not only taking care of pleasant stuff. Of course, you have to be polite and appreciative and respectful and so on, but holding on to one's view and justifying it and being able to tolerate uncomfortable situations and so on... If I have a clear view of something, I'm pretty firm. (F8)*

*In some occasions there were some crying and gnashing going on, because something had always been done in one way and then a new guy comes along and says that the way you do things stops here. But one must...I think that one has to trust one's own doings even though one cannot immediately justify them in financial terms. (M3)*

*It became evident that to a large extent what I have to do is to listen to my own internal intuition and my own will instead of always orienting myself according to the wishes of the company or other people. (M5)*

*I have had to be firm and consistent in everything. If you are not consistent in being firm, you will lose all respect. (M1)*

*Challenge* meant an entirely new, scary, or otherwise difficult situation which one had had the courage to face and resolve, sometimes to one's own surprise; challenge was thus linked to courage to face fears and embrace the unknown. A challenge was also something that a leader should actively seek for and to have the courage to accept and take on to grow as a person.

*...I said I have promised to leave and I will, and they said that you've never been anywhere else other than (city), how will you ever manage there (work place in another city and in another part of the country) and it will be an entirely new world.... --- But to me, that period was extremely important. For the first time, I had full responsibility of the workplace and activity, personnel, pretty much everything. It was like I had a little company, there were about 15-17 persons and...all financial responsibility, up until that time I had never even made a budget or anything like that... (F6)*

*Well I don't know why I took it (a job). Maybe I have had, and I do have certain... fearlessness in facing challenges... (F7)*

*You just boldly start doing and things go forward. --- It's your own responsibility that you grab those new challenges and I've been fortunate in that I have always found something, and I had had the courage to jump in. (F8)*

*Downplaying leader status* had the meaning of leader not emphasizing the power or status aspect of one's work but rather the responsibility aspect of it; this responsibility did not denote anything elevated or grandiose. Downplaying leader status also meant keeping the focus of collaboration in the task and in the creation of a positive result instead of focusing on the hierarchy or the voice of the leader(s).

*And I remember I said that I have come here to work with you, but I am responsible for this activity, because I always emphasize that someone has the responsibility. But it means that I do not have to be responsible from a pedestal but rather from beside you and I stand in the group among you all. (M1)*

*...some people who like to emphasize their own powerful position...for me, discussing power issues is tiring, because I am so focused on the issue itself that I... I'm not interested in arguing which of us makes the decision – I'm interested in the issue which should be moving forward... (F8)*

*..and I notice that I myself I never use the word "subordinate", I always use the word employee, if I have to refer to my subordinates... I always say "my employees" or "the people I work with"; that word "subordinate" is somehow negative, it does not align with the leadership philosophy I want to promote. (F7)*

In the material, *justice* had the meaning of equality – of giving everyone a fair chance and making decisions based on objective standards which are the same for everyone. Justice therefore had to apply to everyone irrespective of individual's relationship towards the leader or individual's status in the organization or the community.

*...I get so very offended of such accusations... –yes I have received them- that if I hire a former colleague of mine, I get asked questions such as "Oh, was that why s/he was hired?" I get these kinds of comments, but they do hurt me. I noticed that this comment hurt me deeply, because for me personally one key value is justice and equality. (F3)*

*When I came here and I had been working for two hours, I was called to the city hall and lectured for three hours about influential families in this area and so on (laughter). Well, I just said that good to know some background information, but*

*it does not affect my actions in any way. And here they used to hire substitutes from XXX (blurred); people competed for those substitute positions. I think it was the first or the second executive meeting, where I said that we will now set the ground rules for hiring substitutes. (M1)*

As a leadership theme, *metaview* referred to a personal feature, which helped the leader to observe and develop the organization from the bird's eye point of view.

*...now, it is presumably because my background...it's my way of systemic thinking and in a way this systemic mode of operating regarding quality and other things, it comes from this mode of seeing the world, and people do give a lot positive feedback of my ability to help them to see things holistically... (M4)*

*I enjoy looking at things, how we take care of these children, what this thing looks like from the child's perspective and whether the personnel is in the right place at the right time and... I love digging deep into things like "hey, why do you take your coffee break now, if the coffee break is at that time, the children will benefit from it", and people become blind to such ways of doing things and I'm such a person, who always thinks about whether we are in the right place at the right time... (F3)*

The theme also related to distance, respect, and wisdom in the leading work; a detached approach was seen to help the leader to keep one's eye in the organization as a whole and to steer it forward despite the objections one's decisions could raise. *Metaview* also referred to the leader's task to act as a container to feelings of other people; it meant resisting the pull to participate in the turmoil of personal or collective feelings or to take things too personally. The distancing effect of *metaview* also seemed to relate to one's ability to pay attention to different types of group dynamics in the organization, for instance to various manipulation tactics and other types of uses of power.

*And I look how they work and there is good in everyone. I knew that if I go there and change the whole... I want to change everything immediately; I will ignite a war. So patiently, one issue at the time and with respect to the other person, but you have to have courage to take things under discussion. (F3)*

*I've always had close relationships with everybody, some like to keep distance and I respect that, but if someone likes to be close to me, well... But all the time I look carefully that basics of work, the actual work does not suffer from that closeness but rather that it brings something extra to it. But my face does not reveal that I might try to speed things up, I do spend a considerable time on these situations...it may be that I kind of internally calculate things in those situations,*

*you cannot just dive into them blindly. And all the time I'm careful with... I have no problem saying -if someone hints that someone does not do his/her work thoroughly- that "I'm sure s/he does it thoroughly, let's instead think about your role, how do you feel about it"... kind of return the discussion back to the person him/herself... (F6)*

*... I for instance went to (part of city), to outpatients' department there and asked if they would like to come (to meet and discuss things). Instantly, in a second, the reply was "No, it cannot be organized". Well, I was like "ok", knowing that it was only a psychological defence. Together the ward nurse and I... we then organized it so that they came here for two hours every other Wednesday. These things can be organized and that was merely an attitude towards me. (F2)*

*All the time I look at... I cannot not see how people treat each other, how they feel in that situation plus what types of practices they use – how they argument, how they evade, how they do things... the use of power is one of the things I pay attention to a lot. (F6)*

*Self-knowledge* as a theme referred to different levels of knowing oneself. One meaning of the resource related to one's own world view, understanding of what leadership is, and ultimately, what kind of person one is and wants to be; here self-knowledge was linked to personal values. The other meaning of the resource related to self-knowledge in a more personality-oriented fashion as well as to understanding of human motivations in general. The third meaning of the theme was related to one's knowledge of one's own working style in comparison to that of others.

*Of course, who am I as a person, my own self-knowledge, I think that is the first... one of the most important things for a leader and which I started to strengthen in myself... I mean, who am I as a person and as a leader in this environment? And then, how do I conceive leadership, what is my conception of a human being? And then I very quickly got into questions like how do I see and interpret humanity and leadership in general. And what is my style of leadership, how humane...what kinds of values do I want to implement. (M4)*

*(What is important in leadership) is that you know yourself so that you can understand why you react in a certain way or why the other person does what s/he does. (F4)*

*You could recognize yourself pretty well in the personality test result, but what was upsetting was the question regarding A-type. A-type does not say if you are a good guy or not, but... There was a scale, where at one end was someone who*

*works like crazy, dies when working, at the other end was someone who does not die out of work-related stress. I was fully there in the dies-when-working-department! (M3)*

*Listening* meant providing followers real opportunities for expressing their opinion; this could mean the leader's ability to change direction and not to stick to one's point of view out of stubbornness or pride. However, the theme had the dimensions of respect and psychological safety, too; listening meant showing genuine interest in followers' opinions, granting them a voice, and increasing their sense of self worth and empowerment in that way.

*I myself try to always discuss things and base things on logic and I am easy to...I don't feel any embarrassment, if someone is able to show me, why this thing will be done differently now, if it only makes sense. I will immediately change my opinion, if I see that it does. (M2)*

*...I want that decisions are not dictated, and I normally check...even in large meetings when doing big decisions... I normally make sure that I give...or I encourage them saying that "now it's time to speak up, if you disagree' and give different alternatives there so that people have a real opportunity (to express their opinion). I believe that in our meetings there already is such an atmosphere that people dare to speak up. When I came, they were silent. (F2)*

*From the leadership point of view, for me, listening is important. Sensing things is important, but listening is the most important. Meaning that when a co-worker comes to talk about his/her issues, whoever it is, you leave everything else and concentrate. That is what respecting the individual means. That is what respecting the issue means. (M1)*

*... Only now, later, I've realized that when I started to meet employees individually, to them it was an entirely new a phenomenon that the boss wanted to listen to them... (F2)*

*And on the other hand, it (listening) increases your (employee's) self-esteem: I was taken seriously, I was being listened to. (M1)*

*Role modelling* related to the requirement for a leader to act in accordance to what s/he demands from the followers; one has to lead from the front by modelling the desired behaviours first and by showing the path for others to follow in that way. Role modelling also had the meaning of having to live up to one's promises, of keeping one's word.

*Of course, by showing personal example I try to bring...I believe in the old wisdom that you have to lead a group from the front, so I believe, and you have to do what you say you do. (M2)*

*...the optimal situation would be that people would feel a shared responsibility and genuinely help each other. I try to accomplish that by my own example and talk as well... (F6)*

After this phase of the analysis, I tentatively placed the leadership themes under the modes of narrating on the basis of their placements in the leaders' stories and on the basis of their implicit links to other discursive resources of a particular compiled narrative; also the habitus-related idea of leadership being either a "resource" or a "reward" was helpful in the task. As it was mostly impossible to say, to which part of the compiled narrative the leadership themes should be placed (the beginning, change, or ending of each narrative), they were simply placed in connection to the emerging narratives.

#### 4.3.6 Third thematic reading – Life

In the third thematic reading, the analysis concentrated on the parts of the interviews which dealt mainly (but not wholly) with the life outside of working as a leader; the aim was to locate such shared life themes which would suit together with the modes of narrating, growth plots and leadership themes and which would complement the narrative images the compiled narratives conveyed. Here, too, each interviewee's life themes were placed side by side so that one could see which themes came up repeatedly (or not) and in which stage of the story; at the end of each row of similar themes, I gave the row a unifying name which covered the themes as well as possible. Examples of such life themes and excerpts from the interview material are presented below.

*Responsibility* seemed to explain, why the (female)person had become a leader in the first place; the role and responsibility of other people was seen to have fallen onto one's lap already as a child and later not only occupationally and professionally but also in the sphere of private life. The theme appeared in the beginning phase leaders' stories and continued all the way to the ending phase.

*I started taking care of my younger brother when a was ten and it continued all the way to age 17 when I moved away from home...I remember that I was mainly responsible for him. (F7)*

*Well, I have two younger brothers, I'm the eldest child in our family, and maybe that too has its effect...I have been the kind of person who decides and organizes things and so on...two younger brothers, I've taken care of them. (F4)*

*And I've been the one to take responsibility in the family, too. My role has been...maybe too much... I am a sort of a trusted man so to speak. Everyone pours their sorrows onto me and in difficult life situations I have had to be... or I have taken the leader role and been the one to support others...mother and siblings... and have been the voice of reason...so also at childhood home I have been assigned the leader role. (F3)*

The theme of responsibility concerned managing the household in the adulthood, too. Most often this was explained by domestic work arrangements which had forced the (female) leader to manage life mostly alone and to take care of both the feminine and masculine aspects of everyday life – to be the head of the household, so to speak.

*...and in my current home too, because of the circumstances: my husband does shift work so he can be absent 24 hours in a row and then come home to sleep. I have had to learn to manage all kinds of situations. I have had to organize also everyday life. (F3)*

*...especially when my husband did not take any responsibility... so to alone carry that responsibility (of the family) .... Maybe it is one thing that I'm used to carrying responsibility and doing also men's work in my private life. (F8)*

*We have two kids; one is 26 and the other is 20. I have practically singlehandedly raised those kids. When they were young, my husband worked in Sweden. He came home once a month, for one weekend... so the kids have almost been... well, they have been raised by me. (F5)*

Another life theme was *good performance at school*. On the whole, good performance at school seemed to be something natural and normal to oneself and to one's reference group. As it was also often connected to high school and academic studies, it appeared in the beginning part of leaders' stories.

*Of course, I did quite well in school. In high school, secondary school or at the university I wasn't particularly eager to study, but I was usually well-prepared for the exams. (M2)*

*I got six Laudatur in the matriculation examination and the mean of my grades was nearly ten, and it was sort of...very...the very culture in the whole school was that homework was done well, people did not lax in there and our head teacher*

*was very strict. --- There was never competition, ever, in that unit, it was normal to its culture; certain type of people just came there. (F6)*

*Diligence, much like responsibility, seemed to have the meaning of explanation, why one had ended up becoming a leader in the first place: the attitude necessary to leadership -the ability and willingness to not to spare oneself- was learned already in childhood. The theme thus seemed to be placed in the beginning stage of the story and to continue all through one's story.*

*What I have inherited from childhood is a strong labouring culture, I have strong work ethics. I remember when summer leave began, in our family it certainly did not mean that children would "lift their feet on the table" and rest. Instead from the very first free day on we worked on the farm. We could not sleep long, because if we sometimes slept long, our mother pretty quickly came to wake us up saying "Hey, get to work". We were always on the fields or doing some other chore. I have fond memories of that time, for example already at the age of ten I drove the other tractor in our grandma's house, working on the fields and doing real work. (F7)*

*I learned...to work and as a youngster I worked in my father's brother's farm quite a lot during summers. In that environment I learned the significance of work and entrepreneurial attitude pretty heavily... (M4)*

*Values as a theme seemed to appear in the middle or ending part of the stories. The theme seemed to relate to maturation, meaning that the value of things outside leader work and position had been noticed and learned.*

*My own free time and family life... values have become important and I'm no longer ready to give up everything for the sake of a career. (F4)*

*Well I do think that we have everything that is important here...when you live there in (name) it is like you lived in the country side... the surroundings are clean, it is safe here and of course the kids have grown here, so I would not want to tear them off their roots. I do feel that one should identify oneself with a certain geographic area; it is healthy to feel that some particular place is your home. (M2)*

*Another meaning the theme had was related to the work as a leader; personal values carried one's life forward and guided one's decisions and actions at work.*

*There is also my worldview involved... I approach things from the perspective that if I cannot solve everything today, tomorrow always comes. So, I'm not relying only on myself here. (M4)*



*I have noticed that values indeed do guide my action... (F2)*

*Creativity* as a theme appeared in the change or end phase of the story. When it was placed in the middle/change of the story, the theme was combined with academic expertise, whereas in the ending phase it connected with a passionate attitude, in particular with the idea of developing of new services for other people.

*Well the important thing for me with that was the novelty, which means that my leadership has been related on conquering new things, innovation and doing things which no-one has ever done. (M4)*

*In a sense planning and...doing new things and being involved in the process and.. In the beginning there is this empty field and then after a year there is a building and you know that damn, I've been involved in doing that! I like cooking for the same reason – it is nice to have flour and sugar and all that and you can create something entirely different out of them. (M3)*

*Fervor* as a theme appeared in the middle and ending phases of leaders' stories. This theme, too, seemed to relate to the enjoyment of working hard, especially when one created services for other people; here fervor also seemed to relate to creativity.

*K: What do you think about your future?*

*Well, one could say that in this job there is so much...for five years we have been implementing new things...there are new projects all the time, and we are all the time developing and doing things and there is so much of everything, so time has passed very quickly.---- I have a fervor and passion for my own job. (M4)*

*I'm now doing work which allows me to burn with a full flame. (F7)*

*And how wonderful it was to work (in developing daycare system)! We did not have it easy; it was hard and we were tired and we gave almost everything we got, but it was wonderful to work! And I feel that she (role model) is one of those people from whom I have learned leadership and also how to do a good job...with a passion for working and for developing things. (F3)*

Like the resources from the previous readings, also these themes were added to the emerging compiled narratives based on where they appeared in the leaders' stories and the effects the themes had in creation of plausible narratives.

#### 4.3.7 Holistic reading II – Concise stories

At this point, the themes that had been gathered into two “narrative piles” seemed to make sense to me personally, since I was familiar with the interview material in its totality. However, I surmised that they would leave other people still sceptical of whether they indeed reflected and covered all the individual stories in the interview material; also, the placements of leadership themes seemed to me to be excessively subjective. Therefore, to end the reading of the interview material and to tie all the resources together into whole compiled narratives, I decided to make a concise story (Kantola, 2014) out of each individual interview. Each concise story consisted of the resources that concerned growth, leadership, and life (see Appendix 2.)

In the course of this final reading, I tried to divide the concise stories into two groups according to the mode(s) of speaking they tended towards, but as the interview stories usually had at least some resources from both modes of talking, this distinction could not be done in a mutually exclusive manner (c.f. Hänninen & Koski-Jännes, 1999: 158). Therefore, instead, the Tables 4a and 4b are used for both tying all the discursive elements discussed above together and to showing the interviews which each discursive resource appeared in. If a particular interview is marked with italics, the theme in question has appeared in it, but in the different part(s) of the story.

The construction of the compiled narratives happened as follows. The modes of narrating identified in the first holistic reading phase acted as general frames within which the whole development process took place and the construction of a plot began from the beginning-stage of each figure. For instance, in the first narrative, the protagonist had “good school performance”, then acquired “academic second-degree education” and so on, all the way to “adopting skills and attitudes of certain field through practice”. The process then continued in a similar manner from the first resource of the middle/change-phase, “expertise”, continuing to the final resource of the middle phase, “taking time to re-evaluate self and action”. The final phase began with “identifying personally undesirable qualities through observation and inaction” and ended with “entrepreneurship”.

Likewise, in the beginning-phase of narrative 2, the protagonist first learned “responsibility” and “diligence”, then acquired “occupational education” and so on, all the way to “learning to control and direct many areas of life for other people”. In the change-phase of narrative 2, the process then continued in a similar manner from the first resource of the middle/change-phase, “transition from practical to administrative work”, continuing to the final resource of the middle phase, “prompting to action or thinking”. The ending-phase began with “leading the

learning process of a group of people” and ended with “participating in social activity for the benefit of other people”. The right-hand side of each figure shows the leadership themes which characterized the compiled narratives.

After the laborious processes of collecting and organizing all the resources, the final stage of the study of the interview material consisted of presentation of them in a narrative form. Therefore, I wrote two compiled narratives; the mode of narrating provided the habitus the story was to receive, and other discursive resources formed the building blocks from which the narratives were constructed. The narrative built on the mode of narrating 1 thus became roughly as follows:

*Beginning: Lives in urban environment, in a space of freedom. As school goes well, proceeds to high school. Chooses to acquire theoretical education as enjoys reading and learning abstract things. Participates in activities in which promotes personally important causes. Starts development by learning how to do the work in practice and by using role models.*

*Change: Based on one’s cultural capital, develops expertise in different units, simultaneously gaining multiple perspectives of the organization. Takes on new creative challenges and wants to actively influence things. Develops in expertise through being able to make defendable decisions. Takes on tasks in which teaches or guides others in some way and acquires practical information which is useful in this task. Subjects one’s views to public scrutiny and grows to be able to maintain one’s position in the face of opposition. When problems arise or makes mistakes, seeks dialogical support as well as takes time to re-evaluate one’s own action and self, thereby increasing self-knowledge.*

*Ending: Has gained multiple perspectives on both good and bad leadership through own journey and hence been able to clarify own values. Hence, acts authentically, in accordance with them, and tries to model those values to others. Delegates responsibility and protects those whom s/he leads, looking at the organization and employees from a meta point of view. Possibly acts in an entrepreneurial role at some point of one’s career. Exhibits a cosmopolitan worldview and stays up to date with current developments by actively seeking information from different media and other sources of information.*

**Table 4a.** Modes of narrating, growth resources, life themes, and leadership themes in compiled narrative 1

<b>Mode of narrating 1</b>			
<i>Space of freedom</i> <i>Urban setting</i>	<i>Cultural capital</i> <i>Growth through experience</i> <i>Upper middle class</i>	<i>Cosmopolitan worldview</i> <i>Leadership as resource</i>	
<b>Beginning</b>	<b>Change</b>	<b>Ending</b>	<b>Leadership</b>
Good school performance M4, M2, F6, F2, F7, F8	Expertise M4, F1, M2, F6 F4, F8	Identifying personally undesirable qualities and actions through observation and inaction M4, F6, F2 M3, F7	Influence M4, M2, F2, M3, F4, F8, F5
Academic second degree education M4, F1, M2, F6, F2, M3, F4, F8	Creativity M4, F1, F2 M3, F8	Values M4, M2, F2 F4, F5, F8	Delegation F1, M2, M3, F7
Increasing theoretical knowledge M4, F1, M2, F6, F2, F4, F8	Multiple perspectives on organization M4, F1, M2, F6, F2, M3, F4	Independently acquiring abstract knowledge by practitioners and scholars M4, M2, F2, F3, F8	Protection F1, F6, F2
Experiencing (life) stories through use of imagination M2, M4	Synthesizing knowledge into defensible solution M4, F1, F6, F8	Identifying a need and satisfying it in a mutually profitable manner M4, M2, F6, F1, F2, M1	Challenge F6, M2, F2, F7, F3, M1, F8
Participating in social activity for the benefit of other people F4, M1, F5, M3	Leading the learning process of a group F1, F6, M4		Authenticity M2, F2 M1, F4
Learning positive qualities and actions through emulation F1, M2, M1, F3, F7	Increasing theoretical and practical knowledge M1, F7, M3, F4, F5, F2, F6		Role modelling M2, F6
Adopting skills and attitudes particular of certain field through practice F1, F6, F2	Subjecting oneself & views & expressions to public scrutiny M2, F5		Self-knowledge M5, M4, F4
	Maintaining position in the face of opposition M4, F6, F2, F4 M3, F8, F5		Metaview M4, F6, F2, F3
	Erroneous evaluation or action F6, F2		
	Dissecting experiences in dialogue to formulate new theory-in-use M4, F2		
	Taking time to re-evaluate self and/or action F6, F2		

**Table 4b.** Modes of narrating, growth resources, life themes, and leadership themes in compiled narrative 2

<b>Mode of narrating 2</b>			
<i>Space of obligation</i>	<i>Social capital</i>	<i>Local worldview</i>	
<i>Rural setting</i>	<i>Growth through education</i>	<i>Leadership as reward</i>	
	<i>Lower middle class</i>		
<b>Beginning</b>	<b>Change</b>	<b>Ending</b>	<b>Leadership</b>
Responsibility M3, F8, F5, F3, F7, F4	Transition from practical to administrative work M3, F7, M1, F3, F8, F5	Leading the learning process of a group of people F3, M3, F7, F5 F1, M4, F6, M1	Diligence M3, F7, F8, F3, F5, M4
Diligence M3, F7, F8, F3, F5, M4	Increasing theoretical and practice-based knowledge M1, F7, M3, F4, F5 F2, F6	Fervor M3, F7, F3	Empowerment M3, F7, M1
Occupational education M3, F7, M1, F8, F5	Experiential view to work from a different perspective M1, F3, F6	Participating in social activity for the benefit of other people F5, M3, F4, M2, M1	Fairness M3, F4, M1, F3, F8, F6
Adopting skills and attitudes particular of certain field through practice M3, F7, F3, F8	Maintaining personal position in the face of opposition M4, F6, F2, F4 M3, F8, F5		Listening M2, F7, M1, M2, F2
Multiple occupational experiences M3, F7, F3, F5	Terminating long-term life commitment F7, F8, F6, F2		Firmness M3, M1, F8, M5
Receiving direct or indirect affirmation of acceptability of one's action or being M3, F7, F4, F8	Dissecting experiences in formal dialogue to formulate new theory-in-use M4, F2		Downplaying leader status M3, F7, M1, F8
Learning to control and direct many areas of life for other people M3, F7, F4, F3, F8, F5, M2	Increasing theoretical knowledge M3, F7, F4, F3, F8, F5		Justice M1, F3
	Prompting to action (leadership) M3, F7, F4, M1, F8, M2		Collaboration M2, M3, F7, M1

The narrative built on the mode of narrating 2 became roughly as follows:

*Beginning: Lives in the countryside or small town, in the space of obligation and duty. Learns to take responsibility and to work hard already early. Education concentrates on practical work, of which gains experience in many different tasks. Gets positive feedback of one's performance in them and is given responsibility which involves other people.*

*Change: Moves from practical work to more abstract with the help of increase in practice-based theoretical knowledge. Extensive experience and extra education enable standing firm in the face of opposition; seeks to do justice for all. Strength also makes it possible to terminate limiting long-term life attachments. Should problems arise, seeks formal dialogical support. Needs career progress and variation in one's work so studies more. Is encouraged to move on to even higher positions by superiors and other personally important people.*

*Ending: Works hard like has always done. Acts firmly yet fairly in collaboration with others. Instead of emphasizing one's own leader position, wants to empower employees through listening. Is eager to work for the good of the other people and to develop work and services. May act in a teacher role in some way during one's career.*

As a whole, the process of building these compiled narratives followed Eneroth's (1984) guidelines concerning the construction of ideal types. Some of the resources used in construction process could be mentioned in only few stories, whereas some resources came from multiple cases. These compiled narratives neither covered the empirical material in its totality, nor did any of the cases have all the properties of the narratives presented above. However, these ideal typical narratives were mutually exclusive and separable from one another, and every one of the cases could be placed to one or both (Eneroth, 1984: 150-157).

However, I was still left wondering, how could I demonstrate the cultural nature of those resources and to "pan off" the most ideal-typical and established ones from among them and remove others? Now the already budding idea of using cultural master narratives in some way (see above section 4.3.2.) came to fruition. I realized that I could use culturally established, in a sense seemingly "timeless" literature, more specifically novels, as points of comparison for building narratives which would bridge contemporary talk and historical writing. In practice, this could happen by matching the compiled narratives with those the author had constructed and by finally identifying the types of master narratives those bridging narratives, i.e. illustrative inner narratives drew from.

After establishing the criteria for the novel(s) and mapping out some domestic candidates, I chose Väinö Linna's main works and characters as the specimen from the cultural stock of stories (this process will be described in the next sections in detail). Namely, in the course of the analysis of the interview material, I had begun to see *Unknown Soldiers* and *Under the North Star* and leader trajectories in them as reflecting the types of cultural master narratives I was seeking for, more specifically, those concerning class/habitus and life - what should happen and in which order for different groups of people (c.f. McLean & Syed, 2015). These insights were especially welcome, as my analyses and placements, despite them being based on the interview material, had so far been only tentative. The novels were therefore actively sought for, read, and adopted as points of comparison.

#### 4.4 Reading the novels

The first phase of analysis, the construction of compiled narratives was described above. However, their elements were also sought for in the cultural repository of Finnish canonical narratives through the process of *lay reading* (De Vault, 1990). As a method of analysis, lay reading is very informal and unstructured. Like any other reading, it arises from situatedness, in which reader's gender, context, and purpose along with cultural conventions of making sense of the phenomenon all have an impact on the interpretation of a text (Sliwa & Cairns, 2007; DeVault, 1990: 887). Although De Vault's view of lay reading concerns the content of the novels only, here, I include the process of choosing the novels and the characters into it, too; after all, those readings were a part and parcel of the reading and interpretation process of the novels as a whole. The works chosen for further examination were Väinö Linna's *Unknown Soldiers* and *Reconciliation*. The reasons for choosing them will be provided next.

##### 4.4.1 Why Linna's *Unknown Soldiers* and *Reconciliation*?

The choice of Linna and his works was based on several criteria, which *together* explain, why they were chosen instead some other options. In order for the selected novel to be read against the text of the interview material, it had to meet the following four conditions simultaneously: it had to deal with leadership and development in some way; it had to be firmly rooted in Finnish literary ground to justify its choice as a specimen of cultural stock of stories; it had to have a sociological view of life so it could be used to study classes and habituses; and it had to be reportedly visible or identifiable in even contemporary Finland in some way to be of any value in analyzing contemporary leaders' talk.

Due to these criteria, choosing the novel(s) did not turn out to be as difficult as I had initially expected and feared. In the process of choosing the novels, some of these conditions had slightly more weight than others, but since they all had to be met by the chosen novel(s), there were few other candidates such as for instance *Talvisota* by Antti Tuuri, *Seitsemän veljestä* by Aleksis Kivi, or *Vänrikki Stoolin tarinat* by J.L. Runeberg to even pore over. As a result, I concluded that Väinö Linna would be the best choice for the author. However, even though interview materials were read against Linna's novels, those works were not seen to somehow invisibly direct interviewees' narrating; rather, Linna's novels were being considered to (for the most part) be expressive of the most available cultural resources and as such suitable for detecting cultural master narratives and their elements regarding the journey to leadership.

Thanks to his main works Väinö Linna is undoubtedly one of the most influential Finnish authors. His war novel *Tuntematon sotilas* (*Unknown Soldiers*) belongs to one of the most culturally significant stories, earning itself a special title of "a national myth" among them (e.g. Kyyrö, 2012: 28). Similarly, although *Under the North Star* –trilogy "is only one imaginary version of Finland's history, the novel is nevertheless inseparable from that history" (Sinivaara, 2006: 135, my translation). Since in Linna's work fact and fiction intertwine to a considerable extent, his literary works and their characters have been argued to have an unusual role in assisting in maintaining a continuum of national identity (Nummi, 1993: 12-13, 21-25; Martikainen, 2013: 17; Laine, 2015: 37; Jokinen, 1997: 43; Arnkil & Sinivaara, 2006: 6; Storbom, 1992: 187-222; c.f. Kaunismaa, 1997). As both novels also directly or indirectly deal with *leadership*, they are suitable for the purposes of this dissertation.

The importance of Linna's novels for this dissertation is not only in their literary merits or cultural significance, but also in the position of these novels as "*intersections*" of culturally important literary texts. This observation was made by Nummi (1993), who -unlike other researchers- analysed Linna's main works from a textual point of view. Citing Kinnunen (1960), Nummi maintains that characteristic of Linna's main works is that they can be seen as "cultural mosaics": the novels are built gradually, piece by piece, of cultural images and texts; in *Unknown Soldiers* and *Under the North Star*, references and allusions are frequently made to culturally important works such as *Seitsemän veljestä*, *Kalevala*, *Vänrikki Stoolin tarinat*, *Maamme-kirja*, as well as works by Juhani Aho and Pentti Haanpää, even the *Bible*. In this way, Linna, referring especially to domestic literature, builds a multifaceted image of the mind set typical of Finns (Varpio, 2006: 301-305; Arnkil & Sinivaara, 2006: 26; c.f. Niemi, 2000: 130; Raittila, 2000).



Another reason for choosing *Unknown Soldiers* and *Reconciliation* for this study is that those novels look at life through a *sociological lens* and therefore suit the purposes of this study. In Finland, literature has generally been regarded as a highly esteemed institution with much power to influence cultural discussion and to inflict societal change, and Linna's main works exemplify this in their power to shape Finns' perception of both their history and future. To Linna, literature was a form of sociology and in his opinion, writers' works, through depiction of human experience, inevitably shaped society. In his production, the task of illustrating, how cultural ideologies shaped individuals' lives was, however, taken as a conscious aim (Martikainen, 2013: 13, 17; Storbom, 1992: 251-252, 267-278; Kivimäki, 2014: 269; Kantola, 2006: 111). As both historically and sociologically plausible descriptions of the society (c.f. Hokkanen, 1980), those novels sensitize their readers to issues of power, voice, class, and habitus and are therefore of help in studying cultural-personal narratives especially from such points of view.

Several writers see Linna's images still affecting Finnish thinking (e.g. Kivimäki, 2014: 246, 253; Heinonen, 1997: 86, 100; Oksala, 2006: 201-202; Raittila 2000: 10-11; Koskela & Lankinen, 2010: 139; Niemelä, 2006: 293-295). Since Linna's both main works tend to crystallise (masculine) Finnishness, traces of his novels and their figures *can still be seen to be present in Finland* in some form; for instance, *Unknown Soldiers* is popular in the sphere of leadership education - it has been the most used fictive work in leadership development programs. Leadership in Finland is thus at least partly based on the features and images of national identity mentioned above (Koskela & Lankinen, 2010: 13, 20, 173).

Yet, some have criticized the outdated imagery the novel conveys about leadership (e.g. Miettinen & Saarinen, 1990; Kivimäki, 2014: 270). Critics point out that for some, understanding business as war and business opponent as the enemy may act as a justification for the use of unethical means in business competition. They also criticize the use of *Unknown Soldiers* as a guide with to learn how to lead in contemporary workplace, because it as a war novel describes extreme leading conditions. The novel is also accused of being almost exclusively male, thoroughly heteronormative in its orientation, and rather sexist in its views of women; even though the novel has role models for men, it does not provide them for women (Koskela & Lankinen, 2010: 96, 172-175; Oksala, 2006: 192-194, 202; Arnkil & Sinivaara, 2006: 16).

Although I find these criticisms justifiable, for the purposes of this dissertation, i.e. for studying the duality of leader discourse in immediate leader talk (micro level) and the linguistic resources of leader discourse in Finnish culture (macro level) through analysis of spoken and written stories (e.g. Fairhurst, 2007: 6-7; 2009;

Pietikäinen & Mäntynen, 2009: 27; Bamberg, et. al., 2011; see also Vine et.al., 2008), *Unknown Soldiers*, supported with *Reconciliation*, is an exceptionally rich source of interwoven cultural meanings (Nummi, 1993); alternatives to those novels would be hard to find.

Here, the novels are not used as models for learning how to lead but treated as a culturally significant literary works which comprise much thinking and leader discourses typical of Finns. We seem to have a strong predisposition for this type of war-related imagery (Arnkil & Sinivaara, 2006: 23-24) which may explain why *Unknown Soldiers* in particular is used in leader education so much in the first place. The very aim of this work is to sketch and make visible these typical lines of narrating related to leader development, so if and when characters of culturally important novels seem to suit this purpose, it is hard to escape their use.

This does not, however, remove the fact that using such novels in leader development dissertation reproduces the masculine and military imagery (c.f. Talbot, 1995: 25), when other types of metaphors might nowadays be more suitable options for describing work life. When it comes to masculinity of *Unknown Soldiers*, a recent fictive publication by 22 Finnish contemporary authors, *Toinen Tuntematton* (Catani & Mäkelä, 2017, eds.), looks at the events of the novel from the point of view of women – that of mothers, sisters, wives, fiancés, and other female characters of the novel, thereby to some extent ‘complementing’ the novel with feminine experience and voice. Still, like *Tuntematton sotilas*, also *Toinen Tuntematton* leaves leadership in the hands of men.

At this point, I find it necessary to provide some basic background information and short synopses of the novels to create some context for the choosing and lay reading of the two characters. I will start with *Unknown Soldiers*.

#### 4.4.1.1 Unknown Soldiers in a nutshell

*Tuntematton sotilas* (*Unknown Soldiers*), nowadays already a war classic in Finnish literature was published in 1954, in the aftermath of war. The historical context in which Linna’s writing and publishing took place is important to take into consideration; after all, for quite a while, even Finnish historians found the topic too controversial to examine and to write about. Authors of fiction such as Linna, however, did not shy away from the theme, but quickly began to discuss it through their works (Martikainen, 2013: 16, 43, 60-61; Laine, 2015: 41-42). Even though some literary attempts to address the theme were made (see Niemi, 1988), it was not until at the time of the publication of *Tuntematton Sotilas*, when collective self-reflection began on a larger scale.

Despite loud critical voices (e.g. Havu, 1954), even a “literary war” of unprecedented scale, the novel won recognition from the great audience (for a comprehensive description of the literary war, see Storbom, 1992: 126-147). In 1955 over 160 000 copies had already been sold in Finland. The popularity of the novel remained strong, and by the year 2004 the number of sold copies exceeded 700 000 items, including the copies of *Sotaromaani*, the manuscript of *Unknown Soldiers*, published in 2000. As a new edition of the novel was printed in 2014, the number of sold copies probably currently reaches well over a million.

In the course of time, the novel has been subject to several doctoral dissertations (e.g. Nummi, 1993; Laine, 2015), theatre dramatizations (for details, see e.g. Rajala, 1980; Saukkomaa, 2017) and movie filmings, first by Edvin Laine in 1955, second by Rauni Mollberg in 1985, and the most recent by Aku Louhimies in 2017; during that year over 930 000 viewers saw the film (Savon Sanomat, 4.1.2018). The novel has been translated into altogether 24 languages (Translation database, Finnish Literary Society, cited 21.1.2019). It was first translated into English in 1955, but as the version was considered poor quality, in 2015 it was translated again into English by Liesl Yamaguchi under the title *Unknown Soldiers* (Kilpeläinen, 2006); this translation is used in the quoted text passages of the lay reading. Also, for clarifying the development trajectory of one of the characters, additional passages have been taken from *Under the North Star, Part III: Reconciliation* and its translation by Richard Impola (2003).

Although *Unknown Soldiers* is obviously a very well-known novel in Finland, I find it necessary to provide a short summary of the novel. This task is, however, a challenge, as the novel lacks a coherent plot and instead consists of descriptions of micro level situations, actions, and human relationships in its forefront, with broader historical events only looming in the background. The following summary is in no way an “objective” description of the novel (if there ever was one), but represents my own view (c.f. DeVault, 1990), naturally written for the purposes of this study.

According to the blurb of the 2015 English edition, “the novel tells a story of a platoon of ordinary Finnish soldiers fighting their Soviet Union counterparts during the Second World War.” The beginning of the book presents different characters from all over Finland – for instance Salo and Mäkilä from Ostrobothnia, Rokka and Tassu from Carelia area, Rahikainen from Eastern Finland, Hietanen from Southwest Finland, and Lehto and Riitaoja presumably from the Central Finland. The novel also introduces several officer figures such as Kaarna and Autio and three group leaders, Lammio, Koskela, and Kariluoto, of which especially the latter two will play a central role in the book. The story describes their and their

men's actions, relationships, struggles, and mindsets in the war front. During battle descriptions, reader gradually gets acquainted with these three group leaders, each of their men, and their relationships to each other as well as to their superiors. The men are depicted in their struggle not only with the enemy, but also with the constant fatigue, hunger, cold, and fear.

In the beginning of the novel the platoon is about to leave for war against the Russians at the Eastern border of Finland to win back Karelia which has been lost in the previous war. They arrive there to engage in their first battle, which leaves permanent marks especially on Kariluoto who at first struggles with his fears as a rookie leader at the war front. Later, Kariluoto's and Koskela's groups together manage to conquer a bunker thanks to Koskela's skill and bravery. They conquer a village where they rest for a while, only to be rushed forward again. They proceed in the woods and lose lives, get lost, kill surrendering enemies, joke, bicker with each other, mock their superiors, and occasionally enjoy a peaceful, sunny moment.

The army gets a temporary win and breaks the enemy lines. The Koskela group's expectation of well-earned rest is crushed again and the men march on for several days, finally crossing the old border and entering the Russian soil where they settle for a while. Some of the men are found guilty of breaking army rules and during their punishment the group is attacked via air; lives are lost again. The platoon is, however, duly noticed and awarded for its remarkable achievements, although the medals are mostly deemed as worthless by their receivers.

After the arrival of extra men, that of Rokka and his companion Tassu, the journey continues nearer the frontline. The groups cross a river by boats and Rokka demonstrates his excellent fighting skills. The whole regiment, about 3000 men, is commanded to proceed in the night through a swamp where Lehto and Riitaoja are killed. In an important defence battle, the remains of Koskela's group find themselves in a desperate situation which is resolved by Hietanen blowing up a tank. In the battle, the regiment suffers great losses but manages to prevent the enemy from proceeding.

The Finns proceed to the city of Petroskoi which they liberate and occupy, changing its name to Äänislinna. After a while, the company takes up quarters into barracks and gets acquainted with the locals. Some also get promoted. However, men are again rushed to leave for a wintery battle. Begrudgingly they go, especially as they are informed about the executions of two war front deserters. The group ends up fighting against too large a group of enemy soldiers and flees, simultaneously losing Lahtinen. Later, however, Rokka again proves his skills as a fighter, killing alone over fifty enemies.

During the extended positional war, the men live in the dugout and spend time by writing letters, making rings, playing cards, reading. On Marshall Mannerheim's birthday the men cook home-made brew and get drunk which leads to Koskela fighting in officers' tent. They also get new men, Honkajoki and Hauhia; the latter, however, gets killed by sniper almost immediately after his arrival. Kariluoto graduates from Army Academy and gets engaged. Rokka is accused of a nonexistent misdemeanour, but he refuses to give in to his superiors' attempts to discipline him by threatening him of military court. He gets into a close contact battle alone with several enemies whom he manages to defeat; he even takes a prisoner, which guarantees him a leave of absence.

After three years of war, the idea of losing the war, however, starts to creep into the men's minds and the general mood is low. Men openly make fun of army discipline and regulations whereas officers unsuccessfully try to uphold them. Gradual retreat from Russian soil begins with little food and gear. In one of the battles Hietanen gets wounded and is eventually killed. Kariluoto is on a leave of absence and gets married. He returns to the war front to see a broken army in a hopeless situation, which only increases Kariluoto's resolve to do his duty in battle, but this determination leads to his death.

In these hopeless retreat battles, they lose even more lives, including that of Koskela, which causes his men to panic and to flee in terror. Two of the fleeing men are shot by their superior officer Karjula. As the troops return to the Finnish border, their spirits rise again to still defend their country. Rokka and his companion Tassu are wounded and get to go home. New men arrive, as numerous times before. The final battle of the novel ends with a small victory over an enemy base and with a death of one of the rookie soldiers - a skilful but reckless youngster Asumaniemi. The novel ends with a losing army.

#### 4.4.1.2 Under the North Star, part III, Reconciliation, in a nutshell

To support the analysis, another Linna's novel used in this dissertation is his trilogy *Under the North Star*, more specifically, the third part of the work, *Reconciliation*. The process and order through which these two major works, *Unknown Soldiers* and *Under the North Star*, were developed and written is somewhat confusing, as it happened backwards. According to Storbom (1992: 172-173), of these two novels, *Under the North Star* and *Unknown Soldiers*, it was the latter which was written first. In *Unknown Soldiers* the reader meets Vilho Koskela, whose background and early years are mainly described in the final part of *Under the North Star*, which was published only after *Unknown Soldiers*. The trilogy was originally intended to be a one piece novel only, and instead of writing

about Civil War (of which the novel is presumably most known for), Linna's initial idea was to write a novel about the time *after* it, and in *Under the North Star* this period is covered by the third part, *Reconciliation*. The third part of the trilogy, the initial focal point of the novel, was thus written first. After that, Linna continued to write the story and the trilogy *backwards* so as to depict the backgrounds of events and characters, all the way to the very beginning of the first part of the trilogy with its famous opening line: "*In the beginning there were the swamp, the hoe – and Jussi.*" (Linna, 2001: 3)

*Under the North Star* as a story covers the time period from 1800s all the way to the time after the World War II, revolving around a small village called Pentti's Corner, its residents, and Koskela family in particular; in the course of the trilogy, however, these immediate events are tied to larger societal and global developments. The first part of the trilogy shows Jussi Koskela in Pentti's Corner; he clears swamp and farms land as a crofter to a benevolent vicar. Through his hard work, Jussi begins to succeed and thrive. Unfortunately, the old vicar dies and his successor, secured by legal rights, takes over most of the lands Jussi has worked hard for. Jussi and his wife, Alma, are powerless and have no choice but to accept the situation. Their fierce adult son, Akseli, however, wants justice.

In the second part of the trilogy, *Uprising*, Akseli joins and eventually leads the activist movement in Pentti's Corner and tries to get to the crofters the rights to the land they farm. Despite this position of a rebel leader in Civil War, Akseli manages to remain alive, yet ends up in prison camp and loses all his civil rights for a considerable amount of time. At the end of part two, Akseli returns home from prison and crofters are granted ownership to the land they farm. On a national level, then, the goal of the war is reached, but with an extremely high price; numerous lives have been lost.

Part three of the trilogy, *Reconciliation*, depicts Akseli, his wife Elina, and children Vilho, Voitto, and Eero as starting life anew as farmers, and this short synopsis concentrates mainly on their lives; the third part of the trilogy alone is over 400 pages long, and a comprehensive synopsis of it would be too long and unnecessary. Akseli no longer takes part in any type of politics, but rather keeps to himself and tries to ignore the villagers' reserved attitude towards him. As a farmer, he concentrates on practical matters such as expanding the farm through hard work. His father, Jussi Koskela, gets paralyzed and eventually dies. The daughter of the family, Kaarina, is born. Some villagers try to agitate and recruit Akseli again to activism, but he refuses to join them. A new teacher moves to the village. Aware of Koskela family history, he gives Vilho a hard time at school but changes his attitude after Vilho's success in skiing competition. Juhani, the youngest son, is born.

The President pardons Akseli, who gets his civil rights back. He and Vilho work in the forest, earning good money. Bad times arrive, economically, with little work opportunities, and politically, against alleged communists, and because of that Elina's brother Janne Kivivuori gets battered. As economic situation improves, Akseli and the eldest boys build a new barn and clear new fields. Vilho performs the military service, proceeds to non-com school, and returns home; after that also Eero performs the military service. Akseli prospers thanks to the help of the boys' hard work. Elina's father dies and Akseli takes over both his property and debts. Akseli turns fifty. Koskela main building is expanded. Elina's mother dies.

Second World War begins, and all the three oldest boys must go to the war front. Vilho gets promoted to a Sergeant. Both Eero and Voitto get killed in the battle. Vilho goes to officer education and soon after that he informs his parents that he will stay in the army as a paid Ensign. This is a disappointment to his parents because they have expected him to come home. Kaarina gets engaged and eventually married, and Juhani takes care of the lands together with Akseli. Vilho gets killed in the battle. Peace negotiations begin. Akseli dies. The novel ends with Elina quietly reminiscing on their past life.

The reception of the trilogy varied (see Storbom, 1992: 179-230). When the first part emerged in 1959, it was mainly well-received by critics and laymen alike and as many as 130 000 copies of the book were sold. The publication of the second part in 1960 was also greeted with praise, perhaps even too much so; there were hardly any critical voices or proper public discussions, presumably due to the sensitivity of the topic at the time. The final part of the trilogy was published in 1962. Although many of the critics in Finland considered the third volume as the weakest one of all three, most of them thanked the trilogy in its totality, considering it a major literary event, as did the critics in Sweden. The trilogy eventually earned Linna the Nordic Council's Literature Prize in 1962. Currently, the trilogy has been translated into 14 languages (Translation database, Finnish Literary Society, cited 21.1.2019).

Since the novels had now been chosen, I had to decide, which characters were to be selected for the analysis and the next section will briefly describe this process. After that, the reading of both Koskela and Kariluoto will be performed. The chapter continues with a comparison of the similarities and differences between characters within the novels and in-between the novels and the interview material, and ends with a discussion concerning an item-level listing of the discursive resources used (or not used) in both.

#### 4.4.2 Choosing the leader characters

In *Unknown Soldiers* there are several army leader characters with different leader properties, e.g. fatherly, psychologically skilled Captain Kaarna, philosophical yet mellow Major Sarastie, and courageous, yet rigid rule-follower Lieutenant Lammio among others (Syrjä, 2004; Arnkil, 2003; Koskela & Lankinen, 2010). The two characters used in this work are, however, Koskela and Kariluoto.

Through what type of process were these characters, Koskela and Kariluoto, chosen? The process of coming to choose them was not straightforward as it consisted of several qualitative comparisons within the novel (between different leader characters) and between the novels and the interview material. The transcribed interview text was read several times and it was contrasted with several, parallel readings of the novel in Finnish and in English, with an eye to different leader characters separately. Also, the original manuscript of *Tuntematon Sotilas, Sotaromaani* (2000) was read, as it further clarified the character of Kariluoto. Also, as it became evident that the development of Koskela was mainly situated in the third part, *Reconciliation, of Under the North Star*, the novel was also read several times, both in Finnish and in English. In addition, a number of commentaries and dissertations used during the lay reading phase helped in figuring out which characters to include or to exclude from the final analysis.

Eventually, through a process of exclusion described next, the chosen characters were to meet certain requirements: in comparison to other characters, they had to be central to the book; they had to be “round” (Forster, 1927), i.e. deep and multifaceted characters with some development; they had to be described in a comprehensive manner so as to provide material for analysis; they had to have a formal leader position; and, finally, I as a researcher had to be able to compare and match the compiled narratives with the characters’ leadership themes, growth processes, and habituses.

I began this phase of the study by looking at most central officer characters – Lammio, Sarastie and Kaarna. Lammio did not develop during the novel (Syrjä, 2004: 344), but remained quite ‘flat’ (Forster, 1929), caricature-like character, built on only few superficial features (Pfister, 1988: 178) all through the story. Although Lammio might have suited the analysis habitus-wise (gentry), he did not match the interview material content-wise which is why the depiction of this fairly prominent character was not chosen for the final analysis.

I now investigated more ‘round’ (Forster, 1929) central officer characters and Major Sarastie was such an option. Sarastie focused mostly on strategic level and



abstract, even philosophical thinking, so the position from which the interviewees spoke differed often slightly from that of Sarastie; the interviewees' speech came mostly from a closer distance in relation to their subordinates. Sarastie's role in the book was not very prominent, either, and did not thus provide enough material for analysis, even though he seemed to be a fairly round character which even showed some development in the course of the novel (Syrjä, 2004: 342-344). The other 'round' option, Captain Kaarna, could be described as a sharp and intelligent, fair and fearless leader who always supported his men (Storbom, 1992: 141; Syrjä, 2004: 292). Yet, even though many interviewees showed similar attitudes towards leadership and their subordinates in their accounts and the character was fairly 'round', his role in the book was small and did not provide enough material for a growth process analysis.

Both centrality and roundness of a character as distinguishing features seemed to help in the choosing process; however, there had to be "food" for development analysis, too. Hence, I continued by looking at the most central petty officers, which at some point of the book were in a leadership position in the same way as the interviewees were. The depiction of many such officers (e.g. Lehto, Lahtinen and Mäkilä) was, however, rather 'flat' and built only on few, permanent features with no development (Forster, 1929; Syrjä, 2004: 386). Of petty officers, the most 'round' and the one with clear leader qualities was presumably Hietanen (c.f. Syrjä, 2004: 256, 356, 386). Nevertheless, the character did not quite match the research material even though he was one of the most multi-faceted characters and showed some development in the course of the book (Laine, 2015, 191); his habitus-related features were not particularly clear, either.

What about Rokka? Rokka did embody many mutually contradictory facets of man, so he could definitely be regarded as a 'round' character in that sense. The character did not, however, show much development nor match the interview material content-wise (Syrjä, 2004: 358-359, 386). Rokka will, however, be brought up again in the discussion section.

Were there any leader characters in *Reconciliation* which should have been taken into consideration? To me, the only such leaders were the vicar's son Ilmari Salpakari, village teacher Pentti Rautajärvi, and Elina's brother, Janne Kivivuori. Like the Koskela boys, also Ilmari Salpakari joined the army and became a leader. The character was multifaceted and showed little development in novel, but his profile did not match the interview material content-wise. The other possible leader character was schoolteacher Pentti Rautajärvi. This character neither provided enough material for development analysis, nor matched the interview material with its content. The third option in *Under the North Star* was Janne

Kivivuori. Although the character was reasonably ‘round’ and showed some development, his story did not provide much material for growth analysis even though habitus-wise he was interesting; he too will be brought up again in the discussion section. The remaining and chosen leader characters, Koskela and Kariluoto, will be described in their own sections in the analysis and in more detail.

Why were these characters chosen? As I was analysing the interview material, I distinguished two different ways of speaking which represented two habituses. In the novels, I noticed a matching feature in the author’s propensity to divide his characters into two opposing categories and the chosen leader characters seemed to represent them (c.f. Nummi, 1993: 42, 188; Storbom, 1992: 180-189; Martikainen, 2013: 14; Arnkil & Sinivaara, 2006: 7, 18-19; Raittila, 2000: 23-24). As this type of juxtaposition had been found to exist in other historically notable Finnish literary works and in Finnish contemporary popular culture, too (see Heinonen, 1997; Nummi, 1997: 75-76), these fictional characters therefore matched well not only the interview material but also a marked feature of the Finnish repository of stories of which *Unknown Soldiers* and *Under the North Star* are largely constructed of and belong to.

However, it was not my wish to underline the divide between the two groups, but rather to look at characters’ parallel growth processes, each in their terms. Although in the novel(s) the dialogue between the two groups was rare, also an exception to this could be found: the two officers, Koskela and Kariluoto were not set against each other in the above sense, but were rather developed as characters side by side by the author (Niemi, 1988: 131). In *Unknown Soldiers*, they were described as working together and developing a cautious friendship (Syrjä: 2004: 295, 342), which showed mutual respect for the other person’s struggles and goals:

*“The relationship between the two officers was exceptional in all it comprised. Kariluoto tended to take his cues from Koskela’s moods and Koskela delicately tried to avoid being forced into any sort of role as psychological leader.”*  
(*Unknown Soldiers*, 168)

To me, this choice by Linna seemed to lessen the juxtaposition between those two groups of people and instead to open a quiet dialogue between them. This space of dialogue seemed to bring especially Kariluoto-character’s struggles with realities of life into a sharp focus; the character was also described to come to realize and appreciate the greatness of his accomplished, yet unpretentious fellow officer Koskela. As for Koskela-character, the author seemed to use this space to describe an ability to overcome one’s background and painful memories and to show respect, tact, and support towards Kariluoto’s genuine attempts to grow.

In sum, I ended up using the descriptions of these characters to “interrogate and augment” (Rhodes, 2009) the information obtained from the interviews, and vice versa. As I was reading the novels and characters, I did not see them as representations of reality to be directly “used as indicators of prevailing attitudes and social relations” (De Vault, 1990: 887), but rather as elements of cultural leader discourse that both enables and constrains storytelling. The stories that novels tell merge with other cultural stories in “discursive interactions” that extend over time and “constitute the textual traditions within which both makers and users of representations operate.” (De Vault, 1990: 889; see also De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2008; Talbot, 1995: 24-25, 52-53) Such traditions and conventions, learned by the members of the community (such as myself), serve to uphold a shared understanding of what the process of leader development is amongst them.

#### 4.4.3 Reading Koskela and Kariluoto

This section begins with the reading of Koskela and continues with that of Kariluoto. Both readings proceed in a processual fashion from their earliest of years/moments to the ends of their stories so that their development trajectories will be shown to the reader as clearly as possible; in Kariluoto’s case, however, this is more difficult, as the character, although showing much external, “career-like” linear development, also evolves in the axis of abstract vs. concrete, which is difficult to organize in similar fashion. Nevertheless, the most important observations regarding the discursive resources Linna uses to build the characterizations will be marked with a bold font and gathered in the end of the chapter.

##### 4.4.3.1 Koskela

Generally, Vilho Koskela is one of the most prominent leader figures and also probably the best-known character of *Unknown Soldiers*. His development is not particularly visible and can be read only from little hints in the text of the novel. As his background and early years are described in Linna’s *Under the North Star*, especially its third volume *Reconciliation* (2003), it also is made use of in the following text passages.

In both of Linna’s works, Koskela is being described mostly from without by the “omnipresent narrator” or other characters of the book. This choice by Linna leaves the reader somewhat unaware of character’s internal thoughts and feelings and hence the reader must rely on environments, other characters’ commentaries,

and character's action to express things about him. As a characterizing technique, this seems to bring a reader's focus on the external world, emphasizing the significance of the practical, concrete, and necessary and surpass the internal and abstract. The initial impression a reader gets from the character and his living environment is conveyed by the following lines by the author: *"When people live on a remote woodland farm and work from dawn to dusk in order to survive, their mind-set seldom rises above the prosaic."* (Reconciliation, 79) In Pentti's corner, everyday life is dictated by the necessary.

Pentti's corner, from which the character is described to come from, is a small, **rural** village. In consequence, the character's general attitude throughout the novels is directed towards the **local and the domestic even** though this attitude gradually starts to change during war experiences. Vilho Koskela is written to have a modest background with little education, and in modern terms the description of his habitus tends towards the **working class**, with an emphasis and appreciation of hard work as the first-born son of an uneducated crofter, later a farmer, Akseli Koskela.

Already during his early years, the character is depicted to have a desirable attitude towards work:

*"Even his grandfather had nothing to say about Vilho. If Jussi had been capable of softness towards children, he would undoubtedly praised Vilho at times. For the boy behaved as if he were older than he actually was. He approached work in a pragmatic way, which, in Jussi's opinion, was the supreme virtue. Vilho's attitude was result of his being forced to help in everything he was the least bit able to do during Akseli's imprisonment."* (Reconciliation, 48)

Here, the character is described to understand the importance of work very early, and the excerpt reveals the significance of **diligence** also in his environment. At first, high work ethics is adopted because of the demands of the situation, but later in life it becomes a virtue in which the Koskela boys compete against each other.

As the eldest of the boys, Vilho learns already early on to take care of other people and to be **responsible** for them. A small example of character's role as a big brother is depicted in the scene where he and his younger brother must carry a large stack of wooden rods home:

*"Eero said they could not do it in one trip. But Vilho looked at the stack and said: "Well, let's try anyway." This was a characteristic expression of his. Actually the words indicated an irrevocable resolution that they would take the rods in one*

*trip, but he did not want to say it in a rigid and challenging manner.”* (Reconciliation, 49)

The character as the eldest and responsible ends up carrying not only his own but also his younger brothers' rods and even though “*the last meters almost killed him, he did not give in, but went on to the end.*” (Reconciliation, 49) Here, through characterizing action, the author seems to depict the character's early sense of responsibility for other people and his solidarity and determination (c.f. Nummi, 1996: 261). The very same features are shown also in *Unknown Soldiers* where the character, in army leadership position, is described as the one to take the heaviest burdens from the others.

The character is described by the author as continuing to excel as a worker also as a youngster, and his tasks are all **practical** and related to farming, for instance swamp clearing, lodge driving, brick layering, and hay stacking. He helps his father in paying a debt by driving lodges in the same way as the grown men, by taking initiative in acquiring a horse, and by making deals on his own. Even though the young lad's efforts are first laughed at, he is soon recognized and acknowledged as an equal by the other men:

*“Vilho arranged the matter of a horse on his own as well; he would drive and split the proceeds fifty-fifty with his grandfather, that is, half for the driver and half for the horse.--- The other drivers were chiefly the same kind of freed tenant farmers as the Koskelas. At first they joked a little about the boy's driving, thinking he was trying to fill a man's shoes too soon. But when the piles of logs the boy hauled turned out to be nearly as large as their own, they changed their tone completely. One old tenant called out from his sleigh to the boy who was ahead of him: ‘I guess we have to take my horse for shoeing tomorrow... One of his shoes is coming a little loose’. That was how one talked to on equal. To the father, the men said: ‘The boy has a sharp eye. He is not like you. You always bulled your way through.’ The observation was correct. Vilho really did have an eye, a keen and sharp eye. He could always spot the easiest place to drive a horse through and the place where one could get a load with the least difficulty. He did lose weight. His cheeks grew hollow and their bright red changed to a frost-bitten chap. But the loss of weight was a sign of toughening and strengthening, rather than exhaustion. Often he [Vilho] rose before others and stood as if waiting. It was a kind of summons to work directed at his father.”* (Reconciliation, 170-171)

In the excerpt, the character is described through skilful hard work, initiative, and quiet leadership. In work, he is shown to **collaborate**, carry responsibility, and make independent decisions. In this way, he simultaneously earns a great deal of **social capital** and respect among village men to whom diligence is clearly a value

and of which they **give positive feedback**. From home, the character also learns collaboration in the form of helping other, poorer or weaker, villagers in the spirit of **solidarity**. An example of this is when the character's father wants to help Emma Halme, an elderly widow, and muses while observing her empty wood shed: *"She does not have any wood that is split...I have to tell Vilho...She lied because she can't stand to ask..."* (Reconciliation, 100) Clearly, the wood-chopping chore for Emma will fall into Vilho's lap.

The character is described to volunteer and perform the compulsory military service early with the intention of helping in farming at home. He gets to proceed to non-commissioned officers' training school thanks to his talent. Some minor superiors try to haze him:

*"His being ordered to the school was something of a departure from the ordinary, since he had a family burden to bear, his father having been a red officer and his uncle being a socialist representative in parliament. In addition he was arrested after only a couple of weeks for having a hit a buck sergeant over the head with a rifle-cleaning rod. After a rifle-cleaning session, the sergeant found his posture at attention to be unsatisfactory. He ordered one of the older men to take a tight grip of Vilho's nose and then knocked the man's hand away. That hurt. Vilho snatched up the rod and struck with such strength that the rod hit bent double over the sergeant's head. The punishment was meted out on the regimental level, and Vilho had to sit in the guardhouse for two weeks. But after that he was not subjected to any special hazing.* (Reconciliation, 282-283)

The character is here shown to encounter and overcome **conflict** which implies that his position as future officer and a superior is still questioned, and he still **lacks legitimation**. However, the text implies that his talent and achievement is gradually earning him power keepers' trust and willingness to legitimate his budding leadership; at this stage, they are his minor superiors, who he has to struggle with.

Vilho and his brother are described to take part in Winter War, and in the midst of injuries, such as bad frostbites, the character's reputation grows:

*"Eero wrote, and since Vilho did not get to see the letter, he mentioned that the oldest of the brothers had done well. Just before the frostbite, he had become leader of half the platoon, 'which pleased everyone because the former leader was a pisshead and Vilho was well thought of. In the December attacks when the Russians broke into the positions in places, he took the machine gun up onto a roof because the Russians were on all sides and you could no longer fire from*

*below. He's like a bowl of clabbered milk. No matter how you shake it, the cream stays on top.'* (Reconciliation, 327)

The description by Linna reveals some of the reasons, why the character continues a successful leader journey with numerous **promotions and general good reputation** in the army: he is cool-headed, courageous, and well-liked among other men.

After these experiences in the Winter War and upon returning home, the character's self-perception together with the attitude towards power keepers and "better people" is described to have changed: *"His villager's soul had been torn asunder. He could no longer look upward with his eyes. What meaning did these people's status have? On the front he had seen the elite and the workers die in the same way, with the same horror and panic in their eyes."* (Reconciliation, 347) In this characterizing passage, Vilho seems have gone through a change in his view of man; he seems to have come to the conclusion that ultimately he is equal to other people and they are **equal** to him.

Typical of the character as a leader (from here on named Koskela) in *Unknown Soldiers* is that in situations which require acting in the formal superior position of an officer, he is rarely depicted to resort to ordering. Instead, the character uses **expressions which seem informal**, neutral, or passive in form (Aaltonen, 1997; Koskela & Lankinen: 2010: 141-142) which in the context of the novel denote to a somewhat low habitus. Nor is the character described through **exemplary** action in the same way as other officers, for instance Kariluoto. However, when it comes to significant moral issues, the author shows that the character possesses a firm opinion in the scene, where the group takes a Russian soldier as a prisoner. One of the men, Lehto, volunteers to take him to the command post and –against the groups' sense of morality- kills the unarmed man by shooting him in the back, falsely accusing him of an attempted escape. This event in its bold indifference towards human values and life offends the Koskela-character's sense of **justice**. Authorial characterization describes the character's internal experience in a following manner:

*"Nothing had been quite brutal enough to desensitize him to the insanity of war. He fought, and he fought better than countless others, but each despicable deed and show of pride in killing awakened a judge in him."* (Unknown Soldiers, 116)

The character is also described as a psychologically intelligent leader in his approach to men (Koskela & Lankinen, 2010: 141; Nummi, 1993: 64-65; Aaltonen, 1997). This can be seen in the scene, where the platoon has set to enjoy its well-deserved rest, but it is soon ordered to leave for battle again. The men are angry

and refuse to go. The character's reaction as a leader is described in the following manner:

*“Koskela packed up his things, and not without care. Nothing about him suggested that he considered this outburst a sign of insurgence – he seemed happy enough to let the men vent their anger in peace. ---...he knew perfectly well that when he tossed his pack on his back and left, the men would follow without further ado. But if he were to try to clamp down on their angry protests, in whatever way, the men's bitterness would just fester in the back of their minds, and far more dangerously.”* (Unknown Soldiers, 176)

Again, in this scene, the character is described through **refraining from emphasizing rank and authority** in a situation, in which other officer characters such as Lammio or Kariluoto would be described as openly protesting against it. The character simply bypasses the conflict and moves on to action, expecting others to follow (Koskela & Lankinen, 2010: 143.) Instead of being characterized through taking formal power and personal space visibly and directly (like Lammio, for instance, might do), the author shows Koskela-character as operating more indirectly and possessing a great deal of informal power (Koskela & Lankinen, 2010; 145-146) and **social capital**. In sum, in comparison to other officers' leadership style, the character's approach is thus low key and “invisible”.

Koskela and Lankinen see the character as leading from the front, but in comparison to many other leaders in the novel, he seems to be **leading from the middle**. This happens through acts of solidarity and through taking care of practical needs such as food and shelter (Koskela & Lankinen, 2010: 145). This, contrasted with for example characters like Lammio or Kariluoto, again implies less distance from men and a more practical worldview and habitus:

*“Koskela's platoon had reinforced their bunker with beams scrounged from neighbouring town's tshasouna, one of those Karelian Orthodox chapels, so they didn't have any of the bedbugs that plagued the bunkers reinforced with timber scrounged from people's houses. It was Koskela who had seen to this, further enhancing his reputation amongst the men. ‘Son of a bitch thinks of everything.’”* (Unknown Soldiers, 311)

In the same way, the character's focus on the immediate and practical is visible in the scene, where the battalion finally reaches one of its main destinations – Petroskoi. Koskela, however, is described to concentrate on entirely different matters. Rokka is interested and asks:

*“Say, what the hell you got goin' on over there?”*



*Koskela was laying belly-down on a rock, using a twig to bait ants into attacking each other. Two ants hurdled themselves into battle just as Rokka was speaking, so Koskela just said, 'Not now!' He was smiling – that curious, private smile of his, evident only in and around his eyes.” (Unknown Soldiers, 233)*

To me, this excerpt shows Koskela-character’s mindset in that when one of the most important milestones of their journey is being reached, the character is portrayed to totally ignore its large-scale implications and meaning and instead as concentrating on the situation. This again tends to give the reader the impression of focusing on the concrete instead of abstract or ideological.

The character is described to get **praise** for his skills as a soldier and a leader, to have a large amount of **responsibility** on his shoulders, and to **educate** himself in this field a great deal (see Laine, 2015: 139: Koskela & Lankinen, 2010: 140): “All anybody knew was that near the end, he had been serving as a company commander, even though by rank he was only a sergeant. When the war ended, he had been sent into officer training, and he had remained in the army beyond his conscripted time at the pay grade of ensign.” (Unknown Soldiers, 5) **Alongside practical experience, increasing practice-based theoretical knowledge** seems to be the area of biggest development of the character in the story – first in the form of non-com school and later in the form of formal officer training.

The character is described to be a bit hesitant about formal officer education, though; his family is, however, in wonderment, which implies that the habitus the education refers to is something entirely new and surprising to it:

*“Alma, to whom of old an officer had meant someone very exalted, since in her youth only a few manor owners had been officers, watched the boy pacing back and forth on the floor and said: ‘So he’s really going to be a gentleman.’ Amused at his grandmother’s amazement, Vilho said something jocular. He himself was not wholly enthusiastic about the matter, for the thought of the coming spit and polish was distasteful to him. (Reconciliation, 345)*

In the excerpt, “coming spit and polish” refers to that fact that officers keep their appearance and clothing in an impeccable condition. For a country man with a worker’s habitus this is a foreign, yet necessary habit which must be adopted if one is to suit the task of an officer and the habitus the of the gentry.

Even though the character’s education is not as formal and scientific as that of for instance Lammio’s but rather practice-based learning (Koskela & Lankinen, 2010: 140-141), officer education together with military skill is described to earn him

leader **legitimation** in the military despite his background. Those also earn him the respect of the village teacher and dean, who both belong to the power keepers of the village:

*“The dean’s respect for Vilho was completely sincere. In addition to the fact that he had heard rumours of the boy’s exceptional military accomplishments, the officer’s rank also had its effect.”* (Reconciliation, 351)

The character is described to choose to remain in the army despite the pressing needs of family; in comparison to that of Kariluoto-character, the character’s **space to choose** is much smaller, mostly due to demands of livelihood and lack of means in the family. This perseverance is a sign of the pursuit of social mobility; Koskela wants to become an esteemed and independent officer (Laine, 2015: 138-139). However, the character is shown to have an ambivalent attitude towards his own rank, and this conflict leaves the character hanging between the officers and the men, and, on a larger scale, between the social classes (Laine, 2015: 138-139; 146-147; Koskela & Lankinen, 2010: 140; Syrjä, 2004: 355). Bourdieu calls this type situation a “small misery” (Järvinen, 2010: 234-235; Järvinen & Kolbe, 2007: 17; c.f. Vuorikoski, 2012: 120).

Linna illustrates this problem with the scene, where the character and his men are described to cook home-made brew, get drunk, and sing popular songs such as “Army Battalyon”, “Lotta Lundgren”, “Yokkantee”, and also rebels’ anthem “Red Guards March”, which all can again be interpreted as signs of worker habitus in the context of the novel. The author also provides a description of a simultaneous celebration in the (other) officers’ tent with fine liquor and songs in German, both implying a habitus with plenty of cultural and possibly also economic capital. Also, in officers’ tent everyone is described to be intoxicated. Drunk and irritated by the painful memories aroused by the March, Koskela-character stumbles into the other officers’ tent and starts a fight by talking “Russian” jibberish to Ensign Spectacles who tries to sing a song in German.

*“(Koskela) started to count insistently, ‘Odin dva tri pyat...Odin dva tri pyat...’*

*‘Have you got something against me?’ Spectacles asked, growing ever more furious. But Koskela just continued on in his curious tongue, ‘Union sovyet sosialist...tis...list...k republeek...Holodna karasho maatreeshka dee-yay-vushka krashnee-soldier komsomolski homoravitsha bulayeva Svir...Dada dai dada! Dada dai dada...’*

*It finally dawned on Spectacles that it was the foreign language of his song that had prompted Koskela’s carrying on.”* (Unknown Soldiers, 298)

In the novel, this awkwardness, even aggression and rebelliousness towards other officers and their cultivated valuations does not go unnoticed by the character's officer colleagues. The author voices their views through Lammio, who –described as being equally drunk- judges the character as uncivilized and therefore unfit for the 'circles' and possible further military promotions (Nummi, 1993: 63; Willner, 1980: 199; Schwede, 1980: 109-110):

*“It is not always the case that personal courage makes a man suitable for the rank of officer. When they asked me about possible candidates for officer training, I thought of Rokka and Hietanen, but I decided against it. And this kind of thing proves that I was right to do so. As good a man Koskela may be, he lacks the sense of tradition and the true spirit of a real officer. He does not fit into civilized circles – which is why he buddies up with his men and the vents his resentment in a drunken outburst. There is no other possible explanation. I wouldn't have believed it of a man so calm and restrained.”* (Unknown Soldiers, 301)

From the perspective of a Lammio-type of character, external properties such as an impeccable behaviour, discipline, appearance and internal properties such as a sense of tradition and officer spirit would clearly be signs of true officer. For such a character, **downplaying one's formal authority** and fighting in the officers' tent seem to be proofs of an uneducated and primitive nature, and apparently a place among the officers, those “philosophers, romantics, and intellectuals” (Nummi, 1993: 62-63), will not be granted for a person, who “eats iron and shits chains” (Unknown Soldiers, 298).

Through this scene the author conveys a characterizing feature – the character's incompatibility with his rank. This feature is strengthened by the author's descriptions of Koskela as consorting with his men instead of other officers; his reference group is thus the-rank-and-file (Laine, 2015: 139; Willner, 1980: 100; Koskela & Lankinen, 2010: 146).

*“...men felt he was one of their own, because he was just like any one of them. When he was off-duty, no one would have been able to say he was an officer without checking his badges, so naturally did he blend in with his men, right down to the detail.”* (Unknown Soldiers, 167)

The character is still never described as having actual **close friendships** with any of them, so in a sense he is presented as being physically very present, but mentally as slightly distant. Still, the effect his equal and informal style has on the men is described to be reassuring and soothing instead of distancing or cold:

*“Every one of them had taken note of the fact that Koskela had broken rank in his exchange with Rahikainen, getting involved as if the two men were equals, rather than a private and an officer. And from then on, Koskela interacted with them all that way. --- The marked gesture on Koskela’s part was not without effect, however. Just his presence was enough to calm his men’s nerves, as he seemed somehow closer to them. He was the one they trusted to resolve all the questions the future promised to pose.”* (Unknown Soldiers, 48)

Through the course of the novel, Koskela as a character demonstrates the tension between the position of compliant dependency, i.e. being an officer with “proper”, yet unfamiliar habitus of an officer, and creative independency; i.e. being a rank-and-filer with a familiar habitus and more freedom. The author reconciles this tension only at the very end through a description of Koskela falling into excessive courage in following orders and dying (Laine, 2015: 144-146; Koskela & Lankinen, 2010: 149).

#### 4.4.3.2 Kariluoto

In comparison to Koskela, whose developmental arch is provided to the reader in the course of the three parts of *Under the North Star*, with the story of the adult Koskela continuing in *Unknown Soldiers*, Kariluoto-character’s story takes place in *Unknown Soldiers* only and his background is sketched only with few lines in the beginning and middle of the novel. Hence, when it comes to his developmental journey as a whole, there is much less text material and a shorter yet steeper arch of development than is the case with Koskela-character; still, this “external” lack is somewhat compensated with the rich description of character’s inner life all through *Unknown Soldiers*.

An observant reader notes that habitus-related markers are abundant in both characters’ descriptions which make those descriptions interesting to examine from that perspective. However, when it comes to leadership, in comparison to the depiction of Koskela-character, Kariluoto is described through use of rather negative features and properties, for instance aesthetic vanity and clumsy and unsuccessful action of a learning leader; in the case of this character, traditional positive leader qualities seem to be more obscure and harder to elaborate than those of the Koskela-character. I will return to this observation and its possible implications later.

The figure of Jorma Kariluoto is described by Linna as an idealistic young gentleman, a high-school graduate, and an aspiring lawyer who is a son of a Lutheran, educated, civil servant family (Nummi, 1993: 133; Schwede, 1980: 80,

108; Laine, 2015: 126-127; Koskela & Lankinen, 2010: 165). The few hints the author provides regarding the character's family (for instance the references the author makes to German idealism, army, and language) imply that its orientation is **cosmopolitan** in comparison to that of Koskela. The character's family and their friends are described as being nationalist-minded and as discussing such abstract issues together. The character is depicted as naively adhering to those values and ideals and as aspiring to try to reach those ideals through a triumphant voyage in war:

*“Finns march into Petroskoi.’ How many times had he heard his father and his friends talking about Eastern Karelia, even when he was a child? Of those kindred people, sighing beneath the yoke of foreign rule, whose liberation was the duty of the Finnish nation – a duty that should never leave their thoughts. They ought to think about it at mealtimes, at work, ponder it while preparing for bed; and during the night, visions of it ought to fill their dreams. And now it was here. They were liberating Karelia.”* (Unknown Soldiers, 239)

In the beginning of *Unknown Soldiers*, the character is described by Linna as “a small-town, high-school graduate from the wealthier, western part of the country, trying to live up to some mythical ideal of the Winter War ensign by performing his duties with outlandish ceremony.” (Unknown Soldiers, 51) In comparison to Koskela, Kariluoto-character's living environment thus tends towards more **urban** scenery; this interpretation echoes Aku Louhimies' recent reading (2017) of Kariluoto which situates him in Finland's capital, Helsinki. His habitus as a **high-school graduate** and an **aspiring lawyer also** tends towards **gentry** with a greater amount of intellectual and presumably also economic capital than what the Koskela-character has. Kariluoto-character's family is described later only by saying that they are civil servants, which in comparison to Koskela farming connotes a habitus with more **cultural capital**.

In comparison to the other characters, Kariluoto is built to be a multifaceted personality, whose thoughts and feelings are described from within extensively by the omnipresent narrator. The character's sensitive and emotional nature is on display throughout the whole novel in his private ruminations which the author describes in detail. In contrast to the description of Koskela-character, this choice by the author presumably enhances the impression of self-reflectiveness and thus strengthens his habitus; in my opinion, a sensitive nature as well as a propensity for abstract thinking implies an **abstract world view** instead of concrete or practical. The depiction of Kariluoto is probably one of the richest and 'round' (Forster, 1929), i.e. multidimensional in psychological disposition, situational and

relational behaviour, and ideology (Pfister, 1988: 178-179) of all the characters in *Unknown Soldiers*.

Also development-wise the character is of interest. Indeed, of all the characters in the novel, it is he, who develops experientially the most (Koskela & Lankinen, 2010: 159, 164), especially in the areas of practical skills and of understanding of less educated and wealthy people and the reality they live in. Here the very idea of **learning practical skills** acts as an implicit characterization technique, as it refers to the character's relative inexperience and "otherness" in the war front; no such lessons can be found from the text passages describing adult Koskela-character's journey in *Unknown Soldiers*. In the novel, Kariluoto-character's world and the world of his fellow men are described to differ from each other in several ways - another implicit method of characterization by Linna.

This awareness and habitus-based gap (c.f. Arnkil 2003: 3) is written into the scene, where the character, despite a failed leadership experience, manages to lift up his spirits and to feel successful again. He offers cigarettes to the men:

*"He took a couple of boxes of cigarettes out of his map case and called out cheerfully, 'Come and get a smoke!' Cigarettes for every man with a mouth to smoke 'em in. Bursche, come, pass 'em round'. This word 'Bursche' had emerged directly from his thoughts about the Army Academy at the first opportunity. Some legacy from the 'Iron-fisted German army', with its high command and lowly gophers, called 'Burschen'. The word itself wasn't that bad, as it basically just meant 'boy', but the class-ridden mentality wrapped up in it certainly was. So much so that now, even this pure-minded youth appeared to have been infected by it. (Unknown Soldiers, 63)*

In the scene, the character is depicted through using **foreign, German language** which in the context of the novel implies cultural capital and habitus of gentry. The omnipresent narrator states the class-related meaning of the German word explicitly as well as points out its negative quality with the descriptive word *infected*. When it comes to character's language-use in the novel in general, in comparison to Koskela-character's informal, dialect-based language, Kariluoto-character's speech is much more **formal and literary Finnish**, and for instance Mollberg seems to underline this feature in the characterization of Kariluoto in his movie (1985) and to support this observation.

The general impression the reader gets from the character is that of an idealist - in thought and in action. As a rookie in the war front, he is described as being easily won by words and speeches; again, he is tending toward the foreign and abstract in the form of German idealism, Greek nobility, and history (Nummi, 1993: 42;

60-62: Syrjä, 2004: 295) which all as tools of characterization imply cultural capital and also possibly material capital. The high future hopes and aims the character is described to have in the beginning of the novel also imply wealth, because a young man with a more modest background would not be able to envision and make future plans as freely and almost out of whim, as he is described to do.

This can be seen in the scene, where the character, feeling himself victorious after the first successful attack, comes to the sudden realization of wanting to devote his life to the military. He **dreams** of his future and envisions an impressive leader career: *“Once again, he was the vigorous Ensign who had drilled his men back in the burnt clearing. He even thought of Sirkka, and felt a powerful wave of masculinity pervade his being. ---He would marry her; and when he did, it would be as Captain of the army of the Greater Finland – if not Major! He would enrol at the Army Academy at the first opportunity. Yes, that’s how it would be. No law school for him. Kariluoto could already see himself as a young career officer.”* (Unknown Soldiers, 62-63)

For his family the character writes about his plans and newly found sense of duty in the following way:

*“...I am proud of my mission. I have decided once and for all that I will pursue a career as an officer. Just now, every other career looks meaningless to me. Soon, we will see Carelia free one more time. And from her deepest despair, Finland will rise up to fulfil her manifest destiny. Today, in one short instant, I experienced so much. I understood definitely, today, that my life belongs not to me but to Finland.”* (Unknown Soldiers, 68)

The author has written the Kariluoto-character to operate from a fairly **free space** in making choices; he is depicted to afford to seek meaning, mission and influence from work instead of mere livelihood and necessity as Koskela-character does. Also, Kariluoto is described as not only being able to choose between two esteemed careers but also as being able to make the choice without consulting his family the acceptance of which seems to be a given. Yet, this spontaneous, self-directed turn of the character’s career can be contrasted against the description of much older Koskela-character’s decision to remain in the army; his decision causes negative feelings in his parents, who need him at home.

Similar habitus-related markers are abundant especially in the early pages of *Unknown Soldiers* where Kariluoto-character is described as only starting to learn to lead in the war front. In a scene which again reveals the character’s habitus, the men are stalking a group of enemy soldiers. Kariluoto orders fire in the following

manner: *“All right, men. Drop the needle. Valse Triste,” Kariluoto said, registering the horror of the situation, despite his excitement.*” (Unknown Soldiers, 90) Here, the character is again characterized with a reference to Jean Sibelius’s well-known opus which indirectly denotes to **cultural capital** in the form of awareness of and taste for classical music. The expression suits the situation rather poorly, so as a means of characterization it reveals Kariluoto-character’s unawareness of ‘normal’ mode of speaking in the war front.

Even though the character lacks such social capital concerning the “code of conduct”, Linna describes, how after some leadership failures the character manages to find a cautious connection to his men. This happens in the scene, where -after some success in the battle- he gives them **positive feedback** and congratulates them of job well done:

*“Full to bursting, he set off toward his men, congratulating them as soon as he arrived. ‘Men, remember this: we are the ones who made the breakthrough for the battalion today. Good old Platoon Four here ran the show. And Ukkola, that was some first-rate work you did with the second squad’s submachine gun. You keep it up just like that from here on out.’ The men were pleased. They stopped whispering snidely amongst the Ensign’s posturing. Kariluoto had gained a foothold in the minds of his men. That fellow’s not half as bad when it comes down to it. Yeah, but he still got some of that cock-a-doodle-doo about him. Look! Look how he swaggers when he walks!”* (Unknown Soldiers, 96)

The gap between the leader and his men is not easily closed even though mutual acceptance has begun to sprout; the men are described as still being slightly guarded towards their leader. It seems that when it comes to leadership, the Kariluoto-character already has the power keepers’ legitimation, but due to his inexperience and different habitus he seems to struggle with **credibility**; for Koskela-character it was mostly the other way around.

In this endeavour of trying to grow as a leader, the character’s actions and words are do not always meet their mark and **mistakes or at least mis-evaluations** are being made in the heat of the battle which again acts as a characterizing tool; again, in contrast, Koskela’s development trajectory does not include any such descriptions. An example of this is the scene, where the character, in desperation, is described to command his men in the following manner:

*“Kariluoto was desperate. He could sense that the attack was losing its edge. But the thought unleashed a powerful wave of his former drive. Fear lurked in the depths of his soul. Strained, tottering on the brink of despair, he suppressed it, and little by little his will won the upper hand, and he was able to get his anxiety*



*under control. “‘Crawl forward!’ Take turn firing. Take advantage of the terrain. Squad leaders. Get your guys together and advance in squads, half the guys cover while the other half advance. Give an example for the others to follow!*

*The nearest squad leader ordered his men to fire and rose to make a run for it. He had just come into line with Kariluoto when his sprint was cut short. The man rolled onto his back. A blue hole lay between his eyes, right in the center of his forehead. His hand fumbled for the button of his collar and went stiff, his mouth gasping for air a few times, like a fish out of water.*

*‘Tyynelä!’*

*No answer. Kariluoto crawled over and confirmed that the man was dead. Just then the bullet tore a hole through his own cap.*

*‘Rekoma, take the second squad’*

*A man from the second squad, Tyynelä’s coffee buddy and closest friend, was endeavoring to aim his gun. The sight was blurry. His eyes smarted with tears and sweat. In a choked-up voice, wavering with anger –the anger directed at Kariluoto- he muttered, ‘Example, example. There’s Tyynelä’s example.’ --- Kariluoto was already nearly ten yards out in front of the others.” (Unknown Soldiers, 79)*

This excerpt shows many facets of the character in leadership: determination to find the courage to **lead from the front**, desire to **influence** others behaviours through being a **model** for others to follow, **delegating** of tasks, and also **erroneous evaluation** regarding speech and perhaps also action. Through this type of description, Linna also seems to paint a picture of a person who tends to rely on words and rhetorics in influencing and convincing the men, which again connotes the habitus of gentry. However, in this “terrain”, they are actions, not words, that speak the loudest.

Despite the initial humbling experiences of cowardice and incompetence the author provides for the reader when depicting Kariluoto, the character is described to take his duty seriously and to try to fulfil it by overcoming fears, as the above excerpt showed. The character develops as a man and as a soldier mostly by accepting **new challenges** and **learning and applying practical battle skills** and mind control; Kaarna, Koskela and Rokka have been written to act as his coaches and role models in this regard (c.f. Syrjä, 2004: 295); also another officer figure, Autio, is depicted to play a part in challenging Kariluoto:

*“Autio knew about Kariluoto and his plans to pursue a career as an officer – which was why he was applying every possible psychological pressure. He knew that, of all the platoon leaders, Kariluoto was the one who, despite his weaknesses, would have the hardest time saying, ‘I can’t make it any further.’”* (Unknown Soldiers, 80)

Of all his fellow officers, Kariluoto-character respects especially Koskela with whom he also befriends with. Little by little, the companionship with Koskela and other **role models and coaches** is described to bear fruit:

*“Little by little, Ensign Kariluoto had developed into one of the battalion’s best platoon leaders. Autio gave him all the toughest assignments, and Kariluoto, for his part, tried to take Koskela with him whenever possible. --- (Koskela) knew that every time Kariluoto boldly threw himself into the line of fire while he was watching, he was doing it to make up for the moment back in the swamp when he had taken cover, unable to lead the advance. It was as if the young man wanted to redeem himself with these courageous acts, to free himself from the shame of the memory and regain his self-respect. And this is precisely what happened, in reality. With each obstacle that confronted him, Kariluoto repeated his command over and over to himself: Fourth Platoon, advance! and his voice grew more assured every time. And every time he shoved the feeling of weakness deeper into the recesses of his chest. Kariluoto came to be counted beside Koskela, Autio and Lammio as one of the battalion’s bravest officers. (Unknown Soldiers, 168-169)*

After starting to overcome his credibility and plausibility issues caused by habitus and battle skills, the character’s relationship with his men is depicted to evolve into a kind of a friendly supervisor-subordinate-relationship (Koskela & Lankinen, 2010: 161, 166). This happens without losing the esteem of neither those below or those above; a close relationship with the rank-and-file is not described to exclude the character from the circle of officers. Contrary to that of Koskela, Kariluoto-character’s implicit reference group is thus the group of officers, not his men. Although the gap between the character and his men is described to diminish (Koskela & Lankinen, 2010: 160-161; Nummi, 1993: 106; Syrjä, 2004: 295), in comparison to Koskela-character’s “invisible” leader position, Kariluoto-character’s supervisory style and leader conception seems to comprise of **visibility** and a small, yet clear, separating distance which is crossed, but which is never quite fully closed.

The author’s description of Kariluoto’s development does not end in him accepting challenges and overcoming them, however. Learning how to be courageous is not enough – the character also learns how to **protect** those he leads. This is implicitly

visible in the scene, where the character receives “*a profound shock*” which makes “*a profound impression on him.*” The character is described to decide to proceed with an attack even though the order to cut losses has already been given; pressing on desperately, Kariluoto still tries to succeed in the attempt:

*“Kariluoto convinced a few guys to go with them, but they didn’t make it to the trench. Instead, the battle-runner took a bullet in the stomach as he was throwing a hand grenade, and the venture stopped short. He was in severe pain, as an exploding bullet had torn his stomach to shreds. Kariluoto himself moaned at the horror of the sight as he tried to bind the boy’s wounds.”* (Unknown Soldiers, 169)

This young, childishly courageous boy, who is described only to follow Kariluoto’s lead and command, eventually dies a painful death, with Kariluoto himself crying and praying for him during his last moments. Kariluoto’s state of mind is described by the author through the letter he writes to the boy’s parents:

*“...I am writing to you because I am the one who ordered him to the spot where he fell – I am not at fault, but I am aware of my responsibility. That is why I am writing: because I do not want to shirk responsibility, but to take it on as my burden to bear, for great as it may be, greater still is the cause for which he, and all the rest of us, have come here.”* (Unknown Soldiers, 170)

The description implies that the character has grown to face and to take full responsibility of his commands as well as the fate of those the character leads. Although the text does not say it directly, the whole scene by Linna seems to portray the character as learning the hard way about a leader’s responsibility in making choices and in protecting those one is responsible of.

Internally this educated and well-meaning character has been interpreted to have an aesthetic and dramaturgical attitude towards life (Arnkil, 2003), which causes him disappointments in the military; for me, this type of aesthetic orientation is again a sign of the habitus of the gentry. The character’s aesthetic view on life causes him to observe everything, including the Finnish army as a whole, from the position of separateness and **distance**; for the character, “*this army had no military bite*” and “*rigid ranks of iron-clad Storm Troopers*” were here nowhere to be seen (Unknown Soldiers, 121). Instead

*...there was nothing but a circus of scruffy wisecrackers, scrounging for food like a pack of homeless people. They were cursing and griping and wagging their tongues, desecrating every last sacred thing. They even had the gall to mock the noble and dignified manner in which the Marshal issued his Orders of the Day. They were almost like communists. They downed their emergency rations at the*

*first pangs of hunger, and when they felt like singing, it was not 'Die Fahne Hoch', but some rowdy rendition of 'Korhola Girls' that rang out from the ranks. And less inspiring, if more illustrative, were the names they gave themselves, such as 'the pack', 'the gang', 'the herd', 'the shit she-bang', 'the loony platoon' and 'the desperadoes'". (Unknown Soldiers, 122)*

Again, this excerpt puts the habitus-related markers of the time, 'Die Fahne Hoch' and 'Korhola Girls', in parallel to each other, and reveals the character's predilection towards the former ones - those preferred by the gentry.

Kariluoto-character's aesthetic and ideological view of life colours not only his perception of army, but his perception of his fellow men, too. He is described to be ashamed of the crude behaviour some of the men show when arriving at Petroskoi; he looks at those men harassing local women as if from afar, disappointed and disgusted, preparing to intervene if necessary: *"Kariluoto had already taken a few steps toward the man when the latter had taken hold the woman, but he abandoned the effort once she saw her escape into the building. He felt ashamed, and angry: These people...these people... where did these people come from?"* (Unknown Soldiers, 238) This excerpt shows that Kariluoto neither accepts others' behaviour nor wants to act in the way many other men, even officers, do – his **values** are different.

Halfway through the novel, Kariluoto-character is described to be promoted to a Lieutenant and -unlike Koskela-character- to be warmly welcomed to the circle of officers. The character joins the other officers in Marshall Mannerheim's birthday celebration, where they enjoy fine liquor, speeches, and songs in German; the description again conveys the habitus of the gentry. Here the character shares his drunken view of leadership, which is markedly different from Koskela's view of leadership:

*"The only way to influence a Finn is by example. And then you have to spark his ambition. A private feels his subordination in relation to his superior, and that feeling has to be directed so as to persuade him to carry out acts that make him feel he's rising up to the level of his superior. But above all, no weakness... lock it up inside you, whatever it is. On the outside – like a rock"* (Unknown Soldiers, 296)

The scene shows the character's ideas of leadership which seem to arise both from the position of separateness and from a **heroic, role model leader view**. In the excerpt, Kariluoto-character also talks openly about leadership on an abstract, **meta, level** and shows interest in both people's psychological motivation and

officer ideals (Koskela & Lankinen, 2010: 166-167) which all seem to refer to abstract-level thinking and hence to the habitus with cultural capital.

However, soon after this, the character is described to witness the humiliating treatment Koskela gets in the officers' tent, and to hear Lammio's crushing analysis of this man, who has not been duly credited for his accomplishments. After sobering up, Kariluoto feels remorse and realizes how small their role as leaders in the large scheme of things is (c.f. Niemi, 1980: 56):

*“Goodness, how far away all this was from the center of things, from the point upon which the reality of all these events turned!”* (Unknown Soldiers, 302)

Here, although a heroic, exemplary leader ideal has been described to loom in the back of character's mind, these lines by the author seem to convey **authenticity**, sense of **self-awareness**, and sincere clear-sightedness about oneself (and others) which is one area which is depicted to develop in the character in the course of the novel; Kariluoto is shown to learn to know the reality not only of himself but also that of his fellow men (c.f. Raittila, 2000). This **re-evaluation** of self and world in general results in a firm sense of mission. By putting ideals aside and by facing the humbling reality (Arnkil, 2003; Raittila, 2000: 24; see also Syrjä, 2004: 318), the character wins the men's trust and develops into a leader whom they respect:

*His idealism underwent a change as well. The irrational waves of emotion gave way to a firm sense of duty. He became a favorite within his platoon before long too. The men had never hated him, but they had considered him somewhat immature on account of his over-zealousness. Now the brave among them saw it as their duty to live up to them, and the weaker demonstrated their respect in other ways.”* (Unknown Soldiers, 169)

The character is described to always uphold a sense of integrity, standard, and duty (Arnkil, 2003), which he serves to the very end, even without necessarily knowing why. Such questions still haunt him: *“No, there was absolutely no room out here for a man's solemn, spiritual side. This was a place of base, bare-faced brutality. Even Kariluoto had sometimes wondered, what endowed him with the moral right to drive other men to their deaths.”* (Unknown Soldiers, 230) Again, such musings concerning spirituality and morality are abstract and serve as means of characterization of a self-reflective person. Kariluoto-character can be seen to epitomize the idea of a tension between abstract ideology and practical action (Laine, 2015: 131-135) and the author reconciles it only at the very end, through a description of a hopeless, self-sacrificing, and dutiful fight against an overpowering enemy which leads to the character's death.

## 4.5 Discursive resources in the interview stories and the novels

This section focuses on listing and comparing the observed dualities in-between the novels and the interview material. First, I will briefly comment on the final narratives (presented in the results) and the dichotomous setting those narratives and their elements will be exhibiting. After that, I will proceed to discuss the process and criteria through which I have come to choose those elements. The section will then continue with a closer examination of the dualities in-between the novels and the interview material; these dualities consist of the criteria separating between the two modes of speaking identified in the first holistic reading phase of the interview material as well as one additional dimension (“obstacle to overcome”) which had not been identified at that phase of the analysis yet. The section will end with a discussion of the item-level listing of the discursive resources in the interview stories and the novels (Appendix 3).

When it comes to the relation of the illustrative inner narratives to each other, *the setting between them was dichotomous; this setting again was based on two habituses, identified both in interview and novel texts*. When it comes to those materials, one could note that the contrast between the representatives of the two groups of habituses was sharper in the novel (worker vs. gentry) than it was in the interview material (lower middle class vs. upper middle class). This presumably reflects the differences between the structures of the Finnish society in the 1950s and in 2010s; due to the multiversality of Finnish culture in 2000s (Purhonen, et.al., 2004), the large majority of Finns can nowadays probably be seen as roughly belonging to the middle class and its different sub-varieties which lessens the juxtaposition between the groups represented by the two characters in the novels.

As was shown above, the analysis process *as a whole* consisted of the interaction between the interview material and the novels; the interview material was read against the novels. The analysis was made in a cyclical and hermeneutic fashion (Josselsson, 2007) so that the readings and interpretations were made in several phases which all informed each other in creation of logical and plausible illustrative inner narratives. Even though some of these resources did not quite seem to “fit” or to find their place (i.e. they did not belong to the typical and established cultural “templates”), there was still enough material for ideal type construction, presented in the results-section.

The approach in its totality was slow and laborious, since it required numerous re-readings and comparisons between the individual interviewees’ accounts, themes, and characters in the novels. However, in addition to the placements and orders of

the resources in the materials, the process also followed the general principle of narrative analysis according to which the sense of truthfulness of narrative interpretation and hence the criterion of its validation is based on readers' subjective experience or recognition of truthfulness and plausibility of the narrative (Fraser, 2004; Heikkinen, 2001a: 24-25; Heikkinen, 2001b: 127, 192-193; De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012: 16; Polkinghorne, 2007; Czarniawska-Joerges, 1995; Rinehart, 1998). This means that the plausibility of the illustrative inner narratives as indicating certain habituses was another major guiding factor in their construction.

The study will now proceed to look more closely into the dualities and resources between the interview material and the novels. These dualities are summed up in Table 5; these dualities consist of the criteria of separating between the two modes of narrating identified in the first holistic reading phase of the interview material as well as one additional dimension ("obstacle to overcome").

In both interviews and novels, the narrative of Kariluoto was written as being quite urban and cosmopolitan, naturally and effortlessly taking influences from abroad, whereas the Koskela-narrative was generally more domestic and local and occurred mostly in a rural setting. Kariluoto's space of choice in both was free. In the interviews, the Kariluoto-style space of freedom could be sensed in the ease of the comments about deciding to go to university such as *"So I was working and then the next year I thought that ok, how about I go to School of Economics in (City), let's see how that goes"* (F1) or *"I did not get in then, but then on the second try, after the military service, I was serious and did get in easily, it really was no problem at all."* (M2).

The space of freedom was also implied by very fact that the speaker talked about spending time for searching for one's direction at some other point of one's life; no such talk could be found from the life stories tending toward the Koskela-narrative: *"I kinda wanted to figure out, what I wanted to do, what my next move was going to be, career-wise. --- And I mused and pondered... My life was pretty quiet, and it was just lovely as XXX (blurred) was not so hectic and it was a kind of a period of reflection."* (F2)

**Table 5.** Similarities and differences between the characters in the novels and between the novels and the interview material

Duality in the text of the interview material			Duality in the novel(s)		
'Character'	Mode of narrating 1	Mode of narrating 2	Character	Kariluoto	Koskela
Worldview	Cosmopolitan	Domestic, local	Worldview	Cosmopolitan	Domestic, local
Setting	Urban	Rural	Setting	Urban	Rural
Space	Freedom	Obligation	Space	Freedom	Obligation
Habitus in the story	Middle class, tending toward upper middle class	Middle class, tending toward lower middle class	Habitus in the story	Gentry	Worker
Capital	Cultural	Social	Capital	Cultural	Social
Relationship to leadership	Resource	Reward	Relationship to leadership	Resource	Reward
Obstacle to overcome	(Credibility)	Legitimacy	Obstacle to overcome	Credibility	Legitimacy
Main development resource	Experience	Education	Main development resource	Experience	Education

Occasionally, this space of freedom characteristic of the Kariluoto-narrative was brought up explicitly, as a general life situation: *“At home, I never got to do anything practical, because mother did and grandmother... saying that don’t clean or cook or do anything like that. Because of that also, my time has been used for thinking abstract things and reading and all that and... maybe indirectly I was encouraged to do just that, room was made for it.--- Because if the system had been such that we would have had turns for doing dishes or something as we did not have a washing machine, it would have taken time from other things, but we had it very free. And then I might have valued those (practical) kinds of things more than others. In a way, these (orientations towards the abstract) have sneaked into my way of being.”* (F6) Excerpts from the novel(s) concerning the space of freedom were provided above in the lay reading section. In comparison to



the interview material, the novel seemed to give a clearer impression of space of voluntariness which was probably due to the need of building a distinct imaginary character.

The Koskela space of choice was instead characterized by obligation. In the interview material, the Koskela-style sense of obligation could be noticed in the comments such as *“What I have inherited from childhood is a strong labouring culture, I have strong work ethics. I remember, when summer leave began, in our family it certainly did not mean that children would ‘lift their feet on the table’ and rest. Instead from the very first free day on we worked on the farm.”* (F7) or *“I have been very work-oriented, up to the point of exhaustion, maybe now as I’m older I can prioritize things slightly better.”* (F3); again, excerpts from the novel(s) were provided above in the lay reading section. Similarly to Kariluoto, the narrative of Koskela in the novels conveyed a stronger idea of obligation than the interviews did; the contrast between freedom and obligation was clearer in the novel(s). Nevertheless, both freedom of Kariluoto and obligation of Koskela could be sensed in the interview data as a subtle quality of text.

In both interviews and novels, both characters had to overcome an obstacle to become leaders. In the narrative of Kariluoto, this obstacle was achieving credibility as a leader and it was mainly overcome by gaining practical experience and consequent self-awareness. The development happened mostly by weaving practice into theory, even though in both the materials also theoretical knowledge was being accumulated in the course of the development trajectory. In Koskela-narrative, the obstacle to overcome was gaining legitimation for leader position from peers and power keepers and this was mainly achieved by increasing cultural capital in the form of formal education. The development thus happened by weaving theory into practice. In the novel, the knowledge accumulated was practice-based, but in the interview material also purely theoretical knowledge was being mentioned. In the novel, especially Kariluoto’s struggle to reach plausibility and credibility was clear; Koskela’s struggle for achieving legitimation was more muted but still distinguishable. In the interview material, however, it was the other way around: only few interviewees mentioned credibility issues, mostly in the beginning stages of their careers. The legitimacy issues, however, were mentioned often and they concerned others’ lack of acceptance of oneself as a leader, usually halfway through one’s career (see growth themes for excerpts).

In both interviews and the novels, conceptions regarding leadership seemed to be the same: Kariluoto-style leadership was an internal resource, whereas Koskela-style leadership was a reward of hard work. When it comes to habitus, in the novels Kariluoto represented the gentry. However, in the interviews the narrative rather

represented Finnish middle class habitus and tended towards 'bourgeoisie ethos' and upper middle class values (c.f. Järvinen & Kolbe, 2007: 38-39, 106; Käyhkö, 2006: 51); the narrative presented cultural capital (e.g. literature, art, education, etc.) as the main resource in both the novels and the interviews. When it comes to Koskela, in the novels, he had a farmer's/worker's habitus, whereas the interviews rather reflected middle class values and tended towards working class mode of speaking in its emphases (c.f. Kortteinen, 1997; Lucas & Buzzanel, 2003; Lucas, 2007; Järvinen & Kolbe, 2007: 106; Käyhkö, 2006: 51). In both the novels and the interviews, the Koskela-style narrative presented social capital (relationships, alliances, supporters, etc.) as its main habitus-related resource.

Appendix 3 lists the discursive resources found in the interviews and the novels. The left hand side of each table lists the discursive resources regarding growth, leadership, and life found in the interview materials; the middle column answers the question whether that particular resource could be found in the novels, and those which were found in both were marked with X. In the final column, an example of a particular resource in the novels is provided (when possible). *Those discursive resources which both the materials shared were interpreted to be culturally enduring and established, because they had been used in the texts from both the 1950s and 2010s*; those, again, which were found only in the interview material were seen as temporary, personal, or misplaced by the researcher. It should be noted, however, that these choices have been made on the basis of explicit texts in both materials and do not thus cover the meanings the narrators or the author of the novels may have tried to convey implicitly.

*One may see from the table that the interviews and the novels had a number of shared discursive resources and it was indeed possible to construct ideal-typical narratives out of them.* The resources that were not found from both of the materials were in the Koskela-narrative for instance "occupational education", "listening", "empowerment", "fervor", and "dissecting problematic experiences in formal dialogue so as to reformulate a new theory-in-use". As for Kariluoto-narrative, such resources were related to acquiring knowledge ("independently acquiring abstract knowledge by practitioners and scholars", "increasing theoretical and practical knowledge" and "synthesizing knowledge through tenacious problem solving into a defensible solution"), and to guidance and reflection ("dissecting problematic work experiences in informal dialogue so as to reformulate a new theory-in-use" and "taking time to re-evaluate self and action"). Moreover, "entrepreneurship" and "creativity" could not be found from both the materials either; the resources "protection" and "lack of plausibility" could be found only implicitly and were therefore put in brackets.

The study will now proceed to the results section of the dissertation. The final illustrative inner narratives will be built from the established resources or those with similar core qualities; yet, also the less established ones will be included in the final narratives to show the variation they bring to the contemporary leader discourse. The final illustrative inner narratives will merge the plotlines, leadership ideas, life themes, and habituses in the most plausible way possible.

## 5 RESULTS

This chapter presents the results and conclusions of the analysis. Out of several different, intertwined readings of both the interviews and the novels, illustrative inner narratives of leader development journeys have been combined and constructed by the researcher. As these narratives tend toward the imaginary, also interpretation and use of imagination has been involved in this process (Fraser, 2004). These final, “distilled” (Hänninen, 1996) contemporary illustrative inner narratives represent leaders of both sexes. In presenting the results, for me, habitus comes prior to gender, but for the sake of equality (see section 4.4.1. for criticism directed at male-centeredness of *Unknown Soldiers*), I’ve chosen to write one narrative from the perspective of a male and one from that of a female which of course has directed my choices to some extent. The final narratives have been built from resources carrying the core qualities and “embellished” with fictive markers of contemporary habituses.

As these compilations do not directly match any of the participants’ stories or lives but are only the researcher’s own interpretations of the research material (c.f. Ahmed & Rogers, 2016; Ahmed, 2013; Josselson, 2007), they may be regarded as types of scientifically justifiable hypothetical caricatures that consist of prototypical discursive elements, and if a narrative resembles an individual interviewee’s personal story, it is because that particular story seems to be more “typical” than others. One important thing to note is that these narratives are here understood “more as *processes* that emerge under certain socio-historical conditions than as finished products” (De Fina, 2003, my italics), *carved in stone; these ideal types may manifest in various ways when individuals’ talk about their journeys to leadership.*

When it comes to interpreting the results of the analysis, these illustrative inner narratives may be approached in three different ways. One may try to reveal my personal underlying reason or motive for writing them (subjectivist explanation), to consider my external factors such as class or gender as reasons for the narratives to be as they are (the objectivist or scientific explanation), or to see the meaning of these narratives as built in interaction (constructivist explanation) “between the readers and the text, among the readers, and between the author, the readers and the text.” (Czarniawska, 2000: 63-71) Building on the information provided by the text materials, I have put the final illustrative inner narratives together as compilations of personal-cultural ideas and discourses with the hope of sensed cultural plausibility, recognizability, and even significance amongst the readers of this dissertation. To me, these illustrative inner narratives are thus best

interpreted through Czarniawska's (2000; 2004: 67-68) constructivist lens to leader development.

Up until now, the study has dealt with the stories of Koskela and Kariluoto as points of comparison and complementation. However, in my opinion, these characters and their development stories are creations by Linna, and they are therefore also reflections (or contestations) of larger cultural master narratives. Hence, I do not want to anchor my illustrative inner narratives to these development stories only but rather to move beyond Linna's creations with names that still try to encapsulate their essences. For this reason, I name the illustrative inner narratives with metaphoric labels of **Settler** (Koskela) and **Miner** (Kariluoto).

These names make use of the idea of understanding *land as a metaphor relating to habitus and freedom*. To a Settler, the direction of growth is "outwards" from the space of obligation - by metaphorically leaving the familiar land one has inhabited, entering a new, slightly unfamiliar territory, and working hard in order to create a place of freedom for oneself; by this I refer to Koskela-type striving for social mobility. For a Miner, again, there is no need for such a metaphorical journey or forced hard work, since one already operates from the space of freedom; one owns and inhabits one's proverbial land. To a Miner, then, growth happens "inwards", which means understanding growth as freely digging deep into the "soil" so as to find its riches and accumulating one's wealth in that way; by this, I refer to Kariluoto-type striving for increased self-knowledge.

## 5.1 The narrative of contemporary "Settler"

*Anne is a forty-two-year-old woman with two children. She spent her childhood in the country, in a small municipality. From the early age Anne as the eldest was given a lot of responsibility in the family – she had to learn to take care of her younger siblings all by herself already before her teens and learn to do many different kinds of household chores, as the parents worked all day. The parents emphasized the significance of work and industriousness; no slacking was allowed in the household. Therefore, already during the secondary school she asked if she could do some cleaning work in the restaurant her mother worked for, and from thereon, all through her school years she both went to school and worked in different jobs such as a helper in a nearby market or as a seller, preparing hamburgers during weekends and holidays to earn her own money. Her supervisors noticed her diligence and gave her positive feedback, of which Anne was proud; she was elected as an "employee of the month" several times.*

*During the little free time she had, she headed a group of girl scouts as she loved the outdoors and wanted a hobby which was in some way nurturing. Towards the end of secondary school, Anne's relatives started to ask her, what she wanted to do as an adult – maybe she wanted to go to high school as she worked hard, and her grades were good? She, however, was not interested in reading books anymore. To her, it felt like huge waste of time – she wanted to get to real work!*

*Anne knew fairly early her field of choice, health care, in which she could make a steady income. She decided to pursue her work vision of becoming a nurse and applied to a college to get an education. There she met her boyfriend who was studying to become an engineer, got married, and had her first child during her studies. Although studying and having a child simultaneously was somewhat challenging, she felt she learned even more about what it meant to carry responsibility. With childcare help from her close family members and husband, she graduated. After graduation, Anne worked hard, which was duly credited, as she was asked to do different tasks due to her diligence. She happily consented, because she wanted to learn as much as possible, especially by following closely those “who actually knew what they were doing”. For her, it was important to get practical experience, increase knowledge, hone one's skills, and earn credibility in the eyes of others by accepting all kinds of tasks and roles in her occupation in the grass root level. In time, became the jack-of-all-trades, whom others came for help and advice - they knew she always had sensible suggestions and an ability to get things moving.*

*However, in time, she found that the parts of her work which required specific practical knowledge began to feel to be less interesting and appealing to her than those with larger, administrative dimensions and responsibilities. Gradually, she got chances to test her good organizing skills in occupational expert roles, which gave her more challenge and taught her to work more independently and responsibly, which she noticed she greatly enjoyed. Consequently, she, somewhat hesitantly, applied to temporary group supervisory posts – not because of lack of belief in herself, but because of embarrassment and loyalty to her peers. Although some of her subordinates did question her supervisory role as she had previously been one of them, she managed to persist thanks to her respectful attitude. As leadership had never been her goal, she herself was positively surprised by her success, which prompted her to take more action and speak her mind in meetings; for this, however, she had to overcome her fear of excessive exposure. As she also realized that studying gave her opportunities to proceed in her career and develop as a supervisor, she continuously took different types of courses (alongside work of course!) which – along with her practical experience-supposedly further legitimated her slightly superior position in the work place in*

*the eyes of others. In private life, although such theoretically oriented studies sometimes felt hard, they provided a much-needed own space, in which to develop and enjoy oneself separately from the family responsibilities.*

*As a person Anne was well liked and respected because of her friendly, yet firm leading style which concentrated on the issue. She also got her second child, and combined family and work with further theoretical studies of her field. Her acquaintances and former colleagues encouraged her to proceed and accept even more demanding supervisory positions in the future, and to her the idea felt increasingly tempting. However, her family life had already suffered from her excessive working and the marriage ended on her initiative. Although this choice was hard, she felt that she had got more space for herself, and her new husband supported her aspirations concerning work. She now also realized the value of occasional relaxing, not the least because of her slightly deteriorating health.*

*Anne proceeded to head a large administrative unit with a dozen of direct subordinates and tens of indirect ones. She worked hard to create service for other people, and in her leadership, she emphasized mutual trust, collaboration and solidarity, considering her subordinates her peers with whom she was “in the same boat” with. Yet, as she wanted to be fair towards everyone, she kept her distance from her peers during free time. In private life, one of her children had fallen ill to an incurable disease years ago which had opened her eyes to the other side of the health care system. Her employees could now see how the experience had changed her as a leader. They appreciated her quiet understanding, long experience and unpretentious and down-to-earth leading style, sensing that she respected and listened to them and wanted them to grow and exceed their own limits. Despite her friendliness, however, Anne could now be very firm in her decisions, especially if it was the right thing to do and best for the common good. Although such situations could be mentally challenging, Anne felt that the hospital provided her with the emotional support system she needed; occupational group therapy sessions for leaders helped her in dealing with which seemed to herself as “excessive niceness”.*

*Generally, Anne was happy with her work, but should she feel there was nothing new for her to develop, she suspected she might seek other work possibilities -she was –after all- still hungry to serve the community, loved to work hard, and eagerly sought for results in collaboration with others; she continually tried to figure out, how to better facilitate learning and results in her staff and in the organization in general. She was not, however, necessarily willing to move elsewhere for career possibilities, because here she knew everybody which made things at work so much easier; besides, local women’s networks provided her*

*opportunities to collaborate and educate and mentor young women in their careers which she greatly enjoyed. Also, her parents were getting older and needed her to help them in practical matters and –as always- the responsibility fell in her lap. She loved the town house she and her husband had planned and built for themselves a couple of years ago; yet, she already had several renovating projects in her mind for the house, the summer cottage, and the garden where her children and family’s Golden Retriever Milla spent much of their time. However, as excessive working had now somewhat taken its toll, Anne now tried to take care of her health more and seek recreation from leisure activities such as swimming, Nordic skiing, spending time with her female friends in the nearby larger town, or an occasional family trip to Turkey or Thailand.*

## 5.2 The narrative of contemporary “Miner”

*Petri is a forty-eight years old man with a wife and two adult children. He is one of two siblings, and he spent his happy childhood in a mid-sized city, raised by parents with academic backgrounds; Petri’s father had studied history but ended up being a bank manager; his mother taught English in local high school. During their free time, both the parents were active in active in local associations and enjoyed travelling, both domestically and abroad. Petri’s mother was very culturally oriented, so she enjoyed reading fine literature and listening to opera; his father again took interest in genealogy. From early on, Petri was known as a friendly and active young lad and his parents wholeheartedly supported his varying interests, encouraging him to try out different hobbies to gain experience and find the things which suited him the best. Petri spent his free time reading novels, playing and coaching hockey, and even experimented with school acting club; to him it was great fun, but not necessarily something he would be willing to devote his life to. During their summer holidays his parents would take him and his sister with them to abroad; in winters they would travel to ski in Austria or in Lapland where they had their own vacation villa. When Petri got older, he either had summers free or worked for the local church.*

*For the parents, education, sophistication, and diligence were normal ways of being, and for them also Petri’s high-level performance at school and other activities was a given. As Petri enjoyed reading and did his homework, he did well in secondary school, as his parents and relatives had always anticipated he would. After secondary school, Petri did not have to think twice about his plans: he would of course go to high school. He spent the first year in America as an exchange student to see the world and to improve his skills in English. After*



*finishing high school with good grades, Petri applied to university to a large city. Because of his insouciant attitude, he did not get in on the first attempt. He or his parents did not think much of it; wasn't it in fact better to perform the military service first? There he got his first taste on leadership as he noticed that (as usual) he wanted to perform well plus he enjoyed teaching and training new recruits which skills proved useful later on; also one of superiors showed leader qualities which were left in his mind for years to come and which he adopted to his own style of coaching his hockey team of younger lads.*

*On the second attempt to university Petri shaped up and got in with flying colours. He had a vision of what he wanted to become and he studied systematically to get a Master's degree in Economics; even a budding thought of doctoral studies lurked in the back of his mind as a possibility, either in Finland or even abroad. He envisioned a good career in which he would be able to influence things - a permanent, well-paid position in a multinational company with good career prospects, responsibility, and challenges through which he could grow as a professional. Despite occasional excessive partying, Petri took his studies seriously and worked diligently to get the degree with his newly found girlfriend from another university department. He performed well academically, acquiring practical experience of his field through summer jobs in a large bank of his university city. Learning the job did not go as smoothly as he had expected, but after few unfortunate yet educational blunders in practical matters he got a hang of it. During leisure time he was active in sports and participated in student union activity, even tipped his toe in local politics, being well-liked among his acquaintances.*

*Petri got his first "real" job in a large, dynamic, multinational company, in which he worked in a junior expert role which developed his self-confidence and provided a chance to proceed in his career quickly. Secure with career prospects of a multinational company, Petri and her girlfriend got engaged, married, and had their twins. In his consequent positions, Petri keenly sought for new creative challenges and was positively noted by his superiors because of his social nature, outspokenness, initiative, can-do -attitude, and drive to develop himself professionally. Consequently, Petri was promoted to have a small team of experts to be lead, although a leader role had not initially been a career objective for him. At first, his new role felt uncomfortable and his leadership clumsy, both to himself and his subordinates, and he made mistakes in trying too hard to lead which caused slight amusement in his subordinates. However, he took his previous army superior kind of a role model and the role gradually started to feel a bit more natural. Due to his background as an expert, Petri still felt somewhat unsure of his leadership, of which he seeked for more information from trade*

*publications and in-house trainings of the organization. Individual coaching sessions with a coach were useful too as they helped him to identify, what to change and how in himself; with more awareness of himself and others he could now act more authentically and be himself in the leader role.*

*Through the years Petri got invited into different leader roles in different functions, which brought him multiple perspectives to the business as a whole. As his positions required him to deal with massive amounts of data and come up with defendable solutions for the company, he became good at looking at the big picture, identifying the most important things, analyzing options for action, convincing others, especially the management, of the feasibility of his solution as well as standing firm at the face of possible opposition. Also, the number of Petri's subordinates grew. His drive was to do high quality, innovative work and to simultaneously increase his subordinates' motivation and capability by delegating responsibility. As he grew increasingly sure of his leadership, he was easily in closer terms with his subordinates, whom he saw as both colleagues and friends, and he interacted with them both at work as well as during leisure time. He did his best to enable their work and learned that he also had to sometimes protect them from what he regarded as completely unfair external changes and demands. Petri felt that such conflicts caused pressure and even a couple of difficult personal decisions, yet made him stronger as a leader, since they increased his awareness of his own values as well as his responsibility as a leader towards his employees. In consequence, he grew even stronger moral roots in favour of his subordinates as well as of the vision and impact he wanted to accomplish through his work.*

*Petri's children are already adults, so he lives together with his wife in a large town house by the sea near the capital. The years of experience and education have eventually provided him with a birds-eye view to the business as a totality, with multiple perspectives on his own and others' leadership, which is why he now knows who he does or does not want to be as a leader. Petri's view of the significance of humane, dialogical, and interactive leadership is nowadays strong, and decisions come easily to him as they are based on his deep core values. To many of his subordinates he is secretly a kind of a role-model of large-scale thinking, insight, and wisdom. Petri is happy with his career and his current post and looks forward to new opportunities where to make use of his skills. He has planned to make use of his business and leadership experience in an entrepreneurial role of which he has always been interested in; working as an entrepreneur might provide him a way to fulfil a personal dream and "do his own thing". That need is also met by his pastime projects such as actively following domestic and foreign news, frequently visiting modern art museums and theatre,*

*reading good quality literature such as Paul Auster and his now deceased father's favourite Väinö Linna, spending time at the family summer villa in Porvoo seaside, or by repairing and maintaining an old sailing boat together with his wife.*

## 6 DISCUSSION

This final chapter will provide a glance at the dissertation as a whole. The chapter begins with an overview and discussion of the results, continuing with a conclusion and discussion of the meaning and possible implications of the results on a more meta level. The chapter also sums up the theoretical and practical contributions of the work, looks critically at the restrictions and reservations of the study, and finally, maps out directions for possible future research.

### 6.1 Overview of the study

The objective of this study was to construct ideal typical illustrative inner narratives from talk and writing concerning the leader development journey. In order to do this, a review of different leader development views was made, their limitations were identified, and an alternative approach of leader development as a discursive, narrative phenomenon was introduced. The idea of leader development as a narrative practice was approached through Vilma Hänninen's model of narrative circulation which centred upon the concept of inner narrative.

This concept was developed into an illustrative inner narrative in which the idea of 'illustrativeness' was based on Bourdieu's concept of habitus. The empirical part of the study made use of multiple narrative readings, and two distinctively different illustrative inner narratives were constructed out of the discursive resources identified through them. The construction happened by reading the interview materials by twelve leaders against fictional leader figures' development trajectories in Väinö Linna's novels *Unknown Soldiers* and *Reconciliation* and by building their shared discursive resources into narratives. The narratives and their particulars were presented and discussed at the end of the analysis.

The two narratives constructed on the basis of research material seemed to be fairly different in their implicit conceptions of what leadership and leader development meant and what type of habitus they represented. The illustrative inner narrative of a Miner seemed to give the impression of space of freedom of choosing (or not choosing). The development process thus had the quality of self-chosen activity toward increased self-awareness, authenticity, and clearer personal position in personally important matters. Development in the Miner-narrative happened through increase of practical experience and resulted in a transformation in protagonist's relation particularly to oneself (and other people).

Leadership in the Miner-narrative seemed therefore to be something to be "found" and enriched in the self, a resource. As such the narrative seemed to tend toward

something that is nowadays understood as the ethos of authenticity (Taylor, 1991). Characteristic of such ethos is that local interpretations and valuations win primacy over authority power and in consequence the centre of values, morals, and choices is mainly located in the individual him/herself (Giddens, 1991; Terrén, 2002; Taylor, 1991). It follows that one is entitled, even obliged to concentrate on one's self and life which otherwise may be left somehow incomplete. Since authentic life is understood to happen through expression of one's self, the challenge is to find it through its continuous creation; through expression of one's self, one may become aware of one's identity and develop it further (Taylor, 1991).

The Miner-narrative seemed to explain person's initial occupational success and eventual leadership with having abstract knowledge. Characteristic of the Miner-narrative was the significance of abstract knowledge and academic success which was from early on taken as self-evident (c.f. Järvinen, 2010: 235) and supported by both the narrator and his/her immediate surroundings (family, friends) and of which consequent leadership position(s) seemed to stem from. The illustrative inner narrative of a Miner emphasized the availability of different forms of cultural capital, be it embodied such as dispositions and values, objectified such as works of arts, or institutionalized forms of cultural capital such as educational merits (Kaipainen, 2008: 35, 203-209; c.f. Järvinen & Kolbe, 2007: 38-39). Cultural capital was thus the initial main form of capital in Miner-narrative. However, the initial cultural capital was not enough to ensure leadership. Therefore, the plot of the narrative showed the importance of increasing practical experience and growing as a person in becoming a leader.

The narrative of Miner reflected Finnish upper middle class habitus. Nowadays characteristic of such a habitus is for instance senior white-collar position and academic degree irrespective of family background (Roos & Rahkonen, 1985). Roos (1988) lists persistent progress, self-control, autonomy, independence, freedom, choice, self-discipline and mastery of one's own life as middle class moral properties. Of these, especially internally focused development, freedom, and choice seemed to be important, even taken for granted. The narrative was located in urban scenery and tended towards 'bourgeoisie ethos' and upper middle-class habitus (c.f. Järvinen & Kolbe, 2007: 38-39, 106; Käyhkö, 2006: 51; Roos & Rahkonen, 1985).

Leadership in the Miner-narrative seemed to occur from a position of a fairly long distance and in the front of the subordinates by setting an example (c.f. Käkälä-Puumala, 2001: 244), sometimes by one's mere being, as the current theory of transformational leadership suggests. The narrative therefore seemed to tend toward and draw from the heroic leader discourse (c.f. Pietikäinen & Lankinen,

2009: 27). At the extreme end of this type of discourse, a leader is understood to be willing and able to take risks, open new avenues, and overcome obstacles thanks to his/her determination and resourcefulness (Olsson, 2002; Parry & Bryman, 2006; Alvesson & Sveningsson, 2003; Sveningsson & Larsson, 2006; Zaleznik, 1977; see also Watson & Harris, 1999). In the Miner-narrative, this type of leadership seemed to already exist in the individual; it only had to be revealed, clarified, honed, and enriched in the self through overcoming personal challenges, i.e. through internal leader development process. Through these features, the Miner-narrative echoed trait and charismatic theories of leadership as well as the humanist views behind authentic leadership research (see Jakobsen, 2009: 119).

For this reason, Miner-narrative also seemed reflect the self-awareness leader discourse (Andersson, 2012; see also Lepistö-Johansson, 2009: 208). Of all the leadership theories, it is authentic leadership research which probably emphasizes the importance of self-awareness through self-reflection the most. The roots of authentic leader research lay in positive psychology which promotes the idea of development of a fully actualized human being: in touch with one's authentic, virtuous core and with a clear view of one's self, this type of person is able to make wise and ethical decisions independently of one's surroundings (Avolio & Gardner, 2005; Fairhurst, 2007: 98). This idea is in alignment with authentic leaders "owning one's personal experiences, be they thoughts, emotions, needs, wants, preferences, or beliefs" and acting in accord with them (Harter, 2002). Similarly, in the Miner-narrative, leadership seemed to 'exist' in the self and to 'reveal itself' through the growth process; that process also gained the leader plausibility in the eyes of the subordinates.

Settler narrative, again, happened in the space of obligation, and the narrative seemed to explain person's initial occupational success and eventual leadership with the idea of constant hard work and right attitude towards it. It was from early on adopted and supported by both the narrator and his/her immediate surroundings (family, friends, school) and the consequent success in different work settings and leadership positions seemed to stem from it. In Settler-narrative, the ethos of labouring as a measure of one's value as a human being thus had a prominent role (e.g. Tolonen-Kytölä, 2014: 127-129; Heinonen, 1997: 51-53; Kortteinen, 1997; c.f. Hänninen, 1999: 50-51). In his study of enduring cultural meanings in Finnish popular literature and music, Heinonen (1997) underlines the significance of work and diligence as one of the key features of Finnishness. To him, diligence, especially in the Western part of the country from which the interview material of this work mainly comes from, has always been a cultural coping mechanism. The theme of work (or lack of it) appears in various ways in

Finnish music and literature, Väinö Linna's production included (Heinonen, 1997: 28-29; 52-53; 150).

Tolonen-Kytölä (2014) links the ethos of labouring to Protestant work ethics. This ethics has four basic features: appreciation of work and diligence as a means of providing for the family, sanctity and dignity of all work well done, spiritual and moral nature of work in service of God and society in general, and temperance in working and earning money (c.f. Paarma, 2003). The Settler-narrative seemed to reflect the ethos of labouring also with the idea of being obligated to carry responsibility (c.f. Tolonen-Kytölä, 2014: 128; Luoto, 2010; see also Lepistö-Johansson, 2009: 207). It seemed to draw from blue-collar use of language with the idea of facing and overcoming personal ordeals and hardness of life through coping, *sisu*, perseverance, resilience, and continuous effort, sometimes even at the expense of one's health (e.g. Kortteinen, 1997; Lucas, 2007; Lucas & Buzzanel, 2004; Heinonen, 1997: 51-53; see also Tolonen-Kytölä, 2014: 128; Vuorikoski, 2012: 120).

The Settler-narrative seemed to explain person's initial occupational success and eventual leadership not only with one's industriousness and responsibility, but also with the idea of co-operative attitude and other people's support during person's career. Characteristic of the Settler-narrative was thus a strong emphasis of other people such as supporters and role-models and their significance for one's eventual leader role (c.f. Lepistö-Johansson, 2009: 203). The narrative of a Settler thus presented the availability of different forms of social capital (relationships, alliances, supporters etc.) as leader's main form of capital (c.f. Bourdieu, 1992). However, in the narrative, one's initial practical experience and social capital were not enough, but they had to be complemented with cultural capital, i.e. formal education so as to gain legitimation for one's leader position.

Similarly to the Miner-narrative, the Settler-narrative reflected Finnish middle class habitus. As was mentioned above, characteristic of such habitus is for instance white-collar position and academic degree irrespective of one's family background (Roos & Rahkonen, 1985). Roos (1988) mentions persistent progress, self-control, autonomy, independence, freedom, choice, self-discipline, and mastery of one's own life as middle-class moral properties, but in the case of Settler-narrative, self-discipline and the need for progress seemed to be emphasized. In contrast to the Miner-narrative, the Settler-narrative was located in more rural scenery and tended toward working class habitus (c.f. Kortteinen, 1997; Lucas, 2007; Lucas & Buzzanel, 2004; c.f. Järvinen & Kolbe, 2007: 106; Käyhkö, 2006).

Leadership in the Settler-narrative was depicted as happening from a position of small distance; it emphasized closeness with subordinates and leading from the middle by doing and being hands-on (c.f. Käkälä-Puumala, 2001: 244; Lepistö-Johansson, 2009: 2008). This type of leader talk seemed to reflect the contemporary ideal and discourse of co-operative leadership, an extreme example of which might be Greenleaf's (1970; 1977) theory of servant leadership. Unlike other, actual leadership theories, servant leadership is rather a religion-based life philosophy which still has inspired a fair amount of public discussion and scientific research (for a review of this literature, see Parris & Peachy, 2013). Characteristic of servant leadership is that it sees leader as a servant or a 'steward' of people first and leader of them only second; in the service of the purpose and mission of an organization, the servant leader tries to foster followers' growth to empowerment, autonomy, and wisdom through personal humility and self-sacrifice as well as through creation of a psychologically safe and supportive environment, where communication is open and decision-making shared (Senge, 2004; Sun & Shang, 2019; Liden, et.al., 2008; Spears, 1996; Sendjaya & Sarros, 2002).

The Settler-narrative depicted leader development as initially occurring in relation to the social environment - as a means of earning legitimation and social respectability in it through acquiring and honing practical skills and doing practical work (c.f. Käyhkö, 2006; Kortteinen, 1992). After this, it happened through continuously increasing knowledge and learnedness. In consequence, leadership in this narrative seemed to be a reward of hard work.

## 6.2 Conclusion and discussion

So, what conclusions to make of all of this? Ultimately, this doctoral dissertation has dealt with discourse (e.g. Juuti, 2001) related to leader development and growth. As this study in its totality has attempted to show, leaders' talk about self was found to contain several discursive resources which seemed to have counterparts in the surrounding cultural stock of stories, more specifically, in the literary environment. To me, this implies that the novels and the two leader development stories in them could be reflections of more general master narratives of leader development. Judging from the match between the resources of the interview material and of the novels, culturally established resources seemed to be discursively readily available for a narrative practice to occur, at least in a fairly formal dialogical situation such as an interview made by a researcher.

Depending on person's own life trajectory in the material world, s/he may tend more towards one of the illustrative inner narratives and its established resources



than towards the other (note, however, that the interviewees' stories mainly did contain at least some elements from both the illustrative inner narratives, c.f. Hänninen & Koski-Jännes, 1999: 158), and the roles, rules, and other factors of the interview situation further determine the final form of the told story. All in all, it can be argued that at least in the context of this study, *a number of particular culturally established discursive resources related to leader development seemed to be reproduced in contemporary dialogical leader discourse.*

Here, I would like to clarify a few points. Firstly, for me, the dichotomousness regarding the use of the resources in the interviews came as a surprise; I expected to find much more multiplicity from the interview materials, because the interviewees were given an almost entirely free space to tell their story and to use which ever discursive resources they wanted to describe their growth and journey to leadership; still, they ended up mostly choosing resources which could be identified also in Linna's writing dating already from the mid-20th century. The lines and resources of individual stories thus came to be surprisingly similar to each other. To me, this homogenous nature of stories was interesting, because contemporary Finnish leader discourse is neither unified nor fully of domestic origin but is rather blended with international leadership and management (development) discourses (Vaara & Faÿ, 2012), in particular American which has been a part and parcel of Finnish leader education almost since its inception (see Kettunen, 2013: 94-100, 112-113, 119).

Secondly, Linna was not here regarded as some kind of "ultra-Finnish authority" whose production would somehow steer even contemporary leaders' talk; that type of thinking would give Linna all too much power. Rather, the themes found from the interview material were examined closely and in the course of the study the counterparts of those themes just happened to be found in Linna's novels, too. This might imply that in constructing his leader characters and their development journeys the novelist was skilful in identifying and using culturally recognizable, familiar discursive resources and bibliographical master narratives regarding the ideal-typical process through which life should unfold (c.f. McLean & Syed, 2015).

Moreover, as a writer, Linna was a well-read citizen of the literary world, thoroughly familiar with developments of international literature of the time, so his production was not "all Finnish" either – it was only heavily influenced by it. All in all, here Väinö Linna's novels were here seen as arenas of (re)production and possible contestation in the same way as the interviews were. Linna's writing, however, largely re-produced the dichotomous setting of the cultural metanarrative of Kings and Fools (or *Herrat ja Narrit* in Finnish) of the discursive and literary environment in which the novelist was operating and also provided

the descriptions of ideal typical leader development trajectories for both groups of people. This juxtaposition of the two groups has been found to be at the very core of Linna's thinking and main works (Raittila, 2000: 23).

Dichotomousness of habituses thus characterized the illustrative inner narratives constructed out of the research materials. One may therefore ask if in the novels there were any leader characters which -in theory- could have served as some kinds of intermediaries in that sense? To me, Janne Kivivuori, Elina Koskela's brother, in *Under the North Star* was an example of such a character. He came from a labourer family, but because he was intelligent, quick, good in using words, and able to learn law, he managed to proceed from brick layering through different types of municipal positions to the position of a Congressman and eventually to retire with the title of Municipal Councillor.

In Janne's life trajectory, the question of habitus seemed to become settled fairly harmoniously and despite the character's initial lack of cultural and economic capital, he was described to be able to acquire both. In consequence, the character did not seem to suffer from "small misery" or to hang between the classes quite to the same extent as for instance the character of Vilho Koskela did. Nevertheless, towards the end of life the character seemed to experience feelings of hollowness and emptiness, as if satisfaction was somehow left beyond the reach of this initially working-class character despite the social progress he had managed to achieve.

During this study, an attempt was made to construct Janne's leader development story with its leadership themes, as the themes identified in the interview materials could naturally be re-arranged to entirely different orders than those in the Miner or the Settler narratives. Here, however, the re-arrangements of the discursive resources did not seem to match the placements of the resources in the interview materials very well. Also, as the construction of alternative stories generally happens in relation to the existing master narratives (c.f. McLean & Syed, 2015) those re-arrangements seemed to produce rather fragmented entities in the cultural sense, meaning that they were not equally recognizable or as established in the same sense as stories of Kariluoto or Koskela were. Still, as habitus-wise it may well be Janne Kivivuori who represents the average, middle-class Finnish leader the most (he is, after all, between classes, much like the average modern day middle class (wo)man), one may wonder, if "small misery" is a common experience for the modern day Finnish leader and if this perhaps has some types of consequences?

One may also ask whether the above dimensions and narratives of leadership and habitus, the Miner-narrative and the Settler-narrative, could be generalized to all leader positions, from the lowest to the highest. To me, these cultural narratives

and their characteristics concern mainly such a supervisory position, where the leader is mostly in (close) contact with his/her subordinates. It is questionable, however, whether those narratives would suffice the needs of a global actor and leader. Contrary to for instance the American culture with its Fords, Rockefellers, Trumps, Jobs' and fictional Gatsbys, the Finnish culture seems to have to settle to less grand leader stories; it may also be a characteristic of Finns not to construct such stories of our leaders despite their global successes.

Either way, similar large-scale leader stories might serve as reference points for the construction of personal global leader stories. In the media, these stories have existed during recent decades in the form of articles and autobiographies on leaders of companies such as Supercell, Rovio, Marimekko, and Nokia, but fictional literary works of cultural relevance representing large-scale or global (female or male) leaders with exemplary and iconic features are yet to emerge. They will presumably be research materials for future researchers of literature.

### 6.3 Theoretical contribution

In the beginning of this dissertation, I argued that much of mainstream writing on leader development seemed to be psychologically oriented and to be rarely interested in the context of development, i.e. (sub)culture. This somewhat narrow view of leader development was then reflected upon to find alternative avenues for leader development thinking, research, and practice. One may now justifiably ask what such alternative ideas did this dissertation bring to leader development discussion as a whole?

In my opinion, the first theoretical contribution to leader development research can be found from the direction of a (sub)culture as a discursive arena of leader development process. Through this type of cultural, sociolinguistic, and narrative approach, it is possible to see growth differently, as a culturally established narrative which may be reproduced in some form or another in different situational and cultural contexts. This type of practice acts as a resource for the speakers/writers in that it provides the members of the culture the tools with which to narrate their life trajectories. However, the very same narrative practice also sketches the general "contours" of personal stories through the regularities in resources of which they may be built in a "normal" fashion.

Since the approach adopted here makes it possible to examine the ways in which present day situational leader development discourse (small d) and cultural leader development Discourse (big D) with its historical ties interact, the approach shows those discursive resources, which transfer the idea concerning leader development

forward in time in a culture (c.f. Collins & Hoopes, 1995: 638). In short, this type of knowledge enables looking at development both as a historical, perhaps even an inter-generational phenomenon and as a situational, socially constructed phenomenon, dependent on culture and language.

The second, related, contribution of this type of approach arises from seeing the interview situation as a discursive arena for constructing meanings related to leader development and from seeing growth as a story (c.f. Shaw, 2010). When the process of becoming a leader is seen as a story, constructed of exchangeable elements, and this story and its elements is set as the object of scrutiny in dialogical leader development situation (see e.g. Drake, 2007) instead of the individual, it is possible to see the story and the resources of which it is built from as one possibility among many - as a story with undeniably strong cultural roots, but as only one option nonetheless. After all, how something ought to be narrated is, at least in theory, culturally alterable: some modes of talking dominate at one point in time, whereas some may gain footing at other times.

Meanings attached to things are not permanent either (Peirce, 1940), but are instead in continuous movement and subject to re-interpretation. Although the number of such possible interpretations is controlled by the material world qualities of the object as well as 'habits', i.e. "culturally specific rules of thought" which the history of a culture comprises of (Hodge & Kress, 1988: 20, 162) and even though these dominant societal meanings strongly regulate thoughts and new meanings, it is possible to create modified meanings and individually contribute to re-definition of meta-narratives related to leadership (c.f. De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012: 151).

Therefore, the third theoretical contribution this dissertation makes to leader development discussion relates to making visible the meta-level, customary, established meanings related to leader development. Although individual leaders' autobiographical talk may habitually veer towards either or both of these established illustrative inner narratives, discourses, and meanings, it is possible to "borrow" resources from other discourses and to modify meanings, even though such resources often have to conform to culturally evolved, familiar, and acceptable modes of speaking and thinking so as to become accepted (c.f. De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012: 151; Hodge & Kress, 1988). One such possible "new" direction for leadership might be found from entrepreneurship and emergence of master narrative around it, as has happened for instance in America through a master narrative of the American dream, narrated as being achievable by successful entrepreneur leaders *irrespective of their backgrounds and habituses*.

In Finland, similarly *culturally established stories of entrepreneurial leaders are virtually nonexistent* - here stories of globally successful entrepreneurs are generally of more recent origin and hence of less cultural-historical weight; also in domestic literature such model stories are few. However, even though the stories such as Rokka's or Rahikainen's as the entrepreneurs of *Unknown Soldiers* (see Linna, 2015: 312) do not reflect leader master narratives, their entrepreneurial stories might possibly carry resources from which an alternative leader development master narrative could evolve into a cultural "intermediary" inbetween Koskela and Kariluoto in terms of both leadership and habitus; at the moment, such as established, legitimate, and habitus-wise "intermediating" illustrative inner narrative seems to be missing from Finnish culture. The positive features these characters have might contribute to "updating the discursive menu" of acceptable, habitus-based leader development narratives and to adding to them the much needed dimensions of mental agility, independent thinking, opportunity-recognition, proactive networking, slight rebelling, and optimism; in short, they might bring an entrepreneurial attitude into the leadership.

Indeed, to me, the recent filming of *Unknown Soldiers* by Aku Louhimies (2017) with its emphasis on the character of Rokka seemed to meet this very need. In Louhimies' reading, it was Rokka who was chosen as the protagonist of the movie whereas Kariluoto's and especially Koskela's leader roles seemed more muted in comparison to other movie directors' readings and interpretations of them. One may assume that the director probably attempted to make a fresh, new interpretation of the novel, and this possibly prompted him to choose Rokka as the protagonist. Still, as Louhimies' movie was intended for Finland's 100-year independence celebration for all generations alike, the choice of this figure as the protagonist probably did not meet the expectations of only the older generations with its familiar us-vs-them-setting, but also the expectations of the younger generations - the increasingly independent, fearless, casual, creative, open-minded, and enterprising Finns of the 2000s.

This dissertation does not contribute to leader development discourse and literature only. It also builds on and contributes to other theoretical discussions, for instance to Vilma Hänninen's (1999) work on the concept of inner narrative. The concept has already been used by for instance Hänninen (1996) and Valkonen (2007), who both have constructed inner narratives of their research materials. This dissertation differs from Hänninen's and Valkonen's studies in that it has adopted the view of inner narrative as a practice and enriched this narrative with habitus (Bourdieu, 1992) which has served as an illustrating component to the inner narrative. These additions to Hänninen's model and concept have been developed into the concept of illustrative inner narrative, defined as *a narrative*

***practice related to leader development. This practice synthesizes established discursive resources of a particular habitus into a logic which both enables and restricts personal storytelling.***

Hence, regarding Hänninen's model, an additional contribution is that this dissertation has concentrated on investigating closely one dimension of the model of narrative circulation: the duality between the personal stock of stories and the cultural stock of stories. This investigation has happened through leaders' told stories and -ultimately- through their narrative identities. Above, it was mentioned that individuals make use of cultural model-type narratives as "templates" for building their life stories and identities. Based on this dissertation, one could suggest that illustrative inner narratives could be viewed as kinds of situational and discursive "scaffolds" on and of which leaders' narrative identities can be dialogically constructed, at least in an interview situation. Because of this suggestion, this study contributes indirectly also to the study of narrative identity. Moreover, as the study of the duality between the personal stock of stories and the cultural stock of stories has been done through examination of the interview material as representing the former and examination of the literary works as representing the latter, this dissertation is a part of the already established practice of studying people in organizations with the help of literary fiction (c.f. Easton & Araujo, 1997).

This dissertation contributes to the research on habitus, too; to my knowledge, this is the first look into leader development stories and habitus in a specifically Finnish context. One may, however, wonder whether talking about class in 21st century Finland is appropriate and necessary (Kahma, 2011: 11-12; Hiidenheimo, et. al., 2009: 7-15; Sundström & Söderling, 2009: 7-13), whether Bourdieu's ideas developed in 1970s France suit the contemporary Finnish cultural landscape (see e.g. Purhonen et al., 2014: 21-25, 419-421) and postmodern world in general (see Kahma, 2011: 25-20 for discussion on this topic), and whether these ideas are plausible and effective instruments of presenting a character, be it in fiction or in the material world.

In Finland, research on habitus originates from the 1980s. In early academic habitus-related discussions the societal top layer in Finland was considered thin and the culture as a totality based on peasant agrarian culture (see e.g. Mäkelä, 1985; Karisto, 1988; Alapuro, 1985; Alapuro & Stenius, 1989). As such Finland was seen as quite unified, linguistically and otherwise, in comparison to for instance France with its evolved and nuanced habitus-based distinctions and tastes. Hence, at the time, habitus did not seem to have much to offer for the Finnish cultural

sphere (Jokinen, 1997: 47, 49, 81-92, 93; Purhonen et.al., 21-25, 419-421; Kahma, 2011: 11).

However, fairly recently, a comprehensive, empirical study on Finnish taste by Purhonen et.al. (2014) showed differences in Finnish taste, especially based on the level of education and the amount of different forms of capital(s) possessed in general. Purhonen, et.al. explain this by industrialization and cultural globalization, in the course of which the Finnish society has gradually transformed from a unified agrarian culture of the 1980s' into a culture of increased diversity and differentiation of lifestyles and tastes in the 2000s (2014: 25, 404, 417-418). To me, the empirical study by Purhonen et.al. shows that despite the attempts to refute the meaning of classes and habituses in the contemporary, seemingly equal Finland, their effects are still identifiable in Finns' consumption and taste in some form; there may, however, now exist several types of taste profiles and differences between them may be rather difficult to identify (c.f. Purhonen et. al., 2014: 396, 418; Kahma, 2011).

Thus, it would seem that habitus-related discussions are relevant and appropriate also here in Finland and also now, in 2021. However, one has to note that unlike the above researchers, *I have only operated with language*. Nevertheless, I think that the concept of habitus could here be justifiably and plausibly adopted as a means of illustration and characterization, but only to cautiously sketch the most established and ideal-typical lines of narrating.

## 6.4 Practical contribution

Above, it was noted that despite the apparent equality in the 2000s', the differences in modes of being and expression can still be found in Finland, and the empirical part of this work shows this reasonably well. One may now ask what types of practical consequences or uses this piece of information has for Finnish leadership. I find that understanding these cultural offsets of leader development is valuable and useful, since they affect the way leaders themselves understand the phenomenon, often without realizing it. Also, by shaping self-narrating, these illustrative inner narratives together with for instance the industry, position in the hierarchy, and job description also shape leaders' reality and may give rise to their everyday ways thinking, speaking, and acting in the work place.

Hence, I think it is *possible* that the elements of these illustrative inner narratives become channelled into work in the form of particular valuations and emphases; this can happen in the role of a subordinate (to one's own superiors) or in the role of leader of one's own subordinates. For instance, a leader leaning towards the

Settler-narrative may keep a low leader profile, work closely with his/her subordinates and colleagues, be loyal towards them, and keep them in high regard. However, this type of leader may also overemphasize the meaning of continuous hard work, work ethics, and duty, making the workplace too heavy, grinding, and joyless to work in, as little room is left for celebrating accomplishments or for creating alternative approaches; such a leader may also be prone to exhaustion or burn-out.

Moreover, a Settler-leader may value those employees and peers, who have “started from the grass root level” and earned their way to the top, whereas those with alternative paths or values may not be seen as equally esteemed, trusted, or worthy of appreciation. In the role of a subordinate, a leader leaning towards the Settler-narrative may require a similar life path and attitude from his/her superior and be unwilling to follow any leader with a Miner-narrative, because s/he “takes it too easy”, “does not know what s/he is talking about” or concentrates on unimportant aspects of work.

A leader leaning towards the Miner-narrative, again, may regard emphasizing diligence and work ethics as suffocating, excessively domineering, and downright unnecessary, both for oneself and one’s subordinates. Such a leader may think that there is no need to submit to external pressures of diligence or work ethics, since the locus of control resides in the individual and from this space of freedom one is willing and able to set one’s own goals and standards of working. This approach may either please or confuse Settler-subordinates, who may have grown accustomed to a different kind of approach.

Also, as the Miner-leader is interested in how s/he can personally grow through problem solving and relating, s/he may be eager to take differing challenges so as to learn from them; however, as soon as something is learned and becomes routine, it may lose its appeal. Also, such a leader may prefer working as a somewhat separate authority figure, leading from the distance with less contact with subordinates than would be desirable to them. This may cause Settler-subordinates to demand face-to-face interaction as well as proven skills and hands-on participation to ensure their loyalty towards the leader. A subordinate leaning towards Miner-narrative, again, may find his/her Settler-leader as unable to recognize the important elements of work, i.e. chances for learning and creation, due to his/her focus of constant hard work. In consequence, a subordinate leaning towards Miner-narrative may end up performing his/her duties in a forced and joyless manner with little emergent, work-related creativity and learning; s/he may even refuse to submit to leader’s demands altogether.



As one may notice, the two modes of narrating and of being in the world are quite different from each other, and as the novels show, it is quite difficult for either one of the two characters to enter the other's world without unintentionally seeming or feeling oneself as being somehow artificial, fake, false, or "other" (c.f. Vuorikoski, 2012: 120). This may pose a considerable problem in the workplace, where everyone is expected to collaborate, communicate with each other, and to contribute to the result.

To reconcile the differences between the two and to garner the best from both worlds, the use of simulations may be of assistance – are they in a concrete (e.g. Ruohomäki & Vartiainen, 1992; Ruohomäki et. al., 1996) or in a digital form (Töyli & Smeds, 2005; Vahtivuori-Hänninen, Lehtonen & Torkkeli, 2005). Simulations may be used as safe and cost-effective vehicles for experientially and emotionally emulating the most central elements of situations, systems, environments, or processes and their mutual dynamics and effects are these for instance technological, social, or psychological as is often the case when leading organizations. As abstract, mediating instruments for ideating, experimenting, developing, and co-learning leadership and work in general, simulations may function as arenas of contribution for both approaches (Vahtivuori et.al., 2005: 210; Ruohomäki, 1992).

Another practical contribution of this work may be found from the field of coaching. Traditionally, the most common way of developing leaders has been through teaching formal knowledge (Day & Harrison, 2007; Bernthal & Wellins, 2006), which has often meant university education, extramural education, and different types of organizational leader development programs. However, in practice, "leadership literacy" (Allio, 2005) has proved insufficient and leaders themselves reportedly do not regard formal education such as business school education, courses, seminars, or literature especially relevant to their personal development. Even programs specifically designed for leader/manager development such as MBAs have already long received criticism for their tendency to promote largely Western ideas of leadership, inadequacy in meeting the practical needs of changing business environment, and futility regarding career progress and managerial performance in general (e.g. Pfeffer & Fong, 2002; Minzberg, 2004; Blass & Weight, 2005).

As a result, to gain a deeper understanding of leaders' inner world, the number of pedagogic approaches aimed at examining it has increased. Reflective means such as executive coaching, mentoring, and work counselling have been increasingly used alongside formal educational settings, but as they often are resorted to in haste and in problematic situations, the very context of them, a leader's life history in a large

sense is being bypassed. In consequence, there have been calls to personalize (Petriglieri, Wood, Petriglieri, 2011) and deepen leader development, and even psychotherapeutic approaches or their modifications (e.g. those based on ACT, Acceptance and Commitment Therapy) have been employed in order to increase leaders' self-understanding.

The results presented here may contribute to personalization by unravelling or unmasking the "discursive autobiographies" of leader development. Leaders are often required (or entitled) to participate in different types of development measures. These experiences, however, are meaningful only if they have a place in individual's life story. If these experiences do not make sense in relation to one's dominant identity narrative, they can remain meaningless (Czarniawska, 2004: 5; Polkinghorne, 1988). Therefore, for leader development professionals to succeed in development measures, it is important for them to understand the cultural-autobiographical context to which those measures are likely to be joined (or not) (c.f. Drake, 2009a).

The results of this study show differences in the illustrative inner narratives and resources according to which the way leader development is understood and ideal typically narrated to occur. These results may be used as starting points for individual and group development processes and practices (c.f. Stelter, 2009). Discussing, questioning, revising, or deepening one's illustrative inner narrative may be used as a counselling method alongside a formal leader development program (c.f. Petriglieri & Petriglieri, 2010; Petriglieri, 2011).

Here, I would like to advocate the idea of increasing self-knowledge through reflecting on one's life trajectory and personal experiences as cultural phenomena. The sociologically aware, reflective approach proposed here is very much in line with dialogical leader development measures such as work counselling and narrative coaching, the possibilities of which this view enlarges and deepens. Of course, this type of sociologically oriented form of narrative coaching will require a great deal of sociological awareness and insight from the part of its administrator, but may provide insights that are beyond the customary, psychology-based coaching approaches.

Narrative coaching mentioned above is an emerging branch of coaching which is based on narrative therapy and its seminal work by White and Epston (1990; see also e.g. Epston & White, 1994; White, 2008; Freedman & Combs, 1996). The term narrative therapy refers to a range of social constructivist and constructionist therapeutic approaches which study the role of personal stories in mental problems. Narrative therapy sees people as living their lives by the stories they tell, which is why it is interested in examining and shaping them (Etchison & Kleist,

2000; Nylund & Nylund, 2003; Combs & Freedman, 2012; White, 1995: 14). Narrative coaching differs from narrative therapy only in terms of the context and the nature of the clientele, so the ideas related to narrative therapy can be applied directly to narrative coaching as well.

As an area of scientific interest and practice, narrative coaching is new and very little research on the topic has been made in total. The scientific knowledge on narrative coaching is divided roughly into two branches, both based on ideas of agency, intentionality, and deconstruction: psychological (e.g. Stelter, 2007; 2009; Stelter & Law, 2010; Stelter, et. al., 2011) and cross-disciplinary (e.g. Drake, 2007; 2008; 2009a, 2009b; 2010). The latter branch, relevant for this study, has focused on the role of stories in understanding and shaping identity, development, and change; it works with narrative identity, emphasizing its contextual and situational nature as a performance through which the speaker negotiates with the audience about one's identity. The resulting told story is seen to reflect both the speaker and the context (Drake, 2007; 2008; 2009b; 2010).

Because of this, narrative coaching also takes cultural practices and conventions of narrating into consideration. As the coachees have learned and internalized the storylines and resources prevailing in their cultures, it is important for the coach to examine, how the client positions him/herself in relation those stories (Drake, 2009b). The stories that coachees tell are therefore investigated "within larger cultural narrative frames and forces." (Drake, 2010) Drake (2007) also makes a distinction between narratives and stories similar to that made in this study, namely narratives consisting of cultural discursive resources of which told stories, again, may be built. To him, then, a coach's task is to separate and work between the two, because the limits of cultural (master) narratives tend to be revealed only when people try to tell their personal stories outside the limits of such narratives.

In consequence, narrative coaching attempts to help the clients to "become aware of the contours of their available narratives and either reframe this available stock of knowledge or their relationship to it." (Drake, 2007) Usually, the objective of narrative therapy and coaching is indeed to somehow change the coachee's story. However, when it comes to illustrative inner narratives, one may also consider the option of not reframing the story but instead one's relationship to it. One may choose to merely dig deeper to one's story, since although there is some discursive room for personal modifications, illustrative inner narratives as culturally established discursive paths are not necessarily easily modified. One may find it equally edifying to simply become aware of one's illustrative inner narrative, to accept it, and to accommodate oneself to it instead of fighting against it or laboriously trying to change it into another illustrative inner narrative (c.f. the idea

of small misery, see Järvinen, 2010: 234-235; Järvinen & Kolbe, 2007: 17; Vuorikoski, 2012: 120).

To conclude this discussion on practical contribution, the knowledge produced in this dissertation is intended for the leader development professionals, in particular narrative coaches. Here this study heeds Drake's (2007) wish that the coaching research would adopt a more critical or at least evaluative stance towards culturally dominant narratives and would perhaps expand the repertoire of available stories and themes in relation to leadership in that way. Moreover, as the existing literature on narrative coaching builds mostly on a psychological theoretical basis, this work is also a response to Drake's (2007) call for extending the scientific sphere from which to bring ideas to narrative coaching.

Leader development methods which would take cultural differences into account are still rare (McCauley, 2008). One exception is Drake's (2009b) developmental model of intercultural sensitivity, in which he combines Bennett's (1986) work on intercultural sensitivity with Van Gennep's (1960) phases of rites of passage into an interpersonal, intercultural rites of passage model. His work is, however, purely theoretical and is not directly intended for leaders. This study and the knowledge it provides for narrative coaching examines the idea of leadership from the Finnish point of view, thus taking the culture, the context of telling, and language as the very starting point of the inquiry and for its part "paves the way" for an increasing number of such development methods to emerge.

## 6.5 Evaluating the study

When one reads a study such as this, a question arises: why these narratives and elements should be regarded as valid choices and interpretations instead of some others? Interpretation indeed is the key word here. A general characteristic of narrative research is that instead of providing some ultimate truth, it only provides a version of it, seen from a particular perspective of a particular researcher; also in this dissertation, the illustrative inner narratives are partly fictive constructions, based on my own interpretations of the research material (c.f. Ahmed, 2013). For this reason, the task of validating them is a challenge, which, however, one has to be able to overcome in some way, because as "these narratives are located in a social realm, the trustworthiness of these interpretations is of critical importance." (Riessman, 1993: 65)

Although the validation of a narrative study does not happen according to any particular rules, Riessman (1993: 66) lists four general guidelines. Firstly, the researcher must see to the persuasiveness, plausibility, or verisimilitude – the

appearance or likelihood that something could be true - of the results (Fraser, 2004; cf. Heikkinen, 2001b: 127; Heikkinen, 2001a: 24-25; De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012: 16). As was mentioned above, a sense of truthfulness of narrative interpretation is not based on convincing argumentation, but on readers' subjective experience or recognition of truthfulness and plausibility of the narrative. Validation is thus dependent on whether the members of the community agree with it or not, possibly even on an affective level as a holistic, visceral experience (Polkinghorne, 2007; Czarniawska-Joerges, 1995; Heikkinen, 2001b: 127; 192-193; Rinehart, 1998; for verisimilitude in literature, see e.g. Chatman, 1978: 48-53, 125).

Therefore, Polkinghorne stresses the importance of argumentation in convincing the readers that the claims made in the conclusions are plausible and credible, but not necessarily certain; a research conclusion is seen to be valid "when there is sufficient evidence and/or reasons to reasonably believe it is so." (2007) In practice, this may be accomplished at least partly for instance by supporting theoretical claims with excerpts from the research material and by considering alternative readings, as has been done above (Riessman, 1993: 66). Polkinghorne's view suits well with this dissertation which tries to sketch culturally shared ideas on leader development journey partly by use of research material, partly by use of imagination with the hope that the resulting narratives convey a "narrative truth", recognizable to the readers (Bruner, 1990).

Secondly, the researcher may take his/her interpretations to those s/he has studied to check the correspondence between the results and interviewees' experiences (Riessman, 1993: 66). However, this method of validation is somewhat questionable because interviewees recall things differently in different points in time; in practice it is impossible for them to check the validity of their own stories. For Josselson (2007), involving participants in the interpretation phase is futile also if the researcher makes interpretations for instance on conceptual levels, as has happened in this study. For these reasons, the interviewees have not been contacted afterwards for them to be able to check the correspondence between their stories and results of this study; my approach is ideal-typical, "meta", and ultimately not focused on the participants, their individual stories, or lives in the material world. The final interpretations on the research texts reflect my own, subjective meaning making and the final narratives are my personal constructions and meta-level conclusions (c.f. Eskola & Suoranta, 1998: 17).

The third point Riessman (1993) makes regarding the validation of narrative research is the meaning of coherence on global, local, and thematic levels. In this,

I have followed Riessman's advice according to which "investigators must continuously modify initial hypotheses about speakers' beliefs and goals (global coherence) in the light of the structure of particular narratives (local coherence) and recurrent themes that unify the text (thematic coherence)" (Riessman, 1993). Global coherence has been sought for by understanding the speakers' and author's aim to construct convincing leader development trajectories through their speech or writing, local coherence by looking at the general habituses the stories convey, and the thematic coherence by identifying the themes regarding growth, leadership, and life in the stories.

The final measure of validity for Riessman (1993) is the extent to which the study becomes a basis for further studies. This pragmatic criterion may be accomplished by reporting the process through which the conclusions and the results of the study have been reached. Here, the interpretation and analysis process has been described from beginning to the end as faithfully and thoroughly as possible; also suggestions for further research will be made at the end of the dissertation. However, as literary figures have been used as "sounding boards" against which the interview material has been read and the illustrative ideal type has been the mode of presentation of the results, there has been a small element of fantasy (c.f. Fraser, 2004) involved in constructing the narratives which cannot be exhaustively reported. Still, although the interview material in itself is not accessible to the readers, the novel is there in practically every library or bookstore in Finland available for the readers to make their own evaluations concerning the leader characters.

There are always limitations to every piece of research and this dissertation is no exception. The first criticism might concern the age range and the mother tongue of the respondents. Most of the respondents were middle aged, i.e. thirty or older and therefore the younger generation of leaders was (unintentionally) left outside the sample. The respondents were also all Finnish-speaking Finns even though the topic of class and habitus has been relevant amongst the Swedish-speaking Finns as well (see e.g. Hiidenheimo, Lång, Ritamäki & Rotkirch, 2009; Sundström & Söderling, 2009).

Also, one may ask, whether the semi open-ended interview method (Rapley, 2001) was the best choice. After all, when it comes to collecting data for reconstructing inner narratives, autobiographical texts such as diaries or narrative interview materials have been considered the best materials due to their fidelity to individual's inner experience (Hänninen: 1991: 31-32; 137). I could have used a narrative interview, in which, however, an important element is the invisibility or neutrality of the interviewer (Hyvärinen & Löyttyniemi, 2005) in the production

of a story. This story is implicitly thought to pre-exist in the narrator's mind, to become externalized in interaction as it is (Riessman, 1993: 31) and to remain as "uncontaminated" as possible by the interviewer (Andrews, et. al., 2008: 48). This view fits poorly with the idea of this dissertation in which the told narrative is seen as "a joint venture and the outcome of negotiation by interlocutors" (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2008a); the idea of leader development is here seen to emerge through "dialogical construction" between the interviewer and interviewee (Andrews, et. al., 2008: 5).

I also could have used a theme interview with a list of pre-prepared questions, the clear structure of which would have unquestionably helped the respondents in their challenging task of telling about their journeys and "crucibles" during them. However, in that case, the themes and growth resources to be brought up would have been determined by the researcher, not the respondents. In sum, the chosen method, semi-open, informal interview seemed to suit the purpose reasonably well.

Moreover, the talk produced in an interview situation could be criticized of artificiality, for several reasons. Firstly, an interview situation itself tends to bring up and give meaning to themes and incidents which the interviewees do not normally bring up; the interviewees may produce this particular talk for the interview situation and make use of normative storytelling conventions only (Taylor & Littleton, 2006; De Fina, 2009). Secondly, the performative (e.g. Goffman, 1959; Atkinson & Delamont, 2006) aspect of leader identity is important to take into consideration when discussing such a situation. Due to the grandiosity of leader discourse, leaders may try to portray themselves according to assumed expectations of the hearer as determined, strong, and capable (c.f. Hay, 2013) and report only experiences, which strengthen this hero-like image.

The third, related, criticism of artificiality may be directed at the interview material and channel(s) through which it was collected, i.e. coaches, work counsellors, and leader development programs. Although people with considerable amount of experience of self-reflection may be good informants, they may be suspected to produce only learned, normative leader talk which merely reproduces taught values and ideas, deemed appropriate by researchers, development practitioners, and the media. Management and leadership fads and concepts are thus suspected to act as linguistic resources which contribute to the leader identity and performance in an interview situation (c.f. McKenna et. al., 2010; McKenna, 2004).

I, however, agree with De Fina (2009), who recommends regarding (leader development) stories produced in interview situations as equally fruitful sources

of information as those produced in other, more “natural” situations; to her, no data gathering practice is per se superior to others (see also Rapley, 2001). To De Fina (2009), an interview is an interactional genre which means that it joins practice and narrative together (see also De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2008a; Holstein & Gubrium, 2012). Interviews such as mine do tend to consist of rules, roles, and modes of talking and bear resemblance to dialogic encounters between leaders and leader developers/coaches. It is also plausible to suggest that in an interview situation, especially novice leaders would resort to normative talk, as the use of “official” leader discourse(s) tends to increase one’s self-confidence and deepens one’s identification with leadership (c.f. Warhurst, 2011; Kornives et.al., 2005).

In my dissertation, the interest is directed at the leader talk produced specifically for the interview situation. It is accepted and taken for granted that narrators modify the contents, resources, and genres (e.g. comedy, tragedy etc.) of their stories on the basis of the hearer who in this case happens to be Finnish, female, doctoral student of leadership (c.f. Rapley, 2001; Alasuutari, 1999: 144-146). The told story is tailored to suit the anticipated expectations this unknown academic hearer may have, and in this type of context speakers easily resort to safe, acceptable, established and conventional lines and resources of narrating (c.f. Watson & Harris, 1999: 6).

Moreover, one might ask, what makes my reading of these novels valid and, not somehow skewed according to my own taste? Also, is my reading a lay reading, if other scholars’ views on these characters are being quoted? Generally, it is true that lay reading arises from situation in which reader’s gender, context, and purpose along with cultural conventions of making sense of the phenomenon all have an impact on interpretation of a text (Sliwa & Cairns, 2007; DeVault, 1990: 887), and this applies to my reading and writing, too (c.f. Talbot, 1995). My reading (and writing) of *Unknown Soldiers* and *Reconciliation* not only reflects the culture (Finland) and the time (2000’s) I live in, but also my sensemaking of leader development from the perspective of Finnish, apolitical, female lay reader without any experience about army or war.

Guided by this life perspective, personal life history of an avid reader, and the questions posed to the novel, I have made choices concerning what to include in and exclude from the characters’ presentations which inevitably has left them incomplete and partial. However, in the course of the study, my understanding of the novels’ characters has indeed been informed and complemented by scholars’ readings and views of them (c.f. De Vault, 1990) which in my opinion has both added richness and balance to my choices and interpretations and reduced



possible 'skewness'. Yet, the resulting descriptions are still my (lay) compilations of these readings, mine and theirs.

One may also be sceptical about the final narratives. During the analysis of the interview material, I come to a dichotomous setting of only two narratives, but surely the resources could have been organized into narratives in numerous other ways than those which have been provided? Do I thus simply force the interview material to fit the two characters and habituses in the novels? So as to try to overcome this criticism, I have firstly analysed the interview material through as many as five readings, the last of which has concentrated on each individual interview separately. In this way, I have been able to not only to enrich and illustrate the readings of the interviews, but also to ensure that the two illustrative inner narratives do indeed cover all the stories content-wise and habitus-wise.

Secondly, I have used both the empiric material and cultural plausibility as the leading criteria for constructing the narratives. The verisimilitude of the narratives can be judged by the readers of this dissertation only; whether I have managed to accomplish it or not can only be judged from the final narratives. Finally, if the narratives do indeed seem plausible to the readers, in my opinion the idea of cultural master narrative applies: alternative combinations made from the resources found from the materials would not have produced equally established and culturally "true" habitus-based narratives.

It would also be justifiable to question my own position in this whole process. Don't I, as a member of Finnish culture, an active party in the interviews, and the sole constructor of the final illustrative inner narratives, only identify and reproduce the customary lines and resources of narrating I myself am (assisting in) creating (c.f. De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2008a)? It is true that my membership of Finnish culture may cause me only to be able to identify and reproduce familiar discursive resources and storylines, but, on the other hand, the very same cultural membership enables me to recognize, which types of ideal typical illustrative inner narratives seem to be culturally plausible and "true" and which again are not; for me as a researcher and a narrative-builder, language thus acts both a restriction and a resource which is precisely the point I am trying to make in this dissertation (c.f. Luoto, 2010; LaPointe, 2011: 80, 82).

One may also pose the question of generalizability of the results. Can one say on the basis of the results that in Finnish culture there are two distinct and different lines of narrating of leader development and that they are characteristic especially of the Finnish culture in comparison to those of for instance Swedish or Russian? Here, Alasuutari (1999: 243-244, 262-264) emphasizes the significance of local interpretation, i.e. of making sense of different types of themes, metaphors,

contradictions, or paradoxes found in the research material and of rendering them understandable for oneself and the reader. For Alasuutari, the result of this analysis is an example of a phenomenon which *may* be found elsewhere, too. In this study, this might mean the possibility of identifying similar inner lines of narrating in particular in (narrative) coaching discussions between leaders and their coaches.

Still, on the basis of this small and limited group of people and their talk I cannot generalize the lines of narrating to concern all Finnish leaders or their speech about their development; the results of this work may rather be regarded as “situated truths”, identifiable at least in the context of this particular study (Riessman, 2008). On the other hand, I cannot claim that these illustrative inner narratives could not be found elsewhere, in other texts in Finland either, since narrative practice tends to reproduce existing, culturally established storylines and themes such as those found from the novels. The additional, related, question, whether similar (or different) illustrative inner narratives can be found in other cultures, remains to be explored.

Finally, one may wonder, why I have chosen to write this dissertation in English – would it not be more sensible to write about Finnish leadership in Finnish language? I feel it is quite the opposite. The use of English language has had a distancing effect which has enabled me, as a member of Finnish society, to look at our cultural narrating conventions slightly from afar; reading *Unknown Soldiers* or *Under the North Star* in English is a quite different experience from doing it in Finnish – I have been able to ‘hear’ those familiar phrases and metaphors somewhat differently when I have read them in English (c.f. Niemelä, 2006: 293). This is not to say that this choice of language is without problems: all the interviews have been still done in Finnish and as excerpts have been translated into English, some nuances may have been lost from the presentation of the results, even though these nuances can be found in the original Finnish transcription of which the analysis has been made.

## 6.6 Future research options

This dissertation started with the observation that leader development literature was rather limited in its view on development as an internal, psychological phenomenon. In consequence, it was considered necessary to problematize this ‘in-house assumption’ so as to open up alternative ways of comprehending and studying the phenomenon, and indeed, this approach revealed several such leader development research options, some of which will be presented next.

The first line of research might start by paying more attention to the *demographics* of the interviewees. As was mentioned above, the majority of the respondents were already middle aged, and youngsters were unintentionally left outside the sample. One might therefore look into the younger generations' illustrative inner narratives since it would be plausible to assume that at least their told stories and personal stocks of stories might differ from those of older generations. It is questionable, however, whether their illustrative inner narratives would be considerably different from the lines presented in the results of this study, as those generations naturally belong to the same cultural sphere as the respondents of the current study. Nevertheless, this might be a fruitful topic for future researchers.

Another demographic point to consider might be the respondents' regional origin in Finland. I tried to find respondents from all over Finland, but the interviewees ended up coming from the Western and Southern parts of Finland. One could assume that there might be differences in leader talk and its emphases between speakers from different parts of the country; for instance, there is a slight difference in attitude towards work in different parts of the country: in the West, "doing" is highly important, whereas in the East, the highly important "doing" is balanced with "being", too (Heinonen: 1997: 52-53). These types of differences might be reflected in leaders' talk and inner narratives and thus bring an even more contextual perspective to the matter.

The second "line of investigation" might concentrate on the *individual* level and examine "suppressed" development talk, i.e. the type of talk which would look for "insignificant" sources of growth (see e.g. Hammond, Clapp-Smith & Palanski, 2017). One would hope that leader development talk would make a turn, which would permit learning experiences of for instance mundane, playful, or humbling nature to be included in the leader development stories. In time, changes in them might contribute to the "narrative trail" which could then expand, at least to some extent, to encompass also other valuable means of development than mainly those with achievement value; after all, growing as a leader means growing as a human being and this can happen through a multitude of reportable life experiences (c.f. Watson, 1994; Watson & Harris, 1999).

Leaders might be capable of producing these types of stories and identities first in safe holding environments (Petriglieri & Petriglieri, 2010; Petriglieri, 2011) such as work counselling or coaching and later in more public settings with other leaders and one's subordinates. This type of change in leader discourse could have a positive effect on not only leaders' burdensome expectations on themselves, but also on those expectations their subordinates have towards their leaders and their lives (c.f. Watson, 1999; Watson & Harris, 2001; Hay, 2013; Shamir, Dayan-

Horesh & Adler, 2005). However, as performativity, particularly in an interview situation, tends to pose problems for obtaining above type of talk, lending tape recorders to leaders might help. In this way, in the privacy of their own homes or offices, leaders might narrate their life stories slightly differently, possibly with less emphasis on achievement and more on alternative sources of learning and growth such as for instance psychological healing or even experiences of spiritual nature.

The third possible direction of future research could look more closely into the *group* level leader discourse and one object of interest might be found from leaders' "merit talk". In this study, it seemed that emphasizing a need for progress and renewal was important, and many interviewees brought up a deep personal need to move forward or continuously develop themselves in some way. One said that s/he "*always has to have something (a project) going on*" (F3), another felt that "*if I start to stagnate or come to a halt, I'm ready to leave*" (F2), because the "*need for self-renewal is so very strong* (F7); considering oneself to be "*a sort of an eternal traveller*" (F3), who has "*a kind of addiction to studying*" (F5) and "*desire to develop things and oneself*" (F2) because one is "*never ready*" (F8) was a common theme among the interviewees. In the interview situations, the leaders presumably brought up things which they considered to be socially valuable and clearly a development-oriented attitude seemed to be such a theme (c.f. De Fina, 2009; Atkinson & Delamont, 2006).

Also, when leaders told about their journeys to leadership, formal education tended to have a prominent role in comparison with other possible forms of leader development the interviewees had experienced. The role and significance of education was expected to increase already at the end of last millennium (e.g. Jokinen, 1997: 49-50) and judging from the interview talk this indeed seemed to have become true. The interview material in its totality strongly emphasized the significance and appreciation of formal education, occupational or academic (c.f. Purhonen, 2014: 22; see also Järvinen & Kolbe, 2007: 87). Still, the function of the theme seemed to be slightly different depending on the illustrative inner narrative one tended towards. In the interview materials tending towards the Miner-narrative, alongside career progress, different forms of education had mostly the quality of growing as a person and increasing the already existing amount of abstract knowledge (i.e. aiming at internal development or transformation), whereas in the interview materials tending toward the Settler-narrative, the added formal education seemed to increase personal space as well as social esteem.

Although the inclination to emphasize educational merits was understandable since the stories had features of both career stories and development stories, one can still think of numerous other sources of learning other than education which

could be included in the story. Examples of those could be for instance parenting, reading fiction, failures, or sports activities to name a few - yet, they were rarely mentioned. The interviewees' storytelling seemed to be strongly directed by the spirit of meritocracy – a concept based on Young's (1967) fictional fantasy on the development of educational system in Britain. The core idea of meritocracy is that in filling public offices one should favour those with accomplishment and merits instead of those with inherited wealth or familial ties, for instance. Hence, increasingly, holding a variety of diplomas and qualifications as well as an ever-rising level of formal education has become a self-evident prerequisite for getting an important post (Antikainen, Rinne & Koski, 2010: 129-130; Goldthorpe, 1996: 255-256).

However, collecting such merits naturally presupposes considerable success in the field of education. Therefore, another, related core idea of meritocracy is that intellect, education, and career prospects are tightly linked together: the brightest learners enjoy the best education which ensures them good career opportunities whereas those with little intellect and education, have to settle for less (Antikainen, Rinne & Koski, 2010: 129-130; Goldthorpe, 1996: 256). However, as Goldthorpe (1996: 256-258) points out, mere intellect is not enough. According to him, "*Talent should be consistently converted into achievement*" (italics in the original) to become a merit. Intellect must thus be combined with entrepreneurial spirit so that one can convince the other members of meritocratic society of individual's capability and of the deserving of the privileges it brings.

Consequently, in the course of time, the third core idea of meritocracy has emerged, namely that personal accomplishments and academic merits are a justifiable and acceptable ground of creating inequality between people in work life. An important and demanding social position is seen to require an accomplished and capable individual irrespective of his/her background and the compensation must be in relation to the high demands so that it prompts to a high-level performance. The resulting social inequality between people is considered justified, since the system contributes to the functioning of the society as a whole and, above all, the superior compensation is deserved (Antikainen, Rinne & Koski, 2010: 129-130; Goldthorpe, 1996: 257-258). In this type of social setting, acquiring different forms of symbolic capital such as accomplishments and merits (c.f. Vaara & Fay, 2012) and talking about personal development and goals is important, because they ensure the individual the social esteem necessary for professional progress.

As to meritocracy and habitus, many leaders' autobiographical development stories seemed to be combinations of the elements of both the narratives and

therefore also habituses. Hence, one could say that the leaders' interview material in its totality seemed to reflect class-related "inbetweenness"; however, the feature of speaking about education, progress, and other achievements seemed to blur the dualism noted above, or, rather, unify the speakers as a group. Merit or progress talk seemed to bridge leaders with different backgrounds and to create more "discursive unity" and equality among them, which to me exhibited the very core idea of meritocracy presented above. In sum, all the observations listed above demonstrate why this type of "merit talk" would provide a good material for examining the moral orders or sets of available narrative identity options for groups of leaders, entrepreneurs included.

Finally, the fourth, *cultural* level, area of interest could be found from the direction of the significant cultural and social actors which for their part contribute to reproduction or change of leader discourse. This idea sprang from the observation that in the novels the leadership-related discursive resources traditionally understood as positive did not seem to spread entirely evenly, and this imbalance or asymmetry may have consequences in the material world. As I was reading *Unknown Soldiers*, I approached the description of Kariluoto with some caution due to the observations that the author tended to depict officers and the gentry in a more negative manner than the rank-and-file and the workers (including therefore also Koskela) (c.f. Nummi, 1993: 42, 188; Storbom, 1992: 180-189; Martikainen, 2013: 14; Arnkil & Sinivaara, 2006: 7, 18-19).

Indeed, Koskela seemed to be characterized almost solely by desirable features both as a man and as a leader (c.f. Koskela & Lankinen, 2010: 139); it almost seemed as if Kariluoto as a leader was not described through presence of features, but rather through absence of them - what he was not in comparison to Koskela: Kariluoto was not practical, not down-to-earth, not surrounded by his "subordinates", not confident, not hard-working, or not emotionally stoic and level-headed etc. which in the context of the novel could of course be explained with Kariluoto's inexperience and Koskela's experience as a leader.

Still, one has to wonder about the possible effects of this imbalance for leadership and masculinity in general. As the stories of Koskela and Kariluoto as reflections of cultural master narratives may shape individuals' thinking and acting, one cannot help but speculate, whether there is more culturally established "material" for Koskela-type masculinity and leadership in the Finnish leader discourse. The description of Kariluoto as a man and leader with feminine qualities, elementary practical skills, and "empty" "presence-through-absence" seems to leave especially the men, who represent the Kariluoto/Miner-narrative, to build their identities as men and as leaders from discursive material with less cultural weight. This may

result in feelings of inadequacy and/or attempts to somehow compensate this nameless sense of lack.

All in all, considering that at the time of publication of *Unknown Soldiers*, a Koskela-type of an officer and a leader was virtually impossible and the character was mainly a kind of a “literary thought experiment” by the author (Willner, 1980: 97-98; see also Kurjensaari 1980: 67), Linna’s work can here be seen as an example of the power of literature to both reflect and to actively shape leadership and masculinity in a culture.

These observations and musings point to the responsibility of such cultural and social actors which somehow contribute to leader discourse. Even if their works, images, or texts never reach a similarly iconic position as Linna’s have, it does not mean that their responsibility is any smaller; after all, Linna himself did not know beforehand that his works would contribute to Finnish leadership discourse or that they would “become mythologized and part of the order of national symbols and Finnish imagery through which culture is perceived, organized, and evaluated.” (Nummi, 1992: 309, my translation)

Such influential cultural forces contributing to the leader discourse may include several types of actors: reporters of the press, magazines (e.g. Schröder, 2014) and the media in general; novelists, who write about leadership themes; writers of leaders’ autobiographies; universities and the courses and dissertations they produce (this dissertation included); adult education centres providing Specialist Vocational Qualifications in leadership; and for instance social media platforms where HR-professionals, leader development practitioners, leaders, and laymen may contribute to the public discussion concerning leadership (e.g. LinkedIn, personal blogs, tweets) (c.f. Hänninen, 1999: 51). A closer look into the texts these actors produce may turn out to be informative when digging deeper into illustrative inner narratives and discourses related to leadership in Finland..

## EPILOGUE

I love literature. Ever since I was a little girl, I've always spent a great deal of my time in immersing myself in fictional worlds and lives of characters. Through their eyes it has been possible to live hundreds of lives and see multiple perspectives on all kinds of themes. For me, this almost visceral-feeling of "shifting" from a Finnish woman into for instance a Trinidadian little boy, aging Venetian gay man, angry Ghanaian preacher, American yuppie serial killer, frustrated Canadian housewife, pottery maker from the 1800s' Britain, dreamy Japanese student, or womanizing French existentialist has always been fascinating and deeply satisfying. Through surrendering to characters' experiences and worldviews I have been able to look at the world from perspectives which otherwise would have been beyond my reach.

For me, reading has supposedly served both conscious and unconscious aims. On the surface level, I've felt that by reading stories I have accumulated not only an extensive vocabulary and a sense of proficient language use, but also subtle knowledge: deep, nuanced insights into the human nature and ideologies of the world in general. Also, my psychological and sociological awareness and imagination has improved through the journeys to the lives of people living in different times in different social classes, from high to low. Beneath the surface, I guess I've aimed at growth and wisdom – at becoming someone with understanding and perspective. To me, those features belong to desirable characteristics of a human being.

My personal background as a reader has thus been the perspective from which I have written and from which this dissertation has arisen. As a predisposition for timeless themes and narratives has always been a huge factor behind my major occupational interests as well as a lens through which I look at and read life in general, it has felt natural for me to approach also my topic, leader development, from a literary and narrative angle in order to be able to contribute to the academic understanding of the phenomenon.

Writing this dissertation has also served my own development; it has integrated many of my personal areas of interest into one work and thereby merged many facets of myself which thus far have felt mutually incompatible. Through this process I feel I have managed to weave more unity and pattern into the threads of my life tapestry at very deep levels of being, and for me personally therein lay the ultimate value of this study. Therefore, now, at the end of this story, my experience is best conveyed through metaphor:



*“Perhaps we only leave  
So we can once again arrive  
To get a bird’s eye view  
Of what it means to be alive.  
For there is beauty in returning  
Oh how wonderful, how strange,  
To see that everything is different  
But know it’s only you who’s changed.”*

Erin Hanson

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## Appendices

### Appendix 1: Examples of growth resources

<b>Resource area</b>	<b>Examples in the research material</b>	<b>Core quality</b>	<b>Examples of (other) manifestations of core quality</b>
Education and training	Formal occupational education	Increasing practice-based knowledge of particular area of skill	Apprenticeships
	Formal academic education	Increasing theoretical, formal knowledge	Open university studies
	Formal academic doctoral education	Synthesizing knowledge through tenacious problem solving into a defensible solution	Financial advising in business, justifying any major organizational decision
	Leadership and management literature	Independently acquiring abstract knowledge by practitioners and scholars	TedTalks on YouTube, seminars, practitioner books, LinkedIn-articles, trade publications
	Entrepreneur-ship-course	Applying abstract knowledge to a going concern	Leadership-courses in adult education, entrepreneur-ship-courses in employment office
Counseling	Work counseling	Dissecting problematic work experiences in formal dialogue so as to reformulate a new theory-in-use	Coaching, therapy, counseling
	Informal supporting discussions with peers	Dissecting problematic work experiences in informal dialogue so as to reformulate a new theory-in-use	Facebook discussion groups, talking with spouse, family, friends

Work-related experiences	Expatriate period	Experiential view to own job from a different perspective	Job rotating, unit changing, promotions, demotions,
	Conflict	Maintaining personal position in the face of opposition	Debating, doctoral defence, selling, negotiating, persuading, convincing, refusing
	Entrepreneurship	Identifying a need and satisfying it in a mutually profitable manner	Selling, applying for a job
	Positive role-model	Learning desirable qualities and actions through observation and emulation	Acting in theatre
	Negative role-model	Learning undesirable qualities and actions through observation	Acting as a subordinate or peer to an unpleasant person, working in customer service to such people
	Union work	Participating in social activity for the benefit of other people	Politics, activism, student union activity
	Teaching	Leading the learning process of people	Parenting, educational selling, coaching individuals or a team
	Learning by doing	Adopting skills and attitudes particular of certain field through practice	Apprenticeships, summerjobs, trainee programs
	Public performing	Subjecting oneself and one's views and expressions to public scrutiny	Expressing opinions, public speaking, singing, performing in theatre, Facebook status updating, teaching, YouTube-channel uploading
	Positive feedback	Receiving direct or indirect affirmation of acceptability of action or being	Prizes, emulation by others, asking for advice, social media followerships, job offers
Encouragement	Prompting to action or thinking	Promotions, receiving information or tips	

	Resignation	Deciding to terminate employment-related contract	Changing careers/ organization, seeking bankruptcy, terminating other people's employment contracts
Other life experiences	Household management	Learning to control and direct areas of life for other people	Project management, taking care of handicapped or elderly people, taking care of younger siblings
	Parenting	Learning to control and direct many areas of life for other people	Sports coaching (individual and team), army training, parenthood, taking care of siblings,
	"Time-out"	Taking time to re-evaluate personal view of self and/or action	Going to retreat, going to counseling or therapy, planning a career change
	Divorce	Deciding to terminate long-term life commitment	Ending a relationship or friendship, changing careers, making difficult decisions for other people or for oneself, seeking bankruptcy
	Taking care of a child with special needs	Experience-based perspective on particular area of life	Changing to new fields, jobs, hobbies, continents, countries, cities, relationships; changes in any life situation (unemployment, illness etc.)



Hobbies	Reading fine literature	Experiencing (life) stories through use of imagination	Writing short stories/novels, writing autobiographies or articles on people (magazines), writing poetry, acting in theatre, working in social services, career counseling, giving therapy or support, imagining, dreaming
	Computer games	Developing a suitable strategy in attempt to reach the end goal(s)	Career development planning, applying for a job, playing chess, playing hockey

## Appendix 2: Concise stories

### F1, "LEENA"

She was born in the countryside. She did not have any particular plans or wishes for the future; she went to high school due to her parents' demand. After matriculation she worked in a bank for a summer. Encouraged by the bank manager, she went on to study in a university in a large city. However, her major did not interest her much and she dropped out and instead worked for a year. The next year she applied to university to a large city to a different major and completed an academic Bachelor's degree. She also got married and had her first baby and the second one the year after that. She started a business with her husband and worked in it over ten years, after which she started studying again in an open university, now in a different major. She completed a Master's degree and a teacher's qualification. She worked for a university in several different units in different specialist tasks of teaching and researching, also acting as a head of unit for a while; she also managed a large project which she greatly enjoyed due to its developmental nature. After 12 years of temporary academic jobs, she applied and got a permanent position as a head of university unit, eventually earning also her PhD alongside her work. She has now worked in this position for 10 years. She feels she has learned something about good leadership from other leaders and also things which one necessarily should not do. She lets her subordinates to decide on matters related to their own work and tries to protect them from excessive external demands. Career in research looms in the back of her mind, but her superiors have demanded that she concentrates on her current work; she also feels that it would have been impossible to have the two careers simultaneously. She is now in the retirement age and has many plans for the future, possibly doing something entirely different during those years.

### M2, "HARRI"

He was born in a small town. There was little to do on one's free time, so he read literature and played strategy games. He knew he wanted to study economics and get a position in the field; the idea of doing business and influencing things interested him from very early age. He was not especially eager to study at school or high-school, but he did well anyway. He decided to perform the military service first and then went to the university in a large city to complete a Master's degree. During this time, he had a summer job in the US. After graduation, he worked in the university department for a while, but found the pace of things too slow. He planned to move to the capital, but got an expert position in a unit of a large international company in a large city. He worked there for five years under a supervisor who became his role model for leadership. He was asked to head a unit, but he refused as he felt he was not ready for own responsibility yet and the unit did not do well at the time. Yet, he was soon promoted to head another unit for a year, before the unit was closed. He was then asked to come to work on the corporate level for several years. This provided him a holistic perspective on the company, as did also a six month training period abroad in the service of the company subsidiary. He was asked to proceed to his current leadership position,

and during this time he has attended a leader development course. As a leader he collaborates by listening and delegating responsibility; he wants to act authentically and model desirable behaviour himself. Alongside this, he co-owns a small company, a long-standing dream of his. Through this company he is able to actualize himself, as he is not ready to move elsewhere to proceed in his career; he values the city and environment he lives in as well as his health.

#### **F6, "MARIA"**

She was born in a very large city. She studied in a private high school in a foreign language with a strict discipline. She matriculated among the best of her class and proceeded to a city university to complete two Master's degrees, simultaneously also getting married and having children; with the help of her husband she managed to do it all. She did practical trainings in different units during summers, and even though a couple of mistakes occurred, she learned carefulness and trust in her practical abilities. She continued specializing on both her majors, all the while working and studying as well as teaching others for about ten years. As she was noted to take responsibility in the program, she got a supervisory expert position there as well as finished her Doctoral studies. Three units were combined into one with new leadership, with whom she got in conflict with. She resigned and moved with her family to a new city and accepted a challenging position. There she had a full responsibility over a work unit with internal problems which, however, she managed to resolve. She also had also gotten divorced and remarried. Later, she encountered other conflicts in that work place and she and her husband both decided to resign their jobs. Her husband got a position in another city and she studied full-time many different subjects for a couple of years to increase and deepen her understanding of leadership; she also got a teacher qualification.

After that, she returned to work in another city in a unit, where the work felt challenging due to excessive work load and obscure leadership. She felt she needed a breather from the problems at the work place, so she decided to continue with the Bachelor's degree she had started earlier. She also took a leave of absence, working for the state. She felt that the experience of entirely different mode of working was a good lesson, but she had to return to her original post. Her working conditions under a new management improved and she got a colleague with whom she was able to develop work. So as to be able to finish one of her degrees, she was trained with different psychological tools which again helped her leadership. As a leader she tries to be fair and looks at the organization from the bird's eye point of view. She finds it useful to have experience from different geographical areas of the country as needs regarding leadership vary between them. She also wants to do high quality work, protect it from negative external influences, and model desirable behaviour herself. Her current idea of counselling-type of leadership is influenced by both positive and negative role models from her past. She looks forward to the future, as there are interesting challenges ahead, for instance in leading, teaching, and entrepreneurial roles.

**F2, "PAULA"**

She was born in the countryside. Her parents moved from country to a large town, where she went to high school. She matriculated with good grades. She met her husband at an early age and got married. She applied to university and got in on the second try with the aim to finish a Master's degree. However, she had her baby shortly after beginning her studies, and after the maternity leave she felt it was difficult to continue studies. The marriage ended and she did all kinds of jobs to support herself and the baby, trying to search her own path. After nearly ten years, she decided to continue the studies she had began; now she realized that she was interested in human-related issues and that the field suited her. During her studies she was in leading roles in student union activity and local politics. She also took one year off to test and to gain experience of her field of future expertise; she decided to specialize in the field immediately after that year and gained training and acted in expert positions in several organizations. Even though she did not have formal position in the hierarchy in those places, she noted that she got social or emotional leadership easily as a kind of indirect encouragement to leadership. To deepen her expertise she worked in a very hierarchical, status-oriented environment for two years, and thanks to her course in work therapy was able to note that this would not be her choice of action in leadership. She decided to establish a company of her own and had it for a while with her partners. During that time she attended a course for female leaders and felt that there she learned a lot about value-based action and human touch in leadership from people who became her role models in leadership. She did not, however, manage to make the company profitable and she ended it. She moved to countryside; she had two part-time jobs and contemplated on her next move. She applied for her current job and got it; she also remarried. The leadership and change work in this position has been more challenging than she expected, but she has gotten stronger in it and has big plans for the organization. As a leader she has seen different kinds of leaders and leadership styles. She herself wants to influence things on the basis of human values in order to make the world a better place. She acts in an authentic manner, listening to her staff and protecting them; she has a holistic view on the organization which she develops through her creative ideas. She intends to stay until the change project is finished; however, after that, her expertise may be available for other projects should possibilities arise.

**M4, "ESA"**

He was born in a large city. Already in childhood, he knew his career of choice. He got a job in a shop in his teens and continued to work there during weekends and summers alongside school all through high school years. After matriculation, he felt exhausted and did not have the energy to apply to higher education. Instead, he went to study in commercial school for a couple of years, all the while again working during the weekends and summers. After that he decided to perform his military service, thinking that he would take it easy there. However, he did not manage to do so and instead was assigned to military leadership training by his superiors; also his peers supported the idea. He agreed with this, as he easily

accepted responsibility, took charge and wanted to influence things. In officer education, he noticed that teaching the-rank-and-file was rewarding and he enjoyed it. After that, he applied to universities but did not get in. Instead, he sought himself to 1, 5 year supervisor training in retail with much practical training in different units and tasks. After that, he transitioned from practical work to more administrative - a unit of his own, working there for nearly 8 years, simultaneously doing business university courses to enliven the daily routine; he also got experience of living in an area where the language used was not his mother tongue. After that he moved on to a larger unit, where some of the staff did not take the changes and new leadership well, and he had to learn to trust his own evaluation and have the courage to take risks. After a while, the organization was reorganized and new group manager posts were established. He applied and got one of the jobs which was fortunate as he had a passion for it. During this time, his supervisor died suddenly due to exhaustion-related illness. This, together with increased self-awareness from results of a personality evaluation administered by a psychologist scared him and caused him to change his frenetic working pace; also the arrival of family's first child helped. As a leader he tries to empower his subordinates by setting the goals in collaboration with them and by delegating responsibility; in his leadership he does not consider hierarchy as being very important as he tries to be firm yet fair to everyone. Currently, he is doing a leader development course to support his personal growth and development of the company. He is happy with his position due to continuous changes and opportunities for creative business developments, but if goals are reached and interesting opportunities arise, he may consider other options.

#### **F7, "JAANA"**

She grew up in the countryside. She was taught hard work already in the family farm, since she had to do adult work and was responsible for her younger sibling. She wanted to work with children, so despite her good school performance she dropped off high school and went to study two consecutive occupational degrees from different fields, while simultaneously working summers and weekends in different practical jobs, also having her first baby. Soon after graduation, a previous trainee period earned her a short deputy post in a supervisory position which challenge she managed to face successfully. Even though at first she felt her credibility as a leader was not good, she received positive feedback on her performance. That period increased her confidence and got her to consider the option of administrative responsibilities after accumulating some practical experience; she was also offered teaching opportunities which she accepted and managed to carry out well. She also encountered two colleagues which became significant role models for her in leadership. She was asked to work in different types of tasks of the field for several years, eventually resulting in a permanent position. She got divorced, remarried, and got two children. Occupationally, however, she felt unsatisfied and studied two additional occupational degrees, Bachelor's and teacher's degrees. An occupational counselling period prompted her to pursue more challenging positions; also her role models encouraged her to do so. She currently acts as a part-time teacher alongside her main leader job, with which she is happy and passionate about. As a leader she wants to downplay her

leader status and empower her subordinates through delegation and collaboration.

#### **M1, "MATTI"**

He was born in a small rural village. He learned solidarity, equality and justice already from the village which he was born in as well as from his mother who took care of those in need. As a youngster he was a good sportsman and wanted to join the military, but due to physical injuries he ended up getting an occupational degree and practice from different tasks of the field; his role model of the time epitomized his future leader values. After the military service he started working as a head of small unit with both practical and administrative duties. After a while he moved on the lead of large unit, keeping a leader role model with values of solidarity and equality in mind in his work. However, the beginning of the post was difficult as some members of the organization did not accept his leadership and tried to turn others against him. He was away from the unit for five years, working for the field as a whole. He had multiple tasks, including re-allocation of tens of employees within the organization, saving units from bankruptcy, having leading positions of several units simultaneously as well as other challenging tasks within the field which gave him an even more ethical perspective to his own job. After four years of leadership in his former unit, he moved on to his current position. Despite the encouragement and positive feedback he has gotten from his co-workers and subordinates of his firmness, integrity, and sense of justice in leadership, these features have also been tested on several occasions, especially by his superiors as well as those outside the organization, but he has managed to persevere. As a leader, he downplays leader status and instead authentically collaborates alongside his subordinates, empowering them through listening and respect. Now he is about to retire, but will probably make use of his knowledge as a trainer or speaker in the future.

#### **F4, "MAARIT"**

She was born in a large city. As the eldest she took care and organized things for her siblings from an early age. Also, in the sphere of her sport hobby she trained young children. As a youngster, she worked in a kiosk and after a couple of years he was given responsibility of hiring and training other employees which gave her the idea of studying leadership and management. After high school she got in to a university and completed a Master's degree on leadership, being also active in the student union activity and board. She envisioned her future as being a leader. She graduated and got a deputy marketing position in a company; after that she continued in other temporary marketing jobs for four years. Thanks to the support of the CEO, who made sure she would stay hired, she was offered a two year specialist position in another department with some training responsibilities; she also worked in an assisting capacity to a person responsible for certain products and services. After that she was given a similar role with more responsibility, as she became responsible for certain services and everything that concerned them herself. During these years he also studied psychology with the aim of working in

HR at some point of her career; she got a Bachelor's degree out of it. The organization was reorganized and she was encouraged to apply for a supervisory position; also one of her former bosses had recommended of hiring her. She became chosen as the leader of the team she had worked in even though she was already expecting her first child. One of the team members did not accept her as leader, which caused a conflict. She left for the maternity leave and when she returned to work year later, all was well. She now works in team leader position and is again given extra responsibilities within the company, this time in an advisory role to the executive team; she has approved to take the role in collaboration with a colleague. She now feels that she values free time and family more and she is no longer willing to sacrifice them for a career. She has participated in leader development course so as to be firmer in her role. As a leader she wants to influence things but still remain authentic; her self-awareness has increased during her leadership. She is a bit unsure whether she should in a supervisory position or not; however, she is interested in continuing her studies in Psychology alongside work.

### **F3, "EIJJA"**

She came from rural environment, a small town. She married at very young age. At the time, her mother's occupation gave her the impulse to study that field herself and after high school she applied to several schools to acquire that occupational education. She did not manage to get in so she got a summer job in a factory. She hated the job, resigned, and started tending children in their home which she enjoyed. She asked for and got a traineeship position and after that remained on the field, doing all kinds of tasks and gaining practical experience which further strengthened her decision to apply again to the school. She got in. However, she had started to feel that she was not a typical worker of the field, but rather enjoyed planning, organizing and human resources. Hence she applied for and got supervisory level summer jobs, consisting of recruiting, teaching and many other areas of responsibility; she felt she had some credibility issues amongst her more experienced subordinates. After graduation, she did some practical work but was soon again transferred into deputy supervisory role which was an area of expertise in the field. However, she felt that even though she liked the job, it took a while to grow into personal, independent leadership instead of consulting others and seeking consensus among them. After that, times got difficult and she applied for jobs, unsuccessfully; however she then got a challenging supervisory post from the neighbouring town. In that position, she met a colleague, who became her role model in work and leadership; she also had her child during that time. She also acted in a teacher role in a school. However, she started to feel that she wanted to experience something new, so she applied for higher, current position as a head of a group of units. As a leader of them, she likes to look at things from a bird eye perspective and develop the activity patiently and respectfully, of which she has received positive feedback. She also wants to be fair and just to everyone. However, even though she is hard-working and passionate about her work, she struggles with being courageous and "a fighter". She feels that she is the leader figure both in her extended family and her household due to her husband's work. She considers herself to be "an eternal

traveller” in the form of following different media or studying education in the Open University. She is happy with her work, but should she feel she has nothing else to give, she may seek other possibilities.

#### **M5, “ISMO”**

He was born in a smallish town. As a youngster he worked during summers in his uncle’s farm, where he learned the importance of entrepreneurial attitude and working hard in making things happen and in influencing things. He studied in high school, matriculated and moved to the land’s capital to study in the university to complete a Master’s degree. After graduation, he got his first position in a research centre as an expert for several years where his work consisted of developing new ideas. He did post-graduate studies and completed Licenciate and Doctoral degrees, all the while applying the results to his work. He moved on to a large multinational company to lead a group of experts, and from thereon he acted in a team leader role, moving between different business units of the company. As the business environment became more turbulent, the work inside the company became more pressured. He encountered problems with his superiors, whom he felt he had to resist due to value paradigms which he could not adhere to. The situation made him seek information and coaching and eventually grow in self-knowledge and personal leadership philosophy. He values family and maintenance of health; during free time he reads fine literature. As a leader he prefers a holistic and dialogical, counselling-style leadership and has received both positive and negative feedback on his style. As the current situation in the company does not support his own personal growth needs, he has begun to study teaching and plans to make use of it in the future in some type of an entrepreneurial role.

#### **F8, “TANJA”**

She did well in school and continued to study to acquire an occupational education. She married at young age and had a child. She worked in an occupational role for 10 years, simultaneously raising the family and doing university studies of the field, eventually finishing a Master’s degree. She had a traineeship in labour administration which helped her in creating local networks; she also did temporary projects on her field. Her work was fast-paced with tremendous amounts of clients which she enjoyed. In private life, she grew to carry responsibility for the family and to do both men’s’ and women’s’ work in the household. She got to do administrative tasks, as she got a position as a development manager thanks to her previous project work experiences and good language skills; however, becoming a leader required unlearning excessive niceness and learning to be firm. In this position she made use of her engineer-type of thinking in envisioning the future needs of the field. She worked for several years simultaneously in supervisory position, leading several development projects, and in a research team, earning eventually her PhD alongside her work; during that time, her marriage ended on her initiative. The decision made her stronger; it also made room for her to work as hard as she wanted. She did get



encouragement to proceed to more demanding tasks, especially from men. She applied and got her current leadership position, where she again receives the most positive feedback from men. As a leader she wants to influence and create new things, simultaneously maintaining the touch with the "troops"; to her, leader status is not important, but the services she tries to provide through her work. As a leader she wants to be fair, firm, and hardworking. She finds it useful to have experience from different geographical areas of the country as leadership needs and styles vary between them as well as to follow different media actively. She has worked here now nearly five years and feels that she is underperforming and is in need of new challenges, possibly from private sector. Her close relationships, family and friends, are important, as they allow her to be herself.

#### **F5, "SATU"**

She studied an occupational degree, which however involved shift work. She had two children with her husband who travelled a lot because of his work, so the situation posed challenges for family life and she had to learn to manage household and raise the children independently. Through a change of occupation within the field she was able to take on a deputy position and hence to acquire a day job. To her surprise, she loved the new job and she specialized in that field. She got additional experience of different other jobs of the field, but still ended up choosing the new field, because she enjoyed the challenge and independence of the job. She also found teaching adults to be rewarding and helpful in learning public speaking. After seven years of practical work she got to transition from practical work to a position of administrative duties: to deputy her own supervisor for a couple of years. During that time she began to take university courses of the field to support her leadership. As her supervisor came back from her leave of absence, they continued to work by sharing the supervisory position 50-50; however, as the other half of her work consisted of practical work, her double role proved challenging for everybody in the work place and caused conflicts with her peers. She moved on to become a development expert in a development project for a couple of years, after which she became a leader in the facility; during those years she got exhausted and needed work counselling to support her so as to create balance between her massive work load and private life. She has continued to work in the field for fifteen years now and has studied alongside work all this time. During these years, she has also been active in the union and has acted in the leadership position also there, developing her field as a whole. She is however, no longer willing to exhaust herself with work, even though she has always enjoyed working and work has been important to her. She plans to finish her Master's degree which might open up new possibilities for her to influence things on a national level.

### Appendix 3: Discursive resources in the interviews and the novels

<b>"MINER"</b>		
<b>Interview resource</b>	<b>Resource in the novels?</b>	<b>Example in the lay reading of Kariluoto</b>
Good school performance	X	High school graduate
Academic second degree education	X	High school graduate
Increasing (academic) theoretical knowledge		Aspiring lawyer, formal officer education
Experiencing (life) stories through use of imagination	X	Imagining life opportunities and futures
Participating in social activity for the benefit of other people	X	Participating in war in order to liberate Carelia
Learning positive qualities and actions through emulation	X	Having Kaarna and Koskela as a role models
Adopting skills and attitudes particular of certain field through practice	X	Acquiring concrete war and leading experience
Expertise	X	Army Academy
Creativity	-	-
Multiple perspectives on organization	-	-
Synthesizing knowledge through tenacious problem solving into a defensible solution	-	-
Leading the learning process of people	X	Guiding the rank-and-file through positive feedback, group leadership
Increasing theoretical and practical knowledge	-	-
Subjecting oneself and one's views and expressions to public scrutiny	X	Expressing one's leadership views to others
Maintaining personal position in the face of opposition	X	Determination in situations of disagreement
Erroneous evaluation and action	X	Mistakes in battle
Dissecting problematic work experiences in informal dialogue so as to reformulate a new theory-in-use	X	-
Taking time to re-evaluate personal view of self and action	X	Accepting one's bad evaluation in battle, learning to act responsibly
Identifying personally undesirable personal qualities and actions through observation and non-action	X	Distancing oneself from other men's disrespectful demeanour
Values	X	Clear view of mission, personal code of conduct
Independently acquiring abstract knowledge by practitioners and scholars	-	-

Identifying need and satisfying it in a mutually profitable manner	-	-
<b>Leadership themes</b>		
Influence	X	Needing to see one's leadership in practice, seeking for connection with men
Authenticity	X	Being honest about one's character, weaknesses
Role modelling	X	Leading from the front
Self-knowledge	X	Seeing and acknowledging one's emotions, strengths, weaknesses
Metaview	X	Looking at events and people from afar, on an abstract level
Delegation	X	Giving tasks in battle
Challenge	X	Overcoming one's fears in battle
Protection	(X)	(Learning to protect those one leads)
Lack of credibility	(X)	Having trouble winning the men's trust and followership

<b>“SETTLER”</b>		
<b>Interview resource</b>	<b>Resource exists in the novel(s)?</b>	<b>Example in the lay reading of Koskela</b>
Responsibility	X	Working independently with other villagers; a lot of responsibility already with a low rank and all through one’s leader career
Diligence	X	Working hard as a youngster
Occupational education	-	-
Adopting skills and attitudes particular of certain field through practice	X	Learning to lay bricks under Janne’s supervision
Multiple occupational experiences	X	Doing many different kinds of tasks in the farm
Receiving direct or indirect affirmation of acceptability of one’s deed or being	X	Praise for hard work, sports, character in general
Learning to control and direct areas of life for other people	X	Taking care of younger siblings, working with adult men and “leading” his own father at work
Transition from practical to administrative work	-	-
Increasing theoretical and practice-based knowledge	X	Non-com school
Experiential view to life from different perspective	X	Seeing other people and self differently after war experiences
Maintaining personal position in the face of opposition	X	Defending oneself against hazing
Terminating long-term life commitment	X	Not continuing as a farmer, leaving villager identity behind
Increasing theoretical knowledge	X	Officer school
Prompting to action or thinking (leadership)	X	Continuous promotions in the military service and the military; power-keepers positive regard, positive reputation as a leader
Leading the learning process of people	X	Helping Kariluoto to grow, showing the men what to do
Dissecting problematic work experiences in formal dialogue so as to reformulate a new theory-in-use	-	-
Fervor	-	-

Participating in social activity for the benefit of other people	X	Helping other people in coping with life difficulties as a youngster, taking care of living conditions in the front
<b>Leadership themes</b>		
Diligence	X	Doing more than is required, carrying responsibility
Fairness	X	Equal but not close friendships with the rank-and-file
Firmness	X	Confident determination in situations of disagreement
Downplaying leader status	X	Equality, informality, no special officer privileges
Justice	X	Not accepting the execution of unarmed man
Collaboration	X	Doing everything men do e.g. carrying heavy weaponry, farming with villagers
Lack of legitimation	X	Hazing in the military training
Listening	-	-
Empowerment	-	-