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Manuscripts under review at another journal cannot be simultaneously submitted to EJBO. The article cannot have been published elsewhere, and authors are obligated to inform the Editor of similar articles they have published. Articles submitted to EJBO could be written in English or in Finnish. Paper written in Finnish must be included English summary of 200-500 words. Submissions should be sent as an email attachment and as Microsoft Word doc format to: Editor in Chief

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Electronic Journal of Business Ethics and Organization Studies EJBO aims to provide an avenue for the presentation and discussion of topics related to ethical issues in business and organizations worldwide. The journal publishes articles of empirical research as well as theoretical and philosophical discussion. Innovative papers and practical applications to enhance the field of business ethics are welcome. The journal aims to provide an international web-based communication medium for all those working in the field of business ethics whether from academic institutions, industry or consulting.

The important aim of the journal is to provide an international medium which is available free of charge for readers. The journal is supported by Business and Ethics Network BON, which is an officially registered non-profit organization

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Each paper is reviewed by the Editor in Chief and, if it is judged suitable for publication, it is then sent to at least one referee for blind review. Based on the recommendations, the Editor in Chief decides whether the paper should be accepted as is, revised or rejected.

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## Special issues

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- the specific suitable conferences or
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As a guide, articles should be between 5000 and 12000 words in length. A title of not more than eight words should be provided. A brief autobiographical note should be supplied including full name, affiliation, e-mail address and full international contact details as well as a short description of previous achievements.

Authors must supply an abstract which should be limited to 200 words in total. In addition, maximum six keywords which encapsulate the principal topics of the paper should be included.

Notes or Endnotes should be not be used. Figures, charts and diagrams should be kept to a minimum. They must be black and white with minimum shading and numbered consecutively using arabic numerals. They must be referred explicitly in the text using numbers.

References to other publications should be complete and in Harvard style. They should contain full bibliographical details and journal titles should not be abbreviated.

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# The Process of CEO Dismissal: An Exploratory study

Satu Koskinen

## Abstract

The decision to change the CEO is one of the most important decisions of the Board of Directors in a company. This study increases understanding of the process that leads to a Board's decision to dismiss the CEO under conditions of poor performance, and of the meaning of attributions in CEO dismissal. The role of the Chair of the Board in this process is also explored. An exploratory, empirical study concerning nine CEO dismissal processes is conducted based on open-ended interviews with seven Chairpersons of the Board. The findings shed light on the issues that impact the relationship between poor company performance and CEO dismissal. In particular, the results increase understanding of the influential role of the Chair in the governance context of CEO non-duality, i.e., separated roles of CEO and Chair. It is proposed that social forces and changing dynamics in the social relationships between the Chair, the CEO and other Board Directors are likely to have an impact on the Board's attribution process and CEO dismissal.

**Key Words:** CEO dismissal, Chairperson of the Board (Chair), Board of Directors, Leadership, Attribution process, Qualitative research

## Introduction

The decision to change the CEO is one of the most important decisions made by the Board of Directors in a company, and it has long-term implications for the company's operating, financing and investment decisions (Huson et al., 2001). CEO dismissal, i.e. the forced departure of the CEO from her/his position (Fredrickson et al., 1988), has been described as the Board's ultimate tool for exercising control over management (Mizruchi, 1983), or shaping the 'context, content and conduct' of strategy (McNulty & Pettigrew, 1999, p. 66). From the perspective of the Board, the dismissal of the CEO is likely to be among one of the most difficult situations (e.g. Frisch & Huppenbauer, 2014). The dismissal decision and process involve various emotions, such as guiltiness, empathy and care as well as tensions between ethical and economic objectives (Lämsä & Takala, 2000; Martelius-Louniala, 2017).

The topic of CEO succession, i.e., either voluntary or non-voluntary CEO turnover, has been the object of a lot of research interest for several decades (Cragun et al., 2016). The vast majority of previous CEO turnover studies have drawn on quantitative data on large, listed US companies; qualitative studies and studies conducted in non-US contexts and in smaller companies are scarce (Eriksson et al., 2001; Brickley, 2003; Hilger et al., 2013; Cragun et al., 2016). As regards specifically CEO dismissal studies, the main focus has been on the possible antecedents of CEO dismissal, such as company performance and CEO power, and the studies have largely been based on publicly available data (e.g. Huson et al., 2001; Hilger et al., 2013). However, the full reasons for CEO turnover are rarely made public (e.g. Fredrickson et al., 1988; Denis & Denis, 1995; Pitcher et al., 2000; Florou, 2005; Schwartz-Ziv & Weisbach, 2013). Additionally, previous studies have seldom had access to the detailed story of a turnover process (Pitcher et al., 2000; Finkelstein et al., 2009), so the actual process leading to dismissal has largely remained unexplored (Pettigrew

& McNulty, 1998; Cragun et al., 2016).

In most cases, CEO dismissal is initiated and decided by the Board of Directors (e.g. Huson et al., 2001; Hilger et al., 2013) and, in the governance structure of CEO non-duality (i.e., where the roles of the CEO and Chair are separate), which is a common governance model in Europe (Huse, 2007), it has been argued that CEO dismissal is the task of the Chair of the Board (Roberts, 2002). Nevertheless, although the Chair is argued to have an influential position in Board decision-making in practice (e.g. Gabrielsson et al., 2007; Bailey & Peck, 2013), the role and leadership of the Chair in the process of CEO dismissal has received very little research attention. In addition to access difficulties (Pettigrew, 1992), one reason may be the heavy emphasis on US samples and the dominant governance model there of CEO duality (i.e., the combined role of CEO and Chair) (e.g. Krause et al., 2014).

Poor company performance, for example in terms of profitability, sales growth, or stock returns, has been found in numerous studies to increase the likelihood of CEO dismissal, but performance has been found to explain dismissal only partially (see e.g. Finkelstein et al., 2009; Hilger et al., 2013; Cragun et al., 2016). It has been suggested that attributions made by the Board have an impact on the CEO dismissal decision and mediate the relationship between performance and dismissal (e.g. Fredrickson et al., 1988; Haleblan & Rajagopalan, 2006; He & Fang, 2016). The Board may be constrained in a variety of ways in its decision-making concerning CEO dismissal, and understanding these constraints is pivotal (Schaffer, 2002).

The aim of this research is to increase understanding of the process which leads to a Board's decision to dismiss the CEO under conditions of poor company performance. Additionally, the role of the Chair in this process on account of her/his central role in Board work will be explored (e.g. Roberts, 2002; Gabrielsson et al., 2007; Bailey & Peck, 2013). As it has been proposed that attributions, i.e. causal ascriptions applied to a positive

or negative outcome (Martinko et al., 2007), play an important role in understanding a leader's responses to poor performance, the study draws on the literature on attributional processes (e.g. Green & Mitchell, 1979; Martinko et al., 2007) to examine the CEO dismissal process. The study also contributes to the literature by adding to the limited amount of empirical research on the role of the Chair of the Board (e.g. Roberts, 2002; Gabrielsson et al., 2007; McNulty et al., 2011), particularly in the CEO dismissal process, and by pointing out fruitful avenues for further research on the topic. By focusing on Finnish companies of various sizes and types of ownership, the study addresses the shortage of studies of CEO dismissal in contexts other than major, listed, US companies (Cragun et al., 2016).

The context of the current empirical study is Finland. According to the Limited Liability Companies Act of Finland (Osakeyhtiölaki 624/2006), the appointment and dismissal of the CEO are among the responsibilities of the Board, which is appointed by the General Meeting. The Chair of the Board is elected by the Board, unless decided otherwise when the Board is appointed or the Articles of Association provide otherwise. Under the Companies Act, the powers of the Chair do not differ from those of other Board Directors, although she/he is responsible for seeing that the Board meets when necessary and has a casting vote in the event of a tie. It is the CEO's duty to manage the company as instructed by the Board, and to provide the Board with the information it needs to carry out its responsibilities.

## Theoretical framework

### Attributional processes in the context of leadership

Attributional processes have been argued to play an important role in understanding the dynamics of leadership processes and leader-subordinate interactions (Green & Mitchell, 1979). It has been argued too that attributions account for a significant amount of the variance in leadership behaviours, particularly as regards the evaluation of performance made by leaders, and the outcomes of this evaluation (e.g. Green & Mitchell, 1979; Martinko et al., 2007). When viewed from the perspective of leadership, the CEO-Board and CEO-Chair relationships can be argued to have some extraordinary characteristics. These include the Board's diverse tasks of control, service and strategy (e.g. Zahra & Pearce, 1989), as well as the Board's dependence on the information provided by the CEO when carrying out its duties (e.g. Hooghiemstra & Van Manen, 2004; Bailey & Peck, 2013). Even if responsibility for supervising and dismissing the CEO lies with the Board as a collective, in the governance structure of CEO non-duality the Chair typically works more closely with the CEO than do the rest of the Board (e.g. Roberts, 2002; Kakabadse et al., 2006; Koskinen & Lämsä, 2016). Moreover, prior research has suggested a strong interdependency between the roles of CEO and Chair (Stewart, 1991).

The current study draws upon a model of the attributional process of leaders in leader-subordinate interactions proposed by Green & Mitchell (1979). According to this model, the reaction of a leader to poor performance is a two-stage process. First, a leader, such as the Chair (with the whole Board), aims to understand the reasons for the performance and to make attributions primarily to either internal (e.g. the ability or effort of the CEO) or external (e.g. market situation) causes. It has been argued that in this process, what is most important is information concerning the distinctiveness and consistency of the poor performance as well as how far there is consensus on the subject (Kelley, 1973). Second, an appropriate response,

e.g. CEO dismissal or some other corrective measure, is selected to address the issue. It has been suggested that the leader's response to poor performance is affected by her/his attributions: for example, when failure is attributed to the subordinate's lack of effort, the response of the leader may be more negative than in the case of an attribution of lack of ability (Weiner & Kukla, 1970; Green & Mitchell, 1979).

According to the model of Green and Mitchell (1979), certain moderators, such as empathy and the closeness of the leader's relationship with the subordinate, influence the attribution process, and contextual constraints or organisational policies may further influence the responses of the leader. Attributional biases, such as self-serving bias and actor-observer bias, have also been argued to affect the leader's evaluations of performance (e.g. Green & Mitchell, 1979; Martinko et al., 2007). Self-serving bias refers to individuals' tendency to take credit for success but blame others for failure. In the context of leadership, actor-observer bias refers to the tendency of leaders to explain the failure of their subordinate, in this study, the CEO, by reference to internal causes when they interpret their own role as that of observer, but when they are in a psychologically close relationship with their subordinate and interpret their own role as an actor, they may be more likely to attribute failure to external causes (Green & Mitchell, 1979). Schaffer (2002) suggested that when assessing CEO performance, inside Directors in particular may be constrained by their stronger connection to the CEO and self-serving biases, whereas outside Directors are likely to have constraints of time and of the scope, detail and accuracy of the information available to them, and may have lower levels of commitment to the organisation. A study that examined dyads working on tasks with interdependent outcomes found a self-serving bias in dyads that were relationally distant: the dyadic partners in distant relationships took credit for success for themselves but blamed the other partner for failure (Sedikides et al., 1998).

### Research on CEO dismissal and the role of the Chair

It has been argued that CEO dismissal is particularly challenging for the Board for at least three reasons: a lack of independence, unclear performance evaluation standards, and pressures attached to the dismissal decision process (Hilger et al., 2013). It has been proposed that particularly the information asymmetry that works in the CEO's favour complicates the task (e.g. Boivie et al., 2016).

Pettigrew and McNulty (1998, p. 206) note that in the literature, poor performance is assumed to be 'a necessary, if not a sufficient, condition for CEO dismissal'. In addition to poor performance, several other factors, particularly related to CEO or Board power, have been proposed to either increase the possibility of CEO dismissal or to help the CEO remain in position despite poor performance (e.g. Fredrickson et al., 1988; Huson et al., 2001; Brickley, 2003; Hilger et al., 2013). Poor industry performance has been argued to significantly increase the likelihood of CEO dismissal, but peer performance has only minor effects on CEOs who perform well (Jenter & Kanaan, 2015). In a survey conducted among venture capitalists, CEO failure in the area of strategic leadership was found to lead to dismissal (Bruton et al., 1997).

Attributions, expectations, interpretation and deviations from forecasts have been argued to impact CEO dismissal (e.g. Fredrickson et al., 1988; Puffer & Weintrop, 1991; Farrel & Whidbee, 2003; Haleblan & Rajagopalan, 2006; Lee et al., 2012; He & Fang, 2016). Fredrickson et al. (1988) present a model of CEO dismissal that does not assume that the Board's

decision is totally rational, even if the Board may view it as such, but is also influenced by political and social forces. They suggest that the link between CEO dismissal and company performance is not direct but is mediated by the Board's expectations and attributions, allegiances and values, the availability of alternative CEOs, and the power of the incumbent CEO. Haleblan and Rajagopalan (2006) developed a cognitive model of CEO dismissal, proposing that the Board's composition, perception and attribution of performance, and efficacy assessment of the CEO all impact on the CEO dismissal decision. It has also been proposed that the Board's process of attribution may be influenced by contextual factors, such as market conditions and industry performance (Sun & Shin, 2014).

In terms of power and influence, the replacement of the CEO has been argued to be one of the key tasks of a non-CEO Chair of the Board (McNulty et al., 2011), and the Chairperson's ultimate responsibility (Roberts, 2002). Forced CEO and Chair changes may be intertwined (e.g. Eriksson et al., 2001; Florou, 2005), and prior research has reported higher Chair turnover following a company's operating loss (Firth et al., 2006; Maury, 2006). It has also been suggested that the failure of the CEO is seen as a sign that the Board, including the Chair, has also failed (Eriksson et al., 2001; Wiersema, 2002), and the likelihood of the Chairperson's being replaced has been proposed to be particularly high when the Chair has been involved in the appointment of the dismissed CEO (Florou, 2005).

## Method

The empirical data of the study consist of narrative, open-ended interviews with seven Finnish (non-CEO) Chairpersons who retrospectively describe the process that led to the dismissal of a CEO. A narrative interview refers here to a contextual, sequential account of events and of people acting in a certain setting, told by the respondent as she/he has experienced them (e.g. Bruner, 1991; Söderberg, 2003).

Chairpersons who were assumed or known to have personal experience of CEO dismissal in their role as Chair were contacted personally by the author via e-mail, phone or face-to-face, to ask for permission to interview them. All the Chairpersons who were contacted agreed to join the study. The respondents were guaranteed full anonymity, and to ensure this it was agreed that the interview data would not be presented as separate cases. The respondents were also allowed to refrain from using company or CEO names in the interview if they preferred this.

All the Chairpersons interviewed were aged between 53 and 69, held an academic degree, and had extensive experience in senior executive positions and Board work. One of them was female, the others were male. The sample included Chairpersons from both small and large companies, and in terms of ownership included family-owned, listed, state-owned and private equity companies. All respondents were outside Directors, and none of them worked full-time, was a previous CEO, or a majority shareholder in the company in which the dismissal occurred.

A week before the scheduled interview an e-mail was sent to the respondents explaining the purpose of the interview and its narrative, open-ended nature. The interviewees were told that they would be expected to describe the whole process leading to a CEO dismissal in their own words: the first signs of problems, how the process developed, what kind of issues contributed to the dismissal decision, and how long the process lasted. The respondents were reminded of the anonymity of the interview and informed that, unless they disapproved, the interview would

be audio-recorded. All the interviews, which were between 40 and 85 minutes in length, were in fact audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim for analysis. The respondents were encouraged to describe events as they had experienced them, and extra questions were asked during the interview to get more detailed information. In four interviews, one process was covered in great detail, and in three interviews, a total of seven dismissals were covered on a slightly less detailed level. As most respondents had a lot of experience of CEO dismissals, many of them referred to or briefly described a number of other CEO dismissals they had participated in. In what follows, we focus on processes in which poor performance, e.g. in terms of company profitability or the level of return on investment, was described as playing a crucial role in the Board's decision to dismiss the CEO. Six respondents narrated one, and one respondent three such processes in her/his interview.

During the iterative analysis process, the theoretical literature and empirical data were continuously linked together. First, the transcriptions of the interviews were read through many times and then the data were coded in order to extract phrases, sentences and sections in which the respondents described how the situation and the CEO were evaluated, and how they, together with the whole Board, responded to the poor performance. These extracts were then further analysed in order to understand their significance in the dismissal process. Typically, the respondents did not distinguish between the CEO's results and the company's results but the financial performance of the company served as a key measure and basis for evaluating the CEO.

In what follows, we start with the reasons why poor performance was attributed mainly to the CEO rather than, for example, to external factors. After this, we present the responses of the Chair and the Board to the poor performance of the CEO, as described by the Chairpersons in the interviews. We also describe the kinds of problems or constraints mentioned by the Chairpersons as having to be overcome by them or the whole Board in the course of the CEO dismissal process.

## Findings

### Understanding the reasons for poor performance

In six, i.e. the majority, of our nine dismissal processes, the dismissal had been preceded by recent Chair turnover. In other words, the Chair had taken up their position less than a year before the Board made the decision to dismiss the CEO and had been aware beforehand of the poor company performance. In one case, when recruiting the Chair, the owners had been very open about their desire to change the CEO, but said they had not managed to do this because of the CEO's substantial share in the ownership of the company. One Chair commented that the CEO had been her/his subordinate several years earlier in another organisation and in his opinion was 'not a CEO type-of-person at all', and another CEO was said to have a poor reputation.

Typically, the Chairpersons who had recently taken up the position described their first impressions of the CEO as being rather negative and critical, saying, for example, '...in my opinion, the numbers were totally out of control, the CEO would prattle on about trivial matters, and rapid change was needed.' Another Chair spoke about her/his initial feelings after the first Board meetings she/he had chaired: 'From the very beginning it felt as if there were other forces guiding the CEO rather than the man himself. I mean, he didn't have his own vision of what the firm was about to become, maybe it

wasn't thought through thoroughly enough.'

The new Chairpersons attributed poor performance very largely to a combination of many different internal, CEO-related reasons rather than to external causes or particular, isolated, events. These included, for example, not working closely enough with customers, failing to meet her/his own forecasts, having nominated the wrong people to join her/his team, being a weak leader, and lacking leadership, organising and strategic skills. Poor performance was also said to have continued for 'too long', as for example 'Five years of continual losses', and in most of our cases the new Chairpersons indicated that in their view, their predecessor had failed to address the issue. Even if external causes, such as a drastic change in the market or the collapse of the tech bubble, were also mentioned as reasons for poor performance, the fact that they had such negative consequences for the company was largely attributed to the failure of the CEO to lead the company to adapt to the changes rapidly and decisively enough. In addition, new Board Directors were described as seeing the situation in the same way as the recently started Chair and supporting her/him.

In one case in which the CEO was newly appointed, the Chair said that the Board and she/he had worked particularly closely together with the CEO, and that the CEO's failure to act as agreed with the Chair in weekly discussions led to her/his dismissal well before the end of the CEO's first year of tenure. In this very small company the Chair had soon found it necessary to give detailed instructions to the CEO but was met with a total lack of response: 'Nothing ever happened!'

In the two processes in which both the CEO and the Chair had been in their positions for several years before the dismissal, the Chairpersons said that they and the rest of the Board had reacted to the deteriorating situation much too slowly, only after a drastic fall in financial results. In both these processes the respondents referred to environmental conditions as a major reason for the Board's late reaction. In retrospect, one Chair admitted that in her/his opinion the Board had missed the signs of a radically changing market and the inadequate response of the company to these changes: 'We were so late reacting, I mean, when the results plummeted, then we changed the CEO.' In this case, poor company performance resulted in very strong pressure from the shareholders to dismiss the CEO. The Chair still expressed appreciation of the CEO, but admitted that he was just not the right man for the job in the current situation: 'I mean, even if the guy was really good, the CEO, but he was born for rapid growth, marketing, brave moves, when he should have started streamlining and cutting costs here and there. So, then, it was just that a different kind of guy was needed.'

In the other process, despite growing concerns about the CEO's strategic and leadership skills, as well as her/his lack of response and openness with the Board and the Chair, the Board had not taken action to dismiss the CEO on account of her/his long history of satisfactory financial performance. What makes this process particularly interesting is that, looking back on it, the Chair said that she/he realised that a major reason for the good financial performance during the last year before the dismissal had been very exceptional weather. Although this was obviously more a matter of chance than of CEO performance, it led the Board to dismiss their concerns and persist in believing that the CEO was still performing well and would continue to do so in the future. The resulting good financial performance saved the CEO that year, but his dismissal happened a year later when there was a drastic fall in financial performance. In retrospect, the Chair said that she/he thought the Board should have taken action more quickly: 'But his track record was good,

and the results were... I, too, thought that we wouldn't right away change a guy who has delivered good results every year. Achieved by whatever means. That was the sort of idea, but it was wrong. In retrospect. Should've acted sooner.'

This last case also shows how important company financial performance can be in 'saving' a CEO from dismissal. Its dominance over other issues is also highlighted in a more general comment from another, very senior Chair: 'I'll put up with a lot from a CEO who's getting results.' And she/he later continued: 'But then, of course, if the results don't come, all these other things come to matter hugely'. 'The 'other things' the Chair was referring to were, for example, the CEO's arrogance, lack of openness, and reluctance to listen to the Board's advice.

### Responding to poor performance

Chairpersons described how, as a response to poor performance, the Board had made initiatives to improve performance but the CEO had not followed them up as firmly or as quickly as the Board had expected. This lack of response and sense of urgency on the part of the CEO was narrated as having contributed to the dismissal decision. For example, one Chair commented on a Board's dissatisfaction with its CEO's lack of response when called upon to put forward proposals to revise company strategy: 'He didn't seem to understand that this is, then, really, really important, this strategic work.' Moreover, the CEO's failure to change the top managers in the company, particularly the CFO, as proposed and required by the Board, was mentioned by several respondents as having contributed to the CEO's own dismissal. One Chair said that the Board had made a decision to downsize the personnel but realised later that the CEO had taken no action on it. The Chair said this was 'the last straw': 'that even when the results are bad, instructions are still not followed.' In another case the Board was described as having initiated action that they considered very important, for example for improving health and safety issues in the company, although it would not have directly enhanced performance, and the CEO's lack of action on the issue was described as having greatly annoyed the Board and as contributing to the dismissal decision.

Additionally, Chairpersons reported that the CEO's failure to propose measures to improve performance had been criticised by the Board. As described by one Chair: '...a CEO cannot come and ask the Board what we should do next. It has to be the other way round: that he has his own, clear views to defend when presenting them to the Board'. Chairpersons also said that they had tried to give feedback to the CEO in dyadic discussions to better align her/his action with the Board's expectations, but to little effect. One Chair, for example, said: 'We had that discussion going on for a full six months, I mean, I really tried there, I tried hard to get the message across.'

In many cases, this lack of initiative and effort on the part of the CEO to proactively lead changes was described as a misfit between her/him and what the Board perceived as necessary to improve performance. The need for a different kind of leadership and the consequent misfit was explained as arising, for example, from a steep fall in the market, desired strategic change, or the stage of development in the life cycle of the company.

### Overcoming constraints

According to the respondents, in order to understand the reasons for poor performance and decide upon appropriate responses, more information was needed than was received through regular Board meetings and reports. Chairpersons

described their dyadic practices with the CEO as an important source of additional information. Some respondents said that as part of their routine when starting as Chair in a company they formally interviewed all the members of the top management team to find out about the company and to get a sense of the views, atmosphere, quality and unity of perspectives of the team. Others said that they simply talked to top management team members when the opportunity arose. A management review conducted by an outside consultancy had in some cases been a valuable source of information on the CEO and her/his team. Some respondents admitted that as they were not specialists in the industry in which the company operated, evaluating the situation and the CEO was difficult for them.

As the CEO is normally present at Board meetings, Chairpersons said that they arranged one or more Board meetings or discussions without the CEO present to enable the Board Directors to discuss the matter and come to their decision. Our respondents said that they had either concluded that there was such dissatisfaction among the Board Directors or shareholders that it needed to be addressed or they wanted to discuss with other Directors their own view of the matter. Chairpersons underlined that it is the duty of the Chair to organise this kind of Board discussion, regardless of their own views on the CEO, if they discern any signs of dissatisfaction among Board Directors. Sometimes a Board meeting was preceded by discussions between the Chair and individual Board Directors, or a written questionnaire was sent by the Chair to the Board Directors to ask for their views on the CEO and the situation. In addition, some respondents said that they had discussed the situation and the possibility of the CEO's dismissal with major shareholders.

Even if the decision to dismiss the CEO was made by the Board as a collective, rather than the Chair, some respondents said that they had been the driving force behind the dismissal decision. For example, one Chair noted that even if the dismissal was 'a joint conclusion' of the Board, she/he had been the one who had pushed for it most. Another Chair, while emphasising the collective nature of the Board's decision-making, at the same time admitted that 'but obviously, as the Chair, you always lead in one way or another'. One Chair also said that when she/he had organised a Board meeting without the CEO present to discuss the Board's views of the CEO, this had clearly been a strong signal to the rest of the Board that they should take action, and the dismissal decision had been taken right away, although the Chair her/himself had at first held and presented a diverging view.

One Chair explained that emotions and a close relationship with the CEO may make the dismissal difficult for Board Directors: 'Well, it is a difficult decision from a human perspective. I mean, the Board and the CEO have an aim, they aim to build a kind of trusting, close relationship. That has high level dialogue and in a way there's a good atmosphere between the members of the group. And then, when this kind of difficult situation emerges, then... then the emotions are very much involved.' The Chair also emphasised that in order not to risk the future success of the company, it is necessary to put the emotions aside, and to be pragmatic and analytical in these situations.

Obviously, a key issue that has to be addressed somehow before finally deciding upon the Board's response is the CEO's replacement. In some cases, uncertainty about the quality of possible successors was a major impediment to the process of dismissal, and the final decision was only made after the Chair had been able to find out something about the pool of

alternative CEO candidates, for example through personal networks or head hunters. In some other cases, an interim CEO was appointed and the search for new candidates only started after the dismissal had already taken place.

## Discussion

The findings of this study suggest that when faced with poor company performance, the CEO is put under closer scrutiny, while when the company is performing more strongly the CEO may not be as closely monitored by the Board (Pettigrew & McNulty 1995; Tuggle et al., 2010). This result is in line with the proposition of Jenter and Kanaan (2015), that under times of strong industry performance the Board may mistakenly attribute strong company performance to the CEO and that poor industry performance is likely to increase the chances of dismissal of an underperforming CEO.

The results of this study shed light on the importance of the Board's expectations (Green & Mitchell, 1979; Fredrickson et al., 1988; Puffer & Weintrop, 1991; Haleblian & Rajagopalan, 2006) concerning the CEO's actions, as well as its role and relationship with the CEO, which may all be subject to change when company performance turns out to be poor. More specifically, the results indicate that when company performance is poor, the CEO's ability and effort to initiate and execute the necessary company transformation is important, and that the CEO's failure to convince the Board of her/his fit (e.g. Finkelstein et al., 2009; Chen & Hambrick, 2012; cf. Cragun et al., 2016) as leader of this change is likely to contribute to dismissal (Bruton et al., 1997; Haleblian & Rajagopalan, 2006). Also, it is proposed that even if poor performance is originally perceived by the Board as resulting from external causes, such as a market crash, a resulting perception of a poor CEO fit with the changes needed for performance improvement may still lead to CEO dismissal (Jenter & Kanaan, 2015; cf. Green & Mitchell, 1979; cf. Sun & Shin, 2014; cf. He & Fang, 2016). The Board might take a more active role in initiating changes to improve performance, and rather than its being merely a matter of ability, a failure of the CEO to show that she/he is making an effort to respond to both the external changes and the Board's initiatives may have a significant impact on her/his dismissal (Weiner & Kukla, 1970; Green & Mitchell, 1979). Additionally, this study implies that the non-CEO executive turnover that often takes place before or at the same time as CEO dismissal may not be scapegoating by the CEO (cf. Boeker, 1992) but initiated and strongly encouraged by the Board to facilitate better top management fit, strategic change and company performance (Barker et al., 2001; cf. Wiersema & Bantel, 1993; cf. Fee & Hadlock, 2004).

As mentioned above, in the majority of the dismissal processes examined in this study, the Chairperson had taken up their post less than a year before the dismissal. It is likely that in part, the changing expectations, closer monitoring, and more active role of the Board discussed above resulted from Chair turnover, as the new Chair had been critical of the CEO right from the start (Stewart, 1991). It appears that in some cases the Chairperson's critical attitude had already been formed before starting in the position, either in discussions with shareholders or the nomination committee about the Chairmanship or based on other prior knowledge of the CEO and/or company performance. Also, it is likely that the new Chairpersons' attributions of performance differed from those of their predecessors who, apparently, had not (at least successfully) made any moves to dismiss the CEO (Pettigrew & McNulty,

1995). One reason may be that having been recently appointed and not yet having formed a close relationship with the CEO (Sedikides et al., 1998), the new Chair or Board Director may feel more allegiance to the company's shareholders than to the CEO (Fredrickson et al., 1988) and consequently will be more likely than a Chair or Board Director with a longer tenure to attribute poor company performance to the CEO (Green & Mitchell, 1979; Martinko et al., 2007).

In contrast, it seemed that Chairpersons with a long common tenure with the CEO had, together with the rest of the Board, reacted very late to an unsatisfactory situation, only after a significant drop in company profits. It may be that particularly long-tenured Chairpersons are subject to actor-observer bias and self-serving attributions (Green & Mitchell, 1979; Sedikides et al., 1998) despite their non-executive role (cf. Schaffer, 2002; cf. Halebian & Rajagopalan, 2006). This may be influenced by the strong interdependency (Sedikides et al., 1998) between the CEO and Chair (Stewart, 1991), as well as their key role in the collective, co-constructed processes of corporate directing (Pye, 2002). Also, the role of emotions, such as empathy and care, in the dismissal process may be stronger when the CEO and Chair have a long common tenure and consequently, possibly a closer interpersonal relationship (Green & Mitchell, 1979; Lämsä & Takala, 2000; Martelius-Louniala, 2017). Prior research has proposed that long-tenured, outside Directors who strongly identify socially with the organisation may be less likely to offer alternative views and to independently assess senior management (Veltrop et al., 2015) and that trust in and familiarity with the CEO may lead to complacency and cognitive blindness on the part of the Board (Van Ees et al., 2008). It has also been proposed that strong ties and mutual trust built in intensive collaboration between directors and executives, such as the Chair and the CEO, may contribute to faulty attributions and strategic persistence (Sundaramurthy & Lewis, 2003).

Finally, the team leadership skills of the Chairperson (Gabrielsson et al., 2007) as well as the 'will and skill' and dynamics of relationships among the Board Directors have been argued to affect their influence (Pettigrew & McNulty, 1995). Our results throw light on the key role of the Chair in the dismissal process (Roberts, 2002; McNulty et al., 2011) in terms of overcoming the constraints identified in prior studies (e.g. Schaffer, 2002; Hilger et al., 2013; Boivie et al., 2016; cf. Pettigrew & McNulty, 1998). The actions of the Chairpersons in this study appeared to be driven by utilitarianism, their identity as professionals, as well as their sense of duty (Lämsä & Takala, 2000; Martelius-Louniala, 2017) and strong commitment to acting according to what they perceived to be in the best interests of the company and its shareholders (Fredrickson et al., 1988; Roberts, 2002). Our results indicate that due in part to the information asymmetry between the Board and the management (e.g. Bailey & Peck, 2013; Boivie et al., 2016), the Chairperson's role in generating information for the Board may be significant in the CEO dismissal process. Additionally, the results suggest that because of the closer working relationship that the Chair has with the CEO compared to that of the rest of the Board (e.g. Roberts, 2002; Kakabadse et al., 2006; Koskinen & Lämsä, 2016), as well as her/his control over the Board's agenda (Tuggle et al., 2010), the Chair may be in a position to strongly affect the Board's attributional process. It is also proposed that the Chair has a pivotal role in creating the conditions for the Board as a collective to discuss and to make the dismissal decision without the CEO present.

### Limitations and suggestions for further studies

A limitation of this study is its attempt to study the dismissal process based on the perceptions of only one actor, namely the Chair. Due to the simultaneously collective and individual aspects of corporate directing (Pye, 2002), studying the perceptions and attributional processes of other key actors, such as the CEO and Board Directors, would be fruitful in the future, particularly with regard to the same CEO dismissal process. For example, it is possible that the CEO's lack of effort described by our respondents would, from the CEO's point of view, be the result of diverging views on priorities or solutions for performance improvement.

CEO dismissal can be argued to have several characteristics, such as importance, accountability and lack of clarity, that might encourage managerial political behaviour (Ferris et al., 1994) on the part of the Chair in the interview situation. It can also be suggested that senior Directors, like the respondents in this study, might well be particularly good at influencing others and justifying their own actions (Mills, 1940; Scott & Lyman, 1968; Ferris et al., 1994). When reporting their experiences of the dismissal process retrospectively, the Chairpersons had the opportunity to construct and edit the story to justify the outcome (Scott & Lyman, 1968; Gergen & Gergen, 1988; Bruner, 1991), i.e. the dismissal decision. In retrospect, the respondents said that in their opinion the decision was right, even if made too late, and many of them commented that company performance had improved as a result of the CEO turnover (Denis & Denis, 1995; Bruton et al., 1997; cf. Wiersema, 2002; cf. Hilger et al., 2013).

Owing to the approach chosen and the relatively small sample of empirical data generated from different companies in one country, the generalisability of the results of the study is limited. Still, we consider that our explorative approach has been valuable in increasing understanding of the process of CEO dismissal on account of the rich nature of the data obtained directly from key actors in the process. An additional strength of our sample in comparison to studies using publicly available data, which is a common way to study CEO dismissal, is that all the processes were certainly dismissals (see e.g. Finkelstein et al., 2009; Schwartz-Ziv & Weisbach, 2013). Moreover, while most dismissal studies have been conducted in the context of CEO duality, our results shed light on the influential role of the Chair in the context of CEO non-duality.

Despite their origin as outsiders and their part-time role (McNulty et al., 2011), the Chairpersons we interviewed can be assumed to have a lot of influence because of their extensive experience of Board work (e.g. Pettigrew & McNulty, 1995; 1998), of the role of the Chair and, for most of them, also of CEO dismissals, and exploring the role adopted by less experienced Chairpersons in the CEO dismissal process would be fruitful. It is also worth pointing out that owing to the seniority of the respondents, the sample processes may be biased towards unusually complex situations, as these senior Chairpersons may be the people who are called for when strong and skilled Chair leadership is particularly required.

The process of and reasons for Chair turnover and dismissal (Pettigrew & McNulty, 1998) would also merit research. Also, studying the impact on CEO dismissal of the tenure (e.g. Hamrick & Fukutomi, 1991; Shen, 2003; Dikolli et al., 2014) of the CEO, Board Directors and particularly of the Chair would be of interest, as would studying the influence of Chair and Board Director turnover on the dynamics and attributional processes of the Board. It is also important to bear in mind that our data only consist of cases that led to dismissal; it would be

interesting to explore the attributional process of the Chair and the Board in situations in which poor company performance did not lead to CEO dismissal. Examining the role of emotions in CEO dismissal would be another important topic of further study.

### Practical implications

We propose that it is important to pay attention to the influence of social dynamics and possible biases in the Board's decision-making and to give Directors some training in this area. It might also be useful to try to ensure a sufficient degree of Board Director and Chair turnover to promote a variety of perspectives in the boardroom (Fredrickson et al., 1988; Veltrop et al., 2015).

Even if the Chair does not have decision-making authority on her/his own, it can be argued that she/he is in a key position in the CEO dismissal process. It is proposed that the Chairperson's 'will and skill' (Pettigrew & McNulty, 1995) and her/his interaction both outside and inside the boardroom are crucial in creating the conditions needed for the Board to address the issue. Therefore especially Chairpersons with less experience of CEO dismissal might benefit from training and an increased awareness of the role, leadership and practices of the Chair in the CEO dismissal process.

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### Conclusion

The findings of this study increase understanding of the process that leads to a Board's decision to dismiss the CEO under conditions of poor performance, and shed light on the issues which impact the relationship between poor performance and CEO dismissal. Even if prior research has suggested that the Board's decision to dismiss the CEO is not totally rational, but is influenced by, for example, Directors' expectations and attributions (e.g. Fredrickson et al., 1988), prior knowledge of the Board's interpretative processes leading to dismissal is scarce (Haleblian & Rajagopalan, 2006; Cragun et al., 2016). The results suggest that social forces and changing dynamics in the social relationships between the Chair, the CEO and other Board Directors are likely to have an impact on the Board's attribution process (Green & Mitchell, 1979) and CEO dismissal (Fredrickson et al., 1988; Pettigrew & McNulty, 1995; 1998). The results of this study also shed light on the role and significant influence of the Chair in the CEO dismissal process (Roberts, 2002). In addition, the results confirm the inter-related nature of the destinies of CEO and Chair (Eriksson et al., 2001; Florou, 2005).

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# The Effect of Organizational Politics on Job Stress; Mediating Role of Job Satisfaction

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## Abstract

The purpose of this quantitative study is to investigate the relationship between organizational politics and job stress and the mediating role of job satisfaction. Changes in working circumstances causes work related stress. There are various vulnerabilities associated to stress such as work content, workload, working hours, control and career development, position in the organization, interpersonal dealings and traditions of the employing organization. The job stress can be deterred through primary avoidance such as concentrated work design and administration growth, secondary avoidance such as workers' learning and training and tertiary avoidance such as mounting responsive organization system and improved work-related health conditions and psychosocial factors at work. There are two outcomes of job satisfaction which affects workers such as intrinsic outcome included feeling of accountability, challenge, and appreciation and extrinsic outcome included pay, working conditions and the co-workers. The sample size consists of 200 employees of different banks of district Peshawar, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province of Pakistan. A total of 30 questions were asked based on 5 point Likert scale responses. Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) the quantitative analysis software is used to perform statistical

operations in the research. Regression and Baron and Kenny Approach were used to test the hypothesis. The results show that there is a significant relationship between organizational politics and job stress. The results also indicate that there is no significant relationship between organizational politics and job satisfaction. In this study, the implications are discussed with a view to improving standards of organizational politics and job stress within the ambit of the banking sector.

**Key Words:** Organizational politics, organization authority, organization power, power at work, job stress, managing stress, job satisfaction.

## Introduction

People in an organization are undeniably considered the most precious asset. It is the collection of all the expertise, capacity and knowledge of all the people working in any organization. It is essential to use the capacities of all the people working in the organization to attain the most wanted goals. It is based on the performance of the workers. The performance of all employees is dependent on the employees' job satisfaction (Rao, 2000).

HRM is a specific area of business on the basis a variety of approaches, strategies, policies and different actions are developed which encourage the job satisfaction of workers as well as the business (Armstrong, 1987).

People have certain things in their minds by joining the organization such as job safety, income, greater expectations and safety of community and mental needs. People are different with respect to their needs from others. Therefore it is the duty of the organization to perform their needs and provide the chances of growth and development. Similarly, when a person likes his/her job and considers himself/herself cherished by the organization. In that case, an organization plays a significant role in dictating its value. They should provide appropriate opportunities and environments to people at work to satisfy their needs (Suri & Chhabra, 2000).

Organizational politics is to get authority to make connection in order to get things done. It is the mistreatment of the entrusted powers in an organization to get special benefits. The compensations are fulfilled in a variety of ways as demonstrated by using substantial and insubstantial assets. All the people are using this for their own well-being (Weissenberger, 2010).

It is an inevitable fact that workplace conflict arises where the organization possesses limited resources and there is rivalry amongst persons for their survival. Essentially, it necessitates to overcome it or assume it. That workplace politics in most organizations and engaging in all-out conflicts with each other can defeat the overall goals of the organization (Vigoda, 2002).

Job related stress is the intensifying and challenging problem of functioning organizations. It has been caused by over-loaded labor which usually results in work stress. It has an effect on the performance of workforce and causes unnecessary behaviors such as smoking, drinking, depression and nervousness when there is no stability between inconsistent demands and responsibilities of their duties (Sherry & Rabi, 1992).

Changes in working circumstances causes work stress, sick leave, high labor turnover and early retirements are the results of job related stress. It is considered a main challenge to workers' strength and the strengths of their organizations can be truly global. Badly irritated, less industrious and less secured at job as a result the organizations are less aggressive in marketplace. It exerted pressure on the work and at home (Rpbetr, Marie, & Mark, 2009). Job satisfaction decreases absenteeism and turnover. Various studies have revealed that it is improved by pay and management behavior (Petrescu & Simmons, 2008).

It has been disclosed that very limited number of studies focused on Pakistan, though many studies concerning the topic have previously been conducted around the world (Usman & Ismail, 2010). Due to the consequence of the study the research is conducted on different banks of Peshawar, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province of Pakistan. In order to determine the consequences of organizational politics and job stress and the mediating role of job satisfaction on workers of banking sector, this sector is chosen due to the reason that banking job is frequently measured as a very tough and stressful. The banking sector has grown at a faster-than-usual pace recently. The state of competition is severe in that sector. It is well known fact that banks are special because of the vulnerability to the entrant of new firms, for this reason they are striving to provide cheaper services to their customers. In the prevailing circumstances, the grooming of well qualified workforce is the main issue. Focused on improving human resource practices is being assumed to maintain the organizational human resources.

## Literature Review

This section includes the details of prior researches related to organizational politics, job satisfaction and job stress of the employees and their associations with each other.

### Organizational Politics

In every human organization, people that develop, influence and wield overwhelming powers in the decision making process and the underlying politics, power struggle and influence wielding is used by individuals and groups to achieve their own cherished goals. Organizational politics is considered as an unofficial struggle for achieving power (Winning, 1978). Organizational politics is the process of gaining power by various means rather than merit or by chance. It is used for gaining only power through unfair means. All the powers are gained on enriching personal profits such as promotion, obtaining a lot of funds or other resources or gaining beneficial projects. It is the study of power in action (Pfeffer, 1981).

Several studies have been performed to discover the term organizational politics. It is a significant ability in managers for doing things from others (Bacharach, 2005). There are various concepts regarding institutional politics. Various researchers have used different scale and dimensions for achieving awareness of organizational politics. There are numerous methods to have high level in politics such as for gaining own profit, the individual use short cuts, avoid the influence and using easy means (Kacmar & Andrews, 2001).

The term organizational politics has captured the attention of those scientists engaged in the study of organization. Various researchers defined the term organizational politics in various ways. Individual or team behavior that is unofficial, disruptive and above all in a technical sense, illegitimate - sanctioned neither by formal authority, accepted ideology, nor certified expertise is known as organizational politics (Mintzberg, 1983). This is manifested as the course of authority in which person gets various things by undeserved means (Mayes & Allen, 1977).

There are different views to understand politics in an organization. There are countless examples of place of work politics such as bypassing authority while gaining approval, for gaining tools using inappropriate channels and lobbying bosses in time of promotion. Organizational politics described as an activity that permits people in organization to accomplish goals without going through proper channels. The political behavior is demonstrated by nature of the act or by the perception of people of what is political (Kacmar & Andrews, 2001). The manner in which people engaged and their conflicts are resolved through the awareness of reality (Lewin, 1936). Organizational politics is difficult to describe in place of work because it is a relationship of power in place of work. They have unique characteristics of relationship of power in place of work. They have unique characteristics of relationships of individuals which directly met with each other. Besides, they have their own overriding plans and struggle with powers. The main aims of that are to secure or maximize personal benefits or avoiding negative results of the group (Ferris & Kacmar, Perceptions of organizational Politics, 1991). Organizational politics has also used for protecting collective interests (team, group, organizational or social) in those cases where several decisions are awaiting which affect different other interests.

There are very less number of researchers known about the nature, boundaries and other proportions of organizational politics. There are two aspects of organizational politics such as negative and positive aspects. Many scholars have focused on the negative aspect of organizational politics and seeing that it is the representation of the dim side of human nature. Organizational politics has been considered as equal to the dis-loyal and semi-legal actions (Ferris & King, 1991) and (Mintzberg, 1983). The picture depicts that the organizational politics negates the common purpose of the group and also harms the performance of individual, team unit or system at any level. In recent years, many researchers have worked on the positive side of perception of organizational politics i.e., providing the basis of competitive advantage, develop positive political skills, which create an effective political situation which does not affect from injustice, unfairness etc., serving the objectives of the organization and the vision and develop teamwork and confidence (Karen, 2015).

Fedor, Maslyn, Farmer, & Bettenhausen (2008) have worked on both the positive and negative politics and stated that positive and negative politics having separate dimensions rather than they are on the same pole and may occur at the individual, team or place of work level. In the period of 1990s up to 2000s interest has taken the direction of cognition. Numerous experimental studies have been carried out about the people thinking and political plans in modern place of work.

According to Kacmar & Carlson (1997) represented the study to the extent in which the workers hope their job environment as political in nature, cheering the self-interests in others and have unmerited and undeserved from the employee's side.

There are two proportions of personality which play an ample role in individuals' actions in an organization. The first one showed those persons that believe that they are masters of

their own destiny while the second type showed those persons that believe on luck. The first type is labeled as internal while the second type labeled as external.

According to various researchers there is inverse association with the perception of organizational politics in the eyes of workers and the level of justice, equity and fairness. Different researchers pointed that politics and fairness are inter-related because organizational politics is related to leaders. It is evidently lack of justice and fairness in the organization; there will be organizational politics which hampers the performance of organization (Ferris & Kacmar, 1991). It has been disputed that people always react to the perceptions of reality, not to reality. It is necessary that an individual knows the politics in an organization.

Different studies stated that politics in an organization is due to the perception of justice and fairness which results into poor job performance (Drory, 1993). Other researchers replicated these ideas and stated that organizational politics is not unseen and representative but different across individuals (Ferris, et al., 1989). Awareness of organizational politics is not the awareness of an organization but it is the awareness of an entity about other political activities such as nepotism, stifling of opposing entities and exploitation of organizational politics (Kachmar & Ferris, 1991). It creates variance because it is the struggle for authority. Various researchers recommended that it is significant view points of individuals in functioning atmosphere (Parker, Dipboye, & Jackson, 1995).

Organizational politics is measured as an unconstructive occurrence of an organization (Vigoda E., 2003). In case, somebody told you that you are a political person, the person contemplates it as an abuse (Block, 2016). Influence, strength and politics are considered as a whole. Organizational politics is associated with slyness, exploitation, rebellion or attainment of goals in inappropriate ways. Conflicts and politics create stability between varying atmospheres (Ferris & King, 1991). Organizational politics has positive outcome as well such as in case of promotion. Hence it is not necessary to say that it is negative behavior. It is a natural human activity. It is an individual skill (Putnam, 1995).

### Job Stress

Job stress is defined as damaging bodily and exciting responses that occur when the necessities of job donot equal the skills and requirements of staff (NIOSH, 1999). This constitutes a large challenge to intellectual and bodily fitness of staff. Stressed staff is less creative, secured and provoked than others which affect otherwise their association. As a result, these personals gave a huge loss to nation (Palmer & Stephen, 2004). There are several sources of job stress which affect the personnel of different ways (Dollard, Maurean, & Jacquee, 1999).

One of the main reasons for work stress causes damage to the mind and the body. There is a correlation between mental damage, meaningfulness of work; and the autonomy. Other sources contain bodily action and work uncertainty. Job satisfaction and self-supposed labor pressure are the features of job stress (Karasek & Robert, 1979). In the 20th century the term 'job stress' has been a significant expression of researchers working in different fields (Cooper, Dewe, & Driscall, 2001). Various studies indicate that job stress has an unenthusiastic shock on the job performance, bodily and emotional well-being of staff. Therefore it is an expected part of an association (Wright, 2007).

Job stress also affects the operational competence of staff such as raise turnover and reduces satisfaction with staff (Ongori & Agolla, 2008). It is articulated in the form of distrust

and disconnection from the work and a sense of infectiveness (Maslach, Schaufeli, & Leiter, 2001). Stress is a mismatch between the supposed demand of a circumstances and supposed capabilities and possessions of staff for meeting those demands. Various studies on coaching have been performed which show stress and risk in coaches (Lazarus, 1990).

Stress is a major challenge to the health of staff in various part of the world. Stressed staff is considered harmful, badly irritated, less creative and less safe at their work. There are various causes of stress such as at home and at work. Stress at work is a great trouble for the organizationas well as for the workers. Best organizations are trying to supervise worker's stress and have procedures for their avoidance. Different countries have stress associated regulations which protect workers. Job stress is the reaction to the staff when workload and pressures are not matched with their understanding, expertise and capability. Stress-related disorders may occur in a broad array of circumstances. A vigorous work matters a lot where the staff feels equilibrium nervousness relative to their skills and possessions. WHO defined health that it is not the lack of a sickness but it shows the total bodily, public and intellectual well-being of staff (Leka, Griffiths, & Cox, 2003).

Unfortunate labors association, uncontrollable nervousness and demands are the causes of workstress. There are various vulnerabilities associated to stress such as work content, workload, working hours, control and career development, position in the organization, interpersonal dealings and traditions of organization. Job stress also affects the overall association with various ways such as increasing absentees, staff turnover, unsafe working practices, criticism from customers, declining assurance to labor, upsetting personnel staffing and damaging the organization's image. The job stress can be prohibited from primary avoidance such as focused work design and administration growth, secondary avoidance such as workers' learning and training and tertiary avoidance such as mounting responsive organization system and improved work-related health condition (ILO Series No:56, 1986). Various studies show that female are excessively engaged in workplace and become targets of workplace harassment and they are less likely to react to disagreement and stress (Borling, Dupre & Kelloway, 2009). It is observed that disagreement and the nature of administration shaped demanding surroundings. Management and administration approaches are causing boss and worker stress largely (Vicar, 2003). Stress in hospitals in the shape of inter-professional and intra-professional disagreement happened due to poor communication between team members (Xyrichis & Lowton, 2008).

### Job Satisfaction

Satisfaction is a person's feelings of pleasure, completion of purpose about programmed goals, requirements or wants (Kotler, 2000). In economic terms, utility or happiness derives from consumption of the goods or services as preferred or needed by an individual.

The term 'job satisfaction' obviously denotes the negotiations on organization of individual capital. It refers the feelings of happiness on the job which provoked them towards their occupation. It does not mean the pleasure of a person such as happiness but it means the fulfillment on the job. It shows the connection between the workers and their owner about their pay. Various factors prejudiced the job fulfillment. It does not mean simple sentiment after gaining some objective but it is the end state. The term 'job satisfaction' is described by Robert Hoppock in 1935. According to him, it is the mixture of

emotional, physiological and ecological conditions which cause job satisfaction and a person honestly say that I am pleased with my job (Mirza, 1996). There are different aspects which shape job satisfaction such as environment of labor, reasonable endorsement arrangement, job independence, management performance and public dealings (Dawson, 1987).

It has many facets such as workplace itself, pay and appreciation, understanding with supervisors and co-workers and possibility for growth and development. These dimensions affect largely thoughts of the workers. Job satisfaction refers to one's thoughts towards their job and the regulations of persons towards their job. Job satisfaction relates to performance. It is the feelings of workers towards their job (Hamer & Dennis, 1978). It has the element of self-motivation. More concentration is desirable for job satisfaction and trust. It is constructive employee attitudes, loyalty and training which fallout from the practice of the workers' job (Locke, 1976).

Job satisfaction has a close association with enthusiasm and doings. Satisfied staff is more industrious, efficient about their jobs as compared to dis-satisfied staff. Various studies and researches have carried out in order to raise the efficiency and constructiveness of personnel and approach of staff and their performance (Ferris, Adams, Kolodinsky, Hochwarter, & Ammeter, 2002). Numerous studies have validated that there is no relation between job satisfaction and productiveness of workers (Ferris & Kacmar, 1992). As a result the positive outcome of satisfaction with inspiration and efficiency cannot be deprived. Job satisfaction means to make all aspects of job simple, important and demanding. Deficiency in job satisfaction often leads to fatigue. Due to lack of job satisfaction the personnel quit from public to the private and from private to public sectors or from one profession to another. These circumstances occur to those countries which have unfortunate circumstances of service and stoppage in salaries (Nwagwu, 1997).

Workers on the job might be provoked by job nature, public atmosphere, wants of the workers and functioning situation and also exaggerated by accessibility of authority and position, compensate fulfillment, encouragement opportunities and job simplicity (Oshagbemi, 2000). Job satisfaction has associations with income, organization procedure, functioning situation, encouragement, gaining esteem and the size of association, self-expansion and attainment of the use of talents. Organizing people within the organization is an essential part of the organization practices. Efficient organizations look after their staff from all features such as their health, job security, safety, giving those benefits and make sure a situation of collaboration, obligation and happiness. It gives administration various information about job, personnel and their atmosphere. By increasing the job satisfaction and confidence gets better job performance (Daftawr & Chitranjan, 1982).

Now-a-days job satisfaction has received much attention to workplace. It is the satisfaction with workers feel while doing their work. Job satisfaction is one of the important factors which affect both the effectiveness of laborers and job performance such as non-attendance; accidents etc. satisfy workers provide the major benefit to the organization while displeased workers are the liabilities as disappointment leads to irritation and irritation leads to violence. Job satisfaction and dissatisfaction based on various factors such as nervousness at labor, occupation participation, relation with social group and supervisors, grievances elimination, feeling tiredness and isolation (Srivastava, 2004).

There are two outcomes of job satisfaction which affects workers such as intrinsic outcome included feeling of

accountability, challenge and appreciation and extrinsic outcome included pay, working condition and co-workers. Job satisfaction has various theories which measure job satisfaction from various aspects. Job satisfaction is generally measured as workers' feelings towards the job situation. It is the level of individual likeness of the job. When satisfied with a job, workers consider that job is the part of their life; hence they enjoy doing their work. Job enjoyment is related to the nature and operation of work. If the job provides a worker low independence, insecurity and lack of hope for promotion, it collectively leads to dissatisfaction with the job part of workers (Spector, 1997).

While relating job satisfaction with the performance, it is observed that matured and satisfied workers serve more efficiently as compared to the dis-satisfied workers. As workers are the frontline of the organization and can influence the satisfaction from the clients. Therefore a satisfied worker can be able to serve a customer well. A satisfied customer in turn influences positively worker's performance and satisfaction from the job (Hussami, 2008).

While reporting the factors influencing the job satisfaction from workers, age, position, femininity and extent were found to be the pertinent sources for the staff of universities in UK which contributed for their satisfaction from the job (Oshagbemi, 2003). Likewise different studies in Chinese restaurants determined that job itself; work atmosphere and rewards is the important determinants of job satisfaction (Lan, Bawm, & Pine, 2001). In addition to team functioning has a great impact on the job satisfaction as it directly affects the performance of staff. These factors play a great role in maintenance and keeping the level of pleasure of workers (James, 1996).

#### Relationship between Organizational Politics and Job Stress

Social atmosphere at work is related to labor stress. Organizational politics and job stress have positive association. It is absolutely connected with that area more regular research is needed to test the association with organizational politics and job stress. When the people perceive public support, they feel less stressed and nervousness and also have better life satisfaction and psychophysical fitness (Ferris, Frink, Galang, Zhou, Kacmar, & Howard, 1994). Several studies have stated that worker's political performance caused stress related impacts in place of works. Organizational politics is one source of stress and divergence in the workplace (Ferris, Frink, Galang, Zhou, Kacmar, & Howard, 1994).

The literature demonstrates that there is a relationship between organizational politics and job stress and it has been highly explored in the economically developed countries. There is a need to examine this association with the perspective of Pakistan and it is essential to bridge the yawning gap.

#### Relationship between Organizational Politics and Job Satisfaction

Workers supposed organizational politics as self-centered act of individual's which causes absentees, be exhausted and work-tension and turnover intent while enhanced knowledge of awareness of organizational politics increases work satisfaction (Valle & Blake, 2001). Earlier studies have disclosed negative relationship between job satisfaction and organizational politics in lower level workers while workers which had lower level of politics have higher level of satisfaction with approval, pay policies and payment scheme. Earlier researchers have revealed the negative relationship between perception of organizational politics and job satisfaction (Vigoda & Talmud, 2010).

Recent literature has supported negative relationship to perception of organizational politics, job satisfaction and organiza-

tional commitment (Miller, M.A, & Kolodinsky, 2008). The studies have further divulged the negative relationship to job satisfaction, organization commitment and job participation (Bodla & Danish, 2009). Organizational politics in organizations has various unconstructive consequences. Organizational politics affects a lot of the middle and lower level of workers (Hussain & Haque, 2011). Kodisinghe researched on 300 workers explained his findings on organizational politics and its effect on workers' satisfaction. He concluded that there is an inverse relationship of organizational politics and job satisfaction. While studying on some workers, it was disclosed that there is an insignificant pressure by absence and employees' job unease of political affairs on work atmosphere (Kodisinghe, 2010). Many researchers have explained that managerial political affairs are directly linked with job dissatisfaction (Valle & Witt, 2001). Organizational politics had negative association with work feelings of employment and managerial loyalty (Vigoda, 2000). Organizational politics is the basic variable in formation of job attitudes. It consists of contribution to appreciation for the association and it is significantly influenced by work satisfaction and overall environment (Mowday, Steers, & Porter, 1979).

#### Relationship among Organizational Politics, Job Stress and Job Satisfaction

Organizational politics, job satisfaction and organization commitment have negative relationship. It is the organizational politics have destructive effect on lower status worker rather than higher status workers (Drory, 1993). Organizational politics has negative relationship to work attitude while positive relationship between perception of organizational politics and unwanted results such as work burnout and stress (Ferris, Arthur, Berkson, Kaplan, Herrell-Cook & Frink, 1998). Job satisfaction manipulated job stress in place of work. Organizations are seeking better job outcomes of today's world. Various researchers have worked on work satisfaction and work stress as these are the challenging terms of HRM research. It has been distinguished that work satisfaction and work stress have important relationships. Workload and working circumstance had negative relationship to workplace satisfaction (Mahdad, 2006).

Lack of satisfaction resulted stress and also specified that these are interconnected (Vinokur-Kaplan, 1991). High level of work stress resulted in low level of work satisfaction (Landsbergis, 1988). If workers are satisfied with the workload, allotment of duties, and way of performance evaluation then the stress level is negligible (Ahsan, Abdullah, Fie, & Alam, 2009). The females are facing a lot of barriers concerning to their working situation and are facing less satisfied and have stress (Opeke, 2002). There are a lot of stressors in place of work in private and public sectors banking in Pakistan (Malik, 2011). It has been accomplished from several studies that the staff of private banks is appreciative with their wage, working hours and workload as compared to public sectors staff (Khalid & Irshad, 2010). It was increasingly recognized by various studies that 80% of the managers working in different association are in stress (Ram, Khoso, Shah, Chandio & Shaikh, 2011). There are numerous features such as extra work, indeterminate role, disagreement of role and deficiency of high support of higher administration causes stress in the organization (Malik, 2011). Various studies have been conducted among teachers and managers which accomplished that high level stress unconstructively affect work satisfaction (Senk, 2008).

#### Mediating Effects

The term mediation shows that the outcome of an independent variable (X) is passed on to a dependent variable (Y) through a third variable measured as a mediator (M). The approach anticipated by Baron and Kenny to covenant with the study of mediation consists of four steps therefore known as a four step model (Baron & Kenny, 1986).

1. Variables X and Y must be connected, and coefficient c in Figure must be dissimilar to zero in the anticipated way. This state is confirmed with a linear regression study of Y over

$$X: Y = i_1 + c X + e_1 \quad (1)$$

Where i is the constant term, c is the regression coefficient that relates X to Y, and e are the random errors (this is, the part of Y that isn't clarified by X), which are measured to be usually dispersed, with constant variance and independent from each other.

2. Variables X and M must be connected, this is, and coefficient 'a' from Figure.1 must be different to zero. This condition is confirmed using a linear regression analysis of M over X:  $M = i_2 + a X + e_2 \quad (2)$

3. Variables M and Y must be connected once the result of X is restricted, this is, and coefficient b from Figure. 1 must be dissimilar to zero. This state is confirmed using a linear regression analysis of Y over X and M:

$$Y = i_3 + a X + b M + e_3 \quad (3)$$

4. The association between X and Y must be considerably concentrated when calculating the result of M. This is coefficient 'c' (direct effect in Figure.1, p. 18) must be lesser than coefficient c (total effect in Figure.1). (Baron & Kenny, 1986) Clearly point out that "the strongest mediation expression is when c's zero".

Baron and Kenny imagine the minor size decrease in coefficient c as a range: the bigger that decrease is, the bigger the extent of mediation. Therefore, when the decrease is highest, this is, when coefficient c's zero, there is proof of the occurrence of only one mediator variable; on the other hand, if a decrease in the extent of c occurs without it getting zero, there is confirmation that more than one mediator variable is taking place. As a result of this, in Baron and Kenny's suggestion there is a difference between total mediation (all of the effect of X goes through M) and fractional mediation (only part of the effect of X goes through M). The data are well-suited with the total mediation hypothesis when the association between X and Y totally disappears when calculating M (this is, when coefficient 'c' is zero). The data are well-matched with the fractional mediation hypothesis when the association between X and Y is considerably concentrated when calculating M but doesn't totally vanish (this is, when the total value of coefficient c's smaller than zero, at the same time, greater than zero).

The following hypotheses are, therefore, posited in this study:

H 1: There is a significant relationship between organizational politics and job stress.

H 2: Job satisfaction mediates the relationship between organizational politics and job stress.

#### Methodology

Quantitative methodology is adopted for the research, whereas method utilized is the survey through a structured and closed ended Questionnaire. The population is all the employees of 5/7 public banks and 10/21 private sector banks of district Peshawar and the sample size is 200/400 employees of different

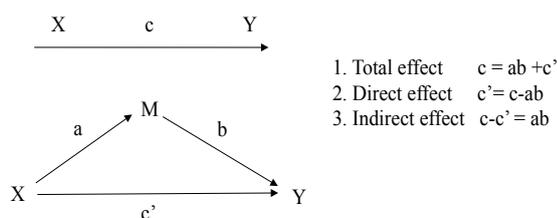


Figure. 1 Mediating effects

banks of district Peshawar included different categories of employees from branch manager to cash officer of public as well as private banks. Different sector and employees are important to find out the actual results. In order to fillup the questionnaires from the bank employees such as branch manager to treasury officer - the required information provided by them is embodied in the actual results of the study. Workers in the senior level capacity are in better position to be selected as a sample of the study as they are well aware of the pros and cons of the organization and are better equipped to provide useful insights. Thus, all employees in the senior level recognized the importance of this study and were eager to fulfill the required information it needs.

The research is explanatory in nature which has been conducted for different public and private sector banks of district Peshawar. In order to find out answers to the questions required to measure the organizational politics impact the job stress and job satisfaction. It also indicates the relationship of organizational politics and job stress in their workplace. The research undertaken is causal and the data is randomly gathered from different banks of one point in time.

### Data Collection Tools and Instruments

In order to make meaningful findings and to offer recommendations, a questionnaire is used as a data collection tool. Questionnaire about job satisfaction was designed by Brayfield & Rothe, 1951, perception of organizational politics by Kacmar and Ferris, 1991 and job stress by Parker & DeCotiis, 1983, as it enabled respondents to participate and reflect adequate data. The questionnaire consists of close ended questions about two parts, the first part was about the demographic information of the employees and the second part included the information about job satisfaction, organizational politics and job stress.

### Analysis and Discussion

For proper data processing, inputting the entry and to finding the results as output, SPSS the tool is used in this research.

### Descriptive Statistic:

Table No.1 (p. 19) demonstrates the mean values of the respondents of this study. Out of the mean value of the Gender stand to 1.17 illustrating that on average the study has included the Male respondents than the Females. This is further confirmed by the frequency table of the respondents (Table No.2, p. 19). The mean value for the Age stand 1.43 illustrating that on average the study included 25-35 Age group respondents than other age groups. This is further confirmed by the frequency table of the respondents (Table No.2). Also the mean value for the Qualification stand to 1.9 illustrating that on

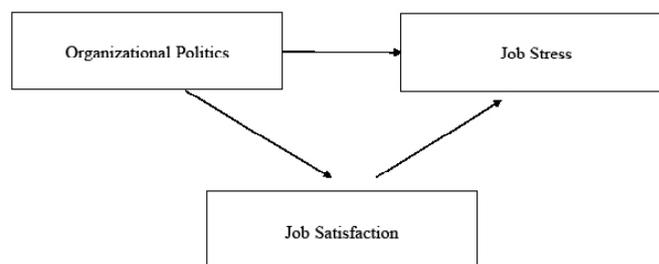


Figure. 2 Theoretical framework.

average the study included Master respondents than the rest qualification respondents. This is further confirmed by the frequency table of the respondents (Table No.2). The mean value for the Job Status stand to 1.22 illustrating that on average the study included Permanent respondents than the Contract employees. This is further confirmed by the frequency table of the respondents (Table No.2). The mean value for the Ranks stand to 4.53 illustrating that on average the study has included Cash Officer respondents than the remaining ranks employees. This is further confirmed by the frequency table of the respondents (Table No.2).

### Demographic Analysis:

This study has included 200/400 respondents of 5/7 public sector bank and 10/21 of private sector bank of district Peshawar. The respondents 166 (83%) was the male and 34 (17%) was the female. Maximum number of respondents was between the ages of 25-35 years which make up about 134 (67%) of the respondents. 48(24%) of the respondents were from 36-45 years. 16(8%) of the respondents lie between the age of 46-55 years and 2 of the respondents were above the age of 55 that make them 2 (1%) of the total respondents. Qualification tables show that 48 (24%) of the respondents lies in Bachelor level education. Master level employees were 128 (64%), MS level were 23(11.5%) and the remaining 1(.5%) had the PhD level of education. Job status tables show that 156 (78.0%) of the employees was permanent and 44 (22.0%) were contract. Ranks table shows that 20 (10%) of the respondents were at the Branch Manager Position. 19 (9.5%) of the respondents was at the level of Operation Manager, 20 (10.0%) were at Relationship Manager level, 41 (20.5%) at Banking Service officer level, 22 (11.0%) were at General Banking Officer, 32 (16.0%) were Operation Officer and remaining 46 (23.0%) respondents were Cash Officer as shown in Table No. 2.

### Mediation Effects/Hypothesis Testing by Baron and Kenny Approach

Hypothesis 1: There is a significant relationship between organizational politics and job stress. The result reveals that the hypothesis is accepted

The table 3. (p.19) shows the relationship between organizational politics and job stress. This table also shows that 1 unit increase in organizational politics causes 35 units increase to job stress of the employees included in the study.

ANOVA Table 4. (p.19) tells the fitness of the model. In the table, the regression sum of square value is less than residual sum of square but value of F is 28.857. The effects are significant. Apparently, it explains the relationship and reflects a better model fit. B is the regression coefficient. It tells the change bought in a direct variable (DV) when one unit of the indirect

Mean Values for the Demographics of Respondents:						
Demographic Profile	Mean	Median	Std. Deviation	Range	Min	Max
Gender	1.1700	1.0000	.37658	1.00	1.00	2.00
Age	1.4300	1.0000	.68369	3.00	1.00	4.00
Qualification	1.8850	2.0000	.60299	3.00	1.00	4.00
Job Status	1.2200	1.0000	.41529	1.00	1.00	2.00
Ranks	4.5300	4.5000	1.98464	6.00	1.00	7.00

Table 1. Demographics of respondents

Frequency table for the respondents:				
Demographics	Frequency	Percentage (%)	Valid Percent	Cumulative percentage
<b>Gender:</b>				
Male	166	83	83	83.0
Female	34	17	17	100.0
<b>Age:</b>				
25-35	134	67.0	67.0	67.0
36-45	48	24.0	24.0	91.0
46-55	16	8.0	8.0	99.0
55 and Over	2	1.0	1.0	100.0
<b>Qualification:</b>				
Bachelor	48	24.0	24.0	24.0
Master	128	64.0	64.0	88.0
MS	23	11.5	11.5	99.5
PhD	1	.5	.5	100.0
<b>Job Status:</b>				
Permanent	156	78.0	78.0	78.0
Contract	44	22.0	22.0	100.0
<b>Ranks:</b>				
Branch Manager	20	10.0	10.0	10.0
Operation Manager	19	9.5	9.5	19.5
Relationship Manager	20	10.0	10.0	29.5
Banking Service Officer	41	20.5	20.5	50.0
General Banking Officer	22	11.0	11.0	61.0
Operation Officer	32	16.0	16.0	77.0
Cash Officer	46	23.0	23.0	100.0

Table 2. Frequency of respondents

variable is changed. As per the table above, the value of B is .492, which indicates that if organizational politics is increased by one unit, it brings 49.2 units to change into job stress. The value of t is 5.372 the digits are greater than 2 and the significance value is below the required range of 0.05. Hence, it confirms the results that there is a significant relationship between organizational politics and job stress of the employees.

Hypothesis 2 (Mediation effects)

A. Job satisfaction mediates the relationship between organizational politics and job stress.

The table 6. shows the relationship between organizational politics and job satisfaction. This table also shows the 1% increase in organizational politics causes 38% increases to job satisfaction of the employees.

Model Summary				
l	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.357	1.27	.	.59302

Table 3. a. Predictors (Constant), OP\_Average

ANOVA Table					
Model1	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sign.
1 Regression	10.148	1	10.148	28.857	.000
Residual	69.631	198	.352		
Total	79.779	199			

Table 4. a. Predictor: (Constant), OP\_Average  
b. Dependent Variable: Job Stress\_Average

Coefficients Table					
Model	Un-standardized Coefficients	Std. Error	Standardized Coefficients	T	Sig.
	B		Beta		
1 (Constant)	1.881	.268		7.029	.000
OP_Average	.492	.092	.357	5.372	.000

Table 5. a. Dependent Variable: Job Stress\_Average

Model Summary				
l	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.388	.151	.142	.58641

Table 6. a. Predictors (Constant), Job Satisfaction\_Average, OP\_Average

ANOVA Table					
Model1	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sign.
1 Regression	12.035	2	6.018	17.499	.000
Residual	67.744	197	.344		
Total	79.779	199			

Table 7. a. Predictor: (Constant), OP\_Average  
b. Dependent Variable: Job Stress\_Average

The ANOVA Table 7. reflects the fitness of the model. In the table, the regression sum of square value is less than the residual sum of square and the value of F is 17.499. The effects are significant and perceive the relationship of the model, which has achieved a fit.

B is the regression coefficient. It tells the change bought in a direct variable (DV) when one unit of the indirect variable is changed. As per the table above, the value of B for OP is 0.508, which indicates that if organizational politics is increased by one unit, it brings 50.8 units to change into job satisfaction. The value of t is 5.588, the digits are greater than 2 which indicate the model fitness and the significance value is below the required range of 0.05 and the value of B for Job Satisfaction is .187, it indicates that if job satisfaction is increased by one unit, it brings 18.7 units to change. The value of t is 2.342, the digits

Coefficients Table					
Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
	B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig.
1 (Constant)	1.228	.385		3.191	.002
OP_Average	.508	.091	.368	5.588	0.000
Job Satisfaction Average	.187	.080	.154	2.342	.020

Table 8. a. Dependent Variable: Job Stress\_Average

Model Summary				
l	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	0.73	.005	.000	.52151

Table 9. a. Predictors: (Constant), OP\_Average

are greater than 2 which indicate the model fitness and significance value is greater than the required range 0.05. The result indicates that the hypothesis portrays an insignificant relationship between organizational politics and job satisfaction as per table 8. Therefore, the effect is not significant.

B. There is an insignificant relationship between organizational politics and job satisfaction. The result reveals that hypothesis 2 is rejected.

Table 9. discloses the relationship between organizational politics and job satisfaction. This table also reveals that 1 unit increase in organizational politics causes 73 units to increase from job satisfaction of the employees. The ANOVA Table 10. above demonstrates that the model is not fit. In the table, the regression sum of square value is less than the residual sum of square and the value of F is 1.055, which discloses that the model is not fit or significant and does not explain the relationship.

B is the regression coefficient. As per the table above, the value of B is -.083, which indicates a negative relationship between organizational politics and job satisfaction. The value of t is -1.027 the digits are less than 2, which indicate the model unfitness value, and the significance values are greater than the required range of 0.05. Hence, the study confirms the hypothesis that there is no significant relationship between organizational politics and job satisfaction as per table 11. Tables 10. and 11. automatically rejected hypothesis No: 2 above, because the model turned out to be unfit with the F value <1.

## Conclusion and Recommendation

### Conclusion

This study has the profound potential to assist the management of banking sector for enhancing the relationship between organizational politics and job stress. It also focuses on the reduction of job stress and the job satisfaction from employees at workplace. This study reveals that organizational politics and job stress have significant positive impact. The present study have examined that there is no mediating effect on organizational politics and job stress due to job satisfaction. The literature review revealed that there is indeed an inference for a positive relationship between organizational politics and job stress and negative relationship between organizational politics and job satisfaction. It can be deduced that the increasing organizational politics escalates job stress in an organization. The study results

ANOVA Table					
Model1	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1 Regression	.287	1	.287	1.055	.306
Residual	53.850	198	.272		
Total	54.137	199			

Table 10. a. a. Predictor: (Constant), OP\_Average  
b. Dependent Variable: Job Satisfaction\_Average

Coefficients Table					
Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
	B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig.
1 (Constant)	3.493	.235		14.838	.000
OP_Average	-.083	.081	-.073	-1.027	.306

Table 11. a. Dependent Variable: Job Satisfaction\_Average

indicate that organizational politics and job stress is noticeably low in the banking sector and should concentrate on the causal factors to achieve good employees' performance. These two factors essentially result in the long term job satisfaction from employees and it also decreases the job stress level of employees which eventually help the management of the company for improving the overall performance of the organization. It is evidently manifested from the study that the mediating role of job satisfaction from employee is a significant factor. When employees feel that they are being treated fairly and their well-being matters are dealt with equitably in an organization, they are satisfied with the job. If employees are interested in creating a positive relationship to the company and they would be inclined to go an extra mile in many ways. Both organizational politics and job stress are very significant factors of the employee's point of view. The underlying factors have the potential to affect the overall performance of the organization. Research suggests the human resource departments of the banking sector can address and reduce the job stress of the current and future organizational workforce.

### Recommendation

The present study focused on different banks of district Peshawar, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province of Pakistan. The scope of the contemporary research can be enlarged upon other cities of Pakistan. This research is unique to the sense, it considers the organizational politics and the job stress and the mediating role of job satisfaction from the banking sector consequently; it can be applied to the other economic factors as well. The object of this study is to facilitate the policy makers to decrease organizational politics by taking into consideration the most important factor- employee's job satisfaction from the banking sector. In addition, it will also assist the policy-makers to consider relevant factors such as employees' well-being by taking initiatives in order to contribute to their job satisfaction that will ultimately influence the job stress. The study is further intended to educate the employee and the employer in order to understand the role of organizational politics; hence it facilitates the administrator of an organization by implementing sound policies and procedures; therefore, it prevents the organization of the negative effects of job stress.

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# Third Sector Hybridization and Migrant Integration: Cases of Two Migrant Youth Organizations in Finland

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In Europe, with its larger numbers of recent newcomer migrants, there lingers the important question of how to facilitate migrant integration into society. This article focuses particularly on migrant organizations and their role in integration processes in the cultural context of Finland, where there is a tradition of civil society corporatism, but where the role of the third sector has traditionally also been strong. In addition, the third sector in Finland has in recent years been experiencing changes, as demands of service provision increase, and at the same time individual participation in formal associations is decreasing. Keeping these tendencies in mind, in this article we study two large migrant organizations' positions in the Finnish third sector, using case study method of analysis, with the help of the theoretical framework of hybridization. The article examines through what mechanisms and processes migrant organizations have been established in Finland and what implications their hybridization has, in terms of increasing public sector collaboration, on the advocacy and integrative role among integrating immigrants.

**Keywords:** hybridization, immigrant integration, migrant youth associations

## Introduction

In policy debates the third sector has been perceived as having multiple positive roles in providing services, solving and identifying the needs of communities, tackling complex social issues, promoting volunteerism, campaigning for social change and building strong communities (Billis, 2010, 10; Van Til, 2000). These expectations and recent changes, such as increasing service provision role in the third sector have also received research attention over the past several years (see e.g. Alapuro, 2010; Kankainen, et al. 2009; Ruuskanen, et al. 2013; Saukkonen, 2013). Traditionally, Finnish associations have been interest-based and have had a representative role in the decision-making system. When compared internationally, Finland has had a rather unique system of corporatism and non-statism, whereby the state encourages collective action but at the same time the civil society is somewhat autonomous (see Schofer & Fourcade-Gourinchas, 2001). Moreover, associations have been in the main voluntarily run and the proportion of paid employees in third sector organizations has been relatively low (Salamon & Anheir, 1998; Saukkonen, 2013; Alapuro & Stenius, 2010). Nowadays, associations are increasingly expected to move into service provision due to the changes in the service provision system and tightening budgets in municipalities. At the same time, commitment to associations is nowadays decreasing and participation is taking more individualistic and non-political forms. (Alapuro, 2010, 315-316; Ruuskanen, et al. 2013, 23; Sivesind & Selle, 2010, 96-99; Helander & Pikkala, 1999.) Within this context, concerns have been raised that associations are becoming little more than extensions of the public sector or private sector, and are thus losing their own identity and their role of advocacy and interest representation (see on the Finnish context e.g. Möttönen & Niemelä, 2005, 86). These issues have also long been raised in international scholarship

on civic participation, where less commitment to voluntary organizations and decreasing volunteerism is feared to have problematic implications for democratic politics (Verba, et al. 1995; Rosenstone & Hansen, 1993; Putnam, 2000; Skocpol, 2003).

From the point of view of a functioning democracy, it is important that different groups in the society have mechanisms to make their own voices heard and have influence on collective decisions and judgements (Mouffe, 2000 & 2013; Warren, 2000, 61). In the relevant literature concerns have been raised on how increasing immigration will affect liberal democracies if immigrants continue organizing along closed ethnic lines and forming their own closed communities, which is feared to lead to a segregation of society (see eg. Putnam, 2007). The problems of such isolated communities have been documented lately in many societies. However, previous research on migrant associations shows that migrants' organizing patterns are very varied and multi-faceted, and depend on the context and opportunities in the country of settlement (see eg. Koopmans et al., 2005; Jacobs & Tillie, 2004; Morales & Ramiro, 2011; Boccagni & Pilati, 2015; Eggert, 2011; Bloemraad & Ramakrishnan, 2008; Yurdakul, 2006; Fennema & Tillie, 2001). In the context of rising numbers of newcomer migrants entering Europe, the issue of migrants' inclusion in European societies, including their civic and political participation, is a burning one. Europe-wide there has been an increase in the number of asylum applications since the year 2012, peaking in 2015 with around 1.3 million asylum applications (Eurostat, 2016). At the same time, migration has become a heated political topic and throughout Europe one can witness the rise of extreme right parties in politics, and the mobilization of xenophobic, racist and islamophobic groups in civil society.

This has created an extremely complex situation whereby newcomers face increasing hostility, resulting in mistrust between migrant communities and

native populations. In the current public discussion, integration of migrants refers to a large extent to assimilation of the culture and “habits” of the receiving society without any regard for participation in the society. On the other hand, discussions on the integration of migrants center around labor market issues and integration is often equated with simply having a job – even if low-paid and precarious. In this article, a novel approach to integration is taken by understanding integration as a process of mutual dual trust-building between native Finns and migrants, in which civil society may have an important role. Moreover, integration is perceived as a two-way process in which not only migrants adjust, but Finnish society changes due to the increasing involvement of migrants in the public sphere.

The importance of understanding immigrants’ civic and political participation relates to the integration issue. It is essential to find out whether migrants’ organizing and participation will revitalize the civic ideals and participation of Western democracies, or whether migrants’ lack of recognition and problematic access to resources will continue and add to the political stratification in the future (ibid., 35). To a large extent, the political potential, meaning here the advocacy role of migrant associations, depends on their visibility, which in turn relates to the organizational capacity and resources that these associations have on hand and that allow them to function. This article analyses, through a longitudinal case study on two well-established migrant organizations in Finland, what their identity is, how it has changed and what has contributed to their capacity to function. The analysis is conducted in the context of the Finnish third sector and its recent move towards hybridization. The article will respond to the question of whether, in the process of cooperating more with the public sector, migrant organizations can still carry out their advocacy function.

### Third sector hybridization as a theoretical framework

The concept of hybridization relates to the discussion on the changing role of the third sector vis-à-vis the public sector and the private sector. In these discussions, new expectations from the third sector, and their consequences, are raised.

There are many different approaches to identifying and analyzing hybridization. First is an approach that analyses the position of hybrid organizations which lie between different sectors (Billis, 2010, 56; Demone & Gibelman, 1989). The second approach stems from the idea that all three sectors (private, public and third) are different in nature and are based on different logics of functioning (Billis, 2010, 56–57), but still have dynamic relations with each other. Seen from this perspective, hybrid organizations have elements from other sectors, but still remain attached to their root sector. Third sector organizations become hybrid mainly due to changes in the public and private sectors (Rhodes & Donnelly-Cox, 2014, 1635). The third approach claims that hybridization has replaced altogether the separate sectors, and that the system of welfare service production is by nature hybrid (Billis, 2010, 56). In this line of thinking the third sector is replaced by something called the third space, which is characterized by care and a voluntary ethos (Van Til, 2000; Brandsen et al., 2005). The main reason this kind of hybrid form of welfare production appears is change at the state level: privatization of services, decentralization, and liberating markets regarding public services (Brandsen & Karre, 2008, 2).

In the relevant research literature on the third sector and hybridity, concerns have been raised that increasing pressures

on the third sector to become service providers have resulted in the third sector losing its originality and its democratic role in interest representation and advocacy (Haugh & Kitson, 2007 in Billis, 2010, 10). In this article, the hybridization in organizations is analyzed as a process in which organization leaders and their networks have a significant role. The article aims at analyzing the consequences of increasing hybridity in the third sector in terms of the advocacy and interest representation role of organizations.

In order to do this, it is essential to consider the ownership issue in hybrid organizations (Billis, 2010, 53-54). David Billis (2010, 53-54) argues that in associations, compared to public and private sector organizations “the gap between formal, active and principle owners may be small”. But even in small associations, differentiation between formal, active and principle owners can be made. Formal owners are those members “who stay in the shadows”, active owners are members who are active on a committee or a board for example, and principal owners are “a core group of principal owners ‘who everybody knows’ and who are “the key players in the defining moments of the group’s history”. Analyzing the hybridization process of organizations through the relations between principal owners, referred to here as leaders, and public sector officials at the micro-level, it is possible to grasp the essential issue of how well third sector organizations have been able to retain their original mission. In the coming chapters, two organizations that have developed ongoing working relations with Finnish authorities and have developed organizational capacity so that they are well established organizations with paid staff and their own venues are analyzed with the help of the concept of hybridization – with a specific focus on the ownership issue through considering the leaders’ role in building relations with public sector officials.

### Context in which the organizations operate

#### Recent Changes in the Finnish Third Sector

Traditionally, the Finnish third sector has been defined as a Nordic welfare state-model which is characterized by consensus and collaboration between the state and civil society. It has a hierarchical organizational structure of associations from central organizations to leagues and local associations, a relatively low level of service provision and a relatively high share of voluntary work in organizations (Salamon & Anheier, 1998). In Finland, civil society has traditionally had an important role in the political decision-making system. In this kind of corporate model, the state encourages collective organization as a channel for interest aggregation and political participation, by providing support for nationwide and democratically-run associations, so that public institutions can interact and negotiate with them (Schofer & Fourcade-Gourinchas, 2001).

This civil society-state relationship has been experiencing changes since the severe recession of the early 1990s. In the 1990s, due to the recession, services provided by the state started to be transferred to the third sector. During this time a New Public Management ideal also started to be implemented in state administration, leading to different models of private-public partnerships and the process of privatization of services. In this process the third sector has become characterized by service provision as part of the public service provision (as a partner), for-profit activities, which however are not based on profit distribution (instead profits are to be used to develop the organization), the hiring of paid staff to carry out organizations’ activities (paid staff organizing voluntary work) and as having the role of hiring those people who cannot work full time in

general labor markets, such as the disabled. All this has led to the creation of different kinds of organizational forms, such as social enterprises and corporations. (Möttönen & Niemelä, 2005.)

### Finnish Migrant Organizations in the third sector

Following the increasing immigration in Finland since the 1990s, immigrants have been active in setting up their own voluntary associations and thus have become new actors in the Finnish third sector, contributing to diversification of the Finnish civil society. Often the role of immigrant associations has been seen in maintaining their culture and language of origin as “tools” for implementing multicultural policies. However, immigrants’ participation in the third sector in Finland is varied and not limited to the maintenance of the language and culture of origin. People of migrant origin in Finland are active in different kinds of associations, ranging from women’s, youth and sport associations to development cooperation organizations and advocacy networks and organizations set up and run by native Finns. (Pyykkönen, 2007; Pirkkalainen, 2013.)

The representative body concerning ethnic relations in Finland, the Advisory Board for Ethnic Relations working under the auspices of the Ministry of Justice, also functions on the basis of associations. This Advisory Board engages in dialogue with ethnic, cultural and religious minorities, immigrants, public authorities, NGOs and political parties. It brings together migration experts from local, regional and national levels, including public officials, politicians and civil society representatives. On the current board there are representations from the largest ethnic groups in Finland: Russian, Somali, Kurdish and Afghan associations (ETNO website).

Since the implementation of the first Act of Integration (1999/ 493) immigrant associations have been seen as actors in the field of integration policies and measures. This first Act of Integration highlighted the role of immigrants’ own networks in the process of integration into Finnish society. The Act of Integration was amended in 2011 (L1386/2010) and the participation and belonging of immigrants in Finnish society were defined as the key aims of the law. It was also highlighted that cooperation with associations in the third sector in integration measures is important. Following the amended Act of Integration the State’s Integration Programme (Ministry of Employment and the Economy, 2012) highlighted the important role of immigrants’ own associations as partners in integration programs, and also recognized associations themselves as important “spaces” to achieve integration (ibid., 20).

The overall context of the Finnish third sector, and specific policies within the immigrant integration field, has opened up new opportunities for migrant organizations to work with authorities. In this way, migrant organizations have the potential to develop their activities and become well established, and can afford to hire paid staff to carry out their activities. In this regard there are opportunities for the employment of immigrants as well as an increased political advocacy role of associations. However, critical issues in these hybridization processes remain: if migrant associations become only contractors of public sector integration measures, the advocacy role may be diminished and associations may only become an extended “hand” of official integration policies. This kind of collaboration between the public and third sectors may then fail to contribute to the integration of migrants. This article, through a case study analysis of two migrant organizations which have managed to develop activities to the professional level and collaborate with

the public sector, aims to point out critical points that need to be taken into consideration in the future when aiming to ensure the strong, authentic existence of migrant associations in the third sector.

### Data and Methods

In this article, a case study method is used and two large migrant organizations have been selected as cases. These two organizations represent still rare cases of migrant origin organizations which have managed to establish themselves in the Finnish third sector, and have a trusted relationship with different authorities, have paid staff and their own office venue. Thus these cases are not representative of all migrant organizations in Finland – a field which comprises a wide variety of different forms of organizing and represents different interests. In general, most migrant organizations in Finland are small and voluntarily run, and many suffer from lack of resources affecting negatively their (political) visibility (see eg. Tiilikainen & Mohamed, 2013). However, some organizations, such as the two analyzed in this article, have managed to transform themselves into well-functioning groups within the Finnish third sector. It is important to understand what is behind the processes whereby organizations become established, secure resources and take different collaborative forms with the public and/ or private sector; and what the different power relations between authorities and associations are. Such an understanding allows us to be more aware of whose voice is heard in the organizations and whose interests they serve. Thus, in this article, reasons for focusing only on two organizations as case studies relate to the fact that it is possible to conduct more in-depth analysis at the micro level on relations between leaders and authorities to find out whose voice is heard in organizations. Second, it is feasible to follow organizations in different time periods, in other words to focus on processes from the longitudinal perspective. (See Yin, 2003, 40-42, Aaltio & Heilmann, 2009.)

Following the principles of the case study method, different empirical data have been collected for the purpose of the analysis in this article (Yin, 2003, 97). The main data for the analysis consists of nine thematic interviews with organizations’ leaders, their partners in the public sector, the funding institution and a native Finnish organization supporting migrant organizations. All of the interviews were conducted in Finnish, as all the interviewees were fluent in the language. The interviews were recorded with the interviewees’ consent and later all recorded interviews were transcribed.

In order to strengthen the longitudinal perspective of the case study method, organization leaders were interviewed on two occasions: first in the year 2009 when the leaders were doing their work in organizations voluntarily and had a daytime job outside the organizations, and second in the year 2014 when both of the organization leaders were working as executive directors and were being remunerated as such. The interviews in 2014 were conducted with officials in the cities of Vantaa and Helsinki from the Youth and Multicultural services with whom organizations work, and with the funding body the Finnish Slot Machine Association (RAY) and an organization providing mentoring to migrant associations (Järjestöhautomo). In addition to all the interviews, text material on organizations has been collected from websites and reports which were provided by authorities and organizations, and this has been used as secondary material to back up the analysis of the interviews.

During the writing process of this article, the necessary

ethical principles and procedures have been recognized and dealt with, in particular in regard to the rights of individuals to privacy, personal data protection, and protection from emotional, physical or any other kind of harm (Fontana & Frey, 2000, 15). The writing process also honored the requirement of informed consent and dialogue with research subjects. As part of the interviews, the interviewees were asked for permission to write about cases by using the names of the organizations. However, it was agreed that the names of individuals would not be mentioned in the texts. The article draft was sent for a round of comments to all interviewed individuals before publishing, and their consent for publishing was requested.

Analysis of the interviews was performed in the light of the longitudinal approach and the focus was put on the organizations' trajectories and issues that had contributed to hybridization of the organizations. In this analysis the views of the leaders and their collaboration partners in the cities were examined. Themes relating to hybridization in terms of organizations' set-up, funding, activities, ownership and networks were identified in interviews, and analyzed with the help of the concept of hybridization, following the theoretisations of David Billis (2010). The analysis of the migrant organizations, third sector hybridization and its relation to integration of newcomer migrants was similarly based on themes arising from the interviews. The data collection benefitted greatly from having one researcher who had a migrant background, as this contributed to the trust-building between researchers and interviewees. Analysis also benefitted from a dialogue between the three authors having different backgrounds: one with a migrant background and the others being native Finns, thus experiencing the Finnish third sector from different perspectives.

### Analysis of Trajectories: Cases R3 and Kanava Organizations towards Hybridization

Here in the analysis section the first aim is to describe the process of organizational development of two case organizations from voluntary based peer-support groups into well-functioning organizations and to analyze the factors that have contributed to development processes. The analysis in this regard centers around the theme of trust-building at the micro level between associations' leaders and authorities, which enables the analysis to tackle the issue of ownership in case organizations. The second aim is to analyze how the hybridization process of organizations has affected their role and to what extent those case organizations can still be seen as "spaces" for expressing the voice of minorities in Finnish society – an important democratic function of associations, which is often feared to be lost when the third sector becomes a service provider.

**Hybridization Process of Organizations: Multifaceted Trust-building**  
 "R3 The immigrant youth support association" was founded in 2003 by a young Somali male, who got the idea of setting up an association when studying in high school where he witnessed considerable problems of other young migrant students. This motivated him to start helping them as a peer, as he described:

This [idea to form an association] started at the student housing complex, in which I lived. Then I noticed that the other immigrant youths were not doing well, that they had problems and that they would be kicked out from the flats because they did everything apart from study. Then I started thinking of ways to help those youths, so that

things didn't get worse. Then I got the idea to set up the association that could help the youths. (Representative of R3 organization, interviewed in Helsinki on 2009)

Kanava Youth ry, another case organization was established in 1990s and similar to R3 was started more as an informal peer support group, which later on was formalized into a registered association (ry). The idea to start the activities of Kanava grew from a concern about Somali youth marginalization and gang formation. It started in collaboration with mosques, Somali youths themselves, and teachers in schools where there were Somali pupils. Both organizations analyzed in this article have roots in active individual leaders who initially had a trusted, legitimate position among the ethnic community in Finland through links relating to Somalia. In one case, trust was formed through a leader's regional affiliation with a certain region of Somalia/Somaliland, and in another case through the position of other leaders in a mosque in Finland. From this grassroots position, leaders started looking for resources from outside, from Finnish authorities.

In the case of Kanava, they worked for a few years as a non-formalized group, and finally registered their association in 1998. Registration was related to the fact that the authorities, who had seen the efficient work Kanava was doing among migrant youth, asked them to become registered so that they could support financially their work. A leader of Kanava, one of the establishers, described their start as follows:

I was one of the establishers of the association. I was young at that time and we did not know where to go in Finland, we did not know about youth work, activities, and most of us were in the same school in Helsinki. We wanted to spend time together and do something. Then we went to see a Finnish organization, the Finnish Red Cross and told them that we want to organize something, and asked how to do it. A person in that organization then directed us to the youth work section of the city of Helsinki. We then found the Youth Department in Helsinki from which we have received support. (Representative of Kanava Youth, interviewed in Helsinki, on September, 2014)

What was (and still is) common between both of the case organizations, is the strong motivation and commitment of the leaders based on the concern about youth marginalization and gender equality beyond borders. Both organizations have activities for youths in Finland and in Somalia/ Somaliland. The Youth Department at the city of Helsinki, collaborating with Kanava Youth, described this effort of leaders as the key factor behind the organizations' success:

The most important thing about Kanava from its start has been that they had a strong motivation and they wanted to make the organization work. They also had a strong vision of what they wanted to do. They came to us with this enthusiasm, vision and motivation, slowly we got to know each other and we have supported them along the way. They had ambitions, and this has paid off: now they have a very good center for activities - that is awesome. I think many may wonder how that is possible. But it is possible because they have worked hard, had motivation, visions, ambition and they have networked well. (Official working in Youth Department, city of Helsinki, interviewed on September, 2014)

In both of the associations, those people who were setting up associations are still in the leadership position of the

organizations. Thus it is rather easy in these associations to distinguish those who have established associations and are now in a leadership position; they are people “who everybody knows” and continue to be key players in defining the direction of the associations (Billis, 2010, 53-54). In both associations, having their status as registered voluntary associations forming certain administrative structures, they have a board consisting of active members of associations who are responsible for overall decision-making. In addition, there is a wide range of regular members of associations. These members “stay in the shadows” regarding the ownership and decision-making of the associations (ibid.).

In addition to the efforts of leaders as the principle owners of associations, networks are essential in making organizations work in the long run. In both case organizations, even before formal registration, created links and networks with authorities working on migrant youth issues had already been created. After formal registration, project funding became possible for both of the associations. After the first smaller project funding, both organizations gathered administrative experience and were trusted by the funders to handle the funds well. This, after some years, led to the situation where both of the organizations received major funding from different sources (cities and the Slot Machine Association) and were able to hire staff with these resources: in the case of R3, this turning point happened in 2010 and in the case of Kanava in 2005.

Increasing hybridization in terms of resourcing third sector organizations to become service providers means that the third sector becomes a sector for paid jobs. Traditionally in Finland the third sector has been mostly based on voluntary work and its role as an employment provider has been very minimal (see section 3.1). However, this is slowly changing, as these two organizations' examples indicate.

The reality in the third sector, however, is that many paid jobs are based on temporary projects, which makes them precarious. It is challenging for voluntary associations to reach the point of receiving stable funding. For both of the case organizations it has taken much time, effort and commitment to reach this point, and one of the key points in acquiring resources is gaining access to the support systems from the administrative point of view, and the building of trusted relations with authorities – something which develops slowly and through inter-personal communication via leaders and authorities. The leader of the R3 organization describes the process as follows:

It is difficult for many associations to get funding at the beginning. But I believe that when you get the first funding, deal with it well and you get good feedback from funding institution, this also affects other funding institutions. Our aim from the beginning has been to lean towards the city authorities; this was our starting point. Now we get strong support from the city (of Vantaa) and we can apply for funds for all kinds of projects. In general, the trust towards the migrant organizations has been low, but now they (city authorities) trust us, and listen to us and our ideas. This point was reached when we proved that we deal with administration and funds well, we use external audits, and we have always used the funds properly for activities they have been declared; this is an important point. (R3 leader, interviewed in Vantaa, on September, 2014)

What has also contributed to the development of administrative capacity of R3 is their active participation in the association mentoring project run by one native Finnish NGO. R3 has taken part in training since 2009, and in the mentoring

process the organization has been supported in realizing its own vision. This support structure has importantly affected the organizations' capacity to access major funding. In the case of Kanava, administrative capacity has developed through close contacts with the Youth Department in the city of Helsinki, more specifically, the civil society support section. The leader of Kanava- organization describes their relations as follows:

The Youth department of the city of Helsinki was the first place we went to, and was where we got the idea of how to carry out youth work. People there have guided us, they have understood us and have had an attitude that they genuinely want to help us. It has been essential for us to have this kind of trusted contact that you can go to and request help, and go if you are struggling with something. We have this trusted relationship with them, and we can also talk about difficult issues. We can tell them our thoughts and we can also propose initiatives to them; they will listen to us. They are not only funding us, but also allowing us to be involved in their processes and inviting us to different kinds of hearings, prior to decision-making about youth issues. (Representative of Kanava youth, interviewed in Helsinki, on September, 2014)

The city authorities' willingness to support migrants' associations reflects to some extent the participatory agenda of the society. There is an increasing tendency of the public sector to reach out to the third sector in service provision, for example, even in the case of Finland where traditionally the public sector has carried the full responsibility for all service provision (see section 3.1). Partly, this has to do with the tightening budgets of municipalities, which makes them more open to looking for alternative ways of providing services. Previous research has also stated that there are other, more ideologically related reasons beyond the financial issues that have contributed to increasing collaboration between the public sector and the third sector. Third sector input in service provision is sometimes seen as guaranteeing the quality of services and as increasing citizens' options. The third sector is generally perceived as being more flexible towards the changes in the context it works in compared to the public sector. Specific expertise, customer-friendly services and direct access to certain groups are generally seen as strengths of the third sector (Wijkström, 2011, 40; Saukkonen, 2013, 24).

Regarding the organizations analyzed here, the public sector strongly perceives and appreciates their capability to provide services to groups which would be difficult for the authorities to reach. Both of the organizations work with migrant youth doing a wide range of activities to help prevent marginalization of migrant youths and to facilitate their access to the labor market. Both case organizations have paid specific attention from the beginning to reaching out to migrant youths at grassroots levels in localities they work in by doing street patrolling, which has significantly contributed to the creation of trust in the organization by migrant youth, as has been argued by the leader of the Kanava organization:

Street patrolling was very important at the beginning, when we started in the 1990s. It created a lot of contacts with those youths who needed help, and it was an important way of creating trust with them. (Representative of Kanava Youth, interviewed in Helsinki on September, 2014)

In addition to street patrolling, both organizations have continuously paid attention to creating contacts with youths

and also giving them a say on associations' activities. The leader of the R3 organization described this as follows:

It is important for organizations that they see what's going on in youth society, and to give opportunities to those young people themselves who want to develop new ideas and activities. So creating contact and trusted relations with young people is very important, and one of the keys to our work. (R3 leader, interviewed in Vantaa on September, 2014)

An openness and inclusiveness of organizations to many linguistic and ethnic groups have in part contributed to the trust between authorities and case organizations. Both case organizations state very clearly that they are not ethnically-based organizations, although leadership in both organizations is in the hands of one ethnic group, ie. Somalis, and in particular at the beginning, both organizations' activities were targeted at the Somali community in Finland. Both organizations identify themselves as Finnish organizations, also regarding the language used during their daily work. The leader of the R3 organization described their situation as follows:

One important thing in building trust is to be open. We are working openly and everyone can come and see our activities. We have invited people from the city council to see our activities. We also want to create a larger model of working not focusing only on a certain ethnic group, but all people. For example, we have native Finns working in our organization; we have Roma people working here. So we don't want to limit the activities to those of just a migrant organization. (R3 leader, interviewed on September, 2014)

Furthermore, the Kanava organization today has a wider range of members than just Somalis; Turkish, Ethiopians, Oromos and native Finns are also part of the organization's activities, such as sport. They identify themselves as a Finnish youth organization, as stated by the leader of Kanava in an interview conducted in 2014: "even though we have migrant background, we are purely a youth organization based in Helsinki, and our official language is Finnish".

Both case organizations have come a long way, from voluntary-based informal gatherings, to well-established youth organizations in the Finnish third sector, employing paid staff to run activities and enjoying close working relations with city authorities in Helsinki and Vantaa. Because of these characteristics, both organizations can be defined as hybrid organizations (Billis, 2010, 55-60). Behind this hybridization are the established trusted relations with the communities they serve; in this case not only youths of Somali origin but also young people from other ethnic and linguistic backgrounds, with the city administration working on youth and multicultural issues. These organizations have various forms of funding; R3 is currently running its activities with the project funding from RAY and the city of Vantaa, but they are also piloting service provision with the city of Vantaa in providing supported housing for youths. Kanava is currently receiving stable funding from the city of Helsinki (Youth services) and the Ministry for Education and Culture, through which they are able to pay salaries of two staff members and can cover the rent of their offices. In addition to this, to a varying degree, they have different project funding. For both of the organizations, future visions are clear in the sense that they want to remain established organizations in the Finnish third sector without having to compete for the project money all the time – a

common challenge facing all associations in the current "project-society".

According to Billis (2010, 59) hybridization of the third sector organizations takes many forms, happens at different levels and to different "depths", which, depending on the process may or may not "call into question the basic third sector identity". Organizations hiring paid staff to carry out operational work can in many cases still be considered as "shallow hybrids" (ibid.), meaning that hybridization won't necessarily be a threat to the original third sector identity. However, a process towards the entrenched hybridity may slowly occur both at the governance and operational levels of organizations, possibly increasing "the propensity for mission drift" (Billis 2010, 59- 60).

#### Implications of Hybridization: What Happens to the Advocacy Function of Organizations?

Interesting questions arise in the case of the two hybrid organizations, R3 and Kanava, which have close working relations with city authorities and receive funding from them: Has this hybridization changed the original vision and mission of the organizations? As organizations have started doing activities supported by the city authorities, have they lost their independence and thus the chance to engage in advocacy work? These are the issues dealt with in this section based on the empirical data, focusing in particular on the issue of ownership in associations.

Both case organizations have received and continue to receive support from city authorities, which value the work of associations and understand the importance of a vibrant civil society. In this regard, both of the organizations have been "lucky" to find such a support system, because in Finland there is no coherent system or strategies for public authorities on how to cooperate with civil society. Thus the collaboration forms really vary from city to city and from sector to sector, and also depend on the values and insights of the individual officials working in the public sector (Pirkkalainen, 2015, 68). In the case of Kanava, close contacts have been developed with the Youth Department in the city of Helsinki, more specifically, the civil society support section. An official working in the section describes the work of the section and relations with Kanava as well as the uniqueness of their department as follows:

We have a very different way of working with associations compared with many other public sector actors in Helsinki. In a lot of places cooperation with civil society means that on the basis of proposals they either grant or won't grant funding, but there is no other contact. That's why there are so many misunderstandings between associations and the public sector, especially concerning migrant associations. But we have a different situation; our way of working, our office, the Civil Society Support Section, is founded to support civil society. So we don't do things ourselves but mainly support others who do them. The relationship with Kanava is a good example –they have come here so many times and we have discussed what is needed when they apply for funding, what kind of papers are needed, and why, so most of our cooperation has been and continues to be conversation. After discussions, we have looked together at what kind of support they would actually need. (Official working in Youth Department, city of Helsinki, interviewed on September, 2014)

In the case of R3, the youth services in Vantaa also perceive the work of associations to be very important, want to support

civil society, and are continuously looking for new forms of collaboration with the civil society actors. Authorities in the youth services value the association's capability to reach out to groups of people that would otherwise be difficult to reach for public authorities, such as migrant youth. The authorities want to maintain the originality of the associations and plan the collaboration from this perspective. In the case of collaboration with R3, the support has been given to activities that the association strives to implement, as was expressed by an official working in the youth services section of Vantaa:

R3 is our collaboration partner. 'Service provider' is too technical a term. I am a bit concerned about the service provision approach that associations are given responsibilities that don't belong to them. Of course then, when the association itself wants it, this is okay, but we cannot force them into that role. We are working on the same thing with R3 and we constitute resources for each other. The role of the municipality cannot be such that it directs civil society from the top, but the civil society associations need an autonomous role. Their aims can be different from municipalities' aims; otherwise, this society would never have developed, if all associations did the same thing as the municipality. Associations can see better the needs of the people, and we can develop from that perspective. Associations have the role of identifying problems, and then together we can see what can be done to solve them. (Official working at the youth services section, city of Vantaa, interviewed on September, 2014).

In the case of associations receiving support from the city authorities and arranging a wide range of activities for migrant youths, and where associations are not advocacy or interest representation groups by nature, it is interesting to analyze what kind of political/democratic role they might have.

These two organizations are not viewed by the authorities or the organizations themselves as representative of collective ethnic organizations, even if the leadership of both organizations is in the hands of people from the same ethnic group, i.e. Somalis. For example, none of the case organizations, despite their visibility, is part of the Advisory Board for Ethnic Relations (see section 3.2). These two organizations have instead used a wider basis for organizing and direct their activities towards migrant youths in general, without any focus on ethnicity or specific languages, as described in the previous section.

Despite the lack of advocacy as an official aim of the organizations, both of the organizations, via their leaders, have a role of advocacy in the Finnish society in the sense that both organizations aim to keep the issues relating to migrant youth, such as anti-racism, anti-discrimination, anti-marginalization on the agenda. In this regard, these two migrant youth organizations can be seen as actors in "the politics of presence" when they voice out concerns of the migrant youth, "bring them recognition as a group, and to raise their plight as a political issue" (Rosanvallon, 2011, 192). Previous studies on immigrant organizations also claim that even organizations not formed officially for political purposes can have an important role in political processes, through advocacy or by bringing policy information to administrative agencies or elected officials' attention (Bloemraad, 2006; Bloemraad & Ramakrishnan, 2008; de Graauw, 2008; Boccagni & Pilati, 2015).

Kanava ry and R3 ry's mechanisms for keeping the issue of migrant youths on the agenda vary from concrete project work tackling issues that migrant youths face, to adopting a direct advocacy role where organizations and their leaders make

initiatives to authorities and are invited to take part in decision-making processes at the city level. This is how the leader of R3 described their role when asked "Do you feel that your organization has a role in advocacy?"

Yes, I would say that in our organization we want to make change in society. But the problem is that we are "swallowed" by the projects. We do a lot of work with migrant youths, to make them part of this society, so we concentrate on working in the field. Needless to say there is some sort of advocacy involved when working at this level, too. To help migrant youths and make them part of this society means changing the society. (R3 leader interviewed in Vantaa on September, 2014)

Kanava ry perceives its role directly as an advocacy group due to its ability to propose initiatives to authorities, as described by the leader of the organization:

Yes, we dare to voice our opinions and make initiatives to authorities; through this we can advocate changes. We feel that we are a strong youth organization in Helsinki and also have a role in advocacy. We also try to influence the authorities, and to influence more widely society about issues relating to migrant youth, and to work against racism and marginalization and radicalization. (Representative of Kanava youth, interviewed in Helsinki on September, 2014).

Similar to what Billis argues (2010, 59-62), in these organizations that have their establishers as leaders, even the stable hybridization of the organization does not jeopardize the initial vision and ideology of the association. According to Billis (*ibid.*, 62) in hybrid third sector organizations "paid staff may also be part of the active membership by similarly (to other active members) demonstrating their genuine commitment to the organizational purposes through their freely given and un-coerced contributions to the operations and governance of the organization". This means that in practice, paid staff may provide some other resources or undertake voluntary work as well, as has been the clear case with both of the organizations (see below).

In both of these organizations close collaboration with city authorities allows them to remain independent and to have their own voice. Following the line of thinking suggested by Mark Warren (2000), associations, when they become partners with the public sector or private sector can still have a democratic function and maintain their originality. For Warren (2000, 57) civil society is a sphere in "which associative relations are dominant", and distinctive, but related to the spheres of the state (mediated by legal coercion) and markets, which are mediated by money. Associative relations are characterized by volunteerism, where the binding force is "chosen normative allegiance rather than other kinds of force" (*ibid.*, 98). Thus, both of the case study organizations' leaders are the carriers of associative relations (*ibid.*, 57). Even though they currently get paid by their respective organizations, they are driven by other motives than money and power, mainly by volunteerism and commitment to the goals of the organizations and voluntary work in addition to paid work, as stated by the Executive director of the Kanava organization:

I am currently working as paid executive director, but I still do not see Kanava as a service provider. In addition to paid work, we all here do voluntary work. It is the voluntary nature of the work, the non-profit nature that motivates me.

If you work in a firm, you have certain tasks and office hours and then you go home when you have done your tasks. But this (work) lives with me all the time. Now I go home after the working day, but if I am being called by someone who needs help, or if I see someone needing help, I go and help. So I don't really have office hours here. (Representative of Kanava youth, interviewed in Helsinki on September, 2014)

Similarly, the Executive director of R3 finds the utmost motivation for the work comes not from money or power, but "from the heart", as he stated:

This job means a lot to me, it's a job I love, it's in my heart. Even if now I get paid for this, it is a job I have done and continue to do with all my heart. Now that I get paid I can do more and work more with our clients, to help them, and I can develop more the work of the organization (R3 leader interviewed in Vantaa on September, 2014).

## Conclusions and practical implications

This article asked what implications hybridization of the third sector have on the role of organizations as the voice of immigrants, which is an essential aspect of the integration process of migrants into the new society. Through using a longitudinal case study method, two migrant youth organizations in Finland were analyzed in order to find out how and through what mechanisms they have reached organizational capacity and legitimacy in Finnish society. By analyzing the organizations' hybridization processes, the aim was to find out whose voice is heard in these organizations in the context of increased collaboration with public authorities. In Finland, the official integration policies emphasize the important role of migrants' own organizations in the integration process. A topical question is the role is that migrant organizations should, and will, be taking in the processes of integration into the host society. Concerns have been raised that due to hybridization of the third sector, migrant organizations will become mere contractors implementing public sector integration measures without having the possibility to speak out about their own genuine issues and concerns. If the hybridization of the third sector means outsourcing services only to the private sector based on financial competitiveness or outsourcing to large professional Finnish NGOs, smaller migrant organizations may be left out and marginalized. Thus, in order to improve the visibility of migrant associations, there needs to be a sensitive approach by the authorities towards the migrant associations; something similar to what was described in this article on case organizations. Moreover, in order for migrant associations to be able to carry out a political incorporation role for migrants, the autonomy to represent authentic voices of migrants has to be guaranteed. In increasing hybridization of the third sector, there is a danger that migrant associations may become just an extension of the official integration policies of Finland without having the chance to remain as authentic channels for different migrants' voices and interests and an integral element of the

functioning democracy.

In the cases of the two organizations analyzed in this article, the process towards hybridization leans towards the process of trust-building, in which leaders of organizations have had a key role. First at the setting phase of organization, trust was created among "the migrants' own community", ie. Somali youth. From this point on, organizations slowly built trust with authorities working in city administration, as well as with other migrant youths in the local areas the organizations worked in.

The reasons behind the increasing hybridization of the organizations relate on the first hand to the structural context in Finland: as the state and cities are under economic pressure, the third sector is expected to fill the gaps and direct activities towards service provision. Moreover, Finnish integration policies emphasize participation and the role of migrants' own associations. In these cases, both organizations provide services to migrant youth groups, many of which would otherwise be unreachable by the authorities. Therefore, the authorities value the work of these kinds of organizations that have legitimacy among the groups they claim to represent.

It is argued here that increasing visibility also brings higher political visibility to associations, which is essential in the process of immigrant integration into European society. In other words, because of the organizational capacity and support from the public sector, organizations have gained visibility and a legitimized position in the society and can thus carry out (an implicit) political role. Both organizations analyzed in this article have a role in advocacy in terms of keeping the migrant youth issues on the agenda through their leaders and their trusted collaboration relations with authorities. These organizations are examples of cases where the authorities have supported associations in realizing their own vision. In other words, in these cases, ownership of organizations and their activities has remained, despite the growing contracts with the public sector, in the hands of the associations' leaders, in Billis' terms the "principal owners".

Third sector hybridization in the case of providing migrant associations with resources with which they can build strong organizations and implement activities may facilitate, in the best case, the trust-building role of migrant associations between native Finns and newcomer migrants, and may increase the political inclusion of migrants. It has been argued in this article that it is important to understand integration as a process of trust-building between native Finns and migrants, instead of relying on a rather technical understanding of integration as migrants entering labor markets or as migrants' cultural assimilation. The integration of migrants into the Finnish society should be seen as a process in which the migrants themselves have a strong agency, and not as a process in which migrants are "objects" in the margins to be integrated. It is thus important to recognize the potential of migrants in contributing to the third sector and civic participation, which can have ramifications in wider democratic politics in terms of migrants bringing in new ways of engagement and bringing new issues to the agenda, and in so doing "reinvigorating the civic ideals of Western democracies" (Bloemraad and Ramakrishnan, 2008, 35).

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# E-urheilun johtaminen – Lähtölaukaus empiiriselle tutkimukselle suomalaisesta näkökulmasta

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## Abstract

Esports – as a rapidly growing field of sport, entertainment, and business – offers an interesting arena for leadership research. In this qualitative study, we focus on Finnish esports leadership, considering both the definitions as well as the leadership processes in the professional electronic gaming. Our aim is to chart the terrain and increase understanding of the theme so far little empirically studied, and to open views for further research. This study can be seen as an opening for further empirical research on Finnish esports leadership. Due to scarcity of scientific discussions, a wider selection of literature on leadership research and international esports leadership studies have been utilized. This study aims to add value to both practice- and theory-oriented development of esports education and leadership. The empirical data consists of eight semi-structured theme interviews supplemented with ethnographic observation (field diaries). In our analysis, we describe how esports professionals define an esports organisation, and how the informants perceive management and leadership in an esports organisation. We also discuss some leadership-related challenges that emerged in our data. Based on our findings, it seems that the esports professionals have a surprisingly traditional view on leadership and management, yet it seems that the

emphasis is more on a family-type leadership instead of hierarchical and rational-oriented leadership.

**Key Words:** Esport, leadership, e-leadership, digitalization, empirical research

## Johdanto

Tämän tutkimuksen aihepiiri, elektroninen urheilu eli e-urheilu, on nopeasti nouseva urheilun ja viihteen sekä myös kansainvälisen liiketoiminnan muoto. Aihepiirin tuoreuden sekä e-urheiluun kohdistuvien vähättelyjen (esim. Rönkä, 2018a) vuoksi aloitamme aihepiirin käsittelyn taloudellisesta näkökulmasta.

Statistan mukaan ammattilaisurheilijoiden määrä yli kymmenkertaistui 786 e-urheilijasta vuonna 2010 lähes 9000 urheilijaan vuonna 2015. Alan globaali vuosituotto on kasvanut vuoden 2012 130 miljoonasta dollarista (USD) viidessä vuodessa 655 miljoonaan dollariin (noin 575 milj. EUR). Kehityksen ennakoidaan jatkuvan nopeana ja ennusteiden mukaan vuoteen 2021 mennessä saavutettaisiin jo 1,65 miljardin dollarin (noin 1,45 mrd EUR) vuosituotto. Investointipankki Goldman Sachs arvioi vuoden 2017 tuoton hieman alemmas 565 miljoonaan euroon, mutta ennakoi tuottojen kasvavan 2022 mennessä jo 3 miljardiin euroon. Myös kansainvälinen yleisömäärä on kasvanut 2010-luvulla merkittävästi, 134 miljoonasta katsojasta vuonna 2012 281 miljoonaan katsojaan vuonna 2016. Vuoteen 2020 mennessä katsojia arvioidaan olevan 589 miljoonaa. (Laine, 2018; Statista, 2018.)

Kilpapaamisesta on tullut vakavasti otettava professio ja e-urheilijat ovat nousseet kansainvälisesti merkittävien ja seurattujen ammattilaisurheilijoiden piiriin. Kansainvälisissä turnauksissa palkinnot voivat nousta miljooniin, ja jopa kymmeneen miljooniin dollariin (esim. Caymus, 2014; Mitchell, 2014; Dota 2, 2018) ja kymmenen korkeatuloisinta e-urheilijaa ansaitsee 2–3,5 miljoonan dollarin henkilökohtaiset vuositulot (Statista, 2018). Viime aikoina suomalaisten eniten ansaitsevien listoille ovat nousseet pelin tekijät ja kehittäjät (ks. YLE, 2018a). Pelin kehittämisellä on jo Suomessa verrattain pitkät juuret ja vahva kulttuuri, mutta toistaiseksi vähemmän on uutisoitu ammattimaisista pelaajista ja e-urheilutoiminnan ammatillistumisesta. Suomestakin löytyy jo muutamia

e-urheiluorganisaatioita, joissa on palkattuna sekä toimihenkilöitä että e-urheilijoita (Salminen, 2018). Vuoden 2017 verotietojen mukaan eniten Suomeen veroja maksanut urheilija oli 1,8 miljoonan euron verotettavat tulot e-urheilulla hankkinut Lasse Urpalainen. Vuonna 2018 Suomeen on jo saatu kaksi uutta e-urheilumiljonääriä, kun kansainvälisen The International -kilpailun voittajajoukkueessa olivat mukana suomalaiset Jesse Vainikka ja Topias Taavitsainen. (YLE, 2018b.)

E-urheilulle on olemassa useita määritelmiä, joihin vaikuttaa painotetaanko urheilullisuutta ja kilpailullisuutta vai pelaamisen sähköistä kontekstia. Wagner (2006) määrittelee e-urheilun kattavan urheilutoiminnan, jossa henkisiä ja fyysisiä ominaisuuksia kehitetään ja harjoitetaan nimenomaan informaatio- ja viestintäteknologian käytössä. Suomen elektronisen urheilun liiton SEUL ry:n mukaan e-urheilussa on kyse kaikesta kilpaurheilusta, jossa hyödynnetään tietotekniikkaa (SEUL, 2018; Kapiainen, 2018). Lisäksi e-urheilun määritelmään vaikuttaa peligenre (esim. FPS-räiskintäpelit, RTS-strategiapelit, MOBA-areenapelit ja urheilupelit) sekä se, onko kyseessä yksilönä vai tiiminä tapahtuva pelaaminen. Tässä tutkimuksessa painopiste on erityisesti FPS- ja MOBA-tyyppisissä peleissä, joita pelataan tiiminä (esim. Counter Strike: Global Offensive, Dota 2, Overwatch, World of Warcraft), jolloin johtajuuden tarkastelu kiinnittyy nimenomaan tiimin sisäiseen dynamiikkaan ja vuorovaikutukseen.

Suomessa kilpapelaminen on huomioitu myös valtiotason tasolta. Urheiluministeri Terhon päätöksellä e-urheilu siirtyi Suomessa liikunnan piiriin myös rahoituksensa osalta (Keskitalo, 2018). Lajin tilaa ja tulevaisuutta pohdittiin ministeri Terhon kesäkuussa 2018 koolle kutsumassa pyöreän pöydän keskustelutilaisuudessa. Terhon mukaan Suomen tulisi pyrkiä "e-urheilun mahtimaaksi". Tämä edellyttäisi valmennuksen kehittämistä ja selkeämpien polkujen rakentamista kohti ammattimaisuutta. (OKM, 2018.) E-urheilu on jo hiipinyt useisiin koulutusohjelmiin Suomessa (ks. esim. Ahlman, 2018; Hiilinen, 2016; KAMK, 2018; NeSA, 2018; Ruoveden lukio, 2018; Vuokatti, 2018). Alan nousu kansainväliselle tasolle laajemmassa mittakaavassa professionaalisuuden ja käytännön organisoinnin näkökulmista edellyttää kuitenkin vahvaa resurssointia tutkimukseen ja opetukseen. Koulutusta on toistaiseksi tarjolla joihinkin pelaamiseen ja e-urheiluliiketoimintaan liittyviin tehtäviin, joskin tällä hetkellä useimmat e-urheilun ammattilaiset ovat vielä itse oppineita. Toistaiseksi suomalainen e-urheilun ammatillinen kirjallisuus puuttuu, puhumattakaan e-urheilutiimin johtamiseen liittyvästä opetusaineistosta. Suomessa e-urheilua on tutkittu toistaiseksi esimerkiksi viestinnän ja median, peli- ja fanitutkimuksen sekä liikunnan näkökulmista (ks. esim. Kari & Karhulahti, 2016; Sjöblom, Hassan, Macey, Törhönen, & Hamari, 2018). Toteutuakseen ministeri Terhon asettama tavoite Suomesta e-urheilun mahtimaana edellyttää kuitenkin myös suomalaista johtamisen alan e-urheilututkimusta.

Tämän laadullisen tutkimuksen fokuksessa on suomalainen e-urheilun johtaminen niin määritelmien kuin pelaamiseen liittyvien johtajuusprosessien näkökulmista. Tutkimuksemme tavoitteena on empiiristä aineistoa hyödyntämällä kartoittaa ja lisätä ymmärrystä toistaiseksi vähän tutkitusta aiheesta sekä avata näkökulmia jatkotutkimukselle. Tarkastelemme empiirissä osiossa e-urheilun johtamista erityisesti kolmen tutkimuskysymyksen kautta:

1. Kuinka e-urheiluammattilaiset määrittelevät e-urheiluorganisaation?
2. Mitä on johtaminen ja johtajuus e-urheiluorganisaatioissa?
3. Millaisia johtamiseen liittyviä haasteita e-urheiluun liittyy?

Tämä tutkimus voidaan nähdä avauksena suomalaisen e-urheilun johtamisen empiiriseen tutkimukseen. Varsinaista alan tieteellistä keskustelua ei vielä juurikaan ole, joten hyödynämme yhtäältä laajemmin johtajuustutkimuksia sekä kansainvälisiä e-urheilun johtamisen alan tutkimuksia sekä soveltuvien suomalaisten aihepiirin kannalta relevantteja tutkimuksia. Pyrkimyksemme onkin ensisijaisesti tuottaa lisäarvoa e-urheilun opiskelun ja johtamisen niin käytäntö- kuin teorialähtöiseen kehittämiseen.

## Teorettinen ja käsitteellinen viitekehys

E-urheilun historia ja tulevaisuus: nörttien puuhastelusta olympialajiksi

Digitaalisen pelaamisen historia juontaa 1950-luvulle, mutta käänne kohti nykymuotoista elektronista urheilua tapahtui 1980-luvulla (SEUL, 2018). E-urheilun nousu nykyisen kaltaiseksi keskeiseksi ilmiöksi niin kilpaurheilun kuin liiketalouden muotona on kuitenkin hyvin tuore. Kansallisesti tunnetuin e-urheilutapahtuma on vuosittain järjestettävä Assembly (Assembly.org). Lisäksi GameXpo, Vectorama ja Grail Quest ovat näkyviä tapahtumia. E-urheilun kilpasarjoja järjestää Suomessa Finnish Esports League (fel.gg). E-urheilun ammattilaiset ja harrastajat seuraavat lähetyksiä Twitch-streamauspalvelun kautta, ja YLE e-urheilun kautta kilpapelamista seuraa laajempikin yleisö. Kuitenkin e-urheilu kohtaa yhä useita ennakkoluuloja, epäilyksiä, jopa väheksyntää. Usein sitä verrataan ns. perinteisiin urheilulajiin arkiymmärryksen pohjalta, jossa tietokonepelaamisharrastusta rinnastetaan esimerkiksi hiihtoon tai jalkapalloon (ks. esim. Rönkä, 2018a).

Kilpapelaminen on nähty pitkään marginaaliharrastuksena, johon on liitetty jopa negatiivisia mielikuvia. Useiden nykyisten ammattilaispelaajienkin taustalla on vaiheita, jolloin heitä perhepiirissä aktiivisesti kannustettiin muiden, parempana pidettyjen harrastusten pariin (ks. esim. Tammilehto, 2018a). Sitten e-urheilu on saavuttanut uskottavuutta ammattilaisten ja harrastajien määrän sekä liiketoiminnan kasvun myötä. Merkittävä tunnustus oli Suomen elektronisen urheilun liiton hyväksyminen Olympiakomitean jäseneksi vuonna 2016. Tämän päätöksen myötä e-urheilijat voivat hakea myös Puolustusvoimien urheilujoukkoihin. Onpa toimittajien toimesta menestyneimmille e-urheilijoille jo vaadittu presidentiltä kutsua itsenäisyyspäivän juhliin. (Loula, 2018; YLE, 2017; Rönkä, 2018a.) Kansainvälisellä tasolla lajin kattoliitto on Kansainvälisen olympiakomitean jäsen ja kilpapelamista on nostettu esille mahdollisena uutena olympialajina Pariisiin 2024 (ESPN, 2017; Rönkä, 2018a; Rönkä, 2018b).

Suomalaisen kilpapelamisen tutkiminen on perusteltua, koska Suomi on etenkin kokoonsa nähden jo nyt varsin menestynyt e-urheilumaa. Kilpapelaminen myös kerää jo suurempia yleisöjä kuin monet perinteiset urheilulajit. (Rönkä, 2018a.) Kansainvälisesti katsoen esimerkiksi Etelä-Koreassa e-urheilu on epävirallista kansallisurheilua, ja Yhdysvalloissa se on noussut jo kolmanneksi suosituimmaksi urheilulajiksi (Gayomali, 2010; Hattenstone, 2017; OKM, 2018). Tutkimusten mukaan laji on Suomessakin 18–29-vuotiaiden keskuudessa toiseksi suosituin jääkiekon jälkeen (OKM, 2018).

E-urheiluorganisaatiot ja niiden johtaminen

Johtajuudessa on väitetty tapahtuneen vuosituhannen vaihteessa hiljainen vallankumous sähköisten viestintäkanavien ja digitaalisten alustojen yleistyttyä (Avolio & Kahai, 2003; Avolio, Sosik, Kahai & Baker, 2014). Johtajuus ja tutkijoiden ja käytännön toimijoiden vuosikymmenien aikana vaivalla muodostamat

teoriat ovat jälleen kerran murroksessa – ehkä suuremmissa kuin koskaan aiemmin (Auvinen, 2017). Parakaik elämämme kolmas teollinen vallankumous, digitalisaatio, on kuitenkin e-urheilun synnyn, nousun ja vakiintumisen aikakausi. Tutkijat pohtivatkin nyt uusia avauksia sekä miettivät kuumeisesti, mikä jo tietämestämme ja tuntemastamme voi vielä toimia uudessa digitaalisessa maailmassa – mutta mikä ei kuitenkaan ole digitaalivieras (esim. Tienari & Piekkari, 2011; Auvinen, Riivari & Sajasalo, 2017). Tutkijat myös pohtivat nyt, mikä johtajuuden teoretisoinnissa on tuottanut jotain pysyvää, ja miltä osin ja miten uudet sukupolvet sekä kiivaana hyökyvä digitalisaatio keinoälyineen ja robotisaatioineen murtavat tuntemamme johtajuuden (Frey & Osborne, 2013; YLE, 2015). Voivatko perinteiset johtajuusteoriat tarjota yhä lisäarvoa digitalisaation myllertäessä työelämää, vai pitääkö pyörä keksiä taas uudelleen?

Tähän asti e-urheilujohtajuutta on tutkittu kansainvälisesti lähinnä kvantitatiivisesti ja yhteen peliin keskittyen. Robinson (2016) tarkasteli World of Warcraftia (WoW) pelaavia tiimejä ymmärtääkseen kuinka perinteisiä leadership-teorioita sovelletaan e-urheilun kentässä. Jo kymmenen vuotta aiemmin Williams, Ducheneaut, Xiong, Zhang, Yee & Nickell (2006) tutkivat WoW-kiltoja johtajuuden näkökulmasta todettuaan huonon johtajuuden olevan ”ryhmän surma” myös kilpapelaisissa. Lisk, Kaplancali & Riggio (2012) puolestaan keskittyivät tutkimaan johtajuutta online-moninpeleissä. Verkkopelaimisen käyttöä on tarkasteltu myös oppimisen mahdollistajana tai johtajuuskoulutuksen menetelmänä (esim. Lisk ym., 2012; Nuangjumnong, 2016). Nuangjumnong (2016) käsitteli väitöskirjassaan johtajuuden behavioraalisia ja kontingenssiteorioita sekä virtuaalista tiimiytymistä myös e-urheilun näkökulmasta. Hän havaitsi lisäksi, että monet pelaajat saattavat löytää johtajuuspotentiaalinsa ja -taitonsa hyvin nuorina. Lisätutkimus aiheesta voisikin mahdollistaa hyvien johtajien massatuotannon, jos heidän ymmärrystään johtajuudesta aktivoitaisiin jo nuorena. (Nuangjumnong, 2016.)

### Tiimijohtajuus e-urheilussa

Tiimijohtajuus on erillinen johtajuustutkimuksen ala, koska tiimin perusidea eroaa merkittävästi perinteisestä organisaation rakenteesta (Kogler Hill, 2016). Situationaalinen johtajuus tarjoaa validin näkökulman aiheeseen korostaessaan johtajuuden tilanteesta muuttuvaa luonnetta, samoin transformationaalinen johtajuus tarjoaa relevanttia viitekehystä aiheeseen (esim. Northouse, 2016; Díaz-Sáenz, 2011). Virtuaalitiimit määritellään tiimeiksi, jotka hyödyntävät informaatioteknologiaa yhdistääkseen jäsenensä ja mahdollistaakseen toiminnan yhteistä tavoitetta kohti (ks. esim. Martins, Gilson & Maynard, 2004; myös Leonard, 2011, Robbins & Judge, 2016 mukaan). Robbins & Judge (2016) kuitenkin huomioivat, että virtuaalitiimit kohtaavat erityisiä haasteita, ja toteavat useimpien tiimien työskentelevän nykyään vähintäänkin osittain etänä ja erillään. Siksi virtuaalitiimien tarkastelu tulee sitoa tiiviisti ns. perinteiseen, ei-virtuaaliseen tiimijohtajuusteoriaan. E-urheilututkimuksessa muun muassa Williams ym. (2006) tunnustivat WoW:n pelailmisesta samanlaisia sosiaalisia piirteitä kuin muista joukkuelajeista – sääntöjä, rajoitteita ja sosiaalisia normeja (Williams ym., 2006).

Burke, DiazGranados & Salas (2011) viittaavat virtuaalitiimien tunnuspiirteisiin ja toteavat, että vaikka virtuaalitiimejä on tutkittu paljon, virtuaalitiimien johtajuus on edelleen uusi ja varsin alitutkittu tema. Edelleen tiedetään varsin vähän virtuaalisuuden vaikutuksesta esimerkiksi tiimijohtajalta vaadittuun toimintaan, muotoon ja käytökseen. (Burke ym., 2011.) Myös virtuaalista johtajuutta erityisesti monimutkaisissa tehtävissä

tehostava jaetun johtajuuden ajatus vaikuttaa yhteensopivalta e-urheilukentän kanssa (esim. Kogler Hill, 2016). Huomion ja tutkimuksen arvoista e-urheilukentässä olisi myös monitiimijärjestelmien eli tiimiverkostojen johtaminen (ks. Burke ym., 2011). Tutkimusten mukaan virtuaalisen tiimin tehokkuus edellyttää luottamusta, tiimin edistymisen tiivistä seuraamista sekä tiimityön julkisia tuotoksia, jotta tiimi pysyy näkyvänä. Koordinoitu ja fokuoitunut toiminta tuottaa positiivista synergiaa. Tehokkaat tiimit pyrkivät yhteisiä tavoitteita kohti kollektiivisella toiminnalla ja hakevat toisiaan täydentäviä taitoja. Toisaalta tehokkuus riippuu kontekstista, rakenteesta ja prosessista. (Robbins & Judge, 2016; Kogler Hill, 2016). Useat tutkimukset käsittelevät ryhmän tehokkuuden aktivoimista tai varmistamista sekä menestyneen tiimin tunnuspiirteitä (ks. esim. Kogler Hill, 2016). Aiempi tutkimus ei ole kuitenkaan sivunnut e-urheilumaailmaa laajasti.

Tyypillinen, nopeasti muuttuva e-urheilu ympäristö saa tukea Robbinsin & Judgen (2016) havainnoista, että tiimien kokoonpanot voivat muuttua nopeasti. Myös Paju (2017) huomioi, että monimutkainen maailma edellyttää ketterää organisoitumista. Wagner (2006) puolestaan esittää korkean suoritusasteen tiimeillä olevan kriittinen rooli organisaation tehokkuuden rakentamisessa. Täten voidaan nähdä yhteys menestyvien e-urheilutiimien luomisella ja klassisten korkean suoritusasteen tiimien ominaisuuksien välillä. (Wagner, 2006.) E-urheilutiimit ja peliyhteisöt voidaan nähdä myös virtuaalisina yhteisöinä. Ho & Huang (2009) toteavat johtajien olevan näissäkin enemmän ihmisiä kuin instituutioita tai yrityksiä. Ho & Huang tunnistavat yhteisöihin liittyen tärkeinä näkökohtina tiedonjaon, käytettävyyden ja miellyttävyyden, ja löytävät yhteyden johtajien osallistumisen ja jäsenten tyytyväisyyden välillä. (Ho & Huang, 2009.)

Virtuaalisen johtajuuden käsitettä voidaan lähestyä Bojen, Pullenin, Rhodesin & Rosilen (2011) mukaisesti, jolloin virtuaalisuus ymmärretään toisin kuin virtuaalitiimeissä. Bojen ym. mukaan virtuaalijohtaja ei ole ruumiillistunut vaikkakin toimii johtajana ja toteuttaa johtajuuden toimintoja. Auvinen (2017) osoittaaakin Bojen luoneen ajatuksen virtuaalisesta johtajasta, joka on läsnä vain kielellisesti, käyttäen esimerkiksi digitaalista mediaa. E-urheilun parissa tämä tarkastelunäkökulma mahdollistaisi esimerkiksi pelihahmojen ja pelin sisäisten roolien tutkimisen johtajuuden ilmentyminä. Tengin (2017) mukaan se, kuinka vahvasti pelaaja samaistuu pelihahmoonsa, korreloi sen kanssa, kuinka hän osallistuu ja on sosiaalisesti läsnä peliyhteisössä.

Tutkittavaa teemaa on syytä tarkastella myös relationaalisen johtajuuden ajatuksen kautta. Johtajuuden prosessin ymmärtäminen osana yleisemmän tason sosiaalisen organisaation prosesseja syventää ymmärrystä perinteisen näkemyksen johtajasta personoituneena ja ruumiillistuneena, ja virtuaalisen johtajuuden välillä. (esim. Seers & Chopin, 2012; Ospina & Uhl-Bien, 2012.)

### Tutkimuksen aineisto ja analyysi

Tutkimusstrategiamme on laadullinen ja empiirinen aineisto koostuu teemahaastatteluista ja etnografisesta havainnointiaineistosta. Tukeudumme analyysissamme ensisijaisesti laadulliseen teemoitteluun ja sisällönanalyysiin (Eskola & Suoranta, 2008). Tarkoituksemme on siis tulkitsevan tutkimusperinteen mukaisesti laadullisesti ymmärtää ja selittää tutkimustehtävään liittyviä ilmiöitä vastatessamme tutkimuskysymyksiin (Bryman & Bell, 2011; Lehtonen, 2004).

Teemahaastatteluita tehtiin yhteensä kahdeksan ja kukin

haastattelu kesti 30 minuutista 85 minuuttiin. Puolet haastatteluista tehtiin Assembly Summer 2018 -tapahtumassa Helsingissä elokuussa 2018 (A), ja puolet puhelimitse touko-, kesä- ja elokuussa 2018 (P). Lisäksi yhtä informanttia haastateltiin kaksi kertaa. Haastattelut on tallennettu sähköisesti älypuhelimella ja litteroitu jälkikäteen. Yhteensä haastatteluminuutteja on noin 550 ja niistä litteroitua tekstiä 141 sivua yhden rivivälillä. Keskeiset teemat haastatteluissa liittyivät haastateltavan taustoihin ja kokemuksiin e-urheilussa, käsityksiin e-urheilun nykytilasta ja tulevaisuudesta sekä johtamisesta e-urheilun kontekstissa. Haastatteluihin ja aineistoihin ei liity varsinaisesti henkilökohtaisia eettisesti haastavia aiheita, sillä tutkimusasetelma on luonteeltaan kartoittava. Kuitenkin yksilönsuojan vuoksi kunkin haastateltavan identiteetti on kodifioitu ja käytämme aineistokatkkelmissa pseudonyymejä (managerit ja valmentajat V1 ja V2 ja pelaajat P1-P6). Ohessa yhteenveto teemahaastatteluista (alla oleva Taulukko 1).

Etnografinen havainnointiaineisto kerättiin Assembly Summer 2018 -tapahtumassa Helsingin Messukeskuksessa 2.–4.8.2018. Tutkija osallistui tapahtumaan kolmen päivän aikana seuraten tapahtuman osallistujien vuorovaikutusta, julkisia kilpailutilanteita sekä kulki keskustelemassa niin e-urheiluumattilaisten kuin harrastajien kanssa. Havainnointia kirjattiin jatkuvasti muistiin muistikirjaan sekä lisäksi tutkija otti älypuhelimella valokuvia (yhteensä noin 60 kpl) sekä videokuvaa (yhteensä noin viisi minuuttia). Etnografisia muistiinpanoja on hyödynnetty soveltuvien osien analyysin yhteydessä. Etnografiset katkelmat on merkitty koodilla (kenttämuistiinpanokatkelma 1-3). Lisäksi kahden e-urheiluasian tutkijan henkilökohtaisia tiedonantaja on hyödynnetty analyysin tukena (alla oleva Taulukko 2).

Seuraavaksi siirrymme tutkimuksen empiiriseen osuuteen ja tutkimuslöydöksiin. Löydökset on rakennettu kolmeen pääteemaan tutkimuskysymysten mukaisesti.

## Empiirinen analyysi ja tutkimuslöydökset

Kuinka e-urheiluumattilaiset määrittelevät e-urheiluorganisaation? E-urheilukentässä toimivat organisaatiot rinnastuvat arkiajat-

	Asema	Sukupuoli	Ikä	Paikka	Kesto (min)
P1	Gaming and Esports Manager, entinen huippupelaaja	n	30	A	50
P2	huippupelaaja	m	26	P	85
P3	Info Crew Manager, aktiivipelaaja	m	33	A	40
P4	huippupelaaja, pelin sisäinen johtaja	m	28	A	30
P5	e-urheiluseuran perustaja, entinen aktiivipelaaja	m	31	P	35
P6	huippupelaaja, pelin sisäinen johtaja	m	21	P	70
V1	valmentaja, entinen huippupelaaja	m	33	A	45
V2	manageri-valmentaja	m	24	P, A	45, 30

Taulukko 1. Teemahaastattelut

telussa perinteisiin urheiluseuroihin. Samoin kuin urheiluseurassa voi olla eri lajien joukkueita, e-urheiluorganisaatio kokoaa yhteen eri pelien ja pelityyppien edustajia, sekä yksilöitä että joukkueita. Taustaorganisaatio vastaa uusien pelaajien rekrytoinnista, onpa joillakin organisaatioilla jo orastavaa junioritoimintaa toiminnan jatkuvuuden varmistamiseksi. Suomessa on lukuisia e-urheiluorganisaatioita, mutta näistä ammattimaisesti toimii vasta pieni osa. Organisaatiot ovat niissäkin vielä muotoutumassa ja organisaatioiden elinkaaret ovat toistaiseksi olleet melko lyhyitä. Tämän hetken menestyvimmistä peliorganisaatioista useimmat ovat vielä melko tuoreita, mistä johtuen myöskään johtamiskäytännöt eivät ole vielä kovinkaan vakiintuneita. Taustaorganisaatio kuitenkin huolehtii pääasiassa resursseista, hallinnollisista vastuista, rekrytoinneista, sponsorisopimuksista ja markkinoinnista. Tehtäviä jaetaan näiltäkin osin myös pelaajille, samaan tapaan kuin työpaikoissa yleensäkin. Eräs ammattipelaaja kuvaa kokemuksiaan seuraavasti:

...meilläkin on ollut nyt viimeiset muutama vuosi tässä ainakin niin ihan kiinteet kuukausipalkat, ja siihen liittyy monia muitakin tehtäviä silleen, et meil on ollut ihan edustustehtäviä monissa tapahtumissa, just esimerkiksi just ulkomaillakin, mä oon ihan lentänyt Saksaan niinku vaan edustamaan ... ja ollut siellä mainostamassa sponsoreita ja kaikkee ja ihan sama Suomessa ... ja sitte ihan Yle on pyytänyt haastatteluun sinne, ja sit ollaan kuvattu tv-ohjelmaakin ja kaikkee, et kyl siihen kuuluu ihan niinku muutaki, ku pelkästään se pelaaminen ... kyl siihen kuuluu ihan oikeesti asiallisii vastuita ja semmosii, mitkä on niinku hyväks teidän organisaatiolle ja teidän näkyvyydelle ja kaikelle... (P2)

Kansainvälisiin peliorganisaatioihin nähden ero on suuri paitsi järjestäytymisessä, erityisesti resursseissa. Suomalaisen peliorganisaatioiden talous on vielä varsin pientä, etenkin suhteutettuna lajin suosioon. Organisaatioissa on palkattuina työntekijöinä tyypillisesti toimitusjohtaja, manageri ja valmentaja, tai vähintään joku näistä. Silti suomalaisten huipputiimienkin taustatyössä on edelleen mukana vapaaehtoisia ja oman toimensa ohella työskenteleviä. Myös pelitiimien kuukausipalkat ovat pieniä ja monien on tehtävä edelleen pelaamisen ohella myös muita töitä. Kansainvälisellä tasolla voidaan samoissa peleissä, ja jopa samoihin kansainvälisiin turnauksiin osallistuvien joukkueiden kesken, puhua jopa tuhansia euroja korkeammista kuukausipalkoista. Menestyvillä tiimeillä osa tuloista kertyy toki turnausvoitoista, mutta nämäkin summat ovat Suomessa vielä kohtuullisen pieniä. Toisaalta useille pelaajille raha ei ole ollut motivoivana tekijänä, vaan haastatteluissa korostuu halu pelata. Oheinen aineistokatkelma kiteyttää osuvasti monen ammattipelaajan uratarinan:

	Asema	Sukupuoli	Ikä	Paikka	Kesto (min)
JK	Kapiainen, J. lajiliiton puheenjohtaja, entinen aktiivipelaaja	m	31	A	60
LS	Salminen, L. peliorganisaation toimitusjohtaja, lajiliiton varapuheenjohtaja, entinen aktiivipelaaja	m	34	P	60

Taulukko 2. Henkilökohtaiset tiedonannot

...mulle toi on ollut henkilökohtaisesti just niinku eka har-  
rastus, sit siit tuli intohimo, ja sit siit on tullu vähän tom-  
monen työ, ammattimainen intohimoinen työ... (P2)

### Mitä on johtaminen ja johtajuus e-urheiluorganisaatiossa?

Haastateltujen mukaan johtajuus eroaa merkittävästi peliti-  
lanteesta ja sen ulkopuolella. Peliorganisaatio Havu Gamingin  
toimitusjohtaja Lasse Salminen (2018) kuvaa työnjakoa, roolit-  
usten päällekkäisyyttä ja johtajuuden haasteita seuraavasti:

Mähän toimin vähän niinku managerina siinä, eli johdan,  
johdan sitä ainakin jollain tasolla. Sekin vielä vähän hakee  
muotoaan, kun siinä on myös valmentaja, esimerkiksi meillä  
Toni Luhtapuro, kenen tehtävä on myöskin jollain tavalla  
johtaa sitä hommaa – pitää poikia vähä aisoissa ja ja pelillisesti  
sit johtaa sitä hommaa. Ja sitten on vielä pelin sisäinen joh-  
taja eli in-game-leader, kuka sitten pelitilanteesta ja servulla  
johtaa siellä, ja se kertoo taktiikoita ja kuka ja kenen pitää  
tehdä mitäkin. Kyllähän siinä aina tulee sitä ristiriitaa, että  
kuka sitten vastaa mistäkin osa-alueesta, ehkä eniten just  
Tonin ja mun välillä, kuka nyt on vastuussa tästä ja tästä  
asiasta, vaikka pelaajiin tai niiden velvollisuuksiin liittyen. Et  
kyllä se hakee vielä jonkin verran muotoaan ... eniten myös  
pelaajien osalta, että se ammattilaisuus halutaan. (LS)

Pelitilanteesta tilannetta johtaa ns. in-game-leader eli pelin-  
sisäinen johtaja, joka on yksi joukkueen pelaajista. Valmentajan  
rooli pelitilanteesta on pieni, ja valmentaja saa harvoin mah-  
dollisuutta johtaa, joskin teknisellä aikalisällä hän voi käyttä-  
ä lyhyen puheenvuoron. Teknisen aikalisän aikana ehtii kui-  
tenkin yhden haastatellun valmentajan mukaan lähinnä vain  
koota tilanteen, rauhoitella pelaajia ja luoda uskoa tilanteeseen.  
Haastateltavien mukaan tällä on suuri merkitys etenkin tap-  
piotilanteesta, joskin myös onnistumisen hetkellä valmentajan  
rauhottavaa puuttumista tilanteesta toisinaan tarvitaan. Pelin  
jatkuessa aikalisän jälkeen ohjat ovat pelinsisäisellä johtajalla,  
joka ohjaa peliä, valitsee strategiat ja samalla pyrkii nostamaan  
tiimihenkeä. Rakenne on peligenrestä riippumatta tyypillisesti  
hyvin selkeä ja tiimillä on vain yksi johtaja. Joissain isommilla  
joukkueilla pelattavissa peleissä (esim. WoW) pelissä on sisään  
rakennettuna myös välitason johtotehtäviä, joille pelinsisäinen  
johtaja voi jakaa vastuuta ja valtuuksia sekä pelin mahdolistai-  
min teknisin ratkaisuin, että ohjeistamalla.

...tärkein henkilö siinä porukassa on aina GM elikkä kiltames-  
tari tai Game Master tai Guild Master, ja se yleensä niinku  
rakentuu sen GM:n vision perusteelle, että millanen se on se  
kilta ... GM:llä yleensä sitten on muutama officer, miksikä  
niitä nyt sanos, killan johtoryhmä niin sanotusti, jotka sitte  
tekee asioita, mitä on pakko tehdä, jotta se kilta toimii. Eli  
esimerkiksi vaikka jossain tapauksis saattaa käydä rekrytointeja  
läpi, tai huolehtii siitä, että lootit jaetaan tasaisesti et kaikki  
saa sen mukaan, mitä ne ansaitsee niitä internet-pikseleitä ...  
no joissain killoissa se on vähä semmonen pesti et sä oot vaan  
hyvä pelaaja ja sun mielipidettä arvostetaan ja sitte ku sul on se  
officerin lätkä ... niin sul on enemmän päätösvaltaa, ne saattaa  
päättää vaikka jossain ristiriitatilanteissa et mitä tehään... (P1)

Pelinsisäisen johtajan valikoituminen vaihtelee tiimeittäin,  
yleensä merkitystä on pelikokemuksella sekä johtamistaidoilla.  
Toisinaan nämä ovat ristiriidassa ja tällöin johtajuutta voi haas-  
taa joukkueessa oleva pitkän linjan pelaaja, jonka neuvominen  
voi olla kynnyskysymys neuvojalle sekä neuvottavalle. Pelaajille

annetaankin jonkin verran vapauksia toimia yhteisten suunta-  
viivojen sisällä itsenäisesti, yhteisenä tavoitteena on kuitenkin  
voittaa ottelu kierros kerrallaan. Vaikka pelinsisäinen johtaja  
vastaa johtamisesta pelitilanteesta ja päättää pelistrategioista,  
muilla pelaajilla on paljon valtuuksia. Myös pelinjohto voi jos-  
sain tilanteesta hetkeksi siirtyä muillekin, jos jollain on esittä-  
ä hyvä strategia ja pelinsisäinen johtaja päättää seurata sitä. Koke-  
neemmilla pelaajilla on pelistrategioista päätettäessä enemmän  
sanavaltaa ja heidän näkemyksiinsä luotetaan enemmän. Eräs  
valmentaja ja ammattipelaaja reflektoivat ajatuksiaan johtajuus-  
desta seuraavasti:

No siis pelin pelin aikanahan meillä käytännössä esimerkiks  
tällä hetkellä meidän joukkueen in-game-leader kaurta kap-  
teeni [mainitsee nimen] johtaa sitä peliä, mutta siinä samalla  
myös sitte meillä tällä hetkellä [nimi] ja [nimi] on vähän  
semmosia, että ne sitte antaa vähän semmosia auttavia kom-  
mentteja jossain vaiheessa, tavallaan et mitä jos me tehtäis-  
kin näin. Mutta päävastuu on täysin [kapteenin nimi] ja me  
pelataan sen niinku hänen näköstään peliä, että aina hyvin  
paljo se, kuka johtaa, ni sen näköstä peliä pelataan. (V2)

...mä oon futiksessa ollut kapteeni pienenä ja se on varmaan  
sieltä tullu jotenki, ja se on jotenki semmonen mikä on ollut aina  
mun luonteesta, et mä tykkään johtaa sitä mun joukkuetta.  
Ja mä tykkään olla semmonen, joka ajattelee muiden puo-  
lest, ja ajattelee niinku sitä joukkuetta ja tälleen. Mä tykkään  
kattoo sitä isoo kuvaa, ni se niinku menee tosi luontevaks  
se johtajuus siinä ... että mul on semmonen johtajanluon-  
ne sun muuta, ni tulevaisuudes mä saatan ehkä pelaajauran  
loputtua kiinnostua johtaa jotain seuraa, jotain organisaati-  
oo tai jotain tämmöstä liittoa. Se voi ihan hyvin tulla sieltä  
mun luonteesta se, että tää on se juttu, mistä mä tykkään, ja  
tää on se juttu, mitä mä haluan tulevaisuudes tehdä. (P6)

Pelitilanteesta pelinsisäinen johtaja antaa tiimille hyvin sel-  
keitä ohjeita, mitä tehdään ja miten. Usein kysymys on jopa  
sekunnintarkeista aikatauluista, jotta peli etenee halutulla  
tavalla ja suunnitellut ratkaisut saadaan toteutettua. Johtajan  
onnistuminen tehtävässään, ja myös koko tiimin pelimenestys,  
on kiinni kuitenkin koko joukkueen kommunikointikyvystä.  
Tämä näkökulma toistui haastatteluissa usein ja kommuni-  
koinnin heikkous nähtiin tyypillisesti suomalaisten pelaajien  
haasteena. Koska jokaisella pelaajalla on peliin oma näkömäsä,  
pelaajien tulee jakaa muille tietoa näkemästään eksaktisti, ajan-  
tasaisesti ja tehokkaasti, jotta pelinsisäinen johtaja osaa ohjata  
peliä oikeaan suuntaan ja valita oikeat strategiat. Kommunika-  
ation ja roolituksen merkitys menestyksen kannalta kiteytyy  
seuraavissa ammattipelaajan haastattelu- ja tutkijan kenttä-  
muistiinpanokatkelmissa:

Eli se on tosi tärkeet se kommunikaatio joukkueen keskellä, et  
vaik sä oisit kuin hyvä in-game-leaderi niin sä et ikinä pysty tehä  
oikeit ratkasuja, jos sun pelaajat ei anna tarpeeks tietoo. Niin se  
on just sitä, miten se kommunikaatio liikkuu. Sit ku kommu-  
nikaatio on tarpeeks hyvää ja joku pelaja on fiksu ja osaa  
tehä ratkasuja, niin sit se menestys tulee periaattees automaati-  
sesti, että sit ku kaikki osaa omat roolinsa ja kaikki hoitaa  
omat asiansa hyvin, ni sitten automaattisesti voittaa enemmän  
tilanteita, voittaa enemmän pelejä, ja siihen se perustuu. (P6)

Mielenkiintoista seurata joukkueen kommunikointia  
tanskalaisen valmentajan kanssa, aika yksisuuntaista, il-  
meisesti kielitaito tässä ongelma (vrt. edellisen haasta-

teltavan kommentti, etteivät joukkueen jäsenet puhu paljon, eikä varsinkaan englanniksi). Toisaalta tämä tiimi kommunikoi muutenkin pelitilanteessa maltillisemmin kuin jotkut toiset. (kenttämuistiinpanokatkelma 1)

Pelinsisäisen johtajan tehtävään sisältyy myös paljon leadership-puolta. Useissa tilanteissa hänen ensisijainen tehtävänsä on kannustaa ja rauhoittaa tiimiläisiä sekä pitää koko tiimin fokus selkeänä. Haastateltavat liittyvät pelinsisäisen johtajan rooliin myös paljon odotuksia ilmapiiriin ylläpitämisen ja ns. hengenluomisen suhteena, koska teknisen ja strategisen osaamisen lisäksi pelaajien itseluottamus, tunteiden hallinta ja pelikontrollin säilyttäminen niin voitollisissa kuin tappiollisissa tilanteissa nähdään erittäin tärkeinä edellytyksinä voittamiselle:

Joukkue elää voimakkaasti onnistumiset, tiimistä lähtee jopa ääntä. Onnistumisen noteeraaminen vaikuttaa myös tärkeältä, ollaan pelin sykkeessä valmiita jopa hetki odottamaan, että kaveri vastaa fist bumpiin. Jokaisen onnistuneen mapin ja erityisen onnistuneen frägin jälkeen siis pelaajarivissä kiertää nyrkkitervehdysketju, johon valmentajakin välillä osallistuu -- Tappion kohdallakin tsemppaus käynnissä. (kenttämuistiinpanokatkelma 2)

Valmentajan rooli pelitilanteessa on lähinnä seurata sivusta tilannetta, mistä johtuen kaikki valmentajat eivät edes istu joukkueen rinnalla pelilavalla. Toiset taas tarkkailevat hyvinkin aktiivisesti pelaajien selän takana pelin etenemistä, joukkueen ilmapiiriä ja yksittäisten pelaajien mielialoja. Turnauksessa keskenään pelaavat tiimit istuvat tyyppillisesti tietokoneidensa näyttöjen takana lavan eri reunoilla, katse yleisöön päin. Kommunikointi tapahtuu kuulokemikrofonin kautta, joka samalla sulkee pois häiritsevät yleisön ja selostuksen äänet. Valmentaja kuulee kyllä tiimin puheen, mutta esimerkiksi suositussa CS:GO-pelissä valmentajalla ei ole pelin aikana puheoikeutta muutoin kuin teknisten aikalisien aikana. Aikalisien lukumäärä joukkuetta kohti on tarkoin rajattu ja yksittäisen aikalisän kesto lyhyt. Aktiivisesti lavalla johtajuutta osoittava valmentaja pystyy kuitenkin jonkin verran rauhoittamaan tai innostamaan pelaajia myös nonverbaalisesti. Valmentajan rooli kiteytyy osuvasti erään valmentajan haastattelun sekä tutkijan kenttämuistiinpanokatkelmissa:

Aina et mihin lähetään ja minnekä lähetään. Mutta toki se ei oo semmonen, et mä käsken, vaan se on enemmän et nyt voitais lähteä sinne ja sitten lähetään ja toki muutkin ortaa välillä [päättövaltaa] ... toki mä teen kaikki tietienkin päätökset juniin ja lentoihin, et millä me mennään, se on ihan ymmärrettävää, et se tulee mun kautta .... Se johtaminen, se on tärkeätä mut se on semmosta "pumpulit kädessä" tietyllä tavalla, verrattuna ehkä perinteiseen työpaikkaan, että tässä en koe et pystyy olemaan selkeitä semmosia niinku johtajia, käskemällä käsknee, vaan tässä johdetaan hyvin eri tavalla. En mä tiä miten sen nyt sanois, se perhenäkemys ja semmonen toisista välittäminen ja muu, sitä kautta se johtaminen. (V2)

No se on [huokaa] yksilöinä, me käydään yksilöinä läpi, mä oon yksilöinä poikien kanssa juttelen vähän väliä sillä tavalla, ja sit me jutellaan yhdessä asioista mitä on tullu niiden yksilökeskustelujen aikana esille, et mitä asioita he niinku näkevät joukkueen kesken et mitä pitäis tapahtua ja muuta. Heiltä puuttuu ehkä rohkeus, no ne on perussuomalaisia, tämmösiä juroja kavereita [naurahtaa], ei osata puhua. Niin mun pitää olla se välikäsi sillä tavalla, että kaivan ne asiat esiin, mitä

meillä siellä tapahtu. Sitten mä rupeen, käydään läpi sitten et mitä siel oikeesti on tapahtunu ja millä tavalla me päästään niistä yli, et millä tavalla me pystytään oikeesti kehittämään meidän joukkuetta sille tasolle, että kaikkien on hyvä siellä pelata. Silloin kun mä iteki pelasin, en mä taidollisesti koskaan ollu joukkueen paras pelaaja tai mitään sillä tavalla, mut mä olin se henkilö, joka piti sen aina kasassa. (V1)

#### Millaisia johtamiseen liittyviä haasteita e-urheiluun liittyy?

Tanskalaisen huipputiimi Astraloksen kanssa työskentelevän suomalaisen urheilupsykologi Mia Stellbergin mukaan e-urheilijoiden urat ovat lyhyitä ja tukea ja valmennusta saavat yleensä vasta ammattilaistasolle päässeet pelaajat. Tällöin paineet kasvavat suuriksi ja arki on kuluttavaa. On hyvä huomata, että e-urheilijan arki poikkeaa merkittävästi perinteisen urheilijan rytmistä, jossa lajiharjoitteiden rinnalla vuorottelevat selkeämmin myös harjoitus- ja lepojaksot. (Tammilehto, 2018b.) Tuen ja valmennuksen puute sekä tiimien ikärakenne selittänevät osin tiimien heikkoa kommunikaatiota ja pelaajien motivaatio-ongelmia, jotka haastavat sekä pelinsisäistä johtajaa että valmentajaa ja manageria. Pelaajat kiinnitetään tiimeihin nuorena, vakituinen sopimus saattaa olla solmittuna 16-vuotiaana, ja heillä voi olla oma henkilökohtainen kasvu vielä hyvin kesken-eräisessä vaiheessa. Tiimeissä haetaan ennen kaikkea yhteensopivuutta, pelkät pelitaidot eivät siis riitä, jos pelaaja ei sopeudu tiimin osaksi. Näistä seuraten muutokset voivat olla nopeita ja asioiden käsittely edellyttäisi kommunikointitaitoja, joita ei ole vielä ehtinyt oppia. Tutkimuksissa e-urheilututkimusta onkin perustellusti määritelty myös osaksi nuorisotutkimusta (esim. Adamus 2012).

Toimitusjohtaja Salminen (2008) kuvaa lajin tiimien nopeaa vaihtuvuutta seuraavasti:

No siis kylhän tässä itekin on, jos Havua katsoo, nähny jo aika monta pelaajaa. Että jos miettii että puoltoista vuotta Havun CS:GO-joukkue ollu pystyssä ni, onks siinä nyt ollut jo kohta kymmenkunta eri pelaajaa. Kyllähän se on ollu, vähän jo vitsin puolellekin joskus heitetty, Suomessa ongelma ... Natu jossain haastattelussa sanoi et ENCEL taisi olla joskus kolmetoista eri pelaajaa kuuden viikon aikana ... et sitä sitä tapahtuu tosi paljon sitä vaihtelua. (LS)

Syyt muutoksissa liittyvät yleensä henkilökemioihin ja tiimin yhteensopivuuden ongelmiin. Osalta pelaajilta näyttää myös puuttuvan toiminnastaan selkeä fokus ja halu menestyä ja pärjätä. Lisäksi Salminen (2018) korostaa, ettei riitä, jos yksittäiset suuret toimijat puhuvat positiivisesti aiheesta, vaan myös esimerkiksi medialla on laajempi rooli e-urheiluun liittyvien yleisten käsitysten muovaamisessa:

Just [ministeri] Sampo Terho sanoo tää, et tehdään Suomessa vielä mahtimaa ja kohta tulee Diili-ohjelma, missä esports on mukana, ja sit Yle ilmottaa et nyt me ruvetaan tekeen niinku esports-lähetyksiä ulkomailta, ja sit se vaatis vielä et joku Hesari kirjottaa, että esports on cool -tyyppiä [naurahtaa]. Se, että se yhteiskunta ja se Suomi niin sanotusti hyväksyy sen ja tekee siitä semmosen et "hei tää on ok tehdä tätä työkseen, ja tämä on ok ammatti". (LS)

Suomalaisessa e-urheilukentässä mielipiteet lajin aseman vakinaistumisesta näyttävät jakautuvan. Tässä tutkimuksessa haastatelluista etenkin pelaajatasolla ulkopuolelta tulevaan huomioon suhtauduttiin jopa ristiriitaisesti. Toisaalta nähtiin taloudellisten mahdollisuuksien kasvu, toisaalta koettiin kiinnos-

tuksen olevan paikoin päälle liimattua. Myös suhtautuminen olympiastatukseen oli kaksijakoista. Liitto- ja hallintotasolla se nähtiin tärkeänä ja tavoiteltavana, kenties lajin uskottavuuden ja siten myös talouden vahvistamiseksi (Kapiainen, 2018). Useimmat pelaajat puolestaan kokivat olympialaiset tarpeettomina osan suhtautuessa asiaan neutraalisti. Jopa se, että e-urheilu itsessään on aineistomme mukaan verraten tasa-arvoinen laji, aikaansaa ongelmia olympialaisten sukupuolittuneisuuden vuoksi. Näkemysten ristiriitaisuus kiteytyy hyvin seuraavissa valmentajan ja ammattipelaajan haastattelukatkelmissa:

...vähän negatiivisesti ehkä ollaan elektronisessa urheilussa suhtauduttu olympialaisiin, koska elektroninen urheilu on tasa-arvoinen laji. Meillä ei ole miesten ja naisten sarjoja erikseen, vaan kaikki pelaa samas sarjassa ja se on toiminu. Jos mentäis yhtäkkiä olympialaisiin niin meil yhtäkkiä oliskin miesten ja naisten sarjat ... ehkä se nähään sillä tavalla, että miten olympialaiset herää tässä vaiheessa tähän, me ollaan oltu täällä jo monta vuotta ja me ollaan saatu homma toimimaan hyvin ja nyt yhtäkkiä, ku meillä massiivisesti tulee yleisömäärä, yhtäkkiä olympialaiset kiinnostuu. Ehkä se on monesti mitä mä kuulen, että se on vähän niinku too late, nyt ne haluaa vaan kunnian takia... (V2)

...Hieno ajatushan se olis et silleen saisi, mutta musta tuntuu, että siitä tulis niin paljo negatiivista palautetta yleisesti niiltä, jotka seuraa ja pitää olympialaisia vähän niinku semmosena pyhänä kisana ... mutta jos se pääsee, niin hyvää bisnekselle ja pelimaailmalle ja silleen. Kyl mä haluisin pitää ne erossa silleen ainakin, että jos ne pääsis olympialaisiin niin sit pidettä vähän niinku omat e-urheiluolympialaiset, ei sen perinteisen olympialaisten kans liitettyä samaan vaan erikseen jossain toisella stadionilla... (P2)

Teoreettisesti ja tutkimuskentässä e-urheilua on tyypillisesti määritelty jo pitkään urheiluna. Suomessakin lajiliiton tasolla nojaututaan kansainvälisiin määritelmiin. Tällöin laji rinnastetaan usein esimerkiksi shakkiin tai golfiin, joissa kilpailullisuuteen ei liity samankaltaista fyysistä ponnistelua kuin moniin muihin perinteisen urheilun lajeihin. Mielenkiintoista oli kuitenkin havaita, että pelaajista useimmat näkivät e-urheilun enemmänkin viihteenä. Heille urheilun käsitteeseen liittyi vahvasti fyysisuus, jota eivät e-urheiluun koe kuuluvan – joskin katsojalle niin jääkiekko kuin e-urheilu ovat kumpikin joka tapauksessa viihdettä. Toisaalta monet perinteisen urheilun joukkueet ovat panostaneet vahvasti e-urheiluun. Hyvä esimerkki tästä on pesäpallosta tunnettu Sotkamon Jymy, jossa urheiluorganisaation toiminta taloutta ja työntekijöiden tehtävänkuvia myöten jakautuu pesäpallon ja e-urheilun kesken (SuperJymy, 2018). Eräs valmentaja ja pelaaja pohtivat e-urheilun kategorisointia suhteessa perinteiseen liikuntaan ja urheilulajeihin seuraavasti:

En mä koskaan sillä tavalla niinku miettiny sitä, ku mä rupesin pelaamaan, että e-urheilussa tarvii olla verrattavissa mihinkään perinteiseen urheiluun tai millään tavalla sillain, et se on mulle aina ollu viihdettä. Ja jos joku sen haluaa siinä vaiheessa kategorisoida jonkun urheilun alle, niin minun mielestä se on ihan ok. Jos joku ei halua sitä sinne laittaa, niin se[kin] on minun mielestä ihan ok, sillä ei oo väliä minkä alle tai missä se minnekä kategorisoidaan e-urheilu sillä tavalla. Se on mulle viihdettä siinä missä joku jääkiekko. Se, että onko se jonkun kategorian alla, niin sillä ei oo mulle mitään merkitystä. (V1)

Mä en oikeen itse siit silleen välitä mikä se nimi on, ei sillä oo silleen suurempaa merkitystä, must tuntuu et kaikil on vähän

sama, on vaan muutamat henkilöt, jotka jostain syystä marisee tuolla palstoilla ja kaikilla, et se on e-urheilu, se on e-urheilu. Mä oon aina harrastanu liikuntaa, pitäny periaatteessa nää asiat silleen erikseen et toinen on urheilu, liikuntaa missä tulee hiki, paikat tulee kipeeks ja näin, ja toinen on sit taas kilpapelamista missä enemmänkin koetellaan mun mielestä kestävyyttä ja hermoja ja sellast niinku yhteistyökyky (P2)

E-urheilun usein kohtaamat epäilykset urheilun muotona nousee esille erityisesti vertailtaessa e-urheilua perinteisiin urheilulajeihin (Rönkä, 2018a). Aineistomme mukaan myös osa e-urheiluammattilaisista pohtivat tätä aihetta ja problematisoivat eri urheiluun liittyvien arkikäsitteiden kautta. Eräs e-urheilun ammattilainen kuvailee käsitteellistä problematiikkaa itse-epäilyineen nostaten myös keskeisiä e-urheilijalle asetettuja vaatimuksia seuraavasti:

...et mä en osaa sanoa, et antaa muitten ihmisten päättää sun muuta. Mun oma mielipide tohon on kyllä se, että ku itellä on semmonen urheilutausta kuitenkin, niin että mä en pidä sitä urheiluna. Sitten toisaalta tietenki on näitä vertauskuvia, että onhan shakkikin urheilua ja kaikkee muuta tai että luokitellaan urheiluks ... yhtä lailla se e-urheilukin vois olla paljon aktiivisempaa monessakin mielessä ku esimerkiksi shakki. Totta kai mä oon samaa mieltä siinä, mut en mä toisaalta ite luokittelis sitä shakkiin urheiluks. Mulle urheilu on aina enemmän ollu semmonen, et tulee hiki pintaan ja näin. Etteikö jollain tulis hiki pintaan, ku pelaa tietokoneella ja keskittyy tosi paljon ... ku jengi puhuu tästä ni on siel hyviä pointteja, mitä kaikkee e-urheilussa vaaditaan... samoi juttui löytyy monesta muusta urheilulajista, mut ainoo miinuspuoli on aina vaan se että tässä ei liikuta fyysisesti, että tulis hiki esimerkiks. ...

Mutta siis mä en mä en ite osaa sanoa, vetäisin sen rajan et tarvii tosi paljo keskittymiskykyä ja yhteistyökykyä, se on ehkä yks niinku isoimmista jutuista... et sä tuut toimeen eri ihmisten kanssa ja tarvii sulaa tietysti talenttia, yksilökykyä, ongelmienratkaisukykyä... sit esimerkiks mun kaltasilta tyypeiltä sitä just sitä johtajuutta ja sitä kapteenin roolia ja että ottaa muut huomioon ja ottaa ison kuvan huomioon, ettei ajattele pelkästään itteään vaan sitä joukkuetta ja muitten etuja ... en niinku ymmärrä miks pitäis taistella, että se olis tai miks pitää ees väittää siitä et olik onks se urheilu vai ei. Et me vaan voitaa olla se e-urheilupuoli ja sit on se urheilupuoli ja that's it (P6)

Verrattaessa e-urheilua perinteisiin urheilulajeihin, fyysisen ponnistelun sijaan nousee keskeiseen rooliin keskittymiskyky – kuten esimerkiksi shakissa. Lisäksi tekninen osaaminen rinnastuu vaikkapa aseiden käytössä ja kranaatin heittämisessä, joita harjoitellaan lukemattomia tunteja, jääkiekossa laukaustekniikkaan. Kaksi e-urheiluammattilaista pohtivat harjoittelun roolia tällaisissa tilanteissa seuraavasti:

... uskon että melkein jokasella on silleen ihan ulkomuistissa kaikki paikat ja kaikki tälle, et välillä on tilanteita mis on semmosia kranaatteja, mitkä peittää niinku mappia ... niin jos sä meet semmoseen savuun niin luonnollisesti sä et nää mitään, niin sun pitää osata kuitenkin liikkuu siit savusta, se on vähän ku olisit pimees huonees missä laittaisit silmät kiinni ja jos sä oot ollu siin huoneessa monta kertaa, niin sä todennäköisesti tiedät aika hyvin suunnilleen et mis kohtaa on vaikka sohva, missä seinä, pöytä... se on sama pelissä ... ja sitte paikkojen nimet tietenki pitää osata, tulla ku apteekin hyllyltä niin sanotusti (P2)

...ne on katottu niinku ennen pelii käyty läpi taktiikat niinku mihin kranaatit lentää, mihin kukaki kävelee, mihin kukaki tähtää, ne on katottu ennen ennen niinku ku sitä pelii on ees pelattu, et noi katotaan sillain etukäteen ja sitten on tilanteita milloin on pakko tehdä niinku intuitiolla (P6)

Tämän tyyppinen pohdinta on liittynyt moniin muihinkin urheilulajeihin ja niiden kulkua noudatellen voinee ounastella, että käsitteet vakiintuvat. Pitkään e-urheilun parissa ammattimaisesti työskennellyt valmentaja kiteyttää tilanteen näin:

No no jos niinku ruvetaan miettimään vaikka näitä fyysisiä ominaisuuksia ku puhutaan siitä, että miten muka e-urheilussa tarvitaan fyysisiä ominaisuuksia, niin mä vertaan monesti joko lumilautailuun tai moottoriurheiluun sitä sen takia että puhutaan, ennen vanhaan moottoriurheilussa puhuttiin sitä, että minkä takia niitten pitäis käyä salilla, ku ne on vaan auton ratissa ja moottori tekee työn. Ja nyt ku katot niitä kavereita, niin nehän treenaat ihan älyttömästi sitä fyysistä kuntoa, että ne jaksaa tehdä sitä. Että tavallaan samoja yhtymäkohtia tässäkin on, että eihän sillä tavallaan sillä fyysisellä kyvyllä niin sanotusti tee mitään, mutta kylä se niin paljo auttaa, että siitä on pidettävä huolta. (V2)

## Johtopäätökset ja avauksia e-urheilun tutkimukseen

Selvää on, että elektroninen urheilu ei ole enää nuorison puuhastelua, vaan kansainvälisesti merkittävä ja nopeasti kasvava liiketoiminnan, viihteen ja myös kilpaurheilun muoto. Digitaalisen vallankumouksen aikakauden johtamisen alan empiirisen tutkimuksen tulee kiinnittää huomiota lukemattomiin asioihin – mutta toisin kuin ensimmäisen teollisen vallankumouksen aikakauden tutkijoilla, kolmannen teollisen vallankumouksen eli digitalisaation aikakauden tutkijoilla on valtava empiiriseen tutkimukseen pohjautuva ymmärrys ihmisen perusluonteesta (Auvinen, 2017). Toki johtajuusteorioiden kehitys varhaisista Babylonian nuolenpäänkirjoituksista noin 3700 vuoden takaa antiikin Kreikan kautta varsinaiseen teoretisoinnin alkuräjähdykseen teollistumiseen taylorismeineen on nimenomaan painottunut viimeisimpiin kehityskuluihin (esim. Takala, 1999). Kuitenkin johtajuusteorian muodostus on ollut verkkaista suhteutettaessa teoreettinen substanssi globaaleihin tutkimusresursseihin (Mole, 2004; Grint, 2005; Grint, 2011; Auvinen, 2017). Kuitenkin digitalisaatioon liittyy uusi orastava älyllinen voima – tekoäly – joka voi itsessään suunnata tulevaisuuden kehityskulkuja nopeastikin (Brynjolfsson & McAfee, 2014).

Ei ole vielä varmuutta, missä määrin ja missä laajuudessa perinteisen johtamisen teoriat ja mallit soveltuvat e-urheilukontekstissa, mutta olipa kyse reaalisesta tai virtuaalisesta vuorovaikutuksesta, kyseessä on ihmisten muodostamissa tiimeissä tapahtuva tavoitteellinen toiminta. Tällä hetkellä näyttää siltä, että e-urheilun kannalta ensi vaiheessa sovelletaan ja kehitetään perinteisiä ja jo tunnettuja johtamismalleja huomioimaan sukupolvien, kulttuuristen muutosten ja teknologioiden mukanaan tuomia muutostarpeita. Alkuvaiheen kehitys on siis johtamisen kannalta ollut varsin maltillista, ja ehkä seuraavassa vaiheessa digitaaliset teknologiat tarjoavat esimerkiksi elektronisen urheilun kontekstiin kehitettyjä johtajan päätöksentekoa tukevia tekoälysovelluksia. Erityisesti nopeaa reagointia vaativissa tilanteissa robottijohtaja voi avustaa johtajaa, mutta inhimilliset ja arvopohjaiset organisaatiokulttuuriin ja tiimien henkilödynamikkaan kiinnittyvä toiminta tulee vielä pitkään keskittymään ihmisjohtajan toimintaan. Löydöstemme mukaan kuitenkin johtajattomuus ja johtajattomuuden ihannoiti ei noussut

esille – päinvastoin niin managerointi kuin ihmisten johtaminen nousi keskeiseen asemaan (vrt. Collin, Auvinen, Herranen, Paloniemi, Riivari, Sintonen & Lemmetty, 2017). Aineistossa korostuu käskyttävän johtamisen sijaan pikemminkin perheeseen sopiva pehmeämpi johtamisote.

Ala on nuori ja käytännöt eivät ole vielä vakiintuneet esimerkiksi varusmiespalveluksen osalta, vaan sen suorittaminen voi katkaista uran lopullisesti. Puolustusvoimien urheilukouluun ei ole vielä hyväksytty ketään e-urheilijaa, mutta käytäntöjen ollessa epäselviä huippupelaajat eivät myöskään hae sinne. SEUL pyrkii neuvottelemaan Puolustusvoimien kanssa, mitä Urheilukoulu tarkoittaisi e-urheilijalle, jonka tulisi voida pelata päivittäin useita tunteja sekä saada sitoumus pääsystä kaikkiin uran kannalta välttämättömiin turnauksiin, jotka matkoineen vievät viikon tai kaksi kuussa. Muutoin riski uran katkeamisesta on liian suuri. (ks. esim. Loula, 2018.) E-urheilu ammatillisuuden ja urapolkujen näkökulmasta on tärkeä tulevaisuuden tutkimusaihe. Näissä tutkimuksissa tulee lisäksi huomioida taloudellinen, vastuullinen ja ammatillinen näkökulma. Näitä ovat esimerkiksi työsuhteen laatuun ja kestoon liittyvät asiat, työhyvinvointi sekä tuleviin ammatillisiin uravalintoihin liittyvät näkökulmat. Tämän kaltainen tutkimus tuottaakin näin ollen e-urheilun opiskeluun ja koulutukseen tärkeää sisältöä.

Tulostemme mukaan e-urheilun ammatilliset mielsivät johtajuuden jopa yllättävän perinteisesti (vrt. esim. Grint, 2005; Grint, 2011), eli johtajuuteen liittyvät roolit sekä (jopa kehollisen) vuorovaikutuksen merkitys nousi vahvasti esiin. Tulevaisuudessa tosin tutkimuksissa voidaan pureutua syvällisemmin e-urheilukontekstissa fyysisen/kehollisuuden sekä reaaliaikaisuuden merkityksiin johtajuuden kannalta sekä lisäksi pohtia tekoälyn mahdollisuuksia ja merkityksiä (esim. Auvinen, 2017; Accenture, 2017). On mielenkiintoista pohtia, käykö tulevaisuudessa niin, että ensimmäinen tekoälyohjelmistorobottijohtaja löytyy nuorelta alalta, kuten e-urheilu – vai jopa joltain hyvin perinteiseltä toimialalta, kuten metsäteollisuus? Lisäksi e-urheilun kontekstissa vuosituhannen vaihteessa läpimurtonsa tehneet narratiiviset näkökulmat johtajuuteen (esim. Dennehy, 1999) sekä virtuaalisuuden nostattamat kielelliset ja narratiiviset näkökulmat (esim. Boje ym., 2011) ovat täysin hyödynnettävä. Lisäksi tarinallisesta näkökulmasta digitaalinen tarinankerronta oppimisen näkökulmasta (ks. Dreon, Kerper & Landis, 2011) voisi luontevasti tuoda lisäarvoa e-urheilun johtamisen opiskeluun.

Teoreettiselta ja käsitteelliseltä kannalta on vielä tarkennettava, miten virtuaalijohtajuus ja e-urheilun johtajuus liittyvät toisiinsa. Johtajuus on e-urheilussa kuitenkin tällä hetkellä pitkälti läsnäolevaa, ja informaatioteknologia vain tarjoaa toimintaympäristön ja fasilitoi toimintaa. Tässä mielessä e-urheilu professiona ja käytännön työelämänä ei siis juurikaan poikkea esimerkiksi perinteisempien alojen toimistotyöstä, jossa työskennellään osittain tai jopa kokonaan verkon välityksellä. Tähän oman avauksensa voisi tarjota monikansallisten tiimien tutkiminen, joskin useissa niissäkin on käytäntönä koota pelaajat omista maistaan yhteen harjoittelemaan myös turnausten välillä, ja jopa asumaan yhdessä. Kansainvälisyys tarjoaa kuitenkin omat haasteensa johtajuudelle. Entä kuinka näyttäyty diversiteetti ja naisten asema lajin parissa? Teema nousee esiin keskusteluissa, mutta tämän tutkimuksen aineiston valossa tasa-arvoon liittyviä ongelmia ei nouse esiin. Joka tapauksessa on fakta, että naisia on häviävän pieni osuus kilpailevista pelaajista ja etenkin ammattipelaajista. Naisten aseman parantaminen nousi keskeisenä tavoitteena esiin myös suomalaisten e-urheilijoiden tapaamisessa ministeri Terhon kanssa (OKM, 2018). Empiiristä tutkimusta onkin syytä tehdä myös diversi-

teetti- ja tasa-arvonäkökulmista.

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