

PASSION FOR ART AND PASSION FOR ART? ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE PRACTICES AND EMOTIONS IN THE ORGANIZATIONAL PROCESS OF A CIRCUS IN CANADA

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Josiane Silva de Oliveira ¹

Neusa Rolita Cavedon²

ABSTRACT

The objective of this paper is to understand how relationships between practices and emotions configure the organizational process of a circus, located in Montréal, Canada. We conduct a theoretical approach between the concepts of practices of the Michel de Certeau and organizational processes of Theodore Schatzki, discussing a policy approach to everyday life in organizations. We combine these discussions to debates about the political effects of emotions in social life. From an ethnographic study, we propose that the practices are built on the emotional politics of everyday life resulting in the production of social spaces hybrid in mobile organizational processes, such as the circus. Thus, it is possible to understand how organizational processes circus in the relationship between the practices that produce mobility and emotions which shape the social space, the result of a political struggle in the artistic field, showing the “passion for art” as a dimension of life collective of artists that organizes different practices in recognition of the circus as art in Canada.

Keywords: Practices. Organizational Process. Emotions. Ethnography. Circus.

1 PhD in Administration from the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul - UFRGS. Professor at the State University of Maringá, Paraná, Brazil

E-mail: olivieira.josianesilva@gmail.com

2 PhD in Administration from the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul. Associate Professor Retired from the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul. Porto Alegre. Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil.

E-mail: neusa.cavedon@ufrgs.br

1. INTRODUCTION

With an inspiration on debates about the “return of mobility” in the Organizational Studies (COSTAS, 2013), in which the focus of discussions have been the understanding about how organizations are constituted in different localities, the aim of this article is to understand how the relations between practices and emotions shape the organizational process of a circus, located in the city of Montréal, Canada. In theoretical terms, we make use of practices-based studies (PBS) that consider organizations as processes (SANTOS; ALCADIPANI, 2010; SCHATZKI, 2006). Different authors have highlighted the need for a theoretical advance of the PBS in relation to the political dimension of its analyzes. This is because it is necessary to understand the relations of forces that sustain the everyday life in the organizational processes (GOLSHORKI et al., 2010; GHERARDI, 2012; CZARNIAWSKA, 2013).

In order to contribute to these debates, we propose an approximation between the studies of Certeau (2002) and Schatzki (2006) on practices policies in organizational processes (FIELDMAN; ORLIKOWSKI, 2011). By politicizing studies about practices in the everyday life, the social is deconstructed as being exclusively a normative order, which made it possible to associate modernity with rationality and to silence the collective character of emotions in the Social Sciences (RECKWITZ, 2013).

When discussing the political dimension of social life, the PBS (re)integrate the concept of emotions into social analyzes, since every practice implies emotional dynamics (RECKWITZ, 2013). To discuss the concept of emotions, we return to the approach of the studies of Lutz and Abu-Lughod's (1990), named as contextualism, in which emotions are thought out of social dynamics and their effects are based on the social relations of the everyday life.

The methodological strategy adopted was the ethnography (CLIFFORD, 2008), carried on between March and September of 2013, in a Canadian circus, located in the city of Montréal, considered (re)inventor of the contemporary circus, because the circus emphasizes, in its artistic language, the constitution of the modern subject in the contemporary urban space. During this period, it was possible to follow the production process of a show whose dynamics constitutes an empirical focus for the discussions carried out in this study, making possible the understanding of an organizational process characterized by mobilities in the social space.

In empirical terms, it is necessary to emphasize the relevance of the choice of the field of studies of circus arts, since, as Bouissac (2012) affirms, in the twentieth century, that circus activities become a scientific, technical and artistic knowledge, which made possible to recognize it as the basis of professional activities. In addition, the incorporation of business management practices in the organization of the circus work has aroused the interest of studies on the organizational processes of this artistic field (BOUISSAC, 2012).

As a theoretical contribution to the Organizational Studies, we consider that the relations between practices and emotions constitute the emotional politics of the everyday life, having the effect of producing hybrid social spaces in the organizational processes that are mobile. Hybrid social spaces are characterized by the existence of multiple social spaces connected by specific practices of organizational processes. These practices are not restricted to workplaces, but they make it possible to connect social dimensions considered as opposed or not yet discussed in an organizational way, such as reason and emotion or fixed and mobile. With this, we discuss the organizational phenomenon from its happening in different places.

For Costas (2013), these discussions challenge the conception of mobility traditionally presented in the Organizational Studies that ignores organizational processes with more than

one place, or social space, where their activities happen, beyond the workplace. In fact, it is proposed to understand the organizational dynamics beyond their physical spaces, highlighting the diversity and the different spaces that allow organizations to be constituted. We also propose rethinking the limits of ethnographic studies in nomadic/mobile contexts, as proposed by Clifford (2008), in addition to the “experience of being there”, considering ethnography as the paths of researchers in the field.

The results of this research are presented in this article in five sections, in addition to this introduction. First, we discuss the political dimension of practices in the organizational processes based on Certeau (2002) and Schatzki (2006). Then we present how these debates can be approximated to the Lutz and Abu-Lughod (1990) propositions on the political dimension of the emotions. In the section of the method, we talk about the conduction of the ethnographic process having by empirical field a Canadian circus. In the end, we present the contributions of this article to Organizational Studies.

2 A POLITICAL APPROACH TO DAY-TO-DAY PRACTICES IN THE ORGANIZATIONAL PROCESSES

Considering the “the social practices as theoretical object of analysis”, Certeau (2002, p. 20) discusses how the everyday is politically produced by the subjects, deconstructing the recursive character of practices that attributes to them a dimension of passivity in front of society. Considering everyday life as a movement, Certeau (2002) highlights it as something that disturbs the social normativity (LEITE, 2010).

The everyday is constituted by the relations of forces in the society, since “no social space is installed in the certainty of neutrality” (CERTEAU, 2002, p. 86). The concept of space refers to the “effect produced by the operations that guide, circumstantiate, temporalize and make to work the mobile elements of a multipurpose unit of conflictual programs or contractual neighborhoods” (CERTEAU, 2002, p. 202). When this mobility is fixed, Certeau (2002, p. 201) calls it as places, characterized by being “a distribution order that configures instantaneous positions and stability”. The place causes the exercise of actions in relation to the “Other” resulting in the constitution of the “own”, in the victory of the place over the time (CERTEAU, 2002).

Space practices highlight the ways of reintroducing heterogeneous mobilities into the everyday life (CERTEAU, 2002). They are mobilities that make it possible to restore the place established by the pertinence of time, re-appropriating the place and producing social spaces. This process of political reappropriation results in the production of hybrid spaces, related to the mobility of practices to articulate different social spaces. In this sense, mobility is the social production of the movement (CRESSWELL, 2006).

Practices are formalized from two different arrangements: strategies and tactics (CERTEAU, 2002). The strategies are the manipulations of relations of forces that allow the isolation of subjects of knowledge and power, circumscribing places to manage exteriorities. Strategies fix temporalities by establishing order. Tactics act in the field of strategies by not capitalizing on temporalities or establishing proper places. They operate blow by blow, allowing mobilities. The tactic is the non-place, because it does not produce the belonging to what is appropriate, it is the creative potential of the subjects, since it reappropriates the place by playing with events to produce occasions. “This tension of tactics in everyday life leads to the politicization of the everyday practices” (CERTEAU, 2002, p. 44).

This discussion carried by Certeau (2002) on the politicization of practices approximates

the author of the field of PBS in organizational studies (GOLSORKHI et al, 2010), especially the propositions of Schatzki (2006) that considers organizations as spaces practiced. Schatzki (2006) states that human actions are organized through practices. As with Certeau (2002), the discussions of Schatzki (2006) point to the existence of formalities in these “ways of doing” that refer to a given context, such as workplaces, which form an arena or a set of dispositions of phenomena (SCHATZKI, 2006).

The “ways of doing”, imbricated in a given context, produce organizational spaces, since they provide a dynamic of mobility and instability in this set of dispositions. The places, or site, for Schatzki (2006), are formed by the nexus of practices in a context articulated with the material arrangements of the same. The unfolding of the effects of the practices, by capitalizing on the temporalities of the social context (CERTEAU, 2002), also configures the organizations, since these spaces are constituted by innumerable objectification mechanisms of actions, including the materiality of the human body as an unfolding of the organizational phenomenon (SCHATZKI, 2001). Organizations are understood as socio-historically situated practical arrangements (SCHATZKI, 2005).

These practical arrangements mainly cover the actions that constitute the practices; the explicit rules or directives of these actions; and the teleological-affective structure, which encompasses the emotions (SCHATZKI, 2006). The actions that integrate the practices refer to the knowledge of the activities to be carried out and the forms of negotiation of their execution (SCHATZKI, 2006). This is because, for Certeau (2002), in the everyday life an inversion of the uses of knowledge about a given activity may occur. This inversion concerns the articulations between the explicit rules and the negotiations (SCHATZKI, 2006), based on the relations of forces between the social subjects to perform certain actions.

Political games formulate the bidding rules and establish the schemes of actions of the practices (CERTEAU, 2002), which produce spatialities, because they do not have physical receptacles, and, therefore, the nature of their constitution is always relational and have mobilities (SCHATZKI, 2006; CERTEAU, 2002). In fact, the teleological-affective structure refers to the combinations of the elements that subjectivate individuals in the engagement of the practical with the social (SCHATZKI, 2006).

Organizations are procedural social phenomena. In organizational analyzes, organizational boundaries refer not only to their physical or symbolic boundaries, but to how it “happens”. This organization event refers to the practices that produce spatial mobility in organizational processes, so there may be a dynamic of spatial hybridization in organizations when different temporalities are articulated.

Schatzki (2005) emphasizes that the central task to understand “practices” is to identify the actions that make up the analyzed phenomena. This is what Certeau (2002) calls styles of action. The second step is to identify the arrangements of practices produced by these actions, that is, the elements mobilized for the construction of formalities, called by Certeau (2002) of strategies and tactics, a network of practices. The third task is to understand other networks of practices that are closely linked to the networks that form the organization, a proposition analogous to the discussions of Certeau (2002) on the understanding of the frames that produce spatial mobility.

Schatzki (2005) proposes to understand the path of these networks of practices in which are mobilized the human, nonhuman, subjectivities, materialities, technologies, among other elements that enable organizations to take place, from these diverse networks of relations. This proposition also comes close to Certeau’s (2002, p. 175) discussions when he states that in prac-

tice studies one must understand procedures “that escape the discipline without ever being outside the field where it is practiced, and which should lead to a theory of the everyday living space practices”.

Understanding the networks of constitutive practices of organizations is to emphasize not only what is fixed and recursive in the actions of the subjects, but also the instabilities of these networks of forces relationships that create mobilities for organizations in the social space. By politicizing studies about practices in the everyday life, it is possible to deconstruct the silencing of the collective character of emotions in social sciences (RECKWITZ, 2013), highlighting their effects on organizational processes, theories that are the focus of the next section of this article.

3 EMOTIONS IN A POLITICAL DIMENSION IN THE SOCIAL EVERYDAY LIFE

In Organizational Studies, emotions are discussed, essentially, from their duality character in relation to rationality (Fineman, 2001). This can be considered as an effect of the predominance of studies of cognitive psychology in labor relations that essentializes emotions as an individual phenomenon and neurofunctional manifestation, producing a “place” outside of its social field of constitution (LUTZ; ABU-LUGHOD, 1990). In management processes, this dynamic produces practices of segregation in organizations by associating emotive manifestations with gender issues, for example, removing women from “places of decision-making”.

For Reckwitz (2013), emotions were emphatically considered in classical social theory as individual, natural or biological phenomena as opposed to the rationality, regularity and predictability promised by the normative order of modernity. The PBS make it possible to (re)integrate the concept of emotions into social analysis from different formulations, since every practice implies an affective dimension (RECKWITZ, 2013). Reckwitz (2013) points out that the differences between the concepts of affection and emotions refer to the dualism inside/outside individuals, reflecting other oppositions of concepts of analysis, such as individual and society.

Discussing how a praxeological approach can contribute to the understanding of the relationship between emotions and spaces, Reckwitz (2013) argues that an “affective culture” or “emotional” is a set of social practices in which embodied affection/emotions form a pattern of action recognizable. For the author, each complex of social practices - organizational, private, public - produces spatialities that, when intertwined with discussions about emotions, produce affective spaces.

This relationship between space and emotions has been theorized, especially in the area of Geography, in which researches such as the ones made by Everts, Lahr-Kurten and Watson (2011) on practices, emotions and materiality, Pain (2009) on the globalization of fear, and Hoggett and Thompson (2012) on geopolitical studies, evidence the political uses of emotions in the construction of the social space. Everts, Lahr-Kurten and Watson (2011) warn that even in the area of Geography the relations between practices and emotions have not yet been sufficiently explored.

In Organizational Studies, although a broad spectrum of studies on emotions have been developed (FINEMAN, 2001), main focuses have been restricted to themes such as learning (SIMPSON; MARSHALL, 2010), creativity (AMABILE; BARSADE; STAM, 2005), strategies (LIU; MAITLIS, 2013), gender (ESSERS, 2009) and materiality (RAFAELI; VILNAI-YAVETZ, 2004), without discussing PBS and its politicization in the organizational everyday life.

Presenting a political perspective on studies about emotions, especially related to the

field of anthropology, Lutz and Abu-Lughod (1990) deconstruct emotions as exclusively individual phenomena, showing how their everyday uses are based on a network of forces of organizational relations of the everyday life. For these authors, there is a system of relations of power and social games that is maintained by the emotions, as these emerge from social practices. Lutz and Abu-Lughod (1990) argue that descriptions of “emotive scenes” are always “social scenes” involving two or more people. Therefore, by the emotional dynamics it is possible to observe the exercises of the relations of power.

Lutz and Abu-Lughod (1990) affirm the need to discuss a local theory of emotions emphasizing social relations and the material conditions of everyday life. For this, they propose to construct an approach of studies of the emotions from its contextual dynamics, that they denominate as contextualist. This study approach emphasizes how emotions are socially constructed, analytically exploring the narratives related to the sociabilities and power relations that constitute the politics of everyday life (LUTZ; ABU-LUGHOD, 1990).

The process of contextualization considers that the ways of knowing the world are given through social practices, because these are producers of society. It is in this sense that the political dynamics of practices can be considered in relation to emotions. By forming relations of forces in the everyday life, emotions move what has been instituted in practices, since they are mechanisms of agency of the ways of making and operating the social space. In everyday production, the mobilization of emotions is forged as processes of social spatiality, for they can also enlarge, restrict or inhibit everyday actions. Emotions, as they produce transversal effects in society, are mobilizing forces within the social sphere.

This transversality of emotions in the everyday life also makes it possible to analyze them from their tactical uses (CERTEAU, 2002) by displacing established “places” in society, such as the positions of women in the labor market due to gender segregation or social movements in occupation of private spaces (ALVAREZ, 2011), to form “other places” or hybrid spaces (CERTEAU, 2002) that allow the subjects to experience the (re)appropriation of the place in order to produce the social space.

This political process of reappropriation does not establish a full spatial mobility, since places always leave their marks in the social space. Although these spaces have characteristics of nomadism and mobility, not establishing bonds with/between social subjects, the transversality of emotional politics has the effect of producing a hybrid dynamic in the social space (CERTEAU, 2002). In fact, the mobile and the fixed, the nomadic and the sedentary are articulated from different spatial temporalities.

This relationship of forces makes it possible to understand spaces based on the multiple “layers” of relations to other places, which Foucault (2008), for example, also uses the metaphor of the mirror, denominates it as heterotopias, a context in which different spaces, temporalities, places or non-places, are juxtaposed, whose complexity and non-hegemonic working conditions are understood on the basis of transverse phenomena such as emotions.

To understand this dynamic, in the next section we present the development of field research conducted in this study.

4 METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES

Considering that the focus of discussion of this article is the emotive experience of social subjects in their daily lives, which is also the basis for ethnographic studies (CLIFFORD, 2008), the methodological strategy used was ethnography. For Clifford (2008), ethnographic studies should be understood as encounters of pathways, since it is characterized by a mix of practices aiming to traverse the space studied. Clifford (2008) points out that, in the 20th century, ethnographic studies privileged the relations of coexistence over the ethnographer's field relations in the field. In fact, ethnography was constructed from the "experience of being there" argument as a transfiguration of the researcher's authority to discuss certain concepts, from his experience in a specific and well-delimited field (CLIFFORD, 2008). For the author, it is necessary to return to the process of ethnography and to consider the circuits that make possible to understand a social phenomenon, especially in the contemporary context, in which different social spaces are interconnected.

For the development of the objective of this research, we chose to perform a study in a circus located in the city of Montréal, Canada. One of the researchers of this article (Emilie), moved to the city of Montréal in January 2013, and the ethnographic process was carried out between March and September of that same year, totaling 32 field journals and 2 hours of interview recording in depth with one of the founders of the circus researched (Michel).

In order to identify the organization that was to be ethnographed in the studied city, we initially conducted "exploratory outings" (ROCHA, ECKERT, 2008) by the city of Montréal visiting shows, as well as an interview with the manager of the National Circus School of Canada, which informed us that the circus company of the study was one of the most important in that country, as well as it was a reference in Latin America. We then chose to contact the organization to be studied for the research. After a first meeting with this manager, he accepted the participation in the study. For the development of ethnography, the organization's general director (Antoine) and his assistant (Marie) presented two options for show projects that Emilie could follow.

The first option was the reformulation of a show for Latin America, and the second was a new spectacle, which was still "on paper", in which the researcher would be able to follow in the process of construction. Emilie knew that for the directors of the organization, the choice of the first show would be important, since it would have a Latin American "look" accompanying the process, but with the burden of the researcher having to move to Mexico, an option considered complex by the directors and Emilie, due to the effects (including legal) of circulation between different countries, in addition to Brazil and Canada. The joint decision was to follow the process of the new show in Montréal.

The production activities of the show were developed between the months of June to September 2013, in three different spaces throughout the city. A studio in the territory of *Verdun*; the *Tohu*, and a theater, where the first performances of the show were performed. This clipping of the ethnographic process enabled us to understand how different spaces and social actors were articulated in the circus mobility in the production of the show, these spaces being the effects of the contests performed by the artists in favor of the circus arts.

By making the descriptions of the observations in field diaries it was possible to understand that the recurrence of the statements about the "passion for art" was not only related to the support of the activities in the circus, but it allowed the mobilization of different social actors for the diffusion of the art in Canada. Field diaries were described daily after the daily activities in the circus, as in the experiments and production activities of the show. They were produced

based on annotations of words or events that marked the day of fieldwork of the researcher, and that would refer to the theoretical construction of research, especially in relation to the expressions of affection and emotional of the subjects of the research, so much so that the “passion for art” was identified as a statement also made by several other professionals involved in the production of the show, thus not only circus artists. The “passion for art” was linked to the dimension of the collective life of the organization of circus artists and professionals. For the interpretive analyzes (CLIFFORD, 2008) carried out in this article, the name of the circus and all the subjects involved in the study were altered in order to guarantee the anonymity of the subjects and actors in the research. Three categories of analysis were also created to better understand the research results presented below. Firstly, we discussed the process of creating the circus in the city of Montréal, then we discussed the production of the spectacle searched and its displacement to a city neighboring the headquarters of the organization under study and, finally, the return of the work team to his city seat for the start of the circus world tour.

5 THE CIRCUS UNDER STUDY

Founded in 2002 by seven circus artists (Julie, Louise, Gabrielle, Geneviève, Michel, Jean, Nicolas), the Cirque Passion proposal is to act as a collective due to the “passion for circus art”, enunciated by the artists (FIELD DIARY, MARCH 11, 2013). Five of these artists are graduated in circus schools and two (Julie and Louise) have a family tradition with this art. This link with art is reflected in the proposal of the organization, whose aim, according to its directors, is to rescue the human dimension of the circus from different understandings of how the contemporary subject builds the urban space of the city. Emilie’s first encounter with the circus showed how this passion for art was materialized in the details of the organization’s office. The circus does not have its own headquarter. The “administrative” activities of the collective are carried out on an entire floor of a building rented by the organization:

The building where the circus office is located with the entrance covered with snow, and its architecture with straight strokes and cool colors indicate to be a commercial space. In the right corner of the building entrance was the circus office on the second floor and up the stairs. I rang the bell. Through the glass door I noticed the predominance of red color on the walls of the office. A boy in jeans, a T-shirt and colored glasses answered me by opening the door and questioning me, with a smile on the lips, whom I would like to talk to. I said I had time scheduled with Michel. He invited me to come in and wait. In the room with two individual red sofas, I sat in the next room identified as “communication”, after all the listening process is essential in ethnography. A lady approached me saying: Bonjour! Identifying that I was Brazilian, her surprised face indicated the curiosity for my country. At the office reception there were tickets pasted on the printer with the words: do not forget to do it! The objects on the room table were all colored (FIELD DIARY, March 11, 2013).

In the middle of the urban space delineated by architectural knowledge, as discussed by Certeau (2002), the circus creates other trajectories of its circulation and (re) appropriates the commercial “place” delimiting its frontiers. This delimitation is evidenced by the red colors used in the office, which also refer to the field of meaning of the emotions (LUTZ; ABU-LUGHOD, 1990). This is because the red color meant “passion for the circus” for the artists (FIELD DIARY, MARCH 11, 2013). This dynamic is not only produced in the organization’s colors, but also in the practices of the space of its organization process (SCHATZKI, 2006).

Upon arriving at the reception desk, Michel asked Emilie if she would like to speak in English or French, since Canada is a bilingual country. The researcher requested the French, and

Michel invited her to visit the office. In every room, when he introduced Emilie, people welcomed her and showed concern about a Brazilian's adaptation to the Canadian "cold weather." In the room used by the team that take care of the production of the shows, Emilie was asked if she would "work" with the circus, after all, for "anyone interested in studying circus in doctorate is because they have a passion for art" (FIELD DIARY, MARCH 11 OF 2013).

The form of Emilie's reception, the intensity of the red color in the office, and the recurrence of the "passion for circus art" in the subject's speech refer to the set of practices (SCHATZKI, 2006) challenged by emotional politics (LUTZ; ABU-LUGHOD, 1990) produced and sustained in the circus. To enter this space, it was necessary to share this passion or, in the words of Lutz and Abu-Lughod (1990), to understand the emotions in their social field. This emotional policy (LUTZ; ABU-LUGHOD, 1990) was not confined to the daily routine of the office and extended to a struggle for the recognition of the circus as art and the provision of public resources for the circus arts in a similar way, in relation to the other performing arts in Canada. For this reason, the artists of the collective act in the occupation of the chairs for the arts in the Council of Arts and Letters of Canada and of Quebec (CALQ) in order to make politically feasible this fight. The result of these activities, along with other circus artists and organizations, was the national and provincial recognition of the circus as art, in the years 2007 and 2002 respectively, increasing the public and private resources for this sector.

Considered the main locus of the circus production chain, the city of Montréal generates more than 4,000 direct jobs in this sector, and in the province of Quebec there are 15 organizations that offer circus activities, 127 art diffusers and 100,000 children/youth "doing circuses" (SAIRE; DALGIE, 2012). However, this is not the sector with the largest financial investment by the government, the main channel for promoting the arts in Canada, as can be seen in Table 1, which presents data on the demand for grants by Canadian arts sector (column 1) the amount in Canadian dollars of grants made available by the CALQ for each sector of the arts field that was funded by that body (column 2), the amount, in Canadian dollars, of special grants released by CALQ in 2011 for artists 3) and total CALQ grants to Canadian arts organizations between 2010 and 2011.

Cirque Passion's artists work at *En Piste* developing studies and researches to characterize the demands of this artistic sector. During the ethnography, Emilie circulated in diverse spaces by the city frequented by artists, like bars and restaurants. When Emilie commented on her research, it was recurrent in the artists' talk about the importance of interviewing directors of the *Passion*, as they would be leading figures in the struggle to strengthen the Canadian circus.

Table 1: Subsidies of the Arts and Letters Council of Quebec for the financial year 2010 - 2011

Sector	Financing	Special Grant	Total
Circus Arts	100 000	15 000	115 000
Media Arts	99 000	25 000	124 000
Literature	150 125	0	150 125
Self-managed Artists	155 000	4 000	159 000

Visual Arts	170 000	0	170 000
Theater	233 000	10 000	243 000
Dance	265 375	31 404	296 779
Music	250 000	95 000	345 000

Source: Adapted from Saire and Dalgie (2012)

The Passion Circus occupied different spaces throughout the city for the production of the spectacles, since they did not have a fixed place for these activities. According to the availability of calendar of places in the city, considered adapted to the circus numbers, the circus rehearsal hours were ordered.

In the first weeks of rehearsals, in the months of June and July of 2013, the emails we received from the production director were started with a “*Bonjour à tous*”, followed by the pertinent information to the production of the show. In this period, the group of artists (Michel, Lionel, Alain, Annie, Eloise, Camille, and two actors Benoit and Adele) and the production team (Julie and Nicolas - directors, Carine, production director, Daphné, Carine’s assistant and Emilie) still did not know each other. In September, the show was about to debut, and the e-mails presented another social connotation: “*Salut la gang*”, evidencing the deepening of social relations in the group.

To understand this process, in the next sections we will discuss the production of the circus show, highlighting the circus practices imbricated in its emotional politics.

6 *Bonjour à tous!* The beginning of the production of the show

The start of production of the show was in a rented studio in *Verdun*, a city annexed to Montréal in the year 2002, in a building destined to the artistic presentations of the city. The cost of renting to use this space is considered symbolic, since it is located next to the *École de Cirque de Verdun*, making it possible for the studio to be considered a reference also for the circus arts. A (re)appropriate place, as discussed by Certeau (2002), by the collective dynamics of the circus in the region and occupied by the “ways of doing” of the organizational process of the show.

The stage was the place of organization of the artists, and the table for the administrative and technical teams of the circus. Emilie was incorporated into the group through the administrative activities and it was this positioning destined to her in the everyday life. This strategy of space occupation evidenced the division of knowledge (FOUCAULT, 2008) in the daily life of the circus. A set of actions (SCHATZKI, 2006), configurators of the formality of the practices (CERTEAU, 2002), that produced “places” in a space of passage. Although the studio was temporarily occupied by the organization, the form of its appropriation, in the words of Certeau (2002), highlight the professional place in the circus. This separation referred to a wider dimension of the circus organizational process: the separation between creators and managers.

When Emilie was circulating in other circus spaces around the city of Montreal, several researchers of circuses in Canada claimed that this type of separation occurred due to the logic of the different knowledges. The managers produced the “commercial place” of the circus, and

the artists the “creative spaces” of the spectacles. This was observed by the researcher when traversing other Montrealer circuses. These two knowledges produced places in the social space that reflected a political-economic struggle in the arts. The places are always relational positions in the social space (CERTEAU, 2002).

In the meantime, the activities of Carine, director of production of the show, were inserted. She worked for 10 years with the production of operas and plays in Canada, and it was the first time that she developed her activities in a circus. Sometimes she would talk to Emilie: this is quite different from a theater. They are funny. They stop the activities several times due to the physical effort and always have something to relax in that moment (FIELD DIARY, JULY 18, 2013). She circulated between the two places established in the daily work of the circus in order to integrate the actions between them. Their position was the effect of social relations between the fields of artistic and managerial knowledge (CERTEAU, 2002).

Throughout the day it was possible to hear Carine’s name dozens of times. From the request of crepe tape to the training of the text with the artists. The training of the text with the artists was necessary, since the show in production presented scenes with lines and interpretations with the presence of two actors. They were being integrated into the show and it was necessary to sensitize them to the circus arts, especially because the actress should perform acrobatics during the performances. In this sense, spaces, places and knowledge were juxtaposed in a heterogeneous organizational process.

For the development of the circus techniques by the actress, two coaches of circus numbers (Joseph and François) were integrated to the technical team. This professional activity is developed in Montréal by former circus artists who cannot perform on stage. Generally, they are artists with many years of work within a company and this professional activity is a way for them to continue participating in this organizational context. A practice of professional rationalization (SCHATZKI, 2006; CERTEAU, 2002) engaged in an emotional policy (LUTZ; ABU-LUGHOD, 1990).

The training of the actress (Adele) began with the artists performing the movements that she should learn, because the circus knowledge is transmitted in action. All movements were repeated extensively until the body was constituted as an effect of circus practices (SCHATZKI, 2006; CERTEAU, 2002). Due to the intense physical exhaustion, the rehearsal periods were interrupted by “stoppages” to rest. This practice was marked by the movement of the director of the circus to “a corner” of the side door of the studio.

At that moment, artists formed small groups among themselves, forging places within places (CERTEAU, 2002). The French Michel, Annie and Daphne formed the “French-speaking corner”. Camille and Eloise, who made the duo of trapeze, met next to his device in the company of Julie. Lionel and Alain, acrobats, testing new acrobatics and provided the moments of laughter for the group. Whenever they could escape the strategic dimension of the rehearsals, it was they who tactically shifted (CERTEAU, 2002) the daily routine of the circus by joking and mocking the seriousness with which some colleagues treated their activities.

During the rehearsals, when they missed some movement, they were able to improvise, and their transgressions drew a lot of laughter from Julie, who, despite being recognized as serious, in their presence, her smile was constant. Humor was a tactical mechanism of transgression (CERTEAU, 2002), because it allowed the displacement of Julie to the dynamic of the performance of the artists who (re)produced the scenes through their improvisations.

Julie is married to Nicolas, and they are two of the seven founding artists of the collective. He was described by circus artists and technicians as “hyperactive”, “emotional”, and “dynamic”. She was considered “serene” and “silent,” so she took care of the details of the scenes of

the show. In this first moment of production, Julie was more attentive to the construction of the trapeze's presentation of Camille and Eloise. She spent hours near the girls, watching the slightest movements on the trapeze. The three of them spoke low, Julie in English and Camille (French) and Eloise (Canadian) in French, as if there was a complicity in the look between them, language by which girls knew what should be kept or changed in number.

Nicolas spoke, moved and listened to everyone quickly. At times, he did not even expect the artist to finish his considerations for some kind of intervention. When Nicolas wanted to change some sequence of numbers or incorporate movements into the scenes, he called Julie. The two of them talked, he drew in the air the movements he wanted, and then awaited her appreciation, which watched him finish his reasoning. Julie made her comments and asked the artists to carry out the movements and express their opinion so that she could make a final opinion about the activity. To the artists, Julie and Nicolas complement each other artistically.

After ten weeks of activities, it was necessary that we changed of place because of the availability of the studio's schedules and for the structural suitability to the environment of a theater, space that would be used for the tours. Therefore, we returned to Montréal using *Tohu* for rehearsals due to the suitability of this space for the circus arts and his proposal to support the development of the Canadian circus.

7 *Salut the gang!* Back in Montréal occupying the spaces in the city

The city of Montréal is known in Canada and in the world (LESLIE; RANTISI, 2010) as being the "circus city". To return to the city was to return to the "place" of the circus, so the resumption of activities in Montreal to finalize the production of the show was in the *Tohu*, a place built especially for circuses in that locality.

Tohu's activities followed the same spatial organization of the studio in *Verdun*, configuring itself as the practices of space (CERTEAU, 2002) characteristic of this organizational process (SCHATZKI, 2006). In *Tohu* the form of access to the place was restricted by through the signature of a daily form of identification. Emilie went on to sign the page as a member of the circus and, in the early days, was alerted by Carine: Emilie! Did you sign the entry form? Forgetting some kind of activity was common among artists, as evidenced by the tickets pasted on the office equipment. In addition, *Tohu* is the effect of the circus political struggle in favor of specific spaces to the circus in Montreal, so transgressing the norms (CERTEAU, 2002) would break with the demands of the collective.

In *Tohu*, Julie's participation in the production of the show was more intense. She wrote down her considerations in a notebook and later discussed them with the artists and technical staff. This practice of Julie's writing was not observed in the activities at *Verdun*, activity that is characteristic of Emilie in the field. Noting that Julie was incorporating writing into her activities, the researcher took extra sheets and pens to the field, for sometimes Emilie listened to someone, including Julie, commenting, "I forgot my sheets and pens," and the researcher took objects of their purse and offered them to the artists.

The dynamics of Julie's performance in the work routine had the effect of producing a complicity between her and the artists. Whenever they had any questions or suggestions, it was her that they reported. This did not mean and predominance of consensus about the decisions made by the circus direct, but a process of collective construction in which it was possible to question, criticize or direct the everyday activities of the organization from the demand of the artists.

The practices of writing, listening and dialogue in the everyday life (SCHATZKI,

2006; CERTEAU, 2002) constituted local policies transversally crossed by emotional dynamics. This process undertaken by Julie was not based on consensus. Criticism, debate, and discussion were frequent, and precisely because of the contradiction, Julie was asked to meet with the artists and the technical staff.

Julie's practice of listening to artists can be related to the political struggle developed by the *Passion* when they seek to occupy diverse social spaces for circus artists to be "heard" in their demands. The stance of the circus direction reflects Emilie's dynamic outside of the circus, when other artists stressed the importance of "listening" to the directors of this organization about the circus fight in the city. Schatzki (2006) emphasizes on the organizational space practiced articulated with the society. To the extent that practices define the course of organizations, they shape the social field politically. They are mobilities that produce the organization and the society. Therefore, in articulating multiple spaces, it constitutes hybrid spaces.

Another social aspect that pervaded the circus everyday was the language. In addition to French and English, the official languages of Canada, the spoken everyday life was also in Spanish, setting a language challenge for everyone. At different times, in every corner of the organizational space a different language was spoken. The option of incorporating the Spanish to the spectacle occurred in the face of a macroeconomic dimension. With the current financial crisis in Europe and the United States, Latin America is the market focus of Canadian circuses. In 2013, for example, all major circus organizations in the country, eight circuses, toured Latin America with tours in Brazil. Therefore, the language spoken in the shows is configured as a dimension of the strategic economic practice (CERTEAU, 2002) developed by artists to enter different markets. Dictations and facts, as emphasized by Schatzki (2006), challenged by the economic dimension.

In the last week of rehearsals in *Tohu* the first meeting between the "office group" and the "production team of the show" took place in a special session. On that day, Emilie chose not to sit at the table, as she did every day, but she settled down in the audience to accompany the subjects' movement through space, since it was a rare moment of encounter. Nicolas, Carine, and Daphne sat at the table. Julie chose to sit in the audience, where the "office staff" also settled.

Before starting the show, Nicolas warns those that are present that they would be open to criticism and suggestions, because participation was the reason for that meeting. It was also a time to "feel the public's reaction" (LUTZ; ABU-LUGHOD, 1990), since the production of the show was restricted to the work team. During the performance, Julie wept several times as she watched the show. At times she made notes in her notebook, which she had not forgotten that day. The "office staff" smiled during the presentation, whispering: "they are perfect!" (FIELD DIARY, SEPTEMBER 5, 2013). This positioning evidences the relations of forces between micro-separations in the organizational space that determined the "place" of each working group with their knowledge (CERTEAU, 2002).

With one week left for the world "*première*", we changed of place again. This time, to make technical adjustments, such as lighting, in a theater space, space format in which the show would be presented during world tours. As the theater was run by a company, to have access to its dependencies, it was necessary to have a digital password for entry into space. As in *Thou*, Emilie received the same password as the artists.

The first e-mail we received indicating the new place of rehearsals and the password to access its dependencies was no longer carrying formality, but a *Salut la gang!* In the space, there was no longer a table, so we occupied the audience more fluidly and thus micro-separations in space became less materialized by the structure of the theater. The presence of sound and lighting technicians was more intense due to the need for adjustments in the artifacts, allowing the

artists to work more closely in relation to them. However, the conversations between these two groups were predominantly professional.

In this micropolitical clash, the apparent stability of the circus everyday life is the effect of a struggle in the social space for the recognition of the circus arts that reproduces micro separations in the work developed within the organization. Hence, even if the occupied spaces were momentane, they reproduced the configuration of the knowledge (CERTEAU, 2002) of the artistic field. The “passion for art” constitutes a transverse emotional political mechanism in the field of circus activities configuring practices in the process of circus organization, and, in effect, producing a juxtaposition of elements considered opposites in the organizational analyzes, such as passage space and the places, the fixed and the mobile, configuring the hybrid character of the organizational space.

7 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

In the Organizational Studies, the discussions about mobilities have emphasized the experience of ephemeral temporalities, without, however, discussing the contradictions of this dynamics in organizational processes (COSTAS, 2013). With this, the political dimension of organizational spaces has been silenced. The first theoretical contribution of this article is to discuss the political dimension of the everyday practices in organizational analysis, especially in the production of different social spaces in organizations. This makes it possible to understand organizations beyond the dichotomy between structuralist and phenomenological studies, whose conflict has sought the “place” of the organizations from the structure or production of organizational meanings.

To understand the politics of organizational processes is to discuss the practices that organize, situate and produce social effects in a set of actions that relate the everyday life of organizations to the broad dynamics of society. Therefore, it is necessary to displace the analysis of organizations as fixed entities and to understand how, in their paths, it “happens” in different social spaces mobilizing a political field.

Approaching the theoretical discussions of Michel de Certeau and Theodore Schatzki made it possible for us to understand organizations as practiced spaces. This allowed us to understand the networks of practices that made possible the spectacle, starting from the connections between the daily life of circus artists and the artistic field of Montreal. Therefore, the effects and organizational space under study were discussed based on their mobility dynamics in the city. In each space of passage appropriate by the circus it was possible to apprehend how these “places” are constituted like effects by the fight of the artistic recognition of the circus’ member, as in case of dispute by the resources of the CALQ.

This process of politicization of the organizational everyday life has also made it possible to deconstruct the normative order of practices and rediscover the effects of emotions in organizations beyond their individual or normative conception. The same normative dynamics that considers organizations as fixed entities produced subjects in organizational studies from the dichotomy between the rational and the emotional unconscious. With this, the studies on the emotions were relegated to a second plane in the comprehension of the work routine, putting the emotional dynamics as controllable elements, displacing its social effects in the daily life.

By constructing an analysis approach based on the emotional politics of the everyday life in organizations, it was possible to understand how, even in spaces of passage, the appropriation of social space refers to the “places” of social subjects that reproduce macrosocial

separations. Therefore, in the relations between artists and “table staff”, there is an implicit separation between “creators” and “managers” that make up the Canadian circus art scene.

This difference can also be understood by the fact that “managers” have a defined “place”: the office. This delimitation, however, does not follow the hegemonic patterns of commercial relations, given the forms of (re)appropriation of the building where the office is located. Artists do not have their “place” defined, and it is in the course of the city, through the practices of space, that they occupy spaces of passage for their activities, as well as produce the struggle of the circus artists to conquer their spaces in the artistic field.

This dynamic allows us to reflect about how the relations between practices and emotions produce hybrid spaces in organizational processes in contexts of space mobility. Although these spaces are considered passing and appropriated by different temporalities, this mobility is crossed by elements that juxtapose the mobile and the fixed, the nomadic and the sedentary, the “creative” and “managerial” knowledge, producing a heterogeneous everyday in the organizations and indicating the need for theoretical advancement in research on the mobilities of organizational spaces and not only the workplace.

As discussed by Certeau (2002), space practices make it possible to introduce mobility in “proper places”, emphasizing how different social spaces are connected, such as organizational processes. Future research may discuss, for example, how these juxtapositions of social spaces produce heterotopias (FOUCAULT, 2008), spaces with multiple layers of relationships with other places. This may contribute, as discussed in Costas (2013), so that the discussions on mobilities do not fall within the neoliberal proposal that disregards power relations in spaces of passages or debates about non-places in which the experiences in spaces of mobilities deprive the creative character and the political nature of the subjects in the social space.

This research opens spaces for reflection about the “return of mobility” in Organizational Studies, placing the researcher herself on the move. We must rethink the boundaries of the concept and uses of ethnography in the organizational processes. As Clifford (2008) proposes, beyond the construction of ethnographic authority through the “experience of being there”, we must rescue the process of the ethnographic method by taking a decolonized look at the field of research and making it possible to connect different social spaces. In this sense, we highlight the need to develop ethnography in Organizational Studies from the different places where organizations “happen”, rather than delimiting them to a physical space.

Regarding the field of research, we highlight that there is evidence of a process of professionalization of circus artists, especially with the separation of “technical” and “artistic” works in the daily conduction of the activities of these subjects. Future research may address the dynamics of this process of separation of knowledge and power, as well as highlight the relevance of cultural producers as subjects of “mobility” that circulate in these two spaces, as highlighted in this study.

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<?> *Tohu* is an organizational space operated in 2004 by *En Piste, École National de Cirque and Cirque du Soleil*, to create suitable facilities for circus activities in Montréal.

<?> The *En Piste* (SAIRE, 2012) is the regrouping of Canadian circus arts founded in 1994. It is formed by individual and collective members and is located in the city of Montréal.

<?> Total in thousands of Canadian Dollars

<?> The literal translation of this expression into English is “Good morning to all” and has a character of formality in social relations.

<?> The formal translation of this expression into English does not occur literally, but may mean: Hi, team. Gang is the term used by circuses in Canada to designate the existence of an intimate relationship between a group of people.