

**In The Beginning Was The Word:
The Discursive Construction Of Spiritual Work And Spiritual Workers**

By:

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I dedicate this to my mother, whose strong faith has always included faith in me.

Abstract

In The Beginning Was The Word: The Discursive Construction Of Spiritual Work And Spiritual Workers

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The methods of critical discourse analysis are used to shed light onto workplace spirituality. This research is premised upon the idea that reality is socially constructed, and language is the central mechanism through which constructed realities take shape. Using a representative corpus for the purpose of analysis, insights are offered into the objects, concepts and subject positions established by the discourse of workplace spirituality to better understand the particular reality authors of these texts are attempting to construct. The manifestation of workplace spirituality is evident to the extent that workers have developed higher levels of consciousness, appreciate the interconnected reality of their organizational role, and improve upon their capacity to lead in particular ways. These collectively are the signs of spiritual workers, and it is largely incumbent upon members of organizations to construct their realities accordingly as an existential exercise. Once workers have changed, spiritual work can happen – the second manifestation of workplace spirituality. Spiritual work is constructed to be motivating, personally meaningful, and to some extent socially responsible. Although there are specific qualities of spiritual work presented, it rests largely upon the workers' capacity to make sense of their work in particular ways. The work organization is also advised to adopt several practices to help facilitate this change. The combined development of spirituality in organizations is made meaningful as advantageous, most commonly in ways that promote the economic objectives of organizations. To the extent that this discourse subsumes spirituality as a means to economic ends, it does ideological work. The actors who participate in constructing this reality employ various strategies of legitimization to reinforce their message and bolster their subject positions as credible agents of change. Moreover, the meanings they attach to spiritual work and spiritual workers are drawn from numerous other texts embedded with ideas about spirituality and other discourses prominent within organizational studies. The tracing of these intertextual linkages, combined with the appreciation of power and strategy, and the location of the discourse of workplace spirituality within a broader social context, all contribute to our understanding of how this discourse came to be structured as such.

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1.0 Introduction

I am interested in epistemology, in how ideas become knowledge (a truth to be discovered). The idea I am particularly interested in exploring is that of workplace spirituality. Simply put, workplace spirituality “is an organizational phenomenon describing employees’ spiritual or religious expressions and experiences in the workplace” (Lips-Wiersma, Lund Dean and Fornaciari, 2009: 228). As Case and Gosling (2010: 257) noted, “to suggest that there has been a growing interest in workplace spirituality in recent years would be to court understatement.” I make reference in this dissertation to the *discourse* of workplace spirituality, as have others before me (e.g., Oswick, 2009; see also Calás and Smircich, 2003b: 327, who referred to the ‘spirituality and organization’ discourse). Discourse can be defined as “an interrelated set of texts, and the practices of their production, dissemination, and reception, that brings an object into being” (Phillips and Hardy, 2002: 3). In writing this dissertation, I explore both the knowledge brought into being by the discourse of workplace spirituality and the process of its construction.

In addition to being epistemological, this is also a moral and existential inquiry for me personally. I was introduced to workplace spirituality at a time when my own search for a purposeful life had particular poignancy, when I had placed under sharper focus questions about what it meant to live a spiritual existence, what kind of contribution to society I was making through my work, and whether I was living authentically. It was at this time that I encountered the corporate social responsibility literature; it was liberating to find a vocabulary through which I could express my thoughts on how business can be a more positive actor in society, more particularly for

those whom businesses employ. I subsequently stumbled upon the workplace spirituality literature, which I thought would be an epiphanal moment. The idea of spirituality within the workplace had the potential to not only reinforce the concepts of ethics and social responsibility via a focus on the ‘goodness’ of business behaviour, but to also address my personal inquiry into meaning and how to live a spiritual existence. Miller’s (2003: 301) concept of the ‘Sunday-Monday’ gap made sense to me, for even though my Sunday worship practices had become a formative part of my past (but not present), I still felt as if I was one of the people he described as “embarking on a quest to integrate the claims of their faith with the demands of their work.”

My excitement was, at least initially, dampened by what I soon discovered to be a prevailing instrumentality in the workplace spirituality literature. I learned less about how work could be meaningful, important and a manifestation of an authentic spirituality, and instead more about how wealth creation could be furthered as per the imperatives of capitalist systems of exchange. This instrumentality is captured in Shorto’s (2004: 44) feature in the *New York Times Magazine*, and his interview with a gentleman named Chuck Ripka is particularly illustrative:

Ripka had his marketplace epiphany 20 years ago when he was a salesman at Levitz furniture in downtown St. Paul. “From out of the blue the Lord said to me, ‘Chuck, one day you’re going to pray with a customer,’” Ripka said. “Then several months later, I saw a man standing in the store looking at beds, and the Lord said, ‘This is the one.’”... “I told him that three months before, the Lord told me someone would come in and we would pray

together. So we did. And then something really important happened. The man bought a mattress.”

In this example, the important moment was marked by the closing of the deal, for the sale of a mattress likely derived its importance as a contribution to the financial performance of the organization, not to mention the financial rewards that may have flowed to Ripka. Insignificant in the retelling of his story was the service provided, the prayer led, the sense of community developed or the understanding of God potentially obtained; all became simply means to the more important end. When the sale of a mattress is understood as a spiritual end, and the completion of a marketplace transaction more generally satisfies one’s calling, it seems important to more critically assess the idea of spirituality at work. In doing so herein, I also make more central the moral and existential dimensions of workplace spirituality.

This dissertation remains at its core an epistemological inquiry, and my purpose in writing it is to offer an interpretation of the existent knowledge surrounding workplace spirituality that highlights in greater detail its main themes and, more importantly, the conditions of possibility necessary for this body of knowledge to emerge in a particular place and time. My contributions rely in large part upon the degree to which I have succeeded in both, hence providing a greater understanding of the discursive nature of workplace spirituality. Such an inquiry requires an analysis of the processes of knowledge construction. How is it that workplace spirituality has come to mean a particular thing (allowing in the process for multiple meanings to emerge)? The process appears to be particularly hidden in the management literature; there seems to be a certain taken-for-grantedness that the workplace can and should be a site where spirituality,

variously defined, can flourish and be expressed, and hence an inordinate degree of attention is focused instead on arguing why this is a good thing. Biberman's (2003) essay *How workplace spirituality becomes mainstreamed in a scholarly organization* is promisingly titled, but its content simply identified the twofold growth in both scholarly interest in the topic and the emergence of conference presentations and publications. Absent was an effort to address the more important question about how workplace spirituality emerged into being as a legitimate and popular management idea in the first place. I hope to fill in some of these gaps in the pages that follow.

My premise is that the source of constructed knowledge is discourse, and so critical discourse analysis (CDA) is the methodological framework that guides my research. Terms germane to discourse analysis are presented here. Having already offered a definition of discourse, we can further understand discourses as “embodied and enacted in a variety of texts... Texts can thus be considered a discursive ‘unit’ and a material manifestation of discourse” (Phillips and Hardy, 2002: 4). Combining these ideas, “the term ‘organizational discourse’ refers to the structured collections of texts embodied in the practices of talking and writing ... that bring organizationally related objects into being as these texts are produced, disseminated and consumed” (Grant, Hardy, Oswick and Putnam, 2004: 3). In this dissertation, then, I explore both the structure of workplace spirituality discourse and the processes by which it came to be structured as such. “Discourse analysis is thus interested in ascertaining the constructive effects of discourse through the structured and systematic study of texts” (Phillips and Hardy, 2002: 4), hence texts become the unit of analysis. A challenge for the researcher in employing the methods of discourse analysis is that “deciding on which texts to use as data is not

simple” (Phillips and Hardy, 2002: 70). “Texts may take a variety of forms, including written texts, spoken words, pictures, symbols, artifacts, and so forth,” all of which are examples of permissible forms of data in discourse analysis (Phillips and Hardy, 2002: 4). A corpus refers to a sampling of the texts that constitute a discourse for the purpose of analysis; in other words, the corpus is the data and the subject of study.

After a discussion and justification of the corpus I have chosen, I will employ a three-dimensional approach to my analysis of discourse, as per Fairclough (1992). Grant, Keenoy, and Oswick (2001: 7, emphasis in original) described this approach as consisting of “1) examination of the actual content, structure, and meaning of the text under scrutiny (*the text dimension*); 2) examination of the form of discursive interaction used to communicate meaning and belief (*the discursive practice dimension*); and 3) consideration of the social context in which the discursive event takes place (*the social practice dimension*).” The particular discursive practice I focus upon in my analysis is intertextuality, which refers to how texts draw from other texts and discourses to obtain their meanings. In other words, I problematize the discursive practice of text production to show how particular ideas are selectively drawn upon and privileged in an effort to construct a reality with particular meanings. Finally, the critical aspect of CDA requires attention to how power and interests have influenced the construction process in a manner that advantages particular ideas at the same time as it marginalizes others (Heracleous, 2004).

With respect to my findings, my analysis of specific workplace spirituality texts highlights an attempt to construct spiritual work as more meaningful, motivating and socially responsible. Such knowledge about work is largely conditional upon individual

workers changing in particular consciousness-raising, spiritual ways. Actors that participate in constructing this reality, by authoring texts, often employ various strategies of legitimization to reinforce their message and bolster their subject positions as credible agents of change. Moreover, the meanings they attach to spiritual work and spiritual workers seem to be drawn from numerous other texts. My tracing of these discursive linkages, combined with the appreciation of power, interests and strategy, and the location of the discourse of workplace spirituality within a broader social context, together contribute to our understanding of how this discourse came to be structured as such. By constructing work and workers in the manner described, workplace spirituality problematically represents a form of knowledge that is advantageous to organizations, most commonly in ways that promote their economic objectives. To the extent that this discourse subsumes spirituality as a means to economic ends, it does ideological work. The cumulative insights I offer represent a theory of discourse structure for workplace spirituality.

An outline of this dissertation is as follows. In Chapter 2, I broadly review the workplace spirituality literature to highlight recurring themes that centre largely on why workplace spirituality is advantageous for individuals, groups and organizations. Chapter 3 contains a more detailed discussion of my chosen methods and assumptions, and in this chapter I introduce the texts from which my corpus is comprised. I analyze the structure and meanings carried in these texts in Chapter 4, which culminates in a thematic depiction of the workplace spirituality discourse that is an extension to the findings from my literature review. I highlight the objects, concepts and subject positions predominantly constructed, and how such an imposition of meaning can translate into

real benefits at all levels of organizational analysis. In Chapter 5, I explore various other texts drawn upon to give particular meaning to the objects of work and workers, and how the broader social context also contributes to shaping these ideas. This chapter culminates in a textscape of the workplace spirituality discourse, illustrating how its contours have potentially been shaped by referencing various concepts specific to religion and spirituality, by discourses present and popular within business organizations, and by broader discourses prevailing in society. It shall become evident that the knowledge constituted by workplace spirituality is deeply rooted. In Chapter 6, I continue to examine the discursive nature of workplace spirituality by considering how power and strategies for the purpose of enhancing legitimacy may have contributed in shaping the discourse that emerged. In my concluding chapter, I introduce for further research the question of how workplace spirituality could be alternatively constructed. By developing a theory of discourse structure for workplace spirituality, I reach the conclusion that one can better understand what a theory is saying by examining the processes of its construction. An implication of my findings is that similar discursive practices might also be present in other forms of management knowledge, and so a critical appreciation of current 'knowledge' is aided by tracing its antecedents and influences.

Before proceeding into my review of the literature, I would like to highlight the geographic and disciplinary boundaries of my analysis. Due in part to my own situatedness in North America, bearing the nationalities and cultural imprint of both Canada and the United States (U.S.), I make no assumptions that the workplace spirituality of which I read and write is understood similarly outside of North America. For example, "North America ... has a different attitude to organized religion and issues

of spirituality than the UK” (Berman Brown, 2003: 397). Davie (2007) likewise noted the differences in forms of religion between the U.S. and Europe, and hence the importance of geographical specificity, due in part to the history of the U.S. as being created out of a collection of mostly Christian immigrant communities learning to live together. “In the United States an almost unbelievable range of denominational groups compete with each other for the attentions of a population that, with very few exceptions, believes in God and regards church-going as normal” (Davie, 2007: 149). By constructing a geographic boundary of North America for this dissertation, however, I acknowledge that conflating religion in the U.S. and Canada potentially masks important underlying differences. It is not my desire to explicate these differences. I am following the lead of Berman Brown (2003: 396) who argued that “at the moment, workplace spirituality is predominantly a North American phenomenon.” As a result, the introduction of spiritually derived concepts into management and organization studies may be more successful in North America than elsewhere (Berman Brown, 2003). The following attributes of this dissertation are indeed more than coincidental: my data sample is drawn from U.S. sources; my reference to the Academy of Management and, in particular, its spirituality interest group, means the American academy; my exploration of religion and spirituality in society is particular to Canada and the U.S.; and the contextual influences that have helped to shape the discourse of workplace spirituality are specifically North American. All of this simply suggests that caution is necessary before extrapolating my analysis of the workplace spirituality discourse beyond the noted boundaries, although any more general insights I offer into the processes of knowledge construction are free from such restrictions.

I will now lead the reader through a broad review of the existent workplace spirituality literature to highlight its central themes.

2.0 Central Themes in the Workplace Spirituality¹ Literature

“It is an undeniable reality that workplace spirituality has received growing attention during the last decade” (Gotsis and Kortezi, 2008: 575). According to Miller (2003), workplace spirituality has emerged in shortly more than two decades (by now, three) to now stand as a ‘movement’, a modern ‘faith at work era’, a ‘third wave’ in the evolution of work. Not to be outdone, Aburdene (2005: 67) likened spirituality in business to a megatrend – beyond ‘movement’ “in true megatrend fashion.” Oswick’s (2009: 18) bibliometric analysis confirmed “a significant increase in spirituality-related research output over the years” throughout the social sciences, evidence of “a burgeoning interest in spirituality.” If the assertion that “the intersection of spirituality with business is currently the most published new topic in business school literature” (Delbecq, cited in Miller, 2003: 305) is true, then accomplishing a review of this body of literature is a daunting task, made so by its scale, scope of topic coverage and continuous accumulation. Several efforts have been made to catalogue the growing publication list despite the challenge in doing so. In an email posted to the U.S. based Academy of Management’s (AoM) ‘Management, Spirituality and Religion’ (MSR) distribution list, Neal (April 30, 2008) noted her possession of a 48 page long bibliography which, at the time, was already one year out of date. Similarly, Lund Dean’s (2008, personal communications) bibliography had 385 references and still was “only remotely complete – I just didn’t have the time to put all the stuff I had and that others sent me in it.”

¹ For the sake of consistency and clarity, I use the term ‘workplace spirituality.’ It should be noted, however, that authors who contribute to this wide body of literature use other terms somewhat interchangeably. Within this chapter, therefore, the reader will be exposed to terms such as ‘spirituality at work,’ ‘spirituality in the workplace,’ ‘organizational spirituality,’ ‘faith at work,’ and others.

Despite its scale, an effort to communicate an appreciation of the literature of spirituality in the organizational context of a workplace is important to set the stage for the analysis that will follow in this dissertation. My review reveals central themes that enjoy the predominant attention of scholars in the MSR field. These themes, in turn, collapse into three broad questions addressed in the literature: 1) what we are talking about when using the term workplace spirituality (What?), 2) why we should care about workplace spirituality (Why?), and 3) how spirituality is manifest in the workplace (How?). I should note that a significant amount of attention is also paid to the question of ‘Where?’ by identifying specific workplace domains in which spirituality has an important influence, too numerous and specific to warrant attention herein (see Lund Dean and Fornaciari, 2007 for a listing of popular disciplinary foci for research published in the MSR domain).

2.1 Workplace Spirituality: What Are We Talking About?

There is perhaps an inevitable necessity to attempt to define ‘spirituality’ by organizational scholars, typically within the first few paragraphs of any publication in which the How?, Why?, and/or Where? questions are subsequently explored. In the first page of their introductory chapter, Biberman and Tischler (2008a: 1) observed “the first question is what is spirituality? There seem to be as many definitions of spirituality as there are articles about it.” Rarely are authors assured that theirs is the singularly authoritative definition of spirituality, which makes Mitroff’s following claim a bit of an anomaly. “When asked for their definitions of spirituality, and especially what meaning spirituality had for their lives, everyone –repeat, everyone! – had the same definition: spirituality is not only the intense feeling of being totally integrated as a whole person,

but also the feeling of being totally connected with everything else in the universe”

(Mitroff, 2003: 377).

The inherent ambiguity in defining the term spirituality is compounded when it is manifested in the workplace (Giacalone and Jurkiewicz, 2003c). According to Benefiel (2003a), the discourse of spirituality and the discourse of organizational science simply use a language that is foreign to the other; the latter requires definition and measurement whereas the former sees such techniques as trivializing. Attempts to categorize the diversity in the varied conceptualizations of workplace spirituality have already been made in several thematic reviews of the literature. For example, Coyle (2002) suggested that the spirituality literature specific to health care workplaces could collapse into three definitions: (1) spirituality as religious commitment; (2) spirituality as behaviour that is guided by values and principles; and (3) spirituality as a state of transpersonal or intrapersonal transcendence. Hicks (2003) identified eight broad themes to workplace spirituality definitions, ranging from that which is centred around core moral values to that which produces various states of self-consciousness or connection. Giacalone and Jurkiewicz (2003c) offered a ten-dimensional typology of the definitions found within the workplace spirituality literature. It is perhaps inevitable that the construct of workplace spirituality remains an abstraction because “any one of these terms or clusters of terms is philosophically and theologically complicated and contested” (Hicks, 2003: 55). Boje (2000) explained that the different understandings of spirit at work contained in the research to date were produced because the contributors approached the discipline from one of twelve distinct paradigms. Berman Brown (2003: 393) lamented that there were

“as many definitions of OS [organizational spirituality] as there were authors writing about it.”

Despite the challenge, specific definitions of workplace spirituality continue to be offered, often in order to facilitate a subsequent scientific assessment of it. Exemplary in this regard is Giacalone and Jurkiewicz’s (2003c: 13) definition of workplace spirituality, in which it is understood as “a framework of organizational values evidenced in a culture that promotes employees’ experience of transcendence through the work process, facilitating their sense of being connected to others in a way that provides feelings of completeness and joy.” This definition was endorsed as “essentially the same as ours” by Biberman and Tischler (2008a: 2). Fry (2008: 107) also repeated the definition offered by Giacalone and Jurkiewicz, noting that, at the centre of any theory of workplace spirituality, there must exist “this sense of transcendence – of having a calling through one’s work or being called (vocationally) – and a need for social connection or membership.” At the time of Boje’s (2000) review of spirituality at work, such a ‘culture’ approach, in which the construct is conceptualized as a set of values that gives particular meaning to the workplace, was predominant amongst the dozen research paradigms. Giacalone and Jurkiewicz’s (2003c) definition advances the idea that a spiritual culture arises from adherence to a set of values by those who constitute the organization. Furthermore, to the extent that such a culture is shared by organizational members, the workplace achieves a new and common importance in the lives of those who work, as it is through the process of working that such transcendent experiences and feelings become manifest.

The literature abounds with specific alternative definitions, however. Ashmos and Duchon (2000) conducted a factor analysis of survey respondents' attitudes to circumstances within their work environment and determined that workplace spirituality is related to an individual's sense of community, inner life, and meaningful work. Parboteeah and Cullen (2003: 138) were impressed by Ashmos and Duchon's conceptualization of spirituality, noting "the lack of other better conceptualizations," and therefore relied upon the three factors of spirituality just noted. Moore and Casper (2006) also identified three conceptual dimensions to workplace spirituality, namely, the immersion of oneself into one's work, an experience of interconnectedness, and the capacity to self-actualize or grow through work. To operationalize workplace spirituality as a measureable construct, however, Moore and Casper (2006: 110) promoted the use of "measures with established validity" and offered the following three proxy measures for each of the preceding three dimensions, respectively: perceived organizational support, affective organizational commitment, and intrinsic job satisfaction. Freshman's (1999) deductive approach to extract the implied meaning of workplace spirituality from the literature resulted in such proxies for spirituality as diversity, intuition, learning, and development at a personal level. Marques, Dhiman and King (2005) used a quantitative key-wording technique to produce a similar result, and subsequently collapsed the themes into a clumsy 116-word definition for workplace spirituality. Kinjerski and Skrypnek (2004) compiled a 147-word definition for spirit at work based on the experiences of their research participants; in their effort to be comprehensive, however, the utility they sought for an operational construct definition that could facilitate future research was sacrificed. Despite the inherent ambiguity, more concise conceptualizations are perhaps more

helpful, as in Mitroff and Denton (1999b: 83), for whom ‘interconnectedness’ emerged from both surveys and interviews as the word that “best captures the meaning of spirituality and the vital role that it plays in people’s lives.” Liu and Robertson (2011: 35) expanded on this central idea to suggest that spirituality is represented by three dimensions of interconnectedness, namely, “interconnection with a higher power, interconnection with human beings, and interconnection with nature and all living things.” Together, they comprise the factors of an empirically validated spirituality scale.

One of the more popular approaches to answering the ‘What?’ question is to distinguish spirituality (and spirituality in the workplace) from religion (and religion in the workplace). Biberman and Tischler (2008a: 1) stated quite clearly that “we separate spirituality from religion” and drew upon the Dalai Lama’s distinction that religion refers to belief in a particular religious tradition with its own teachings and rituals. In other words, religion is to be understood as the institutionalized form of experiencing the sacred, with its requisite beliefs and cultural artifacts. For many workplace spirituality researchers, spirituality refers to more internalized experiences and hence is the deinstitutionalized and privatized form of religion (Auberdene, 2005; Hill and Smith, 2003). Mitroff (2003) saw in this dichotomy the potential divisiveness of religion, which led him to caution against promoting religion under the guise of spirituality and to conclude that religion will not work in most workplaces. For Hicks (2003), however, efforts to construct spirituality as dichotomous to religion do not hold. Spiritual values do not somehow overcome the plurality (and hence potential divisiveness) of religious values and indeed religious values and practices that create a culture of religiosity may be a fundamental part of one’s spiritual expression at work (Hicks, 2003). Likewise, Hill and

Smith (2003: 234) noted several areas of overlap between spirituality and religion, including an interest in sacred aspects of life, transcendent experiences, and the essentially human search for meaning, which led them to observe that “the experience of spirituality for many, indeed most, people remains embedded within a religious context.”

The MSR interest group of the AoM hosts an email listserv (<http://aomlists.pace.edu/archives/MSR.html>) in which a debate between spirituality and religion is a recurring topic. Over the two years ending in May 2009², and amongst all the varied announcements for conferences, calls for papers, job postings and research queries, 60 (or 15%) of the 406 postings addressed the matter of similarity, difference and optimal workplace conceptualization of spirituality and/or religion in the workplace. There were 20 responses in a string of posts that was initiated by the following question posed by Cuevas (November 21, 2007): “What have you found to be the greatest point of contention organizations have for resisting programs aimed at spirituality or dealing with religion in the workplace?” Amongst the responses were suggestions that spirituality refers to a force whereas religion places this belief in a person (Peregoy, November 24, 2007), that religion is what one belongs to whereas spirituality is what one believes in (Sharma, December 1, 2007), and that spirituality encompasses religion (Twigg, November 24, 2007). More recently, there were 13 responses generated by a May 7, 2008 posting in which Twigg rather inconsistently claimed to “not recognize ‘religious’ organizations as being spiritual.” Neal (May 9, 2008) responded that “it is impossible to

² I am a member of this listserve. I noticed that the debate seemed to percolate more noticeably during this period, and has quieted down since (along with activity on this listserve in general). This period also coincides with the production of the texts that I analyze in this dissertation.

characterize any organization as ‘spiritual’, ‘religious’, or anything else”; rather, one has to “look at whether or not the organization had programs, policies, and/or practices that nourish the human spirit at work.” More critically, Giacalone (May 8, 2008) claimed that religion transforms spirituality “into an ‘agree with us’ mindset that defines spirituality and its actions and thought in terms of their singular dogma and beliefs”; in other words, “the dogma [inherent in religion] kills the manifestation of a loving, transcendent spirituality – unless of course, you agree with them.” A similar conversation occurred all over again with 27 posts generated in response to McCormick’s (April 1, 2009) concern for whether MSR was seen as inhospitable by members of particular religious traditions, conservative evangelical Christians in particular. Setter (April 2, 2009) is fearful “that sometimes, by following religion, we are so much intolerant of others, that we do not act in a spiritual way” and hence she would rather tackle the intolerance than focus on the political correctness of inclusion. Taylor (April 7, 2009) likewise encouraged the academic exploration of areas of significant disagreement and potential exclusivity. Sheep (April 3, 2009) noted a potential bias in MSR literature, in which “religion can sometimes seem to be cast in negative tones as a narrow artifact of an institutionalized past, while spirituality is naively positioned as the blissfully benign and secularized antidote.” In a more conciliatory tone, Delbecq (April 3, 2009) advocated on behalf of a mandate for MSR “that investigates the intersection where religion or non religious world views (faith) with their incorporated spiritual practices influence spiritual experience (spirituality) that influence actions taken as a manager (management).” In doing so, Delbecq (April 3, 2009) cautioned against a false dualism, instead suggesting that a religious world-view shapes the spiritual experience of an individual. Miller (April 3,

2009) echoed this sentiment, for “to suggest that religious traditions do not allow for or include spirituality is to misunderstand religion.” The recency of these posts contradicts Biberman’s claim made in a session entitled “Passion and Compassion in MSR: Past, Present and Future” at the 2010 meeting of the Academy of Management, in which he stated that the debate between spirituality and religion is “a non-issue,” a feature present in the early formation of the MSR interest group that is simply “not present now.”

The preceding sampling simply provides evidence of the plurality of opinions that exist with respect to the meaning carried by the term workplace spirituality, representing one of the central debates played out in the MSR domain. Indeed, we all are not always talking about the same thing. Not everyone remains convinced of the need for definitional clarity. Mitroff (2003: 381) suggested that, while definitions are important, “they are not a total substitute for the immense feelings and tremendous passions which are an essential part of spirituality.” Elsewhere, Mitroff claimed that “a definition is part of the outcome of an inquiry as much as it is part of the starting point” (cited in Lund Dean, 2004: 17). Similarly, it was Pava’s (2003) opinion that conceptualizations of business spirituality are hindered when unnecessarily restrictive definitions are employed.

If there are any central tenets to the workplace spirituality construct, the first might be an acknowledgement of potential resistance to institutionalized forms of spirituality (i.e. religion), and hence a conscious effort to appear inclusive and welcoming of any variety of faith tradition (theistic or not). Secondly, there is an implicit (or sometimes explicit, as in Biberman and Tischler, 2008a: 2) echoing of the Dalai Lama’s broad concern for ‘the human spirit’, in particular, the qualities of “love and compassion, patience, tolerance, forgiveness, contentment, a sense of responsibility, a sense of

harmony.” Finally, scholars in the field encourage workplace practices that develop the human spirit through their advocacy of that which promotes feelings of personal completeness and interpersonal connectedness, knowledge that one’s life has meaning and purpose, and experiences of transcendence. Openness to interpretation of the construct may nevertheless be beneficial to an interest group that has not achieved mainstream status as a division of the AoM and which continues to carve out its scholarly niche.

2.2 Why Should We Care About Workplace Spirituality?

The question of ‘Why?’ has been addressed on several levels, including the three “standard levels used in organizational research” (Biberman and Tischler, 2008a: 6). The first level is the individual, and several authors have advocated on behalf of the spiritual development of workers for their own sake. We can track the progression of managerial instrumentality in the literature as research moves out of this level into the second level of the work unit, often approached from the perspective of the spirituality of the unit’s leader, to the third level of the organization as an entity that itself benefits from the introduction of spirituality into the workplace. Moore and Casper (2006: 109) made this same point that “spirituality in the workplace is purported to benefit organizations at three levels, the societal level, organizational level, and the individual or employee level.” Oswick’s (2009) review of a sample taken from 72 books published on workplace spirituality confirmed the same tri-level focus on spirituality. A separate body of literature takes a more critical position and thus brings to light specific concerns over control, power and restrictions to one’s sensemaking of organizations. Nevertheless, the

more common response to the ‘Why’ question is that workplace spirituality is an asset to organizations, assisting in the achievement of some desirable objective.

2.2.1 Individual level benefits.

Beginning with the individual level and the emphasis on individual spirituality as an end in and of itself, several scholars have argued that we should care about workplace spirituality so that individuals within organizations can both develop and express their spirituality in such a manner that improves their personal sense of wholeness and well-being. For example, Lips-Wiersma (2003) introduced the ‘holistic development model’ as a foundation for evaluation of both oneself and a wide range of work practices. In this model, ‘spiritual coherence’ represents a state of equilibrium between self-knowledge, achievement of our full potential, unity with others, and making a difference through service (Lips-Wiersma, 2003). Spirituality, therefore, is the condition in which individuals are most whole and committed to meaningful living based on internal strength and divine guidance. Spirituality at work can also be seen as having a centering effect on individuals, helping each person “to become more centered on the important things in life: God, people, family, and a physical world that can be passed on to our children” (Cavanagh, 1999: 193). A conceptualization of spirituality as the central force in life is often articulated from an organized health care perspective, where individual well-being is paramount (e.g., Purdy and Dupey, 2005). Amongst the books sampled by Oswick (2009) was a self-help emphasis whereby spirituality could produce enhancements in personal well-being and development and the capacity to realize personal goals. Maslow’s hierarchy of needs reoccurs in the literature on spirituality at work, as

spirituality is conceived as one avenue for individuals to satisfy their “higher order needs, such as social, esteem, and self-actualization needs” (Tischler, 1999: 273).

In the preceding conceptualizations the individual is the subject of the analysis, and the development of his or her spirituality is the desired end. In some of the literature, however, spirituality is written as a means to another specific end. Oswick (2009: 20) noted that spirituality is “implicitly portrayed as a means to an end...[insofar as] books of the ‘spiritual self-help’ variety tended to couch spiritual growth as a route to improved personal performance.” In other words, the focus can be less on the development of qualities of the human spirit and more on what spirituality can do for the person with respect to facilitating personal goal achievement. Furthermore, Burack (1999) recognized that workplace spirituality could lead to the realization of individuals’ higher order needs of belongingness and achievement through outcomes such as mental growth and improved work-family connections. As a result, Burack (1999: 284) promoted organizational efforts to provide such outcomes, thereby becoming “instrumental to their own improved economic bottom line.”

2.2.2 Group level benefits.

The second level of analysis found within the workplace spirituality literature examines spirituality as it relates to organizational leadership (the executive or manager). Howard (2002: 235) suggested that managerial and spiritual journeys are synonymous, for at their heart lie the same “fundamental question[s] of what is the ‘collective good’, what is freedom, [and] how to encourage self-awareness.” One dualism found in the literature is that between self-control and spiritual faith, and the importance of transitioning from the former to the latter (Baker, 2003). When individuals radically

transform the way in which they experience the world, and move away from an ontology of self-control to one of powerlessness and genuine surrender, they become open to receiving divinely inspired guidance (Baker, 2003). In this sense, spiritual development can only occur from a surrendering of control. Friedemann, Mouch and Racey (2002) posited a more fluid notion of the same duality, suggesting that both control and spirituality are essential in each person's life. The particular blend that each person relies upon to help manage relationships with others, nature and God must be reflective of one's own culture and values (Friedemann et al., 2002). The role of a senior manager within an organization is challenging, and a sense of control is difficult to maintain within a constantly changing environment (Bierly, Kessler and Christensen, 2000; Cavanagh, 1999; Delbecq, 1999). "Acknowledging dependence on God gives the individual manager a more stable and helpful vision" (Cavanagh, 1999: 198). Spirituality provides managers with a source of courage for making decisions with incomplete information, where 'leaps of faith' are required (Bierly et al., 2000). Cavanagh (1999: 198) continued by suggesting "the [spiritual] manager then knows that his/her success also depends on someone beyond themselves, so such a view also lessens stress." From conversations with business leaders for whom Christian religious faith informed their journeys as senior executives, Delbecq (1999) noted that spirituality was a source of courage to stay the course and lead their visions through to their conclusions.

Reave's (2005) review of the MSR literature led to the observation that there was a positive relationship between values and practices of the leader that can be understood as spiritual, and the effectiveness of the leader. In reaching this conclusion, Reave (2005) reviewed over 150 studies, which is indicative, perhaps, of the specific popularity of

'spiritual leadership' as a subset of the workplace spirituality research. Fry's work in the International Institute for Spiritual Leadership (www.iispiritualleadership.com), which he founded, promotes spiritual leadership as a unique and empirically measurable construct. According to the theory of spiritual leadership, such leaders help to create a learning environment that followers find intrinsically motivating, enable a degree of meaningfulness to one's work, and develop a feeling of membership in a community (Duchon and Plowman, 2005). Spiritual leadership, then, produces a sense of 'spiritual well-being' amongst followers (Duchon and Plowman, 2005; Fry, 2003).

Meaningfulness, in particular, results when workers feels that their work satisfies their sense of calling, described by Fry (2003: 703) as "the experience of transcendence or how one makes a difference through service to others and, in doing so, derives meaning and purpose in life." Oswick (2009: 20) found the same "overriding emphasis" on spiritual leadership within the books he sampled, and "within these texts the heightened personal spiritual awareness of the leader is invariably positioned as a necessary precursor to...managing and leading others." Organizational goals are, to some degree, ultimately driving the analysis, and much of the literature maintains "a managerialist flavour" (Oswick, 2009: 20).

2.2.3 Organizational level benefits.

Moving to the third level of analysis, a significant proportion of the literature constructs workplace spirituality as a functional mechanism, an instrument to be used by managers to promote various organizational goals. In *Megatrends 2010: The Rise of Conscious Capitalism*, Aburdene (2005: 15) admitted that her "passion is the alchemy of how spirit transmutes into profit." Newspapers and magazines have chronicled the

introduction of religion and spirituality into the modern workplace and have contributed greatly to an instrumental explanation for why we should care about workplace spirituality. *Faith at Work* (Shorto, 2004) provided insights into the working lives of evangelical Christian business people; *God & Business* (Gunther, 2001) used several examples to highlight the grassroots spiritual revival in the workplace, driven largely by an aging population who want work to be more personally fulfilling; *A Little Bit of Corporate Soul* (Gogoi, 2005) offered the twofold explanation of stress and dissatisfaction with work as the rationale for an increased focus on spirituality; *Praying for Profits* (Cullen, Akin, August, Brown and Fulton, 2005) detailed the rise of Christian entrepreneurship; and *Praying for Gain* (2007) examined corporate chaplaincy, a ‘booming business’ in America. Indeed, this macro-level in which the organization is placed at the centre of attention, “could be described as the broadest and most encompassing of the three” (Oswick, 2009: 20). With an article entitled *The Ultimate Competitive Advantage*, the local *Progress Magazine* (Swick, 2008) was a little less circumspect in offering its own understanding of the instrumental connection between business and spirituality. In this, we are reminded that one’s work is not a wholly separate part of one’s life and that a job can be something personally meaningful. Moreover, Swick (2008) presented a business case for workplace spirituality based on the link from spiritual employment practices of respect, involvement and value alignment, to employee contentment and dedication, and ultimately to company productivity and profitability.

Essentially, the predominant question that is driving the workplace spirituality research is how spirituality affects organizational performance (Benefiel, 2003a).

Typically, such efforts seek to connect workplace spirituality to individuals' work attitudes and behaviours to organizational performance, as exemplified in the *Handbook of Workplace Spirituality and Organizational Performance* (hereafter, the *Handbook*) by Giacalone and Jurkiewicz (2003a). "Just as organizations can learn to more effectively motivate, lead, and manage people, so too can they excel at creating and sustaining the spirit-work connection toward the common end of maximizing organizational performance" (Giacalone and Jurkiewicz, 2003b: xv). Noticeably absent is their justification for describing organizational performance as a 'common end', although it is certainly possible that individuals do wish to contribute toward the goals of their organization. Within the *Handbook*, we are instructed how organizations can create a culture of spirituality through such mechanisms as communications, recruitment, and reward systems, all done in the name of demonstrating "the utility of spirituality in the workplace by framing it as a question of value-added" (Giacalone and Jurkiewicz, 2003c: 9-10). Not surprisingly within the management literature, organizational performance is predominantly viewed as an economic achievement, as a direct bottom line impact which may nevertheless be mediated by such variables as individual productivity, commitment and the like. In Barrett's (2003) contribution, for example, we are specifically told that the alignment of personal and organizational values that are a measure of workplace spirituality can increase a firm's 'cultural capital', which in turn is linked to improved financial performance. "If a strong positive link can be established, then the incentive for organizations to pursue workplace spirituality will be compelling" (Barrett, 2003: 345). Even researchers that conceive of individual level spirituality as a desirable end still may succumb to instrumental slippage and subordinate individual ends to the principal goals

of organizational performance, growth and profitability (e.g., Burack, 1999; King and Nicol, 1999; Krishnakumar and Neck, 2002). According to Krishnakumar and Neck (2002: 162), employees should be encouraged by their managers to “follow their own spirituality path and to relate this path to the goals of the organization.” An organization whose “work environment responsively supports the quest for individual unity and direction, and fosters spiritual development, will realize heightened individual and organizational performance” (King and Nicol, 1999: 235). More specifically, workplace spirituality can “improve the human experience and thereby help to achieve longer term enterprise stability, growth and profitability” (Burack, 1999: 280). Through spiritual development, individuals become more satisfied through their possession of an increased capacity to handle complexity and desire to contribute at higher levels (King and Nicol, 1999). Marques, Dhiman and King (2007) recited numerous organizational advantages to ‘applying’ spirit at work, for the employee impact of doing so would be less absenteeism and turnover, higher productivity, increased commitment and organizational citizenship, and employees who would be more trusting, tolerant and possessive of an increased capacity for stress. The point I seek to emphasize is not that one’s own ‘spirituality path’ and the goals of the organization are irreconcilable, rather, the emphasis within the literature largely shows a concern for the former as a means to the latter. To the extent that organizations accommodate spiritual development, this process is instrumental to achieving optimum performance from their human resources (King and Nicol, 1999). To a great extent, therefore, the matter of finding meaning in one’s work, which is a central tenet of Fry’s (2003) conceptualization of workplace spirituality, has been subsumed within a means-ends relationship.

From a social constructionist perspective, spirituality in the workplace has been promoted such that it might give meaning to work and hence lead to the enactment of a particular kind of organization. “Discovering that work can be a calling, and finding meaning and purpose in work are often significant motivators that draw business people to the [faith at work] movement” (Miller, 2007: 135). In this vein, Conger (1994) noted the potential for the workplace to be understood as a place where our needs for spirituality, relationships and societal contribution may be met, given the central role that the workplace plays in our lives. Similarly, Vaill (1998) suggested that workplace spirituality allows organizational life to no longer suffer from a loss of meaning that is characteristic of organizations today. Both Conger and Vaill view organizations as constitutive of the shared meanings of its members and see spirituality as integral to the ability to construct a new meaning for organization. Neither, however, acknowledged how this shared meaning privileges organizational ends. Vaill (1998: 17) naively suggested that spirituality does not “lend itself to management techniques” despite the fact that his words impose the particular reality of meaninglessness which can be overcome by introducing spirituality into the workplace. A managerial agenda was made more explicit by Miller (2007: 78), who proposed that the quest for integration in our lives could be achieved through faith at work, along with a resolution to “some or all of [the] areas of cultural conflict between religious teachings and economic reality.” Although Miller (2007) suggested meaning could result from work that integrates mind, body and soul, the result of such integration serves to legitimize the capitalist organization in which this meaning is achieved. For example, “the FAW [faith at work] movement has the power to influence and give new ethical shape to those in the

workplace ... and to the marketplace structure itself” (Miller, 2007: 7). Likewise, Neal and Biberman (2004: 7) noted the importance of research on spirituality in organizations as a way to restore the trust placed in the corporate organizational form, shaken by recently experienced shortcomings of “the old economic models of organizations [that] no longer seem to serve any of the stakeholders.” Rutte (cited in Sweeney, 2007) promoted workplace spirituality because work “needs to be a place where people’s souls are nourished, so that they can serve [other] people, either customers or fellow colleagues.” In sum, texts that advocate for a more spiritual organizational culture are both written and read within a context where performance, utility, market logic and wealth creation are legitimate, and organizational meaning is understood in these terms. “The spiritual promises of connectedness, personal meaning and transcendence, as well as the demands that workers surrender their most fundamental beliefs are unmistakable” (Fenwick and Lange, 1998: 73). As a result, this body of literature is not that dissimilar to the more overtly instrumental chapters of the *Handbook*.

A Spiritual Audit of Corporate America (Mitroff and Denton, 1999a) is a particularly illustrative text; it has been referred to as “the most prominent empirical SRW [spirituality, religion and work] study to date” (Lund Dean, 2004: 12) and was the most cited MSR-specific work in MSR research published in peer reviewed journals in the decade ending in 2005 (Fornaciari and Lund Dean, 2009). Benefiel (2008: 13) described this book as a ‘landmark’ that “set the agenda and quality metric for MSR work.” Not long into the introduction, the reader is told that “the workplace is one of the most important settings in which people come together daily to accomplish what they cannot do on their own, that is, realize their full potential as human beings” (Mitroff and

Denton, 1999a: 7). Organizations thus achieve their meaning as places where individuals can be self-actualizing. This 'full potential' or 'calling' is not left up to individuals to determine. Instead, managers are advised that "one of the most fundamental of all management tasks" (Mitroff and Denton, 1999a: xix) is to employ a culture of spirituality to ensure individuals find the appropriate meaning and purpose in their life.

Other researchers take up the task of utility generation through a simple reinterpretation of various 'best-practice' management practices as spiritual. Milliman, Ferguson, Trickett and Condemni (1999: 221) specifically sought to provide "insights into how and under what specific conditions spiritual values can positively impact both profitability and employee attitudes in organizations." In doing so, Milliman et al. (1999) described human resource practices including teamwork and empowerment as 'spiritual values' to suggest that workplace spirituality can positively impact employee attitudes and organizational outcomes. Milliman et al. (1999) presented a model in which an organization's goals and plans are informed by spiritual values and implemented by human resource practices, with outcomes measured accordingly. This is a slight variation to the management system of planning, organizing, leading and controlling seen throughout many business textbooks. The unique feature is how high performance work practices, including teamwork, empowerment, strong work ethic, and clear communication of organizational goals are re-written as spiritual values and practices (Milliman et al., 1999). Similarly, Jurkiewicz and Giacalone (2004) presented a 'values framework' as a basis for hypothesis creation and empirical study. The inclusion of each value within the framework was based on whether prior quantitative research linked it to organizational performance, despite being purely subjective about whether such values

were attributes of spirituality. For example, the inclusion of benevolence as a key cultural value relied upon evidence that employees shown organizational kindness were more motivated toward task accomplishment and were thus more productive; the authors simply projected that this receipt of kindness contributed to individual spiritual development and hence constituted evidence of spirituality in the workplace (Jurkiewicz and Giacalone, 2004). Milliman, Czaplewski and Ferguson (2003) surveyed 2000 people about the relationship between spiritual diversity (measured by meaningful work, sense of community and alignment with organizational values) and their attitudes (measured by organizational commitment, intention to quit, intrinsic job satisfaction, job involvement and self-esteem). Relying upon prior research that linked these five attitudes to organizational performance and employing structural equation modeling analyses, Milliman et al. (2003: 443) concluded creatively that workplace spirituality can have “a positive impact on employee work attitudes and ultimately the organization.” Bierly et al. (2000) contributed to this theme by suggesting that it is spirituality that both strengthens the partnership between management and employees and creates a strong sense of commitment to shared goals sufficient to ensure that organizational knowledge is strategically applied to make difficult strategic decisions. Common to such approaches to workplace spirituality is their conceptualizations of this construct as another set of human resource management practices that recognize employees as the main contributing factor to outstanding performance. Marques et al. (2007: 147) noted the specific role of human resource management in applying workplace spirituality, since the HR mandate is to establish and retain “a qualified, well-cooperating workforce, and therefore, an increase in organizational growth, efficiency, and profitability.” One can reasonably question the

extent to which any of these ‘spiritual’ practices would continue to be encouraged should they be found to not contribute to company performance.

Organizational change researchers have noted the potential for spirituality to help realign employee behaviour to be able to achieve new organizational goals and performance targets. Organizational transformation is arguably one area of management that can greatly benefit from incorporating a spiritual perspective, which aims to “help employees meet new and existing performance targets rapidly and effectively” (Heaton, Schmidt-Wilk and Travis, 2004: 62). Dehler and Welsh (1994) wrote at a time in which structural changes, from downsizing to re-engineering, were increasingly being seen as necessary. Ensuring the success of such changes requires an appeal to employees’ emotions so that desired behaviours are engendered, and this is accomplished through the creation of a compelling vision, through inspirational leadership, and through intrinsic motivators built into the work itself (Dehler and Welsh, 1994). These presumably spiritual interventions were seen as key to achieving the missing component of successful organizational transformations, namely, “employee alignment with organizational purpose” (Dehler and Welsh, 1994: 19).

Not surprisingly, several authors argue that spiritual development helps managers to perform their role in a more responsible and moral manner (Howard, 2002). This has perhaps been accelerated in more recent years by such catalysts as recurring business scandals, market crashes, business downsizing, deteriorating working conditions for employees, and concern for environmental sustainability. Oswick (2009: 22) listed several beneficiaries of an increasing scholarly attention to workplace spirituality, which include the following ‘worthwhile’ constructs: “humane forms of organizing; personal

well-being for organizational stakeholders; and, a sense of meaningful collective purpose and community in organizations.” According to Miller’s (2007: 129) assessment of the faith at work movement, one of the means by which people integrate faith at work “is through attention to personal virtue, business ethics, and to broader questions of social and economic justice.” As Cavanagh (1999: 198) suggested, “spirituality enables a businessperson to gain a better perspective on their firm, family, neighbors, community and themselves.” Cavanagh and Bandsuch (2002: 110) elaborated that, despite the risk of it being used as another management tool, a workplace spirituality that is employed “as a guide for making right decisions, leads to more ethical employees who benefit the workplace and to virtuous citizens who benefit society.” One can note in the preceding an implied appeal to Aristotelian ideas of performance excellence. Cavanagh and Bandsuch (2002: 116) specifically promoted only “those spiritualities that promote good moral behaviour and good character” as opposed to other spiritualities that “cause divisiveness, distrust and accusations of preferential treatment.” Perhaps, as Polley, Vora and SubbaNarasimha (2005) argued, it is the extent to which proponents of workplace spirituality emphasize its transcendent and community dimensions that it may facilitate creativity, job satisfaction and ethical decision making. For Aburdene (2005: 172), spirituality in business is manifest by ‘enlightened self-interest’ and ‘conscious capitalism,’ the result of which is kinder, gentler and more responsible business behaviour that promotes the longevity and expansion of free enterprise and realizes “the desirable outcomes of social and material gain.” Fry (www.iispiritualleadership.com) demonstrated how spiritual leadership supports maximizing an organization’s triple bottom line. There indeed may be an instrumentality to current conceptualizations of

workplace spirituality, but if the corporate ends are achieved via means that include corporate social responsibility, the overt consideration of moral obligations and values, and a reduction in the greed motive (Aburdene, 2005), evidence of such should temper the following criticism of the workplace spirituality movement.

2.2.4 A critical account of the preceding explanations.

The preceding review has highlighted how, to some extent, “workplace spirituality ensures that the search for meaning is harnessed to specific organizational purposes” (Bell and Taylor, 2003: 332). Lips-Wiersma et al. (2009) acknowledged the inevitability of instrumental motives behind the introduction of workplace spirituality into goal driven business organizations. “Spirituality in modern firms will *always* include the potential for misuse and misappropriation and it is for this reason that it is so important to further theorize the dimensions of such misappropriation” (Lips-Wiersma et al., 2009: 292, emphasis in original). In response to the overt instrumentality of much of the workplace spirituality literature, several authors have approached the topic from more critical perspectives, which for some has led to alternative conceptualizations of workplace spirituality. Bell and Taylor’s (2003) observation led to both a critique of workplace spirituality insofar as it may serve a managerial purpose to control workers, and the preliminary outline of an alternative ‘critical spirituality’ in organizations. Likewise, Benefiel (2003b: 371) posed the following two important ‘lurking questions’ and offered direction for a new agenda in workplace spirituality research: “If spirituality is ultimately about nonmaterialistic concerns, is it appropriate to focus on the material gains to be reaped by integrating spirituality into organizational life?” and “Is more harm than good done by introducing spirituality to organizations through tying spirituality to

material gain?” Although Oswick (2009: 23) found much to be excited about by the escalating interest in workplace spirituality, he concluded with a cautionary observation that “there is an inherent irony here insofar as spirituality as a concept, at least at one level, seeks to counter greed and self-interest; yet, it is colonised in texts to serve the interests of corporate accumulation and monopoly capitalism.”

Amongst the cautionary voices, the risk of manipulation is a common alarm (e.g., Ashforth and Vaidyanath, 2002; Case and Gosling, 2010; Driscoll and Wiebe, 2007; Fenwick and Lange, 1998; Fornaciari and Lund Dean, 2001; Lips-Wiersma et al., 2009; Polley et al., 2005; Porth, Steingard and McCall, 2003; Zhuravleva and Jones, 2006). Polley et al. (2005: 56) expressed concern for how workplace spirituality “could serve as a legitimizing device, used by managers to manipulate meaning, gain acceptance of organizational goals and achieve compliance.” Fornaciari and Lund Dean (2001: 336) warned that knowledge generated about the spiritual life of individuals could be turned against them “to manipulate employees for the sake of achieving high firm performance.” Equally critical, Fenwick and Lange (1998: 65) argued that attention to workers’ spirits from behind the “humanist mask” of human resource development programs is targeting “an untapped resource with remarkable potential for improving productivity.” Driscoll and Wiebe (2007: 333-4) suggested that, at least in part, “the workplace spirituality movement views spirituality in the workplace as a technique to be used for instrumental, financial-centered ends.” Hicks (2003) also considered the connection to worker motivation and productivity often contained in the spirituality literature to be problematic. For example, like Fenwick and Lange (1998), Hicks (2003: 44) noted how “spirituality talk can play an exploitative role in pacifying vulnerable workers” by

masking the reality of job instability and anxiety. Furthermore, in contrast to Miller's (2007) assertion that workplace spirituality is often driven by workers who seek to bridge the 'Sunday-Monday' gap (in which the values that matter in worship carry over into the marketplace and world of business), Hicks (2003) suggested that this vector may operate in the other direction. Since the North American population is increasingly overworked in a 24/7 economy in which the work week has crept into the weekend, perhaps workplace spirituality is promoted to the extent that it appeases the tensions and hides the sacrifices that result from demanding greater employee commitment (Hicks, 2003). According to Bell and Taylor (2003), the capacity for manipulation exists because rules of pastorship are being promoted in some workplace spirituality literature. Workplace spirituality achieves its instrumentality by placing inordinate value on individual practices of personal submission, obedience, and sacrifice on behalf of the organization (Bell and Taylor, 2003).

As Porth et al. (2003) suggested, the promise of workplace spirituality requires a non-consequentialist position where people are seen as having intrinsic value. Such a critique often leads to the call for a more 'authentic' spirituality at work (e.g., Driscoll and Wiebe, 2007; Porth et al., 2003), that is, one which is more internally consistent whereby the spiritual ends sought, such as justice, sustainability, human welfare, and the betterment of others and the world however so defined, would remain squarely in focus. Case and Gosling (2010: 258, emphasis in original) captured the dichotomy of approaches in confessing their skepticism of "the potential commodification of human spirituality – its being *used* for profit-making ends as opposed to its being *valued* for its own sake within the workplace." Accordingly, that which is "demeaning of the human

spirit [... and which] treat[s] the human as *mere resource* (bodily, emotional, mental or spiritual) to be deployed within a nexus of economic profit-making activity” could not be authentically spiritual (Case and Gosling, 2010: 258, emphasis in original).

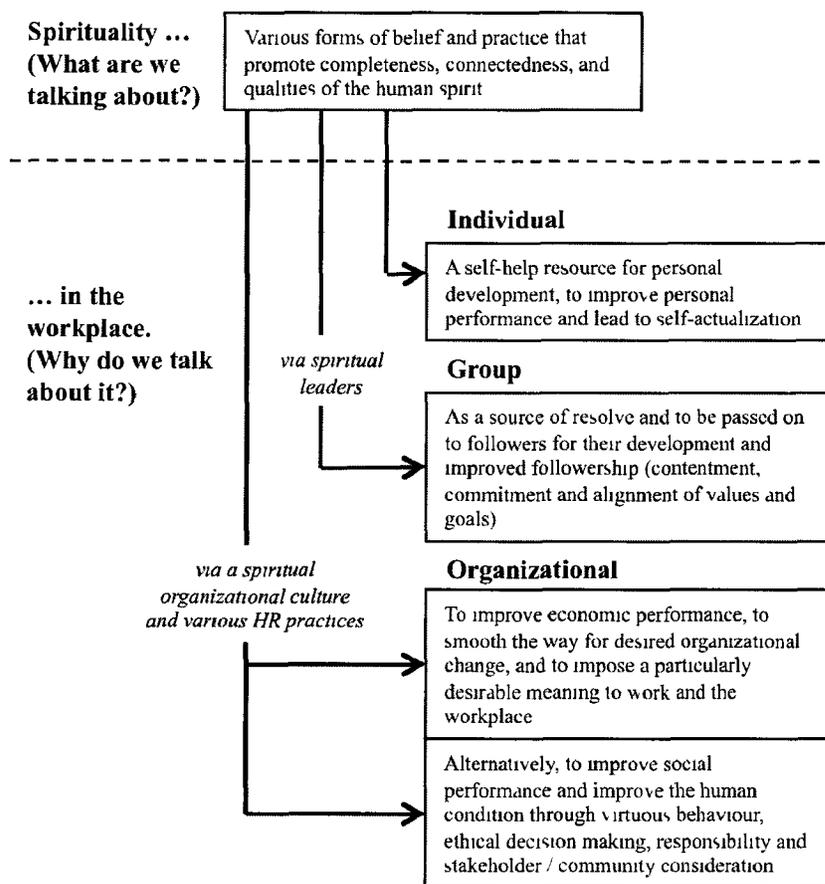
‘Critical spirituality’ does not simply entail a criticism of instrumental conceptualizations of workplace spirituality but offers its own contribution to the question of why we should care about workplace spirituality. At a minimum, critical spirituality demands plural conceptualizations of workplace spirituality in which all organizational members can express their beliefs and practices freely and equally, and hence be treated with the necessary respect and dignity (Hicks, 2003). Furthermore, to the extent that much of the workplace spirituality literature fails to address exploitation and inequality within organizations, then this remains an important direction for scholarly development (Bell, 2005). For Bell (2005), critical spirituality would be centred on values of humanity, equality, liberation, and social consciousness that unite humankind. Applied within the workplace, such a form of spirituality would therefore be well positioned to take on these causes, to challenge structural inequalities resulting from modern managerial practices, to force a consideration of the exploitative tendencies and harmful legacies of modern capitalism, and to overcome “processes of social domination and oppression in relation to management and organization” (Bell, 2005: 3).

2.3 Originating Conceptual Model: A Partial Summary of the What and Why Questions

Pausing here to consider what has been uncovered so far within this review, Figure 1 captures the dominant themes found in the literature on workplace spirituality. Despite the broadness and inclusiveness with which spirituality is talked about in the

workplace, it is a purposeful act that is, for the most part, intended to accomplish any one of three ends corresponding to the level of analysis of each of the texts from which the discourse is comprised.

Figure 1: The Intersection of ‘What’ and ‘Why’: A Conceptual Model



The scholars included in this review have largely contained their focus to one of the three levels of analysis, each informed by a particular idea of what spirituality means in this context. Considering the body of literature as a whole, in moving from the individual to organizational level, each step appears progressively removed from the concept of spirituality. In its place, one may find a reciprocal increase in managerial

instrumentality. As a result, it is harder to discern an authentic spirituality that keeps firmly in focus the spiritual ends it seeks within the organizational-level workplace spirituality literature, except within the particular theme more generally referred to as critical spirituality in which business ethics, social responsibility and social performance are voiced.

2.4 How is Spirituality Manifest in the Workplace?

Some authors are more prescriptive in their analysis and focus on the means by which spirituality is promoted at work. The question of 'How?' is also tackled from the perspective of how one comes to know spirituality exists in a workplace – the specific, identifiable indicators of spirituality. Such a question raises epistemological and methodological debates. It is to these two dimensions of 'How' that I now turn.

2.4.1 Developing and promoting workplace spirituality.

There exists a strong prescriptive component in the literature, for several authors offer their insights into the techniques by which one might go about integrating spirituality into the workplace. Organizational culture, leadership, policies and work design are some of the means identified through which workplace spirituality is communicated and reinforced. For example, where there is a cultural approach to the construction of spirituality as that which can give particular meaning to the workplace (e.g., Mitroff and Denton, 1999a), the analysis typically becomes normative. What results is a specific set of values and principles carried in language, structures and practices introduced into the organization which govern individual behaviour and limit sensemaking and agency such that a desired social reality is constructed. Gull and Doh (2004) proposed that what is necessary is a more fundamental change to the

organization's governing variables – a 'transmutation' in orientation, assumptions and values – to integrate the subjective with the objective, to support the human spirit in amongst the pursuit of organizational goals. For leaders embarking upon the creation of a spiritual organization, of particular importance is their own spiritual consciousness, for the need for change must resonate within its leaders (Gull and Doh, 2004). Indeed, such leaders must be "spiritually conscious beings" (Gull and Doh, 2004: 137). Mitroff and Denton (1999a) likewise noted the role of the leaders of would-be spiritually based organizations in effecting the change, and advised leaders to emphasize and reinforce "their ideals" consistently through action and "programs of education."

Also as noted earlier, a tendency to equate human resource management practices with spiritual practices leads to a tendency to turn to the field of HR to implement workplace spirituality (Marques et al., 2007; Milliman et al., 1999; Milliman et al., 2003). Pfeffer (2003) picked up this theme in his exploration of 'management practices that sustain values' and noted the power of delegated autonomy and responsibility, teamwork and decentralized work units, collective forms of incentives, balance in satisfying one's commitments outside of work, and respect for the unique skills and goals of each individual. All of the preceding are 'high-performance work practices' developed in the HR literature that link human-centric management practices with company performance. Mitroff and Denton (1999a) also concluded that human resource practices that maximize employee commitment are critical.

Ashforth and Pratt (2003) noted that the specific management practices used to facilitate spiritual strivings are dependent upon where the organization is positioned along a continuum of approaches to spirituality. For example, 'directing organizations'

prefer high organizational control to impose upon workers its preferred spiritual culture, and hence might rely upon selective recruitment, active socialization practices and use of cultural levers, normative controls of organizational structure, strategy and rewards, and transformational leadership practices centered around a compelling vision (Ashforth and Pratt, 2003). In contrast, ‘enabling organizations’ adopt a more passive approach to allow “individuals to discover their own idiosyncratic transcendence, whether through prayer groups, meditation, yoga, journaling, spiritual retreats, or other means” (Ashforth and Pratt, 2003: 96). Ashforth and Pratt (2003: 97) continued to describe enabling organizations as providing individuals the personal opportunity “to decide whether or not to undertake a spiritual journey at work,” and it may provide resources toward this end, yet too much personalization might breed dissimilarity amongst workers, alienation and implicit pressures to conform. ‘Partnering organizations’ occupy the broad middle ground along this continuum of approaches to workplace spirituality, where the spiritual strivings of organizational members are central but the outcome is emergent, hence the spiritual organization is “jointly authored or socially constructed as members explore their spirituality within a facilitative context” (Ashforth and Pratt, 2003: 101). Facilitative management practices might include structured personal awareness and development programs, listening and constructive feedback, empowerment and collaboration, and servant-based approaches to leadership (Ashforth and Pratt, 2003).

2.4.2 Epistemological and methodological assumptions.

The mix of methodologies used in the literature is reflective of a broader epistemological debate about whether positivist attempts to find causal relationships and make predictive claims about the impact of spirituality upon individuals and

organizations either facilitates or hinders our ability to gain knowledge of the subject. At one end are scholars who believe that the study of organizations is best accomplished through objective scientific analysis. Giacalone and Jurkiewicz, in a debate with Krahnke (Krahnke, Giacalone and Jurkiewicz, 2003), promoted the Kuhnian idea of knowledge as a process of incremental and cumulative growth that builds consensus and leads to the development of a dominant paradigm of thought. "To have confidence that our suppositions are more than personal assumptions require the dispassionate objectivism afforded by the scientific method" (Giacalone and Jurkiewicz, in Krahnke et al., 2003: 397). This objectivity is achieved through empirical measurements that "provide a normative understanding of a phenomenon, a common language that lends confidence that when we refer to certain ideas we are talking about the same thing" (Giacalone and Jurkiewicz in Krahnke et al., 2003: 397). To the extent that scientific evidence is the standard by which practitioners and academics alike will accept research as scholarly, then the positivist approach becomes the dominant paradigm in organizational analysis.

This 'objective' approach remains popular despite the difficulty researchers have had in creating measures for such spiritual constructs as faith and belief in God. As a result, one can find measures for such things as meaningful work, sense of community and alignment of values to the organization along with the assumption that, by measuring these constructs, one is measuring spirituality. In this absence of accepted measurements for spirituality in organizations, King and Crowther's (2004) response was not to develop alternative methodological approaches, but rather to draw upon measurements of religiosity and spirituality that are present in the psychology literature. It was claimed that measures such as the 'religious coping activities scale,' the 'spiritual assessment

inventory,' the 'Duke religious index,' and the 'religious orientation scale,' to name a few, are applicable to organizational analysis and provide both a foundation and direction for future measurement development (King and Crowther, 2004). Similarly, Heaton et al. (2004) provided an inventory of various measures of the strength of spirituality in the workplace (individually and collectively), from physiological and personality indicators to measures of stress related health disorders and quality of life. Using such outcome measures, "quasi-experimental longitudinal studies can test hypotheses regarding pre-post changes from implementing programs for enhancing spirituality in organizations" (Heaton et al., 2004: 75).

At the opposite end of the debate within the literature are those who feel that it is precisely because of "the current dominance of the quantitative, positivist research methods paradigm" (Fornaciari and Lund Dean, 2001: 336) that few advances in developing a shared understanding of spirituality at work have been made. The lack of consensus amongst organizational researchers on how to define and research spirituality in organizations is largely due to their inability to fit "the subject matter within the accepted and legitimized rubric of the rationalist, positivist research paradigm that dominates social scientific scholarship" (Fornaciari and Lund Dean, 2001: 337). As Krahnke stated in her reply to Giacalone and Jurkiewicz, "to assume that empirical measures are a common language is a form of hegemony" (Krahnke et al., 2003: 404). Common to the non-positivist argument is the belief that empiricism leads to reductionism. As noted earlier, Benefiel (2003a) argued that scientific approaches that require definition and measurement are seen as trivializing when placed within the context of spirituality. "The reductionist bent of the positivist model paradigm resists

incorporating crucial elements of spirituality and religion in organizations research because concepts such as soul, spirit, faith, and morality are not measurable in conventional ways and are by definition non-reductionist” (Fornaciari and Lund Dean, 2001: 337). As a result, the positivist model prevents spirituality, religion, and work researchers from advancing our theoretical and behavioral understandings (Fornaciari and Lund Dean, 2001). Lund Dean, Fornaciari and McGee (2003) suggested that this approach will do more harm than good to our understanding of spirituality at work, and appealed for more qualitative research methods to replace the data-driven, quantitative research efforts favoured and practiced by many. This point was made especially clear in an indictment of Ashmos and Duchon's (2000) research by Fornaciari and Lund Dean (2001: 337), who suggested the forcing of workplace spirituality concepts “into old methodological ‘clothing’ [such as factor analysis] has rendered their research study sterile and meaningless, and defies the very heart of what spirituality researchers investigate.”

Work based on “non-positivist ways of knowing, including ethnomethodological techniques, qualitative techniques, and even tradition-based stories” (Fornaciari and Lund Dean, 2001: 347) may be more fruitfully employed to gain knowledge about the phenomenon of spirituality. For example, Lips-Wiersma (2003) employed an ethnomethodological approach to her study of workplace spirituality that ultimately led to the creation of the holistic development model. McKee, Helms Mills and Driscoll (2008) advocated for a focus on process, not outcomes, and promoted in particular a sensemaking approach to examine the process of individual identity construction, with critical insights into power and context. Practical workplace applications subject to

empirical testing may be periodically extracted from this richer understanding of workplace spirituality.

2.5 A Partial Summary of the ‘Why’ and ‘How’ Questions

Researchers seeking to conceptualize spirituality at work and understand its impact appear to be writing along two intersecting continuums. As noted already, the first continuum represents a range in the level of focus being adopted by the researchers, from the broad level of organization analysis to the specific level of the individual. This can be overlaid by the epistemological debate just described.

At the organizational level of analysis, and in keeping with the managerial bias in the scholarly community, there is a greater willingness to conceptualize spirituality as something that works through individuals to create a measurable impact upon organizational performance. The dominant positivist paradigm in business research “ultimately proclaims one overarching goal: enhancing organizational effectiveness” (Fornaciari and Lund Dean, 2001: 336). Furthermore, at the organizational level of analysis, empirical approaches to studying the practice of spirituality in organizations perpetuates the view of spirituality as a means to an end as opposed to an end in and of itself (Krahnke, in Krahnke et al., 2003). Conversely, at the individual level of analysis, it is more common to find expressed the idea that spirituality is a very subjective and complex matter that defies traditional empiricism. This is not absolute, as noted by the presence of traditional scientific analyses of individual spirituality. Nevertheless, there remains a stronger bias towards non-positivist epistemological approaches to understanding how spirituality affects the individual person within organizations.

2.6 Research Questions and Theoretical Contributions

In this dissertation, I explore the workplace spirituality discourse in greater depth by analyzing a sub-set of the texts from which it is comprised. My research is in keeping with Fornaciari and Lund Dean's (2009: 303) encouragement of research that does not revisit "foundational themes" but contributes toward advancing scholarship in the MSR domain by extending upon such themes. My research is also consistent with Fornaciari and Lund Dean's (2001) call for deeper, more critical and non-quantitative studies in workplace spirituality. My first objective is to complement and expand upon the themes uncovered in the preceding literature review in an attempt to articulate the specific constructions achieved by these texts. In doing so, I seek to present a narrative from the text that helps to answer the question: What reality(ies) does the workplace spirituality discourse construct? Given that discourses are "structured collections of texts" (Grant et al., 2004: 3), my contribution will be to add greater depth to analysis of the 'What' question by examining the structural components of discourse, namely, objects, concepts, and subject positions. My second objective is to trace some of the various origins of these texts. I am interested in not simply understanding the structure of the discourse, but also in answering the question: How did this discourse come to be structured as such? In doing so, I will offer a more interpretive analysis of discursive practices, the practice of text production in particular. A significant feature of this analysis will be my identification of some of the pre-existing texts likely drawn upon to give a certain meaning to the workplace spirituality discourse, resulting in a discourse 'textscape.' I will also approach this question more critically to identify how specific interests may be privileged and power exerted, and to ponder whether alternative meanings have become

marginalized in the process. To the extent that I am successful in meeting these two objectives, I offer the reader a plausible theory of the discourse structure of workplace spirituality.

In responding to these questions, I employ the methodology of critical discourse analysis as applied to a particular body of texts that are representative of both academic and practitioner based communities of interest in workplace spirituality. The central features of discourse analysis are particularly well suited for addressing the questions posed above insofar as: texts create objects of knowledge within specific boundaries; the broader discursive context of texts offer explanatory insights into their creation particularly because texts draw upon other texts and symbols to obtain their meaning; interests, power and even ideology are involved in their production; and all of the preceding helps to establish the legitimacy of texts and the meaning they seek to establish, which limits but does not erase the potential for resistance. It is toward an understanding of and justification for critical discourse analysis as a methodology, and a review of the specific analytical methods, that I now turn.

3.0 Methodology and Methods

This chapter describes the methodological assumptions and methods I chose to analyze the constructed realities and construction processes involved when we speak of workplace spirituality. My premise is that reality is socially constructed, and that language is the central mechanism through which constructed realities take shape. The first part of this chapter, therefore, is an overview of the constructionist position and the methodological assumptions embedded within any project of analyzing discourse.

Having clarified how discourse constructs reality, I am then able to review in the second part of this chapter the various interpretive methods necessary to produce a theory of discourse structure for workplace spirituality. In the third part of this chapter I describe the corpus I chose, consisting of 26 different texts that together comprise my data, and make a case for their inclusion in this project.

3.1 The Social Construction of Reality

I am persuaded by the notion outlined by Berger and Luckmann (1966: 52) that social reality is produced when “reciprocal typifications of actions are built up in the course of a shared history.” Social structures are derived from situations in which the habits of two actors interlock and become taken for granted (Berger and Luckmann, 1966). Both Berger and Luckmann separately, yet concurrently, expanded upon this thesis. For Berger (1967), it is through the process of objectivation that the products of human energy exerted into the world attain a reality that confronts its creators as facts outside of themselves. Luckmann (1967: 69) agreed that “a world view is an objective and stable social fact for the human organism born into a society.” Socialization is the process by which objectified customs and ideas are transmitted from one generation to

the next. In other words, new actors that are introduced into a social world experience the typified behaviours they observe as social norms, as institutions distinct from the actors themselves (Berger and Luckmann, 1966). Language, symbols, performance and other forms of culture are the means by which a particular world view is confirmed and objectified, its status dependent upon the continued internalization of these cultural rules which serve as institutionalized controls on human behaviour (Luckmann, 1967). Such institutions “control human conduct by setting up predefined patterns of conduct, which channel it in one direction as against the many other directions that would theoretically be possible” (Berger and Luckmann, 1966: 52). Successive generations become socialized with traditions that have long since lost their original subjective meanings and, through continued sharing in social situations, a continuous process of constructing the reality of that social world persists (Berger and Luckmann, 1966). The construction of society is therefore “a dialectic phenomenon in that it is a human product, and nothing but a human product, that yet continuously acts back upon its producer” (Berger, 1967: 3).

3.2 Discourse and Social Construction

‘Discourses’ refers to “structured collections of texts, and associated practices of textual production, transmission and consumption, located in a historical and social context” (Hardy and Phillips, 2004: 300). A similar definition is found in Grant and Hardy (2004), Grant, et al. (2004), and Phillips, Lawrence and Hardy (2004). Texts can take a variety of material forms of expression (Fairclough, 2005; Phillips et al., 2004). Texts are “embodied in the practices of talking and writing (as well as a wide variety of visual representations and cultural artifacts) ... [and] can be considered to be a manifestation of discourse and the discursive ‘unit’ on which the researcher focuses”

(Grant and Hardy, 2004: 6). Discourse, however, means something more than simply the language itself, but suggests the presence of both process and context. According to Fairclough (1992: 4), “any discursive ‘event’ (i.e. any instance of discourse) is seen as being simultaneously a piece of text, an instance of discursive practice, and an instance of social practice.” To understand discourse, therefore, I must observe each of its three dimensions: the language employed; the discursive practices via which the particular expression was produced, disseminated and consumed; and “the particular economic, political and institutional settings within which discourse is generated” (Fairclough, 1992: 71).

The study of discourse involves theoretical assumptions that relate to the social construction of reality (Grant and Hardy, 2004). The fundamental philosophical assumption of discourse analysis as a methodology is that discourse is central to the construction of a social reality that we experience objectively (Phillips and Hardy, 2002). “The proper understanding of societies, social institutions, identities, and even cultures may be viewed as discursively constructed ensembles of texts” (Alvesson and Karreman, 2000a: 137). Social relations are understood to be substantively linguistic and hence take the form of discursive events. Discourse helps to construct reality “through the way it brings into being objects of knowledge, categories of social subjects, forms of self, social relationships, and conceptual frameworks” (Grant and Hardy, 2004: 6). Therefore, “every instance of language use makes its own small contribution to reproducing and/or transforming society and culture, including power relations” (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 273). As a result, “language...is increasingly being understood as the most important phenomenon, accessible for empirical investigation, in social and

organizational research” (Alvesson and Karreman, 2000b: 1126). Social actors in various institutional realms, such as politics and the media, have recognized the importance of language and how control over language practices can promote various objectives (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997). Such awareness has served as a catalyst for efforts to specialize in language use, which Fairclough (1992) referred to as the “technologization of discourse.”

Alvesson and Karreman (2000b) elaborated on the Foucauldian position that sets of statements put together as discourses arrange the social world by constituting both objects of knowledge and their relation to human subjects. Specifically, discourse is active in the construction of social reality because it produces “concepts, objects and subject positions that actors use to fashion a social world” (Phillips and Hardy, 1997: 166). Discourse must be understood not simply as statements but also their effects, where language meets the material world and becomes positioned as knowledge about the objects of which they speak (Prasad, 2005). Consistent with the process of objectivation previously discussed, objects are various aspects of the material world (such as a specific social practice) that have had particular ideas, categories, or theories (i.e. concepts) discursively attached to them such that they are subsequently viewed as self-evident (Alvesson and Karreman, 2000b; Hardy and Phillips, 2004). Concepts “exist solely in the realm of ideas” – they are things we have come to know – and our knowledge of them is contingent upon and changes as a result of the texts from which they originate (Phillips and Hardy, 1997: 166). Objects, then, are produced when “concepts are discursively attached to particular parts of an ambiguous material world” (Hardy and Phillips, 1999: 3). In other words, objects have an ontological reality but can only be made sense of by

the concept, so that “changing the concept fundamentally changes the way the object is socially accomplished” (Phillips and Hardy, 1997: 168). Discourse, consisting of the texts and their associated practices of production, transmission and consumption, bring objects into being (Phillips and Hardy, 2002). Subject positions then become established as “individuals take up positions within the discourse” (Hardy and Phillips, 2004: 302). It is not simply particular ideas about or representations of social reality that are constructed by text, but also individual identities and interpersonal relations within society (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997). “Discourse shapes the subjective experience and the actions of those participating in it” including producers, receivers and interpreters of text, because each takes up a subject position made available by the discourse with associated permissions to speak (Hardy and Phillips, 1999: 4). Within any discourse, “the available roles are limited and circumscribed” (Phillips and Hardy, 1997: 169). Discourse constructs social reality, therefore, because it creates and embeds with particular meaning concepts, objects and subject positions that come to shape social practices (Hardy and Phillips, 2004). Discourse fixes the identity of those concepts, objects and subjects it defines “so that it becomes possible to talk about them *as if they were* naturally existing” (Hardy, 2001: 28). To pay attention to discourse is to pay attention not just to statements but the material effects of language in use (Prasad, 2005).

There is thus a dual relationship between discourse and action (Oswick, Keenoy and Grant, 1997). First, action can take a discursive form insofar as what one does produces text or speech (Oswick et al., 1997). Second, and more importantly, we can think of discourse as action because something happens as a result of a discursive event (Oswick et al., 1997; van Dijk, 1997). “Language does not merely ‘name’ or passively

describe reality, it shapes and frames it and in doing so promotes particular attitudes and behaviours and discourages others” (Oswick et al., 1997: 6-7). For something to be considered an act, it implies that whomever uttered the words did so in a manner that was intentional, controlled and purposeful (van Dijk, 1997). Originators of text make choices and seek to achieve certain outcomes when they evoke particular mental frames of reference for interpreting and communicating the meaning of that to which the text refers (Heracleous, 2004). In any discursive activity, we choose our words in anticipation of how they may be represented and received (Keenoy and Oswick, 2004). “Organizational members...engage in discursive activity to re-constitute concepts, objects and subject positions and, thereby, change the way other actors respond in an organizational context” (Hardy and Phillips, 1999: 5). Such intentionality is central to the perspective of discourse as a strategic resource (Hardy, Palmer and Phillips, 2000). Social actors have the agency to intervene in the discursive practice of text production to give shape to concepts, objects and subject positions according to a political agenda of influencing how recipients make sense of the world (Hardy et al., 2000). The message has become the medium for affecting change (Keenoy and Oswick, 2002). “As new texts are added to the discourse, the discourse evolves, leading to changes in the concepts, objects and subject positions – and the power relations – that characterize the social context of action” (Hardy and Phillips, 2004: 305).

The preceding introduction to discourse echoes Mumby and Clair’s (1997: 181) assertion that “discourse is the principal means by which organization members create a coherent social reality.” “The idea that language is much more than a simple reflection of reality – that, in fact, it is constitutive of social reality – has become commonly accepted”

(Phillips and Hardy, 2002: 12). This statement subtly alludes to a debate over the extent to which one can push the relativist ontological position. Fairclough (1992; 2005), for example, cautioned against overstating the constructivist argument, and Mumby (2004: 252), while conceding that reality is socially constructed, suggested “we must be careful not to forget the material consequences of that social construction process.” Discursive practices “inevitably take place within a constituted, material reality, with preconstituted ‘objects’ and preconstituted social subjects,” hence the necessity of adding the third dimension of context into any systematic analysis of discourse (Fairclough, 1992: 60). This argument was concisely presented by Reed (2004) in his advocacy of a critical realist perspective of discourse. “The realist-based view of organizational discourse analysis is based on the pivotal argument that the social world comes previously structured” (Reed, 2004: 415). Surely there are some aspects of social structures that exist beyond the fleeting discursive moment of their expression in language, and hence ways of thinking and communicating are constrained by the structural remnants of prior construction processes (Reed, 2004). As noted earlier, Berger (2001) would likely agree, for he too noted that humans do experience the world as real, as something other than their own creation through the words they employ. Nevertheless, Hardy (2001) reminded us that any view of discourse as political or strategic admits to some degree of human agency. The strategic view of discursive action remains unaffected by the realist critique, for social actors can still promote particular interests and values, it is just that they do so up against “earlier phases of ‘institution building’ and the power structures through which they were previously established and legitimated” (Reed, 2004: 416).

Alvesson and Karreman's (2000b) structuralist continuum is an alternative way of capturing the preceding debate, whereby a more 'muscular' perspective of discourse ascribes to it much power to structure society, including institutions and the constitution of individual subjectivity within them. From this deterministic perspective, discourse precedes, and hence is the source of, cultural meaning and personal identity (Alvesson and Karreman, 2000b). The opposing end of the spectrum is that of discourse autonomy whereby discourse is only loosely coupled to society and has only a partial effect on the construction of social structures and the constitution of individual identity. From this perspective, something precedes discourse, including prevailing cultural meanings and the capacity of social actors to draw upon their own cognition and emotion to construct autonomous identities (Alvesson and Karreman, 2000b). Fairclough (2005: 918) reminded us that all processes of social construction are "subject to conditions of possibility."

Marrying the constructivist position with the realist critique leads to viewing discourse as being in a dialectic relationship with social reality; the former both constructs and is constituted by the latter (Berger, 1967; Fairclough and Wodak, 1997; Hardy et al., 2000; Phillips, Sewell and Jaynes, 2008). "Discourse is a practice *not just* of representing the world, but of signifying the world, constituting and constructing the world in meaning" (Fairclough, 1992: 64, emphasis added). Stated another way, "communication functions simultaneously as both an expression and a creation" (Mumby and Clair, 1997: 181). As Keenoy and Oswick (2002: 106) observed, the 'root dualism' between whether discourse constructs or is constructed by reality is "impossible to sustain." "Discourse contributes to the construction of all those dimensions of social

structure which directly or indirectly shape and constrain it” (Fairclough, 1992: 64). A dialectic position bridges the dualism between agency and structure, for both discourse ‘does’ people and people ‘do’ discourse (Keenoy and Oswick, 2002). Stated another way, perhaps “both realists and constructivists are correct – there is a social world outside our minds, but it is constructed by socially defined, language-based categories” (Hardy, 2001: 31).

3.3 Approaching Discourse Critically

In a world of discursive practices, where does the regularity required to group statements into a single system of discourse come from? Introducing an element of critique into discourse analysis requires attention to making “visible the interconnectedness of things” (Wodak, 2004: 199). It has been suggested already that discourse produces power relations insofar as it constructs subject positions vis-à-vis objects of knowledge. Such power relations are the central problematic for critical discourse analysis (CDA) (Vaara and Tienari, 2008; Wodak, 2004). CDA adds to the interpretive tradition “the important corrective of attention to power relations...involved in the construction of meanings, and in the connection of meanings to organizational practices” (Prichard, Jones and Stablein, 2004: 218). The critical approach opposes the view that existing social structures and practices are naturally occurring phenomena and insists instead that they have “been discursively constructed over time by groups in power aiming to skew social reality and institutional arrangements to their own advantage” (Heracleous, 2004: 186). Again, discursive activity is seen as strategic (Hardy et al., 2000) because producers of text try to reduce the room for interpretation of alternative meanings of any social situation on the part of consumers. Moreover, the

dialectic relationship becomes reinforced by power: power informs the discourse that constructs a reality with particular relations of power. Power, not possessed but always circulating through society and used within social institutions and practices, creates structures of legitimate and excluded knowledge which subsequently legitimize the way power is exercised (Prasad, 2005). Power is therefore central to the production of specific knowledge, and hence all knowledge is neither neutral nor disinterested, leading to Foucault's conceptualization of 'power/knowledge' as a single term (May, 2006; Prasad, 2005). CDA therefore pays attention to how interests, power and control all factor into the shaping of shared meaning (Grant et al., 2004; Mumby and Clair, 1997). Taken further, any conception of human interaction taking place without the intrusion of power relations, an 'ideal speech situation' in Habermasian terms, is simply a utopian vision (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997).

Discourse holds in place these meanings which produce a particular distribution of power that advantages certain people over others and increases the perceived legitimacy of their actions, and it is those people whom retain the ability to sustain discursive practices that further entrench power inequality (Hardy and Phillips, 2004; Oswick, Keeony and Grant, 2000; Phillips et al., 2004; van Dijk, 1997). "An actor is powerful only within a particular discursive context since discourses create the categories of power within which actors operate" (Hardy and Phillips, 2004: 303). A focus on power, therefore, also entails attention to one's access to impact discourse, to have power over discourse (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997). Hardy and Phillips (2004: 299) captured this "mutually constitutive relationship" by noting its dual trajectory: first, discourse leads to power in the discursive realm where concepts, objects and subject positions are

established. Second, power produces a particular discourse in the realm of action where only certain people can exercise power through their ability to control the process of text production, transmission and consumption (Hardy and Phillips, 2004; Osrick et al., 2000). In particular, “actors who inhabit subject positions associated with (a) formal power; (b) critical resources; (c) network links; and (d) discursive legitimacy [where one’s right to speak is deemed valid] are more likely able to produce texts that are intended to convey particular meanings and to produce particular effects” (Hardy and Phillips, 2004: 306). The communication process can thus be used to articulate meanings in ways that legitimate the views of privileged actors, making them appear inevitable (Hardy and Phillips, 2004). To the extent that the tensions and struggles noted above become resolved, it is achieved “through the control of symbolic and discursive resources” (Mumby and Clair, 1997: 182). The first of these trajectories, the “power in discourse” (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 273) may be revealed at any particular moment in time, whereas the second trajectory, “power over discourse” (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 273) is revealed as texts accumulate and discourses evolve over time (Hardy and Phillips, 2004).

My understanding of CDA articulated herein leads to the argument that “discourse does ideological work” (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 275) and the value of CDA is to help unmask “both the ideological loading of particular ways of using language and the relations of power which underlie them” (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 258). Ideologies are “group-specific grammars” that, for groups, provide a framework for meaning and action upon which their group membership is based (van Dijk, 1997: 28). Ideology provides an interpretive framework predisposing people toward accepting fixed

meanings that form the belief system of a group, which is subsequently reproduced by the discursive events of such group members (Mumby, 2004; Mumby and Clair, 1997; van Dijk, 1997). Social effectiveness is the measure of ideology – whether the belief practices serve the social function (the reproduction of a particular reality) desired by the group (van Dijk, 1997). The struggle for ideological dominance is played out in texts (Wodak, 2004). Hegemony results when “those with power are able to get those who have less power to interpret the world from the former’s point of view. Power is thus exercised through consent rather than coercion” (Mumby and Clair, 1997: 184). Indeed, hegemony is achieved when the interests of dominant groups become entrenched in particular social practices that make the production of particular forms of subjectivity appear natural (Heracleous, 2004). It is the culmination of “efforts to fix meanings in particular ways over and against other possible discursive articulations” (Mumby, 2004: 239). Although hegemony is the naturalization of ideology into a state of equilibrium, such a state may be fragile, for the discursive practices that reproduce the ideological orientations could also be used to challenge and transform them (Fairclough, 1992). CDA is thus interested in whether and how a discourse reproduces or challenges existing hegemonies, and in the case of the latter, how discursive practices and the ideologies built into them are transformed (Fairclough, 1992). Deciphering such ideologies is necessary to “demystify discourses” (Wodak, 2004: 199).

Beyond simply highlighting the relationship between discourse and power, CDA works to expose “the inequities that are produced, maintained, and reproduced as a result of this relationship” (Mumby and Clair, 1997: 183). Critical discourse analysis tackles social problems, hence one engages in CDA not just as an academic exercise but also as

commitment to social intervention and change (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997; Heracleous, 2004). I will admit to the personal appeal that this critical position has for me, for I have long been interested in equality for those marginalized by the lack of power, resources and voice. It is a non-objective science, therefore, for to engage in CDA one must be motivated by an emancipatory interest and be reflexive of this motivation (Faircough and Wodak, 1997; Prichard et al., 2004; Wodak, 2004).

3.4 Critical Discourse Analysis as a Set of Methods

Having presented the essential concepts of discourse, made the connection between discourse and the social construction of reality, and reviewed the methodological assumptions inherent to this (critical) constructivist position, it is necessary for me to now articulate how I will proceed with the analysis of discourse. Discourse analysis “tries to explore how the socially produced ideas and objects that populate the world were created in the first place and how they are maintained” (Phillips and Hardy, 2002: 6). Alternative forms of analysis, including “detailed linguistic analysis of text” (Fairclough, 2003: 215) could also fit the description of discourse analysis. Indeed, Phillips and Hardy (2002: 9) listed eight separate “traditions in discourse analysis” as examples of the range in methodological approaches available; CDA is listed as one option alongside critical linguistics, Foucauldian research, conversation analysis and more. For Hardy and Phillips (1999: 2), the central features of discourse analysis methods are that “they are interested in the constructive effects of texts and they are necessarily interpretive.” Such an aim is accomplished through the systematic study of texts, “which contain the clues to discourses that we can never find in their entirety” (Hardy, 2001: 26). Discourse analysis is interested in not simply what language accomplishes (the representation/ construction

of concepts, objects and subject positions, which runs the modernist risk of assuming such meanings can be objectively interpreted), but pays attention to such questions as why and how a statement was produced in the first place (Alvesson and Karreman, 2000b). In doing discourse analysis, I am responding positively to Grant et al. (2004: 2) who “assert that there is considerable further scope for its application, and advocate more discourse-focused research on the basis of the potentially considerable insights that it offers.” Despite such support, Phillips et al. (2008: 786-787) summarized the challenge facing researchers applying CDA as follows:

This is a fairly new area of activity, [hence] there are few standard models available to follow. Although there are various descriptions that are helpful... there are few recognized standard methods that ensure the acceptance of empirical work by reviewers. Developing innovative data analysis techniques for each study thus remains a final challenge facing researchers.

For Fairclough (1992: 4), analysis of discourse should pay attention to the language itself, the discursive practices involved in the production, dissemination and consumption of the text, and “the institutional and organizational circumstances of the discursive event.” Attention to all three levels is necessary “to satisfy Fairclough’s combinatorial objective of developing a broad based understanding of the production of complex social phenomena” (Phillips et al., 2008: 779; see also Phillips and Hardy, 2002; Vaara and Tienari, 2008). Given the social constructionist nature of discourse, and the specific idea that discourse constructs objects, concepts and subject positions, it is first necessary to review the text to uncover what is constructed (Phillips and Hardy, 2002).

Such attention to the content of texts and the dominant meanings they construct operates at the micro level of research (Phillips et al., 2008). Furthermore, at the meso level, attention to discursive practice is necessary to understand how the discourse structure came into being (Phillips et al., 2008). Discourse as practice admits to a struggle “to determine the nature of concepts and subject positions and to control how the resulting objects are understood and treated” (Phillips et al., 2008: 773). “The result is, not surprisingly, an ambiguous and contested set of discourse structures full of contradiction and subject to continuous negotiations as to their meaning and application” (Phillips et al., 2008: 773). Finally, at the macro level of research, engaging the broader social context highlights how texts combine as a system of shared meaning, facilitated through alignment with ‘grand’ discourses (Phillips et al., 2008). To understand any discourse, “we must also understand the context in which they arise” (Phillips and Hardy, 2002: 4).

3.4.1 The structure of discourse.

To begin a study of discourse, I must first examine the texts that constitute it (Fairclough, 1992; Phillips et al., 2004; Prichard et al., 2004). Specifically, attention to texts satisfies the primary aim of discourse analysis, which “is to identify (some of) the multiple meanings assigned to texts” (Phillips and Hardy, 2002: 74). The way of doing this that I employ is to note the objects represented within each text from which my corpus is comprised and, subsequently, the concepts (ideas, categories, and theories) variously attached to them (Hardy and Phillips, 1999; Phillips and Hardy, 2002). What results, therefore, is a form of thematic analysis that pays attention to the different ways objects have become constructed and self-evident within a discourse (see Hardy and Phillips, 1999). Themes are thus various ways that different objects are constructed, and

they allude to the broader societal discourses drawn upon in the construction of these objects (Phillips and Hardy, 2002). Themes vary depending on how each producer of text assigns meaning to these objects (Phillips and Hardy, 2002). Studying texts, coding this data, making comparisons and writing memos to capture ideas that occur to us, results in the emergence of analytic categories (Charmaz, 2006). The analytical task is to “construct an effective narrative” whereby the categories drawn from the data - the multiple meanings assigned to texts – can be explained and justified and relate to the research question (Phillips and Hardy, 2002: 79). Within these parameters, there remains “considerable room for creativity” (Phillips and Hardy, 2002: 74).

3.4.1.1 Grounded theorizing. One of the initial questions I asked myself pertained to the distinction between my CDA approach and the methods of grounded theorizing. Strauss and Corbin (1998: 11) stated that qualitative analysis refers “to a nonmathematical process of interpretation, carried out for the purpose of discovering concepts and relationships in raw data and then organizing these into a theoretical explanatory scheme.” Grounded theorizing moves beyond description to involve methods of generating theory out of the data. “Grounded theory methods consist of systematic, yet flexible guidelines for collecting and analyzing qualitative data to construct theories ‘grounded’ in the data themselves” (Charmaz, 2006: 2). “Once concepts are related through statements of relationship into an explanatory theoretical framework, the research moves beyond conceptual ordering to theory” (Strauss and Corbin, 1998: 22).

Charmaz (2006) traced the emergence of grounded theory methods to the collaboration between Glaser and Strauss during the 1960s. Grounded theorizing did not originate as an interpretive enterprise because it rests upon the assumption that objective

knowledge of social phenomenon can be gleaned from the data; the theory is there to be discovered (Charmaz, 2006). This reflects Glaser's positivistic background, and as a result, he "imbued grounded theory with dispassionate empiricism, rigorous codified methods, emphasis on emergent discoveries, and its somewhat ambiguous specialized language that echoes quantitative methods" (Charmaz, 2006: 7). Theorizing from a positivist tradition seeks to articulate a relationship between a set of concepts or variables, with explanatory and predictive power that has more general and universalizable applications (Charmaz, 2006). Nevertheless, by also incorporating Strauss's emphasis on human agency, action and interaction (Charmaz, 2006), grounded theory methods would occupy the least objective realm of the functionalist paradigm by recognizing "the importance of understanding society from the point of view of the actors who are actually engaged in the performance of social activities" (Burrell and Morgan, 1979: 27).

Charmaz (2006: back cover) extended these methods further in embracing a constructivist approach to her grounded theorizing and hence offered an "alternative vision... [that] move[s] on from its positivist origins." The constructivist approach is therefore contrasted with an objectivist approach that "attends to data as real in and of themselves and does not attend to the processes of their production" (Charmaz, 2006: 131). Charmaz (2006) called attention to questions of how and why individuals construct meanings and actions in specific situations, hence requiring attention to the broader context in which the studied experience is embedded. Furthermore, she recognized that the content of a concept or category depends on how researchers interpret and assemble the statements, meanings and actions of their subjects (Charmaz, 2006). As a result, a

theory as to why particular meanings emerge when and where they do is itself an interpretation and a construction, for the 'facts' seen are linked to the values and ideas carried into the research by the researcher (Charmaz, 2006). The standards for verification amongst the multiple possible realities lie with the researcher's capacity to offer "plausible accounts" (Charmaz, 2006: 132). Grounded theory methods remain of great service when researching from an interpretive set of assumptions, for the methods themselves, from coding to memo writing, "are, in many ways, neutral" (Charmaz, 2006: 9). What are not neutral are the researcher's own assumptions and application of the methods and so researchers are well advised to take a reflective stance toward their work (Charmaz, 2006). "We are part of our constructed theory and this theory reflects the vantage points inherent in our varied experiences" (Charmaz, 2006: 149).

Given the capacity for grounded theory methods to accommodate a range in epistemological assumptions, my approach need not be inconsistent with the tenets of grounded theory. Although grounded theory implies theory generation, studies conducted under the guise of grounded theory are often more descriptive than theoretical (Charmaz, 2006). Yet if theory is defined as "a set of well-developed concepts related through statements of relationship" (Strauss and Corbin, 1998: 15), then discourse is theory – it presents a way of explaining or making sense of objects as they are loaded onto with various ideas. The task of CDA is to explicate the theory implied in the discourse and to critically analyze it through attention to the discursive practices that form it. The result of such efforts is to offer a theory of discourse structure (van Dijk, 1997), which addresses both how it is structured and how it has come to be structured as such. This dissertation represents my attempt to offer this very thing. In doing so, one may fruitfully employ the

procedures of coding, central to grounded theory, to “identify, develop and relate the concepts that are the building blocks of theory” (Strauss and Corbin, 1998: 13). In other words, I can borrow from the methods of grounded theory to identify conceptual themes and the discursive practices at work (such as the texts and discourses drawn upon to give meaning to concepts), to theorize the structure and discursive construction of spiritual work and spiritual workers.

I hesitate to fully embrace the description of my critical discourse analysis methods as grounded theorizing insofar as the methods germane to the latter were designed to follow a largely inductive process in which a review of the literature is conducted after an independent analysis of the data (Charmaz, 2006). Clearly I have not adhered to this requirement, having conducted an extensive literature review already and having formed a preliminary conceptual model that inevitably informs my subsequent reading of the data. In doing so, I have adhered closer to Miles and Huberman’s (1994) recommendations for the design of qualitative research. “At the outset, then, we usually have at least a rudimentary conceptual framework, a set of general research questions, some notions about sampling, and some initial data-gathering devices” (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 17). Indeed, any reading of text and subsequent interpretations I make are influenced by my own theoretical understandings as they have been informed by various external viewpoints (Boje, 2001). The “analytic problem” that remains for the researcher is “to separate out ‘external’ information from what they themselves have contributed when decoding and encoding the words of their informants” (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 8).

As a result, thematic analysis inherently contains “a mix of deductive and inductive, etic and emic” (Boje, 2001: 122). My capacity to discover insider categories, the ways in which the text authors make sense of their story they tell, are analyzed and compared against previously constructed etic categorization (Boje, 2001). Ultimately, the etic/emic duality breaks down, for they exist in circularity: the emic categories, once discovered and reproduced in some thematic taxonomy, become etic for the subsequent researcher whose ordering efforts are influenced by same (Boje, 2001). Strauss and Corbin (1998: 136) agreed by noting that “an interpretation is a form of deduction” not borne solely from the data. With this in mind, beginning with some form of a conceptual model to provide orienting constructs, general questions to guide my inquiry into the data and explicitly stated theoretical assumptions, will all add greater focus to my collection and analysis of data (Miles and Huberman, 1994).

3.4.1.2 Codes, coding and writing memos. “Coding is analysis” (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 56). “Codes are tags or labels for assigning units of meaning” to pieces of text (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 56). Such meanings are only meaningful insofar as I, by attaching a label to it, deem that a piece of text in its given context is significant (Miles and Huberman, 1994). I choose a particular code to represent a piece of text, so I am embedded in the process of giving meaning to these transcripts and hence the reality which they construct. “Coding distills data, sorts them, and gives us a handle for making comparisons with other segments of data” (Charmaz, 2006: 3). Bazeley (2007) echoed Strauss in noting that excellence in coding is the key to good qualitative analysis.

One analytical tool available is to question the text, that is, review it with an eye toward answering questions such as what, who, how, where, and when, so as to develop

an understanding of the issues and the meanings attached to the situation (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). Such an ‘open coding’ approach allows us to obtain many more insights into the objects and concepts constructed in the discourse, and sensitizes the reader to what to look for (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). Subsequently, the researcher can look for relationships between concepts, for evidence of change and for larger structural issues that affect the central issues. Coding for process is key to clarify how the action evolves – the structural changes necessary for action to unfold to achieve some purpose (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). Using questions such as why, and with what results, when coding helps to establish these relational statements from which a conceptual model can be built (Bazeley, 2007). Comparing concepts to others, be they similar, different or opposing, can also help “to bring out possible properties and dimensions when these are not evident to the analyst” (Strauss and Corbin, 1998: 94). Such attention to repetition and contrasts is therefore most helpful to the generation of a list of provisional codes from the text, which typically can then be assigned to more abstract categories (Miles and Huberman, 1994). Following Miles and Huberman (1994), I did not begin with a set of predefined codes but rather turned to Strauss (Strauss and Corbin, 1998) for the just noted insights into ‘open coding’ to generate my list of categories and their properties.

Codes will have to be revised regardless of the approach to coding employed. Some codes emerge, others decay, some require combination and still others flourish too much and require subdivision (Miles and Huberman, 1994). More layers of meaning begin to surface the more one is immersed in the data, so it becomes difficult for the researcher to know “when to go with a definitive coding scheme or definitive analysis” (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 62). Revision results because researchers “are feeling their

way to a set of relationships that account for important pieces of what they are seeing and hearing” (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 62). Another reason for which codes need be revised is to satisfy the interpretations of other readers and acknowledge promising alternative perspectives (Miles and Huberman, 1994). These insights are possible by employing a process of check-coding, which occurs when two researchers code the same data set; “at first, you usually don’t get better than 70%,” but eventually intercoder agreement “should be up in the 90% range” (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 64). Once the coding scheme has been determined, “clear operational definitions [for all codes] are indispensable, so they can be applied consistently by a single researcher over time and multiple researchers will be thinking about the same phenomena as they code” (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 63).

“As you work with your data and codes, you become progressively more analytic in how you treat them and thus you raise certain codes to conceptual categories” (Charmaz, 2006: 12). This “first step in integration is deciding on a central category [that] represents the main theme of the research” (Strauss and Corbin, 1998: 146). The central category has the “ability to pull the other categories together to form an explanatory whole” (Strauss and Corbin, 1998: 146). Then, “we code around the axis of a category to add depth and structure to it” (Strauss and Corbin, 1998: 142). Under ‘axial coding’, therefore, “categories are systematically developed and linked with subcategories” (Strauss and Corbin, 1998: 143). Miles and Huberman (1994) referred to this technique of moving to a more general, perhaps more explanatory, level of analysis as ‘pattern coding’. “Pattern codes are explanatory or inferential codes, ones that identify an emergent theme, configuration, or explanation. They pull together a lot of material into

more meaningful and parsimonious units of analysis. They are a sort of meta-code” (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 69). Like axial coding, the implication of pattern coding is a reduction in the number of first level codes as they become grouped into a smaller number of constructs (Miles and Huberman, 1994). Regardless of the terminological difference, “as we proceed, our categories not only coalesce as we interpret the collected data but also the categories become more theoretical because we engage in successive levels of analysis” (Charmaz, 2006: 3). The goal of my research is precisely this, to move “up progressively from the empirical trenches to a more conceptual overview of the landscape” (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 261).

The writing of memos is a useful tool in helping the researcher “move easily from empirical data to a conceptual level, refining and expanding codes further, developing key categories and showing their relationships, and building toward a more integrated understanding of events, processes, and interactions in the case” (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 74). “Memoing captures the thoughts of the analyst on the fly, so to speak, and is precious for that reason” (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 75). Strauss and Corbin (1998: 153) agree: “Memos...are a storehouse of ideas.” Since memoing is about idea generation and not simply re-describing the data, they are particularly helpful when taking an inductive approach and should be coded in accordance with the concepts they address (Miles and Huberman, 1994). In other words, one can and should use the memo in a more structured manner to develop specific propositions (Miles and Huberman, 1994).

My coding and memoing was managed through the use of a qualitative analysis software program, NVivo (version 8). I coded using ‘free nodes’ to capture ideas without

the imposition of any relational structure. Such coding does not reduce the data because links to it remain, but rather allows for a multidimensional approach to the text by providing a means to view the data in terms of the node and not the text (Bazeley, 2007). Some nodes themselves represented concepts (or categories), others led to the identification of concepts, and my analysis extended to consider the various possible meanings attached to each. Memos for each text within my corpus, and for each code, were also written to take note of my ideas and how I amended the codes. I used the software simply as a way of recording and organizing the subjective and manual process of coding and did not employ any of the querying and automated coding features of the software. Thus, by simply being a data management device, NVivo did “not make the analysis any more ‘rigorous’ or ‘valid’” (Phillips and Hardy, 2002: 78).

3.4.1.3 Building a conceptual model or thematic taxonomy. The culmination of the thematic analysis of the workplace spirituality discourse is a conceptual model or taxonomy. Developing a model is an iterative process, and we are cautioned that “it is easy to fall into the trap of premature closure” (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 86). “The first interim analysis should ... lead to successively deeper, fuller waves of analysis by swinging back to pattern coding, memoing and proposition developing as ... your cognitive map of the case gets richer and more powerful” (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 86). Some of the categories in the text pertain to the object itself, whereas others pertain to conditions, actions or consequences. In determining which of the above any particular category denotes, Strauss and Corbin (1998: 129) reminded me that “the analyst has to make this distinction.” It is also important to recognize that some of the cases may not seem to fit with the rest and explanations for them must also be built into the theory,

either as variations to it or alternative explanations (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). Doing so merely enhances the explanatory power of the original theory because “there always are variations of every process” (Strauss and Corbin, 1998: 160). In all, I must take care to balance subjectivity and systematization and avoid my own production of reified meanings (Hardy, 2001).

3.4.2 Discursive practices at work.

Whereas the first dimension of discourse analysis is to focus on the text itself employing the methods I have just described, the second dimension shifts attention to the discursive practices of production, transmission and consumption to understand how objects are brought into being. Themes become necessary to problematize with respect to how they became self-evident, “commonsense assumption about the social order” (Fairclough, 1992: 183). To this end, in satisfying the second objective of my dissertation, I problematize “what otherwise may appear today as natural and ahistorical ... and show how what passes as knowledge is an entanglement of power relations in which many discourses and practices are and have been implicated” (Calás and Smircich, 2003a: 32). With respect to the methods of critical discourse analysis, analytical attention shifts to the relationship between discourse and the reality they construct by noting how texts are made meaningful in their connection with other texts, the discourses upon which they draw (for all texts are situated within larger bodies of texts), and the context in which they are embedded (Phillips and Hardy, 2002). “It is in its contextual and interpretive sensitivities that the benefits of discourse analysis lie” (Phillips and Hardy, 2002: 75).

3.4.2.1 Text production. The first discursive practice to focus upon is the

production of texts, and as a starting point, attention to the producers is warranted. “To initiate discursive activities, actors must hold subject positions that warrant sufficient voice, as recognized by others, otherwise the impact of their activities or statements will be minimized” (Hardy et al., 2000: 1245). Recalling that discourse can be seen as a strategic resource, analysis should also seek to determine how various constructed meanings relate to individual strategies of actors involved in their production. In addition, and as I shall elaborate further in the section on intertextuality below, one must investigate how actors draw upon and articulate in specific manners other texts to produce a new discursive event (Fairclough, 1992). “A text is more likely to influence discourse if it evokes other texts, either explicitly or implicitly, because it will draw on understandings and meanings that are more broadly grounded” (Hardy and Phillips, 2004: 308).

3.4.2.2 Text transmission. How texts are disseminated requires attention to the situation in which language is used, which may impose certain conventions or rules upon symbolic expression (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997). How we make sense of our reality depends upon the framework within which words obtain meaning, and these frameworks are vocabulary specific (Weick, 1995). Mills (1940: 906) offered additional insights for how certain words, labelled ‘motives,’ when used within a particular social situation “function as cues and justifications for normative actions” for an individual experiencing the situation. We are not quite free to make sense of our realities because the words to be made sensible are influential in this process. Also, the physical environment, location, formality, roles and relations amongst participants, and more are all potentially relevant features of the context of any piece of text (van Dijk, 1997). In addition, the degree to

which a text achieves some distance from the circumstances of its initial production helps to objectify the text, its status as taken-for-granted more readily accepted by its recipients (Hardy and Phillips, 2004).

Attention to text also shows interest in the form that discursive units take, for language must be recognizable and interpretable for it to form a discourse able to construct a particular meaningful reality (Phillips et al., 2004). Communicating via a genre of text that is deemed appropriate for a particular context requires a similarity in form and content with other texts, along with the use of textual devices that help shape meaning (such as metaphor) (Hardy and Phillips, 2004). Such features make certain texts particularly seductive to potential consumers, hence more apt to be consumed upon which their intended meanings can become established (Hardy and Phillips, 2004).

3.4.2.3 Text consumption. With respect to the consumption of text, concepts must draw upon the larger discursive context, upon “the relations and identities previously constituted in discourse and reified into institutions and practices” (Hardy et al., 2000: 1235) if their meaning is to resonate amongst consumers. Nevertheless, recall the dialectic position between structure and agency that suggests social actors might retain some ability to choose from a range of interpretive positions (Alvesson and Kärreman, 2000b; Mumby, 2004). I have already alluded to the point that “discourse can be constitutive simultaneously of moments of domination and resistance...[with] multiple and contradictory meanings and realities existing in the same discursive space” (Mumby, 2004: 242). The intention of any producer of a text still requires interpretation by the recipient, and “in [social discourse] analysis, it is usually the perspective of the interpretation of other(s) that prevail” (van Dijk, 1997: 9). Nevertheless, critical

approaches to discourse analysis pay particular attention to power relations, which may dampen van Dijk's (1997) optimism in individual agency. Textual interpretation remains "a negotiated process of social construction within which there is always scope for resistance to dominant readings" (Hardy and Phillips, 2004: 310). To the extent that recipients challenge meanings and articulate new ones, they may alter (instead of reproduce) dominant meanings and articulate new ones (Hardy and Phillips, 2004). What is key is that the consumption process must be problematized in a manner that necessitates some reflexivity on the part of the researcher, which I shall acknowledge in due course. What is also important is to neither assume nor impose a singular discursive meaning, but rather accept the plurivocal nature of discourse – its plural meaning potential (Fairclough, 1992; Oswick et al., 1997).

3.4.2.4 Intertextuality and the discursive 'textscape.' The central concept of intertextuality helps to connect the specific text to all of these discursive practices. "Intertextuality is basically the property texts have of being full of snatches of other texts" (Fairclough, 1992: 84). Put succinctly by Keenoy and Oswick (2004: 140), "all texts implicate other texts." Fairclough (1992) recognized that the creative manner in which texts draw historically upon other texts is what allows for them to be implicated in social and political change. As suggested already, intertextuality exists in the production process as there is a certain historicity to texts – they add on to what has been uttered before (Fairclough, 1992). The value of an intertextual approach is that it is sensitive to this historical and social context (Grant et al., 2004). Vaara and Tienari (2008: 991) referred to interdiscursivity as distinct from intertextuality, the former referring to "the interplay of different discourses and ideologies in texts." Fairclough (2005) made this

same distinction, yet suggested that intertextuality is inclusive of the related notion of interdiscursivity. “The ‘interdiscursive’ analysis of texts... shows how texts articulate different discourses... [and] the capacity of social agents to use existing social resources in innovative ways” (Fairclough, 2005: 925-926). Hardy and Phillips (1999: 18) similarly noted how actors have “recourse to discursive resources to support their position” and thus promote attention to broader discourses insofar as they enable and constrain discursive activity. Indeed, the point to be made is not simply that texts implicate other texts, as Keenoy and Oswick (2004) put it, but that producers of texts draw upon a larger discursive context to ensure concepts have particular meanings that resonate with their audience (Hardy et al., 2000). Finally, it need be recognized that interpretation is also shaped by “those other texts which interpreters variably bring to the interpretation process” (Fairclough, 1992: 85).

Clearly, attention to intertextuality develops an appreciation of “the embedded, interwoven, and multivocal nature of discursive events and enables us to develop more complex and context-sensitive understandings of the episodes of discourse we choose to analyse” (Keenoy and Oswick, 2004: 136). Revealing these “‘layers’ of discursive interconnections” leads one to produce what Keenoy and Oswick (2004: 141) metaphorically referred to as a discursive ‘textscape.’ “All discourse analysis can be treated as a ‘textscape:’ a socially constructed account of some phenomena which, for its multitude of possible meanings, embodies continual (and often covert) reference to a wide variety of other texts and other possible texts” (Keenoy and Oswick, 2004: 140). Keenoy and Oswick (2004: 140) added a practical caution against attempting to be

exhaustive in this effort, for “to do so would risk a downward self-referential analytic spiral.”

3.4.3 Social and historical context.

The third dimension of discourse analysis, which draws attention to the social and historical setting within which a discursive practice is situated, shall also be explored in this section. Analysis at this level is necessary in a social constructionist approach because discourse is not viewed simply as a local achievement of everyday interaction, but rather is viewed “as general and prevalent systems for the formation and articulation of ideas in a particular period of time” (Alvesson and Kärreman, 2000b: 1126). A central tenet of the dialectic relationship between discourse and reality is to acknowledge the limits imposed by context, for “discursive activity does not occur in a vacuum” (Hardy et al., 2000: 1236). When we understand both “how contextual events determined the contents of the texts [and] how the texts in turn contributed to reactualizing or maintaining the dynamics of cultural narratives within the larger context” (Prasad and Mir, 2002: 97), the dialectic relationship between discourse and social reality is brought to light. As noted already, the preceding processes of text production, distribution and consumption “are social and require reference to the particular economic, political and institutional settings within which discourse is generated” (Fairclough, 1992: 71). Actors are immersed within particular historical traditions and prevailing assumptions that influence the texts they produce, creating the conditions of possibility, and through their texts they promulgate the same embedded meanings. Such historical embeddedness is a large part of what makes texts meaningful (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997). It is incumbent upon the researcher to attempt to link particular discourses to the context in which they

arise by locating them in the context of macro level or ‘grand’ discourses (Grant and Hardy, 2004). “There is of course no *a priori* limit to the scope and level of what counts as being relevant context” (van Dijk, 1997: 14). Also, we are cautioned that it is “difficult to identify and examine a discourse that operates at the societal level” as we are only provided with clues to their existence in texts (Hardy and Phillips, 1999: 12). Finally, one must recognize that contexts themselves are simply mental constructs that are not objective, equally understood and with equally constraining effects on all authors (van Dijk, 1997).

In adhering to the preceding methods, the following analytical chapters will result. In Chapter 4, I “identify (some of) the multiple meanings assigned to texts” (Phillips and Hardy, 2002: 74) using a form of thematic analysis as per Hardy and Phillips (1999). In Chapter 5, I follow Keenoy and Osrick’s (2004) suggestion that a textscape should be the methodological centerpiece of discourse analysis and examine the layers of discursive interconnections in workplace spirituality texts, which includes reference to other ‘spirituality’ texts, organizational discourses and broader societal or ‘grand’ discourses. In doing so, I show how “new discourses emerge through ‘reweaving’ relations between existing discourses” (Fairclough, 2005: 932). In Chapter 6, I continue to examine the discursive practices of text production, transmission and consumption with a critical focus on strategies (of legitimation in particular) and power. This is a necessary complement to intertextual analysis, as the analytical focus turns back to the actors who produce texts and how they may do so with particular interests in mind. Finally, in my conclusion I include a comment based on Boje’s (2001; 2007) notion of

'antenarrative' to explore how the objects of the workplace spirituality discourse could be alternately constructed and given new meanings based on an emancipatory agenda.

3.4.4 Reflexivity.

Reflexivity is "well established within the discourse of organizational discourse" (Grant and Hardy, 2004: 9). It follows, then, that some critical reflexivity will necessarily be prominent amongst my methods for conducting CDA. "Discourse analytic methods are unavoidably reflexive because the strong social constructivist epistemology that forms its foundation applies equally to the work of academic researchers" (Phillips and Hardy, 2002: 10). In other words, due to my own reading and categorization of the texts, I am a co-creator of the meaning that they ascribe. Any interpretation of my own remains incomplete, "open to new contexts and new information" (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 279). Such is the plurivocal nature of organizational discourse; as opposed to a singular, authoritative discourse, numerous legitimate accounts are possible (Oswick et al., 1997). This is because "any particular research approach cannot but fail to capture the complexity of language use that occurs over time, in multiple sites, and in hidden ways" (Grant et al., 2004: 14). In other words, even though I argue that a discourse is a structured collection of texts, the structure of which can be illuminated, it cannot be done in a definitive way owing to the choices and trade-offs I inevitably make (Grant et al., 2004). I therefore join Grant et al. (2004: 14), who, "in advocating plurivocality, ... subscribe to an epistemology that acknowledges the limitations of what we think we know, and provides space for different approaches and readings of organizational phenomena."

Despite the above insights into discourse, “in attending to the demands of transparency and clarity, we risk pushing reflexivity about our ‘self-identity’ as researchers to the margins” (Grant and Hardy, 2004: 10-11). In response to this warning, my role in constructing the meaning of a text, in bringing external information into my interpretation, and in shaping a discourse with resultant impacts upon power relations may be quite visible and must be addressed (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997; Hardy and Phillips, 2004). “We are continuously challenged to retain a sensitivity to our role in the constitution of categories and frames that produce a reality of a particular sort” (Phillips and Hardy, 2002: 10). Indeed, “all empirical data is the result of interpretation” and hence my capacity to make representations about the social reality being constructed need not be reduced (Hardy, 2001: 32). A reflexive stance simply helps me to be cautious against portraying a monolithic discourse of spirituality at work. Reflexivity helps me come to understand how, through my own interpretation and offering of a theory of discourse structure for workplace spirituality, I enter into an ongoing struggle to control the discourse and the dominance of whatever ideological investments I have loaded into it (Grant et al., 2004). Writing first-person reflection into this dissertation is therefore consistent with the critical tradition, whereby “critical reflexivity over the production of knowledge becomes a textual feature of the public text” (Prichard et al., 2004: 228).

3.4.5 Choosing a corpus (i.e. the data).

Discourse analysis necessitates the selection of a corpus within which exists the texts I will specifically analyze (Fairclough, 1992). Indeed, “we can never study all aspects of discourse, and we inevitably have to select a subset of texts for the purpose of manageability” (Phillips and Hardy, 2002: 10). According to Fairclough (1992), an

appropriately selected corpus is representative of the archive, which is the totality of discursive practice that falls within the domain of the research project. There is thus a discourse hierarchy that emerges. Corpora are specific data sets that represent a particular archive which itself might be but one discursive unit within a wider contemporary discourse in society (Prichard et al., 2004). The challenge I face is to “identify a manageable, relatively limited corpus of texts that is helpful in exploring the construction of the objects of analysis” (Phillips and Hardy, 2002: 72), which in my case is the discursive construction of spiritual work and spiritual workers.

The corpus I have chosen consists of two separate collections of texts that together, I suggest, are representative of the archive based on the prominence of their authorship, the importance of the source within which the texts were found, and their capacity to bridge academic and practitioner communities. Specifically, I will analyze the textual artifacts from one conference held in 2008, the ninth *International Conference on Business and Consciousness* (ICBC), and chapters from one book published the same year, *Spirituality in Business: Theory, Practice and Future Directions*, whose contributions were selected and edited by Biberman and Tischler (2008b). Collectively, the texts made available from this conference and book will hereafter be referred to as my corpus.

3.4.5.1 The ICBC. The ninth ICBC was held in Santa Fe, New Mexico from January 25-29, 2008. This conference is produced by The Message Company, a Santa Fe based organization that describes itself as “a world leader in producing inspirational, experiential and life altering conferences with exceptional quality” in addition to being “an independent, multimedia publishing company” (www.bizspirit.com/home/

[aboutus.html](#)). The Business and Consciousness conference is the original in what became a range of conferences that, at some point, has included Enlightenment, Altered States of Consciousness, Marketing, Sound Healing, Shamanism, Sacred Sexuality and Science and Consciousness. The Business and Consciousness series appears to have been an almost annual event, with the first conference occurring in 1995 and the eighth occurring in 2003. No explanation is offered for the five-year interval between the eighth and ninth conferences in this series. The first version of this conference was called the International Conference on Spirituality in Business, which after the third year “evolved into” the conference on Business and Consciousness. The label of consciousness can be unpacked to expose a diverse vocabulary of spirituality, as will be evident upon review and analysis of the conference transcripts. The rather ambiguous mission for this conference “is to bring people together from all levels of business, CEOs to consultants, and from all types of businesses, to share philosophies, practical applications, and stories of innovative ideas that are effective in the workplace” (www.bizspirit.com/home/milestones.html). A March 1, 2009 posting to the MSR listserv noted the ICBC as being “the premiere conference in the field” of spirituality and the workplace. The origin of this comment is unclear, however, for it appears in a list of workplace spirituality resources that has been redistributed by email on more than one occasion.

As noted, the Business and Consciousness series of conferences is the original series produced by the Message Company, which also makes available through its website free access to the *Business Spirit Journal Online: Bringing Consciousness to Business*. The Message Company clearly has an emphasis on spirituality and business in both its conference and publication offerings, evident in the domain name ‘bizspirit.com’,

and traces its origins to the interests of its late founder, James Berry. Given the death of Mr. Berry in 2008, the future of The Message Company appears to be unclear; the conferences scheduled for 2010 were cancelled and the company website both introduces the new leadership team “going forward,” and indicates that it “is in the process of being closed” (www.bizspirit.com/index.html).

Information on the ICBC attendees is limited, although reference is made to the various sectors that they represent, including associations, consulting, education, finance, global corporations, government, health care, media and small businesses. Various comments from past participants are listed on the website (www.bizspirit.com/business/Business08Archive/b_comments.html), and are sampled in Appendix A. Beyond remarks on the pleasure and enjoyment people received from attending, and numerous expressions of genuine appreciation, the comments lend support to the idea that this is indeed a conference aimed at promoting a discussion about spirituality and business, as per its origins.

There were 29 individuals named as ‘presenters’ at the ninth ICBC as listed on the conference website. Among this list are authors, corporate executives, yoga instructors, musicians and more. Each has an on-line link to a brief description of the nature of their presentation or workshop (www.bizspirit.com/business/Business08Archive/b_presenters.html). The ICBC produces little by way of documentation, but the Message Company sells audio and video recordings of most presentations through an online store. To determine which audio files would be relevant to include, I reviewed the on-line description of each presentation, employing a keyword search for the word 'spirit' (hence also spirited, spiritual, spirituality, spiritually). This netted me seven presentations

(Larsen, Miller, Ouimet, Rutte, Sallick, Silver and Zimmer); Jones also fit this description, but her presentation was unavailable. As a result, I further expanded my search by including words possibly central to a definition of spirituality, including soul, faith, authentic(ity), and conscious(ness). I also limited my search to those presentations that seemed like they might apply to an organizational context, in particular, a workplace. The result of this search was sixteen separate presentations by fourteen presenters (to the preceding list I added Bouius, Bowman, Esposito, Feuerstein, Landon, Larsen, Maio and Secretan). Both Ouimet and Secretan offered a keynote address as well as a workshop; in both cases, the workshop followed and was a continuation of the talk, and they were treated as a single entity in my analysis.

For my analysis, I relied on transcriptions³ of the purchased audio files into a written format, producing 407 pages of documentation. The quality of the transcripts was ensured by reading through the written transcripts while simultaneously listening to two randomly sampled presentations, and notwithstanding some spelling mistakes, the written files were deemed to be accurate representations. Having electronic documents containing the transcripts for each of the selected ICBC presentations, I was then able to upload each into my qualitative analysis software, NVivo 8, to facilitate a review and coding of these texts.

3.4.5.2 Spirituality in Business book. Biberman and Tischler's 2008 edited book, *Spirituality in Business: Theory, Practice and Future Directions* published by Palgrave Macmillan, was also selected as a source of data. In her review of this book, Poole (2009:

³ To transcribe these audio files into text, I used a popular on-line transcription service called Elance that serves as a brokerage house connecting customers to a wide range of individual service providers, from whom I chose one to best satisfy my requirements.

77) referred to the contributors as ‘luminaries’ whose “biographies spell out the huge investment they have made in building up this field from scratch and rendering it mainstream.” One such luminary who is often revered by MSR scholars is Andre Delbecq, and his recommendation published on the back cover of the text reads: “This book has the potential to become one of the fundamental references often used by scholars. The scholarship associated with Work Place Spirituality is so scattered that there is a serious need for such a reader.” This sole comment of praise is surely intended to elevate the importance of this edited collection amongst the MSR community, and Poole (2009: 77) herself both repeated Delbecq’s passage and added: “I would agree.”

I briefly interviewed Jerry Biberman on August 9th, 2010 between sessions at the Academy of Management conference in Montreal for further insights into the origins and contributions of this book. At this time, 289 copies had been sold, two-thirds of which were domestic sales (in the U.S.). Jerry expected that the consumer base would be entirely from within the academic community, as there is an entirely academic focus to the book. From his perspective, such is the unique contribution made by this collection of chapters – they are all scholarly in nature and they are all new, invited contributions (as opposed to a collection of previously published materials). As a result, this book is “the only one like it.” As for its origins, the vision for it originated from the publisher who both approached Jerry with the idea/request and imposed the parameters within which the book would be constructed, including its academic focus, hardcover format, number of chapters and length. Jerry conceded that personal networking was the sole mechanism by which he sought out the contributors, having known all of them and previously collaborated with some of them such that he “knew the work they were doing.” Despite

the publisher having the initial vision for this book, Jerry's own vision of the theory, practice and future directions of spirituality in business is imprinted in this text as he chose the contributors whom were invited to author the content. He brought on board his co-editor, Len Tischler, because Len works "just down the hall." At this Academy of Management conference, and in a session entitled "Passion and Compassion in MSR: Past, Present and Future," Jerry was introduced as the "father of the MSR field". His prominence undoubtedly places him at the centre of a network of scholars, which allows him to be familiar with scholarship being done in the field and likely enhances the willingness of others to collaborate with him. Of all this, the publisher was surely aware, making Jerry an ideal candidate for the role of editor. Therefore, he had a rough knowledge of what each contributor would offer to this text when he contacted them and simply ensured that each conformed to the vision and parameters provided by the publisher.

The thirteen chapters (221 pages in the book) were scanned into files from which separate electronic documents were created. The thirteenth chapter, by Tischler and Biberman, is a direct continuation from their introductory chapter, so these two were treated as a single transcript in my analysis. Again, once having electronic documents containing each of the text chapters, I was then able to upload each into my qualitative analysis software, NVivo 8, to facilitate a review and coding of these texts. Appendix B provides a streamlining of the referencing for each author in the analytical chapters that follow.⁴

⁴ *Note to readers:* The date will not appear after the author(s) name when citing from my data to distinguish between these authors and external references. For example, 'Boje

3.4.6 Reflections on the corpus.

There is a certain degree of representativeness in these two data sources because the authors of these texts are often recognizable names. Contributors to the book, for example, include Benefiel, Boje, Fry, Krahnke, Lips-Wiersma, Lund Dean and Neal, all of whom I have made reference to earlier publications in the preceding literature review. Likewise, I have already referenced Miller and Rutte, both ICBC presenters. Furthermore, the ICBC presenters included two reasonably prominent business persons in Ouimet and Feuerstein. Notwithstanding these two individuals, and Miller who holds the only academic position, the remaining ICBC contributors are all business consultants and speakers. Whereas their publication record in scholarly journals is perhaps negligible, the ICBC contributors have authored a library of trade publications that I did not access in my literature review. In contrast, 19 of 23 contributors to the text chapters (including all co-authors) hold an academic position (17 of which are in American universities), with the remaining four listed as consultants, authors and/or speakers. According to the brief biographies for each text author, however, eight of the ‘academics’ also maintain some form of consulting service to the business community. At least half of the text authors, therefore, could be labelled as business consultants, speakers and/or authors of trade-oriented publications, making the composition of contributors to both the text and

(2001)’ refers to an external reference, whereas simply ‘Boje’ refers to his chapter within my discourse sample. Also, note that page numbering for direct quotes will only be available for the text chapters. Therefore, ‘Boje (2001: 122)’ would signal a direct quote from an external reference, whereas ‘Boje (160)’ would signal a direct quote from his chapter in *Spirituality in Business: Theory, Practice and Future Directions*. It follows that only the name of the conference presenter will appear for any citations from these authors, such as ‘Bouius’ with neither date nor page number, and only the presence of quotation marks will distinguish direct quotes from other references to these authors.

the ICBC more comparable. In other words, it would be erroneous to project a dichotomy between these data sources, with the former representing exclusively the scholarly community and the latter being exclusively practitioner oriented. Furthermore, this mix of academics and practitioners and the blurring of their distinction is characteristic of the MSR community, one that “has facilitated a distinctive venue for sharing scholarly research and *pracademic* perspectives” (Benefiel, 2008: 4, emphasis in original). To some extent, therefore, the MSR interest group of the AoM differentiates itself within the Academy in its belief that “intelligent practitioner contributions drive our growing acceptance in the workplace and the fundamental shift in workplace humanity” (Benefiel, 2008: 10) and that “continued practitioner orientation is crucial to our development” (Benefiel, 2008: 17). It is an important feature of my corpus that it is drawn from a pool in which both elements of this ‘pracademic’ community are well represented.

I now turn to the thematic analysis of this collection of texts in order to better understand the structure of the workplace spirituality discourse.

4.0 A Thematic Analysis of the Workplace Spirituality Discourse

Critical discourse analysis begins with finding the various meanings assigned to texts or, more specifically, the objects and various concepts attached to them and the resulting subject positions established. In this chapter, I will conduct this first level of analysis by examining the language itself to better understand these key structural elements of the workplace spirituality discourse as they are found in the texts that comprise my data. Each different way an object is constructed represents a particular theme, so themes will vary depending on the assignment of meaning. Themes derived from my inductive interpretation of the text allow for a comparison between emic and etic concepts, and so the conceptual framework that emerges herein will be contrasted to the model previously generated from my review of the literature (Figure 1). Ultimately, I seek to present an effective narrative from the text that helps to answer the question: What reality(ies) does the workplace spirituality discourse construct? This chapter is in keeping with Mitroff's earlier cited belief that "a definition is part of the outcome of an inquiry as much as it is part of the starting point" (cited in Lund Dean, 2004: 17). The more interpretive contributions of critical discourse analysis will be found in the chapters that follow, where I seek to answer the question: How did this discourse come to be structured as such?

4.1 Analytical Process

I did not approach this corpus with a pre-defined code list. Instead, I coded openly using 'free nodes' in NVivo, looking for objects, concepts, processes, relationships and other recurring ideas in the text. During this process, I also created memos for each transcript to capture fleeting and evolving thoughts. As Bazeley (2007)

predicted, the majority of my codes (nodes) were generated from the first few texts, yet as subsequent codes emerged I revisited prior texts.

A process of code checking was also employed, producing revisions to my list of codes. This same multi-coder process was employed by Hardy and Phillips (1999), which they described in the following manner: “We each then took the other through our coding, either ‘signing off’ where we agreed or discussing cases where there was a disagreement until we did agree” (Phillips and Hardy, 2002: 76). In this research, I followed the Hardy and Phillips (1999) model using a sub-set of my data. The fourteen ICBC transcripts were the first to be reviewed and coded. Subsequently, three were sent to Dr. Cathy Driscoll, my dissertation supervisor, for coding. To maintain as inductive a stance as possible, she did not re-review my literature review prior to coding these three transcripts. I had originally identified twenty-four separate codes; Cathy responded with a list of thirty-nine codes. On their face, 29% of my codes were not matched by an equivalent amongst her list, and 31% of her codes were not matched by an equivalent amongst my list. Upon reading through these texts together, however, we discovered much more overlap between our two lists of codes insofar as we were able to align most of Cathy’s codes with ones I had originally. By creating four new codes, bringing the total to twenty-eight, all but three (or 8%) of her codes were deemed to have their equivalence in my list. I subsequently created an operational definition for each code, and then proceeded to code the book chapters. Two new ideas were identified warranting new codes to capture both concerns raised about the workplace spirituality movement and suggestions for future research. I forwarded two text chapters for Cathy to code using the full list of codes available. No new codes were generated from this process, although the

code 'meaning in work' was employed more generally to capture ideas about finding personal meaning that were not necessarily specific to the workplace, and my definition for the code 'legitimacy' needed to be broadened to reference the various ideas germane to legitimacy theory. From amongst the 151 passages that I had coded in these two chapters, only 15 (or 10%) were not similarly coded by Cathy; I coded another 13 passages based on her insights. Furthermore, as we reviewed the coding we used for each chapter, we clearly shared the same ideas as to the gist of each. The final list of codes appears in Appendix C.

The value of including a multi-coder process amongst my methods is that it addresses Weber's (1990: 17) claim that "high reproducibility is a minimum standard for content analysis." Likewise, Kolbe and Burnett (1991: 248) argued that agreement between multiple researchers when analyzing the content of text "is often perceived as the standard measure of research quality. High levels of disagreement among judges [coders] suggest weaknesses in research methods." In their review of the research (particularly as it relates to consumer behaviour), "two coders were most frequently used" (Kolbe and Burnett, 1991: 246). According to Weber (1990: 17), such reproducibility, or "the consistency of shared understandings (or meaning) held by two or more coders" is necessary to gauge because it is in the reduction and interpretation processes in which text is reduced into content categories that the problems with content analysis arise. Although Weber (1990) did not offer a statistical target, our inter-coder agreement as it relates to a sample of texts drawn from both the book and conference was in the range of 90%, with the remaining disagreement negotiated away.

Beyond reproducibility, plausibility and persuasiveness are the remaining yardsticks by which one can (and will) measure the quality of my analysis. Given the constructivist assumptions behind the methods of CDA and its interest in generating plural readings of how language constructs phenomena, “issues of validity and reliability do not play out in the same way” (Phillips and Hardy, 2002: 79). As a result, “the nature of discourse analysis makes designing and conducting a discourse analytic study more art than science” (Phillips and Hardy, 2002: 80).

4.2 Discourse Structure

Thematic analysis requires elevating certain codes, pulling the material together into a more theoretical framework beyond the empirical realm of the data under study. This is, and was for me, an iterative process of reflecting upon the codes in an effort to articulate the relationships between them in a manner that offered some explanatory potential. The central idea seemed to be that of change, with the foci of change predominantly on workers and their work. Ultimately the code ‘change mandate’ could no longer be sustained – it was too overarching – and as this code broke down, the central themes, or concepts, emerged.

Table 1: Central Themes in the Discourse

Objects	Central Themes	Prime Examples
(Spiritual) Workers...	... as Conscious individuals	Bowman and Bowman; Krahnke and Cooperrider; Steingard
	... as Connected individuals	Heaton and Schmidt-Wilk; Lips-Wiersma and Nilakant; Silver
	... as Leaders	Esposito; Fry; Secretan
(Spiritual) Work...	... as Motivating	Bouius; Fry
	... as Meaningful	Cavanagh and Hazen; Miller; Sallick
	... as Socially Responsible	Biberman and Tischler; Feuerstein; Ouimet

As can be seen in Table 1, objects of the workplace spirituality discourse within this corpus are both work and workers (the individual at work). In varying degrees, these two objects receive the predominant attention of the conference presenters and the text contributors (the authors). How they are made sense of depends on the concepts used, since objects are produced when concepts are attached to something. “Changing the concept fundamentally changes the way the object is socially constructed” (Phillips and Hardy, 1997: 168). I will make the point that the umbrella concepts are spiritual work and spiritual workers; in other words, the concept of ‘spiritual’ (and various sub-categories, or themes) is being discursively attached to the objects ‘work’ and ‘workers’. Although the organization itself was not the primary object of concern for the authors, who spoke instead more directly to the individual members of organizations, I shall acknowledge how there are nevertheless organizational-level implications when both workers and work become more spiritual, and the work organization assumes a particular subject position within this discourse.

These objects receive the attention of the authors due to their desire for change {code: change mandate}; indeed the primary message is one of change and how changes to both work and workers are necessary. The need for change is made meaningful by the authors as a reaction to a shift in societal values as a result of global diversity (Lund Dean et al.; Miller), as a response to the environmental degradation of the planet (Esposito; Steingard; Zimmer), and as a way of improving the free market (Ouimet) and “the way commerce is engaged in” (Esposito). The overarching assumption is that we want a different world (Secretan), we want to transform the world (Rutte) and rectify its imbalance (Zimmer) so that “the world begins to resemble a little bit more of the oneness

than, perhaps, it does right now” (Silver). In this discourse, change (as a noun) becomes an outcome of doing something differently (changing, as a verb), and the bulk of the author’s attention is on the giving meaning to the latter. By encouraging recognition of the need to reconstruct both work and workers, by elevating certain themes to give a new and particular meaning to work and workers, and by offering techniques for changing, the text authors hope to achieve a response “though some form of action/interaction, with some sort of consequences” (Strauss and Corbin, 1998: 132).

4.2.1 Objects.

With respect to work, I have identified three separate ways that work as an object is constructed in these texts. Each is suggestive of the authors’ motives in writing about work. First, it is constructed as that which can lead to individual happiness and the fulfillment of needs, resulting in a high quality of work life for workers (e.g., Bouius; Marx et al.; Sallick; Secretan). The change mandate is therefore to close what I refer to as a ‘motivational gap’ in which joy is perceived to be absent in the workplace. According to Secretan, “65% of all employees are looking for another job right now” and “80% of employees do not look forward to going to work on Monday morning.” The problem, says Esposito, is that “you’re not getting fed by what you’re doing.” “We want to be loved, not just at home – always. We don’t suddenly shut that off when we go to work” (Secretan).

Second, work is constructed as a place that can satisfy one’s sense of purpose or calling, can be meaningful, and can be congruous with one’s personal values, allowing the worker to feel whole and not compartmentalized (e.g., Esposito; Miller). Here, the change mandate is to close what I refer to as a ‘values gap’ in which one’s spiritual

identity may not be present in the workplace. Miller laments that too often people live compartmentalized lives and now “are trying to connect their inner core with either a discovery of who God was for them or, if they had a sense of knowing who God was in their voice and their tradition, of coming closer and having that God be relevant to what they do Monday through Friday.”

Lastly, work is constructed as a vehicle for the promotion of a social good and improvement of the world through humane treatment of workers, consideration for the planet, respect for spiritual diversity and other forms of ethical and socially responsible action (e.g., Boje; Cavanagh and Hazen; Feuerstein; Lips-Wiersma and Nilakant; Lund Dean et al.; Ouimet; Steingard). Here, the change mandate is to close what I refer to as a ‘justice gap’ in which the workplace fails to improve the human condition. Boje (161) thus creates space for “a ‘critical spirituality’ approach to ethical leadership and business practices.” At the organizational level, goals must be articulated that transcend self-interest and, instead, “pay attention to that which assists projects of emancipation and sustainability such as distributive justice and social activism” (Lips-Wiersma and Nilakant: 59).

With respect to workers, I have again identified three separate ways that the individual at work as an object is constructed in these texts. First, a worker is constructed as a conscious individual in the sense that such a person is very self-aware and reflective, perhaps drawing upon some inner source of energy or strength, and hence is capable of constructing a more desirable reality for oneself in which personal improvement and responsibility are key features (e.g., Bowman and Bowman; Cavanagh and Hazen; Heaton and Schmidt-Wilk; Krahnke and Cooperrider; Landon; Larsen; Silver; Steingard).

In addressing workers in this manner, the change sought by the authors is the closure of what I refer to as a 'consciousness gap' in which individuals are disconnected from themselves, their own spirit and personal capacities. "The word that comes to me," says Bouius, "is disconnection. It's like a wire has been cut from us to life and this is what I think we need to mend." Krahnke and Cooperrider (18) state the challenge this way: "How can we each rediscover and unleash our wisdom within us, collaborate with each other, and cocreate a reality that we envision?"

Second, a worker is constructed as a compassionate and connected individual, capable of transcending self-interest and developing a sense of unity or oneness with others (e.g., Biberman and Tischler; Lips-Wiersma and Nilakant). In addressing workers in this manner, the change sought by the authors is the closure of what I refer to as a 'connection gap' in which individuals lack compassion in part because of their failure to recognize human interdependencies. Self-interest has diminished our capacity to adopt a systems perspective and see the interconnections we have with various aspects of the world around us (Krahnke and Cooperrider; Lips-Wiersma and Nilakant). In Zimmer's vocabulary, "this is about a holographic view of your world – of our world – that everything is interconnected and every issue is holographic and every issue is about relationship."

Lastly, a worker is constructed as a spiritual leader who, instead of using power to marginalize and exploit, seeks to improve the quality of work life for other workers with just (and perhaps organizationally advantageous) outcomes (e.g., Boje; Esposito; Fry; Marx et al.; Ouimet; Secretan). In addressing workers in this manner, the change sought by the authors is the closure of what I refer to as a 'leadership gap' in which individuals

in leadership positions represent barriers to human equality, satisfaction, development and achievement. “What most people are hungry for is the inspiration to do what they want to do ... and leaders have a responsibility to help people get there” (Esposito). Fry (109-110) adds to this agenda by stating that “one of the greatest challenges facing leaders today is the need to develop new business models that accentuate ethical leadership, employee well being, sustainability, and social responsibility without sacrificing profitability, revenue growth, and other indicators of financial performance.”

One final object of much less significance in my chosen corpus was the physical work environment, insofar as the work space is constructed (literally too) as a regenerative and healing environment, with carry-over effects for those who spend time in such a space (e.g., Zimmer). Zimmer’s thesis is that when property is developed in a manner that emphasizes the environment, ethics, health and well-being and harmony, guests of such properties will “re-generate in how to be human again” and will take this back to their families and workplaces. There is therefore a tangential connection made to both work and workers.

4.2.2 Concepts.

I have just made the case that the objects of work and workers have been constructed in multiple ways within the texts that comprise my data. This is accomplished by attaching various concepts to each object, and I will explore these concepts in greater depth herein. Concepts exist solely in the realm of ideas, and the overarching idea is one of spirituality given that the authors of these texts are exploring the role of spirituality in work life. Recall that my corpus includes contributions to a book on spirituality in business and a conference whose history is traced to a primary concern for spirituality in

business. Spirituality of course means different things to different people, leading to the plural constructions of work and workers. Different ideas about spirituality are drawn upon to construct workers as more conscious, more connected and a better leader, and work that is concerned with human motivation, individual values and just outcomes; each of these six constructions is a particular theme. I shall highlight the presence of spirituality language in the sections that follow, and will in Chapter 5 offer a more interpretive analysis of the meanings embedded into these concepts by exploring their intertextual and interdiscursive linkages.

4.2.2.1 Spiritual workers.

4.2.2.1.1 Conscious. The kind of spiritual worker that seemed to receive the most effort to construct is the conscious worker, with only four authors (two each from the text and conference) not addressing consciousness {code: consciousness}. One way of understanding a conscious person is as one for whom a sense of consciousness is fully developed, is authentic, aligned and in full knowledge of one's 'essential self.' Esposito suggests that it is a matter of integrity to know oneself – to find the essence of oneself – and to determine what matters and is most important. Landon is also interested in developing connections with “your essence, your internal essential self.” For Secretan, developing authenticity is key to overcoming separateness and creating alignment between what one says, does, thinks and feels. The product of this alignment is a sense of internal ‘oneness.’ Maio talks about identifying core values and “behaviours that would signal for you the authentic delivery of that promise.” Fry (109) refers to this as creating a principled centre, “authentically living one’s values, attitudes and behaviour from the inside out.” Self-knowledge becomes important, argues Esposito, because “we can’t be

leaders if we don't know the leader within." Bowman and Bowman agree that leadership is predicated on authenticity, a state of being requiring knowledge of "the greatness of who we truly are" and possession of the "personal power of who you truly are." Consciousness is thus "about how we can access that self" (Esposito).

Beyond simply knowing oneself, consciousness is also about controlling oneself and one's mind in particular, since thought "is at the root of the causal chain for human performance" (Steingard: 92). Steingard's premise is that the reality we experience is the product of mental processes, and hence we need to develop our 'intentional intelligence.' Bouius notes that "we have a choice. We can be the one in charge of what we accept." For Bowman and Bowman, once we achieve a sense of self-mastery, then everything is seen as a choice and everything becomes possible. This is a particularly powerful message for women, according to Landon, who too often learn about what they cannot achieve in the business world. "So, when we're talking about expanding the zone of awareness is to be aware of your thoughts, your feelings and your emotion, and not allow them to control you and then expand your ability to perceive, to know, to be, and to receive. And it's about keep expanding" (Bowman and Bowman). Landon similarly refers to being conscious as taking ownership of how you sense of any situation – to choose the words you tell yourself carefully, don't take things personally and try out a different point of view. The result is "a profound shift from being victims or passive recipient of external forces to having dominion over our lives" (Krahnke and Cooperrider: 23).

It is not simply being in control of one's thoughts and how one perceives reality that is important to developing consciousness, but the positivity of one's perceptions

matters (Krahnke and Cooperrider; Marx et al.; Steingard). We “see the world differently when we choose to see goodness and possibility in everything and everybody” (Krahnke and Cooperrider: 30); theirs is a forward-looking message about having hope for an improved future state. Appreciative inquiry (Fry; Krahnke and Cooperrider) is a technique for focusing one’s thoughts on successes and that which works well in the hopes of building upon same. “Perhaps our utmost assignment here on earth is to remember our original greatness” (Krahnke and Cooperrider: 31). One form of positivity is the adoption of an ‘abundance mentality’ where nothing is scarce and prosperity abounds, so the perception of being in competition against others diminishes and the successes of all are celebrated (Biberman and Tischler; Bowman and Bowman). From this perspective, a person would “be more likely to trust others, share information, and work in concert with teams and coworkers to accomplish mutual objectives” (Biberman and Tischler: 219).

Finally, consciousness is about developing an appreciation of the complex interconnected nature of human beings to create a holistic perspective on human life (Krahnke and Cooperrider; Lips-Wiersma and Nilakant; Steingard). Consciousness is having the capacity to “understand the wholeness and interconnected nature of humans (Krahnke and Cooperrider: 18). The term ‘oneness’ encapsulates this sense of being connected to all other people; it’s about being able to make personal connections that transcend differences. This necessitates engaging with others at the level of human values (Maio) or by sharing stories of personal experience and importance (Larsen). Zimmer extends this idea to include attention to our relationship with the earth and for living in harmony with it, promoting a ‘holographic view’ of the world where connections to the

earth are as important as human connections. To think holistically is seen as a prerequisite to behaving in ways that nurture the interconnections within the entire ecosystem of life on earth; all aspects are sacred and exist naturally in harmony yet are today suffering from imbalance (Krahnke and Cooperrider; Zimmer). The ultimate product of such a consciousness is the diminishment of self-interest (Lips-Wiersma and Nilakant) so one may “see interdependencies and encompass expanded stakeholder perspectives” (Heaton and Schmidt-Wilk: 126). As a result, “development of consciousness is explained as a holistic transformation of the personality and mental structure that underlies thinking and behavior” (Heaton and Schmidt-Wilk: 125).

Despite the various interpretations of this concept, the meaning of consciousness is consistently spiritual {codes: consciousness; language of belief}. When referring to consciousness as self-knowledge necessary to be more aligned and authentic, Krahnke and Cooperrider (32) talk about knowing who we are by accessing “a realm beyond the material world.” For Esposito, authenticity is the product of soul-searching, where the soul is defined as the truest nature of a person and that which gives someone their distinctive character. Lund Dean et al. (190) note that workplace spirituality research commonly contains the assumption that “pursuing spiritual and religious development allows for a ‘whole person,’ or an employee who is fully present in himself or herself, and consequently on the job.” As if to make this point, Cavanagh and Hazen (48) speak to self-knowledge that can be gained when “the imagination is engaged and emotions are considered in the awareness of God's presence.” What we need to be knowledgeable of, specifically, are the divine qualities inherent in each of us and a sense of alignment to them (Miller; Silver). Consciousness is about developing a connection to these inner

qualities and bringing them forward to be reflected in our behaviour (Silver). “Your actions do not create results. The Divine creates results. Your actions are prayers. Your actions are prayers in physical form” (Silver). We require time spent in spiritual practice to develop “a spiritual thirst” from which we can become “a larger container for the love” (Silver).

When consciousness is meant as an act of power and self-control, there are frequent references to tapping into a source of energy, insofar as the mind is “connected to an infinite, all-permeating realm of universal energy, consciousness, source, or spirit” (Steingard: 94). “To go for self-mastery, people have to have some kind of a spiritual practice” (Bouius). For Miller and Ouimet such spiritual practices tend to be understood in more traditionally religious terms. Bouius, however, argues that a spiritual practice is that which cultivates and manages energy, since the spirit is simply energy. To maintain a perspective of infinite choice and possibility requires harnessing and expanding this energy or ‘inner spirit’ (Bouius; Bowman and Bowman). Regardless, there is some form of metaphysical source of strength and courage available to be drawn upon as sensemakers.

Finally, a holistic interpretation of consciousness refers to fostering a “cosmic moral perspective that takes the perspective of a single fundamental wholeness rather than of one distinct individual” (Heaton and Schmidt-Wilk: 134). Olden (74) suggests that spirituality by definition is concerned with “providing a sense of connectedness and interrelatedness with the universe.” Spiritual overtones are present in the reference to something transcendent, as in “the ability to directly experience the Transcendent and to directly experience one's intimate connection with everything and everyone” (Biberman

and Tischler: 3). Biberman and Tischler (9) make specific reference to Wilber's 'levels of consciousness', whereby the higher level of "unity consciousness in which the Transcendent and material universe are unified" coincides with a higher level of human development and a more universal, interconnected worldview. With the capitalization of 'Transcendence' in the preceding passages, Biberman and Tischler elevate it from an abstract phenomenon to a specific, universal yet non-material entity in whose presence we are made conscious – one makes sense of this as a reference to God.

4.2.2.1.2 Connected. Several authors of these texts constructed the spiritual worker as a more connected person {code: oneness-holism}. This construction was touched upon in the previous section, for one of the common manifestations of consciousness is an appreciation for the interconnected nature of human life. The significant attention paid to this idea warrants elevating 'connectedness' to a separate category or theme altogether because spirituality is given a central role in closing the connection gap discussed earlier.

To suggest a connection gap is to suggest that there has been an erosion of oneness with a corresponding increase in fragmentation and separation (Secretan; Krahnke and Cooperrider). Secretan speaks about the separation and privatization of different spheres of life, forces he traces to Enlightenment without naming it as such. "Science grew to become a specialty of separateness, and so the rest of our society has become a specialty of separateness" (Secretan). Olden addresses the consequences of this separation in the health care field created by the scientific takeover of medicine and argues for health care practices that are reconnected to their spiritual foundation. Krahnke and Cooperrider (28) elaborate: "We live not only in a fragmented world but also with

fragmented thought and a fragmented 'self.' We make distinctions between body and mind, work and play, science and art, and so on. We try to understand things by isolating them into smaller and smaller units, and this fragmented thinking is pervasive in many academic disciplines and management systems." Krahnke and Cooperrider (27) also trace separation to the individualism of Western societies where "one of the primary social values is that of the independent self." Krahnke and Cooperrider argue that such independence is untenable in our increasingly complex society as it fosters a selfishness that leads only to social crisis and environmental degradation.

In response to this problem, a connected worker is constructed in this discourse, capable of rising to the challenge of creating oneness. Secretan defines oneness as "living a life that's courageous, authentic, serves others where we tell the truth, where we're loving and effective." A connected worker would relish interdependent relationships and collaboration, recognizing their potential for promoting positive change (Krahnke and Cooperrider). As noted already, the first step is to develop a consciousness for the interconnections that are already present (Heaton and Schmidt-Wilk; Lips-Wiersma and Nilakant), for the "hidden wholeness in all things" (Krahnke and Cooperrider: 28). From this perspective, business can simply be understood as the sum of "the relationships that we have around our livelihood" (Silver). The practices in which one engages at work would respond to the needs of all stakeholders (Heaton and Schmidt-Wilk; Lips-Wiersma and Nilakant; Sallick). Silver summarizes that achieving a sense of oneness and connection with others is therefore the product of doing something that one loves, that fulfills human needs and not self-interests, and having that love extend outward to affect the relationships that one has with others. There is a decidedly spiritual meaning given to

the connected worker, as only “persons operating from a spiritual paradigm perspective ... appreciate how they are connected with a greater whole” (Biberman and Tischler: 219). For Heaton and Schmidt-Wilk (134), evidence exists to suggest that transcendental practices help people develop “a deep sense of connectedness, ... going beyond individual interests to the wider interests of employees, community, or environment as a whole.”

4.2.2.1.3 Leader. The third construction of spiritual workers is that of (spiritual) leaders {codes: consciousness; leadership theory}. The spiritual leader is a worker who, at least in part, is also a conscious person in the same way as the connected worker can also be made sense of as a person with a more holistic consciousness. In this case, higher levels of the development of one’s consciousness “have been associated with spiritually intelligent leadership, characterized by maintaining equanimity, feeling connected to the holistic flow of nature (Tao), and behaving with compassion and wisdom, with a decreasing need to control” (Heaton and Schmidt-Wilk: 126). There is also a recurring suggestion that leading others must start with leading oneself (Bouius; Bowman and Bowman; Esposito; Secretan), and hence the self-knowledge form of consciousness is necessary to develop so that one may articulate their essential, authentic self. “We can’t be leaders if we don’t know the leader within” (Esposito). In other words, “leadership is not the state of doingness, it’s a state of beingness” that requires an intensity of self-awareness (Bowman and Bowman). Heaton and Schmidt-Wilk (135) therefore conclude that “methods for tapping the inner spiritual source of human consciousness must be integrated into leadership training and development programs.” The importance of doing so, according to Bouius, is because “if a leader is hiding behind a mask, the employees

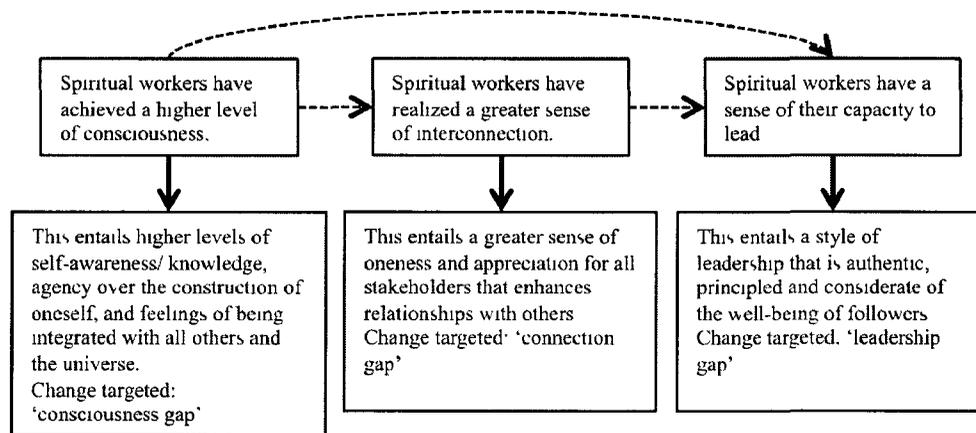
will feel that and that makes a separation” – followers are attracted to leaders when their true self shows up, when “we lead from being.” The spiritual leader being constructed herein relies less on behavioural theories of leadership and more on trait theories, hence Secretan goes further to list necessary personal attributes: being courageous, authentic, serving, truthful, loving and effective. When we live life according to these six principles, “we end up being inspiring leaders and creating oneness” (Secretan). Secretan emphasizes that followers yearn for courageous leaders in particular because “everything that’s important in life requires courage. So, it all starts there with courage; to say what we want to say, to do what we want to do, to be who we really are – that takes courage. So, courage is where it starts.” Moreover, if leadership is all about being a leader, then “everyone has the capacity to be a leader if they choose to be” (Bowman and Bowman). Part of one’s leadership identity may be modeled after a specific spiritual leader who serves as a mentor to us (Bowman and Bowman). In doing so, we are not giving away our power to lead but rather we become supported in our leadership efforts insofar as we remain consistent with the spiritual teachings. Consciousness involves embodying those qualities and having them inform your own leadership in an authentic manner (Bowman and Bowman).

Spiritual leaders enhance the spiritual well-being of followers by promoting a sense of organizational membership through the promotion of values and creation of a vision and mission that allows for work to be perceived as one’s calling (Fry). Spiritual leaders also make space for and support the personal spiritual practices of all organizational members (Fry; Miller). “It’s part of the toolkit of being an effective leader to be conversant and respectful to these things” (Miller). This kind of leadership results in

various positive impacts for followers such as greater psychological well-being and life satisfaction, and for organizations such as greater individual commitment and productivity (Fry). Secretan also suggests a ripple effect to such leadership, as followers become inspired by the spiritual leadership model to become leaders themselves in the same mold. Bowman and Bowman pause to consider “what would our organization look like if everyone chose to be a conscious leader?”

4.2.2.1.4 Summary. Figure 2 represents the three-fold construction of spiritual workers. Without suggesting a firm causal relationship, note how certain constructions seem to depend upon others; for example, the spiritual worker as leader is already constructed as both conscious and connected within this discourse.

Figure 2: Constructions of Spiritual Workers



4.2.2.2 Spiritual work.

4.2.2.2.1 Motivating. The concept of spiritual not only has been applied to workers in the various ways noted above, but has also been applied to the work that individuals do in organizations that makes it a more positive experience for workers. The first construction of spiritual work is that which motivates workers, satisfies their needs

and hence makes them more satisfied and happy workers {codes: needs and self-actualization; meaning in work}. Changing the work itself, however, is often not the focus of attention; rather, attention to the spiritual development of workers mediates the resulting change in how work is made motivating. One way in which this happens is through developing consciousness, so that the development of “a ‘whole person,’ or an employee who is fully present in himself or herself,” (Lund Dean et al.: 190) precedes and is carried forth into the workplace. According to research cited by Lund Dean et al. (190), a person who is ‘whole’ can therefore benefit from “heightened satisfaction, increased work performance, and improved well-being, [and] a more consistent relationship with a higher power.” Part of this consciousness is to be able to answer the questions posed by Bouius: “What do I really want? What are my gifts and talents? What gives me joy?” Heaton and Schmidt-Wilk’s holistic interpretation of consciousness is also connected to more motivating work experiences. Heaton and Schmidt-Wilk (129) draw on Maslow to make the case that “growth of self-actualization was often stimulated by ‘peak’ or transcendental experiences in which the individual identifies, to some extent, with infinity, universality, or perfection.” Silver alludes to this same needs hierarchy by suggesting that “at the top of this pyramid, how people are wanting to be – they’re wanting this transformational peace. They’re thirsting for these qualities.” Again, attention is less on what the worker does, and more on who the worker is – the qualities of being. Fry continues to make this case by claiming that happiness in the workplace is the product of first developing some of the qualities of a spiritual leader. Fry (109) cites himself in arguing that “those practicing spiritual leadership at the personal level will score high on life satisfaction in terms of joy, peace and serenity, positive human health,

and the Ryff and Singer dimensions of well-being.” More specifically, “when leaders personify the values, attitudes, and behaviors of altruistic love ... they will tap into the intrinsic motivation cycle” (Fry: 120). It is foremost the responsibility of the worker to ensure work is motivating and satisfies their needs.

4.2.2.2 Meaningful. Another way in which spiritual work is constructed is that it can become more meaningful and purposeful, which happens when the work aligns with the worker’s values and sense of calling {code: spiritual journey-calling; meaning in work}. Esposito interprets the identification of one’s gifts and talents as not simply a source of motivation, but obligation – we are called upon to offer these gifts to the world. Miller is more prescriptive in defining meaningful work as “a way of somehow honoring God, however we understand God, and at the same time, serving neighbor – that there ought to be this horizontal and vertical dimension where we find meaning and purpose in our work.” The result is an elevation in work, “when your job is no longer a job, but it’s a calling with meaning and purpose” (Miller). For Miller, the accomplishment of work as one’s calling is rooted in the bringing forth the values of one’s faith tradition, “not compartmentalizing, but integrating our life, or what you hear in your Sabbath is also part of what shapes you for your Monday.” For Miller and others (e.g., Ouimet; Silver; Cavanagh and Hazen), meaning in life may be clarified through a decidedly spiritual line of inquiry. Silver speaks to a consciousness of the divine qualities in us all, hence every transaction in the workplace between people can be interpreted as a spiritual practice, an opportunity to help and heal, “an expression of use, and effectiveness, and caring, and help, and service, and wisdom.” The challenge for individuals is “to choose future attitudes and actions that flow from their most basic goals and values and God’s plan”

(Cavanagh and Hazen: 36). “Calm reflection and prayer” are offered as helpful techniques in this process of discernment (Cavanagh and Hazen: 36). Again, there is less attention to changing the nature of the work itself, but in developing a sufficient sense of oneself as a worker in order to be authentic in the workplace. Not only is a sense of meaning produced, but also a sense of ethical well-being, “defined as authentically living one's values, attitudes, and behavior from the inside out in creating a principled center” (Fry, 109). This would allow even “tedious work” to be made sense of as a vocation (Miller).

Consciousness thus again becomes a necessary precursor to meaningful work, allowing someone to take their whole self and systems of belief to work (Esposito; Krahnke and Cooperrider). It is a process, as Bouius argues, of “alignment first of all to ourselves and then alignment to a higher purpose, to a meaning and to the betterment of the whole.” Sallick adds the following emphasis: “Who has the responsibility to make you fulfilled in your business? It’s not your coworkers, your clients, and your family. No, it’s you. That’s it. It’s your responsibility.” This shift in attention toward the worker and away from the actual work underscores the bottom-up approach to promoting spirituality and religion in the workplace, “now firmly established as an expression of employees seeking meaning and fulfillment at work” (Lund Dean et al.: 190). Such a quest is arguably part of the human condition, for “even though we may sometimes feel confused and have doubts about the meaning and purpose of our lives, there is always present somewhere deep within us a pull, a yearning, a hope, or even a knowing that life's meaning and purpose somehow must be findable” (Krahnke and Cooperrider: 19). In the same way that the search for happiness becomes a key motivator of human activity, so

too is the universal need for meaning (Lips-Wiersma and Nilakant). Fry (107) speculates that perhaps an increasing distrust in organizations is catalyzing this spiritual awakening in the workplace, “compell[ing] employees to search for deeper meaning and connection in life and, consequently, integrate a spiritual work identity.”

If there is any common characteristic about what kind of work might stand out as meaningful, the provision of service of any form is a recurring subtheme. “Work, worship and service – sort of an epiphany for me. Yeah, that’s what life should be about” (Miller). By “becoming committed to a vision grounded in service to key stakeholders[...] employees develop a sense of calling where, through their work, they feel they are making a difference in other people’s lives and therefore their life has meaning and purpose” (Fry: 120). Likewise, Sallick advises that we “make sure you are fulfilled in business for the benefit of your coworkers, your clients, and your family.” Any business venture that serves the need of another human being – that solves their problem – should be made sense of as meaningful, as nourishing, according to Silver, and in this regard anything seems to count. “When I say problem, it can be a problem where somebody could be struggling with life-threatening illness like cancer or it could be a millionaire who doesn’t know which yacht to buy. There’s a wide range of problems that we can solve” (Silver). He adds: “I don’t care what business you have. Your business is a business that is about healing because it’s about helping people.” Although meaningful work is largely downloaded onto workers to discover as the culmination of a process of self-discovery, Fry does acknowledge the role that leaders can play in promoting work as a calling because leaders are particularly responsible for articulating an organization’s vision and mission as service to stakeholders.

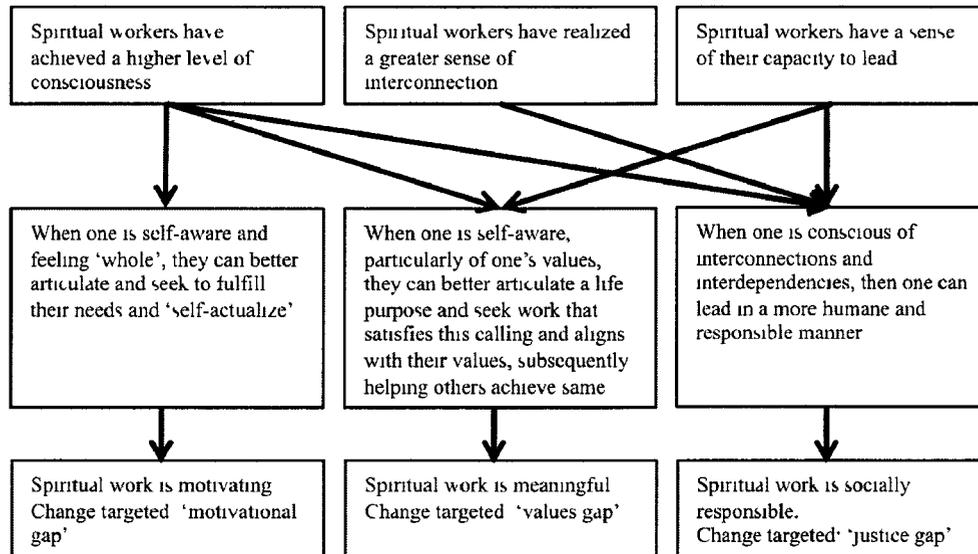
4.2.2.2.3 Socially Responsible. The third construction of spiritual work is that which produces more just, socially responsible outcomes, particularly for the organizational stakeholders {code: business ethics and CSR}. Again, some attention to the spiritual development of workers is contained in these texts, as some types of behaviour are the mark of “true spirituality” (Biberman and Tischler: 4). In particular, focusing on social justice, treating employees better and providing for a healthier environment are just “some kinds of behaviours that we expect from more spiritual people” (Biberman and Tischler: 4). A spiritual worker of the kind constructed by Krahnke and Cooperrider (27), for example, one who was cognizant of interconnectedness and interdependencies and had “a greater sense of oneness with the outside world,” becomes better positioned in this discourse to consider the interests of a wide range of stakeholders. Regarding levels of consciousness, it is the capacity to develop “integral frames of meaning [that] enables leadership to see interdependencies and encompass expanded stakeholder perspectives” (Heaton and Schmidt-Wilk: 126).

Socially responsible work not only depends on workers who are conscious and connected, but who also are spiritual leaders, for “the spiritual leadership paradigm also utilizes a stakeholder approach” (Fry: 119). Feuerstein’s primary concern is for one particular stakeholder, workers, and thus he maintains that spiritual leaders are best positioned to create work that is foremost good for other employees. Ouimet similarly places primary importance upon “personnel and their families” and calls on managers to consider human dignity ahead of competitive performance (albeit not exclusively). From the perspective of a spiritual leader, workers are seen not only as indispensable but as human beings “created in the image of God [... and hence] endowed with a supernatural

dignity” (Feuerstein). Miller echoes the point that the just nature of work is an important expression of faith at work. “It’s through social justice, through having good practices, and policies, and taking care of the environment, and paying my people a decent wage. That’s what the scriptures, that’s what my tradition teaches me. I ought to treat people as if they’re created in the image of God” (Miller). As a result, respect for the welfare of workers is a spiritual imperative, made all the more compelling by the command ‘to love thy neighbor as thyself’ (Feuerstein). For Feuerstein, “that is the essence of this religion and all religions. Everything else as derived from it is merely embellishment ... That precept is the very core of sensitivity to the welfare of the worker.” As a condition for managers to be able to create this kind of human centric work, they must first develop into the kind of spiritual leaders described earlier in which authenticity and humility are central traits (Ouimet).

4.2.2.2.4 Summary. Figure 3 represents the three-fold construction of spiritual work. Note how this figure builds upon Figure 2 insofar as spiritual work becomes possible when workers themselves have already become conscious, connected and leaders.

Figure 3: Constructions of Spiritual Work



To this point in this chapter, I have attempted to offer a description of structural elements of the workplace spirituality discourse as they are found in the chosen corpus. In making a contribution to the literature, I have noted how both work and workers, as central objects, have been constructed as spiritual entities through their association with various conceptual ideas. I categorized the multiple and overlapping meanings into six themes and have highlighted their interrelationships. Work is very much the secondary object because the construction of spiritual workers is often the condition upon which spiritual work becomes constructed. Furthermore, the various ideas about a spiritual worker are largely built upon a foundation of individual spiritual consciousness. I will now examine how subject positions are made permissible within this discourse – how the roles of those participating in the discourse become circumscribed.

4.2.3 Subject positions.

4.2.3.1 *The conscious self.* One is not left to his or her own devices in the construction of oneself. The texts contain ample parameters within which the individual

can become a more conscious being in the construction of one's reality {codes: reconstructing oneself; leadership development; authenticity; personal practices}. The audience for these texts are reminded frequently, as Landon does, that "you can change your story and you can change your life" and Miller places the onus of responsibility on the worker for redefining how one experiences their work. Krahnke and Cooperrider (23) elaborate that "the future is not something that happens to us, and we are not helpless receivers of the fate it brings. The future is created through the mind's anticipatory images, values, and intentions." We are told, therefore, that we can "choose to see goodness and possibility in everything and everybody" (Krahnke and Cooperrider: 30). When you take responsibility for creating the reality in which you find yourself, you realize that "you can destroy it – you can recreate it differently" (Bowman and Bowman). We are thus instructed that our choice of words matter (Landon; Steingard; Zimmer). "We create our life using the power of our word" (Landon). Krahnke and Cooperrider (25) encourage individuals to practice positive thinking and to be more mindful of the story we tell ourselves, for "unbeknownst to us, we may actually be projecting certain thought forms, programming them in our brain, and giving a passive consent to manifesting a particular reality, which may not be what we want." Bowman and Bowman remind us that every belief we have represents a fixed point of view that limits our capacity to see infinite possibility in any situation. Presumably, therefore, problems we may experience or obstacles we may be unable to overcome are simply mental constructs, evidence of our own deficiency in constructing possibility; there is no one to blame but ourselves.

There exists in this an implied causality (made most explicit in Heaton and Schmidt-Wilk) whereby an elevation in self-consciousness produces a sense of autonomy sufficient for one to maintain authorship of their self-identity. While this may be an empowering message, it is equally individualizing and perhaps even isolating. For example, Cavanagh and Hazen (37) promote quiet reflection and prayer and “the slower processes of discernment;” Esposito encourages people to “find the quiet in your life” and along with Bouius advocates for solitary nature retreats; Krahnke and Cooperrider suggest silence is a requirement for ‘mindful awareness’; and Heaton and Schmidt-Wilk promote the power of transcendental meditation, a technique to which Landon also attributes her own heightened level of consciousness. In a contrary vein, Rutte suggests a less purely introspective process of engaging others through dialogue in the exploration of one’s own spirituality. Krahnke and Cooperrider (29) describe how individually conscious people subsequently come together to co-create reality, and hence also note the importance of dialogue as “a way people participate in common meaning and develop something without competing.” Biberman and Tischler (3) simply acknowledge “a plethora of spiritual practices, including meditations, prayers, dancing, chanting, learning, rituals, and so on ... to bring one to higher levels of awareness or consciousness.”

According to Maio, one must articulate core values in the construction of oneself. She then challenges subjects with the following question: “If you’re using these values as your touchstone now, what would you be doing differently?” Fry (111) is more prescriptive and cites evidence suggesting “values that have long been considered spiritual ideals, such as integrity, honesty, and humility, have an effect on leadership success. Similarly, practices traditionally associated with spirituality have been shown to

be connected to leadership effectiveness.” To this list Fry adds altruistic love as a value that leaders should model in organizations, a result of which is that work would become more motivating and meaningful. Ouimet offers his own list of six values, including “solidarity, brotherhood, the opposite of self-centered, human dignity, faith and hope.” It follows, then, that the individual member of an organization assumes a role in which they are responsible for constructing their own reality. Furthermore, the quality to which they fill their role is determined to the extent that prescribed spiritual values, traits and practices are embraced and adopted so that motivating, meaningful and socially responsible work can be subsequently accomplished. Finally, Miller attests to “the constructive role that faith can play in people’s lives” and how being a person of faith is beneficial to improving one’s health and well-being.

4.2.3.2 *The workplace.* Within my corpus, the workplace is commonly positioned as the facilitator of spiritual experience at the individual or group level – its role is to enable this personal transformation {code: organizational practices; organizational culture}. “Organizations can and some do encourage their employees to practice spirituality ... as means for deepening their managers thinking and developing their abilities to think, feel and act more effectively” (Biberman and Tischler: 3-4). Opportunities for “managers to access inner latent capacities” must therefore be made available within management development programs (Heaton and Schmidt-Wilk: 133). For Bouius, that means allowing people “to go inside,” to which ends she cites the importance of breathing, praying, meditating and dreaming.

Organizations can also facilitate group consciousness and are often advised to do so. Krahnke and Cooperrider (21) prescribe a collaborative process of appreciative

inquiry, “when a group of people discovers past success and greatness, builds on them, and develops a shared vision.” Cavanagh and Hazen (36) describe how the rules of Ignatian discernment “can be applied by organizations” to improve the outcomes of group problem-solving processes. The emphasis here is on maximal stakeholder participation, fact-gathering, listening, openness and reflection in “an environment of freedom, prayer, and acknowledging the presence of God,” which all serves as complements to rational decision-making (Cavanagh and Hazen: 41). Finally, Benefiel suggests cooperative inquiry methods of group reflection, imagination, reframing and transformation can promote positive change. Both Rutte and Marx et al. suggest that these group conversations can transpire within a classroom setting so that students of business can become more comfortable with the language of spirituality and spiritual development and, in the process, more reflective.

The organization is positioned in the preceding vis-à-vis its members – its permissions are defined in individual terms. In other words, it remains up to individuals to fulfill particular roles in their capacities as members of work organizations. The subject position of the workplace is, however, not always articulated in such divisible terms. Olden (82) talks about the necessity of creating “a more humanistic holistic culture” for spiritual care to flourish in the health care industry, and therefore calls attention to, amongst other things, the redesign of jobs, the physical work environment, professional codes of conduct and the availability of resources (such as training), within a culture that supports change and innovation. Fry (115) also addresses the importance of creating a particular organizational culture as a product of a stakeholder analysis process that results in “vision and value congruence across all organizational levels.” “The

ultimate goal is for all employees to know, believe in, and be fully committed to the vision” (Fry: 119). Particular meanings can also be embedded into company mission statements. Since “commitment to goals that benefit humanity will lie at the foundation of organizations developing on a spiritual basis,” Lips-Wiersma and Nilakant (62) recommend that the core purpose of an organization be understood as the practical demonstration of compassion. To this end, Ouimet’s company mandates some form of community service to help secure alignment around desired values.

Beyond the purposeful shaping of organizational culture, guidelines are offered for the implementation of organizational policies and practices. “For many people in the workplace, you can’t even talk about spirituality, never mind doing anything about it. So, you have to make it open, and safe, and permissible, and comfortable to talk about” (Rutte). As if in response, Miller suggested that a workplace could adopt the perspective that “we’re going to create space, literal and metaphorical, for people to support what makes them tick. We’ll honor that, as long as it’s not disrupting the business, as long as it’s not disrespectful of other traditions.” From this perspective, people are permitted to speak in a language that is true to their spiritual traditions (Miller). Miller further mentions the role of prayer groups/affinity groups/networks as ways of opening up space for religious conversations at work, yet recommends (with reference to a case in point) how a spirituality at work ‘task force’ can help a company determine how spirituality should ideally become manifest. Finally, Ouimet notes the presence of “16 formal spiritual and human activities” present in his company and reads from their top-down “very rigid guidelines” for all levels of management that prioritizes service to human needs.

4.2.3.3 The supporting institutions. A third subject position established in the discourse includes the host of supporting institutions legitimated by it. This subject position lies outside the organization but can nevertheless be invited to enter to help individual members work through the processes of self-construction, to facilitate group processes of awareness and to effect change to organizational culture and policies. Since many of the text authors act in a consulting role themselves, they write themselves into the discourse as key to the development of spiritual work and workers. According to Bowman and Bowman, “we now travel the world working with boards, board members, Chairs, Presidents of organizations, and Chief Executives and we deal with awareness and consciousness.” Silver makes frequent mention of the workshops, seminars and publications available through his organization and reminds conference attendees that “my door is open.” Hamilton’s role as an executive coach is held up as a model of cooperative inquiry, a practice that Benefiel and Hamilton suggest to be “inherently spiritual.” Krahnke and Cooperrider talk about appreciative inquiry summits, and one can infer some form of facilitated process of promoting appreciative inquiry methods amongst organizational groups. Numerous mentions of clients and customers abound in Bouis, Esposito, Landon, Larsen, Sallick, Secretan and Zimmer. Such self-references are not limited to the consultants, as Fry (108) notes his own scholarly efforts and makes reference to three separate articles in his claim that, “to date, Fry and Fry and Slocum have developed the only theory of spiritual leadership that has been extensively tested and validated in a variety of settings.”

Several educational institutions find themselves written into this discourse as supporting institutions. The Maharishi University of Management in Iowa, in which

Heaton and Schmidt-Wilk both are employed, is founded on the teachings of Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, in particular his description of the state of transcendental consciousness and the practice of transcendental meditation. The central aim of research performed at the university is “to advance management theory and practice through the development of consciousness” (Heaton and Schmidt-Wilk). Miller is a professor and Executive Director of the Yale Center for Faith & Culture at Yale Divinity School in Connecticut, and beyond the frequent mentions of his association there, Yale is acknowledged to have hosted conferences on spirituality in the workplace and workplace chaplaincy in particular. Finally, Rutte’s entire talk, for the most part, has the singular aim of demonstrating that the Centre for Spirituality and the Workplace at Saint Mary’s University in Nova Scotia is “a whole new paradigm of an organization situated within a University,” a safe place for people to have a conversation about workplace spirituality. Evidence ranging from visiting scholars to “global press coverage” to the “global academic advisory board” are all offered to support Rutte’s claim that “there is a sense of momentum here of accomplishment of success. These people are doing stuff to move this out into the world and it’s evident.”

Various other organizations assume a subject position in support of workplace spirituality. Miller suggests that “you can go virtually to any major city today and just like you could find the twelve step group to go for addiction recovery help, you could probably find a Faith at Work group in just about every major country – city in this country right now. They have conferences like the one we’re at now.” Although not a ‘faith at work’ conference per se, the ICBC is of course acknowledged to play an instrumental role in the promotion of workplace spirituality by being a unique space for

particularly enlightened people to gather. Miller addresses the participants by noting “this is a very self-selected audience. You’re here because you’re part of this movement.”

Miller later adds “the fact that this conference has been an existence for nine years now is one manifestation of that movement.” Additional ways of addressing participants include the following: from Bowman and Bowman, “you guys are not mainstream because you choose to be here, business and consciousness;” from Landon, “you guys are very conscious already;” for Secretan, they are “kindred spirits” with whom each can safely share openly with one another; Esposito adds “you’re a wonderful community;” and Zimmer, in creating a certain sense of urgency, states “I know you wouldn’t be here if you didn’t recognize the time that we’re in.” The ICBC is therefore constructed as a catalyst for an individual change in consciousness amongst willing participants who may subsequently manifest this change in their workplaces. Finally, both Fry and Ouimet noted how the Academy of Management was on the leading edge of this workplace development. In Fry’s (108) words, “the Academy of Management created a new special interest group for its members. The Management, Spirituality, and Religion interest group was created in 2000 and is helping to legitimize the study of spirituality in the workplace while simultaneously paving the way for this emerging concept into the leadership arena.”

4.2.4 Consequences for the organization.

Although the workplace spirituality discourse in the texts that comprise my data is primarily targeting change at the individual or group level to recast work as spiritual work performed by spiritual workers, there is an organizational level outcome of improved performance that is often written into the discourse {code: economic

instrumentality}. Lund Dean et al. (190) note that one of the main paradigmatic assumptions operating at the organizational level in the workplace spirituality discourse is that it is “good for business (e.g., it leads to improvements in the bottom line ...).” Hence, Marx et al. (205) repeat that the challenge in bridging spirituality and work “is to connect the diverse spiritual paths of individual employees to a common set of beneficial outcomes for the organization.” Miller agrees: “If we think our way through the faith question the spirituality question, or whatever we call the question, that companies will bear fruit. It’ll bear great fruit.” For Fry (107-108), therefore, “any definition of workplace spirituality must demonstrate its utility by impacting performance, turnover, productivity, and other relevant criteria of effectiveness.” Secretan demonstrates the utility of his message in the following manner: “And the average results, I want to tell you, of the work we do with Fortune 500 companies and other organizations is that we cut staff turnover by 50% and we double profits. That’s the average result of the kind of consciousness that I’m going to talk to you about today.”

Within the causal chain leading to improved economic performance, spiritual workers and spiritual work become instrumental in the accomplishment of a range of specific outcomes. Bouius offers the most complete list in her promise to workshop attendees that, “if you support your people to awake and go forward in this conscious way, it’s going to come back to you in increased loyalty, passion, creativity, productivity, profitability, happiness, joy, fun and that’s what we want for companies for the future.” Specific links are made in the texts to improved levels of employee motivation and satisfaction (Fry; Olden), health and well-being (Fry; Heaton and Schmidt-Wilk; Miller; Ouimet), loyalty (Maio; Secretan), productivity (Fry; Heaton and Schmidt-Wilk;

Ouiment) and commitment to the organization (Fry), along with lower levels of employee turnover (Fry; Olden; Secretan). Moreover, the quality of managerial decision making through greater awareness (Bowman and Bowman) and discernment practices (Cavanagh and Hazen) improves the quality of an organization's strategy, leading to performance gains. Lund Deal et al. (1990) note how workplace spirituality is often written as "a powerful recruitment tool in a competitive job environment." Evidence can be found in Miller's claim that to win the 'war on talent' one needs to "attract the best and brightest people with policies that reach people where they're at their most personal levels." Conversely, the negative outcomes of economic decision making, employee layoffs and organizational downsizing in particular, are changed. Ouimet talks about how layoffs can be done in a more humane manner with greater concern shown for the affected persons, and Marx et al. cite research showing how spiritual work enhances employee resiliency and solidarity, which serve as a buffering effect against the consequences of downsizing within organizations.

For several authors, the construction of spiritual work serves to legitimize the economic objectives of organizations {codes: economic instrumentality; marketplace and competition}. Workplace spirituality is not so much an instrumental phenomenon leading to improved financial performance, but is simply a complement to the inherent economic agenda of a capitalist enterprise. In its complementary role, therefore, spirituality makes better the pursuit of capital, which links back to the construction of spiritual work as both meaningful and socially responsible. Miller reminds his audience that, "at the end of the day, a business is still a business. There are the goods and services to be offered" yet he later suggests that such an enterprise is embedded within the marketplace system in

which there are “redemptive, transformative possibilities where work might be a calling and a place to do good for the common good.” Ouimet discusses how spirituality can bridge “the two management systems, economic and human.” Although Marx et al. (205; 209) note how “common sense might view these perspectives as antithetical,” they describe a facilitated group exercise whose objective is to demonstrate how “an organization might embrace virtuous activity without sacrificing its bottom line.” Ouimet later adds that spirituality “gives a beautiful human and spiritual meaning to management. It’s not human exploitation. We’re not managing human capital. Beautiful, spiritual meaning to economics, productivity, and profits. The Lord, the Creator, wants us to make profits. It gives and we bring that home.” In suggesting that a commercial transaction, an act of needs fulfilment between supplier and customer, is an expression of the Divine, Silver picks up this theme of entitlement and poses the following question: “Who are you, as a human being, to reject what it is that the Divine gives you? Your payment, your money so you can be taken care of, so that the business can flourish and continue the work that you’re doing, so that your family can be cared for, so that you can enjoy yourself.” Silver then pitches his seminar on “the sacred moment of the sale” and his extended course on “opening the money flow.” Contrary to the preceding views, Maio admits to concealing the language of enlightened management based on human values and connectivity when in her consulting practice, as if any discussion of spirituality would diminish the credibility of her message. She says: “I create the business case for this, so that my CEO clients can sell it to their boards and we put numbers around it. We connect these higher values to higher productivity, higher revenues, and higher profitability. But, you and I, here in this room, know there’s a bigger reason.”

4.2.5 Outliers: voices of concern.

There are some outliers amongst the sampled authors who raise concerns about what typically gets constructed within the workplace spirituality discourse {code: concerns and critique}. Lund Dean et al.'s (192) concerns are centred on the ethical implications of workplace spirituality as they draw attention to "some of the major conflicts that it may engender between individuals and within organizations." For Lund Dean et al., the front lines of this conflict are filled with cases dealing with accommodating diversity of spiritual expression and the subsequent interactions between members of different faith communities and systems of belief. Lund Dean et al. (190) are further concerned with management who may be proselytizing or "advocating a particular religious or spiritual orientation as part of its ongoing operations, or in implicitly making it a condition of employment." Concerns such as these are clearly important but are marginalized in a discourse "that speaks only of the positive SRW outcomes" with any negative features limited simply to the barriers to successful implementation (Lund Dean et al.: 190).

Boje (165) offers a more damning indictment of the potential for 'spiritual abuse' in business organizations which privileges management's voice over other stakeholders and reinforces "a top-down, highly authoritarian, and hierarchical structure" in which the customer too becomes part of the ruling class. Boje (160) elaborates: "Spirituality (and religion) is too often used instrumentally as a way to motivate employees to higher levels of identification and commitment to so-called spiritual leaders and so-called spiritual business to boost performance, lower resistance (e.g., obedience), promote submissiveness, and manipulate servility (e.g., serving the customer and considering him

or her as sovereign king).” Boje (168) hence positions himself as “skeptical of the appropriation of spirituality and religion into strategy practices.” Lips-Wiersma and Nilakant (57) likewise note how critics of the workplace spirituality perspective such as themselves often argue that it, quite problematically, “aims at capturing the hearts and souls of individuals for financial gain.” The problem, then, is that spiritual work and workers can be constructed in ways that fail to challenge the “exclusive focus on shareholder value” (Lips-Wiersma and Nilakant: 57).

In offering his critique, Boje (160) recognizes that he may be incorrectly “dismissed by the mainstream as anti-spiritual, or as having no interest at all in developing viable spiritual practices in business.” Far from it. Boje articulates his version of a critical spirituality agenda based on, as his chapter title attests, critical theory approaches to spirituality in business. This ‘agenda’ brings us full circle back to the change desired by the authors contributing to this corpus of the workplace spirituality discourse. As I noted near the beginning of this chapter, the underlying theme throughout this discourse sample is one of organizational change, particularly amongst business organizations, to be more kind, balanced and sustainable in the execution of their business. To this end, workers are constructed as conscious, connected leaders within their organizations, and work is constructed as something that is motivating, meaningful and responsible (largely to the extent that organizational members are more conscious and connected). The bulk of the authors’ attention is on the acts of changing, including the direction of and developmental processes for changing behaviour and culture in organizations. In Secretan’s words, “all change in corporations is personal change... So, before we tell other people what it is that we want them to do, let’s practice doing it

ourselves.” The beneficiaries of all of these acts of changing are, for the most part, limited to the organization and its members, with some concessions to stakeholders insofar as we are commanded ‘to love thy neighbour as thyself’ (e.g., Feuerstein). Significantly lost in all of this, albeit not completely, is the change itself. The need for change is simply taken for granted, assumed to be understood, and the degree of change required is at best modest if articulated at all. Yet, “at issue is how is ‘love thy neighbor as thyself’ put into practice” (Boje: 183).

Boje (183) writes from a position of “incredulity to self-development individualism and abstract scholasticism.” In other words, Boje is establishing an agenda for workplace spirituality that is not merely an intellectual, reflective type of spirituality of the kind which more recently has been used to rationalize various aspects of the modern world in spiritual terms. Wal-Mart’s following servant leadership principles is Boje’s case in point for how spirituality can be reduced to customer service, and he would thus undoubtedly find much to object in Silver’s insistence that the Divine is present in such moments. Instead, workplace spirituality must contribute toward a wider “socioeconomic transformation” (Boje: 175) of power relations based on democratic principles of widening participation, engagement with real stakeholders, answerability and distributive justice. Lips-Wiersma and Nilakant (52) add that, if workplace spirituality were based on the principles of compassion, it would fundamentally disrupt the assumption central to our neoliberal economic system that “the primary task of a business organization is to enhance shareholder value.” Further, the “enthronement of competition and hierarchy” within this system has the dual effect of increasing individualism while at the same time diminishing the individual in favour of a ‘universal

ought' or 'categorical imperative', reinforced by 'the culture industry' in favour of the common good (Boje: 180). What is problematic, therefore, is how a complex and dynamic phenomenon, such as spirituality or transcendence, can become reified "into something where the important differences, in this case, in spiritual traditions and practices, get truncated to some fundamental coherence" (Boje: 179). As a result, "the individual becomes a free market cog[,...] a concept of moral compulsion to duty" (Boje: 180). For Boje, then, a truncated spirituality is regressive and abusive, and leads to a fundamentalism, in this context, of economic conservatism. It is against this backdrop that Boje (167) articulates his agenda for critical spirituality, being simultaneously "the study of how people at work engage the transcendental [and...] an inquiry into the dark side of managerialism and our late (post)modern global capitalism."

4.2.6 Revisiting the literature.

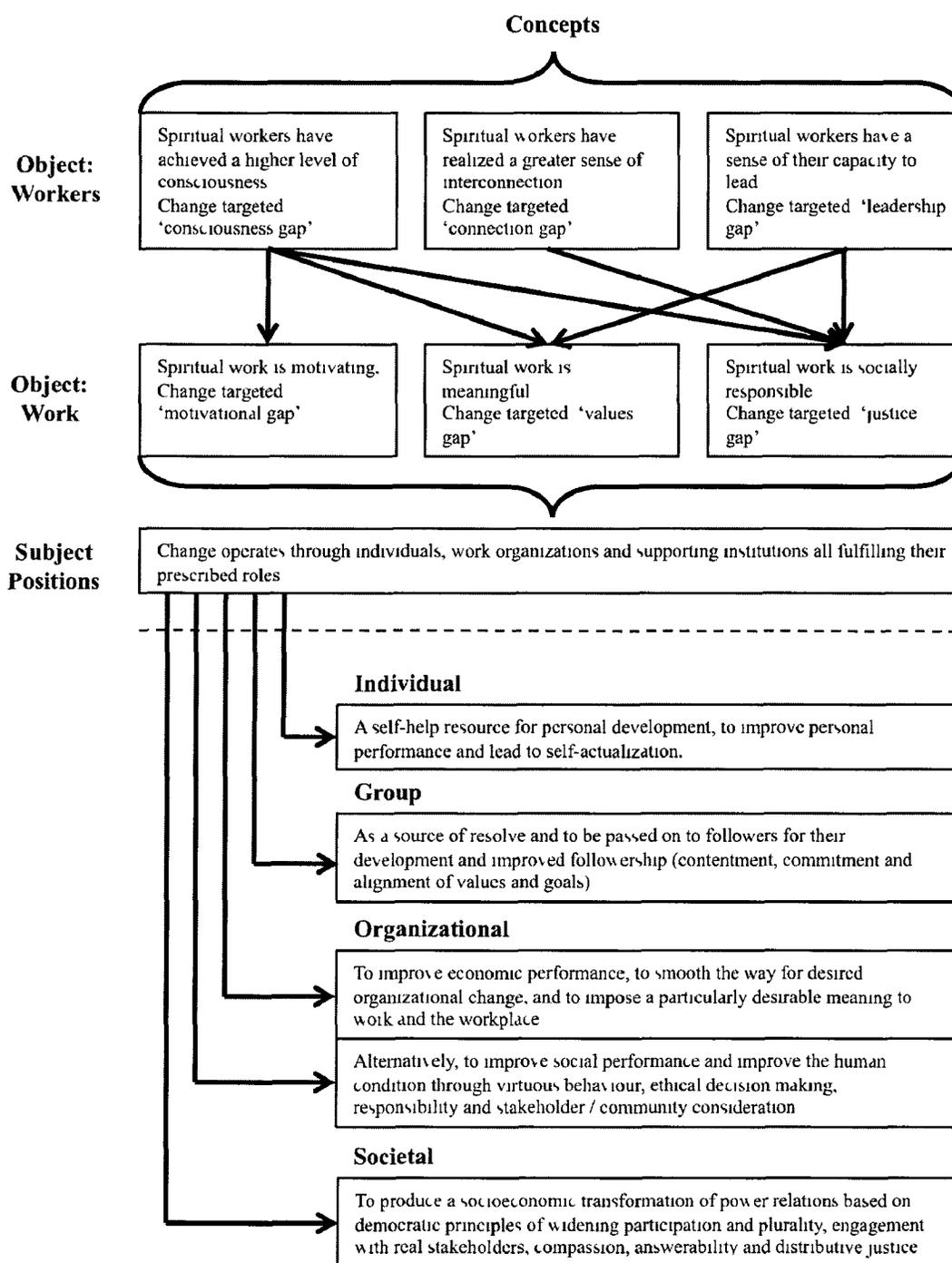
As a way of concluding this chapter, the aim of which was to identify the key structural elements of the workplace spirituality discourse through a thematic reading of my chosen corpus, I would like to bring Figure 1 back into this discussion. In Chapter 2, I offered a review of the workplace spirituality literature, from which I created a conceptual model (Figure 1) to capture the main ideas about what is workplace spirituality and why we should care about it. A much closer reading of the texts chosen to represent my corpus subsequently revealed that the question 'What are we talking about?' appears to centre on two objects, workers and work, and the authors write about them in particular ways via the attachment of particular concepts to them. Concepts that emerged from my emic approach can be integrated back into the original conceptual model to

produce a richer understanding of the structure of the workplace spirituality discourse, with its embedded meanings and predominant themes.

From my review of the existent literature, I learned that workplace spirituality is generally concerned with the development of particular human qualities and virtues that generate desirable feelings and experiences. We can now see that this generative process relies largely upon the individual worker developing the necessary level of consciousness about their own qualities, relationships with the physical and metaphysical world, and capacity for change. Such personal change, when manifest in the workplace, affords new and socially desirable meanings to work. A salient message about why we should care about workplace spirituality is surprisingly not well articulated in these texts. The logic for workplace spirituality rests upon its absence – workers and work simply need to become more of that which they are not, and in doing so close the ‘gaps’ identified within the discourse. Nevertheless, by constructing work as motivating, meaningful and responsible, clearly more attention is paid to individual and group level outcomes within the discourse sample than was evident in my more general review of the literature. Organizational level outcomes remain a vivid feature in the discourse, however, and so the emic and etic approaches do converge around the ideas of improving both economic and social performance. A structural feature of my corpus is the introduction of a societal level perspective, particularly from the critical vantage point of the role of work organizations in society. This supports Biberman and Tischler’s inclusion of four levels of analysis contained within the research classification system presented in the introductory chapter of their book. Additional elements of the discourse structure highlighted in my reading of this corpus are the multiple subject positions, each of which

have a role to play in facilitating the construction of workers and work in the ways intended by the authors. Indeed, for change to occur, action must be taken by the subjects, and so their inclusion in this thematic presentation is necessary. A summary of these new insights is reflected in Figure 4, which is a more detailed version of Figure 1 that includes the objects, concepts and subject positions and hence offers more insights into the structure of the workplace spirituality discourse.

Figure 4: A Thematic Depiction of the Workplace Spirituality Discourse



5.0 A Textscape of the Workplace Spirituality Discourse

My aim in writing this chapter is to explore from a critical perspective some of the possible origins of the plural meanings assigned to work and workers within the workplace spirituality discourse, as per the themes explored in the previous chapter. The question I am addressing is: How did this discourse come to be structured as such? Theory happens in a context of place and time, and this contingency into which the workplace spirituality discourse is introduced creates the conditions of possibility for just such a theory to emerge. Whereas the prior chapter contained a structural, thematic analysis of objects, concepts and subject positions, this chapter continues with the methods of critical discourse analysis to show how the workplace spirituality discourse can be found at the intersection of existent texts and discourses, hence being a product of the empirical world at the same time as it enters into it. I therefore move beyond an analysis of what the texts say into the second and third levels of discourse analysis in which attention to both discursive practices and the broader social context must be paid.

The bulk of this chapter consists of my attempt to identify some of the pre-existing texts drawn upon to give a particular meaning to workplace spirituality, culminating in a 'textscape' of the workplace spirituality discourse, which for Keenoy and Oswick (2004) is the methodological centrepiece of discourse analysis. I am, therefore, focusing on the particular discursive practices of text production to highlight some of the possible roots of this discourse. The point I shall make is that, as a result of both intertextuality and interdiscursivity, the plural concepts of spiritual workers and spiritual work in part obtain their meaning by the texts to which they directly or indirectly refer. Recall that intertextuality is the discursive practice in the production of texts in

which prior reserves of meanings are drawn upon. I will, in particular, show how certain ideas about spirituality seem to have been employed, and hence texts drawn upon, within this discourse in order for spiritual work and spiritual workers to be constructed as they are in my data. Furthermore, I will illustrate how the workplace spirituality discourse is interconnected with other discourses already present and popularized within organization studies. In some cases, workplace spirituality offers a modest extension to an earlier discourse, and in other cases they are virtually indistinguishable. Finally, I will comment on the macro context into which this discourse emerges to show how the discourse of workplace spirituality contributes to, and yet is shaped by, a social reality in which particular beliefs – indeed an overall ideology – prevail. Each of the above interpretive contributions coalesce into a discursive textscape whereby the historicity of the workplace spirituality discourse becomes apparent, yet in a manner that is layered, interwoven and nonlinear. The cumulative effect of this analysis forms a theory of discourse structure for workplace spirituality; at this point, my contribution toward understanding better what the discourse constructs and how the discourse came to be structured as such will be clear. I shall conclude this chapter by commenting on the consumption processes, and in doing so acknowledge how my own role as interpreter warrants some reflexivity. This chapter segues into the next, Chapter 6, in which I continue with the methods of critical discourse analysis to further problematize the production and consumption processes. In doing so, I will note how power, interests, and strategy – particularly as they relate to legitimacy – appear to have also helped give shape to the workplace spirituality discourse. Suggestions for further research stem from these observations.

5.1 Intertextuality: Drawing Upon Meanings of Religion and Spirituality

In Chapter 2, I noted that within the broad body of workplace spirituality literature there exists an often explicit engagement with the term spirituality in an attempt to carve out a definitional space. In Chapter 4, I noted that the texts I analyzed contained decidedly spiritual references in the construction of workers as conscious, connected leaders who in turn could make sense of work as motivating, meaningful and socially responsible. How this occurs is that the authors are drawing upon a discursive context, making textual links between spirituality (as a broad concept) and workplace spirituality. In Chapter 4, we specifically learned that the spiritual worker possesses a full awareness of one's essential self and the interconnected nature of humanity, including the divine qualities of the self and all others, which can become a source of energy to control one's self perception, remove barriers to personal greatness and achieve a state of transcendence. There is clearly a complex use of spiritual references, and so tracing the linkages most likely needs to be a central element in this analysis of discourse. I shall, first, revisit my corpus to highlight the varied usage of the language of spiritual belief {code: language of belief; spiritual texts}.

5.1.1 Spirituality and religion in the authors' words.

Marx et al. (213) dichotomize spirituality and religion, professing to help organizational members navigate “the treacherous borders between person and organization, public and private values, religious and spiritual language, and more.” Within the classroom setting, they “make it clear that we are not talking about religion and explain that it is important to understand the differences in the terms used” (Marx et al.: 210). Biberman and Tischler also keep separate the concepts of religion and

spirituality, preferring the latter which they feel does not imply particular practices, dogma or faith claims. Spirituality is understood as an individual experience of transcendence, interconnection, universality and a higher reality (Biberman and Tischler). Likewise, Olden feels that it is helpful to keep spirituality distinguished from religion in health care settings. As a nondenominational construct, Olden suggests that spirituality is more universal, capable of overcoming differences and available to everyone. For Silver, spirituality does not refer to a separate sacred realm, but can apply to the business world of marketing, strategy and spreadsheets. Silver's premise is that "the divine moves in the material world" and "each of these things – clients, employees, your vendors, stakeholders, food, computers, money – they are all faces of God."

Miller spends much energy engaged in a discussion of terminology, particularly the concepts of faith, religion and spirituality, making a case for faith which "has the benefit of, perhaps, being the least offensive, the least problematic, but allows space for the others." He assumes that religion carries the baggage of being 'narrow-minded', 'bigoted' and 'off-putting', and so "talking about religion at work is pretty problematic." Miller suggests instead "the definition of faith-friendly is allowing as much space as possible for a variety of world views as regarding what life is and how one understands that." Miller nevertheless ran into some resistance from his audience, as in the case of one participant who linked faith and having a 'world view' to dogma, and hence religion, perhaps making Miller's case that connotations of religion are indeed problematic within the workplace. Following Miller's line of thinking, however, "spirituality can't exist without some sort of anchor." In other words, some sort of world-view is always present, and we need a term that refers to more than simply an internal and individual experience.

Despite Miller's efforts, spirituality was predominantly constructed as an internal concept, a self-spirituality {codes: language of belief; self-spirituality}. Krahnke and Cooperrider (31) suggest that solutions to problems cannot be found outside of ourselves; instead, "positive change emerges from people's positive emotions, stories, and cooperative capacities ... [and by] finding and unleashing our inner wisdom." Fry's (112) starting point is that "employees have spiritual needs (i.e., an inner life)... Observing, witnessing, and cultivating this inner voice as it relates to tapping into or drawing upon a higher power is often the purpose of an inner life or spiritual practice." Workplace spirituality thus depends upon the existence of a human spirit, or "the intangible, life-affirming force in the self and in all human beings" (Fry: 106). Bowman and Bowman insist on "not giving the power away to the universe and expecting the universe to take care of us" and hence the proper role for religious leaders are not as subjects of worship, but as mentors to be emulated and embodied here on earth. By being aware of "the greatness of who we truly are, the universe will support us in everything we do" (Bowman and Bowman). Steingard references an article he co-authored with Schmidt-Wilk and Heaton (authors featured in the Biberman and Tischler text) to define 'pure spirituality' as an 'inner experience' bound only by one's own conscious awareness (hence the authors would argue that it is unbounded). As the title of Steingard's chapter suggests, 'success in business and life' results when one controls one's mind. In other words, our minds are "the primary causal driver" (Steingard: 95). At the same time, however, our minds are the product of, or "connected to an infinite, all-permeating realm of universal energy, consciousness, source, or spirit" (Steingard: 94) and through upward causation, this 'source' manifests itself in the mind. Steingard's (94) ontological

assumption rests upon a metaphysical reality whereby metaphysical dynamics shape cause and effect beyond “the physical universe’s ‘laws of nature.’” Similarly, Heaton and Schmidt-Wilk (131) advance the idea of the “union of the mind with the divine intelligence,” hence representing a ‘cosmic’ level of consciousness.

Not all authors are wary of invoking decidedly religious terms, however, in their conceptualization of spirituality, and when they do it tends to be in monotheistic terms {codes: language of belief; belief in God}. The most explicit reference to the presence of God comes from Cavanagh and Hazen in their chapter on Ignatian discernment. Cavanagh and Hazen (38) note how Ignatius himself recommended to all believers “that they spend time in God’s loving presence.” Hence, the process of discernment he prescribed “is a process that assists those using it to firmly accept what is true to God and their deepest longings and to firmly reject what is contrary to both” (Cavanagh and Hazen: 36). Furthermore, “Ignatius suggests that we seek confirmation of our decision by examining its results and how we feel about the decision as we pray in God’s presence” (Cavanagh and Hazen: 39). One such ‘test’ is “to consider yourself before God at the last judgment. What decision would you have liked to have made? Then make that choice now” (Cavanagh and Hazen: 41). Oiumet speaks openly of the influence Christianity has upon his decision making, encouraging all participants to likewise identify the source of their strength and guiding principles to develop “a heart of flesh and not a heart of stone.” It’s the willingness of people to seek out some form of divine guidance that Oiumet emphasizes. “It’s a God of love for some, for some others it’s a transcendence of their choice, some others, spirituality of their choice; all these at the same place” (Oiumet). It is undeniable, for Miller, that “for a lot of people, they do want to bring their religious

identity with them to work ... and it's going to shape and form who they are and how they make decisions." What is important is simply that work "be a way of somehow honoring God, however we understand God" (Miller).

The image of God as creator (versus the self in control of one's own construction) appears in several of the texts. Feuerstein quotes from the Hebrew Bible book of Genesis in stating that "God created man in his own image."⁵ The implication of this passage, for Feuerstein, is that "having been created in the image of God, who transcends nature, ... man is raised out of nature and endowed with a supernatural dignity." Silver adds: "As human beings connect to God, we fill with the divine qualities. We are the lamp. We are the light bulb. We're not the light. We can't own it. We can't create it. I challenge anyone of you to create love, to create wisdom."

In a more conciliatory tone, Biberman and Tischler (3) suggest that modern religions may "provide a context within which members have their spiritual experiences. Experiencing Jesus, Mohammad, Krishna, God, the Transcendent, or the Tao appear to be quite different, but each is a deeper, broader experience of or toward a Transcendent universality or higher reality." Silver also notes the importance of following spiritual teachings as they can help remind us of this sense of oneness, that divine exists in everything. "People who believe in oneness – the Jews, the Christians and all the people who believe in oneness – don't bother them. Let them do their practices and strive among each other in acts of good. And when you go to the next world, their Lord will explain to

⁵ Throughout this dissertation, I have chosen to reprint quotes as they were originally written. In doing so I acknowledge that, in some cases, I am reproducing gender exclusive terms such as 'man' and 'his' instead of more generic references to humankind. The latter meaning should be inferred.

them the points on which they differed. This is what the Koran says” (Silver). Silver argues that spirituality in business requires “understanding certain divine principles, spiritual laws if you will, spiritual teachings that support specific business practices and don’t support other business practices.” There is, therefore, external truth or knowledge that is available for anyone with a sufficient ‘spiritual thirst.’ “The Sufis [of which Silver is one] say that the aim is not to drink until your thirst is quenched. The aim is to develop the perfect thirst so that you never stop drinking. There is no need to disconnect yourself from the divine in any moment. There is no need to be independent.”

Finally, there is a complex use of the concept of transcendence within the texts that comprise my data {codes: language of belief; query: transcend*}. Transcendence represents a state of being fully conscious (Biberman and Tischler) or is a pathway to achieving a higher level of consciousness (Heaton and Schmidt-Wilk). Lips-Wiersma and Nilakant interpret transcendence as the capacity to overcome self-interest and ego, which invokes holistic images of community and interconnection also shared by Biberman and Tischler. Fry (108), on the other hand, speaks of transcendence as “having a calling through one’s work or being called (vocationally).” For Ouimet, “transcendence can mean the Creator, the Higher Power, God, love, God the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, Allah, Jehovah, Buddha, Hinduism, and any other opening to transcendence” and hence is an external entity with whom one needs to get ‘plugged in’. Likewise, for Miller, a transcendent force is the God he believes in, and for Boje (167), people “engage the transcendental.”

5.1.2 Intertextual linkage I: the language of transcendence and the sociology of religion.

To appreciate how transcendence and transcendent states of consciousness have become particular points of emphasis for the authors of these texts, we can turn to one strain of sociological knowledge about the role of religion in society. According to Berger (1999: 13), the emphasis on transcendence noted above is natural, for “human existence bereft of transcendence is an impoverished and finally untenable condition.” According to this line of thinking, “religion is rooted in a basic anthropological fact: the transcendence of biological nature by human organisms” (Luckmann, 1967: 69). Humans are born with the capacity for self-awareness, reason, and imagination; in short, we can transcend the natural world into which we are born and realize our own human limitations (Wulff, 1997). A state of homelessness results, and hence so too does the human need for a framework or orientation to our lives. According to Berger (1999: 13), then, “the religious impulse, the quest for meaning that transcends the restricted space of empirical existence in this world, has been a perennial feature of humanity.” “This striving to find a meaning in one’s life is the primary motivational force in man” (Frankl, 1962: 99). Religion is therefore an existential exercise of finding and affirming purpose and meaning in life (Wulff, 1997). For Berger (as interpreted by Dorrien, 2001: 33), humans seek liberation “from the tyranny of the present. . . To begin with religious experience is not to focus on the mystical experiences of a saint-figure, but rather to explicate the religious implications of ordinary human experiences of loving, caring, ordering, playing, laughing, encountering evil, and finding hope.”

Examples of contributions toward understanding transcendence from the field of psychology suggest that certain states of consciousness are more valuable for perceiving transcendent reality and meaning (Ellwood, 1983). For Jung, the source of religious experience lies in archetypes (e.g., the self) that are already buried within our collective unconscious and waiting to be brought forward (Wulff, 1997). “The term ‘religion’ designates the attitude peculiar to a consciousness which has been changed by experience of the numinosum [feelings that accompany the sacred]” (Jung, 1958: 8). To have a religious outlook, therefore, is to experience wholeness and completion and to understand the totality of life, all of which from a Jungian perspective is dependent upon the integration of consciousness (Wulff, 1997). Taken further, Wilbur contributed to developing the idea of a multilevel spectrum of consciousness whereby ascension to the ‘integral’ level is marked by an all-embracing vision of reality that transcends humanistic matters to “matters of cosmic meaning or ultimate concern” (Wulff, 1997: 616). Analysis of my corpus highlights this very construction, whereby a spiritual worker is first and foremost a conscious individual who has successfully reached (or is reaching toward) his or her highest level.

What Berger and Luckmann have done in their particular contributions is to connect this search for meaning – the primary motive for humans – to transcendence, to the construction of a supernatural universe that makes meaning-seeking possible. The psychological basis of religion takes a sociological form through the social construction of meaning systems, which are the “linguistic products of negotiation among persons living at a particular time and place” (Wulff, 1997: 9). This social constructionist understanding of religion is consistent with Berger and Luckmann’s (1966) more general

insights into socially constructed reality, which is how I was originally exposed to their thesis regarding religion. It follows that spiritual practices may be passed from mentor to pupil, studied in classes and from texts, and discussed in groups of people engaged in the practice, all of which demonstrate the social character of religious practices and provide evidence of the institutional framework that is needed to facilitate spiritual experience (Wuthnow, 1998). “The contents of experience have become sanctified and are usually congealed in a rigid, often elaborate, structure of ideas. The practice and repetition of the original experience have become a ritual and an unchangeable institution” (Jung, 1958: 9). The religious group that necessarily emerges thus legitimates the religious experiences of individuals by incorporating the experiences into the social construction of the culture in which they live (Ellwood, 1983). The notion of a purely intrapersonal spirituality is not possible, therefore, since we live interpersonal lives and we communicate the transcendent meaning of symbols (Ellwood, 1983). We are never without social ties, and we do not make up ideas about spirituality from scratch (Wuthnow, 1998).

The idea of maintaining a social order was a strong theme throughout Berger’s analysis, and in this respect he drew heavily upon the work of Durkheim. Durkheim was preoccupied with the need for social order in the modern world, and religion served this end by uniting people in a moral community with a shared set of beliefs and practices centred on the sacred (Davie, 2007). “All religions contain an image of the normative nature of society [...] implied in the fundamental myths and symbols of the religion itself” (Ellwood, 1983: 155). Since Berger’s (1967) notion of reality is dependent upon the world view achieving a taken-for-granted status to ensure order and avoid chaos, he accepted Durkheim’s functionalist position vis-à-vis the function of religion in society.

Baum (2006: 102) saw in Berger's sociology an "extraordinary stress on legitimation and symbolic world-maintenance." Berger (2001: 91) even admitted to a "greater appreciation of the importance of social order" as his thinking progressed. This analytical approach is consistent with the functionalist trajectory of American sociology in the post-war era, exemplified by Talcott Parsons (Davie, 2007). Within the broader rubric of functionalist sociology, social systems theory and objectivism are "of overwhelming significance as far as contemporary theories of organization are concerned" (Burrell and Morgan, 1979: 121). Parsons, for example, understood society as an objectively experienced system of interrelated parts and sought to understand the conditions under which a state of "equilibrium and/or continuing existence of the system is to be maintained" (Parsons, cited in Burrell and Morgan, 1979: 54). The idea that social order should be underpinned by religious values – a culture of religion – was rather attractive and convincing in a context whereby order and consensus were primarily desirable (Davie, 2007). It is perhaps this same yearn for order, expressed via embracing organizational objectives, that spurs the functionalist bias in the more mainstream workplace spirituality literature.

The references drawn upon in this section lead to the particular (albeit far from exclusive) view of religion as a human construction that offers a transcendent meaning to this world and serves as a basis for social order. It achieves its status as a social fact "either as ritual (institutionalized religious conduct) or doctrine (institutionalized religious ideas)" (Luckmann, 1967: 22). These serve as the plausibility structures that allow religion to be a legitimate sensemaking framework. Such insights seem to have informed the concept of transcendence found within my corpus, illustrating how the texts

I analyzed may possess intertextual links to these other disciplines. When speaking about transcendence in terms of overcoming self-interest and ego (Lips-Wiersma and Nilikant), getting ‘plugged-in’ (Ouimet) and conscious of a universal source or energy (Steingard), the authors seem to be promoting a more stable view of social reality, à la Berger, whereby our consciousness is directed away from the reality that social order is an inherently unstable human construction (Baum, 2006). “If we all did what we really liked, Berger holds, we would find ourselves very quickly in social chaos” (Baum, 2006: 103). From this view, religion becomes functional because it contains the symbols necessary to cast “a spell of sacredness on the structures of society and makes us forget that they are merely manmade conventions. Religion produces the sacred compulsion that is necessary to keep this mad world going” (Baum, 2006: 103).

5.1.3 Intertextual linkage II: the language of secularization.

Although the concept of transcendence and the need for a transcendent reality and meaning to life is certainly present within the texts that comprise my data, the authors do not articulate it in a manner so organized, social and institutionalized as described above. Indeed, as noted already, some go to great length to claim that they are not talking about religion at all, but rather about spirituality. What can we make of this distinction? It seems, perhaps, that the authors may have been influenced by various arms of the secularization thesis, which posits that the institution of religion is increasingly less plausible to successive generations socialized into society.

For starters, claimed Davie (2007), the discipline of sociology in the modern era has itself left behind the supernatural in its evolution toward science from the Enlightenment onward. “Scientific and technical rationality compels general recognition

of its procedures of experimentation and verification in establishing fundamental truths” (Hervieu-Leger, 2001: 113). Against this backdrop, the waning of religion might be seen as inevitable. Instead, according to Baum’s (2006: 103) reading of Berger, “world-maintaining symbols [may] be supplied by non-religious legitimating systems, possibly even by scientific theories.” Since mystery, divine authority, enchantment, love and transcendence are constructs not amenable to rational calculation, they no longer seemed credible (Swatos and Christiano, 1999). Luckmann (1967: 22) recognized how such trends in modernity, including the rise in positivism, demand for usable research, pragmatism and the exclusion of matters of faith from research have led to the inevitable conclusion that, “in the traditional positivistic view religion is the institutional conglomerate of certain irrational beliefs.” Some sociologists have, as a result, narrowed their focus to those institutional aspects of religion that can be seen and measured, such as church attendance. Newspaper headlines report the results, as in USA Today’s recent story titled “Most religious groups in the USA have lost ground, survey finds” (Grossman, 2009). Canadian statistics reported by Bibby (1993; 2002) clearly demonstrate a decline in church service attendance and affiliation with specific religious groups in the latter half of the twentieth century. Norris and Inglehart (2004) likewise suggested a link between modernity and secularization, with ‘security’ as the mediating variable. The experience of growing up in more secure conditions, characterized by economic growth, high standards of living, urbanization, and education, lessens the importance of religious values, leading to the conclusion that “the publics of virtually all advanced industrial societies have been moving toward more secular orientations” (Norris and Inglehart, 2004: 25). Such has been the root of my own hesitation to fully

confess to my research topic when asked the simple question: “So, Brad, what are you doing your dissertation on?” My feeble answer ‘management’ or sometimes less accurately ‘social responsibility’ is often offered in anticipation of the expressions that are returned to me upon my truthful answer ‘workplace spirituality.’ Serious academic inquiry into this topic seems dated and out of place within the positivistic paradigm in which objectivity and secularization prevail. I was even counseled by a senior colleague to reframe my dissertation as an investigation into the meaning of work, dropping reference to spirituality altogether. Significantly more interest is raised when the functionalist ends of organizational instrumentality are highlighted – witness the bias noted in the workplace spirituality literature.

Modernity furthermore secularizes by individualizing and autonomizing human beings, which erodes the communal basis of religious belief (Bruce, 1998). This happens within an individualizing social and institutional context in which consumer capitalism, empiricism and the immediate flow of communications and information are the realities that form one’s life as one matures through adulthood (Smith and Denton, 2005). Moreover, modernity has ushered in a period of pluralism marked by the mobility of people and ideas, and hence alternatives exist from which individuals can choose to draw upon for meaning and sensemaking (Davie, 2007; Heelas and Woodhead, 2001). “Individuals lay claim to the power of autonomous decision-making in every register where previously a norm issued from above had theoretically undivided sway” (Hervieu-Leger, 2001: 113). In the end, we are left with “the erosion of the social bond resulting from the individualist atomization of meaning-systems” (Hervieu-Leger, 2001: 114). This idea was key to Berger, Berger and Kellner’s (1973) notion of homelessness, the erosion

of institutions whose function had been to provide meaning and stability for the individual, resulting in “an increasing number of individuals who look upon the world and their own lives without the benefit of religious interpretations” (Berger, 1967: 107-108). The narrator, Scout, in Coupland’s (1994: 273) *Life After God*, a fictionalized account of communal erosion and homelessness, lamented: “I think there was a trade-off somewhere along the line. I think the price we paid for our golden life was an inability to fully believe in love.” The character Stacey added: “We were trained to believe our world wasn’t magic – simply because it was ours” (Coupland, 1994: 281). The premise of modernity is that ours is a charmed life, a life lived in paradise, a life of earthly salvation, all of which renders “any discussion of transcendental ideas pointless” (Coupland, 1994: 273).

The final thrust of secularization comes in the form of functional separation of church and state into separate spheres of influence in society (Davie, 2007). “Secularization as differentiation constitutes the essential core of the secularization thesis” (Davie, 2007: 51). Heelas (1998) expanded upon this primary distinction of church and state to consider additional forms of differentiation that are all present within modernity, including science versus religion, individual versus collective, public versus private, work versus home, the division of labour, and so on. In a differentiated and automated society, not only do social functions (economics, politics, etc.) become compartmentalized into functional spheres, but the social subsystems – the organizations that achieve the various functions – become decoupled from the values, norms and discourse operating at the macro-level within each functional domain (Dobbelaere, 1999). Religion hence becomes marginalized in a separate functional domain, and no longer has

influence over the organizations, such as education and health care, that used to derive from religion legitimacy for their authority and practices (Dobbelaere, 1999). At the micro or individual level, secularization is also advanced by the removal of religion and transcendence out of the spheres in which we live our daily lives and are subject to the temporal rhythms of bureaucracies, including work schedules, appointments, deadlines and fiscal years (Fenn, 2001). It is this separation, between work and home for example, that fragments people's identities and erodes any possible singular framework with which one can make sense of the world (Bruce, 1998).

5.1.4 Intertextual linkage III: the language of the self and the emergence of new sacred forms.

The secularization thesis may help account for some of the aversion to discussions of religion and the public adherence to a particular set of beliefs and practices that was noted in the texts I analyzed. Nevertheless, secularization does not seem to adequately describe the position taken by the authors when they employed decidedly spiritual terms in their construction of spiritual work and spiritual workers, including transcendence, a unity or cosmic level of consciousness, and a higher power or source of energy. In doing so, the authors are perhaps exposing some of the myths about secularization and are being witness to the emergence of new sacred forms in society; moreover, they may be helping to construct them. As I highlight below, the very concepts of modernity and pluralism that once promoted the idea of secularization may point in a different direction. "The assumption that we live in a secularized world is false. The world today...is as furiously religious as it ever was, and in some places more so than ever. This means that

a whole body of literature by historians and social scientists loosely labelled

‘secularization theory’ is essentially mistaken” (Berger, 1999: 2).

The argument against secularization is as follows: If the individualizing and autonomizing effects of modern society deprive human beings of needed social and psychological support (Hervieu-Leger, 2001), it is natural that the untenableness of such a situation should lead to the proliferation of secondary institutions which “have come to play an important role in ameliorating the homeless thrust of modernity” (Heelas and Woodhead, 2001: 54). In other words, “if spirituality once provided people with a sacred home, they do not simply abandon the quest for such a home but rethink what a home may mean now that they feel spiritually homeless” (Wuthnow, 1998: 8). Indeed, “in most other areas of life, we don’t predict the demise of essential needs just because the social organizations are having delivery problems” (Bibby, 2002: 58). Questioned Coupland’s (1994: 273-274) character Scout: “But then I must remind myself we are living creatures – we have religious impulses – we must – and yet into what cracks do these impulses flow in a world without religion?” Drawing on Simmel, Davie (2007) noted that it is not the underlying spiritual aspirations of individuals that has changed in the modern era. Instead, what has changed is the structuration of such a state of mind into an institutional form (Davie, 2007). In other words, neither our need for a sacred canopy has changed nor has our capacity to socially construct it. Perhaps it is paradoxical that “a modernity disenchanted and problematized” (Willaime, 2004: 375) is making room for religion to re-emerge, for out of the ashes of a fragmented religious narrative has emerged varied forms of, and space for, the sacred in our lives (Davie, 2007). Modernist approaches and notions of certainty have proved inadequate for some of human beings’ more searching

questions, particularly surrounding the beginning and end of life (Davie, 2007).

Paraphrasing Frankl, Bibby (2002: 95) noted that answers to these 'ultimate questions' "continue to burn under Canadian's fingernails, in the process providing a possible indicator of a populace that is restless for the gods." Add to these moments of personal crisis the existing forms of social crisis, from war to faltering economies to degrading natural environments, and the limits of scientific and technical rationality become more apparent. Religions remain necessary because they "address fundamental existential questions that have not been – and cannot be – adequately addressed by rational and scientific logic" (Ashforth and Vaidyanath, 2002: 362). The more we call into question the absolutism of modernity and its forms of knowledge, the more we open the door to spiritual experiences and rediscover meaning in the symbolic materials latent in our religious memory as a source for people to make sense of their lives (Willaime, 2004). Perhaps, therefore, religion does not resist modernity but prevents it from its own dissolution (Willaime, 2004).

The plurality of modern society leads to the essential argument against secularization, namely, that "modern people are not necessarily less religious than their forebearers, but differently so" (Davie, 2007: 31). It is perhaps a result of the mobility of people and ideas within modern times that religious belief systems, from which individuals can choose to draw upon for meaning and sensemaking, may be stimulated rather than eroded. Surely there has been a collapse in the taken-for-grantedness of the sacred canopy, the plausibility of the religious frame held in place by the historic churches. Emerging from this collapse, however, is renewed freedom for individuals to opt in to many different forms of religion, taking full advantage of the individualism and

plurality of modern life (Davie, 2007). It is simply the case that “historical religions are less likely to carry the level of isomorphism between individual experience and larger cultural context that has been there in the past” (Swatos and Christiano, 1999: 224). Duke and Johnson (1989) suggested that a cyclical and frequent process of religious transformation has been the historic reality, not secularization, for any decline of one dominant religious tradition has typically been matched by the strengthening of an alternative. Pluralism hence breathes life into new religious organizational forms, the availability of which is a necessary precondition for continued religious participation (Davie, 2007; Heelas and Woodhead, 2001). “New forms supplement, redefine, or replace former ones, although not without some resistance (fundamentalism) or notable levels of nonbelief in some countries” (Lambert, 1999: 324). Wuthnow’s (1998: 4) thesis centred on the change in form from a dwelling to a seeking spirituality where “the sacred is fluid, portable, and spirituality must be pursued with a sense of God’s people having been dispersed.” In the newer pattern of seeking spirituality, people are less inclined to see themselves as members of institutions expected to support it and the roles and rules it prescribes, but rather they are drawn to specific activities from which they pick and choose to support (Wuthnow, 1998). “Religion, like so many other things, has entered the world of options, lifestyles and preferences” (Davie, 2007: 56). In activities ranging from contemplative practices to worldly occupations, “individuals search for sacred moments that reinforce their conviction that the divine exists” (Wuthnow, 1998: 4). This allows for a bricolage of unorthodox religious customs “forged anew by means of the symbolic materials available in national and religious memories” (Willaime, 2004: 384). As a result of this negotiation and active social constructionism, people may belong to

multiple 'congregations' and have looser institutional connections (Wuthnow, 1998). Therefore, a significant explanation for why the empirical evidence is at odds with the secularization thesis is that, when looking for religion from a functionalist and structural perspective, much of the plurality of spiritual expression and importance of religious symbolism has been overlooked. It is perhaps precisely because modernity promotes individualism, choice, and freedom from institutional constraints that the tendency of individuals to be spirituality seeking becomes translated into "the continuing vitality of religion in [North] American civic life" (Davie, 2007: 153).

The preceding paragraphs presented the argument that modernity (that is, the modern emphasis on empiricism and rationality) does not naturally promote secularization but simply shifts the onus of responsibility for spiritual fulfillment and experiencing the sacred onto the seeking individual. Indeed, there is frequent reference to an inner or self-spirituality within the workplace spirituality texts I analyzed. As I have noted already, the concept of 'spiritual' has predominantly been understood as an individual experience, as having an inner life and inner wisdom, as a manifestation of the conscious human mind, and as qualities of the human spirit.

Such textual references offer evidence of a shift toward more humanistic understandings of religion which seek to accommodate both the sacrality of the 'self' and the cultural 'turn to life' with a concern for "relational, humanitarian, eco- and cosmic life" (Heelas and Woodhead, 2001: 68). A humanistic religion emphasizes the individual experience, the uniqueness of the individual, the quest for spiritual needs and values, the urge toward perfection and human potential, and the search for religious answers; in other words, a humanistic religion facilitates self-realization (Wulff, 1997). It is from this

perspective that Harpur (2005: 177) made a case “for the indwelling presence of the divine (Incarnation) in the life and soul of every human being.” Furthermore, God is experienced through being. As Jung (cited in Wulff, 1997: 470-471) observed, “no one can know what the ultimate things are. We must therefore take them as we experience them. And if such experience helps to make life healthier, more beautiful, more complete and more satisfactory to yourself and to those you love, you may safely say: ‘This was the Grace of God.’” Faith, then, “is vouched for by inner experience of the divine qualities in oneself; it is a continuous, active process of self-creation” (Fromm, cited in Wulff, 1997: 598). Far from being passive bystanders, we each possess the existential freedom necessary to assume personal responsibility for our own evolution (Harpur, 2005). Such an existential outlook on religious faith was supported by Merton (1955: 132) who claimed that “we must remember the importance and the dignity of our own freedom. A man who fears to settle his future by a good act of his own free choice does not understand the love of God.”

Within this broader emphasis on the self that seems to have influenced the spirituality concepts found within my corpus, the particular discourse of ‘New Age’ spirituality also appears. Very generally, New Age emphasizes such themes as interpersonal connectedness (mind, body and spirit), the ‘self’ and a God within, personal fulfilment and the realization of one’s potential, and connection with all other parts of the universe (Davie, 2007; Heelas, 1996). “The most pervasive and significant aspect of the *lingua franca* of the New Age is that the person is, in essence, spiritual. To experience the ‘Self’ itself is to experience ‘God’, the ‘Goddess’, the ‘Source’, or... most frequently, ‘inner spirituality’” (Heelas, 1996: 19). “New Agers invariably conceive their essence in

spiritual terms” (Heelas, 1996: 19-20). New Age, therefore, provide examples of humanistic religious forms. The New Age movement that emerged “is very powerfully informed by the assumption that behind differences (which are attributed to the role played by ego-operations) humanity is essentially bound as one by its interfusing spirituality” (Heelas, 1996: 163). The various streams of the New Age movement serve as examples for how new forms of religious expression become constructed in a pluralistic society, and positioning the self-spirituality language contained in my corpus within the discourse of New Age may help overcome the dichotomy between religion and spirituality that was constructed by several of the authors of these texts. What Davie (2007) claimed to witness, and what the case of New Age suggests, therefore, is simply a shift in religious form from the congregational to the holistic, new expressions of spirituality matched by new institutional responses. Bibby (2002: 90-91) summarized this point as follows:

Speaking theologically, ...the gods have been trying to reach Canadians through the churches. But given that the churches have had mixed success in the enterprise, there are signs that the gods have taken things into their own hands and shown up in person. Speaking sociologically, claims that people are personally experiencing God and privately communicating with God can be found all over the place.

There is a moral mandate inherent in this humanistic approach to religion as well insofar as religion fosters the development of ethical awareness and action, as opposed to engendering dependency and a diminished sense of freedom (Wulff, 1997). “Such a

spirituality calls for the individual to take fullest responsibility for his or her own moral struggle... In other words, it stimulates vigorous moral effort rather than dampening it (Harpur, 2005: 187). In interpreting Merton's teachings, Kelly (1974: 176) noted a similar caution against the loss of freedom to love others, a product of being caught as 'organization men' in "a general wave of conformism and passivity." For Merton, a superficial religiosity is "without fruitful reference to the needs of men and of society [...and is] without deeper and more positive moral values" (Kelly, 1974: 110-111). By contrast, "true religion, then, is the deep and existential awareness of the bond of love between God and man and the consequent social expression of that love for all one's fellowmen" (Kelly, 1974: 110). To the extent that the texts within my corpus express spirituality in individual terms, as a self-spirituality that offers confirmation of oneself, one's inherent greatness and hence the validation of one's decisions, they do not significantly draw upon spiritual concepts that demand the outward expression of spirituality in service to society.

5.1.5 Intertextual linkage IV: the language of meaning and calling.

According to the texts that comprise my data, an important part of what the spiritual seeking individual is searching for is meaning in life. "Even though we may sometimes feel confused and have doubts about the meaning and purpose of our lives, there is always present somewhere deep within us a pull, a yearning, a hope, or even a knowing that life's meaning and purpose somehow must be findable" (Krahnke and Cooperrider: 19). Moreover, "persons operating from a spiritual paradigm perspective would... have a sense of purpose and meaning in their life" (Biberman and Tischler: 219). This premise, that the quest for meaning is central to the human condition and that

spiritual experiences can aid in their discovery, is very much a prominent feature in these texts {codes: meaning in work; spiritual journey-calling}. Steingard suggests that the desire to find meaning and value in life defines us as human beings, Bouius notes how we aspire to a 'higher purpose', and Lips-Wiersma and Nilakant (59) assert that all people "have two universal needs – the desire for happiness and the need for meaning. All economic activities and varieties of human conduct are merely expressions of these two fundamental desires."

Several authors suggest that there is something unique about the time we live in that makes the search for meaning all the more pressing, that we exist in a moment of existential crisis. According to Bouius, "there seems to be a blind spot in the Western world that people, individuals, don't really know who they are." Likewise, for Silver, "our culture is the victim of spiritual anorexia. We don't even know we're hungry. We've lost the sense of hunger. We don't know what spiritual hunger and spiritual thirst feels like anymore." Picking up on the idea of hunger, Esposito adds that we're all too often "not getting fed by what you're doing."

The importance of discovering a meaning in one's life is a central tenet of existential philosophy, and the hunger described above is a product of existential angst. "Existentialism focuses on creation of the self, argues that human meaning is a subjective experience, and emphasizes that the goal of human existence is the meaningful or authentic life, specific to the individual" (MacMillan, 2010: 607). In existentialism, therefore, we are all authors of our own essential self and continuously create meaning for ourselves throughout our lives. "If there is a purpose in life at all, ... no man can tell another what this purpose is. Each must find out for himself, and must accept the

responsibility that his answer prescribes” (Allport, 1962: xi). Frankl (1962: 99) developed his existential philosophy into a school of psychotherapy, labelled ‘logotherapy’, which “focuses on the meaning of human existence as well as on man’s search for such a meaning.” The existentialist does not deny that meaning can be derived through devotion to God (e.g., Kierkegaard), so long as someone is conscious of their choice to maintain a religious outlook and not choose in ‘bad faith.’ It is the freedom to choose how to be in this world that matters. A religious belief may indeed be central in an individual’s existential exercise of finding and affirming purpose and meaning in both life and death, particularly because such ‘ultimate questions’ lie beyond the capacity of science to resolve (Bibby, 2002; Wulff, 1997).

In Chapter 4, I already noted how spiritual work was constructed as meaningful within the texts I analyzed, clearly in response to this *prima facie* quest for meaning, which was also a feature of the broad body of workplace spirituality literature reviewed in Chapter 2. For Fry (112), “we can begin with the notion that employees have spiritual needs (i.e., an inner life) just as they have physical, mental, and emotional needs, and none of these needs are left at the door when one arrives at work.” As a result, continues Fry, developing a sense that one’s life has meaning through one’s work must be a central tenet of any theory of workplace spirituality. For Bowman and Bowman, we are called to facilitate change and transformation in the world, whereas Ouimet is more specific in suggesting that the vocation of “economics, productivity, and profits” can satisfy one’s meaning in life. Regardless of the form it takes, says Miller, it is “an exciting thing when your job is no longer a job, but it’s a calling with meaning and purpose. And the reality is most people are yearning for meaning and purpose in their work, whether we’re 55 or

whether we're 25. We want our work to matter." It is the particular location of life's meaning within the workplace, and how spirituality at work equates to meaningful work, which suggests an intertextual reliance upon the discourse of calling.

Wrzesniewski (2002: 232) noted that "callings have traditionally meant being 'called' by God to do morally and socially significant work." This point is illustrated in Merton's (1955: 153) claim that "all vocations are intended by God to manifest His love in the world. For each special calling gives a man ... something to do for the salvation of all mankind." In other words, the authors of the texts I analyzed are not making a new discursive connection between workplace spirituality and calling, as they may be implicitly linked from the start. Such was Weber's (1958) thesis in *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, a book that remains 'famous' despite the fact that "many of his diagnoses of the Protestant ethic have been disputed" (Jensen, 2006: 33). "Weber argued that an original, creative, religious breakthrough took place in Calvinistic Christianity where the divine summons was experienced as a secular calling. Christians experienced the meaning and power of the Gospel in their dedication to hard work and personal enterprise" (Baum, 2006: 145). Weber saw in both Calvinism and Lutheranism the idea each one of us has been called to perform specific work, any form of which that is constructive to society can be our vocation so long as we occupy our prescribed role (Jensen, 2006). The language of vocation, for Weber, "preserves order as much as it liberates persons from all walks of life to see their work as a response to God's word" (Jensen, 2006: 35).

Weber continued to suggest that such an enterprising ethic "removed the religious obstacles to capitalistic expansion" (Baum, 2006: 145). This Protestant ethic became "the

source of the spirit of capitalism,” which favours profits, competition, a duty to increase one’s wealth without the enjoyment of it, and a view toward work as an end in itself (Kalberg, 2005: xxvii). Based on ascetic values that include hard work, austerity, limited pleasure, individualism and appreciation of personal achievements, this ethic promoted the idea that, through one’s industriousness, success in a competitive world and a commensurate rise in social status were possible for all (Baum, 2006). According to Weber (1963: 252), the adherent to Protestantism “could demonstrate his religious merit precisely in his economic activity,” which was necessarily conducted in the best possible consciousness and without doing anything morally reprehensible.

Prasad (1997: 137) made the case that such values “pervade and shape countless organizational practices in such fundamental and taken-for-granted ways that they remain largely unquestioned and invisible.” This is perhaps because, in the modern world, capitalism no longer needs the support of religious asceticism; its existence “rests on mechanical foundations” (Weber, 1958: 181-182). According to Baum’s (2006: 136) reading of Weber’s thesis, “after the rise in the social and economic system, people lose interest in their religion and drift into a vague agnosticism. Protestantism initiates its own undoing.” Furthermore, “the Protestant ethic was eventually handed on to subsequent generations by secular institutions – the home, the school, the trade; it became detached from its religious origin” (Baum, 2006: 145). As a result, “the idea of duty in one’s calling prowls about in our lives like the ghost of dead religious beliefs” (Weber, 1958: 182). “‘We moderns’ can barely conceive of work in a vocation as motivated by that crucial query...: ‘Am I among the saved?’” (Kalberg, 2005: 71). In its place, Weber foresaw the ascension of techno-scientific rationality that would result in “the

bureaucratization of society, [...leading] to the decline of culture, the loss of values, the waning of religion, 'the disenchantment of the world.' The fully administered society would become 'a iron cage,' a tedious society without beauty and passion, painted grey upon grey" (Baum, 2006: 152). Within my corpus, Olden (76) observes that "bureaucracy dehumanized health organizations and professional culture discouraged emotions and spirituality." Furthermore, Boje (175) notes how critical theorists, Horkheimer and Adorno in particular, were wary of the moral compulsion to duty insofar as "the revival of the [P]rotestant work ethic degenerates into workaholism and performativity."

Against this backdrop enters a new batch of authors reviving the idea of work as calling. The literature on calling suggests a "tripartite model of people's orientations to their work" (Wrzesniewski, 2002: 232), originally captured by Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler and Tipton (1985) as the 'job/career/calling model' of work. "In the strongest sense of a 'calling', work constitutes a practical ideal of activity and character that makes a person's work morally inseparable from his or her life" (Bellah et al., 1985: 66). Moreover, "a calling links a person to the larger community, a whole in which the calling of each is a contribution to the good of all" (Bellah et al., 1985: 66). The empirical evidence contributed by Wrzesniewski (2002: 232) supports the claim that "a person with a calling works...for the fulfillment that doing the work brings to the person. ...Those with callings often feel that their work makes the world a better place." As Esposito noted within my corpus, a calling is your 'gift' to the world. In this more recent incarnation, calling is a state of mind; it is the individual's perception of their work satisfying their calling that matters, not whether they are compliant with a particular doctrine or competent in any objective sense (Wrzesniewski, McCauley, Rozin and Schwartz, 1997).

This view of calling diverges away from Merton's (1955) insistence that we must not direct our energy toward our own will and satisfaction, but rather see our labour as helping to prepare the way for the achievements of others. As a result, "asceticism is unavoidable in Christian life. We cannot escape the obligation to deny ourselves" (Merton, 1955: 135). Authors of the texts I analyzed, however, seem disposed to speak of work/calling as a personal achievement of a conscious mind and interconnected perspective that is not dependent on adherence to a religious ethic. Instead, we possess the existential freedom necessary to reframe work as more meaningful by simply appreciating the good in what we do (Wrzesniewski and Dutton, 2001).

5.1.6 Intertextual linkage V: the language of peak experience.

To the extent that spirituality has been defined within the texts that comprise my data as a self-spirituality, an inner and individual experience of transcendence or a transcendent consciousness, then it is also possible to highlight a connection to Maslow and the concept of peak experience. The presence of this link was already noted within the workplace spirituality literature reviewed in Chapter 2 (e.g., Burack, 1999; Dehler and Welsh, 1994; King and Nicol, 1999; Tischler, 1999). Within my corpus specifically, the link to Maslow is sometimes explicit {code: needs and self-actualization}, as with Sallick who credits Maslow when speaking of the importance of work that, in the first instance, fulfills personal needs, hence allowing the worker to build "the foundation to be of benefit" to others. In their definition of spiritual experiences, Heaton and Schmidt-Wilk (129) note "Maslow reported that growth of self-actualization was often stimulated by 'peak' or transcendental experiences in which the individual identifies, to some extent, with infinity, universality, or perfection." It is the capacity of the self-actualized leader to

facilitate transformational change that matters (Heaton and Schmidt-Wilk). Silver only recently was introduced to the language of Maslow and was quickly impressed with the connection. He admits: “I never studied Maslow. I don’t know the language, but I was very fascinated by it. I was like, ‘Wow. That’s our system. I love that.’ It’s all one. Again, another truth in different words. And at the top of this pyramid, how people are wanting to be – they’re wanting this transformational peace.” Finally, when Maio talks of the importance of understanding customer needs and targeting products accordingly, she adds: “Maslow is all over this place, right? Their hierarchy of needs translated into benefits.” The discursive connection between Maslow and spiritual work and spiritual workers within these texts is sometimes only implied, however. Fry (109), for example, notes how spiritual leaders can produce in both themselves and their followers “a sense of continuing growth and self-realization.” More specifically, it is through the articulation of a vision and mission in which organizational members place their hope and faith that fuels “an intrinsic motivation cycle” (Fry: 120). Common to the above is also the notion that spiritual work, which is meaningful and satisfies the sense of calling, will produce this self-actualizing impact on the worker, where self-actualization refers to the process of becoming fully conscious and whole.

To understand what meanings for spirituality are inferred in these references to Maslow, we can draw upon the psychology of Maslow himself. Maslow (1968) was interested in the question of human health and how this could be promoted through a particular state of being, leading to a psychology of self-actualization. Maslow (1968: 25) defined self-actualization as “ongoing actualization of potentials, capacities and talents, as fulfillment of mission (or call, fate, destiny or vocation), as a fuller knowledge of, and

acceptance of, the person's own intrinsic nature, as an unceasing trend toward unity, integration or synergy within the person." As a consequence, "self-actualizing people...have come to a higher level of maturation, health, and self-fulfillment" (Maslow, 1968: 71). Furthermore, Maslow (1968: 39) witnessed "the greater closeness of deficit-satisfied people to the realm of Being;" in other words, those people who were motivated less by unfulfilled needs could simply exist in a state of wholeness, actualization, fulfillment and health. Yet self-actualization rests upon the assumption that "a person is both actuality and potentiality" (Maslow, 1968: 10), there to be both discovered and created through being. As a result, "self-actualization does not mean a transcendence of all human problems[, ...including] the real, unavoidable, existential problems inherent in the nature of man (even at his best) living in a particular kind of world. ...Even though he has transcended the problems of Becoming, there remains the problems of Being" (Maslow: 1968: 211).

Self-actualization is neither a permanent nor an all-or-nothing phenomenon, but rather is better conceived of "as an episode, or a spurt in which the powers of the person come together in a particularly efficient and intensely enjoyable way" (Maslow, 1968: 97). 'Peak-experiences,' 'ecstasies,' or 'transcendent experiences' are Maslow's (1964) terms for the triggers of self-actualization; such experiences can lead to episodic states of being self-actualized. In Maslow's (1964) *Religions, Values, and Peak-Experiences*, we can find some of the connection between spirituality and self-actualization upon which the authors within my corpus seem to draw. Peak experiences are natural, subjective, not dependent on a particular religion, and "can be produced by sexual love, or by philosophical insight, or by athletic success, or by watching a dance performance, or by

bearing a child” (Maslow, 1964: xii). They are, as a result, “secularized religious or mystical or transcendent experiences” (Maslow, 1964: xii). Through a peak experience, one may develop “a sense of the sacred glimpsed in and through the particular instance of the momentary, the secular, the worldly” (Maslow, 1964: 68). In making this argument, Maslow (1964: xiii) denied that he is contributing to the secularization of all religion, but perhaps equally so, “religionizing ... all that is secular.” Maslow (1964: 59) continued: “Practically everything that happens in the peak experiences, naturalistic though they are, could be listed under the headings of religious happenings, or indeed have been in the past considered to be only religious experiences.” The possession of a unity level consciousness, having faith that the universe hangs together in a purposeful whole, and believing that life is meaningful and good are examples Maslow (1964) offered for how peak experiences and religious experiences can converge. For Maslow (1964: 29), therefore, the dichotomy between religious and non-religious is the same as between ‘peakers’ and ‘non-peakers’, the former described as “those who have private, personal, transcendent, core-religious experiences easily and often and who accept them and make use of them.” Indeed, we can see within Maslow’s broader interest in the development of a humanistic, existential, holistic psychology (which he also refers to as a psychology of the self, of Being, or ‘The Third Psychology’) traces of a humanistic spirituality being developed. For Maslow (1964), concepts such as ‘mind’, ‘spirit’ and ‘spiritual values’ are not metaphysical, out-of-body concepts but rather exist within and are the defining characteristics of a healthy body. Authors of my texts who speak in terms of self-spirituality, of having inner experiences of transcendence and achieving a higher state of consciousness are clearly evoking a language that was available decades earlier. What

they may be doing, however, is repackaging and selling these ideas, and in the process, establishing a subject position for themselves as specialists in helping workers to find meaning in their work.

Maslow (1965: 6), furthermore, privileged the work organization as a place where self-actualization can best take place insofar as human happiness can be achieved “via a commitment to an important job and to worthwhile work.” It is both the work itself and one’s sense of duty to it that matters, requiring “devotion to, dedication to, and identification with some great and important job” (Maslow, 1965: 6). Specifically, it is one’s duty to respond to that which “fate or personal destiny calls you to do” (Maslow, 1965: 6), hence there is also a language of calling herein that is drawn upon. The implications for organizational leaders is that ‘enlightened management’ is that which prioritizes the ‘far goals’ of self-actualization and employee development as fundamental to the long-term health and growth of the organization (Maslow, 1965). Maslow (1965: 41) hence simplified the field of organizational studies to the belief that “in an enterprise, if everybody concerned is absolutely clear about the goals and directives and far purposes of the organization, practically all other questions then become simple technical questions of fitting means to the ends.”

Clearly there is an overlap between Maslow’s observations and those of the authors found within my corpus. Amongst my corpus, Fry is perhaps the most explicitly influenced by Maslow’s psychology, and without any reference to Maslow, he notes how spiritual leadership improves the ‘life satisfaction’ of leaders and followers. Fry (109) is specifically referring to improvements in one’s physical health, psychological well-being, and “a high regard for one’s self and one’s past life, ... good quality relationships with

others[...] the sense that life is purposeful and meaningful, the capacity to effectively manage one's surrounding world, the ability to follow inner convictions, and a sense of continuing growth and self-realization." Such outcomes are some of the various pathways for achieving 'spiritual well-being,' defined as a "self-perceived state of the degree to which one feels a sense of purpose and direction" (Fry: 107). Of central importance for the spiritual leader is the articulation of a long-term vision in which followers place their faith and trust, to which they are committed, and for which they are intrinsically motivated (Fry). In these passages, Fry's insights are almost indistinguishable from Maslow's of four decades ago. In general, then, if we were to describe spiritual work in the manner that follows, it would be equally possible to trace its authorship to the discourse of workplace spirituality or to Maslow's psychology: spiritual work is that which is motivating and meaningful, providing peak experiences that allow already conscious workers further opportunities to self actualize, realize their potential, satisfy a sense of calling, and achieve a transcendent state of being.

5.1.7 Intertextual linkage VI: the language of social justice.

In the preceding sections, I have shown how the spiritual meanings attributed to workers and work within my corpus are derived from other texts sharing a more individualistic understanding of spirituality. Spiritual meaning is predominantly linked to consciousness, transcendence and calling in which the self, or individual worker, is the primary object of attention. Spiritual work is personally meaningful insofar as it offers peak experiences that facilitate one's capacity to transcend reality and achieve a higher level of consciousness. Largely absent is a critique of work itself and concern for those impacted by work, so long as the worker is doing the work so called to do, and which

affords the individual worker an opportunity to self-actualize. Yet the themes within my data do reveal that spiritual work can be socially meaningful, so in this section we shall see how workplace spirituality has likely also come to take a more social form {codes: concerns and critique; spiritual texts}.

I noted in Chapter 4 how spiritual work was constructed in part to mean work that is socially responsible. For example, workers' sensitivity to human interconnections leads to the consideration of how work outcomes affect organizational stakeholders in general (Fry) and employees in particular (Oiumet). We are reminded to 'love thy neighbour as thyself' (Boje; Feuerstein). Beyond simply considering others, authors of the texts that comprise my data imply the importance of serving others by invoking such exemplary servants as Mother Teresa (Oiumet; Silver), Gandhi (Bouius; Cavanagh and Hazen; Esposito; Secretan; Silver; Steingard) and Christ (Boje; Cavanagh and Hazen; Miller; Oiumet; Secretan). Lips-Wiersma and Nilakant advocate on behalf of compassion, an idea beyond social responsibility and stakeholder sensitivity, for compassion disrupts the economic framework within which 'doing good' is permissible. As Lips-Wiersma and Nilakant argue, and the biography of Feuerstein shows, decisions to 'do good' should be taken out of moral necessity without primary regard to business profitability. Ultimately, spiritual workers pay more attention to matters of environmental (Biberman and Tischler; Cavanagh and Hazen) and societal (Biberman and Tischler; Krahnke and Cooperrider) importance.

Although Boje (179) advocates for a more socially focused form of spirituality, he cautions against imposing any "fundamental coherence" in support of the common good. Boje distinguishes what he refers to as 'critical spirituality' from 'positive spirituality,'

the latter of which remains embedded in a managerialist discourse. Although we must be interested in the social outcomes of workplace spirituality, we too must be cautious against defining it in terms of a “moral compulsion to duty,” for doing so entrenches individualism and hierarchy and threatens equity and freedom of choice (Boje, 180). A workplace spirituality in which one’s calling to serve stakeholders (particularly customers) reigns supreme, where spiritual leaders retain power in hierarchical relations, and where market forces form the framework within which spiritual expression occurs is a ‘truncated spirituality,’ glorifying existing social conditions without achieving the more desirable socioeconomic transformation defined by inclusion, participation and justice (Boje).

A direct link to religious scripture and tradition is sometimes made to highlight how workplace spirituality must assume a social form with an interest in the social good (e.g., Boje; Feuerstein). Lips-Wiersma and Nilakant (59-60) summarize this point as follows:

“People like Buddha, Socrates, Plato, Confucius, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, the mystics of the Upanishads, Mencius, and Euripides in the initial period, as well as Muhammad and Jesus later on, reframed divinity as deep respect and reverence for others, giving rise to the golden rule – treat others as you would want to be treated yourself. Their view of a spiritual life was one based on the acknowledgment of divinity in oneself and others. However, in order to arrive at this state, which they saw as the perfect union of meaning and happiness (bliss), individuals had to transcend

their egoism and selfishness and particularly petty desires, cruelty, envy, greed, pride, and hatred.”

For a specific example, we can turn to Pope John Paul II's (1981: 6) encyclical letter *Laborem exercens (On Human Work)*, which was intended to show how work could address the 'social question,' the answer to which "must be sought in the direction of 'making life more human.'" According to Baum (1982: 3), he sought in writing this encyclical "to find principles of social justice" that were globally applicable. This encyclical forms a part of a broader body of literature referred to as Catholic Social Thought and both "remains in continuity with the Church's social teaching ... and raise[s] the Church's social message to an unprecedented height" (Baum, 1982: 3). In this encyclical, Pope John Paul II established three points: 1) work is an inherent dimension of being human; 2) through our work, humans continue to realize what God created and hence the subject of work is humanity itself; and 3) this proper discovery of the meaning of human work places all workers in solidarity with one another, working out of regard for the dignity of all members of society. "It is through man's labour that not only 'the fruits of our activity' but also 'human dignity, brotherhood and freedom' must increase on earth" (John Paul II, 1981: sec. 27, para. 8).

The social element of work is rooted in a temporal interconnectedness, insofar as our work both bears the inheritance of the labour of others who worked before and the capital and other resources they produced, and contributes toward the resources that are subsequently used by others. "Man must work out of regard for others ... since he is the heir to the work of generations and at the same time a sharer in building the future of those who will come after him in the succession of history. All this constitutes the moral

obligation of work, understood in its wide sense” (John Paul II, 1981: sec. 16, para. 2). The further implication of this argument is that, in recognizing that all forms of capital are simply “*the result of the historical heritage of human labour*” (John Paul II, 1981: sec. 12, para. 4, emphasis in original), it becomes impossible to separate labour from capital and further impossible to subordinate the former to the latter. “However true it may be that man is destined for work and called to it, in the first place work is ‘for man’ and not man ‘for work’. Through this conclusion one rightly comes to recognize the pre-eminence of the subjective meaning of work over the objective one” (John Paul II, 1981: sec. 6, para. 5). Pope John Paul II therefore spoke against economic thinking and the separation of labour and capital as independently valued factors of production, and instead spoke in support of worker solidarity, the co-ownership of labour, and the prioritization of labour and human dignity in work. The absence of any direct challenge to the dominant, hierarchical market structures within my corpus, however, suggests some limitations on the extent to which the meanings the texts carry have been informed by the social teachings outlined above. Although spiritual work may be motivating, meaningful, and socially responsible, it is not constructed in such a manner as to establish the priority of labour over capital and recommend transitioning to worker-owned cooperative organizational structures.

A less radical consequence of recognizing a social element to work is that it can still be morally judged on whether it supports human dignity and rights, alleviates various forms of poverty in the world, and enables us all “to become, in work, ‘more a human being’ and not be degraded by it” (John Paul II, 1981: sec. 9, para. 4). Were he alive at the time, Merton might have agreed, for his belief that we find ourselves in and through

others, and hence his attention to the needs of others, established a basis upon which he articulated a message of social responsibility (Kelly, 1974). Such a rendering of the Catholic tradition may have found its way into the texts that comprise my data, within Boje's (1976) contribution in particular, insofar as "a new spirituality, a more honest theism focused on justice, ethical practices of answerability to the situation of workers and the poor, is called for." Echoes of Pope John Paul II (1981: sec. 2, para. 1, emphasis in original) can be heard: Work is "as old as man and his life on earth. Nevertheless, the general situation of man in the modern world ... calls for the discovery of *the new meanings of human work*."

5.2 Interdiscursivity: Drawing Upon Discourses Available in Organization Studies

In the preceding section, I highlighted six key intertextual links, each representing various ideas about spirituality that, according to the texts within my corpus, seem to inform the workplace spirituality discourse. The authors of these texts are drawing upon varied understandings of spirituality broadly available to them in their effort to give particular meaning to workplace spirituality. In this section on interdiscursivity, I look outside the spirituality discourse to show how workplace spirituality also borrows from, is connected to, is synonymous with, and/or builds upon other discourses present within organizational studies. Such discourses both enable and constrain the construction of workplace spirituality, allowing it to emerge as a credible organizational discourse to the extent that it is shrouded in the language of existent discourses. The fact that these discourses exist creates, in part, the conditions of possibility for workplace spirituality to emerge. Clues to the existence of these organizational level discourses were recorded in

the coding of these texts, and I will present these ideas in a series of subheadings that follow.

5.2.1 Interdiscursive linkage I: the discourse of positive organizational scholarship.

As noted by Lund Dean et al. (188), there is a decidedly “positive tone” within most of the literature on the role of spirituality and religion in the workplace {code: theories of organizational behaviour; query: positive}. This point was made clear within my corpus, as Krahnke and Cooperrider make repeated references to positive thinking, hope and optimism. “It often takes courage to focus on the positive and on the power to create our own reality. ...It takes a great deal of faith to be unconditionally positive, to choose to see potential rather than obstacles” (Krahnke and Cooperrider: 19). It follows that the appreciative inquiry techniques advanced by Krahnke and Cooperrider are based on the ability to perceive and appreciate the positive in any situation, and make decisions from this perspective. As a result, appreciative inquiry “helps us to remember the ‘hope’ within us hidden underneath real and imagined problems” (Krahnke and Cooperrider: 19). Positive psychology is often introduced in an explanatory manner to show how an individual’s ‘positive core’ is causally linked to positive energy and positive change (Fry; Krahnke and Cooperrider; Steingard). “Positive psychology suggests that positive emotions like hope, love, and forgiveness can lead to better individual health and organizational results” (Steingard: 91). Krahnke and Cooperrider (24) further draw from the field of neurology to note the effect that being positive has on the mind: “Continued repetition feeds the habit; therefore, feeding positive thoughts would create new positive brain grooves, which will starve the negative ones.” Finally, positive organizational

scholarship (POS) is introduced as the investigation of all this positivity within organizational contexts (Marx et al.). Marx et al. (2004) cite the work of three researchers in particular, Cameron, Dutton and Quinn, who are “spearheading an effort to explore existing empirical research and stimulate further emphasis in...the positive side of organizational life[, which] has received little attention from management scholars when compared to the emphasis on traditional research on organizational dysfunction and problem resolution.” Steingard (1991) notes the commonality in all these constructs insofar as “appreciative inquiry, appreciative intelligence, and positive organizational scholarship utilize positive mental images of the future to create substantive changes to organizational strategies, structures, and systems.”

Marx et al. were correct to note the linkage between POS and workplace spirituality, and two of the researchers whom they cited, Cameron and Quinn, were both panelists in the session “Passion and Compassion in MSR: Past, Present and Future” at the 2010 meeting of the Academy of Management, a session aimed at exploring the origins, evolution and relevance of MSR scholarship with the field of management. According to Cameron and Caza (2004: 732), POS “is not a new invention so much as an alteration in focus. It recognizes that positive phenomena have been studied for decades, but also that studies of affirmative, uplifting, and elevating processes and outcomes have not been the norm.” “With positive thinking, you can focus on the dynamics that help unlock your strengths and virtues necessary to develop new ideas, flourish and achieve success” Cameron (2009: 8). In Seligman’s (2002) introductory chapter in the *Handbook of Positive Psychology*, he credited the origins of the positive psychology movement to a personal epiphany he had in 1997 while serving as President of the American

Psychological Association. Elsewhere, Seligman (2003) elaborated on the three pillars of positive psychology: first, it is the encouragement of positive subjective experiences, that is, positive ways of making sense of one's past, present and future; second, it is a science intent on identifying and developing particular strengths and virtues; and third, it is concerned with studying and strengthening positive institutions in society. As a result, psychology itself is transformed, no longer "just the study of disease, weakness, and damage; it also is the study of strength and virtue...; it also is building what is right...; it also is about work, education, insight, love, growth, and play" Seligman (2002: 4).

The organizational equivalent to positive psychology, POS is thus "a new movement in organizational science" (Cameron and Caza, 2004: 732). Fineman (2006: 270) likewise used the term 'movement' in describing "the 'positive' neohumanistic turn in organizational theorizing." Fineman (2006) further noted how POS itself is embedded with assumptions about the human desire for self-realization and a life lived in accordance with moral virtues as paths toward individual and collective happiness. "Positivity, thus, offers an appealing vision of the recovered good self, which is directed toward morally well-defined ends that embrace others' feelings and needs" (Fineman, 2006: 273). Clearly, then, there is some overlap in these discourses, perhaps more complementary than competing, in that both POS and workplace spirituality are predominantly discourses of the self, of self-actualization, of moral obligation, and of social improvement, and both have been cast as movements in the field of organizational studies. The authors of the texts within my corpus would largely conclude, as Marx et al. (212) did, that POS "offers organizational scholars who are trying to understand the concept of spirituality at work a number of promising avenues for exploration."

An alternative conclusion, however, is that such a “positive viewpoint of SRW fails to acknowledge some of the major conflicts that may engender between individuals and within organizations” (Lund Dean et al.: 192). Seligman (2003: xviii) suggested that positive psychology is needed “to curtail the promiscuous victimology that pervades the social sciences” with its focus on such ‘disabling conditions’ as racism, sexism and ageism. Fineman (2006) observed that the focus on what is good about the human condition is offered as an antidote to what is bad about modern workplaces. “It is a particularly attractive prospect for those disenchanted with the growing materialism of advanced economies and workplaces that seem to lack compassion or sensitivity toward their members. Change, based on releasing the positive potential that is already within us, holds promise of attainable new futures” (Fineman, 2006: 273). This sounds promising, Fineman (2006) argued, but attention needs to be paid to how positivity is enacted via both specific organizational programs (e.g., empowerment initiatives) and broad values programming at the level of organizational culture. Indeed, positivity as it unfolds in organizations may “produce the very opposite of the self-actualization and liberation” desired if management interests prevail, workforce subordination is reinforced, individuals who “fail to fit the template” become stigmatized, and cultural variation to this “Americanized positiveness” is ignored (Fineman, 2006: 281). Seligman (2003: xii) admitted that positive psychology is in part focused on the identification of those particular strengths and virtues that comprise the character of a ‘positive individual,’ “among them, valor, perspective, integrity, equity, and loyalty.” It seems fair to be concerned for those members of organizations who fail to demonstrate the requisite characteristics of positivity or who define themselves in accordance with a separate mix

of strengths and virtues. As a result of concerns such as these, Boje (179) calls for some “skepticism of a self-development centered positive spirituality version, which is so popular in contemporary business.”

5.2.2 Interdiscursive linkage II: the discourse of human relations.

Several of the authors of the texts that comprise my data place more central importance upon the human dimension of work. I have noted already how Ouimet and Feuerstein, for example, advocate for human friendly and employee centric workplaces. What is curious, however, is how this notion is seen by some as a novel idea. Ouimet promotes the idea that “this system of management on the human side can really revolutionize the management of an organization on earth.” According to Krahnke and Cooperrider (17), “we are now recognizing that organizations are products of human interactions and that we have lost something fundamentally important by applying the machine model to human organizations.” Rutte likewise suggests that it is only a recent development that “more of the human being” has entered business conversations, and credits this to the ‘flowering’ of the workplace spirituality movement itself rather than any longstanding attention to matters of human concern. Biberman and Tischler (4) demonstrate a slightly longer historical sensitivity by noting the “dramatic shift over the past fifty years or so toward better treatment of employees, and this shift is accelerating” (although they offered no evidence in support of either the betterment of treatment or the acceleration of the shift).

Despite the preceding claims, recognition of the human element of work organizations is neither new nor revolutionary, but has existed for perhaps as long as the industrial revolution has tried to quash it. Baum (2006) noted the numerous

commentators, from Karl Marx to Ferdinand Toennies, who observed the alienating effects of modern industrial society on people. Within the management literature, Kaufman (2001: 529) argued that, based on a proper reading of management history, one would discover “progressive employers in the 1920s set out to replace the traditional commodity/command and control system of people management with a different model that sought competitive advantage through unity of interest, cooperation, and investment in labor as a human resource.” Kaufman (2001: 527) credited Mary Parker Follett as being “one of the keenest observers of the business scene in the 1920s” and cited her acknowledgement and encouragement of worker participation and control within industry during this era. Furthermore, one can witness in the studies of early industrial organizations an emerging acknowledgement of an informal side to organizations whereby workplaces were conceived of as social groups in which individuals, as social beings, interacted (e.g., Mayo, 1933).

Yet despite the presence of such pioneers and pioneering insights, ideas about collaboration and participation have been largely ignored in the management literature that followed (Kaufman, 2001). Moreover, the privileging of managerial interests in the industrial/post-industrial era has gone unabated (Long, 2007). The human relations lessons about the social nature of work, informal relationships and intrinsic motivation became less manifest in participatory work arrangements and more subjects of management specialization such that “new practices, such as training, leadership, communications, and motivation were added to the manager’s toolkit” (Long, 2007: 268). Scientific management work principles of command and control were simply

complemented by the human relations movement, which took its physical form in human resource departments that specialized in these new best practices (Long, 2007).

Building upon the human relations discourse in organizational studies {code: human relations}, Miller charges the human resource department with the twofold task of, first, recognizing that religious/faith dimensions of employees are central to their consciousness and behaviour and, second, developing HR practices to help managers manage these human resources toward productive ends. Olden (81-82) likewise links workplace spirituality to the human resource agenda by noting the effective delivery of spiritual care in health care organizations demands that “human resource programs, policies, practices, and procedures must be reevaluated and revised.” It is with particular regard to the personal well-being of employees that human resource practices should pay most attention, argues Miller. Bouius offers this explanation: “There is something going on in the corporate world, in the business world that is making people unhappy, unhealthy, depressed and you name it, it’s there.... Very often, it is because of stress or they have difficulties with people. There’s lack of loyalty, there’s lack of passion, there’s absenteeism.” In response, therefore, “the whole employee assistance world, EAP programs are starting to realize, ‘Hmm. If we’re all about sort of healing of the person, we have to think about healing of the soul’” (Miller). Employee assistance programs themselves are nothing new, as Chapman Walsh (1982: 495) dated their genesis to the same period of industrialization which gave rise to the human relations movement and, in particular, “the early efforts of some companies to coax degenerating alcoholic employees into Alcoholics Anonymous (AA).” The concept of attending to workers to make them whole and hence more productive “grew naturally out of a tradition of hand-

holding in the personnel department, informal counseling (often by nurses) in the medical department, and trouble-shooting by unions. Organized EAPs were thus not a new departure but a formalization of an old tradition, and an introduction of specifically trained personnel” (Chapman Walsh, 1982: 496). Fry places the same emphasis on employee well-being, but broadens the responsibility for it to organizational leaders in general. Fry makes the case that spiritual leadership has the particular effects on followers that include human health, psychological well-being, and life satisfaction, not to mention organizational outcomes of productivity, commitment and performance. (It is also interesting to note that Fry cites a chapter in the *Handbook of Positive Psychology* as the source for these dimensions of well-being, which speaks to the interrelationships between these discourse connections.) Yet mediating this relationship, Fry inserts the construct of spiritual well-being (SWB), defined as one’s sense of both calling and membership. For Fry, therefore, workplace spirituality can be interpreted in the form of a causal relationship whereby spiritual leadership is that which increases the SWB of followers, which in turn has further positive implications for all organizational members and the organization itself.

From the preceding we can argue that the discourse of workplace spirituality is dependent in part upon the human relations discourse within which employees are constructed as a special, social kind of resource to be managed, that advances concern for employees’ interests and well being as a beneficial management practice, and that formalizes best practices within a functional domain to give space for specialists to become experts in the techniques of human resource management. For Fenwick and Lange (1998), it is the incompatibility of workplace spirituality and human resource

management that makes this linkage impossible to sustain. HR departments are embedded within an organizational structure built around the principle of competition and the pursuit of wealth with each function doing its part, and as such inherently “conflicts with the spiritual demand to release creativity, insight, energy, and relationships in service to humanity and the divine” (Fenwick and Lange, 1998: 80). Indeed, the field of human resource management has evolved to assume a more strategic perspective, courting relevancy more from management than from workers in its insistence on linking work practices to organizational performance and competitive advantage (Long, 2007). In doing so, HR as a discipline has become an increasingly distant partner for the spiritual development of workers where the development of consciousness, sense of oneness and interconnection, self-actualization and expression of responsibility to others are ends in and of themselves.

5.2.3 Interdiscursive linkage III: the discourse of managing diversity.

The necessity of managing a diverse workforce has also found its way into the workplace spirituality discourse {code: management of diversity}. Beyond simply building upon the human relations attention to employee needs and well-being, workplace spirituality is constructed as a vehicle for the accommodation of an increasing diversity of needs, values and interests in a global business context. This connection is in part made as a reaction to the changing demographics of the workforce. “The literature generally regards SRW as a normal outgrowth of workplace trends, such as an aging workforce examining its legacy, employees spending more time than ever at work, and Generation Y-ers aiming at better life/work integration” (Lund Dean et al.: 189). Miller likewise emphasizes the age dimension insofar as “the world is changing and in many

ways, the younger generation is driving – or generations – are driving us.” Moreover, there is a cross-cultural dimension, particularly as a result of globalization, introducing a plurality of religious beliefs and practices into the workplace (Miller). The implication is that an awareness and respect for religious difference is critical as one builds global business relationships with external stakeholders. As Miller puts it, if you “don’t know about the role that religious identities play in people’s lives, you’re dead meat.” What Miller in particular is doing, more so than any other author in my corpus, is constructing workplace spirituality as simply the new frontier of diversity management in organizations, a discourse he acknowledges has been around for many decades prior. Miller envisions a time when faith is no longer an ‘issue’ in organizations in the same way that diversity amongst race, gender, family status and sexual orientation have all been ‘dealt with.’ It is simply a matter of now dealing with the new “issue we’re facing now and going forwards, the issue of faith” (Miller). Rutte offers a near-identical version of the evolution in accommodation: “I’m black. I’m a woman. I’m gay. I’m an alcoholic. I’m a drug abuser. Every time one of those conversations – ‘Oh you can’t talk about that. Oh my, God.’ But we found ways to talk about it that were respectful, and useful, and dignified, both for the individual and the enterprise. And this is for me the last piece. This is the piece called spirituality.” The task at hand is to learn from “those other very difficult conversations” as well as the legacy of “leading companies” whom have earlier found ways to accommodate diversity in these previous frontiers, largely via “policies and practices and events and teachings in their HR departments” (Miller). “What can we learn that was done well in those topics and apply them to this topic?” questions Miller.

Management in particular needs to be skilled at managing all of these diversity dynamics within organizations in a manner that is respectful but which maintains focus on, and does not detract from, organizational ends (Miller). “All the best companies are talking about cultural competence” (Miller). There is some support to this claim, as Yzaguirre (1999: 10) argued that “the measure of success in today's world is clear: people need to acquire cultural competence... [which means] knowing at least the basics of different cultures and understanding others' values, mores, motivations, and expectations” or, in short, having empathy. The first step in this process, for Miller, is to recognize that people want to “bring their religious identity with them to work – whatever it is, their spiritual identity, their faith identity” which means the presence of a plurality of faith traditions and, particularly amongst younger generations, less of a specific religious affiliation and more of an insistence on living integrated lives, maintaining holistic perspectives and promoting personal values. “Companies who are thinking about that are going to have a head start and companies who are having their head in the sand like an ostrich, who are saying ‘we don't do that here’, they're going to pay the price” (Miller). With respect to specific workplace practices, corporate chaplaincy and the creation of multi-faith prayer rooms for employees to use are held up as examples of “creating an environment that's welcoming, that's diverse, that's respectful of different traditions” (Miller). Furthermore, “there's some very powerful group exercises that companies do and there's some excellent trainers who come and do diversity training” (Miller). “By the way,” reassures Miller, “I think we're at the first inning of a nine inning game, this whole faith-friendly stuff.”

Miller makes the case that “this isn’t just a tolerance, like a minimum, ‘It’s okay to be a person of faith’ but rather saying, ‘No, we recognize that actually brings benefits to you and your own health and well being and, ultimately, to us an organization.’” Yet this point is seemingly contradicted by the notion that “finally, at the end of the day, a business is still a business. There are the goods and services to be offered and it’s not a house of worship. There are other places and venues for the formal practice of the rituals and practices of one’s faith.” Indeed, the bar for accommodation of difference seems to be set rather low. Using Dass and Parker’s (1999: 70) topology of diversity perspectives, Miller seems to be approaching diversity in part from the ‘discrimination and fairness’ perspective, characteristic of “organizations facing moderate pressure to incorporate diversity” and an often legal imperative to not further the situation of marginalized groups. “The discrimination and fairness perspective perceives diversity as an organizational problem to be solved” (Dass and Parker, 1999: 70), and Miller notes how a failure to respond to demographic changes can be detrimental. A perhaps more generous reading of Miller would place him within Dass and Parker’s (1999: 71) ‘accommodation and legitimacy’ perspective in which those who “tend to emphasize bottom-line reasons for incorporating diversity” would fall. Although Miller does acknowledge the potential competitive advantage of managing diversity, he stopped short of celebrating difference and advocating on behalf of “a higher level of heterogeneity and inclusion” (Dass and Parker, 1999: 71), instead adopting a more reactive tone. Miller’s emphasis on the competitive necessity of managing diversity also falls short of Hicks (2003: 165) notion of respectful pluralism, that is, the creation of an environment in which “workers can uphold mutual respect toward their co-workers even as they practice their particularistic

religious commitments in the workplace.” There is a moral mandate to respectful pluralism based on such values as dignity, equal respect and non-coercion; although it may also be organizationally beneficial, such is not the proper justification for inclusiveness (Hicks, 2003). Finally, “the learning perspective is primarily associated with active strategic initiatives” (Dass and Parker, 1999: 72) and represents the most progressive and pluralistic position in this topology. Miller’s singular example of a multi-faith ‘spirituality at work taskforce’ does illustrate “the important role that conflict and debate can play in creating a common sense of vision and beliefs within an organization” (Dass and Parker, 1999: 71), itself evidence of viewing diversity as an important source of organizational learning.

Miller’s approach to diversity feeds off of the common perspective within human resource literature more broadly in which one finds “enormously affirmative connotations of diversity, associating it with images of cultural hybridity, harmonious coexistence, and colourful heterogeneity” (Prasad and Mills, 1997: 4). Miller frames diversity accommodation as a corporate asset, a necessity driven by labour market conditions which can become a source of competitive advantage and employee commitment if properly managed, and hence notes its urgency. In doing so, Miller fails to address the inherent tensions and dilemmas of workplace diversity and thus contributes to a diversity discourse that is silent with respect to the potential for conflict (Prasad and Mills, 1997). This critique echoes the concern raised earlier about how positive organizational scholarship may be blind to some of the conflicts inherent in organizations. Lund Dean et al., on the other hand, provide a more critical account of the challenges in linking workplace spirituality and workplace diversity, and in particular constructing spirituality

at work as the latest incarnation of the diversity movement in organizations. For evidence of conflict, Lund Dean et al. (192) highlight the spike in complaints involving religious rights in American workplace; statistics from the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission show that “religious discrimination actions have increased faster than virtually any other type,” many subsequently resulting in legal action. The specific concern offered by Lund Dean et al. (191) is that “the SRW paradigm currently provides little direction on how individuals of different faiths should interact with the religious rights of others who may have very different worldviews and beliefs.” Related to this is the question of how far a firm has to go to accommodate an individual’s right to spiritual expression and engagement in behaviours (such as proselytizing) that may infringe on the rights of others or be disruptive to the organization and its customers (Lund Dean et al.).

Lund Dean et al. seem more cognizant of the challenges with spiritual diversity, challenges that can be resolved by talking about workplace spirituality in ways that are tolerant and respectful and that do not alienate and discriminate; it is an ethical imperative to do just this. Lund Dean et al. therefore join Miller and others as casting workplace spirituality as an issue to be overcome through dialogue and accommodation and other such best practices. We must make room for spiritual diversity within organizations as they currently exist. There seems less of an appetite to consider how the very fabric of an organization’s culture, mission, structure and work practices could (or should) be changed by the inclusion of a genuine plurality of religious and spiritual influences introduced by spiritual workers and spiritual work. In other words, how might a commitment to social justice or an employee base insistent on their capacity to self-actualize result in radical and not superficial change? Boje (177) might caution that

without change at these structural levels, spirituality as accommodation “symbolizes a collapse of spiritual diversity[, ...a] case of assimilation to the global empire” or prevailing orthodoxy of capitalist society. In the absence of respectful pluralism, the management of diversity may not produce real diversity.

5.2.4 Interdiscursive linkage IV: the discourse of leadership.

One of the themes that emerged in my analysis of the workplace spirituality corpus is that spirituality is manifest in an organization when members of it embody a particular style of leadership. This begs the question of whether spiritual leaders are unique or simply a repackaged form of exemplary leaders that has been advanced in the leadership discourse which predominates organizational studies. Fry (115) anticipates this issue when noting that “the conceptual distinction between spiritual leadership theory variables and other leadership theories, such as authentic leadership, ethical leadership, and servant leadership, needs to be refined.”

Boje notes the long and parallel history of spirituality and leadership, where in each historical period since the death of Christ, leadership has been somehow related to living a spiritual life. The theoretical development of leadership has advanced rapidly since the mid-twentieth century, with particular emphasis on such variables as leadership traits, categories of behaviour (from a task orientation where the focus is on production to an interpersonal orientation where the focus is on people), gender and cultural variation, followers and exemplary followership, situational variables contributing to the contingencies of leadership, and the prerequisites for achieving transformational change. Regarding spirituality, we have witnessed in this period “a CEO approach to spiritual leadership, [because...] it is in the last fifty years of modernity that the managerial

paradigm has taken root, where spirituality is subordinated to profit and hierarchy” (Boje: 163). Boje’s position stands in contrast to the efforts of many authors in my corpus who strive to revive the importance of spirituality to leadership. The word leader or leadership appears in the title of nine entries in these texts, and several more still specifically address leadership within their contribution. The bulk of these contributions address the twofold objective of articulating who a spiritual leader is, and what a spiritual leader does.

As noted in Chapter 4, a spiritual leader is largely based upon the development of one’s consciousness, leading to a greater sense of self-awareness and relational appreciation {codes: leadership theory; leadership development; theories of organizational behaviour}. We are told repeatedly how leadership begins with the development of oneself, as “we cannot lead anybody or anything if we don’t know how to lead ourselves” (Bouius) and “I really do believe that leading oneself is the key to leading other people” (Esposito). Leadership is therefore a state of being (Bouius; Bowman and Bowman), of being conscious in particular. “Evidence suggests that each progressive stage of development [of one’s consciousness], with its broader construction of one’s identity, one’s world, and one’s relation with others, unfolds greater capability for effective leadership” (Heaton and Schmidt-Wilk: 127). A product of such self-knowledge is the development of authenticity, which is of particular importance to the embodiment of leadership (Esposito). As a result, “the cultivated self is a leader’s greatest tool” (Bouius). Such ideas draw directly from the knowledge made available in the leadership discourse within organizational studies, and in particular from contributors such as Hesselbein (2003: 61, emphasis in original) who have noted that “the leader for today and the future will be focused on *how to be*.” Hesselbein (2003), for example,

promoted the articulation of one's values and principles, the development of one's character and courage, and the commitment to quality and relationships, and highlighted how one's words and behaviours demonstrate belief in the importance of such things. This emphasis on 'being' echos the oft-quoted maxim from Gandhi that we 'must be the change that we wish to see in this world.'

Likewise, the noted emphasis on authenticity and being authentic within my corpus (Benefiel and Hamilton; Bowman and Bowman; Esposito; Landon; Maio; Ouimet; Sallick; Secretan) is also similarly emphasized within the leadership discourse. We learn from George, Sims, McLean and Mayer (2007), for example, that authentic leaders are true to themselves, initially requiring self-knowledge and clarity as to what is important and valued, which then becomes manifest in a commitment to one's values, a passion for one's purpose, and continuous reflection to complete the feedback loop of self-awareness. Such authenticity is also at the core of Drucker's (1999) challenge to 'manage oneself' – we can only leverage our strengths when we know what they are, what we care most about, and how we see ourselves making a contribution. According to Kouzes and Posner (2007), exemplary leadership all begins with this capacity to 'model the way', which necessitates leaders' finding their own voice, articulating their values, beliefs and guiding principles, and acting consistently on all of the above. From the preceding we can see that spiritual leadership of the conscious type bears much in common with the messages of self-awareness, authenticity and 'being' that have much currency in the leadership literature.

Various references to intelligence also swirl around in the workplace spirituality and leadership discourses. I will focus here specifically on emotional intelligence and

spiritual intelligence, although there are discrete references to appreciative intelligence (Krahnke and Cooperrider) and intentional intelligence (Steingard) within my data. Emotional intelligence is a prominent trait in the leadership literature (e.g., Cherniss, 2006), referred to by Goleman, Boyatzis and McKee (2001) as both the foundation and essential feature of effective leadership. Emotional intelligence is linked to the prior trait of self-awareness, particularly with respect to one's emotions, and goes further to note the importance to leadership of self-regulation, intrinsic motivation, empathy and the capacity to manage the emotions of others (Goleman et al., 2001). Côté, Lopes, Salovey and Miners (2010) found that the ability to understand emotions, a specific dimension of emotional intelligence, was consistently associated with leadership emergence over and above cognitive intelligence. These ideas are carried forth into my data. For example, emotional intelligence is understood to help one to become more self-aware and in control of one's emotions (Bowman and Bowman). Further, emotional intelligence is seen to be helpful in creating a safe space for the 'inherently spiritual' practice of cooperative inquiry insofar as it nurtures empathy, self-awareness and a strengthening of relationships (Benefiel and Hamilton). Finally, as I note in Chapter 6, the authors of the texts use emotional appeals and demonstrate some capacity to manage the emotions of others to support their own subject positions as leaders within the field.

Within the leadership literature we also learn that spiritual intelligence "underpins IQ [intelligence] and EQ [emotional intelligence]" (Zohar, 2005: 46). Zohar (2005: 46) elaborated: "Spiritual intelligence is an ability to access higher meanings, values, abiding purposes, and unconscious aspects of the self..., an ability to think out of the box, humility, and an access to energies that come from something beyond the ego..., [and an]

ability to inspire people, to give them a sense of something worth struggling for.” Within the texts I analyzed, it is Steingard (90) who observes that spiritual intelligence refers to the capacity to find meaning and value in one’s life and hence is “an important subdiscipline within the field of spirituality in business.” For Heaton and Schmidt-Wilk (126), “spiritually intelligent leadership, characterized by maintaining equanimity, feeling connected to the holistic flow of nature (Tao), and behaving with compassion and wisdom, with a decreasing need to control” is the product of the development of higher states of consciousness (itself a product of transcendental meditation techniques). It may be possible to conclude from this brief review that the workplace spirituality discourse is not adding to our understanding of the intelligence traits required for exemplary leadership, but is perhaps validating prevailing ideas about intelligence and leadership. Moreover, it is becoming increasingly difficult to separate the workplace spirituality discourse from the leadership discourse, as both are embedded with ideas borrowed from the other. In promoting the importance of increasing self-awareness, finding meaning and purpose, building relationships, inspiring others, and leveraging transcendent sources of energy, are we referring to a particular type of spiritual worker or leadership in general?

Authentic self-awareness and intelligence are just two traits emphasized in both the leadership and workplace spirituality discourses. Secretan adds to this his own list of six traits that he has coined the ‘CASTLE’ principles. “Do those six things and we end up being inspiring leaders and creating oneness. What is oneness? It’s about living a life that’s courageous, authentic, serves others, where we tell the truth, where we’re loving and effective.” Courage is the first in this list on purpose, for “nothing happens unless we’re courageous enough” (Secretan; see also Esposito). Miller repeats the conclusion

reached by Collins in *Good to Great* by noting the following leader attributes: “They’re goal oriented, humble, and they’re tenacious. They do not give up. They will go through thick and thin to get that goal.” The point is not to establish a definitive list of traits of the spiritual leader, but rather to highlight how a focus on traits is already a recurring element of the leadership discourse, particularly from the psychological perspective of better understanding the characteristics of a leader. Kouzes and Posner (2007), for example, report the changing characteristics of admired leaders over a span of two decades, with being honest, forward-looking, inspiring and competent consistently topping the list. Although the workplace spirituality discourse is still grappling with this question of which traits help distinguish leaders from non-leaders, it is perhaps worthy to note that such a focus is largely passé in the leadership literature that has moved on to consider as more important behavioural and situational leadership variables (Jackson and Parry, 2008). It may be true that leaders need to possess many qualities, it is also understood that “irrespective of your personality, you can engage in the behaviours of effective leadership” (Jackson and Parry, 2008: 35).

The most common discursive link between the leadership and workplace spirituality discourses is in the form of transformational and servant theories of leadership, which both prescribe a particular type of leader behaviour. Within my data, leaders are clearly agents of transformation, engaging in transformational inquiry (Benefiel and Hamilton) and participating in transformational speaking (Larsen), all of which culminates in transformational change at the individual (Krahnke and Cooperrider; Ouimet) and organizational level (Benefiel and Hamilton; Bowman and Bowman; Fry; Heaton and Schmidt-Wilk; Krahnke and Cooperrider; Lips-Wiersma and Nilakant). For

example, we learn from Bowman and Bowman that “conscious leaders are the one who choose to create change and transformation, and inspire everyone that they come into contact with to choose to create change and transform.” According to Fry (108), “spiritual leadership is a causal leadership theory for organizational transformation.” Furthermore, Fry, Miller and Secretan all make specific reference to servant leadership as a useful way of understanding spiritual work. Secretan goes so far as to say that “all great leaders have been servant leaders;” in making this claim, Secretan offers the example of Gandhi who, as I noted before, was frequently cited as an exemplary leadership model. Miller links the trait of humility to servant leadership and notes that this model of leadership can be found “in a lot of religious teachings of how leaders should be.” As noted in Chapter 4, reference to service more generally is commonly made (e.g., Fry; Krahnke and Cooperrider; Miller; Sallick; Silver) to illustrate how work can be made meaningful. The workplace spirituality discourse, then, according to my corpus, is in part constructed to mean that spiritual workers (as servants or servant leaders) need be engaged in spiritual work (as service).

Servant leadership has been popular within the leadership discourse in organizational studies for some time, no doubt owing in large part to Greenleaf’s (1977) articulation of the theory. On the back cover of Greenleaf’s (2003) *The Servant-Leader Within*, Peter Senge commented that it is “the most singular and useful statement on leadership I’ve come across.” In its most simplistic form, servant leadership claims that leadership must begin with the desire to serve others first, prioritizing the needs of others, and hence incorporates such ideas as self-awareness, empathy, stakeholders, humility, and non-coercion within a mandate to heal, achieve the growth of others and promote a

community ethic (Greenleaf, 1977). Miller may have a point in suggesting a connection between servant leadership and religious teachings, as Greenleaf (1977) did not conceal his Christianity and the example of Jesus in his writing. De Pree (2003) likewise argued that a leader is one who serves by acting as stewards for the heirs of an organization, by expressing and defending a set of enlightened values, by creating a legacy of greater meaning in the lives of those led, and by making a contribution to civil society. Both Greenleaf and De Pree came to articulate this theory after long careers in private businesses, the former at AT&T and the latter at Herman Miller. In a more self-serving manner than either of these two architects, Secretan articulates the payoff of servant leadership in the following manner: “If we serve people so powerfully that when we have problems they’re there for us and looking out for our backs, that’s a wonderful testament to serving powerfully as a leader.”

Whereas servant leadership in theory challenges the hierarchical view of organizational leadership in which organizational members as followers serve the will of those who lead them, Boje (175) makes clear his disdain for the privileging of servitude at all as a form of spiritual work, as this often results in “confusing servanthood with serving the business customer.” Silver, for one, makes service the rationale of business – a dedication to fulfilling the needs or solving the problems of others – and he challenges his audience near the beginning of his address to consider this central question: “Are you in service?” Furthermore, servant leadership is also too easily misappropriated by companies such as Wal-Mart whose claim of servant leadership “appears hypocritical, made in a year of record class action lawsuits against the corporation for various unethical practices” (Boje: 175). Regardless of whether one deems servant leadership to

be progressive or alienating, the ease with which it bridges the discourses of workplace spirituality and leadership begs the question of whether spiritual leadership extends or simply repackages prevailing theories of leadership within organizational studies.

There is also an instrumental rationale for all this interest in spiritual leadership. From Fry's (108) point of view, "the purpose of spiritual leadership is to tap into the fundamental needs for the SWB of both leader and follower, through calling and membership, to create vision and value congruence across the individual, empowered team, and organization levels, and, ultimately, to foster higher levels of organizational commitment and productivity." Outside of the texts that comprise my data, the workplace spirituality literature contains an overwhelming focus on articulating these organizational outcomes, as noted already in Chapter 2. With specific respect to leadership, Tischler, Biberman and McKeage (2002) highlighted the positive linkage between both emotional and spiritual intelligence and workplace performance. Based on these examples but in recognition of the many others, Boje's critique seems to stand, particularly with respect to the grounding of spirituality in managerial discourses of leadership. In support of this critique, Tourish and Tourish (2010: 207) recently analyzed how leadership development is constructed in the discourse of workplace spirituality and concluded that "influence is conceived in uni-directional terms: it flows from 'spiritual' and powerful leaders to more or less compliant followers, deemed to be in need of enlightenment, rather than vice versa." This is no doubt due to the fact that leadership is a formalized and institutionalized role that grants leaders power in organizations, and hence leaders enjoy the capacity to define situations and manage the sensemaking of others (Smircich and Morgan, 1982). This control often happens at the level of organizational culture, via the

imposition of rules, values, symbols and stories which leaders can use to regulate beliefs and impose a particular meaning to the organization and one's membership in it (Long and Helms Mills, 2010). Mitroff and Denton (1999a: 182) understood the capacity leaders enjoy to impose their meanings, as "leaders of would be spiritually based organizations are well advised to emphasize and reinforce their ideals" resulting in the 'vision and value congruence' to which Fry referred. In its privileging of the leaders' goals, the discourse of workplace spirituality "promotes constricting cultural and behavioural norms, and thus seeks to reinforce the power of leaders at the expense of autonomy for their followers" (Tourish and Tourish, 2010: 207). Boje (164) argues that such a selective or distorted interpretation of the underlying spirituality in leadership can result in occurrences of spiritual abuse in organizations, in which leaders could be charged with a "false or pseudo spiritual practice (bringing bondage and shepherding to people)." Boje demands that spiritual leadership be built upon a foundation of critical spirituality, which for critical theorists such as Horkheimer would focus on eradicating injustice, overcoming servitude in all its forms (including the idea of 'customer is king'), and enabling spiritual diversity instead of conformity.

5.2.5 Interdiscursive linkage V: the discourse of corporate social responsibility.

As I noted in Chapter 4, the concept 'socially responsible' was commonly attached to the object of work by the authors of the texts that comprise my data, hence highlighting the obvious connection between the discourse of workplace spirituality and the discourse of corporate social responsibility (CSR). Carroll (1999: 268) dated the beginning of the "modern era of CSR" to the 1950s, when formal writing on the social

responsibilities of businesses accelerated. Within the latter half of the last century, there was an increasing emphasis on the ethical consequences of one's actions, acting 'justly' as a good citizen should, and voluntarism, philanthropy and means of improving the welfare of one's community while serving in a business capacity (Carroll, 1999). A catalyst for thinking in these terms is the open system perspective of businesses organizations as embedded within a broadly based set of stakeholder relationships. Freeman (1984) challenged businesspersons to recognize that, like shareholders, there were a host of other parties that had a legitimate stake in business decisions insofar as they directly benefitted from, or were harmed by, such decisions. Henceforth, managers have to act in a manner that seeks, on balance, the better outcomes for all parties because all stakeholders, as autonomous human beings bestowed with dignity, should have the capacity to demand certain actions from managers and not be treated as a means (Evan and Freeman, 1988). Today, "the stakeholder idea is alive, well, and flourishing" (Agle, Donaldson, Freeman, Jensen, Mitchell and Wood, 2008: 153). Given the legitimacy granted to stakeholders, "the substance of social responsibility arises from concern for the ethical consequences of one's acts as they might affect the interests of others" (Davis, cited in Carroll, 1999: 272). Indeed, acting ethically has emerged as one of the main elements of a conceptual understanding of CSR, that is, behaviour that exceeds economic and legal minimum standards (Carroll, 1999). Business ethics, along with stakeholder theory, corporate citizenship and corporate social performance (which examines the principles and processes for responsibility to be realized) together comprise the major themes of CSR (Carroll, 1999). From these themes have emerged such ideas as 'conscious capitalism' (e.g., Aburdene, 2005), 'virtuous business' (e.g., Malloch, 2008) and 'capitalism 2.0'

(e.g., Henderson and Malani, 2008), all of which have enjoyed greater popularity in the post-Enron (-Worldcom, etc.) era of the twenty-first century. Carroll (1999: 292) concluded his review of the history of CSR by noting that it is a well-established core construct that “captures the most important concerns of the public regarding business and society relationships” and from this foundation will emerge new definitions of CSR or alternative ‘thematic frameworks.’ “Very few unique contributions to the definition of CSR occurred in the 1990s. More than anything else, the CSR concept served as the base point, building block, or point-of-departure for other related concepts and themes, many of which embraced CSR-thinking and were quite compatible with it” (Carroll, 1999: 288).

Discursive connections between the discourse of CSR and the discourse of workplace spirituality are plentiful in the texts I analyzed {code: business ethics and CSR}. Fry (111) notes how CSR is that which is produced by spiritual workers, specifically because “spiritual leaders produce the follower trust, intrinsic motivation, and commitment that are necessary to simultaneously optimize human well-being, corporate social responsibility, and organizational performance.” Furthermore, Fry (119) cites Freeman in situating the stakeholder concept within workplace spirituality: “The spiritual leadership paradigm also utilizes a stakeholder approach in viewing social organizations as being embedded in layers or levels (individual, group, organizational, societal) with various internal and external constituencies . . . , all of whom have a legitimate strategic and moral stake in the organization's performance.” Likewise, Heaton and Schmidt-Wilk call for expanded stakeholder perspectives, Ouimet highlights how his company mission makes reference to stakeholders, and Silver suggests that stakeholders “are all faces of

God.” Feuerstein advocates on behalf of greater voice being given to worker’s interests as a particularly important stakeholder, and no amount of charity giving by a business can compensate for treating workers as less than autonomous human beings. Based on my reading of my data, the stakeholder concept is embedded into the workplace spirituality discourse to the extent that workplace spirituality can be seen, in part, as an outgrowth of the CSR construct.

The importance of ethical behaviour on the part of people working in a business organization is also a prominent feature of the workplace spirituality discourse. Bouius, Fry and Marx et al. all cite Aburdene’s work on conscious capitalism in promoting a more virtuous form of management that can produce moral transformation amongst businesses. Rutte suggests that ethics and morality are “code words for spirituality” and Marx et al. note that a spiritual workplace is often perceived as synonymous with having “lofty moral and ethical intentions.” Cavanagh and Hazen describe how, for one of their client organizations, spiritual discernment is simply an outgrowth of ethical discernment. Likewise, for Miller, ethics is one of the key ways that faith becomes manifest at work, for one’s actions “demonstrate the ethical underpinnings of [one’s] faith tradition.”

Finally, within the texts that comprise my data, there exists a commentary on how all of these stakeholder considerations, and the ethical imperative to consider stakeholders (e.g., Feuerstein), should be managed in a balanced manner. Fry acknowledges the pressure on management to maximize the ‘triple bottom line’ of profits, people (the well-being of employees in particular) and the planet (as a proxy for the host of remaining relationships to society). “One of the greatest challenges facing leaders today is the need to develop new business models that accentuate ethical

leadership, employee well being, sustainability, and social responsibility without sacrificing profitability, revenue growth, and other indicators of financial performance” (Fry: 109-110). Zimmer too notes how his own property development organization operates on triple bottom line principles based on an integrative approach to work. The environmental sustainability of one’s organization is a particular manifestation of social responsibility for Cavanagh and Hazen, Krahnke and Cooperrider, and Zimmer. Oiumet more generally speaks to simply bridging human and economic interests. The ideal being sought is a more ‘enlightened’ form of leading in organizations (Biberman and Tischler; Maio; Miller). It is the incapacity to find balance that Lips-Wiersma and Nilakant specifically find problematic about the CSR framework within workplace spirituality, for in practice social obligations are entertained to the extent that they do not jeopardize economic priorities. In other words, an ‘enlightened self-interest’ is still predicated on self-interest as the root driver of behaviour in an organization, and this precludes a genuinely inclusive form of stakeholder management. Boje likewise sees in this discourse an absence of ‘real stakeholders’ democratically engaged and to whom management is properly answerable.

5.3 Macro Context: Societal Level Discourses

In Chapter 3, I made reference to the necessity of examining the social context in which discursive activity takes place, as this embeddedness is in part what gives shape to the discourse that emerges from it. Discursive practices “are social and require reference to the particular economic, political and institutional settings within which discourse is generated” (Fairclough, 1992: 71). Thus far in this chapter, I have noted how the language of spirituality within the workplace spirituality discourse draws upon particular

understandings of religion and spirituality. More broadly, I have noted how the discourse of workplace spirituality is linked to multiple existent discourses within the field of organizational studies; indeed, we can come to understand workplace spirituality as much more than simply different ways of talking about spirituality but as a variation of, or extension to, popular organizational discourses. In this section, I wish to broaden the analytical lens further still and note how ‘grand’ discourses operating at the societal level in North America, into which this workplace spirituality discourse enters, have likely been active in giving shape to it all along. Such a context further creates possibilities and imposes boundaries, creating ideal conditions for the emergence of the workplace spirituality discourse so long as it does not disrupt prevailing systems of belief, even if these prevailing systems of belief perpetuate social inequities and inequalities. But what must be said about North American society – and here I must remind the reader of my limited geographic scope and assumptions about the commonality of this context – given that there is no inherent limit to what could be considered relevant? Again, as always, we must simply follow the clues that exist in the texts that comprise my data.

The first observation is to revisit the idea within my corpus that workplace spirituality is part of a broader project of self-improvement, a defining characteristic of the existential times in which we find ourselves {codes: consciousness; self-spirituality; reconstructing oneself}. Solomon (no date) offered the following insights:

Americans...are very concerned, as self-help books make amply clear, with the idea of self-realization and self-improvement, the very idea of picking oneself up by one’s bootstraps and making something new out of oneself.... The idea of self-improvement

really defines a good deal of American society. The whole idea of social mobility, the whole idea of mobility in general, is something that is distinctively American, but I also think, distinctively existentialist.

Clearly this central tenet of existentialism, about being in control over one's life and taking responsibility for it, has greatly influenced the workplace spirituality discourse; the self-spirituality emphasis contained within the latter only becomes possible when in the presence of the former. From Oprah Winfrey's urging to 'live your best life', to bestselling titles from Eckhart Tolle (e.g., *The Power of Now*), Deepak Chopra (e.g., *The Seven Spiritual Laws of Success*), Don Miguel Ruiz (e.g., *The Four Agreements*), Joel Osteen (e.g., *Your Best Life Now*) and Rhonda Byrne (e.g., *The Secret*), to name a few, consumers of this popular culture are immersed within the individualistic message that they can reconstruct, improve and transcend their particular reality, lifting oneself out of any situation in which they are not fulfilled and enjoying the full realization of their potential. Landon, as well as Krahnke and Cooperrider, draw from Ruiz in particular to emphasize the power possessed by humans to create their own reality through, in particular, changing the stories we tell ourselves. More generally, authors of the texts that comprise my data encourage the cultivation of one's inner spirituality, a conscious mind capable of realizing the God within and the interconnected nature of humanity, leading to peak experiences, transcendence and a meaningful existence. A life well lived is within the grasp of us all.

If existentialism is a positive minded philosophy (Solomon, no date), then one explanation for its lingering importance might simply be that our society is in need of a

positive message. This is the exact rationale used by Seligman (2003) in explaining the rise of positive psychology – since we live in times of trouble and suffering, it is all the more important to shift attention toward nurturing what is good in life. “Positive psychology holds that one of the best ways to help suffering people is to focus on positive things” (Seligman, 2003: xii). In particular, the September 11th, 2001 terrorist attack in the U.S. was cited by Seligman (2003) as a catalyst for thinking about the role and function of positive psychology, and by Wrzesniewski (2002) as a catalyst for examining meaning in work and life. Bibby (2002) too noted how 9/11 triggered an almost universal reflection on what matters and a search for answers to ‘ultimate questions.’ “Only an obscurantist could write a book on religious developments in Canada and not at least reflect on the possible impact on religion of what happened in the United States on September 11, 2001” (Bibby, 2002: 241). Five authors of the texts within my corpus mentioned ‘9/11,’ and while they did not make any attributions for the interest in workplace spirituality to this event, the cultural imprint of 9/11 cannot be understated. The past decade has also been punctuated by crisis in the American business community, as we have witnessed the demise of nationally important institutions as a result of ethical failures (e.g., Enron), the domino effect of numerous bank closures (e.g., Washington Mutual) initiated by financial mismanagement and speculation, high levels of unemployment throughout North America as a result of corporate downsizing and outsourcing that is only worsened in periods of recession, resultant financial crisis and loss of housing at the family level, and the negative impacts of all the above on consumer confidence and consumer spending. On top of all this, there exists the doom and gloom scenario of global warming, loss of human life in Afganistan and Iraq, polarization and

stagnation within the structures of governance in North America, and more frequent demonstrations of intolerance toward those of different races and systems of belief. These are just some of the sources of trouble and suffering that occupy my consciousness and is by no means a complete list; it serves to highlight the salience of focusing on positive things and the optimistic message of personal change and self-improvement.

At the same time we are encouraged to improve ourselves, we are permitted to seek prosperity. In fact, according to the central tenet of the prosperity gospel, we are instructed that God will grant wealth and financial success to the faithful (Rosin, 2009). It represents “a reclamation of the Christian’s right to have dominion over the earth” (Coleman, 2000: 27). The prosperity gospel is proliferating amongst, and to some extent dominating, mainstream, nondenominational evangelical churches in the U.S., particularly the megachurches, having taken-off during the boom years of the 1990s (Rosin, 2009). Coleman (2000: 27) saw it as a “global (neo-Pentecostal) charismatic revival.” It claims tens of millions of adherents in the U.S. alone along with such figureheads as Joel Osteen who, beyond being a best-selling author, is also “the nations most popular TV preacher, and the pastor of ... the country’s largest church by far” (Rosin, 2009). Rosin (2009) described the prosperity gospel as an upbeat theology, akin to positive thinking that has come to dominate American culture. Coleman (2000: 28) explained the constructive role of language embedded in the ‘positive confession’ teaching of prosperity, and how words spoken as a practice of one’s faith are used “to create desired effects in the self.” “The advice is exactly like the message of *The Secret*, or any number of American self-help blockbusters that edge toward magical thinking” (Rosin, 2009). Furthermore, it is “a faith that, for all its seeming confidence, hints at

desperation, at circumstances gone so far wrong that they can only be made right by a sudden, unexpected jackpot” (Rosin, 2009). The combined effect of pervasive messages about personal betterment and the capacity to transcend one’s current reality establishes the conditions of possibility for the kind of workplace spirituality found in my corpus to emerge. Recall such examples as Oiumet: “The Lord, the Creator, wants us to make profits. It gives and we bring that home” and Silver: “Who are you, as a human being, to reject what it is that the Divine gives you? Your payment, your money so you can be taken care of...” We not only have the capacity to live our best life, but it can be a prosperous one too. This is ultimately the central message of the American dream (Rosin, 2009). When prosperity is so often understood in financial terms alone, the negative realities of human prosperity are often overlooked, such as the environmental damage caused by our dominion over the earth and the condition of people living in poverty and with ill-health for whom prosperity really is just a dream.

It follows then, according to my data, that the best environment in which we can play out this self-realization and transcendence is within a free market, capitalist economic system. Indeed, many authors of these texts situate their message about workplace spirituality within the context of profit-driven free enterprise {codes: marketplace and competition; economic instrumentality}. Silver declares “I love the game of business. I hated it when I was an activist, but I went through healing and I began to see how amazingly fun it is. It’s a fun game.” Secretan reminds his audience that “in the end, we’re trying to be effective here. We are in a capitalist system. We want to make the numbers happen. If we don’t do that, we have a much bigger problem and we’ll lose our capacity totally to be courageous, or authentic, or serve, or tell the truth, or be

loving. So, we need the thing to work.” For Miller, “I like this image of the *Wall Street Journal* and the *Bible* being very close to each other. And fill in the blank, again, whatever your holy text... I would argue it has to do everything with the marketplace.” I noted earlier how several authors constructed spiritual work in a manner that serves to legitimize the economic objectives of organizations. As Oiumet states, “the free market is the most economically efficient in the history of mankind – let’s improve it before it is too late.” Miller makes essentially the same point in declaring “I love the business world. I think it’s a place where, while there’s many times it’s damaging and corrosive and difficult, it can also be a marvelous and uplifting place for human experience when done in an enlightened way.” In their consulting services, Maio creates “the business case for this,” Sallick delivers “measurable improvements in sales and profits,” and Secretan achieves on average both a halving of staff turnover and a doubling of profits by increasing consciousness in the manner described. More ironically, Zimmer claims that capitalism has been “the biggest degradater [sic] the Earth has ever seen in its millenniums” yet he caters to executives who can afford to stay at one of his luxury resorts. Common to all these examples is the fact that the structure of the economic system itself is unchallenged; rather, improvements to it are sought via more spiritual workers doing more spiritual work, that is, via more human-centric business practices. Feuerstein suggests that “the shareholder will increase his profitability in the long-term by being sensitive to the human equation” and Oiumet is keen on “reconciling the long-term growth of human well-being and personal development with sustained and competitive profitability in a company that operates in free market.” In all of the

preceding, spirituality belongs in the workplace as a way to improve the means by which prosperous ends are achieved.

It is this persistent faith in the capitalist economic system that I wish to explore further as a central feature of the social context. The textual connection between spirituality and work in a capitalist enterprise was already examined in my effort to trace some of the discursive roots to how spirituality was constructed in the texts that comprise my data. Not only was this intertextual linkage worth examining, but so too might the discursive activity by which spirituality and capitalism have become synergistic within a societal level discourse that currently is making inroads in the political-economic realm of society. To make this point, I will focus on the particularly illustrative example of Michael Novak, despite recognizing that Novak himself did not hold a monopoly on Christian thought as it relates to capitalism. For example, Zwick and Zwick's (1999) reading of Novak through the lens of Catholicism and, in particular, Pope John Paul II's *Ecclesia in America* results in a condemnation of Novak's 'bourgeois revolution,' 'new colonialism,' and rejection of "Catholic social teaching to the detriment of the poor." Indeed, the pursuit of individual prosperity within an economic system that allows for wealth to become concentrated establishes the conditions upon which social inequalities become perpetuated, yet the workplace spirituality texts are, for the most part, written by insiders who are largely uncritical of these contextual features.

I will continue with the example of Novak to highlight the power of ideology, a central problematic in CDA. Novak is the author of several books, including *The Spirit of Democratic Capitalism*, *The Catholic Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, and *Toward a Theology of the Corporation*. Employing a vocabulary similar to the spiritual language of

calling, the central message that runs through his work is to elevate “the high spiritual vocation [that] work serves” because any form of labour in service to a corporation aimed at supply demand is contributing to the satisfaction of a freely expressed human need (Novak, 1990: 33). Novak (1990: 7) likewise elevated the corporation to be “an expression of the social nature of humans, ...a metaphor for the ecclesial community.” It is via the corporation and not the state, the economic system and not the political system, that wealth is created, and from that wealth human needs are satisfied and human liberty is achieved (Novak, 1990). In his books, Novak has essentially articulated the political ideology of classic liberalism which expresses the belief that a free market is the only mechanism for preserving the ‘natural’ rights of individuals and that the singular role of government is to provide protection to these rights. Political “systems that promise ‘bread first, liberty later’ regularly fail,” warned Novak (1990: 1). In other words, the “sins of the private sector” represent far less of a danger to liberal ideas than the “tyranny of the public sector” (Novak, 1990: 34). Novak (1990: 34) summarized this point in the following rather exclusionary manner:

I advise intelligent, ambitious, and morally serious young
Christians and Jews to awaken to the growing dangers of statism.
They will better save their souls and serve the cause of the
Kingdom of God all around the world by restoring the liberty and
power of the private sector than by working for the state.

Such ideas have not remained on the pages of Novak’s various missives. It would be fair to say that these ideals of liberalism have been adopted by the neo-conservative political structures that have for the past several decades enjoyed increasing power within

governments of Canada and the U.S. Witness, too, the popular reference to a ‘religious-right’ movement that continuously exerts the power of its sizeable membership in an effort to shape public policy. Novak himself has enjoyed a longstanding position with the American Enterprise Institute (AEI), a conservative think-tank based in Washington, DC. According to its website, the “AEI continues to serve a vital role in the intellectual life of the nation. The Institute furnishes policymakers with ideas to meet the pressing challenges of today based on the resilient principles of private liberty, individual opportunity, and free enterprise” (www.aei.org/history). Moreover, it is “a think tank that has had strong influence in staffing [Republican President George W. Bush’s] administration and shaping its ideas” (Abramowitz, 2006). Novak personally continues to fuel neoconservatism, manifest in its most politically visible form in the modern libertarian movement. In a recent article entitled *God Bless the Tea Party*, Novak (2010) reminded readers of the following “fixed, eternal principles: ... the dignity and responsibility before God of every woman and man, ...the freedom of the economy from State management..., and the universal opportunity of every citizen to rise as far as their talents and hard work will take them.”

What I have offered in the preceding discussion is evidence that discourse does indeed do ideological work (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997). Ideologies are beliefs shared by members of a society – particular ways of looking at things – that spill over into the structures that society creates. In advocating on behalf of market principles, one advances a particular ideology in determining how economic activities should be coordinated and the ideal role for social institutions. The dominant ideology reinforces itself because certain beliefs about right and wrong become privileged and recreated through these

institutions and by our ongoing action. Discourse is part of this action, and the workplace spirituality discourse can be seen not only as a product of the texts and discourses that have come before, but also as a contributor in the ongoing construction of social reality, a reality in which certain ideas of individualism, personal prosperity, and liberalism prevail. We are naturalized into believing that we are our own life authors, that each person has the power to recreate oneself, that survival is of the fittest within a competitive society, and that somehow spiritual beliefs and expressions are not inconsistent with them all.

In this section, therefore, I have attempted to highlight the dialectic relationship between discourse and social reality by noting how the historical embeddedness of actors both influences the texts they produce, and how these same texts promulgate prevailing thought traditions and assumptions. Workplace spirituality indeed privileges and extends a particular way of viewing the world and the social relationships within it. In turn, it seems fair to question whether the workplace spirituality discourse that I have described could have possibly emerged in a different social context, or whether something unique about North American society further creates the conditions of possibility for its emergence.

Resistance to this dominant ideology remains, however, a prominent feature of North American society, and the presence of dissenting voices and views cannot be ignored. Characterized by such popular dichotomies as ‘conservative versus liberal,’ ‘right versus left,’ and ‘private versus public,’ ideology is omnipresent in such recent debates in both Canada and the U.S. as the provision of universal health care, government bailouts, corporate taxes and regulation, constitutional freedoms, and more. “Just about

anything can be fodder for an ideological dispute these days” (Dykes, 2010: 1). In other words, the presence of ideology, even a dominant one, does not negate resistance, and this point is exemplified within my corpus. In an earlier section titled ‘Outliers: voices of concern’, I noted how some authors resisted constructing workplace spirituality in accordance with the dominant themes {code: concerns and critique}. In so doing, they oppose the prevailing ideology that informs the societal level discourses of individualism and personal prosperity; I shall briefly revisit their central message. Lips-Wiersma and Nilakant are particularly noteworthy, for they engage in the same discursive practices as the other authors but in an effort to challenge and transform the dominant systems of belief so that they do not become hegemonic. They take issue with the more common tendency to describe spiritual work done by spiritual workers as a more enlightened, sustainable and humane way of maximizing wealth. Indeed, Lips-Wiersma and Nilakant’s (53) contribution to my data is a critique of neoliberalism itself, the self-interest which lies at its heart, and the “dysfunctional consequences in terms of increased inequality, commodification, environmental degradation, and the substitution of market exchange for human ethics.” Lips-Wiersma and Nilakant note how neoliberalism carries forward taken-for-granted assumptions that shape the policies and practices of social institutions such as businesses and government, to the extent that businesses themselves are no longer seen as social institutions but rather as simply instruments for the maximization of shareholder value. Lips-Wiersma and Nilakant differ from most of the other authors in my corpus, therefore, in that they explicitly challenge the neoliberal assumptions that inform management theory and practice and position workplace spirituality as a force for social change. They seek to rehumanize managerial practice by

promoting the role of compassion, the ends of individual human welfare, and the underlying assumption that a business should have a purpose beyond profit.

Boje too reaches this same conclusion via a different route, by synthesizing the lessons from critical scholars that have come before and much earlier reached the same conclusion. Boje (180) draws in particular upon Horkheimer and Adorno whose views ran “counter the illusion of economic competition as being progress, when in their view it is degenerative of cooperative exchange.” According to Boje (180), these scholars specifically challenged individualism, in which “there is an ideal of equity and freedom of choice promised by the idol of market forces that is not realized.” Instead, “the individualistic competition ethic lends itself to the social Darwinian thesis” (Boje, 180), which itself “is a corporate reading of the transcendental forces of an invisible hand of competition that sorts the rich from the poor” (Boje, 168). To the extent that the discursive activity of authors such as these challenge hierarchical servitude, consumption, and self-interest, promoting instead consideration of the values of compassion, justice, and cooperative exchange, then the workplace spirituality discourse has the potential to challenge and transform prevailing ideological orientations and disrupt the dominant assumptions upon which business is constructed. For Boje, then, if workplace spirituality fails to problematize the foundations of the economic system built upon individualism and liberal ideals, then it is ultimately a ‘truncated spirituality,’ regressive and abusive, and becomes a tool used by the ‘culture industry’ to impose a ‘fundamental coherence’ in support of economic conservatism and capitalist institutions. Given my review of how spirituality and capitalism have become interwoven within a societal level discourse that

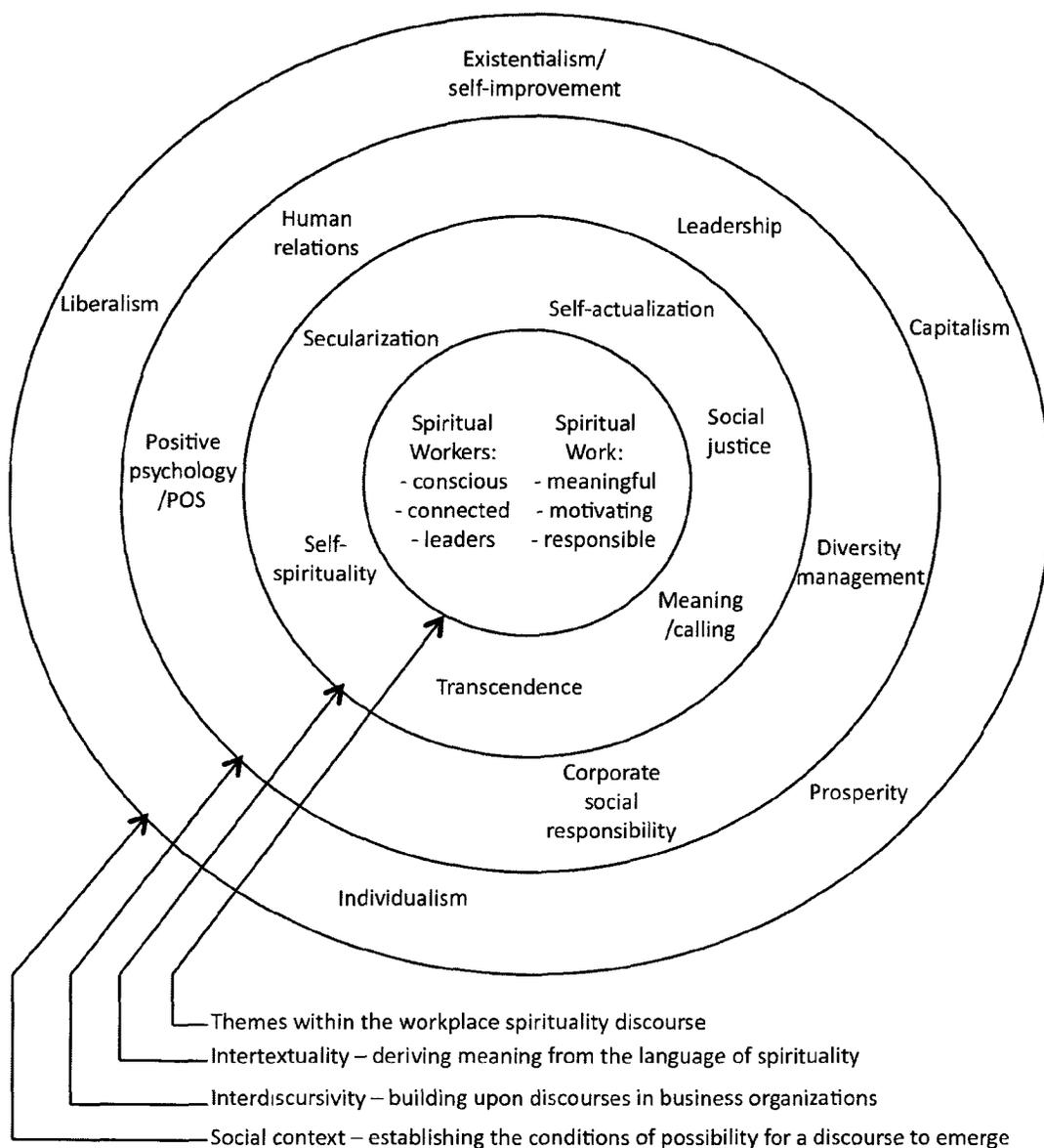
currently is shaping the political-economy of North America, Boje's worries seem well founded.

5.4 A Summary Model of the Discursive Textscape

In an October 19th 2010 posting on the MSR listserv, Judi Neal referred to management, spirituality and religion as “a fragile and emerging field.” Given the discourse analysis I have just provided, I would have to disagree. Workplace spirituality is neither fragile nor emergent, but rather has been constructed out of several longstanding and popular discourses. First, it derives its meaning from the complex language of spirituality itself, in particular more humanistic conceptualizations in which notions of inner-spirituality, calling (through one's work), personal experiences of transcendence and self-actualization are emphasized. Second, workplace spirituality appears to have been born out of such established organizational discourses as positive organizational scholarship, the human relations movement, diversity management, leadership and corporate social responsibility. The resemblance of workplace spirituality to these organizational discourses is striking – they are to some extent indistinguishable, depending on the author. Finally, at the macro level, workplace spirituality enters an individualistic social context in which certain privileged ideas about self-improvement, personal prosperity and the morally ‘good’ economic system for the realization of both becomes imprinted into the workplace spirituality discourse. All together, this social reality creates the conditions of possibility for such a discourse to emerge, and in turn, the discourse serves to give credibility and legitimacy to the social context, strengthening the dominance of such ideas. I have attempted to capture this discursive textscape in Figure 5 that follows. In all, then, we come to receive workplace spirituality as something we

have seen before, as a natural outgrowth of well-grounded roots that become visible when one seeks to uncover the intertextual and interdiscursive links of the workplace spirituality discourse. The discursive practices of text production have allowed workplace spirituality to emerge on the organizational landscape as an established and particularly sensible discourse.

Figure 5: A Textscape of the Workplace Spirituality Discourse



More than just a 'textscape,' this image represents a plausible theory of the workplace spirituality discourse. The centre of these concentric circles is comprised by the plural themes for spiritual work and spiritual workers that were examined in Chapter 4. We can better understand what these themes mean and why they have been given prominence in the discourse by highlighting the texts likely to have been embedded into, and built upon by, the workplace spirituality discourse throughout the processes of its production. I have offered a story in which I have presented the thematic structure of this collection of meaningful texts, and theorized as to the various antecedents to, and influences upon, the structure and meanings I found within the discourse. In doing so, I have given the discourse of workplace spirituality a plausible shape, constituted in the manner described and as a product of a reweaving of ideas that has produced a particular form of knowledge. Sharing the same objective as Forray and Stork (2002: 498), I wished "to give voice to alternative narratives, meanings that exist within – but are unacknowledged by – the current mainstream spirituality and organizations literature." Hence, I have "follow[ed] different paths about 'the same story' [and have presented] parts of the story that were not told, or at least not connected before with what appeared as causal and self-evident" (Calás and Smircich, 2003a: 32). The cumulative effect of this analysis forms a theory of discourse structure for workplace spirituality, with insights into what the discourse constructs and how the discourse came to be structured as such.

5.5 A Reflexive Account of My Role as Interpreter

The theory of discourse structure for workplace spirituality that I presented is of course a product of my interpretation, the plausibility of which is grounded in the texts that comprise my corpus and my methodological rigour. It is, nevertheless, my own

construction, a reality I have created. Although I have attempted to maintain neutrality in adhering to the methods of critical discourse analysis, my interpretation is inevitably influenced by my own ideas, values and assumptions (Charmaz, 2006). In other words, I am as much a producer of the discourse as the authors of the texts I analyzed and I cannot separate myself from that which I study. As a result, I must reflect upon how I may have written myself into the story I have constructed. As Grant et al. (2004: 24) noted, the need for “reflexivity is well embedded within the discourse of organizational discourse.”

As noted already, my interpretation is inevitably influenced by my immersion in the workplace spirituality discourse, and hence the etic informs the emic. Fairclough (1992) also noted this dimension of intertextuality, that is, as an interpreter of texts I too inevitably have brought texts with me into the interpretation process. I was already aware of features such as the importance of connectedness as a definitional element, of the existing consternations over the presence of religion within the MSR community, of how authors write at one of several levels of organizational analysis, and of how economic instrumentality is often embedded in the literature despite whether one approaches workplace spirituality at an individual or organizational level. That I found all of these structural elements within my corpus is perhaps not surprising, but I did learn much more about workplace spirituality than I was previously aware, and the three levels of discourse analyses I undertook were certainly not constrained by my prior reading of the literature.

My capacity to make intertextual and interdiscursive linkages and offer new insights into the structure of the workplace spirituality discourse was impacted by my embeddedness in other discourses in organizational studies. In my concurrent roles as

doctoral student and university instructor, I have been immersed most significantly in the literatures of organizational theory, leadership, business ethics and social responsibility, human resource management and various texts rooted in organizational behaviour. Such embeddedness has helped me to suggest a theory of discourse structure for workplace spirituality that employs some fairly well understood management concepts. Although my analysis bears the imprint of both these roles, I feel that I was able to extend myself beyond their respective boundaries in the analysis contained in this dissertation, as I delved into numerous conceptual areas for which my prior understanding – if I had any at all – was developed much further. Nevertheless, I may have partially become what Hardy and Phillips (Hardy et al., 2001: 546) achieved in their extensive study of the Canadian refugee system, namely, “the lynchpin of an alliance that binds together those who represent the organizational studies research community and...” in my case, those who belong to the MSR community in particular. To the extent that I highlight the historicity of the workplace spirituality discourse and present it as altogether common, then I may contribute to the mobilization efforts of the MSR research community. This is a rather ironic conclusion for me to reach, as I thought my effort might have the opposing effect; indeed, when David Miller signed my copy of *God at Work* (a gift from Martin Rutte) with “To Brad – with deep appreciation for all you do to support this movement,” I thought he was misinformed.

Furthermore, in my teaching role, I am not a dispassionate dispenser of knowledge to my students. I have developed a particular interest in the moral obligations of businesspersons and the outcomes of justice and equality, all of which have become points of emphasis in the classroom. This reveals the fact that I am an embodiment of a

particular set of values that also informs the ideas I wrote into the story of workplace spirituality presented. Indeed, the anti-social, individualistic discourse of liberalism offends my community sensitivities and concern for those marginalized by forces of self-interest and the exercise of power. I am also sensitive to the idea of authenticity as I work out for myself what authentic leadership looks like, and what authentic spirituality means to me. This is perhaps a characteristic of my spiritual-seeking 'Generation X', and so delving into the spirituality of workplace spirituality was of interest and importance to me. The point to be made is that, although I have neither emphasized nor pursued ideas that do not originate from within my data, various points of emphasis and lines of inquiry within this dissertation reveal something about myself.

Beyond simply noting the relationship between myself and my subject matter, and the effect I have had on the 'knowledge' I have created about workplace spirituality, I need to also be reflexive about the research community in which I am a part (Hardy, Phillips and Clegg, 2001). My interpretation is also a product of my network affiliations and effort to construct my own identity within these communities (Hardy et al., 2001; Thomas, 2006). My doctoral studies have expanded greatly my knowledge of management, human resource management in particular, and organizational theory more widely. It has also has opened my eyes to new ways of seeing through my exposure to critical management studies and non-functionalist paradigms that have problematized much of the 'management knowledge' I carried into the program. To establish myself as a member of this research community, certain strategies for enrolment become necessary (Hardy et al., 2001). For example, I could not claim to be a part of a network of critical management scholars if I failed to address within my research the central concerns of

other actors in this network, such as attention to relations of power within my subject matter of workplace spirituality. Through this dissertation, I also seek to construct an identity within the MSR research community and associate myself in particular with the ‘critical spirituality’ network and post-positivist scholars, and here too there exists “obligatory passage points” that one must pass through in order to become a member (Hardy et al., 2001: 538). As a result of my identity efforts and desire to attach myself to particular networks, I have for example adopted the methodological lens of critical discourse analysis that is both interpretive and which allows me to embrace critique. In doing so, it becomes possible to see how “the networks in which we are embedded help shape our translation” (Hardy et al., 2001: 544).

In sum, because I exist at the intersection of various influences, I acknowledge that I am a co-creator of the theory (or story) I have presented about the discourse of workplace spirituality. It remains a plausible account nonetheless. This plausibility is a factor of my careful reading and interpretation of the corpus, searching for the often explicit, but sometimes only implicit, intertextual references that suggest to me an explanation for how the discourse of workplace spirituality came to be structured as such. Although I was searching for “clues to discourses that we can never find in their entirety” (Hardy, 2001: 26), I offer a way to understand the discourse through revealing multiple intertextual layers involved in the discursive practice of text production.

6.0 Legitimacy as a Product of Discursive Activity

In this chapter, I continue to problematize the discursive practices of text production, transmission and consumption using the methods of critical discourse analysis. In the previous chapter, I was concerned solely with exploring some of the textual linkages embedded into the workplace spirituality discourse during the production process. Here, I introduce additional features of my corpus of concern to CDA, including attention to interests, strategy, and power. “Paying attention to these textual strategies is important since it allows us to see how senses of legitimacy are created and manipulated at the textual level” (Vaara and Tienari, 2008: 991). This chapter therefore addresses one of the limitations of intertextual analysis and the emphasis on textscape in Chapter 5, which is that the actors involved in producing texts remain behind the scenes. Rather, it is via speaking and writing that actors deliberately construct legitimating accounts in order to produce change (Suddaby and Greenwood, 2005; Vaara and Tienari, 2008). This chapter is therefore an exploration of the discursive aspects of legitimation, whereby “legitimation stands for creating a sense of positive, beneficial, ethical, understandable, necessary, or otherwise acceptable action” (Vaara and Tienari, 2008: 986). Actions require legitimation; this happens in the discursive realm, and legitimation subsequently leads to new action in the material realm when key stakeholders internalize the discourse, giving rise to the dialectical nature of discourse (Phillips et al., 2004; Vaara and Monin, 2010). It is a cognitive form of legitimacy, in particular, that is created (Suddaby and Greenwood, 2005). Legitimacy can take a cognitive form to the extent that the adoption of organizational structures, processes and behaviours occurs in ways that appear orthodox, comprehensible, logical and taken-for-granted (Deephouse and Carter, 2005;

Scott, 1995; Suchman, 1995). “Rhetoric is an essential element of the deliberate manipulation of cognitive legitimacy” and rhetorical analysis is a subset of discourse analysis that focuses on how persuasion and influence structure social action (Suddaby and Greenwood, 2005). Moreover, Vaara and Tienari (2008: 991) viewed the practices of discursive legitimation as inherently political, for “it is through subtle textual strategies that particular interests and voices are reproduced and others silenced.” By paying attention to such strategies, we are able to bring to light “ongoing discursive struggles for legitimation” (Vaara and Tienari, 2008: 988).

A broad interest in legitimacy is apparent when examining the discourse of workplace spirituality. Lund Dean et al. (2003), for example, emphasized the necessity of being deemed legitimate amongst the scholarly community for this emergent field, and offered some methodological insights for how to become so. My understanding of legitimation described above, however, is as a product of the discursive activities of text production. “An essential part of CDA is examining the specific ways in which legitimation is carried out. In CDA this has been conceptualized in terms of ‘legitimation strategies’” (Vaara and Tienari, 2008: 987). Vaara and Tienari (2008) drew on earlier work by van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999) in which several specific legitimation strategies were distinguished. Three strategies will be briefly introduced in the sections that follow, with examples of how each may have been employed by the authors of the texts I analyzed. Following the example of van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999), only those strategies of legitimation I found within my corpus will be included.

6.1 Legitimation Strategies Within the Workplace Spirituality Discourse

6.1.1 Authorization.

Authorization “is legitimation by reference to authority” (van Leeuwen and Wodak, 1999: 104). Authors of the texts that comprise my data used this legitimation strategy by situating themselves amongst particularly desirable networks in the field of spirituality {codes: leaders of the movement; legitimacy}. Their subject positions are reinforced by the company they keep. Some of these references are circular. For example, Miller says that “I’d be remiss if I didn’t say hello to ... Martin [Rutte] who’s been a real inspiration and a leader in this movement.” Rutte in turn acknowledges “Andre Delbecq, who I think is the guy in this field. I mean, I think David [Miller] is a close second, but Andre is – he’s the man. Great wisdom! Not just academic scholarship, but great, great wisdom.” Cavanagh and Hazen note how the discernment skills taught by Andre Delbecq have been incorporated into the decision making processes of business leaders. Bouius notes other past and present participants at ICBC conferences, including Steven Covey, Chip Conley “and Ray Anderson, who was here on the last conference in 2003, that are literally living this out in the world today. They are role models for other companies.” Also as noted earlier, the work of Ken Wilber and his ideas about levels of consciousness are cited and built upon by Biberman and Tischler, Heaton and Schmidt-Wilk, Krahnke and Cooperrider, and Steingard. Landon has “had the great privilege of working with Miguel [Ruiz], training with him for four years,” and she subsequently reminds her audience that his book, *The Four Agreements*, “was on the *New York Times* Bestseller list for at least five years.” Ouimet ups the persuasiveness of his rhetoric by naming Mother Theresa as his “spiritual director” and notes the particular influence she has had on his

thinking as a result of his studies, meetings with her and numerous “trips to the Holy Land.” Krahnke and Cooperrider situate appreciative inquiry within a network of more secular authors who have written about hope and optimism, including Studs Terkel, Viktor Frankl and others. Finally, Bouius links the business community and her work on consciousness by stating: “Warren Bennett is a business guru. He’s one of the founders of conscious leadership – listening to the inner voice, trusting the inner voice is one of the most important lessons of leadership.” In these examples, the authors of these texts are leveraging the authority and credibility of other actors by positioning their messages into a network of like-mindedness, giving legitimacy to the various and particular ways in which they seek to construct spiritual workers and spiritual work.

It should also be noted that, by 2008, the authors of my data were acting in a discursive context in which they themselves had achieved some prominence by their historical discursive activities. The representativeness of my corpus, which I made reference to earlier, is important here in that the authors consist of some of the ‘usual suspects’ in the MSR field. For example, six of the last ten Chairs of the MSR interest group within the Academy of Management are contributing authors in the textbook that forms part of my data. Likewise, conference presenters include household names, prolific authors and seasoned business consultants. In the workplace spirituality discourse, therefore, such actors have become powerful subjects and in turn enjoy the privilege of engaging in further discursive activities. Legitimacy is created by the authority already vested in the actors who are engaged in the discursive practices.

Within this review of how texts implicate figures of authority – people understood to be leaders in the change effort toward more spiritual work and workers – we see how

certain voices tend to become more privileged and their ideas more taken-for-granted.

This analysis, then, is essentially an exploration of power relations. To the extent that the reality constructed is advantaging certain people, which in turn increases the legitimacy of the change they promote, it follows that power is being accumulated. Recall that power exists in a dialectic relationship, in that discourse constructs reality with particular relations of power, but power also goes into creating the discourse. It is important to see how a particular set of concepts, objects and subject positions, which together constitute knowledge in the field of workplace spirituality, may be dependent upon how power is exercised through discursive activity. Indeed, certain actors may possess disproportionate power to participate in the discursive practices of producing and distributing texts, and hence can more readily participate in the legitimacy efforts.

In Chapter 3, I cited the methods outlined by Hardy and Phillips (2004) for how certain people can exercise power within discursive practices. The strategic use of network links as a legitimation strategy is one such exercise of power. Perhaps more illustrative of Hardy and Phillips' (2004) point, however, is the discussion in Chapter 3 of the origins behind Biberman and Tischler's book. Recall that the mechanism by which contributing authors to this text were selected was that they were all personal acquaintances of Jerry himself, and given Jerry's prominence in the MSR scholarly community (and as 'father' of it), he is one with whom other academics and the publisher would wish to associate. Jerry's position as editor of this text also gave him the formal power to determine who could make contributions in the pages therein, another way in which power over discourse is obtained. Jerry's direct control over choosing contributors to the text gave him indirect control over its content.

Power over discourse is also present to the extent that both the book and conference which comprise the texts I analyzed are unique and seen as singularly authoritative in the dissemination of workplace spirituality ideas amongst academic and practitioner audiences {code: corpus as unique space; addressing the audience}. It has already been noted that *Spirituality in Business* is, according to Biberman, the only one of its kind, a claim intended to elevate its status amongst its academic target audience. It should be noted that this claim is a stretch, as there are indeed other perhaps comparable texts with an academic authorship and focus, including Williams' (2003) *Business, Religion, and Spirituality: A New Synthesis* in which two-thirds of its contributors hold academic posts within American universities. Nevertheless, the effect of Biberman's claim is that it establishes greater control over critical resources, enhancing his power within the discursive practices of text production and transmission. Efforts to establish the uniqueness and hence criticality of the conference were also made by several of the authors, building on its premiere status and reputation highlighted in Chapter 3. There was a particular effort made by Miller and Rutte to construct the conference as a direct manifestation of the workplace spirituality movement, not a tangential phenomenon. Moreover, it is the community of attendees established by the conference that is made sense of as special by several of the presenters. According to Miller, "this is a very self-selected audience. You're here because you're part of this movement." Zimmer adds that "I know you wouldn't be here if you didn't recognize the time that we're in." Bouius notes that "people that come to this conference, obviously, are people of consciousness" and Landon observes that "you guys are very conscious already." To the extent that the authors are successful in elevating the conference and making special its sense of mission

and membership, then the power of their message and the capacity for it to be received positively by their audience is enhanced.

6.1.2 Rationalization.

“Rationalization is legitimation by reference to the utility of specific actions based on knowledge claims that are accepted in a given context as relevant” (Vaara and Tienari, 2008: 988). Evidence of this legitimation strategy may be found in the frequent arguments that workplace spirituality is a bona fide movement worthy of the specialized attention of these authors {codes: legitimacy; institutions}. Biberman and Tischler (1) begin their chapter with the claim that “the human race seems to be in the midst of a major shift ..., and part of this shift is a shift in spirituality. Part of this larger shift in spirituality is occurring in the workplace.” Miller repeatedly suggests that there is evidence of a ‘burgeoning movement’ of spirituality at work. “This is a real movement; a social movement. Sociologists have very rigid tests with something versus it being a movement versus being fad” (Miller). Despite the above, Lund Dean et al. (189) acknowledge the presence of a debate amongst academics as to “whether SRW is authentic and will last, or whether it will ultimately gain a ‘fad’ status.”

The bona fide character of workplace spirituality is further enhanced by authors who cite the volumes of literature written on the topic. Marx et al. (203) note that “the burgeoning number of conferences, books, and scholarly articles on this topic has begun to establish spirituality and work as a mainstream topic” and they proceed to specifically note various special issues amongst management journals. Miller makes this case more than anyone, dedicating large sections of his presentation to itemizing the various publications that are paying interest to the movement. “The media is all over this. ... And

the media only does stories if they know people are interested in them. They don't do it if it's boring or not of interest. So, the media is all over it. Books – gosh, everywhere you turn, there's books on this" (Miller). Miller notes in particular the review of his own book, *God at Work*, by the *Harvard Business Review*: "I was happy they gave a nice review. But, their point was that it legitimizes this space, that smart thinking business leaders are saying, 'I've got to come to terms with this.'" Furthermore, authors highlight the existence of the MSR interest group of the Academy of Management (Fry; Lund Dean; Miller; Oiumet), companies introducing spirituality and spiritual lessons in their approaches to management (Benefiel and Hamilton; Bowman and Bowman; Fry; Miller; Olden; Oiumet; Secretan), universities inserting spiritual aspects of business within specific curriculum (Heaton and Schmidt-Wilk; Miller; Marx et al.; Rutte), scholarly advances such as the development of scientific measurements of workplace spirituality (Marx et al.), and the fact that "you could probably find a Faith at Work group in just about every major city in this country right now" (Miller). These examples further legitimate the change toward more spiritual work and workers to the extent that we are persuaded that such a social construction is already commonplace.

6.1.3 Moral evaluation.

Moral evaluation is a strategy of legitimation "by reference to specific value systems that provide the moral basis for legitimation" (Vaara and Tienari, 2008: 988). Evidence of this strategy may be found in the authors' concerted effort to be inclusive, to not alienate, and to speak in a business-friendly manner that presumably is in alignment with the value systems of their audiences. In Chapter 4, I commented on how the authors use the terms 'religion' and 'spirituality' carefully, typically preferring to avoid the words

religion and faith and their implied worldviews {code: language of belief}. Miller observes that “if you use the word religion today, studies will show that most people think – when you say the word ‘religion’ or ‘religious’, they will think of the following kinds of characteristics: narrow-minded, bigoted, my way or the highway, you’re in or you’re out.” More humanistic and internal versions of spirituality are offered in contrast. I suggested in Chapter 5 that employing spiritual meanings of the latter sort aligns better with the individualistic, spiritual-seeking, existentialist context into which the discourse enters, and is likely shaped by this context. The authors can ill-afford to articulate a decidedly religious perspective for fear of turning off their audience, and for the most part they avoid religion entirely. We must be careful, however, to not assume from the absence of such in my data that the authors harbour a hidden agenda and that a proselytizing message is simply and purposefully obscured from view.

The language employed by the authors is also likely to enhance the legitimacy of the reality they are constructing because it is a reality that is pro-business and economically advantageous {code: economic instrumentality}. This point is exemplified in Marx et al.’s (2006) description of how they subordinate discussions of spirituality in their classrooms: “It is helpful to provide a brief lecturette on the positive results connected to spirituality and virtuousness in the workplace as a way of establishing some credibility and relevance for students.” I noted in Chapter 4 how organizationally desirable outcomes of improved performance and profitability were seen as natural outcomes of more spiritual workers doing more spiritual work. Mediating variables include employee motivation, well-being, loyalty, commitment and productivity. Efforts to introduce into and enhance spirituality within the workplace are legitimized by these

positive outcomes – to use Ouimet’s terminology, the balancing of the economic and human systems – to the extent that consumers of these texts are keen on these very outcomes. Although I do not possess any insights into the ICBC audience, and am only aware that the *Spirituality in Business* book is aimed at an academic consumer, it is likely fair to assume a business-friendly audience exists for both; their names imply as much. Why else would the noted organizational instrumentality be so prominent? Why else would workplace spirituality be so commonly situated within the context of profit-driven free enterprise, and the authors largely articulate the pursuit of capital in so positive terms? Although I have noted how not all authors engage in the use of language of this sort, the presence of such can be interpreted as a legitimacy strategy, smoothing the way for the acceptance of workplace spirituality as a comprehensible and important organizational discourse.

To enhance legitimacy, authors need not simply reflect existing value systems, but may use the persuasive aspects of rhetoric to “deliberately manipulate the values and ideology of a particular discourse community” (Suddaby and Greenwood, 2005: 40). By paying attention to the genre of textual transmission, it is conceivable that a unique feature of conference presentations as opposed to text chapters is that they allowed authors of the conference proceedings {code: addressing the audience} to seek to establish an emotional connection with their audience, laying the groundwork for the message that follows. For example, in referring to a keynote address provided earlier in the ICBC conference by Bill Strickland, Esposito begins her presentation in the following manner: “Wasn’t Bill Strickland amazing? Oh! My heart opened. I felt like I’m going to cry. How am I going to do my workshop? I have never heard him speak and I believe I

have never heard anyone so grounded in their spirit and clear in reality. Oh, I'm so touched by him. So, I would like us to bring a little of the spirit of Bill Strickland into our circle this morning to honour him." Landon leads her audience through a breathing exercise, a 'how are you feeling right now' process of disclosure, and a storytelling activity to reinforce her message about developing consciousness and assuming ownership over the reality we each construct for ourselves. This level of personal sharing amongst audience members is also prominent in the presentations made by Bouius, Sallick and other ICBC authors. As Hardy and Phillips (2004) predicted, these textual devices appeared particularly seductive for their audience, the conference attendees who readily engaged in these exercises. It is conceivable as well that this demonstrated capacity to manage the emotions of others, a dimension of emotional intelligence, also helped to establish the authors as leaders within the workplace spirituality movement and enhance their credibility. As a legitimization strategy, developing such personal connections and referencing the moral goodness of their collective purpose was likely quite persuasive, leading to the internalization of the authors' messages and ensuring that intended meanings were established.

6.2 Possible Motives for Legitimation

We can surmise from the preceding discussion that establishing some legitimacy to the workplace spirituality discourse helps the authors establish their respective subject positions, and hence is in their interest to do so. Various strategies seem to have been employed by the authors in this legitimizing process, from positioning themselves alongside authoritative figures, to describing the large scale and hence commonplace nature of the workplace spirituality movement, to both reflecting and influencing the

values shared amongst their perceived audiences. Legitimacy, and the strategies for enhancing it, is not universally present within my somewhat pluralistic corpus, yet it is sufficiently present to elevate its importance, which begs the question: Why the interest in establishing legitimacy in the first place?

Drawing from Nash (2003), one explanation could be that spirituality has recently evolved into a multimillion-dollar market, complete with best-selling books, conferences, corporate seminars, consulting, coaching, corporate chaplaincy, and websites. Since the majority of the authors of these texts earn some portion of their livelihood in this marketplace, their discursive activity as spiritual salespeople makes sense as an activity of demand generation. Although I do not wish to diminish the genuine desire by many authors for positive change with respect to the human experience of work, I noted in Chapter 4 how many of the text authors write themselves into the discourse as key to the development of spiritual work and workers, largely in support of their consulting service to the business community, but also in support of their scholarly specialization, their organizational affiliations, and the text and conference of which they are a part. In doing so, they enhance their own power from within the discourse.

Not all the authors of texts that comprise my data are equally interested in establishing the legitimacy of the workplace spirituality movement and their credibility as service providers within its marketplace. An alternative motive for their discursive activity and evidence of discursive struggle thus arises. Indeed, one's interest in contributing to this discourse may very well be to offer critical and alternative perspectives to spirituality within organizational studies, perspectives that critique instrumentality, individualism and reductionism and instead make space for mystery,

enchantment and the sacred within organizational life. Certainly these perspectives are not uncommon in the broader body of workplace spirituality literature, as noted in Chapter 2. Within my data, these perspectives are represented in varying degrees in the contributions of Boje, Lips-Wiersma and Nilakant, and Lund Dean et al. In their concluding chapter, Biberman and Tischler (216) acknowledge some of the limitations of understanding spiritual experiences and transcendence in organizational life via “the prevailing linear positivist social science paradigm, which emphasizes the importance of objectivity and the tools and approaches of the scientific method.” They remain cautious, however, about deviating into new paradigms because this would diminish the capacity to share a common vocabulary and research methods, to relate findings to research that has come before, and to present work in established conferences and peer-reviewed journals. All of this “would, at least initially, make it more difficult for the ‘paradigm pioneer’s’ work to be accepted as contributing to the field” (Biberman and Tischler: 218). In other words, warn Biberman and Tischler, alternative paradigms, divergent methods and new insights that do not build on prior knowledge in a Kuhnian manner might all come at the expense of legitimacy. The point to be made from the preceding discussion, therefore, is that my authors, through their discursive activity, are interested in both establishing and, in a few cases, resisting the establishment of a mainstream, comprehensible and intellectualized spirituality at work and their legitimate place within it.

7.0 Conclusions and Research Implications

7.1 Summary of Findings

In satisfying the research objectives I established in Chapter 2, I presented a theory of discourse structure for workplace spirituality. Having first selected a representative corpus for the purpose of analysis, I added many more insights into the objects, concepts and subject positions established by this discourse to better appreciate the particular reality authors of these texts are attempting to construct. The manifestation of workplace spirituality is evident to the extent that workers have developed higher levels of consciousness, appreciate the interconnected reality of their organizational role, and improve upon their capacity to lead in particular ways. These collectively are the signs of spiritual workers, and it is largely incumbent upon individual members of organizations to construct their realities accordingly as an existential exercise. The subject position of worker is established in the discourse and various personal practices necessary to fulfill the role are prescribed. Once workers have changed, spiritual work can happen – the second manifestation of workplace spirituality. Spiritual work is constructed to be motivating, personally meaningful and to some extent socially responsible. Although there are some specific qualities of spiritual work presented, it rests largely upon the workers' capacity to make sense of their work in particular ways. The work organization is also advised to adopt several practices to help facilitate this change.

The combined development of spirituality in organizations is made meaningful as advantageous, most commonly in ways that promote the economic objectives of organizations. As Meeks (1989: 127) noted, “those who would control other people

through work must be able to control what a society teaches about the value and meaning, the incentives and control, and the distribution of work.” This can be accomplished through discourse. To the extent that the workplace spirituality discourse subsumes spirituality as a means to economic ends, it does ideological work. The actors who participate in constructing this reality employ various strategies of legitimization to reinforce their message and bolster their subject positions as credible agents of change. Moreover, the meanings they attach to spiritual work and spiritual workers are drawn from numerous other texts embedded with ideas about spirituality and various other discourses prominent within organizational studies. The tracing of these textual linkages, combined with the appreciation of power, interests and strategy, and the location of the discourse of workplace spirituality within a broader social context, all contribute to our understanding of how this discourse may have come to be structured as such.

None of the preceding suggests a monolithic, unitary discourse for workplace spirituality, for as I have noted, the authors contribute in a plurality of discrete ways and introduce overlapping concepts. The discourse has neither a singular meaning system nor a specific origin. Indeed, alternative conceptualizations of workplace spirituality have not been marginalized but rather remain firmly embedded within the structure of the discourse. These take the form of cautionary or critical language and via meanings for spiritual work and spiritual workers informed by the ideals of social justice, democracy, ethics and responsibility. Moreover, my interpretation itself does not represent a definitive reading of the workplace spirituality discourse. I am reminded by Grant et al. (2004: 14) that “researchers are only able to observe some of what is going on as a result of their methodological choices; and they promote particular readings of it depending on

academic and professional considerations [which...] discipline[s] what they see and think.” I too am imprinted in this story as a subjective interpreter whose varied influences and identity construction efforts all factor into the assumptions, choices, points of emphasis and extrapolations that have shaped this theory of discourse structure for workplace spirituality.

7.2 Toward an ‘Antenarrative’

The preceding summary represents a narrative that I have constructed from the 26 texts, or stories, within my corpus. According to Boje (2001: 2), narratives are “the theory that organization and other theorists use with stories” and he continued to argue that “to translate story into narrative is to impose counterfeit coherence and order to otherwise fragmented and multi-layered experiences.” A potential criticism of my analysis by Boje might, however, be tempered insofar as what I have done in Chapter 5 is an example of antenarrative analysis, for intertextuality exposes the “web of complex inter-relationships ensnaring each story’s historicity and situational context between other stories” (Boje, 2001: 91). We could push this inquiry further by wondering what discourses, what possible influences, have not been drawn into this web of interrelationships (i.e. the textscape) and thus have not helped to give shape to the meanings constructed by the authors. What boundaries exist as a result of their discursive practices? Although such an inquiry would be never ending – there are infinite ways in which a discourse is not constructed – I remain interested in the theory that could have been (and yet could be) possible. I’ll use the examples of Karl Marx and liberation theology to illustrate this point, although further research is necessary to explore these and other antenarratives.

The narrative I constructed out of the workplace spirituality discourse, as presented in the preceding summary, is subject to a Marxist critique to the extent that spirituality and religion in the workplace simply disguise and legitimize the structural problems (which take the form of exploitive relationships) inherent in the capitalist economic system (Davie, 2007). Perhaps in an individualistic system based on the competitive reality of there being both winners and losers, it helps to have God or some form of transcendent energy on your side. According to Marx, religion would become redundant in a socialist society; people would not be in need of the panaceas offered by a transcendent projection of the world because a society without class and exploitation would be meaningful enough (Bell, 2008; Davie, 2007). “To abolish religion as the illusory happiness of the people is to demand their real happiness. The demand to give up illusions about the existing state of affairs is the demand to give up a state of affairs which needs illusions” (Marx and Engels, cited in Davie, 2007: 26). Given that all of my authors were interested in constructing a spiritual dimension of some form to the workplace, even the critical ones, it perhaps makes sense that an intertextual linkage to the ideas of Marx with respect to religion and spirituality were not explicitly drawn upon.

Nevertheless, in Pope John Paul II’s encyclical letter, to which I earlier referred, he did articulate the Catholic Church’s social teaching in a manner “derived from a critical and creative dialogue with Marxism” (Baum, 1982: 3). Baum (1982: 7) summarized the Pope’s thesis as follows:

Capital is meant to serve labor, which means serve the workers in the industry, the expansion of the industry and the entire laboring society. The violation of this principle in Western capitalism and

Eastern collectivism is the source of oppression and misery in society. The workers' struggle for justice must aim at a social system in which the priority of labor over capital is observed.

Baum (1982: 80) read this encyclical as the continuation of a papal tradition of critiquing capitalism, particularly laissez-faire and monopoly capitalism, and indeed any form of capitalism that "stands against the labouring people." Pope John Paul II's encyclical communicated a socialism based on the two-fold principles of worker co-ownership (or rather, co-determination of the conditions of labour and the use of capital) and a responsibly planned economy (Baum, 1982). It is a socialism that is moral because "the movement demands solidarity, fidelity, sacrifice, concern for others – all moral values" (Baum, 1982: 82). Moreover, it is the subordination of capital as a means that creates the moral imperative behind socialism (Baum, 1982).

Furthermore, there is a branch of theology known as liberation theology (see Gutierrez, 1973) in which some of the ideas of Marx do have a home, and Bell (2005) drew attention to how liberation theology is a potentially useful foundation for a critical workplace spirituality. According to Bell (2005: 6), liberation theology is a movement that gained salience in the subaltern "as a means of empowering the oppressed and by giving the voiceless the chance to speak." Gutierrez (cited in Sigmund, 1990: 218) described the origins of a theology of liberation as "an attempt at reflection, based on the gospel and the experiences of men and women committed to the process of liberation in the exploited and oppressed land of Latin America." Liberation theology, therefore, contributes to the development of a critical spirituality that extends consideration from the interior aspect of spirituality, in which integration and meaning are sought for the self,

to the exterior, social context in which such an individual spiritual transformation occurs (Bell, 2005). Liberation theology is “rooted in ordinary people’s everyday experience of poverty [...] and an interpretation of Scripture that is closely related to that experience” (Bell, 2005: 5). Cole-Arnal (1998: 11) similarly suggested that “both the Biblical and historical traditions of Christianity ... demonstrate that the liberationist solidarity with the oppressed primarily represents the continuation of a fundamental tradition rather than a radically novel option.” Cole-Arnal (1998: 12) continued: “The coining of the term ‘liberation theology’ is recent, barely one generation old. Nonetheless, its roots are as ancient as the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures and its sources of nourishment come from throughout the Christian church’s entire history.”

At a theoretical level, liberation theologians problematically blended elements of Marxism and Christianity; by employing a Marxist analysis of class exploitation whilst not addressing Marx’s dismissal of religion as an ideology used to preserve the social order of the ruling class, liberation theology opened itself up to significant criticism (Bell, 2005). Bell (2008: 298; see also Turner, 1983) believed that such concerns could be muted when one recognizes the “strong compatibility between Marxism and Christianity, both of which are concerned with morality in seeking to provide an action-guiding knowledge.” Citing Boff, Cole-Arnal (1998: 6, emphasis in original) repeated the observation that “liberation theology uses Marxism purely as an *instrument*. It does not venerate it as it venerates the gospel.”

Given the emancipatory agenda necessarily central to CDA, I believe that liberation theology may provide an important source of spiritual meaning, which if drawn upon intertextually into the workplace spirituality discourse, could significantly alter the

meaning of spiritual workers and spiritual work. This suggestion is aligned with Bell (2008: 305) who sought “a more productive reconciliation between spirituality and CMS [critical management studies] that is informed by the spirit of liberation theology.” In a working world that has exploitative tendencies, including poverty wages, child labour, environmental dumping, war profiteering, greed, addiction, and so on, spiritual workers doing spiritual work would be encouraged to tackle these problems head-on. Cole-Arnal (1998: 11) likewise noted a series of injustices brought on by global capitalism and argued that, despite liberation theology’s emergence in the impoverished, colonized and militarized South, it remains a valuable resource to serve and guide North American Christian radicals and reformers “towards a more committed solidarity and reflection with the ... oppressed.” Indeed, Cole-Arnal (1998: 51) turned his sights in part toward the condition of the working class in North America who “suffer the injustices and oppression so endemic to capitalist production.” Liberation theology, then, highlights “one of the main weaknesses of the spirituality at work literature by pointing out the limited value in seeing individual enlightenment as the goal if organizations founded on exploitation and inequality remain unchanged by this” (Bell, 2005: 22).

Following Cole-Arnal’s (1998) thesis, labelling this social movement as liberation theology may not be altogether necessary, given its deep roots in Christian scripture and tradition. Cole-Arnal (1998: 52) described the North American social gospel, an anti-capitalist message articulated powerfully by the Baptist theologian Walter Rauschenbusch, as “a Protestant form of radicalism akin to liberation theology.” “It was the Catholic Church, however, that developed Christianity’s most comprehensive response to the forces unleashed by the industrial revolution” (Cole-Arnal, 1998: 52).

Cole-Arnal (1998: 54) cited the efforts of numerous people in Europe and North America working in emancipatory movements within the Catholic social tradition who “could be classified as liberationists.” As noted already, in Pope John Paul II’s encyclical letter, “he wants to find principles of social justice” (Baum, 1982: 3). He then proceeded to articulate a liberationist form of socialism that would result from workers “in solidarity struggling for their collective self-interest in the context of the wider consideration of justice for all” (Baum, 1982: 82). From this, however, I do not wish to imply the Catholic Church’s support for liberation theology, and note as an example concerns expressed by Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger (currently Pope Benedict XVI) in documents that followed the publication of *Laborem exercens* which are both cautious of the revolutionary undertones of the movement and critical of its application of Marxism (Sigmund, 1990). Baum (2006) offered a way of transcending problematic labels by referring more generally to a ‘transformist spirituality.’ Recognizing that “in every period of history, the dehumanization operative in society has a different mask,” a transformist faith offers a creative interpretation of gospel to this alienation (Baum, 2006: 166). It “empowers people to wrestle against the forces of darkness and restructure human society in accordance with love, justice and peace” (Baum, 2006: 159). Baum (2006) optimistically suggested that such a change has already taken place in Protestantism and Catholicism; it seems to have not yet infiltrated management discourses with transformational effects.

As Bell (2005) demonstrated, liberation theology remains a useful discursive resource for the MSR community, which is keen on contributing to both academic and practitioner communities, to craft an antenarrative. Liberation theology is also not simply an intellectual exercise but one for which praxis is central; it is a theology manifest in

forms of political practice aimed at improving the material conditions of human existence (Cole-Arnal, 1998; Bell, 2005). It should also be noted that several of the authors of the texts that comprise my data expressed concern for some of these problems, and numerous other authors surveyed from the broader body of literature reviewed in Chapter 2 sought a similar shift in focus for the discourse of workplace spirituality. The perspective of these actors could be unified and hence given more prominence within the MSR community if their discursive activity of text production shared the same intertextual features. It may also require that these actors adopt more postcolonial perspectives in their writing, encouraging empathy toward subordinated peoples and expressing broader forms of spiritual knowledge. The central importance of equality and justice, with practical recommendations for the promotion of same, could emerge as a prevailing theme, altering the structure and hence the theory of workplace spirituality; a new narrative could emerge. As an actor establishing my own identity in this community, promoting and engaging in such discursive activity holds personal appeal in my own future contributions, to help set the stage for new conditions of possibility.

Reflecting on the preceding paragraphs does lead me to question just how the ideologies of socialism and liberalism could engage in dialogue, and whether the dominance of the latter could nevertheless be penetrated by views of the former. How can the divisiveness of such opposing world views be overcome? Boje (2007: 506) reminded us that “an antenarrative is a ‘bet’ that a story can change the world.” One perhaps fruitful ground for bridging the ideological divide and improving the odds of this story is to, above all, insist upon good work. Drawing on Pope John Paul II, Miroslav Volf and others, Jensen (2006: 40) offered a view of work as co-creation with God. Work is poorly

anchored in the language of calling; rather creation “provide[s] the proper context for understanding human work.” Since through work we humans create and realize ourselves, then “by means of work man participates in the activity of God himself” (John Paul II, 1981: sec. 26, para. 1). Extending Pope John Paul II’s thesis, Baum (1982: 65) stated that “it is through labor that people create their world, and it is through the same labor that in a certain sense they also create themselves, as both the subject laboring and hence entering into self-actualization, and as people socialized by the objective conditions produced by their labor.” In other words, through our work, we provide the building blocks with which God will make a better world (Jensen, 2006). In interpreting Volf, Jensen (2006) described redemptive work as being achieved through using our gifts (charisms, or God-given abilities) to the benefit of all as necessary, instead of being called to a particular station in life. “Good work, then, anticipates God’s transformation of the world” (Jensen, 2006: 40). Insisting on work that helps to make a better world would necessitate the subordination of capital as a means to labour’s creative and redemptive ends.

7.3 Directions for Future Research

The analysis contained within this dissertation points the way to an area that warrants future research. Although I have acknowledged how discourse constructs objects, concepts and subject positions through the discursive practices of text production, transmission and consumption, my discourse analysis approach did not include significant attention to consumption processes and individual subjectivities. I identified how particular subject positions are constructed within the workplace spirituality discourse, yet did not examine how these positions are subsequently taken up

by subjects and the effects of this discourse upon individual sensemaking and behaviour (see Laine and Vaara, 2007). With respect to the spiritual workers themselves, what is the impact of such knowledge on the creation of their subject positions? How might members of spiritual work organizations navigate their own subjective identities – would they assume the positions prescribed and self-regulate their behaviour accordingly, or resist? More specifically, how would conscious individuals, equipped with both self-knowledge and a holistic perspective, make sense of their position within the workplace? Would this translate into organizationally appropriate behaviour, or a transformation of organizational relations? These kinds of research questions are particularly important because “legitimation attempts lead to established legitimacy if and only if the specific ideas and discourses are ‘consumed’; that is, key stakeholders must internalize the discourse in question” (Vaara and Monin, 2010: 6). Such a line of inquiry could, for example, lead to more phenomenological research to understand the lived experience of individual subjects as interpreters of the truth claims made by the workplace spirituality discourse. Furthermore, analysis of contextual variables within organizations might allow us to better understand the conditions under which certain workplace spirituality initiatives might take hold and others fail.

Further attention to the subject positions established in the workplace spirituality discourse might also highlight processes of intellectualization amongst the actors creating knowledge in this field. The presence of different types of specialists in workplace spirituality, simply amongst the authors I sampled, who can teach the practices of appreciative inquiry, cooperative inquiry, Ignatian discernment, transcendental meditation, intentional intelligence, spirited speaking, and various other consciousness-

raising techniques are all illustrative of intellectualization in the spirituality at work movement. According to Weber (1946), intellectualization is the product of scientific progress, of the ascension of technique and calculation, and of instrumental reason. “The fate of our times is characterized by rationalization and intellectualization and, above all, by the ‘disenchantment of the world’” (Weber, 1946: 155). Moreover, the creation and promotion of such spirituality experts are symptomatic of the intrusion of technique into the workplace spirituality movement, whereby mechanisms to promote workplace spirituality are subordinated to, and justified solely on the basis of, economic rationality (Driscoll and Wiebe, 2007).

Let us examine the particular example of corporate chaplains. Miller acknowledges that “now, there’s a burgeoning movement – I don’t know if it’s a movement yet, but there’s certainly a burgeoning activity of workplace chaplaincy. We’ve actually held a couple of conferences up at Yale.” Positioned in organizations as an extension of traditional employee assistance programs, corporate chaplains are described by Hicks (2003: 127) as “individuals who are contracted or hired by companies to minister to the spiritual needs of employees through pastoral service, such as crisis counseling, voluntary prayer, and stress management. This phenomenon occurs relatively frequently among corporations.” Chaplaincy has thus emerged as one dimension of the lucrative market in workplace spirituality. It takes a disenchanting form, however, as evidenced by “the instrumental treatment of religion,” which is illustrated in the efforts of service providers to highlight the organizational benefits of chaplaincy (Hicks, 2003: 129). Hicks (2003: 130) concluded that “corporate chaplaincy requires a domesticated stance toward the corporate mission.” Further research is therefore required to determine

whether some of the actors in the field of workplace spirituality could be seen as contributing to this process of intellectualization through their general support for their own subject positions within this marketplace, their reliance on technique and their particular privileging of the economic outcomes of workplace spirituality. Additional areas for future research arise out of the limitations of this study and are discussed in the following section.

7.4 Contributions and Limitations

Fairclough (2005) suggested that the potential contribution of using CDA to examine a social phenomena (in his case, organizational change) lies in one or more of the following four areas: emergence, hegemony, recontextualization and operationalization. With respect to emergence, I have examined at some length the discursive practices, particularly of intertextuality, that offers at least a partial explanation for how workplace spirituality has emerged. With respect to hegemony, my critique involved “focusing on how discourse figures within the strategies pursued by groups of social agents to change organizations in particular directions” (Fairclough, 2005: 933). Third, I have problematized how workplace spirituality represents a particular “‘reweaving’ of relations between existing discourses” (Fairclough, 2005: 932) and how alternative discourses could lead to a recontextualization or antenarrative to the story I have told. Future research may contribute toward operationalization, that is, understanding the enactment of a particular social reality constructed by the workplace spirituality discourse and the resultant changing identity of subjects.

My contribution is, I hope, to the MSR scholarly community insofar as I offer a rich – albeit inevitably incomplete and subject to alternative readings – interpretation and

theorization of the workplace spirituality discourse. Having more insights into what is being constructed allows us to better understand what workplace spirituality may be contributing to organizational life. To the extent that I have appropriately adhered to the methods of critical discourse analysis, with the requisite elements of problematization and critique, then I too hope to have contributed to the community of CMS scholars. Indeed, this dissertation is in part shaped by my identity construction efforts in both scholarly circles and the academic profession in general. Appreciating that all interpretation is a subjective process, I have presented a sufficiently plausible narrative that began with my choice of data. I analyzed the data carefully, traced the clues of discourse found there, allowed multiple meanings to emerge, connected findings to other literature as a contribution to it, showed historical and contextual understanding, highlighted political and strategic dimensions, and remained well grounded in theoretical terms (Hardy, 2001; Phillips and Hardy, 2002).

I also believe the contribution of this dissertation, and hence its potential to generate interest, extends beyond the two specified scholarly communities. This dissertation is quite broadly an exploration of the conditions of possibility necessary for an idea to emerge in a particular place and time and gain the status of a discourse. I have illuminated the processes of knowledge creation, particularly the discursive practice of text production, to show how particular ideas are selectively drawn upon and privileged in an effort to construct a reality with particular meanings. I have found it to be most helpful to understand what a theory is saying by examining the processes of its construction. The perceived novelty of workplace spirituality as a form of management knowledge, and the recency by which it is said to have gained 'movement' status, is

undermined by its heavy borrowing from other discourses and the legitimacy strategies that made this perhaps necessary. Similar discursive practices might also be present in other forms of management knowledge, and the social construction of work and workers within the discourse of workplace spirituality likely have their parallel in other discourses. I have also pointed out how authors not only attempt to shape reality in particular ways, but how the texts they author are shaped by the reality into which they enter. As a result, I offer a challenge to the taken-for-granted nature of what passes for management knowledge.

This dissertation is of course subject to several limitations. First, although I have been referring to the discourse of workplace spirituality, I wonder whether in fact I should be referring to multiple discourses. The sample of texts chosen to represent my corpus certainly represents a structured collection of meaningful texts, and in this dissertation I have analyzed both the structure and meaning of this collection. My corpus is also, as I have argued, representative in terms of its authorship, and the themes that emerged from the data are complementary to the conceptual model I generated from reviewing the broader body of workplace spirituality literature. The limitation arises in part as a result of comments made to me, both directly and indirectly, from two senior management scholars who charged the workplace spirituality movement as being a manifestation of religious evangelicalism and religious fundamentalism. Although I found evidence of neither in my corpus and I am cautious against imputing a motive onto my texts' authors, it may be the case that there is a concealed element of this movement intent on proselytizing on behalf of a particular religious world-view within the workplace. The discovery of such elements of the discourse would likely require a

sampling of texts that originated from within workplaces and not from a book and conference aimed more inclusively at a broader consumer audience. The limitation also arises as a result of the narrow range of workplaces to which the authors of my texts are inferring. Since both the book and conference, and indeed much of the MSR literature, couch workplace spirituality within businesses, a range of other kinds of workplaces and forms of labour in which spirituality could (and might already) thrive are largely not acknowledged. Further research could compare my findings to various other datasets. Regardless of what one may find, it is inevitable that further meanings can be found beyond the ones contained in the texts I analyzed.

The second limitation has to do with the issue of how far back I have to go in examining intertextual and interdiscursive linkages, that is, the historical (i.e. archaeological) examination of how workplace spirituality has existed in different forms of understanding over time. I believe that I have presented a sufficiently rich textscape that furthers our understanding of how the workplace spirituality discourse came to be structured. Further, I did so by following my data and the cues contained within, as captured by my coding, to other texts and discourses. Each link could, perhaps, be the subject of continued historical analysis, as Bay, McKeage and McKeage (2010) illustrated with their recent exploration the historical relation between business ethics and religious principles, and how the latter has been increasingly less able to inform the former as Christian thought in particular has evolved to increasingly admire the central features of market economies. I spent some time exploring the relationship between workplace spirituality and corporate social responsibility in this dissertation as one interdiscursive element, but did not engage in as thorough a historical inquiry as was

accomplished by Bay et al. (2010). Perhaps I avoided engaging in “a downward self-referential analytic spiral,” against which Keenoy and Osrick (2004: 140) cautioned. Nevertheless, the length to which one needs to go to trace intertextual linkages is unclear.

7.5 Concluding Remarks

It may be that the discourse of workplace spirituality is akin to a ‘sheep in wolf’s clothing.’ There seem to be some very sincere and altruistic motives driving the discursive activity of actors in this movement. It is undeniable that we need more good work, where the workplace can be a site where joy and justice thrive, where workers act out of compassion and empathy for the betterment of others, where workers do not live compartmentalized lives and feel disconnected from that which they value most, and where the promotion of higher, unity levels of consciousness may help realize all of the above. Such a statement could have been written by almost any of the authors of the texts that comprise my data. The power of the workplace spirituality discourse to improve the state of workers and work and achieve the expressed desire for change has, however, been diminished through the discursive practices of its authors. For example, authors have drawn on texts that most often give meaning to spirituality as an individual achievement, have discursively engaged the same theories in organizational studies that have created the kind of workplaces they now seek to change, and have employed various strategies of legitimization to establish the power of their position within the discourse. Moreover, there has been an all-too-common (yet not universal) failure to challenge dominant ideologies, and hence workplace spirituality has become as much a reflection as a new construction, in which management power, wealth maximization, competitive forces and individualism are writ large.

We need to autonomously decide how much of a role work will play in our definition of a meaningful life. A discourse that constructs work as that which is particularly meaningful and motivating, and which places the onus on workers to change in particular consciousness-raising manners, may indeed place constraints upon subjects that in turn limit authentic choices. Existentially speaking, adopting the choices of others as one's own is a recipe for bad faith. Yet too we are well advised to acknowledge the power of Gini's (2000: 187) message:

Work must be saved. Work cannot go away because it underlies all that we are as human beings. Work is literally the foundation, the precondition for all that we do, acquire, and become. Neither the basic needs and necessities nor the highest intellectual and artistic achievements can be fulfilled without work... The marketplace can no longer be seen as the only or even the primary catalyst for work. Valuable work can no longer be measured by money alone... Work must be recast to fit the needs of both individuals and the communities of which they are a part.

Although they are not mutually constitutive, meaning in life cannot be separated from meaning in work. Work is inevitably an important part of our definition of a meaningful life, and so it is within the boundaries of the workplace that the search for authenticity must take place. For me, part of this authenticity is to be responsible for expressing my spirituality in a manner that is appropriate to me, and this task remains a work in progress. Having reflected upon my own authentic spirituality will have the purposive effect of helping me articulate and act upon a message of change about how we can

improve the human condition; in other words, it shall be evident in my discursive activities.

8.0 References

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Appendix A: ICBC Testimonials

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “It was one of the most powerful experiences of my life.”
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “I got the inspiration for my new calling and mission while at the conference.”
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Thank you for putting together one of the most sophisticated, intelligent, inspiring and grounded conferences I’ve ever attended.”
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “I loved being with like souls whose mission and passion it is to help people and organizations live and lead from their souls.”
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “The conference was fundamentally transforming. You all did a great job in sending the message that business and spirituality are not mutually exclusive.”
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “As a business person, I was very comfortable with the ‘groundedness’ of both attendees and speakers. Yet, as a student of spirituality, I was pleased with the depth of commitment to spiritual issues. Perfect blend.”
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “I believe it was the single most powerful experience I’ve had in my whole life and I don’t say that lightly. I came into a knowingness that I have a ‘calling’ to be a business leader...”
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “I go back to work on Monday with the tools to grow my company to a national leader co-creating with God.”
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “My wife and I agreed that the conference themes are the important ones for the rest of our lives.”
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “I have been trying to integrate the skills required in business with humanity, integrity and awareness of the spirit within each one of us. This conference gave me the confidence to know that this is possible.”
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “The International Conference on Business and Consciousness, the grandfather of them all, attracts top-level executives and managers from global giants such as...”
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “The International Conference on Business and Consciousness is the right idea at the right time.” [This quote is not attributed to a particular person, but rather to Fast Company Magazine, and the choice of making this quote prominent on the conference website (www.bizspirit.com/business/Business08Archive/index.html) is perhaps intended to extend a degree of legitimacy to the conference.]

Appendix B: Details of the Corpus

Source	Author(s)	Chapter	Title of Chapter/Presentation
Spirituality in Business: Theory, Practice and Future Directions	Biberman and Tischler	Chap. 1 & 13	Introduction <i>and</i> Future Directions
	Krahnke and Cooperrider	Chap. 2	Appreciative Inquiry: Inquiring New Questions and Dreaming New Dreams
	Cavanagh and Hazen	Chap. 3	Sustainability, Spirituality and Discernment or Discernment Upholds Sustainability
	Lips-Wiersma and Nilakant	Chap. 4	Practical Compassion: Toward a Critical Spiritual Foundation for Corporate Responsibility
	Olden	Chap. 5	Spirituality in Health Care Organizations
	Steingard	Chap. 6	Intentional Intelligence: How the New Mind of Leadership Manifests Success in Business and Life
	Fry	Chap. 7	Spiritual Leadership: State-of-the-Art and Future Directions for Theory, Research, and Practice
	Heaton and Schmidt-Wilk	Chap. 8	Awakening the Leader Within: Behaviour Depends on Consciousness
	Benefiel and Hamilton	Chap. 9	Infinite Leadership: The Power of Spirit at Work
	Boje	Chap. 10	Critical Theory Approaches to Spirituality in Business
	Lund Dean, Fornaciari and Safranski	Chap. 11	The Ethics of Spiritual Inclusion
Marx, Neal, Manz and Manz	Chap. 12	Teaching About Spirituality and Work: Experiential Exercises for Management Educators	

Source	Author(s)	Chapter	Title of Chapter/Presentation
Ninth International Conference on Business and Spirituality	Bouius	n/a	Birthing the Leaders of the New Era: Awakening True Power in People and Business
	Bowman and Bowman	n/a	The Power of Conscious Leadership: Cultivating the Beingness of a Conscious Leader
	Esposito	n/a	Getting to the Heart of the Soul: The Global Leadership Advantage
	Feuerstein	n/a	The Lowering and Curtailment of American Wages Endangers the Future of our Democracy
	Landon	n/a	Don't Take Things Personally: The Secret to Effective Leadership
	Larsen	n/a	Spirited Speaking
	Maio	n/a	SoulBranding: How Authentic is Your Marketing?
	Miller	n/a	God at Work
	Ouimet	n/a	How Spirituality in Management Works to Reconcile the Growth of Human Well-Being with Productivity and Profits (parts 1 and 2)
	Rutte	n/a	You Can't Teach Spirituality in a Business School... Oh, Yes You Can
	Sallick	n/a	Embrace the Journey to a Fulfilling Business
	Secretan	n/a	The Art and Practice of Conscious Leadership and The Castle Principles
	Silver	n/a	Creating a Quality Business: A Sufi Spiritual Approach
Zimmer	n/a	Altruism and Sustainable Development	

Appendix C: List of Codes with Definitions

Code (Node in NVivo)	Code Definition
1. change mandate	central theme; change is required to fix and improve the way people work and the capacities they bring to the workplace, the way individuals relate to their work, and/or the outcomes of their work
2. meaning in work	work can be something we do that gives our life meaning, happiness, fulfillment, etc.; more generally, finding meaning in life is a human quest
3. spiritual journey - calling	work can be something we do that satisfies a sense of calling or purpose; we are on a journey to find our calling in life, which may be found in our work
4. consciousness	key driver of change is that we (can) bring a heightened awareness of ourselves, our values and beliefs, into the workplace; we are more conscious
5. language of belief	concepts used by the authors have spiritual meanings, yet when becoming self-aware and reflective, how do we refer to our 'system of beliefs'? are we spiritual? religious? do we possess faith in something?
6. self-spirituality (internal orientation)	a dichotomy emerges when describing beliefs: one view is that we are inherently spiritual; the source of our sacrality is that we are human beings
7. belief in God (external orientation)	a dichotomy emerges when describing beliefs: one view is that we believe in some form of a transcendent God; our sacrality is derived from an external divinity
8. spiritual texts	particular influences upon the spiritual beliefs of authors are suggested by the spiritual leaders, thinkers and texts to which they refer
9. leadership theory	various references to mainstream leadership theory and the leadership practices to which one should adhere are made by the authors
10. human relations	echoes of the human relations management paradigm are evident insofar as we need to recognize the individual person in the workplace
11. theories of organizational behaviour	the authors make reference to various management concepts, many of which can be found within the field of organizational behaviour
12. management of diversity	workplace spirituality is the latest frontier of workplace diversity; partly to be inclusive of varying values and beliefs but also to prevent discrimination
13. business ethics and CSR	authors are bringing forward ideas about changing work that are found in business ethics and corporate social responsibility literatures

Code (Node in NVivo)	Code Definition
14. reconstructing oneself	with respect to what we can do to change the way we work, we can reconstruct ourselves, our identity, what we believe in, our sense of responsibility, etc.
15. leadership development	part of our social (re)construction has to do with the way we see ourselves as leaders, and what we need to do to become leaders
16. personal practices	there are a host of individual-level initiatives (prayer, reflection, etc.) that can help us and/or motivate us to make necessary changes
17. organizational practices	there are a host of programs and policies that can be implemented at the organizational level to encourage a change in work practices
18. needs and self-actualization	when doing work that makes us feel fulfilled and that bring meaning to our lives, our highest order needs are satisfied; references to Maslow fit here
19. oneness - holism	another personal outcome of changing what and how we work is that we feel whole, complete and interconnected with everyone else
20. authenticity	putting our beliefs into practice is the essence of being an authentic person; we act out on our values and beliefs
21. organizational culture	change needs to be manifest at the organizational level too, so that the culture and values of the organization are informed by spiritual ideas and beliefs
22. economic instrumentality	workplace spirituality makes good business sense; there are advantages to organizations who integrate or accommodate individual systems of belief
23. legitimacy	authors make a case that what they are saying is legitimate, credible, real, etc., and the advice being delivered should be followed; such discursive practices can be better understood through the lens of legitimacy theory
24. leaders of the movement	the credibility of the text author is enhanced by referencing other people whose credibility is already established
25. institutions	hand in hand with legitimacy efforts, discursive practices of authors may be institutionalizing spirituality at work; idea becomes tangible and constraining
26. corpus as unique space	the ICBC conference and the text are unique manifestations of this movement, helping to institutionalize various ideas about being more conscious, etc.

Code (Node in NVivo)	Code Definition
27. addressing the audience	the text authors employ a particular language in their effort to connect with and influence their audience, sometimes with an implicit strategic motive
28. marketplace and competition	spirituality at work is couched within a business-friendly context; competition, market-based transactions and liberalism are unchallenged
29. researching the movement	those who would engage in research to add to the workplace spirituality discourse are offered various pieces of advice or suggestions
30. concerns and critique	authors express uneasiness with the workplace spirituality discourse; it may have little to do with spirituality and its instrumentality may be problematic; a critical spirituality is articulated