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Histories of leadership in the Copenhagen Phil – A cultural view of narrativity in studies of leadership in symphony orchestras

Søren Friis Møller

Department of Management, Politics and Philosophy, Copenhagen Business School, Frederiksberg, Denmark

ABSTRACT

The article offers a cultural view of narrativity in studies of leadership in addition to the mimetic, the structural and the communicative views to account for the role of culture in making sense of leadership. It proposes three interlinked aspects of narrativity: performativity, structure and cultural embeddedness as methodological considerations challenging the alleged innocence of narratives. It demonstrates the cultural propensity of certain understandings of leadership, and it suggests historical accounts of leadership constitute templates for future understandings of leadership. This is unfolded in the case of a symphony orchestra, and exemplified by two narratives producing different understandings of leadership.

KEYWORDS

Narratives; leadership;
cultural embeddedness;
symphony orchestra;
sensemaking

Introduction

The historical narrative of leadership in symphony orchestras is about a heroic individual dressed in tails who, despite difficult circumstances, achieves the sublime by controlling his surroundings with a wave of his baton. It has defined what counts as leadership in symphony orchestras since Beethoven,¹ and failure to comply with this, to quote the New York Times' influential music critic Edward Rothstein, is 'an abdication of the tradition orchestras represent and a refusal to accept the responsibilities of artistic leadership'² – it 'is not leadership'. Thanks to its compelling powers, this narrative has been told again and again as an exemplar for ideal leadership in leader-centred studies, even beyond symphony orchestras, further adding to the 'cult of heroism' that sees the individual leader as the 'critical terminus' of interest for history.^{3, 4}

Such narratives are available in abundance in the more popular sections of literature addressed to management.⁵ Despite their immediate lack of critical reflexivity, their importance as sources for understanding leadership cannot be underestimated.⁶ Yet, as studies show, there is considerably more to leadership in symphony orchestras than the 'hero myth' allows for.⁷ As Mintzberg's study of Bramwell Tovey, artistic director and conductor of the Winnipeg Symphony Orchestra, concludes, the myth itself not only blindfolds us to important aspects of leadership but also imposes a template for what can be related as a narrative of

leadership as it requires events to be organised chronologically and logically around a coherent plot.⁸ Furthermore, authors such as Hansen, Mordhorst, and Rowlinson and Procter have argued that narrative approaches to history must be seen as culturally embedded.⁹ With the aim of further advancing this argument by better understanding the cultural embeddedness of narrativity, my research question is as follows: What can a cultural view of narrativity offer to business history?

In my attempt to answer this question, I propose the cultural view of narrativity offered by Jerome S. Bruner in Section 1 as a complement to both the structural and communicative view abstracted by Barry and Elmes and further advanced as distinctive views by Brown and Thompson, and the mimetic view adduced by White and Ricoeur.¹⁰ Following this, in Section 2, I account for the three aspects of narrativity – performativity, cultural embeddedness and structure – derived from the cultural view on narrativity, which I propose as important methodological considerations as these three aspects demonstrate how views of narrativity, including what qualifies as a narrative, are closely linked to culture. My aim is to show that narratives from this vantage point are not innocent tools but very influential means in the production of understandings of leadership.¹¹ Structural,¹² communicative,¹³ and mimetic,¹⁴ views of narratives have consequences for what can be narrated as history of leadership and equally for what will go down in history and be understood as a narrative of leadership. In Sections 3 and 4, I relate two historical yet very different narratives of leadership in the Copenhagen Phil, which I make sense of in Section 5 in terms of the three aspects of narrativity from Section 2, and I conclude in Section 6.

I place my article within the epistemological framework in broad terms known as social constructionism with an interpretivist, critical orientation.¹⁵ According to this framework, social realities are the product of language, which, as Hosking points out, does not assume the task of representing reality, but it is ‘a (perhaps *the*) key process in which relating “goes on” and in so doing, constructs people-world realities and relations.’¹⁶ These realities and relations are thus ‘objectivated sedimentations,’¹⁷ i.e. the outcome of ongoing processes of constructing reality socially, and as a consequence, my article must opt for plausible interpretations rather than causal explanations in terms of the knowledge it produces. This position in the context of leadership does not take any aspect of leadership for granted but instead in the words of Alvesson and Deetz asks ‘what can we see, think, or talk about if we think of leadership as this or that?’,¹⁸ to which I add the following: if we adopt different views on narrativity.

Section 1. What can a culturally embedded view on narrativity offer business history?

If history is more ‘craftlike’ than the social sciences, the choice of tool must indeed be of utmost concern.¹⁹ The toolkit available to business historians has over the last decades been widened to include a number of new research methods.²⁰ Yet in accordance with traditional good craftsmanship, the choice and use of tools are not necessarily explicit in the final handicraft.²¹ Among the more recent tools adopted by business historians are narratives, and a number of authors have shown how the use of narratives can both enrich and broaden our understanding of companies, business and leadership in the past.²² In similar ways, this has been demonstrated in organisational studies,²³ leadership studies,²⁴ identity studies²⁵ and strategy studies²⁶ in terms of the present. They have also shown that despite efforts to

agree on minimal definitions of what narratives are and should be, some contributions demonstrate that historical events can be related using different narrative properties, which in turn offer different and potentially important new views of these events. The specific narrative properties adopted are not always explicit, yet most seem to share a minimal definition drawing on the classical Aristotelian beginning-middle-end (BME) structure organised around a plot, which has been further developed notably by White and Ricoeur.²⁷ These authors also share the Aristotelian belief in the mimetic function of narratives,²⁸ described by Novick as 'a commitment to the reality of the past, and to truth as correspondence to that reality',²⁹ wherefore I refer to this as the mimetic view of narrativity.

Yet, the combination of the BME-structured narrative and its implicit agency and intentionality along with the commitment to a reality of the past risk becoming the formula for history as the result of great men's doings,³⁰ so well-known to the history of leadership and extensively problematised in leadership studies by authors such as Meindl, Ehrlich and Dukerich,³¹ Hosking,³² Fairhurst,³³ Uhl-Bien,³⁴ Collinson,³⁵ and Dachler.³⁶ And as some business historians have pointed out, this formula has a tendency to neglect the cultural embeddedness of the studied events. In this vein, it has been argued that narratives cannot be seen as disconnected from culture, and that the shifting roles business plays in society strongly impact the narratives told of it;³⁷ that corporate culture tends to privilege founder-centred business history;³⁸ that the subjective experience of remembering in a collective context cannot be disregarded in attempts to understand organisations;³⁹ that the survival of certain narratives and the disappearance of others are closely linked to their relationship to national identity;⁴⁰ that narrative fragments deviating from consolidated organisational narratives offer rich insights into organisational memory otherwise hidden;⁴¹ and that emotions should play a more prominent role in the study of family firms as strong family ties seem to play an equally strong role as more business-like factors.⁴² These contributions point to the fact that business history misses important aspects if the cultural embeddedness of the studied is not sufficiently taken into account. Furthermore, narrative approaches do not compensate for these deficiencies if the narrative approach itself disregards its cultural embeddedness. To better grasp the interlacing with culture, I therefore propose the view on narrativity offered by Jerome S. Bruner that specifically takes into account both performativity and cultural embeddedness along with a discussion of narrative structures as interpretive templates.⁴³

Bruner's seminal article from 1947 demonstrated the decisive influence of value and need on perception, which in turn led him to study how man's perception of self and reality are products of culture.⁴⁴ Bruner's fundamental claim is that humans have a predisposition to organise experience into narratives with plot structures that place narratives in a central role in terms of how the self and its surrounding reality are made sense of.⁴⁵ This view implies there is no extra-linguistic reality to which language can refer for confirmation, only intra-linguistic reality organised in narratives subscribing to the narrative repertoires provided by the culture. Narratives thus become constitutive of reality and selves, and metaphorically speaking the narrative functions as a double-lens through which reality is shaped by looking out, and self is constructed by looking in. This claim makes Bruner's contribution towards understanding narratives difficult as a source in history. Unlike Ricoeur and White, for instance, he does not acknowledge the classical Aristotelian mimetic function of narratives, which, as some have argued, to some extent brings historical representation closer to the realm of art than to the realm of science.⁴⁶ Therefore his work is largely disregarded by business history.

Bruner's objective is not to turn narratives into a matter of pure speculative fiction, a criticism that has been raised towards the communicative view of narratives, particularly in the field of history. To the contrary, narratives constitute perceived reality in terms on oneself as well as in terms of one's surroundings through the process of becoming part of one's culture. His claim is that humans unfold their narrative disposition in cultural interaction along with the acquisition of language, through which we also learn to obtain what we want by getting the narrative right. Thus, the way we make sense of historical events is a product of our culture, by imposing the cultural order onto those events through retrospective sensemaking.⁴⁷

The narrative itself ties meaning to agents, intentions, goals, situations, acts and instruments through a filter of thoughts, feelings, beliefs and convictions organised around a plot. This basically means that no action or event can be made sense of without being passed through this filter, which in turn also implies that when thoughts, feelings, beliefs and convictions change, so does the sense made of events and actions. This process is well known to historians as revision, by which events of the past are changed in light of the present. This, however, cannot be done at will for narratives must show sensibility towards the canonical in the sense that they must either comply with the schematisations already in place or account for deviations. Bruner goes as far as to argue that narratives must appear as extensions of canonical form appropriated to the specific context by mitigating circumstances, the narrative's 'apparatus for dealing simultaneously with canonicity and exceptionality' in an ongoing relational process of construction reality.⁴⁸ This is not meant in the sense that anything goes but as prompted by culture.

In this regard Bruner's view differs from the more postmodernist communicative view adduced by Barthes and Polkinghorne, critically referred to by White for its allegedly ideologically driven showdown with reality.⁴⁹ Bruner's point is not to do away with reality but to make an argument for reality as perceived through a consciousness that is thoroughly embedded in culture: albeit socially constructed, reality is path-dependent.⁵⁰ It also differs from the various structural views by demonstrating that any narrative structure is the product of cultural propensities and preconceptions. And finally, without resorting to the idea of a pre-linguistic reality, such as that advocated by the mimetic view, Bruner's view of narratives offers a midway position between reality as constructed and reality as received. This view has been drawn upon and widely advocated in organisational studies, notably by Karl E. Weick to develop his conceptualisation of sensemaking from the initial one of sense-giving to and sense-taking from pre-existing frames of meaning, to one that also incorporates the creation of such frames where not available or not obvious, which informs his subsequent work.⁵¹ This leads him to conclude that

[t]he act of exploring itself has an impact on what is being explored, which means that parts of what the explorer discovers retrospectively are consequences of his own making. Furthermore, the exploring itself is guided by preconceptions of some kind, even though they may be generic preconceptions.⁵²

This view is also useful for my study as I want to both acknowledge that leadership in symphony orchestras historically has been accounted for as all white male, leader-centred and against all odds victories in accordance with canonical cultural conventions and demonstrate that it is also possible, perhaps even desirable, to account for it in different terms using different narrative properties resulting from different cultural preconceptions.⁵³

Section 2. Three aspects of narrativity – methodological considerations

In the spirit of Bruner and Weick, assuming that sense is something framed, that narratives constitute a grounding form of framing, and that what qualifies them as narratives are the products of culture, it becomes all the more important to account for the methodological choices involved in producing them. In this regard, there is an obvious difference between the use of narratives in the realm of art and in the realm of science: whereas accounting for a narrative in methodological terms in the realm of art might appear somewhat tedious, it can increase the methodological reflexivity and transparency in the realm of research by allowing the reader to assess how canonicity and exceptionality are dealt with by the narrator. Narratives deprived of their cultural context may have strong literary qualities, but they tend to appear as if uttered with no attempt at 'objectivism'.⁵⁴ Thereby they conceal the mitigating circumstances, the meaning-making process by which they came into being, and how these pertain to the cultural context in which they occur. To grasp this, I propose three interlinked aspects of narrativity: performativity, cultural embeddedness and structure. These characteristics can serve as methodological considerations to account for the close interlacing of culture with the required and expected properties of narratives, thereby increasing the transparency in terms of these requirements and expectations.

It is what White refers to as 'a vast mass of highly problematical theories of language, discourse, consciousness, and ideology' that lies behind Barthes' conceptualization of the performative aspects of language in a broad sense and narratives in particular.⁵⁵ Barthes quotes the Nietzschean dictum that 'There are no facts in themselves. It is always necessary to begin by introducing a meaning in order that there can be a fact', resonating with Geertz's words: 'there is no such thing as human nature independent of culture'.⁵⁶

Bruner argues that what we appreciate as socially real – such as an orchestra, family, money, work and the like – is the product of culturally warranted meaning organised in narratives, which renders narratives performative. This means that saying and doing represent one functional unit. The question is therefore first what the narratives one 'chooses' to relate do in terms of producing a social reality, and second, what the conceptual narrative,⁵⁷ i.e. the empirical narratives retold to form a theoretical contribution, does in terms of confirming or producing a new or alternative reality. And since narratives are somebody's voice, we can equally ask what the empirical narratives do in terms of propagating a particular social world and what the conceptual narrative does in terms of confirming or altering that social world. This is particularly important as narratives 'almost always portray the narrator in a good light',⁵⁸ which means that both the narrators of empirical narratives and the narrators of conceptual narrative have a bias towards organising events in narratives producing social worlds in which they appear in favourable ways.

To become performative, narratives must obtain 'narrative ratification',⁵⁹ which means they must be related in ways that are 'locally warranted or socially certified',⁶⁰ i.e. confirm cultural canonicity or account for deviations in ways that can be made sense of by deploying the culture's narrative resources in slightly altered ways. Even such breaches, however, must be done in ways appropriate to cultural conventions, frequently by referring to a subjective state or a personal situation that explains the deviation from canonicity. This means that for narratives to become performative in the sense that we believe them, act upon them and make sense of ourselves and our surrounding in accordance with them, they must be thoroughly embedded in culture. Thus, narratives can be seen as 'prosthetic devices'⁶¹ of culture,

and the knowledge produced by narratives becomes a kind of encultured knowledge that only retains its performativity within the culture of which it is itself a product. In attempts to escape this tautological state, narrators frequently resort to 'denarrativization',⁶² i.e. to references beyond culture, most notably the metanarrative of truth linked to the knowability of knowledge.⁶³ Such narrative procrastinations, however, can be seen as culturally warranted ways of accounting for deviations from canonicity and therefore effective means to retain performativity.

Implicit in the argument in favour of the performativity of narratives and its necessary cultural embeddedness is the requirement for a certain narrative structure conforming to cultural conventions. In the westernised world, the BME structure has been dominant since the book of Genesis.⁶⁴ It was conceptualised by Aristotle, canonised by the Church in the Middle Ages, made popular through morality plays, propagated as a norm by historians and further theorised, developed and discussed by organisational scholars to such an extent that conforming to this narrative structure hardly needs any methodological explanations.⁶⁵ And yet, conforming to this particular structure is nothing but a methodological choice that effectively privileges conformity and obliterates non-conformity.⁶⁶ It is also a choice with a strong cultural bias that disregards other equally sustained cultural conventions according to which differently structured narratives may also obtain performativity. In this regard, narrative structures function as normative templates, regulating not only the culturally acceptable but also the culturally desirable behaviour.⁶⁷ This regulatory mechanism becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy, for as laconically phrased by British/Irish playwright Oscar Wilde, life imitates art far more than art imitates life, i.e. human behaviour is organised in accordance with culturally acceptable narrative structures, and thus narrative structures become a template for future events.

Thus, to summarise what the culturally embedded view can offer to business history by taking these three aspects into consideration, we can conclude the following: first, it argues that what appears as the past in the mimetic view is what culture allows us to recognise as such, and it further adds a reversed order to the mimesis process, i.e. it asks how and to what extent understandings of historical events mime the narratives related to them. Second, it argues that any narrative structure offered by the structural view is the product of canonical narratives such as the Bible in the western world or the Mahabharata in the eastern world or deviations from that such as 'antenarrative',⁶⁸ 'microhistory',⁶⁹ 'proto-stories',⁷⁰ and 'narrative fragments'⁷¹ as attempts to grasp that which has not yet obtained cultural warranty but is in the process of becoming so through mitigating circumstances. And third, to the communicative view, it objects that although all communication can be seen as narratives, it does not obtain performativity until culturally warranted, which implies an important path dependency as interpretation must draw on already acknowledged narrative repertoires or account for deviations through mitigating circumstances. Table 1 provides a summarised overview of the four views of narrativity, their emphases, and their relation to truth, the narrator, history, method, possible problems and questions prompted by the cultural view.

To further substantiate what the cultural view can offer in a concrete empirical case, I go on by relating two different historical narratives of leadership in a classical symphony orchestra. Both narratives strive to account for the history of leadership in the same symphony orchestra as seen through events that occurred in the spring of 2011. The first narrative draws on the mimetic view in that it commits to the reality of the past by citing publicly known sources and by alluding to material elements that can be verified in situ. It adopts a

Table 1. Four Views of Narrativity.

	Mimetic view	Structural view	Communicative view	Cultural view
Emphasis	commitment to reality	positions, sequentiality, plot	symbolic significance, plurality, polyphony	cultural embeddedness, path dependency
Truth	transmitted	emplotted	performed in relations	canonical
Narrator	messenger, archaeologist	protagonist	polyphonic	conveyor of the canonical
History Method	prelinguistic finding the true narrative	persuasive, grand making sense by imposing structure retrospectively	aspective actively co-producing narratives	commonsensical considering performativity, cultural embeddedness and structure favouring the canonical
Problems	reversed order mimesis	exclusion of the unstructured	ignoring interpretive repertoires	
Questions prompted by the cultural view	In what ways is truth local and global?	How can other structures provide access to the episodic?	How can exceptionality be linked to canonicity?	How can exceptionality be accounted for and become canonical?

classical structural view informed by Gabriel's definition of 'proper narratives',⁷² with a 'once upon a time' beginning, middle and end organised in chronological order around a recognisable plot, the purpose of which is to relate actions and events as obvious parts of a well-established narrative of leadership. As the narrator, I am absent from the narrative with the specific purpose of letting the events speak for themselves as is found, thus investing the narrative with performativity by following a culturally warranted tradition. This first narrative is thus recognisable as the history of leadership in this particular orchestra as it follows a canonical pattern, having become common sense over the course of time as the most widespread understanding of leadership in any symphony orchestra. In contrast, the second narrative, appearing as a 'collection of words arbitrarily jumbled together',⁷³ is hardly recognisable as a narrative of leadership as it does not bear any resemblance to the canonical narrative of leadership in symphony orchestras. I, as the narrator, am present and actively involved in producing the narrative.⁷⁴ This in turn is informed partly by the emotional state of the narrator when experiencing the events related as a 'passionate participant'⁷⁵ and partly by the narrator's 'activist aspirations'⁷⁶ in terms of propagating the idea of using non-structured, fragmented narratives to propose alternatives to the BME-structured narratives of leadership, in which performativity is ensured, thanks to their cultural embeddedness. By juxtaposing the two narratives, I aim to demonstrate that '[v]alidity, in short, is an interpretive concept, not an exercise in research design',⁷⁷ i.e. our willingness and inclination to make sense of the events in terms of leadership is dependent on performativity, cultural embeddedness and structure rather than on possible intrinsic meaning related as narratives.

Section 3 The classical narrative⁷⁸

In 1841 Mr Georg Carstensen asks King Christian VIII for his permission to build and run 'Tivoli and Vauxhall', an amusement park inspired by those Carstensen had seen during his extensive travels around Europe.⁷⁹ The King grants his permission, and the work is soon undertaken to establish a romantic garden with amusements and follies along with a pantomime and public houses for eating and drinking on the outskirts of Copenhagen. Since the terrain is

outside of the city fortifications, Carstensen can only build on the condition that all buildings are made of wooden structures and painted cloth so they can quickly be demolished in case of war. Thanks to Carstensen's usual foresight and enterprise, the work is nearly complete by the time the garden opens on 15 August 1843. When the garden closes after its first season, on October 11, it will have received an impressive 174,609 visitors. For musical entertainment, Carstensen engages the talented and already popular composer and conductor H.C. Lumbye. (Lumbye is now mostly known for his 'Champagnegaloppen', his contribution to the two-year birthday celebration of Tivoli and Vauxhall, now the world-famous garden in the centre of the city.)

Lumbye brings his musical society, a troupe of 22 musicians, and as the story has it, his engagement was to perform concerts à la Strauss to provide free entertainment to the visitors, who had already paid an entry fee to visit the garden. In 1846 the troupe is expanded to 33 musicians and takes on the name of the Tivoli Orchestra. In 1848 conductor Niels W. Gade returns to Copenhagen from his position in Leipzig as conductor of the world-renowned Gewandhaus Orchestra. With such a prestigious conductor, ambitions rise, and under the baton of maestro Gade, the Tivoli Orchestra soon becomes a worthy challenger to the ranks of the Royal Chapel, the world's oldest orchestra, dating its charters back to 1448. Gade brings European *schwung* to the Copenhagen musical life and manages to secure funds for engaging more musicians, whose contracts are extended to also cover some events during winter. In 1863 a concert palace is built, and under the leadership of various Danish and international conductors, the descendants of Carstensen's and Lumbye's original music society become iconic features of the city's musical life. In 1944 the concert palace is destroyed by 'Schallburtage', terror activities carried out by the Nazi Wehrmacht and their Danish collaborators in response to the extensive operations of the Danish resistance movement.

In 1956 CEO Henning Søeager is able to open the doors to a newly build concert hall, which becomes the permanent home of the Tivoli Orchestra in the summer; in winter, the orchestra tours the region, sometimes performing in less prestigious venues. In 1965 Henning Rohde, the permanent secretary in the then recently established Ministry for Cultural Affairs, can finally successfully conclude his efforts to craft a political agreement approved by the Parliament: The Tivoli Orchestra, the orchestra's name in summertime, and 'Sjællands Symfoniorkester', the orchestra's name in wintertime, are ensured permanent funding all year round.⁸⁰ The conductors can now hire musicians on a yearly basis, and the efforts of cultural policies of the 1960s in Europe to bring classical music to everyone in spite of one's social background begin. Under the leadership of various conductors, the orchestra builds its reputation by performing together with nearly any imaginable superstar in the classical music world, and these efforts are rewarded in 2009, as the orchestra moves into the former Danish Radio Broadcasting concert hall. What began as Carstensen's personal vision, has now achieved all possible public recognition and funding as Tivoli Symphony Orchestra in the summer and Sjaellands Symfoniorkester in the winter.

When Uffe Savery is appointed the new CEO in August 2010, it seems like success will be easy, riding on the coattails of his predecessors. Yet, what greets Savery soon after his appointment is the narrative of the third orchestra. Despite the apparent successes of the previous CEOs and music directors, the orchestra has developed a reputation of being the city's third best orchestra. Being the third best means that it attracts only the musicians who can't obtain a position in the other two orchestras, and along with this situation comes a

spirit of fulfilling obligations rather than bringing classical music to life through concerts. In the autumn of 2011, a new Minister of Culture is appointed, and his political ambition is to cut the funding of an orchestra in order to reallocate the money to music forms that attract larger and socially more diversified audiences.⁸¹ The narrative of 'the third orchestra' makes itself heard again, and rumours have it that the fate of the Tivoli Orchestra has already been sealed. All over Europe, symphony orchestras are being closed as governments and arts councils are forced to reconsider their priorities due not only to the financial crisis but also to a significant decrease in attendance figures.^{82, 83} Thanks to a somewhat unusual intervention in social media, a so-called flashmob featured in a number of social platforms, in particular YouTube, Savery manages to steer his orchestra through the challenges with a new more internationally oriented name, the Copenhagen Phil. Savery is now considered an exemplary leader in the cultural sector, and his creative and visionary leadership enjoys widespread recognition both nationally and abroad.

Section 4 The alternative narrative⁸⁴

[the idea pops up and begins to take shape] You've gotta be kiddin' – no way we can play at the Central Station, think about the instruments! Yeah, but we don't all have to go – just some of us could do it, just to check it out – would be cool you know. Not sure what you mean – my union representative is not gonna like it, and how about insurance? Have you thought about that? Not really, but I still kind of like the idea, and it did work quite well when we played on the train. Yeah, right, but that was different you know, if you wanna make noise at the Central Station, you need a lot of sound. Yeah, that's what I mean, that's how I'd like it to be – like all of us ... what do you mean, all of us? You can't put an orchestra in a central station, people don't like that, they're in a hurry ... they just wanna reach their trains ... hey, what are you two guys talkin' about so secretly? I bet you're cooking up something ... yeah, not sure ... how do you like playing in the Central Station ... hahaha, right man, handing out Big Macs to people 'cause they can't stand the music ... do you know the people who usually hang out in the Central Station ... you really think they're into classical music? You're so funny, I wasn't talking about handing out stuff to people ... just thought we could play some music, something with a big splash in it ... see what you mean ... why not? Don't think anyone will listen ... don't give a damn, let's do it ...

[author's coincidental experience of the flashmob from a distance] sittin' on a bus headin' back home from Glostrup, a dull Copenhagen suburb ... swearing to myself about the weight of the stuff I've been picking up from an auction house ... almost alone on the bus, bus driver is talking to someone on the internal radio system in a language I don't understand ... music playing in the background, awkwardly interrupted by silly news and ads. Suddenly silence on the radio, the driver stops talking ... the first measures of what I recognise to be Revel's Bolero blend themselves with the sound of the whining engine of the bus ... gradually it gets louder, as more instruments join in ... I realise I'm starting to breathe in time with the music ... the driver shuts off his internal radio and turns up the sound ... I notice an insecure smile in the mirror, and the woman sitting behind me starting to tap on the floor ... the music is now roaring out of the awfully bad loudspeakers, and I turn my head around to see how the few other passengers are reacting to this ... as our eyes meet we can't help smiling in the usual Danish insecure way ... the music is now so loud we can't hear the bus engine, nor the world outside ... my heart jumps over a few beats, I'm not sure how to deal with this ... 'what is this?' I ask myself as the music stops abruptly ... a guy by the name of Savery starts talking on the radio ... I hear him say, 'we wanna bring music to people ...'

[reactions to the video of the flashmob in www.youtube.com] ⁸⁵ I generally dislike any musician that desecrates originality, but flash mobs are an exception. Oh I love this, thanks for posting! It clearly is not a flashmob, but a surprise performance. If it was a flashmob, numerous musicians

would have been invited and no one would have known how many would appear. Since this is one complete orchestra that rehearsed together, it is not a flashmob at all.

[...]

Clearly your idea of a flashmob is not what most people mean when they use the term. Just look at all the videos labelled flashmob on youtube and observe how many of them don't follow your arbitrary rules.

[...]

Well, you're possibly right if you go by the original literal meaning or the denotation of the word but evidently not by the connotation. The word obviously has had a transferred meaning in later years, and I would say that by today's standards, this is to be recognized as a "flash mob" in the common language discourse.

[...]

Whether it would be singing or dancing or performing art as a flashmob, they would still have to be rehearsed together, so there is no such thing as not knowing how many will turn up. By the sheer lay out of the place, you would also need to know how many and how to get music in etc. before being able to plan movements in the dance or place of dancers. So even a flashmob takes a lot of planning and rehearsal. Another thing about the planning phase and training phase is that these are often the most enjoyable part of it all. You get to meet new people, have a good laugh when someone screws up during rehearsal (which is quite frequent and something that all of us do on more than one occasion), and even sometimes get friends out of it. On my first ever flashmob, it even turned out a wedding as a result, which of course resulted in a new flashmob aimed at the wedding couple by the rest of us. Now THAT was real fun.

[Uffe Savery's retrospect reflections on the process] The first workshop was about generating ideas of which kind of artistic initiatives we could create to position the orchestra strongly and differently in the society. I talked about leadership by asking questions to create a framework where all the creativity, richness of ideas and competencies that are in the orchestra as an artistic resource could be used to develop the orchestra with the strength of collaborative development. We generated about 125 ideas and sorted them in terms of being realizable as well as good (which ones did we feel very strongly about?). Hereafter we identified the best ideas, and all this work ended up creating the new concert format of 60 minutes, 'invading hospitals', musicians from the orchestra presenting the concerts, musicians being radio hosts, a collaboration with a composer society and many other ideas. It also created the foundation for later being able to realize new ideas, such as our flash mobs at the Central Station as well as in the metro. [...] All this was basically generated by the orchestra members themselves! Apart from the creative force of getting all this richness of initiatives and ideas into the process, it also creates a fantastic co-ownership by the whole orchestra, making all the initiatives realizable with a great deal of contribution and enthusiasm.

Section 5. Considering the performativity, cultural embeddedness and narrative structure of the two narratives

If the ratification of the two narratives is indeed 'in the ear of the beholder',⁸⁶ it is largely dependent on the interpretive repertoires and preconceptions of the culture.⁸⁷ In terms of performativity, the two narratives obviously have very different approaches. The first narrative 'performs' the history of leadership in an unproblematic way as it relates the events of spring 2011 as just another obstacle following a long row of obstacles that leadership has overcome. By retrospectively imposing order into the events, with the end ensuring the

sequence in relation to previous events, the narrative offers an immediately accessible 'source of sense' that is given to past events as though they exist to be discovered.⁸⁸ The narrative also retrospectively imposes order into chaos by conforming to a well-established leader-centred understanding of leadership.⁸⁹ This understanding is organised as a 'tripod',⁹⁰ consisting of the leader, his followers and common goals that are achieved by 'imposing labels on interdependent events in ways that suggest plausible acts of managing, coordinating, and distributing'.⁹¹ As this is quite ordinary in conceptual narratives of leadership, such as leaders-centred studies and business history and common sense in the narrative of leadership in symphony orchestras, performativity is ensured thanks to compliance with culturally embedded notions of what leadership is and what it should be in this particular context.⁹² Structure-wise the narrative follows the BME formula, which further confirms the expected sequentiality of events without having to draw upon any particular mitigating circumstances. Since the narrator's voice is absent, thus revealing no specific viewpoint, the narrative is denarrativised as *the* historical account of leadership in the Copenhagen Phil.

Performativity, in contrast, is not ensured for the second narrative, at least not in the immediate sense. Apparently, there are a number of different narratives, some contradictory and some which even the narrators themselves do not believe. I as one narrator amongst several appear personally and somewhat emotionally involved, which makes it even harder to make sense of the narratives as a plausible account of historical events. The fragments seem hardly noteworthy, even irrelevant, in an account of leadership and are therefore likely to be lost in future accounts of the history of leadership in the orchestra.⁹³

A lack of performativity and possibly oblivion would have been the most likely fate of this narrative had it not been for the approximately 20 million downloads of the filmed version of the flashmob and its follow up flashmob at the Copenhagen Metro, reviewed by Chris Barton in the *Los Angeles Times* with the following words:

Oh, Copenhagen. You brought us the Midcentury furniture designs that make 'Mad Men' an interior decorator's dream and saw the wisdom of bike commuting long before L.A. earned its first CicLAvia. Now you've one-upped every philharmonic in the world with video of your orchestra (Sjællands Symfoniorkester) making an entire subway train weak in the knees with a flash mob performance of Grieg's 'Peer Gynt' on a Copenhagen Metro train.⁹⁴

Instead, the history of leadership in the orchestra was changed overnight. Granted the sporadic and fragmented narrative lacks 'the towering presence of true heroes',⁹⁵ but it is understood by millions as a kind of shared leadership of which anyone can become part by contributing with their own voice. This in turn enabled the orchestra to quickly crowd-fund their next project, the World Online Orchestra, through kickstarter.com and to engage in ambitious music projects it could not previously have dreamed of. Whereas the narrative of 'the third orchestra' brought the orchestra frightfully near to closure, and the competing narrative about reallocating its support for more popular music forms had already gained some popularity, the new narrative related by the digital swarm, the musicians, the critics and others tells of a changed and remarkably more promising future for the orchestra.

So what can the cultural view of narrativity offer to the history of leadership in the case of the Copenhagen Phil? To begin with, as Hansen clearly demonstrates, the narrator must ask: What narratives are culturally warranted and by whom, i.e. who has a vested interest in ratifying certain narratives at the expense of others since what is interpreted as leadership is a function of those interests?⁹⁶ The Copenhagen Phil narratives highlight this question as not only is what is interpreted as leadership contested, but a struggle becomes apparent

between cultural preconceptions in which the canonically acknowledged is challenged by digital swarms. By not referring to the narratives of the latter as some form of 'pre-stadium' but rather as narratives invoking what might become interpreted as leadership, I avoid hierarchisation between what appears to be a correct and plausible account and what seems like episodic fragments, thereby avoiding implicitly giving priority to the first as it agrees with culturally embedded expectations.⁹⁷

A cultural view of narrativity can also add increased reflexivity to any of the mimetic, structural and communicative views by accounting for consequences of those views in terms of performativity, cultural embeddedness and structure. Applied to the two narratives of leadership in the Copenhagen Phil, the cultural view sheds light on the consequences of what can be related and interpreted as a narrative of leadership in any of the other views. The mimetic view implicitly has the aforementioned representational problem as well as an unintended consequence resulting from reversed order mimesis.⁹⁸ For, as Weick points out, assumptions leaders make about the world in crisis situations seem capable of both increasing and decreasing 'the likelihood that small errors will escalate into major crisis'⁹⁹ as events seem to mime the narratives in which leaders organise their understanding of themselves and their surroundings, and the narratives then become self-fulfilling prophecies. Narratives in the form of outbursts of increasing eschatological order are not unusual from leaders of symphony orchestras.¹⁰⁰ Yet they do seem to have had a certain self-fulfilling impact as numerous symphony orchestras have been closed since the financial crisis of 2008. Thus perhaps alternatives are desirable. The success of the rather haphazard flashmobs (heightened in profile by the digital swarm) has given the Copenhagen Phil a new self-confidence, which, despite the broader current climate, has made it more successful than ever.

The structural view acknowledges the ordered sequentiality of the classical narrative and either discards the alternative narrative or assigns it to a status before the coming into being of a properly structured narrative.¹⁰¹ However, as Gergen has argued, 'the vision of "great leaders" is largely the result of the command and control structures inherited from the past.'¹⁰² Hence, imposing certain structures onto narratives risks reducing the understandings of leadership to projections of past notions into the future. Iterating notions of leadership from the past, although these may be fully acknowledged, culturally warranted templates, is, as Weick argues, insufficient in current times of uncertainty.¹⁰³ Thus, as McNamee and Gergen suggest, 'we may labor toward the development of intelligibilities that invite, encourage, or suggest alternative forms of action.'¹⁰⁴ In the realm of leadership, it means that 'nothing less than a revolution of mind is required, a shift of order of thought, a reformation of how leadership is known', which, as the alternative narrative testifies to, may at a first glance seem hardly worth the while.¹⁰⁵ However, with a broader perspective, one can see it as a step towards 'more improvisation and fewer routines', which, according to world-renowned violinist Itzhak Perlman, is what makes classical music work.¹⁰⁶ Similarly, by juxtaposing the two different narratives, it becomes clear that imposing a certain structure, as Holt and Popp have demonstrated, does not necessarily account well for events as experienced by those involved.¹⁰⁷ Uffe Savery's final remark alludes to this realisation: the achievement is not his alone – it is certainly experienced as a shared endeavour amongst all members of the Copenhagen Phil and the numerous digital contributors.

The communicative view allows for any form of communication even before it may or may not be organised sequentially or authorised as narratives of leadership, and it doesn't make a priori normative assumptions about the properties of narratives.¹⁰⁸ This view, as the

alternative narrative demonstrates, allows for any utterance, even un-articulated ones, to be interpreted as a historical account of leadership, and this sensibility privileges 'pluralism, relativism and subjectivity'¹⁰⁹ in terms of approaches. This is particularly relevant in the alternative narrative as this draws on narratives from social media, which seem to allow for an endless variety of communicative contributions, as evidenced by the examples provided. While appreciating improvisation in the context of a new understandings of leadership, Weick, however, warns against 'anything goes' approaches, for as he points out,

it is about making something out of previous experience, practice, and knowledge during those moments when people uncover and test intuitive understandings while their ongoing action can still make a difference,¹¹⁰

which means that communicative views of narrativity risks becoming void and meaningless if not drawing on the narrative repertoires offered by specific cultural contexts, such as a symphony orchestra.

And, as the reflections suggest, the mimetic, the structural and the communicative views need not be replaced by a cultural view. Instead, the cultural view can add reflexivity, even critical reflexivity, to the other three views. For as I have demonstrated, in a Barthesian sense, any reality can be produced by narratives, but certainly not all of them can be culturally warranted as reality, and only a few of them comply with culturally acknowledged structures and can therefore enjoy expectations of going down in history as narratives of true leadership. But as I have also demonstrated by means of the two narratives, in a dynamically complex environment where uncertainty about the future is the norm rather than the exception, reiterating already culturally canonical templates for leadership seems insufficient: the cultural warrants of true leadership appear to be on the move.

Thus, narrativity in Bruner's sense is by no means an innocent approach available to business history, the traces of which should be hidden in the final accounts. On the contrary, its effectiveness is a function of involvement implying a number of decisive methodological considerations that in turn can further substantiate important aspects of business history. First, it recalls that not only is business history culturally embedded, so are the narrative structures adopted to relate and make sense of it. By using a more diverse range of narrative structures, business history can broaden our understanding of what may count as, e.g. leadership in symphony orchestras beyond the widely acknowledged leader-centred model. In the case of the Copenhagen Phil, adopting a culturally informed view of narrativity does not neglect history as the possible outcome of the grand maestro's doings but allows us to see this particular view as the consequence of a culture in which this view is the acknowledged one. Further, it allows us to see what might be understood as leadership if the more scattered, episodic view prominent in the digital swarm is applied. Second, it opens up the possibility of bringing back agency in business history without having to resort to the narratives of 'great men' that implicitly follow from the use of the BME structure.¹¹¹ As my case demonstrates, it is not only possible, but in this case also desirable, to account for leadership experienced as a shared endeavour with many voices moving the orchestra towards new possibilities. Thus, writing business history in less individualistic and more community-oriented ways to fulfil wider aspirations can be enriched by adopting narrative structures that don't implicitly mimic the less desirable ones but also create awareness of the potentiality of a variety of narrative structures recognised by a variety of cultures.¹¹² Third, business history can play an active role in shaping leadership in the future, not only by relating possible counter-narratives of the past but also by increasing the resources available for

constructing narratives. This can even happen successfully by inventing narratives;¹¹³ by sponsoring more desirable ones at the expense of others,¹¹⁴ and by relating the mitigating circumstances for desirable deviations from the canonical. Finally, reflexivity in terms of methodological choices in narratives of leadership can also facilitate discussions of how cultures relate which kinds of narrative, a discussion starkly considered in Bertolt Brecht's *Life of Galileo*,¹¹⁵ written in 1939:

Andrea: 'Unhappy is the land that breeds no hero'.

Galileo: 'No Andrea: Unhappy is the land that needs a hero'.

In metaphorical terms, adopting the cultural view of narrativity offers Galileo's vision to business history: in addition to igniting the 'legend construction machine',¹¹⁶ business history has a role here to encourage discussions of what kind of cultures render which narratives performative, how these are culturally embedded in particular cultures, and how narrative structures themselves implicitly support the culture.¹¹⁷ In other words, what is plausible cannot be disconnected from culture, wherefore narratives have as much to say about the cultures that produce them as they have about the historical events they account for. For business history, this offers a wide range of further inquiries into what cultures have produced which narratives of business in the past. It further offers the possibility of relating past events in narratives that assume their performativity not only in the dominant culture but also in a variety of different cultures.

Conclusion

In my discussion of narratives as a method of inquiry in business history, I have examined a cultural view of narrativity and explored what it can offer to business history in addition to the already well-established mimetic, structural and communicative views. I have done so by drawing on Jerome S. Bruner's view of narrativity, which has been extensively developed and advocated in organisational studies by Karl E. Weick. By way of three interlinked aspects of the cultural view of narrativity – performativity, cultural embeddedness and structure – I have drawn attention to the importance of culture in both relating to and making sense of narratives. This, as I have demonstrated in the empirical case of the Copenhagen Phil, enables the narrator to reflect on the extent to which alternative narratives of the same historical events can both aspire to an accounting in plausible ways of past events and become templates for future events. As my two narratives have suggested, this is particularly important and relevant in accounts of leadership in symphony orchestras. Foundational work on the use of narratives in business history and the role of culture in such studies has already been done, as I have described. Further studies have been conducted by Sazaki and Sone regarding the importance of culture in the lifespan of companies; by Vaara, Sonenshein and Boje regarding narratives as sources of stability and change in organisational cultures; by Holt regarding business history and the potentiality of taking risks in accounts of the past; by Boje regarding the fundamentally changed role of narratives as a result of a changed understanding of space, time and matter following quantum physics; by Hansen regarding the potential role of business history in relation to sensemaking in a changing globalised world; by Hosking and Fairhurst regarding non-leader-centred ways of understanding leadership; and finally by Gubrium and Holstein regarding a broader focus on how various narratives come into being in the past, present and future in reflective relation to culture.¹¹⁸ In line with this

thought, I pass on Bruner's comparison of his work to that of a physicist, offered in an interview in connection with his 100th birthday: 'To be a good physicist isn't to fix the meaning of things, but to open up the possibility of what things might be.'¹¹⁹

Notes

1. Lebrecht, *The Maestro Myth*; Buch, "Beethoven's Ninth".
2. Rothstein, "Be Smart as a Lemming".
3. Grint, *The Arts of Leadership*, 245.
4. McNamee and Gergen, "Relational Responsibility Resources for Sustainable Dialogue," 5.
5. Clark and Rowlinson, "The Treatment of History in Organisation Studies," 336.
6. Keulen and Kroeze, "Understanding Management Gurus and Historical Narratives".
7. Koivunen and Wennes, "Show us the Sound!"; and Koivunen, "Leadership in Symphony Orchestras"; Murrell, "Emergent Theories of Leadership".
8. Mintzberg, "Covert Leadership"; Rowlinson et al. "Research Strategies for Organizational History," 260.
9. Hansen, "Business History"; Hansen, "From Finance Capitalism to Financialization"; Mordhorst, "Arla and Danish National Identity"; Rowlinson and Procter, "Organizational Culture and Business History".
10. Barry and Elmes, "Strategy Retold," 431; Brown and Thompson, "A Narrative Approach," 1145; White, "The Question of Narrative"; Ricoeur, "Time and Narrative vol. 1" and "Time and Narrative vol. 3".
11. Mordhorst, "Arla and Danish National Identity," 119.
12. Such as drawn up by Boje, "Reflections," 254; and further elaborated in Boje "Storytelling Organizations," 7; Boje "Narrative Methods," 2; Gabriel, "Storytelling in Organizations," 5; and Czarniawska "A Narrative Approach," 2; Czarniawska "Narratives in Social Science Research," 19; and Czarniawska "A Theory of Organizing," 32.
13. Barthes "Mythologies"; Fischer, "Narration as Human Communication Paradigm"; Brown and Thompson, "A Narrative Approach".
14. Ricoeur, "Time and Narrative vols. 1 and 3"; White, "The Question of Narrative"; Aristotle "Poetics".
15. Gergen, "Realities and Relations"; Gergen and Thatchenkery, "Developing Dialogue for Discerning Differences"; Fairhurst, "Discursive Approaches to Leadership," 495; Fairhurst and Grant, "The Social Construction of Leadership," 186.
16. Hosking, "Not Leaders, Not Followers," 9.
17. Berger and Luckmann, *Social Construction of Reality*, 87.
18. Alvesson and Deetz, "Doing Critical Management Research," 52.
19. Such as argued by Rowlinson et al., "Research Strategies for Organizational History," 252.
20. Decker et al., "New Business Histories," 32.
21. de Jong et al., "Towards a New Business History?," 10–11.
22. Hansen, "Business History" and Hansen, "From Finance Capitalism to Financialization"; McCloskey, "The Rhetoric of Economics"; McCloskey, "The Rhetoric of Economics," (1986/1998); Mordhorst, "From Counterfactual History to Counternarrative History"; Mordhorst, "Arla and Danish National Identity"; Rowlinson et al., "Social Remembering and Organizational Memory"; Kroeze and Keulen, "Leading a Multinational is History in Practice."; Keulen and Kroeze, "Understanding Management Gurus and Historical Narratives"; Brown and Thompson, "A Narrative Approach"; Rowlinson et al., "Research Strategies for Organizational History".
23. Most notably Czarniawska "A Narrative Approach", "Narratives in Social Science", "A Theory of Organizing"; Boje "Narrative Methods", "Storytelling Organizations", "Reflections"; and Gabriel "Storytelling in Organizations".
24. See, e.g. Fairhurst "Discursive Leadership"; Parry and Hansen "The Organizational Story as Leadership"; Fleming, "Narrative Leadership"; Meindl et al., "The Romance of Leadership".
25. Andrews et al., "Doing Narrative Research"; Bamberg et al., "Selves and Identities".
26. See, e.g. Barry, "Telling Changes"; Fenton and Langley, "Strategy as Practice"; and Brown and Thompson, "A Narrative Approach".

27. White, "The Question of Narrative in Contemporary Historical Theory"; Ricoeur, "Time and Narrative", vol. 1.
28. White, "Narrative in Historical Theory," 3, clarifies his position: For the narrative historian, the historical method consists in the investigation of the documents in order to determine what is the true or most plausible story that can be told about the events of which they are evidence. A true narrative account, on this view, is not so much a product of the historian's poetic talents, as the narrative account of imaginary events is conceived to be, as a necessary result of a proper application of historical 'method'. The form of the discourse, the narrative, adds nothing to the content of the representation, but is rather a simulacrum of the structure and processes of real events. And insofar as this representation *resembles* the events of which it is a representation, it can be taken to be a true account. Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*, vols. 1 & 3 drawing on Heideggerian hermeneutic phenomenology presupposes a form of reality in his extensive elaboration of his notion of mimesis.
29. Novick, "That Noble Dream".
30. Rowlinson et al., "Research Strategies for Organizational History," 252.
31. Meindl et al., "The Romance of Leadership".
32. Hosking, "Moving Relationality" and "Not Leaders, Not Followers".
33. Fairhurst, "Discursive Leadership".
34. Uhl-Bien, "Relational Leadership Theory".
35. Collinson, "Critical Leadership Studies".
36. Dachler, "From Individualism to Post-Heroic Practices".
37. Hansen, "Business History"; Hansen, "From Finance Capitalism to Financialization".
38. Rowlinson and Procter, "Organizational Culture and Business History".
39. Rowlinson et al., "Social Remembering and Organizational Memory".
40. Mordhorst, "Arla and Danish National Identity".
41. Musacchio Adoriso, "Organizational Remembering as Narrative".
42. Holt and Popp, "Emotion, Succession, and the Family Firm".
43. Bruner, "Acts of Meaning", "Actual Minds, Possible Worlds".
44. Bruner and Goodman, "Value and Need as Organizing Factors in Perception".
45. A view Bruner first published comprehensively in "Actual Minds, Possible Worlds" (1985), and shared with Fischer "Narration and Human Communication Paradigm" (1984) and Fischer "The Narrative Paradigm" (1985) on which Weick and Browning (1986) draw to establish the importance of narration in understanding organisations.
46. Ankersmit, "Historical Representation".
47. Polkinghorne, "Narrative Knowing," 134; Boje, "Storytelling Organizations," 7.
48. Bruner, *Acts of Meaning*, 47.
49. Barthes and Duisit, "An Introduction to the Structural Analysis of Narrative"; Polkinghorne, "Narrative Knowing," 14; White, "The Question of Narrative in Contemporary Historical Theory," 13.
50. Bruner, "Acts of Meaning," 56, citing Bartlett "Remembering".
51. Czarniawska, "Karl Weick," 271; Weick, "The Social Psychology of Organizing," 4; Weick, "Sensemaking in Organizations," 145–6. See Weick, "The Man Gulch Disaster," 108, where sensemaking is described as 'contextual rationality'; and Weick et al., "Organizing and the Process of Sensemaking," 419, where sensemaking implies that 'constraints are partly of one's own making and not simply objects to which one reacts'.
52. Weick, "Enacted Sensemaking in Crisis Situations," 2245.
53. Boje, "Narrative Methods," 45.
54. Rowlinson et al., "Research Strategies for Organizational History," 253.
55. White, "The Question of Narrative in Contemporary Historical Theory," 14; Barthes, "The Discourse of History," 16–17, Barthes, "Mythologies," 148–9.
56. Nietzsche, *Will to Power*, KGW VIII I, 138, cited in Barthes, "The Discourse of History," 15; Geertz, "Interpretation of Cultures," 49.
57. Somers, "The Narrative Constitution of Identity," 620.
58. Bruner, "Acts of Meaning," 83.

59. Gergen et al., "Dialogue," 49.
60. Hosking and Hjorth, "Relational Constructionism and Entrepreneurship," 263.
61. Bruner, "Acts of Meaning," 21.
62. Somers, "The Narrative Constitution Of Identity," 617.
63. Lyotard, "The Postmodern Condition".
64. Alter, "The Art of Biblical Narrative".
65. Eco, "Art and Beauty in the Middle Ages," 25; Young, "The Drama of the Medieval Church"; Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*, vol. 1, and White, "The Question of Narrative in Contemporary Historical Theory"; Boje, "Storytelling Organizations," 2; Gabriel, "Storytelling in Organizations," 21; and Czarniawska, "A Theory of Organizing".
66. Mordhorst, "From Counterfactual History," 10.
67. Bruner, *Acts of Meaning*, 150; Gubrium and Holstein, "Analyzing Narrative Reality," 201; Jovchelovitch, "Narrative, Memory and Social Representations".
68. Boje, "Storytelling Organizations," 13.
69. Ginzburg, "The Cheese and the Worms"; Levi, "On Microhistory".
70. Gabriel, "Storytelling in Organizations," 26.
71. Musacchio Adoriso, "Organizational Remembering," 468.
72. Gabriel, "Storytelling Organizations," 21.
73. Ankersmit, "Historical Representation," 2008.
74. Riessman, "Narrative Methods," 2.1.
75. Guba and Lincoln, "Competing Paradigms," 115.
76. Guba and Lincoln, "Paradigmatic Controversies," 114.
77. Bruner, "Acts of Meaning," 108.
78. The classical narrative is related by drawing on sources that are publically available, such as the website of Copenhagen Phil, Tivoli A/S, literature, surveys, notes from observations and communication with Uffe Savery, and published records from the establishment of the orchestra The few remaining archival sources available at the Royal Library Copenhagen proved irrelevant to the purpose of this article As the purpose of the classical narrative is not to alter, nor propose alternatives to the canonical narrative, no efforts have been made to search for alternative records To further illustrate my point, I have retrospectively imposed a series of BME-structures on the records
79. Godtfred Skjerne, "H.C. Lumbye og hans Samtid" (H.C. Lumbye and his Contemporaries). Thanks to its numerous and meticulous references to archival sources from the foundation of Tivoli, it is considered a primary entry into the history of Tivoli, as most archival sources burned down during the Schallburgtage attacks in WW2. The few remaining archival sources are available at the Royal Library Copenhagen.
80. "Om Kulturministeriets oprettelse".
81. Elbæk, "Marshall Plan".
82. "FIM Survey".
83. "Special Eurobarometer 399".
84. The alternative narrative is related by drawing on sources that are publically available such as YouTube, newspaper websites, extensive fieldnotes and personal communication with Uffe Savery, musicians and administrative staff at the orchestra I have, as accounted for elsewhere, actively participated in the creation of the narrative, both by involving my own reflections, but also in interaction with the other narrators I have, as Mordhorst's "Arla and Danish National Identity," 119, points out, let my research question transform signs and traces from the past into sources
85. The following four utterances are selected from the comments to the flashmob uploaded to YouTube (see <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mrEk06XXaAw>) without any specific chronological order or reference to authors of whom only some reveal their (possibly) true identity as is common in social media.
86. Cronbach cited in Bruner, "Acts of Meaning," 108.
87. Potter and Wetherell, "Discourse and Social Psychology," 146.
88. Weick et al., "Organizing," 409; Bruner, *Acts of Meaning*, 43; Weick, "Sensemaking," 128; Ankersmit, "Historical Representation," 208.

89. Weick et al., "Organizing," 411; Bennis and Nanus, "Leaders", Mintzberg, "The Manager's Job", Drucker, "The New Society of Organizations".
90. Drath et al., "Direction, Alignment, Commitment".
91. Weick, "Organizing," 411.
92. See, e.g. classical contributions such as Bass, "Leader and Performance" and Conger, "The Charismatic Leader".
93. Mordhorst, "Arla and Danish National Identity," 119, suggests that as the main task of history, in that oblivion is created by forefronting some events at the expense of others, thereby leaving these 'to a shady graveyard'.
94. *Los Angeles Times*, May 16, 2012, online version.
95. Gabriel, "Storytelling in Organizations," 5.
96. Hansen, "From Finance Capitalism to Financialization".
97. Boje, "Storytelling Organizations," 1, 13.
98. Ankersmit, "Historical Representation," 206.
99. Weick, "Enacted Sensemaking," 313.
100. E.g. "Oslo Call", Schønwandt, Muti, "Resignation".
101. Gabriel, "Storytelling in Organizations," 5; Boje, "Storytelling Organizations," 13.
102. Gergen, "An Invitation to Social Construction," 149.
103. Czarniawska, "A Theory of Organizing," 33; Weick, "Leadership as the Legitimation of Doubt," 264.
104. McNamee and Gergen, "Relational Responsibility Resources for Sustainable Dialogue," 10.
105. Drath, "The Deep Blue Sea," 124.
106. Weick, "Leadership as the Legitimation of Doubt," 264; Perlman, "Interview".
107. Popp and Holt, "Entrepreneurship and Being", argue that imposing the narrative structure offered by classical conceptualisations of entrepreneurship does account well for how events were perceived through the eyes of the involved Mr and Mrs Shaw.
108. Barthes and Duisit, "An Introduction", 237.
109. Brown and Thompson, "A Narrative Approach," 1145.
110. Weick, "Leadership as the Legitimation of Doubt," 267.
111. Rowlinson et al., "Research Strategies for Organizational History," 252; Sewell, "Logics of History".
112. Laird, "How Business Historians Can Save the World".
113. Kroeze and Keulen, "Leading a Multinational is History in Practice".
114. Barry, "Telling Changes".
115. Brecht, *Life of Galileo*, Scene 12, 115.
116. Grint, *The Arts of Leadership*, 244.
117. Keulen and Kroeze, "Understanding Management Gurus and Historical Narratives," 171.
118. Sasaki and Sone, "Cultural Approach"; Vaara et al., "Narratives as Sources of Stability and Change"; Holt, "Reimagining Business History"; Boje, "Reflections"; Hansen, "Business History; Hosking, "Moving Relationality"; Fairhurst, "Discursive Approaches to leadership"; Gubrium and Holstein, "Analyzing Narrative Reality," 227.
119. Marsico, "Jerome S. Bruner beyond 100," 14.

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Notes on contributor

Søren Friis Møller is Head of Pedagogical Development at the National Film School of Denmark and External Lecturer at Department of Management, Politics and Philosophy, Copenhagen Business School. His research interests include management, leadership and entrepreneurship in the cultural sector.

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