Following the widespread societal belief in creativity as a key to business success, many companies are making considerable efforts to stimulate creativity among their employees. Current research on organizational creativity has documented a number of tensions implied by organizational creativity, in particular between managerial control and creative freedom, also suggesting a number of ways to overcome these tensions. Little is known, however, about what is being done in the name of creativity in organizations, beyond management talk. This dissertation investigates how the dichotomies of organizing creativity were handled in practice in a multinational high-tech company in Sweden through a qualitative study.

Grzelec's work uniquely analyzes creativity, not only from the management perspective, but also from the point of view of the employees. She takes the reader on a field trip to understand what was being said and done in the name of creativity at the site of her study. Along the way, she shows how organizational tensions between different orders of worth are managed during day-to-day work. She finds a recursive relationship between organizing creativity and creative organizing, upheld by ongoing boundary work, and shedding new light on creativity in organizations.

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UNIVERSITY OF GOTHENBURG
SCHOOL OF BUSINESS, ECONOMICS AND LAW

ISBN 978-91-88623-15-7

Organizing Creativity and Creative Organizing at a high-tech company | Anna Grzelec

2019

Dissertation
Department of Business Administration

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Dissertation for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Ph.D.,
in Business Administration

Department of Business Administration, School of Business, Economics and Law at University of Gothenburg, 4 October 2019

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www.fek.handels.gu.se

ISBN: 978-91-88623-15-7

GUPEA: http://hdl.handle.net/2077/61530

Printed in Sweden by Repro Lorensberg, 2019

Abstract

In today's society, creativity, in close collaboration with innovation, is considered key to the success of many businesses. On the one hand, organizations need to organize people's efforts and to control the outcomes of work, while on the other, creativity and innovation require the space for play and freedom. It is this contradiction, between the need to organize employees efficiently and the need to be creative, that forms the starting point for this study. Much previous research has focused on various ways to solve or manage this tension. This study takes a different, approach, viewing creativity as something that people construct through their actions. The aim here is to understand how efforts to organize creativity unfold in practice.

The study is based on fieldwork conducted at an international high-tech company in Sweden. How people within that company try to organize and perform (i.e. achieve, manage or control) creativity has been followed by means of observations and interviews conducted between 2014 and 2016. Two different frameworks, Orders of Worth and Boundary Work, have been used for the analysis. The framework of Orders of Worth helps us to understand how different competing, or conflicting, rationalities are managed in practice in an organization, while Boundary Work provides a dynamic way to understand what is going on in an organization. The analysis describes how the relationships between organizing and creative work are worked out in different ways: i.e. through the creation of spaces, change initiatives, structures, and activities.

The findings show how the inspirational order is instrumentalised in the service of the market order of worth, and how the industrial and fame orders play a part in this process as well. Further, it is also shown how inspirationally and industrially worthy boundary drawing and crossing takes place during efforts to organize creativity in the company. Creativity unfolds in practice through two interconnected processes: *organizing creativity* and *creative organizing*. Organizing creativity entails organizing spaces for creativity but also harnessing it so that it fits with current organizational goals and strategies. This is what management does. The second process, creative organizing, was the employees' reaction to this way of organizing creativity. By means of a resistance movement, they introduced a series of dirty objects and unconventional work practices into the organization, in order to stir up and arouse creativity. They worked in the opposite direction to management and tried to integrate creative work into regular work. In conclusion, the initial tension between organizing work and being creative is reformulated.

Keywords: organizational creativity, orders of worth, French pragmatic sociology, boundary work, engineering

Acknowledgements

In producing this book, I had a dream-team supporting me: an amazing bunch of people whom I wish to thank.

First, I want to thank my supervisors Kajsa Lindberg and Elena Raviola. You were always there to put me on the right track when I got lost, and you read all the crappy drafts of this text with enthusiasm. I am impressed at your patience, and I am so happy to have had the two of you challenging and supporting me. I learnt so much with you. Thank you.

Ann Langley; thank you for inviting and hosting me for a visiting semester at HEC Montreal. Not only did I experience the winter of my life - your readings of my texts were truly inspiring. Lars Walter; thank you for acting as a constant sounding board at the other end of the corridor. Ariane Berthoin Antal; thank you for reading my text and organizing a seminar for me at WZB Berlin, where I received valuable input. Thank you Juliane Reinecke for your helpful readings and feedback, thank you Alexander Styhre for your thoughtful input during my half-way seminar, and thank you Silviya Svejenova for the thorough reading and creative input during my final seminar.

To my colleagues along the corridor: Thank you for putting up with the music drifting out through my door and for letting me air my thoughts and forcing you to share your knowledge and perspectives with me. Also, my colleagues in the corridor above: Thanks for coming down and asking questions, and for letting me come up and knock on your doors because I needed to talk.

To my PhD partners: You guys have been awesome! Hanna Borgblad, Sandra Samuelsson, Irina Balog, Ulises Navarro-Aguiar, Gabriella Wulff, Bianca Koroschetz, Jonas Jakobsson, Marissa Ekdahl, Alexander Wong, Marcus Brogeby and Sylvain Malcorps – so many agonies and frustrations I have shared with you, and so many crazy and fun-filled moments in saunas and on dancefloors. I'm happy to have had the chance to share both work issues and life issues with you. My crowd at HEC Montreal also have to be mentioned: Tania Weinfurtner and Lisa Whitelaw. You guys have been really supportive, and you know it.

The people at the company - you know who you are: Thank you for your participation and openness. For this, I will be eternally grateful.

Friends. So many friends have supported me greatly. Ingo Rauth, Lisa Carlgren, Lise Aaboen, Anna Moses, Torbjörn Jacobsson, Christina Mauléon – you all have been here before me, and your blend of friendship and mentoring has been incredible. Thank you for that. To my friends outside academia: Thank you for fueling my energies.

Finally, I want to give hugs of gratitude to my family. First, I want to thank my husband Emílio for his unlimited support, his interest in my work, and the practical matters that he took care of while I had my head in my writings (or my feet in the snow). I love you. I wish to thank my parents, Grazyna and Jurek, for all their support and life advice – both the bits I took and the bits I refused to take. I also wish to thank my extended family in Portugal for always providing another home in Porto, and for their existentialist conversations over gin and tonics. My special thanks go to Isabel and Daniel for helping me to do the creative organizing of the dots on the front cover. Cristina and Gudrun: You were both important to this process and I miss you dearly. And to my dear Iris: You were born in the middle of this process – which provided some perspective and so much new love. Thank you for coming into my life.

Thank you everyone for believing in me.

Gothenburg, 2019-08-19

Anna Grzelec

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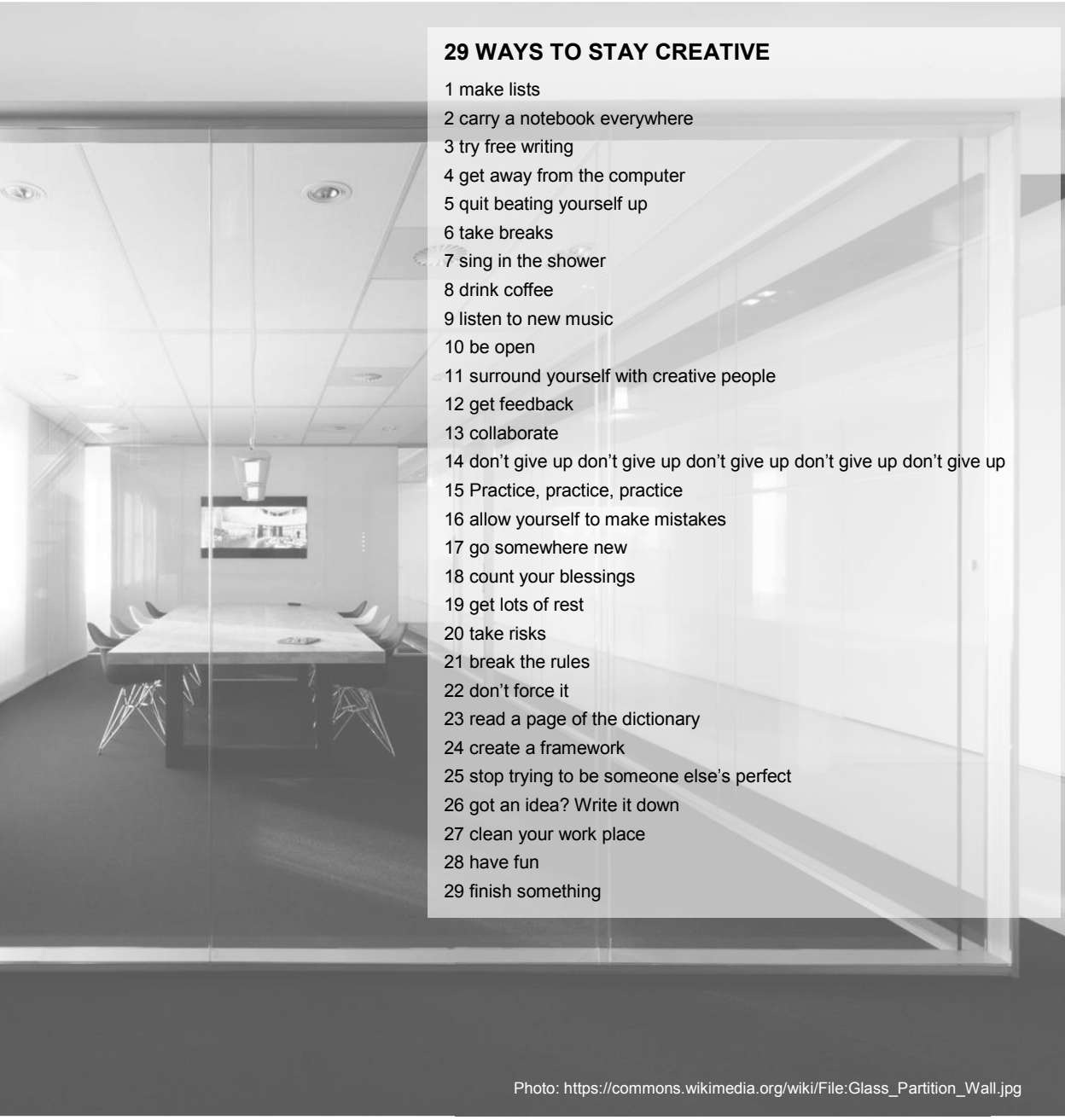

Photo: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Glass_Partition_Wall.jpg

Figure 1 A sheet of A4 posted on a glass wall in an office

This list was printed on a sheet of A4 and put up using tape on the glass wall of an office (Figure 1). The office, much like the one depicted in the photo, is in Sweden and belongs to a multinational firm producing high-tech soft- and hardware. In this firm, like in many others, both management and many of the employees believe creativity needs to be increased. Therefore, when one of the employees found this list on the Internet, s/he printed it out. This list is not the only artefact hanging on the walls of this office, reminding employees about the importance of creativity. There are also fun messages, drawings and jokes hanging in different spots in the office. Some of these are hidden inside the employees' cubicles in their open office space, while others are in more visible spots, e.g. the corridor (where it is, in fact, prohibited to hang anything up). The reminders hanging on the walls constitute just the tip of the iceberg. There is a wide range of activities and tools within the organization that are aimed at increasing creativity: There are workshops, idea boxes, and creativity teams, and much more. These are all attempts at increasing creativity within the organization.

Alongside this call for creativity hanging on the wall, there are also other instructions elsewhere in the organization, describing just the opposite of what is on this list. Examples of such documents include employment contracts, team goals, and project aims, just to name a few. Each individual within the organization is there for a set of reasons; i.e. fulfilling a role in the delivering of the offering of the firm, having committed to delivering something through a contract that is updated annually with new goals. Fulfilling these goals clashes with some of the 29 items on the list. For instance, number 21, *break the rules*, seems counterproductive to the purposes of the organization: When joining the organization, the employees agreed to follow many rules, so why would breaking the rules be encouraged? How do you know which rules to break? Likewise, numbers 16*, allow yourself to make mistakes,* and 20*, take risks,* encourage people to make errors, something that will surely reduce the efficiency of the company. This is especially controversial since the company "attempts to reduce costs using efficient and effective process flows and using standardized internal controls and performance indicators", according to its annual report. The content of this list signals that creativity actions will not necessarily contribute to the efficient execution of the tasks assigned to the people working in the organization. The contradiction and tension between the need to increase the creativity of the organization and the need to organize the employees and deliver results efficiently, is the starting point for this study. So why would an organization want to increase its creativity if this means breaking rules, taking risks, and making mistakes, i.e. forsaking stability, efficiency and controllability?

One explanation regarding why creativity is important to companies is that it is viewed as a part of innovation, and innovation is important to growth, which is

the ultimate goal of most firms. While creativity is the generation of useful and original ideas (Amabile et al. 1996, Mayer 1999, Styhre and Sundgren 2005, Stierand 2015), innovation is the selection and implementation of those ideas into profit-making objects (Styhre and Sundgren 2005, Baer 2012, Nisula 2013, Anderson et al. 2014, Naggar 2015, Blomberg et al. 2017, Perry-Smith and Mannucci 2017, Rosing et al. 2018). As such, innovation needs creativity, and innovation is the link between new and useful ideas (i.e. creativity), on the one hand, and economic growth, on the other. Without creativity, firms will not innovate, and without innovation, they will not thrive and generate revenues under the current economic system: The creation of new ideas and new combinations of old ideas is the "primus motor of the capitalist economy in the Schumpeterian tradition of thinking" (Styhre 2013:22). Thus, it is believed that through new ideas, new products and services are created, and businesses are created and grow, which is why it is vital for all organizations: for their survival.

These ideas have however not always been dominating. For over a century, ideas regarding how industrial excellence is achieved through efficiency, rational thinking and organizing have been under development aided by thinkers such as Taylor (1911), Simon (1947) and Cyert & March (1963). The rational efficiency logic dictates that a business organisation will excel through functional specialisation, minimal internal dependency, hierarchical control and minimal deviation from plans. Such scientific rationality has been dominating Western life at the expense of passion, play, and art ever since the Enlightenment (Hjorth 2005). Many researcher now believe that things have changed, and creativity is said to be more important today than previously (eg. Mumford and Simonton 1997, Andriopoulos 2001, Darsø 2004, Runco 2004, Koivunen 2009, Anderson et al. 2014, Blomberg et al. 2017), even being both compulsory (Osborne 2003) and a "'taken-for-granted' necessity in today's turbulent capitalist economy" (Jeanes 2006: 132). Innovation, creativity, and permanent change have become paramount in today's society, replacing the domination of yesterday; i.e. mass production, effectiveness, management by objectives, and long-term planning (Boltanski and Chiapello 2005). This development is thought to be connected with the increased complexity and speed of changes in society (Ford and Gioia 1995, M. A. Taylor and Callahan 2005, Tuori and Vilén 2011, Blomberg 2014, Caniëls and Rietzschel 2015, Cohendet and Simon 2015), increased demands for the sustainable development of business and accelerated competitive anarchy (Schiuma 2011), and also due to the economy of the future being believed to be based on human fantasy, passion and inspirational social encounters (Darsø 2004), thus requiring new frameworks for the management and organizing of companies. We are now in what can be characterised as an aesthetic economy, which depends on permanent cultural innovation rather than on technological

(Reckwitz 2017/2012)[1]: What matters is to produce new signs, sense impressions and affects, rather than efficiently delivering products.

These demands (to be creative as well as efficient and organized) are perceived as contradictory, causing tensions within organizations. This is a challenge facing many manufacturing companies, or rather *former* manufacturing companies, transitioning to new modes of innovation and production (Navarro-Aguiar 2017), from old, technology-focused innovation. Currently, there is thus (and has been for some time) a shift away from organizing models appropriate in contexts where companies are focused on efficiency and predictability, towards a new situation whereby companies are believed to need other elements, and thus search for alternative organizational solutions that can accommodate creativity, in many dimensions, not only technological. Two companies often used as examples of organizations that have mastered creativity exceptionally well in the contemporary economy are Apple and Google (Prichard 2002, Stark 2009, Cobo 2013, Sonenshein 2014, Caniëls and Rietzschel 2015). Just as creative individuals are thought to be endowed with an "ability, genius or a gift from God" (Koivunen 2009:22), or a "divine breath" (Styhre & Sundgren 2005), these are model firms that many companies aspire to be similar to (Walker 2011) and romanticize for their coolness (Fleming and Spicer 2004). You could even say that how business is viewed is approaching how the arts are viewed (Stenström 2000) – i.e. the ultimate creative discipline, and the opposition between things economic and the arts, has dissolved (Reckwitz 2017/2012) or is at least in dialogue (Strauß 2012).

Companies that have been around for a while are believed to struggle with this tension, because they have built up a successful business within the "old" business panorama where mass production and predictability were possible. Often solutions for organizing creative work have in such companies been created in the same way as other kinds of work; i.e. make it scheduled and planned, assign times, places and employees, and create goals and strategies for accomplishing creative results. This is an example of the rational-efficient logic ruling the organizing of creativity, which may be outdated given the current business panorama. Embedded in the hegemonic view that business organisations need creativity, this is a study of the efforts being made to become more creative in an international high-tech company, with a long history of technological innovation. The focus is on the actual day-to-day work being carried out under the motto of "we need to be creative", and on the tensions

[1] The book was originally published in German in 2012, and only translated into English in 2017. I refer to the English version throughout this thesis; however, in order to retain clarity in regards to the development of the scholarly conversation and debate over time, both years will be mentioned from this point on.

building up between, on the one hand, the need to organize people's efforts and to control work outcomes (i.e. meet the rational-efficient demands being made of the firm) and, on the other, the need for playfulness, experimentation and freedom (i.e. being a creative enterprise).

1.1 Tensions in organizational creativity

The tension between organizing work efficiently and being creative can be found in a variety of organizational creativity research. The desire, within the organization, to control and to render actions predictable makes exploiting creative potential a challenge (Isaksen and Ekvall 2010, Anderson et al. 2014, Ortmann and Sydow 2017), due to creativity being rebellious and uncontrollable (Blomberg 2014), having the potential to reduce reliability (George 2007), and "contrast[ing with] what organizations typically attempt to do" (Kraft 2018: 10). Researchers have labelled the opposing forces relating to creativity and organizing as flexibility versus efficiency (Magnusson et al. 2009), creative logic versus efficient logic (Eriksson and Styhre 2010), flexibility versus control (Cohendet and Simon 2016), "uncertain long-term gains of radical innovation" versus "short-term wins of incremental innovation" (Caniëls and Rietzschel 2015: 184), improvisation and reflection versus pre-planned goals and structures (Bozic and Olsson 2013), and freedom versus control (Kraft 2018). Stability and exploitation have been viewed as contradictory to creativity for a long time (Sonenshein 2016) and the tension between the two has even been seen as inherent (Schaefer 2014). To better understand the idea of this contradiction, three aspects will serve as examples: The development of the concept of organizational creativity, the innovation literature and the dark side of creativity.

Creativity as a research field has its' roots in the field of psychology, and has often been studied as the characteristics or capacities of individuals (Mumford and Simonton 1997, Drazin et al. 1999, Andriopoulos 2001, Kurtzberg and Amabile 2001, Hargadon and Bechky 2006, Dul and Ceylan 2011). Examples of creative individuals include Einstein (Runco 2004), Picasso and Steve Jobs (Montuori 2018), who indicate two characteristics often associated with creative individuals: They work alone and they are men (Styhre 2013, Pecis 2016, Montuori 2018). However, creativity has also been described as a generic, mundane and fundamental feature of all human life (Farías and Wilkie 2015). Creativity is a core element of life giving meaning to existence (Styhre 2013: 76-82), and what makes anyone (a)live: the creative impulse is "necessary if an artist is to produce a work of art, but also as something that is present when *anyone* – baby, child, adolescent, adult, old man or woman – looks in a healthy way at anything or does anything deliberately" (Winnicott 1971: 69, italics in original). Something fundamentally human is attributed to creativity: it comes from humans, and it is the force that ignites and sustains human life, both adding to

the imperative that creativity is wanted and needed in order for organizations to survive, and explaining that all healthy human beings are capable of it. The list "29 ways to stay creative" at the beginning of this chapter is a materialisation of research on creativity as an individual characteristic. It is a how-to list directed at individuals: It consists mainly of actions that individuals can do. Organizational creativity, on the other hand, is a stream of research looking at creativity from the organization's perspective (Csikszentmihalyi and Sawyer 1995, Oldham and Cummings 1996, Agars et al. 2011, De Paoli et al. 2017), and mostly focusing on the relationship between the individual and the organizational context. Organizational research has shown that the creative climate is an antecedent of organizational creativity, with the organizational context being able to foster individual creativity (Woodman et al. 1993, Amabile et al. 1996, Agars et al. 2011, Bissola and Imperatori 2011, Anderson et al. 2014). This way of researching organizational creativity builds up a tension between on the one hand the individual who is (or is not) creative, at his/her own discretion or capacity, and on the other hand the organization that can be organized in a way to either stimulate or depress the creativity of the individuals. It is a tension between individual agency and organizational control. The content of the "29 ways to stay creative" list in the office thus highlights one tension between organizing and being creative underpinning much research on organizational creativity: individuals are creative, and the organization sets the conditions that determine if people will exert creative effort or not.

The tension between organizing and being creative can also be found in the division between creativity and innovation. Innovation is commonly viewed as process with several stages, whereby creativity is seen as the first step of innovation, and innovation is the actual transformation from idea into profitable or useable objects (Perry-Smith and Mannucci 2017). The creative process has been distinguished from the implementation process by distinguishing between divergent and convergent thought processes (Runco 2004, Miron-Spektor and Erez 2017): During the first step, the aim is to create as many ideas as possible (divergence) and to then, during the second stage, select these and move closer to a final product (convergence), which is the end result of the innovation process. In such as view, where creativity is the first stage towards innovation, the first stage is believed to benefit from less organizing, whereas the latter, more organizing. The division between idea generation and implementation is widely accepted, but not undisputed (Reckwitz 2017/2012), for various reasons. Firstly, the importance of separating the two is questionable since creativity, for its own sake, holds little value for a business organization (Agars et al. 2011). Secondly, it is likely that the process of moving from creativity to innovation involves more phases than generation and implementation; e.g. there is also elaboration and championing (Perry-Smith and Mannucci 2017). A third

problem associated with conceptualizing creativity as idea generation, and innovation as idea implementation, is that it assumes a stage-like sequence. However, this is not often the case: During creative processes, the divergent and convergent moves are often iterative, cyclical and even concurrent (Anderson et al. 2014, Miron-Spektor and Erez 2017). While the division between creativity and innovation is well established in models describing innovation, it is not clear, consequently, how this boundary looks and where it actually lies in practice.

A third tension in organizational creativity research relates to the idea of newness and the challenges of the new versus the old, or current. One early example of this tension was given by Schumpeter (1943), who explained that, for something new to be born, something old has to die. This is described as creative destruction: A creative idea potentially has the power to replace, or kill, something already existing. Such examples can be found in the world of technology, for instance, where we have become accustomed to new technology replacing old technology: The CD replaced vinyl records, the mobile phone replaced the landline and so forth. Therefore, one consequence of a new technology is that, while it creates new job opportunities, it is also likely to make other jobs obsolete. There are thus unpredictable organizational consequences of creation. The unpredictability of creativity is sometimes referred to as the "dark side of creativity" (McLaren 1993, Jeanes 2006): It is unlikely that we will be able to foresee all the possible consequences of a new idea. For instance, new technology can be used for unintended purposes (e.g. nuclear power being used to create the atomic bomb) or have unintended consequences (e.g. the environmental impact of cars). Runco (2010) argues that there is no dark side of creativity because, like any other concept, it can be used for good or evil: A hammer is not evil in itself although it can be used for evil purposes. Still, the uncertainty regarding the consequences of a new idea is a reason why people in organizations often prefer *less* creative ideas over *more* creative ones (Mueller et al. 2012). The more novel an idea is, the more uncertainty there will be regarding its usefulness (Mueller et al. 2012, Miron-Spektor and Erez 2017). This relates back to the definition of creativity as something new *and* useful: If something is new, it may be difficult to identify as useful, while if something is useful, it may not necessarily be very creative (Blomberg 2014, 2016) or new (Smith et al. 2017). People coming up with new ideas also experience resistance and are more exposed to conflicts than others (Anderson and Gasteiger 2007) since they tend to break the rules and act in a way that may seem counterproductive in the eyes of colleagues. This is especially true in situations that involve (mis)using organizational resources for non-sanctioned tasks, or when a whole body of (soon to be potentially outdated) knowledge, craft, or profession is threatened through the creative destruction that accompanies creation. The creative, being

new, thus also poses threats to the status-quo: Things may have to change as a consequence of the new, and it may not only change to the better for everyone in the organization.

The notion of a contradiction between what is creative and new, on the one hand, and what is known and business-as-usual, on the other, has led to a field of research investigating ambidexterity. An organization is ambidextrous when it is capable of "simultaneously exploiting existing competencies and exploring new opportunities" (Raisch et al. 2009: 685), meaning that it is able to combine its capacity to be creative with staying efficient. The idea underpinning this is the division an organization makes between *exploration* and *exploitation* activities (March 1991). An organization needs to perform both: It needs exploration in order to find new possibilities (innovations) and it needs exploitation in order to secure short-term revenues and utilise current knowledge and certainties efficiently. The ambidexterity literature describes how firms manage the balance between exploitation tasks and exploration tasks by separating them in different ways (Benner and Tushman 2003, Gupta et al. 2006, Raisch et al. 2009, Wikhamn et al. 2016). This makes distinctions between different kinds of work: i.e. work that has a creative and explorative aim and work that has a predictable and exploitative aim. However, another possible approach to investigating the tensions between the different realities or distinct worlds of companies exists; i.e. using a constructivist approach. Firstly, such an approach makes it possible to question the dominant and rather normative way of viewing creativity as something that exists in people and which organizations can stimulate or depress. Secondly, it makes it possible to re-assess the almost taken-for-granted tension between organizing and creating.

1.2 Constructing creativity

Several researchers have started to build an alternative and more constructivist approach to studying creativity in organizations. Using the terminology of Burell and Morgan (1979), Styhre and Sundgren (2005) as well as Taylor and Callahan (2005) have explained that most research on organizational creativity has taken a functionalist perspective, calling for more interpretative approaches. More recently, Fortwengel et al. (2017) have stated that most research on creativity, as an organizational phenomenon, has been dominated by variance theorizing, looking at creativity as a variable that can be affected by other variables and can in turn affect even more variables. They have called for more processual theorizing and practice research, i.e. research that "considers structures not as fixed, but as *enacted*, i.e. coming to life only through the way in which actors draw on them in their agency" (p. 10, italics in original). De Paoli et al. (2017) criticize the idea that creativity can be affected by the context and suggest a change of focus: "Creativity is something that people do rather than a planned

quality of the physical place" (p. 17), while Stark (2009) puts it like this: "Innovative ideas are not 'out there' in the environment of the group. Instead of waiting to be found, they must be generated" (p.17). Such alternative approaches to the creativity of organizations have been labelled as "a new wave of scholarship" (Thompson 2018: 232), which changes the ontological perspective of creativity. Instead of viewing organizational creativity as an object which is shaped through the context, scholars in the new wave view organizational creativity as a "process of engagement in creative acts", meaning that organizational creativity is viewed as an "*emergent, embedded, enacted* and *distributed* phenomenon existing 'in-between' people, objects and places" (p. 230, italics in original). Taking such a constructivist approach means viewing creativity in terms of emerging through the actions of people, with authors in the *new wave* of organizational creativity research having started to unpack the black box of how creativity is constructed by the people of an organization, instead of researching how to best organize creativity.

Researchers have in this way been able to question the idea of a tension between organizing and being creative. Sonenshein (2016) has described how the familiar, stable and routine can facilitate creative outcomes and Cohendet and Simon (2016) have shown how routines can stabilise conflicting views between creativity and control. Fortwengel et al. (2017) have described how stability may, in fact, be a prerequisite of the creation of something new, and they suggest seeing the paradoxes of creativity in organizations as a duality, i.e mutually constituent, rather than contradictory. Also Slavich and Svejenova (2016) suggest studying the dualities in organizational creativity. In a smiliar vein, Miron-Spektor and Erez (2017), by showing the myriad of paradoxes that surround creative work, have explained that it is necessary to embrace paradox in order to fully manage creativity and organizing. Another author who also speaks about the contradictions of organizational creativity in a positive way rather than as a problem that needs to be mitigated is Stark (2009). Organizations can foster the "productive friction that disrupts organizational taken-for-granteds, generates new knowledge, and makes possible the redefinition, redeployment, and recombination" (Stark 2009: 19) by keeping multiple evaluative principles in play simultaneously. The dissonance that occurs when "diverse, even antagonistic, performance principles overlap" (p. 27) helps organizations to stay creative. Organizations that manage to take advantage of the paradoxes, do not see the boundaries within these organizations as fixed, which suggests that, in staying creative, organizations have a constant, or at least continuous, boundary setting and modification process that is ongoing between contradictory activities or principles (ibid). The idea that contradictions spur creativity has also been described by others, for instance Harvey (2014) showed that when conflicting perspectives are integrated, a new creative synthesis can be

reached, and Gond et al. (2015) showed that the clash between different worldviews favours creativity and innovation.

Hjort (2004) asks whether creativity can be managed at all, given that the role of management is to regulate the work of employees and align them with the strategic direction of the organization or unit, with creativity being the opposite. He describes organizing creativity in terms of an interaction between management and employees where management sets up boundaries and limits, which employees can then challenge, test and break: "Although officially marginalized, relocated into 'sunday-culture' or art, passion is continuously disturbing managerial control" (p. 427). Ortmann and Sydow (2017) and Fortwengel et al. (2017) also address the issue of whether creativity be organized *at all*? Creativity cannot be aimed for directly: it is like "willing what cannot be willed" (Elster 1983:44 in Ortmann and Sydow 2017:4). This is because the intended state cannot be anticipated: It involves searching for something without knowing what it is, and also because creative ideas can emerge anywhere and at any time (De Paoli et al. 2017).

While research have opened up alternative ways to understand the tension between organizing and being creative, these studies still confirm that this tension exists. What switches is whether the tension is understood as a problem that needs to be mitigated (through for instance ambidexterity or by dividing innovation into a creative phase and an implementation phase) or whether it is mutually constitutive (i.e. creativity needs organization and stability, and organization needs creativity and flexibility). One consequence of a constructivist research inquiry is that the boundaries between the different worlds of organized work, versus the world where people are creative, can be readdressed. Perhaps the rational-efficient way to organize creativity into certain spaces and times and assigning it to certain people (in the innovation or R&D departments) is no longer relevant; other models, that allow creativity to be emergent, embedded and unpredictable, are possible. While this study attempts to make a constructivist readdressing of the tension between organizing and being creative by not assuming it exists, thus allowing for other conceptualizations of what the tensions are when organizing creativity, it also focuses on a different conception of organizational creativity than most previous research: everyday creativity.

1.3 Uncreative outcomes

While some studies open up the black box of how creativity is constructed, and suggest viewing the paradoxes surrounding organizations' creativity in new ways, they have also chosen to look at a certain category of creativity construction: i.e. the successful one. Examples of this relate to the vast amount of research done on the organizing processes in the creative context, e.g. creative industries

(Tuori and Vilén 2011, Harvey 2014, Koppman 2014, Cohendet and Simon 2016, De Paoli et al. 2017, Kraft 2018, Thompson 2018) or creative projects (Hargadon and Bechky 2006, Andersen and Kragh 2015). Additionally, studies that were not conducted in an empirical setting that was considered creative use the output-centred definition by looking at routines in relation to creative outcomes (Sonenshein 2016), or by analysing studies of creative outcomes (Miron-Spektor and Erez 2017).

One explanation for this situation is the way creativity is usually defined. Most definitions of organizational creativity include the idea that it involves delivering something new and useful. Two frequently quoted definitions are: "the production of novel and useful ideas in any domain" of Amabile et al. (1996: 1155) and "the creation of a valuable, useful new product, service, idea, procedure, or process" of Woodman et al. (1993: 239). Other definitions of creativity as an organizational phenomenon exist, but they seldom move away from the focus on novel and useful outcomes (Chen 2012, Blomberg 2014). The consequence of such an outcome-based definition is that, if an endeavour has failed to deliver a creative result, then creativity as a phenomenon does not exist and cannot thus be studied: "Outcome-based definitions imply that organizational creativity does not exist unless there is an outcome or an output of some kind that could be considered novel and useful" (Blomberg 2014: 940). If creativity is imperative and essential for organisations' survival, it follows that it should be constantly ongoing within organizations (Styhre 2006). Looking only at the production of creative outcomes means that research has so far overlooked a potentially vast part of the creativity enactments taking place on an everyday basis in organizations: i.e. creativity enactments that do not deliver outcomes that are recognizable as creative. Since the omnipresent creativity chase will also affect work and organizing in situations where no creative outcomes are being produced, it is important to also study *attempts* at creativity, regardless of the creative success of the outcomes.

1.4 This study

We now know a great deal about how to achieve organizational creativity, and that there are some kinds of tensions relating to the stability required of an efficient organization and the dynamism required of a creative organization. Using concepts such as duality (Sonenshein 2016, Fortwengel et al. 2017), paradox (Miron-Spektor and Erez 2017, Kraft 2018), heterarchy (Stark 2009), and ambidexterity (Wikhamn et al. 2016), researchers have started to unravel the complex interactions between the tensions surrounding organizational creativity. What is still relatively unknown, however, is what people do when they try to be creative in practice in an organization.

The current study aligns with those viewing creativity as constructed through practice, by looking into the actual day-to-day work of an organization. It treats organizational creativity as something that people bring alive through their actions. The aim is to *understand how efforts to organize creativity unfold in practice* at a high-tech firm. As such, this study contributes to our understanding of how creativity is realized and 'brought (in)to work' at large, established, former manufacturing firms.

To study creativity in practice and the tensions coming with it, I will use French pragmatism, more specifically the concept of *orders of worth,* as a theoretical lens (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006/1991). The concept of orders of worth helps to analyse how different competing, or conflicting, rationalities are handled in practice in an organization, by focusing on the different ways in which controversies are solved, through, for instance, compromises, truces and tests (Dansou and Langley 2012, Potthast 2017). It explains how stability is achieved, even if only temporarily, in pluralistic contexts, with opposite or competing rationalities present (Reinecke et al. 2017). The concept of orders of worth is complemented by another analytical tool in this study, i.e. *boundary work*, to help operationalise orders of worth. Boundaries are the borders between elements that are viewed as different in some way (Hernes 2004, Akkerman and Bakker 2011) and boundary work is the work people engage in that produces or dissolves a boundary (Gieryn 1983, Zietsma and Lawrence 2010, Bucher and Langley 2016), e.g. between contradictory processes or competing priorities. By zooming in on boundary work, the way in which the tensions of creativity in an organization play out can be addressed. This not only provides a more detailed way to understand how orders of worth are juggled, negotiated and contested in practice, than has hitherto been discovered; it also provides a more detailed understanding of the implications of organizations' desire for and fascination with creativity in practice.

1.5 Outline of the thesis

First, the theoretical and analytical tools are presented (Chapter 2 *Theoretical framework*). The two theoretical anchors, orders of worth and boundary work, are initially presented separately, and then, in the final section of this chapter, they are brought together. There is discussion of how they fit as well as how they can enrich each other. Next, the methodological choices are presented (Chapter 3 *Methodology*). This presents the studied setting and the process of collecting the empirical material, as well as the process of analysis and theorizing. Thereafter, the findings are presented in four empirical chapters which explain how creativity unfolds in practice at the firm through various boundary work processes. Chapter 4 *Creating spaces* describes the effort management made to increase creativity in the organization, where creative

work would take place at certain places and times. The following three empirical chapters, on the other hand, describe the effort made by the employees, who believed something else was needed. Chapter 5 *Creating change* focuses on how the people in the organization constructed the creativity challenge and what kinds of actions were taken to change the course set out in current strategies. In Chapter 6 *Creating structures,* a specific creativity-enhancing structure, a creativity team, is described and how this team differed from other teams is addressed. Chapter 7 *Creating activities*, describes the creativity-increasing effort that the Creativity team carried out. The findings are then discussed (Chapter 8 *Discussion*) in relation to orders of worth and organizational creativity research, with boundary work between the orders of worth being discussed. The thesis ends with a *Conclusion* (Chapter 9), where the findings are connected to the aim of the thesis, and where the contributions are presented and future research is suggested.

2 Theoretical framework

To understand how efforts to organize creativity unfold in practice, this study uses two different theoretical anchors: i.e. orders of worth and boundary work. These two theoretical frameworks are used in order to complement each other. The concept of orders of worth opens up the possibility of a different understanding of the tension between "organizing" and "creativity", while boundary work helps to uncover the dynamics of the tensions and how these play out in practice. The two frameworks are first presented separately and then, in the final section of this chapter, they are brought together.

2.1 Orders of worth

Orders of worth, also known as French pragmatist sociology, is a school of thought that studies the actions which individuals engage in during their search for a common good, i.e. in pursuit of what they consider just. Not all types of actions are covered: i.e. only those in which actors attempt to reach common agreement. This research programme was developed by Boltanski and Thévenot (2006/1991[2]; Boltanski 2009), and is useful for revealing the different competing or conflicting rationalities existing in organisations since it analyses the multiplicity of realities that coexist there (Denis et al. 2007, Jagd 2011, Cloutier and Langley 2013, Reinecke et al. 2017, Strauß 2018, Dionne et al. 2019). The aim is to bring out the moral principles (called the "higher common principles" by Boltanski and Thévenot) that individuals draw on in situations of controversy in order to reach agreement. From this perspective, when looking inside organizations, you find a myriad of conflicting actions and justifications: The

[2] The book was originally published in French in 1991, and only translated into English in 2006. I refer to the English version throughout this thesis; however, both years will be mentioned in order to retain clarity regarding the scholarly conversation.

same object, whether material or immaterial, and action can be useful *and* a waste, good *and* bad, necessary *and* obsolete.

The framework has been referred to using different names, e.g. *economies of worth* (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006/1991, Cloutier and Langley 2013, Gond et al. 2016), *convention/ conventionalist theory* or simply *conventions* (Biggart and Beamish 2003, Denis et al. 2007, Ponte 2016, Potthast 2017), *the sociology of critical capacity* (Guggenheim and Potthast 2012), *the sociology of critique* (Boltanski and Thévenot 1999, Boltanski, 2009, Taupin 2012, Jagd 2013, 2014), *the sociology of conventions and testing* (Potthast 2017), *orders of worth* (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006/1991, Patriotta et al. 2011, Thévenot 2014), *French pragmatist sociology* (Cloutier and Langley 2013, Boxenbaum 2014), *French pragmatic sociology* (Bénatouïl 1999, Jagd 2011), and sometimes only as *pragmatic sociology* (Boltanski 2009, Jagd 2011, Blokker 2011), although this may be confused with the American version of pragmatism[3]. Some of the references above have used more than one name when denoting the theory (even in the same publication), which is why some of the references are repeated. This multitude of ways of describing the theory can cause confusion among researchers; however, at the same time, this shows that the theory is alive both within the research community and within a variety of applications and discourses[4]. The reason for this myriad of denotations of the programme is that it was "crafted in a number of laboratories and drafted by an outstanding contributor [Luc Boltanski], it did not originally come with a proper name. It has since then been presented under various labels." (Potthast 2017: 339).

The reference to *conventions,* with which some authors have chosen to label their use of the framework, can be explained by these authors' focus on how to reach agreement, or how conventions are established, where contradictions are either mitigated or overcome. Choosing the label *sociology of critique* entails choosing to focus on the critical dimension of the theory – the critical capacity of people. The underlying assumption is that individuals want to perform actions that they can justify – they want to be able to withstand the test of critique (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006), and they have the capacity to question and critique the situation they find themselves in, and to act accordingly (Cloutier and Langley 2013, Jagd 2011). As such, *the sociology of critique* is not a critical form of sociology:

[3] For a comparison between French and (North-)American pragmatism, see Jagd (2011)

[4] Examples of fields include political ecology (Blok 2013), medical standard setting (Thévenot 2009), institutional logics (Cloutier and Langley 2013), institutional maintenance in the credit-rating industry (Taupin 2012), moral dilemmas (Reinecke et al. 2017, Demers and Gond 2019), sustainability controversy (Gond et al. 2016), and artistic practices (Thévenot 2014).

> A sociology which wants to study the critical operations performed by actors – a sociology of criticism taken as a specific object – must therefore give up (if only temporarily) the critical stance, in order to recognize the normative principles which underlie the critical activity of ordinary persons. If we want to take seriously the claims of actors when they denounce social injustice, criticize power relationships or unveil their foes' hidden motives, we must conceive of them as endowed with an ability to differentiate legitimate and illegitimate ways of rendering criticisms and justifications. (Boltanski and Thévenot 1999: 364)

The framework is not critical; rather it allows the studying of critique and justification in creativity and innovation as they are practiced in an organization. Each action can be justified or criticized in many different ways, because different *worlds* exist.

2.1.1 Worlds and orders of worth

In each world, a different set of principles guides which actions, individuals or objects are to varying degrees worthy. These principles order the worth of different entities: Thus, these worlds are sometimes referred to as different *orders of worth* where "[e]ach order of worth involves a higher common principle which provides criteria for making comparisons and judging whether someone or something is worthy or not"(Reinecke et al. 2017: 47). The worth governing each order is the "actors' preoccupation with the good" (Thévenot 2001a:67), meaning that there is a conception of what is good within each world. The terms world and order of worth can be used interchangeably (Dionne et al. 2019).

Boltanski and Thévenot (2006/1991) present six different worlds: i.e. the inspired world, the domestic world, the world of fame, the civic world, the industrial world, and the market world. In the *inspired* world, the principal ordering worth is inspiration, creativity and passion. A higher order of worth is attributed to the bizarre, the unusual, the disturbing, and the exciting. The most worthy people are artists, children, monsters, fairies, and madmen, while worthy objects are dreams, minds, bodies, and the unconscious. The *domestic* world is ruled by a chain of dependence, hierarchy and tradition. Worth is based on wisdom, trustworthiness, faithfulness and individual sacrifice. The most worthy subjects are fathers, kings, parents, grownups, leaders, with the objects being proper behaviour, rank, title, gifts, and flowers. In the world of *fame*, what matters is celebrity and public opinion. What bestows a higher order of worth is reputation, success, and visibility, with the worthy subjects being famous personalities, opinion moulders, spokespersons, and journalists. Worthy objects are brands, campaigns, press, interviews, and brochures. The *civic* world is based on anonymous solidarity, with worthiness depending on your public agency to

represent the collective. Worthy subjects are parties, federations, committees, elected officials, delegates, and members, while worthy objects are legislation, orders, courts, formalities, policies, slogans, and statements. In the *industrial* world, the important principles are efficiency and productivity, with worthiness being achieved through reliability and predictability. The most worthy people are professionals and specialists, with worthy objects being tools, tasks, goals, means, criteria, factors and space. In the *market* world, the rule is competition, with worthiness being based on the capacity to activate market relationships and to be a winner. Worthy people are businessmen, salesmen, and clients, while worthy objects are wealth and luxury items. A *project-oriented* world has been added by Chiapello and Boltanski (2005), as well as a *green* order of worth by Lafaye and Thévenot (1993, in Thévenot 2001bb), showing that the six original worlds may not be complete and absolute.

In organizations, different orders of worth coexist (Stark 2009:19) because organizations operate in several spheres (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006/1991, Taupin 2012, Gond et al. 2015, Potthast 2017). Organizations can thus be viewed as "*assemblages that include arrangements deriving from different worlds*" (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006/1991: 18), something which causes clashes since each order of worth is in a "critical relation with all the other" orders of worth (Thévenot 2001a:410). A firm, at its core, is a device that compromises between the *industrial* and the *market* orders of worth, according to Thévenot (2001a: 411). The market/industrial compromise "lies at the very heart of a business enterprise" (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006/1991: 332) since the purpose of a firm is to maximise revenues and to win when competing against other firms (market worth). As the market is unpredictable and changes over time, it becomes difficult to achieve the highest worth of the industrial order: i.e. to specialise and standardise in order to maximise efficiency through economies of scale.

In companies that are legally obliged to maximise shareholder dividends, it is important to maximise efficiency in order to minimise costs. At the same time, it is also important to bring new and innovative products to market in order to retain sales levels. This is why the inspirational order of worth is also important in organizations. In the *inspirational world*, worth rests on imagination, creativity, passion and independent recognition by others. The bizarre, the unusual, and the exciting are highly worthy. In order to come up with new ideas and innovations, firms need to engage in the inspirational world too, something which, on the other hand, clashes with the necessity to produce efficiently. Creativity teaches people to dream, to be intuitive and to stop thinking about being efficient, useful, rational, and logical (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006/1991: 303). Therefore, the industrial and inspirational orders of worth clash: Passion and efficiency work against each other (Strauß 2018).

Seeing that an organization exists in different worlds, or that different worlds exist within one organization, means that the people within an organization have to move through different situations where different principles of justice apply (Denis et al. 2007, Gond et al. 2015):

> A person must – in order to act in a normal way – be able to shift, during the space of one day or even one hour, between situations which are relevant in relation to different forms of equivalence …. It follows that the persons must have the ability to ignore or to forget, when they are in a given situation, the principles on which they have grounded their justifications in the other situations in which they have been involved. (Boltanski and Thévenot, 1999: 365)

In brief, the theory "focuses on actors' creativity, inventiveness and social intelligence" (Taupin 2012: 531) and assumes that people are both aware of different orders of worth and able to use them reflexively (Gond and Leca 2012). This has been shown, for instance, in the study of Oldenhof, Postma and Putters (2014), where managers have to engage in justification work with a plurality of values, and need to achieve many varieties of goodness (because there is not just one good).

In situations of controversy between different common goods[5], actors use material or symbolic objects to justify their action, also qualifying and ordering objects and people. The choice of object and argument will depend on which order of worth they are calling on. For instance, what is "worthy" in the industrial world is having an efficient nature: Somebody who is inefficient will be considered "unworthy" in this world. In the inspired world, worth will depend on the capacity to be creative and inspired, while being "down-to-earth" will correspond to a form of degeneracy (Taupin, 2012). Justification is created in a specific relationship and context, and no worth can be attributed to any entity in absolute terms. When actions are criticised, they are subjected to what Boltanski and Thévenot (2006) refer to as *tests*.

2.1.2 The test - justification and critique interplay

When a controversy arises, a moment of test takes place. Tests take the form of a justification or a public critique: Actors who criticise other actors have to justify their criticism and actors who are criticized need to justify their actions, using the same rules of acceptability (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006/1991, Jagd 2011). This means, for instance, that you cannot say: "I don't agree with you because I don't like your face" (Boltanski and Thévenot 1999: 360). Criticism may be internal to one world or come from a different world (Boltanski and

[5] This refers to the adjective and adverb *good*, not goods as material objects in plural.

Thévenot, 1999). Tests that come from within one order can be *reality tests,* whereby what exists is compared with what is claimed to exist (Boltanski 2011: 103-110). Blokker (2011) refers to this test as corrective or reformist critique, coming from within a given world and aiming to perfect the same. It is a reflexive move towards the testing device itself, a test of "state of worth" (Dansou and Langley 2012, Gond et al. 2016) where the appropriateness and correctness of the principles applied are questioned. An example of this kind of test can be the following: "Our organization says creativity is important, but are we given the conditions to be creative?" This question compares the claimed reality with the real reality and takes place within one order. This test can either strengthen or shake the current state of affairs (e.g. Taupin 2012); the answer can be either "Yes, we are given the right conditions" thereby re-affirming status-quo, or the answer may be "No" which may instigate a change to status-quo.

Existential tests, on the other hand, come from another world, and question the claimed reality itself (Boltanski 2011: 103-110). In Blokker's (2011) terms, this is called radical critique and arises when one world directs critique at the order within another world. This is thus a test between orders of worth. External critique provokes existential tests: i.e. which criteria to use when justifying an action. An example here would be asking whether measuring patents is the appropriate way to evaluate creativity, or questioning whether creativity is essential for market success. These are tests of "order of worth" (Dansou and Langley 2012) or "tests of worth" (Gond et al. 2016), also referred to as "qualification" (Dionne et al. 2019), questioning the appropriateness of the order being used for determining what is worthy in a situation. Existential tests are possible because people exist in a plurality of worlds, but this is also the most difficult form of critique. This critique is often called "subjective", making it possible to deny and disqualify or ridicule it. Therefore, this type of critique is often expressed through poetry and other forms of art (Blokker 2011, Boltanski 2011).

The worth of each element (human or thing) needs to be evaluated within its own world (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006/1991: 228). Therefore, it is difficult to compare elements between different worlds: In an organization, the contribution made by a creative person (worthy in the inspirational world) cannot be compared to the contribution made by an efficient person (worthy in the industrial world), just as it is not clear how to compare apples with oranges without building a "bridge" of "equivalence" (Thévenot 2001a). A situation whereby items from different worlds are compared to each other, and no adequate test for making that comparison can be agreed upon, perpetuates the controversy and thus it evolves into a *clash*: i.e. a dispute over which higher good to work towards (p. 223ff.). According to the theory, clashes need to be

resolved, and either a new situation is reached (through, for instance, compromise or change) or the old situation is reinforced and stabilized (Thévenot 2001a, Taupin 2012).

People drawing on worths from another order are engaging in the "transport of one world into another" (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006/1991: 221). According to the framework, the transport of worth or the transport of deficiency are actions that people take when wanting to claim the inadequacy of a test. If a person has unfairly benefitted from a privilege, or suffered from some kind of handicap in a test situation, worths from other orders may be claimed in order to level things out and provide equity. An example of this is anonymizing student exams so that nobody can benefit from family connections or reputation (transport of worth), or not punishing an employee despite his/her late arrival for work because s/he is a single parent with a sick child (transport of deficiency). In the first case, the transport of worth from the world of fame into the civic world is hindered, and, in the second, the deficiency of worth in the industrial world is mitigated by the transport of deficiency in the domestic world.

Yet another way of seeing critical moments is as a *state*, or *mode*. Actors can alternate between a *state* of 'eyes closed' and 'eyes open' (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006: 232). While relying on the existing modes of governing, trusting that agreements are followed, things move along as they should, actors have their eyes closed. They may be aware that something may not be functioning as it should; however, their eyes are shut, and things proceed as usual. When actors are reflexive and uneasy, they are in 'eyes open' mode (Hansen 2016). The two different modes can also be called quiet periods and periods of questioning (Dansou and Langley 2012). During a quiet period, people close their eyes and engage uncritically in what they are doing. A period of questioning, on the other hand, is when testing takes place.

In organizational creativity, paradoxes are inevitable (Gond et al. 2015, Potthast 2017, Reinecke et al. 2017, Strauß 2018), perhaps even being inherent and essential (Walker 2011, Schaefer 2014, Fortwengel et al. 2017, Miron-Spektor and Erez 2017, Ortmann and Sydow 2017, Kraft 2018), or at least stimulating creativity (Stark 2009, Harvey 2014, Gond et al. 2015). As such, different orders of worth are surely in play in struggles and clashes when creativity efforts unfold in an organization, which makes the theory *fit* with the phenomenon under study. What the theory can *contribute* to the study of organizational creativity is that it can provide a more nuanced perspective on the tensions and the paradoxical understanding of organizing creativity. It can help to answer questions like: Is it "organizing" and "creativity" that lie at the heart of the paradox, or are there other layers in the tension? However, the ability of the

theory to capture *phenomena in practice* has also been questioned in previous research.

2.1.3 Orders of worth and practice

The theoretical lens allows us to see how different justifications have withstood different critiques, or how they have altered as a consequence of critique. Examples include the role of routines and conventional practice in maintaining order in the economy (Biggart and Beamish, 2003), how capitalism has evolved between the nineteenth century and 1995 (Boltanski and Chiapello, 2005), the increased level of governance through standards in contemporary society (Thévenot 2009), how a controversy over nuclear power plants changes and stabilizes public opinion on nuclear power (Patriotta et al., 2011), and why and how the credit-rating industry has resisted change faced with massive criticism following economic crises (Taupin, 2012). These are all examples of the theory as a tool for identifying mobilization on a large scale; how society as a whole has changed – or resisted change.

When using the theory in the organizational context, however, studies have been criticized for not being able to capture action sufficiently close-up. Reviewing over 30 empirical papers, Jagd (2011) found that there was a lack of descriptions of the processes of justification, critiques and compromise. Instead, the majority of the reviewed papers used a synchronic perspective: They identified and described co-existing orders of worth. Taupin (2012) asked for studies that increase insights into how the justification-critique-interplay unfolds in action: "The practical process by which actors draw upon several contradictory rationales to shape the social order remains obscure" (p. 530). Likewise, Potthast (2017) called for studies that assess "how controversial situations unfold in vivo" (p. 337). Both Stark (2009) and Navarro-Aguiar (2017) problematize the difficulty of orders of worth in order to provide explanations of actions in a sufficiently close-up manner, i.e. being unable to open up the black box of negotiation processes. This claim, that there is a lack of close up, action studies, of the justification and critique processes, is accompanied by a critique of the theory for not being able to capture action accurately. Kornberger et al. (2015), for instance, wrote that French pragmatism studies the co-existence and collisions of the different orders of worth, "[b]ut, *how* that which we value has become valuable remains inside a black box" (p.8, italics in original). This view may be the result of the stabilizing focus of this theoretical approach: What is at the centre of the analysis is how agreement and stability are achieved more than how diverse perspectives are kept alive and in constant controversy (Stark 2009) - which lies at the heart of heterarchical organizations, for instance. Potthast (2017) explains this situation as a consequence of lacking a founding piece of ethnographic research combined with being introduced as a

"sociology of critique", which has drawn attention away from the theory's contribution to the study of practice. Until understanding the practice perspective of the theory becomes more widespread, the theory will wrongfully be criticized for being either idealistic or structuralist (p. 353-4).

Other authors, on the other hand, chose the theory to analyse actions on the micro level because of its fine-grained attention to practice and action, using it to explore the multiplicity of rationalities and controversies involved in the life of an organization. Examples of this include how one world dominates or beats another world (Boivin and Roch, 2006), how managers deal with conflicting values and solidify justifications through material arrangements (Oldenhof et al. 2014) or through strategy documents (Daigle and Rouleau 2010), organizational novelty and resistance to change (Jagd, 2013), gender and legitimacy in family business succession (Gherardi and Perrotta 2016), how orders of worth can guide action (Mailhot and Langley 2017), and be used to achieve legitimacy in morally-complex situations (Reinecke et al. 2017). Some even call it a *sociology of action* (Bénatouïl 1999, Boltanski 2011), or a *practice theory* (Potthast 2017), while one group of authors has tried to bridge orders of worth using institutional theory aimed at, among other things, increasing the understanding of agency and action in institutional theory (Dansou and Langley 2012, Gond and Leca 2012, Cloutier and Langley 2013, Boxenbaum 2014, Brandl et al. 2014). These authors all highlight the value of the theory when it comes to analysing the nitty-gritty details of compromising, tests, justification and critique, with some also moving away from a general, societal level, closer to the actions and practices; the hands on activities mobilizing or stabilizing the current social order.

These opposing claims, i.e. that orders of worth are useful when it comes to *unveiling* action or that action is *black boxed* within the theory, may be related to two issues concerning the methodologies employed in previous studies. First, studies using orders of worth in organizations have been dominated by studies of discourses: in newspapers (Patriotta et al. 2011, Gond et al. 2016), in books (Boivin and Roch 2006), in public consultation comments (Taupin 2012), and in company-internal documentation (Jagd 2011). All these studies are based on written texts, and have not studied the action through which the texts were created. Publishing a document is also an action in itself. However, the work that precedes publishing is not seen: The published material is a result of a justification/critique dance. Studying the publication only captures the rhetorical moves between opposing views in printed media, not the justification/critique dance of constructing the argument which leads to the printed text. Other studies, on the other hand, have been based on interviews. Gherardi and Perotta (2016) interviewed female family business successors, while Oldenhof et al. (2014) interviewed and shadowed managers in public health care. Interviews cannot give the researcher full access to the reality of the informant: the account

in the interview may be filtered by elements such as memory, impression management, performativity, and power relations etc. Only the latter study includes action through shadowing, in order to capture justification and to critique interaction between managers and significant others. Nevertheless, the study focused on words (spoken in this case), and no other actions. As such, several operationalisations in the organizational setting have been about dialogue and discourses, which is an action in itself, but one which does not capture the full range of actions taking place in an organization, leaving other researchers asking for more close-up accounts of actions.

Second, as researchers go down in their level of analysis, closer to the practice, the agreement concerning the common good disappears, rendering the framework less useful. This relates to the first point: Perhaps studying discourses has been the most feasible operationalisation of the theory because it reflects the view of the common good, and is more stable and unified than actions in practices. However, French pragmatism does not see disputes as merely a matter of language (Boltanski and Thévenot 1999) and nor is it a tool for categorising discourses: It studies the dynamics of agreement, the process of adjustment that actors engage in, and the formation of more or less stable worlds (Taupin 2012).

To conclude, the concept of orders of worth is used in this study to pave the way for the possibility of a different understanding of the contradiction between "organizing" and "creativity". However, to help shed light on the dynamics during the justification and critique processes, as they unfold in an organization and go beyond discursive action, this study draws on input from another organizational research field: i.e. *boundary work*.

2.2 Boundary work

Boundaries separate sets of things that are considered different, and make distinctions between people, objects, practices, time and space (Lamont and Molnár 2002, Oldenhof et al. 2016). They may also be found wherever there is "a socio-cultural difference leading to discontinuity in action or interaction" (Akkerman and Bakker 2011: 133). As such, boundaries also exist between orders of worth, where different people, objects and practices are viewed as worthy. *Boundary work* is work carried out that results in a boundary, i.e. any action taken on a boundary, e.g. creating, maintaining, altering or dissolving: It is through boundary work that boundaries "come to life" (Stjerne and Svejenova 2016:1774). What happens at boundaries, according to orders of worth, can be conceptualized as clashes, tests and compromises. Looking at orders of worth using a boundary work lens, on the other hand, introduces a more dynamic perspective. It draws attention to what happens *between* the different worlds and what is salient is the negotiation processes at boundaries. Therefore, the notion

of boundary work can help us to understand how relationships between orders of worth are managed and how boundaries between orders of worth are created, maintained, strengthened, made more porous or broken down. It can help us to study the interaction between orders of worth close-up and in practice.

Boundary work is the "strategies, principles and practices that we use to create, maintain and modify cultural categories. It is the never-ending, hands-on, largely visible process through which classificatory boundaries are negotiated by individuals" (Nippert-Eng 1996: 564). Boundaries appear while people go about doing what they do: They are a consequence of work and they are continuously ongoing. This places boundary work at the heart of organizations: "[A]n organization emerges through the process of drawing distinctions, and it persists through the reproduction of boundaries". As such, "boundary setting is intrinsic to the very process of organizing" (Hernes 2004: 10). The question does not concern whether boundaries exist or not but "how and where people draw" them (Barley and Kunda 2001: 78). Since boundary work is constantly ongoing, the resulting boundaries are too: Boundaries are constantly being constructed and reconstructed (Hernes 2004), continuously changing shape and form (Oldenhof et al. 2016) and they are fluid (Whitford and Zirpoli 2014). This happens because, over time, any system of categories will generate residual categories: i.e. that which does not fit into any category (Star 2010), meaning that new boundaries will need to be made. Another reason why boundaries are continuously being worked is that, as people cross them, they learn something: They learn something new about one practice by engaging in a different one (Akkerman and Bakker 2009). Nippert-Eng (1996) compares boundary work to the work of sculpting: Just as an artist shapes the object that becomes the sculpture, people carve out both the categories and the relationships between the categories. This analogy helps us to visualise the process of boundary work; however, while the sculpture will be finished at some point, people's boundary work is never finished: "[B]oundary work can be stabilized but never completed" (Lindberg et al., 2017:82). In a similar way, the tension between orders of worth is never completely resolved (Reinecke et al. 2017), with work going on continuously where the orders of worth clash.

Two important aspects of boundary work are: The *context* (where the boundary is to be found) and how boundary work is *performed* (what happens to the boundary).

2.2.1 Contexts of boundary work

Boundary work can take place in different contexts, i.e. there are different boundaries that can be worked. One group of studies has focused on the boundary work *between different professions or bodies of knowledge*, showing how boundaries are created between knowledge areas and professions, and the

struggle over the legitimacy to set the agenda, or claim ownership over a field of knowledge/technology. Examples include Gieryn's (1983) study of how science has demarcated itself from non-science through the expansion of authority or expertise, the monopolization of authority, and the protection of authority and autonomy. In a similar vein, Liao (2016) has described how different stakeholders negotiate and set the boundaries around an emerging technology over the course of time, using definitions that could include or exclude actors from the field. Fournier (2000) has developed the concept of the "labour of division" to denote the kind of work that goes into maintaining professional autonomy and authority; in her case, professionals vis-à-vis clients and other professionals, because there is a constantly ongoing struggle between professions and areas of expertise where the need exists to separate and engage in a process of othering (Akkerman and Bakker 2009).

Another boundary that is worked is the boundary *around* the organization. One example of this is how one organization relates to other organizations. This includes deciding what activities the organization should attend to and what activities it should outsource (Scott 2003), or the relationship between the firm and the market (Ellis and Ybema 2010). People working on this boundary have to manage the boundary between their home organization and other organizations. Examples of this include how marketing managers juggle different identities in different situations, both within and outside the company (Ellis and Ybema 2010), how collaboration across organizational boundaries is coordinated using modular product architecture (Whitford and Zirpoli 2014), and how managers working in inter-organizational cooperation use boundary objects and a boundary-transcending vocabulary (Oldenhof et al. 2016). The boundary around the organization is also created via a different kind of boundary work: i.e. that between home and work. The home/work boundary is a boundary that people in all occupations need to cross continuously (Kreiner et al. 2009), and can be constructed in different ways: Some people are integrators of the two, while others separate the two. Using one diary for both work and home, or separating the two spheres into two different diaries, are two ways of doing boundary work, whereby the former coordinates and the latter separates (Nippert-Eng 1996). Boundary work around the organization is also why determining the size of an organization is not a straightforward matter: The boundary determining where the organization starts and ends can be drawn in different ways (Hallin 2009).

Besides the studies of boundary work around organizational boundaries, there are also studies of boundary work *inside* the organization. Some of these focus on different hierarchies and jurisdictions. Here, middle managers are a popular unit of analysis since they find themselves in an in-between position. Studies have described how middle managers use boundary processes to align with

upward ranks and downward ranks (Oldenhof et al. 2016), and how middle managers experience the tension of being in-between ranks and dealing with both upward and downward relationships (Azambuja and Islam 2019). These studies show how people manage different contradictory demands and oscillate between different identities or roles several times a day. Along the same lines, people rooted in more than one culture have also been studied, as well as the way in which they translate meaning between different cultural contexts and flexibly adapt to different situations (Yagi and Kleinberg 2011) in a multi-national enterprise, and how temporary teams relate to the permanent organization in which they are embedded (Stjerne and Svejenova 2016).

Intra-organizational boundary work has also been fruitfully used to study boundaries between practices and professions. Boundaries delimit certain legitimate practices pertaining to one specific sphere rather than others (such as a team or a profession), meaning that each context has its legitimate practices, and that other practices are not easily accepted. Conversely, the practices of a certain context can support the boundaries with other groups: Through the practices, those not knowledgeable in the practice are kept out of the context (Zietsma and Lawrence 2010). However, when people from one context cross a boundary and bring their practices into a new context, practices may change (Zietsma and Lawrence 2010, Akkerman and Bakker 2011). Professional boundaries can transform into practice boundaries when various professions meet and collaborate in new practices (Lindberg et al. 2017), and practices can also transform as a consequence of the existence of a boundary, and the need to represent knowledge across boundaries (Barley 2015). There are, thus, different kinds of boundaries depending on the context being focused on. Boundary work can also be performed in various ways.

2.2.2 Performing boundary work

Many boundary work studies include various processes, and processes that work in different, sometimes opposite, ways. Perhaps the most basic boundary work process is that of *drawing*, i.e. demarcating difference or jurisdiction. Drawing boundaries implies maintaining or strengthening demarcation, being associated with protecting, segmenting and buffering (Nippert-Eng 1996, Chreim et al. 2013). Examples of such processes include how science was differentiated from other forms of knowledge through pointing out the difference between non-science and science (Gieryn 1983), how people segmented their calendars to draw a line between work and leisure through, for instance, having different calendars for each (Nippert-Eng 1996), marking the boundary between work and leisure by choosing to live far away from work (Kreiner et al. 2009), and how groups of various professions managed to elevate their own authority and

jurisdiction vis-á-vis other, competing professional groups (Rachel and Woolgar 1995, Bechky 2003, Koppman 2014, Liao 2016).

Boundary drawing can be carried out using spatial arrangements. For instance, in Gieryn's (1983) study, territorial limits were used to make a spatial boundary, while Kreiner et al. (2009) found various spatial tactics used to separate work from home, e.g. building a fence or choosing to live far away from work. Oldenhof et al. (2016) also showed spatial boundary work in their study, when they identified a boundary space: A "safe haven" (p. 1214) where people working on the boundary met and could vent their frustration and support each other in their common struggle, i.e. dual membership, contradictory demands and constantly shifting identities. By constructing boundaries, a group of people can create a new and different space within an old and established one, in a way that shields them from the practices and rules that dominate (Zietsma and Lawrence 2010), whereby routine work is temporarily suspended in order to make space for reflexivity and experimentation (Bucher and Langley 2016) and where creativity can occur (Andersen and Kragh 2015: 803).

Some researchers have chosen to study discursive boundary drawing, or boundary talk (Ellis and Ybema, 2010). Rachel and Woolgar (1995) studied how the word "technical" can be used to draw a boundary between groups, responsibilities, and work. For instance, a "technical" issue is an issue that is not easily deconstructed, lies at the core of everything, and operates in its own, special way, taking priority over the social, meaning that it is people who have to adapt to the technical, not the other way round. The people working with the technical thus had the jurisdiction to affect the work of the other profession. Here, *technical* is a word that "does boundary work" (ibid.: 260). Another discursive practice that drew boundaries was the search for new vocabulary and metrics that could show the value of one group's work vis-à-vis others (Oldenhof et al. 2016). Pouthier (2017) showed that joking and griping created a sense of "we" among the employees in a cross-boundary team, thus drawing a boundary around the team. Strengthening team identity is a way of drawing, or reinforcing (Faraj and Yan 2009), boundaries around a group of people engaged in a shared task.

If one group tries to prove its authority over and ownership of certain competencies or tasks, i.e. engaging in boundary drawing, other groups may try to work in the opposite direction: i.e. trying to obscure or dissolve the boundary around the group that sees itself as authorized to claim jurisdiction (Gieryn 1983, Liao 2016). Another way in which boundaries that seem inappropriate or wrong to one group can be altered is distancing and reappropriating (Farias 2017). By first ignoring and creating distance to the boundary, and then reappropriating it in the configuration that seems right to the group in question,

the boundary can be redrawn and transformed. This is also termed boundary shaking (Balogun et al. 2005). Such boundary drawing negotiations continuously take place between closely-linked professions, e.g. engineers and factory workers, along what Vallas (2001) labelled the mental/manual line, and among health care workers, where technology development both questions and challenges professional boundaries, both horizontally (e.g. doctors and nurses) and laterally (e.g. different medical specializations) (Lindberg et al. 2017). Boundaries around professions sometimes even seem to be unmade, given the increased do-it-yourself culture and how-to tutorials online (Fournier 2000); however, what happens is that the boundary around the profession changes and is redrawn, i.e. professions undergo alterations over time.

Another frequently-analysed boundary work process is that of boundary *crossing*. When items cross boundaries, the boundary is opened, allowing knowledge and skills to be shared (Chreim et al. 2013), or the worlds on either side of the boundary to be integrated (Nippert-Eng 1996). For instance, in the study of Bucher and Langley (2016), where reflective and experimental spaces were created by the organization, social, temporal, physical and symbolic boundaries had to be crossed in order to enable the employees to step outside their day-to-day work and to engage in a different mode of interaction, set apart from regular work. Similarly, the creativity managers featured in the study of Andersen and Kragh (2015) created a boundary-spanning creative space, where different groups needed to cross organizational boundaries into the creative space designated for creative work. The home/work boundary is a boundary people in all occupations need to cross on a regular basis (Nippert-Eng 1996, Kreiner et al. 2009).

People at the boundary, crossing the boundary back and forth, are sometimes labelled boundary spanners or liminal people (Akkerman and Bakker 2011). The term spanning refers to items moving back and forth across boundaries, but it usually refers to the actions a group "undertakes to reach out into its environment to obtain important resources and support" (Faraj and Yan 2009p. 606), since no group works in isolation and often wants to gain support and recognition for its work. Therefore, boundary spanning studies often focus on subjects that move across boundaries, e.g. middle managers as boundary spanners across organizational hierarchical boundaries (Andersen and Kragh 2015, Azambuja and Islam 2019) or liminal professions such as consultants (Czarniawska and Mazza 2003), and managers of projects encompassing various organizations (Ellis and Ybema 2010, Oldenhof et al. 2016) or "special boundary roles" moving between their own team and the rest of the organization (Tushman 1977). Boundary spanners that belong to different cultures may also act as translators between national cultures (Yagi and Kleinberg 2011), or be seen as bridge builders (Akkerman and Bakker 2011).

Routine boundary crossing makes it easier to cross boundaries, which thus become more permeable (Akkerman and Bakker 2011) or porous (Fleming and Spicer 2004). The general tendency today is that the boundary between leisure and work is becoming more and more permeable in contemporary organizations, through for instance leisure items or personal photos at the work place and simultaneously encouraging work to take place at home (Fleming and Spicer 2004). This development has been observed especially in software engineering (Hunter et al. 2010).

Boundary crossing also has an important learning aspect (Akkerman and Bakker 2011). In crossing boundaries, something new is learnt, leading to knowledge and practices travelling across boundaries. This may ultimately lead to the development of something new on either side of the boundary too (Hernes 2004, Kreiner et al. 2009), or even the hybridisation of practices or professions (Akkerman and Bakker 2011, Lindberg et al. 2017).

To summarize, there are two important processes that make up boundary work: *drawing* (or any work that is performed in order to mobilize, strengthen or alter a boundary) and *crossing* (or any work that is geared towards making boundaries more permeable or integrating).

2.3 Creativity and boundary work between orders of worth

Organizational creativity is surrounded by tensions: i.e. elements that seem distinct and sometimes paradoxical, e.g. efficiency and freedom (Kraft 2018), play and work (Hjorth 2004), improvisation and pre-planned goals (Bozic and Olsson 2013), creative and standardised (Reckwitz 2017/2012) etc. Some even say that creativity and organization are so fundamentally different that they almost seem mutually exclusive (Andersen and Kragh 2015). The idea that organized work and creative work are conceptualized as opposites and contradictory has been questioned by several researchers, who have instead tried to view these as more interconnected and mutually constituent: Creativity may require constraints and thrive in situations of control (Caniëls and Rietzschel 2015, Fortwengel et al. 2017, Ortmann and Sydow 2017). This study aligns with these authors and tries to provide a more nuanced view of the tensions of organizational creativity than has been available to date, by focusing on the effort to organize creativity and by finding out how the tensions are acted upon in practice. Orders of worth help in this endeavour by providing a nuanced view of what is at stake when trying to organize creativity, also providing a lens through which to understand how tensions evolve and/or are solved in practice. However, instead of analysing the tests and the compromises between the orders of worth, this study uses boundary work as an analytical tool for seeing how the effort to organize creativity unfolds in practice, and for being able to say something about the interaction occurring between the orders of worth.

Therefore, as an analytical tool what will be studied is boundary work between orders of worth – the test of "order of worth" (Dansou and Langley 2012) as it were, but as boundary work.

Most studies of boundary work have chosen a setting where a boundary appears to exist, e.g. between managerial levels (Vallas 2001, Oldenhof et al. 2016, Azambuja and Islam 2019), cross-functional teams (Faraj and Yan 2009, Lindberg et al. 2017, Pouthier 2017), temporary and permanent organization (Stjerne and Svejenova 2016), inside and outside the organization (Nippert-Eng 1996, Kreiner et al. 2009, Ellis and Ybema 2010, Whitford and Zirpoli 2014) or between groups competing in order to gain recognition of their competencies (Gieryn 1983, Bechky 2003, Koppman 2014, Liao 2016). As such, because the organizing of creativity is a setting rife with tensions, you can expect that boundary work is taking place when attempts are made to organize creativity within an organization. In the current study, the concept of boundary work is in line with Hernes (2004) conception that boundaries are an inherent component of organizing, and a core activity of organizations: Organizing "takes place through a series of distinction-drawing operations" (p. 11). Boundary work contributes towards making analysis more dynamic and less focused on the stabilization of truces and compromises. At the same time, it also enables analysis that is closer to practice than would be possible when using orders of worth as the sole theoretical lens, also allowing the inclusion of a variety of actions.

Previous connections have been made between boundary work and orders of worth. Lamont and Thévenot (2000) described both frameworks as moving away from Bourdieu's work on two accounts: i.e. the predefined fields and the idea that people claim things in order protect their hidden and particular interests. Both boundary work and orders of worth relax these assumptions and focus on how actors make this categorisation through their actions. The authors connect the two theories by focusing on "(a) the content of criteria or orders of justification used to draw boundaries between the more and the less valuable; (b) whether and how different criteria compete with one another and are used in conjunction with one another" (Lamont and Thévenot 2000: 6) [6]. In their view, thus, there are boundaries between the more or less worthy within one order of worth ("state of worth" (Gond et al. 2016)), and there are also boundaries between the orders of worth ("test of worth" (Gond et al. 2016)). Along similar

[6] Again, another word to describe the theory: orders of *justification*. It has to be remembered that Boltanski and Thévenot's book "On Justification" was only translated in 2006, and there the term orders of *worth* is used. Until then, different authors had been making different translations from French into English (see also Boivin and Roch [2005], where the *market* order of worth is called *merchant*).

lines, Potthast (2017) writes that the theory is holding a "privileged position to observing institutional boundaries, fields, and the way they emerge and re-structure" (p. 355). The framework is not only suited to being combined with other approaches, e.g. actor-network theory (Guggenheim and Potthast 2012), institutional work (Dansou and Langley 2012) and justification work (Taupin 2012), it is also possible to think that the "framework is *meant to be combined* with other approaches so as to better unveil actors' critical competences and the multiple regimes of action that they use when engaging in critique" (Gond et al. 2015: 201, my italics, see also Denis et al. 2007).

Orders of worth and boundary work are close enough for there to be a productive conversation between the two: They are interested in similar processes, e.g. valuation of what is relevant, good or important, and no assumptions being contradictory, making their focus relatively similar. Yet, so far, we have not seen much conversation between these two literatures, which could be productive because both could then inform each other. The notion of boundary work can offer a new, more nuanced, way of understanding how relationships between orders of worth are managed: i.e. how they are justified, criticized and negotiated in relation to each other beyond discursive practices. Conversely, orders of worth can inspire boundary work by helping to understand in more depth what it is that boundaries are created between: Is it between orders of worth? What is at stake when you do boundary work? The idea of orders of worth can help create a more fine-grained image of what it is that boundaries manage.

In the boundary work literature, different professions or fields of knowledge are often the focus of analysis, e.g. science versus religion (Gieryn 1983), different technologies (Liao 2016), middle managers' position between management and operative personnel (Oldenhof et al. 2016), or creative staff and marketing staff (Koppman 2014). Looking at the world through a boundary work framework focuses attention on the dynamics of what happens between these fields or professions. The actors (e.g. roles or professions) are kept fixed, at least temporarily, while boundaries fluctuate and are worked. In orders of worth, on the other hand, there are no actors in this sense. The seminal book of Boltanski and Thévenot (2006/1991) has the following in its preface:

> Readers of this book may find it somewhat discomfiting not to encounter a familiar cast of characters: none of the groups – social classes, blue-collar workers, youth, women, voters, and so on – with which we have become acquainted thanks to the social sciences /…/ Short on groups, individuals, and persons, our book nevertheless abounds in beings, some of them human, some of them things. (p. 1)

What constitutes instead the object of study in this theoretical framework is the *situation* in which beings appear; in both their person-states and their thing-states. Persons have no intrinsic worth, they are only made worthy through objects external to them which serve as instruments for determining their worth. This necessarily involves actions: i.e. a mobilization of some order of worth. Bénatouïl (1999), explains that, in this theory "[p]ersons are no persons or actors, in this sense, outside their actions" (1999: 384). They only exist, or become visible, through their actions. Here, thus, the orders of worth are kept (at least for some time) fixed, while people select between the orders of worth and choose what and how to mobilize worths in order to achieve the goals they consider just and good. The critique of lacking the ability to describe action in a close-up way (Lamont and Molnár 2002, Stark 2009, Lamont 2012, Hutter and Stark 2015, Kornberger et al. 2015, Navarro-Aguiar 2017) can be explained by the action that French pragmatic sociology covers: i.e. mobilizations of orders of worth and the process of making something worthy, and not the actions of groups, individuals, professions and the like, which the social sciences have become used to. This confirms the difference as regards the appropriate levels of analysis between the two frameworks: Orders of worth are better suited to higher order theorizing, while boundary work is appropriate for theorizing on a practice level within an organization. In this way they can complement and enrich each other.

To sum up, orders of worth help us to understand how efforts to organize creativity unfold in practice by nuancing the tensions in "organizational creativity" and by providing a less contradictory and more dualistic understanding of the relation between organized work and creative work. Boundary work helps in this endeavour by contributing a dynamic lens that involves both speech acts and other acts in practice.

3 Methodology

The phenomenon I set out to understand is how efforts to organize creativity unfold in practice within an established high-tech firm. To study a phenomenon in practice, you need to reach the nitty-gritty of everyday activities, which is why this study is based on qualitative research methods. This study was conducted in a multinational Swedish company between 2014 and 2016. This firm is a B2B company that provides technological solutions (hardware and software) and services. It is a company whose history goes back over a 100 years, employing over 100,000[7] people at several sites worldwide. It is the market leader in several of its business areas with net sales exceeding 200 billion SEK/annum between 2014 and 2016. It was thus a large company by traditional measures, but also as a figure of thought (Hallin 2009): The employees were conscious that they were working at a market leading, globally present company.

Just like most firms that have been around for over a century, it has stood the test of time by reinventing itself, changing its business offering several times throughout its history. The evolution of the company has followed the same path as the evolution of the industry in Sweden: It has been a part of the shift away from production industry towards knowledge-based industry. Today, the firm's physical products have become much larger and a lot more complex than previously, and they are made-to-order. Services have also become a major part of its business offering. Throughout this transformation, the company has shown that it has mastered innovation and has the capacity to reinvent itself. A frequently-cited rationale regarding why the company needed to become even more creative than it had been thus far was that, for some time, it had been a world leader in its business area, but that this position was under threat because of an increased rate of change on the market and in the world:

[7] During the period of this study.

> We live in a world that's changing at an incredibly fast pace. Our products don't look the same as they did 10 years ago, and definitely not as they did 20 years ago.
>
> Employee

The employees were conscious of the fact that revolutionizing inventions could appear out of nowhere, provoking a dramatic and unexpected market change. The aim of being even more creative than currently was also reflected in annual reports, and in internal communications from management. The unknown potential threat was one reason why this company wanted to increase its creativity; it thus provides an adequate empirical context for studying how organizing creativity unfolds in practice.

The setting for this study is one of the company's Swedish sites. This site has 2,500 employees, whose average age is 40 and 20% of whom are women. The different nationalities working at this site number 34, and 75% of the people are university educated. Typical jobs include product management, system management, hardware design, software design, software testing, and solution integration.[8] Several of the company's units are located in the same building. This study is set at one of these units. This unit has a total of 1,700 employees spread over different sites on several continents, 600 of whom are located at the studied site. At this unit, a Creativity team was set up that consisted of 12 people, tasked with increasing the creativity of the remaining 600. The work done by this team constitutes the starting point for this investigation, in the quest to unveil how efforts to organize creativity unfold in practice.

3.1 Constructing the field material

In this study, creativity is not viewed as something which exists 'out there' and which we can grasp, manipulate and maybe even measure. Rather, the view taken in this study is that creativity is created through the ideas people have about it, together with the actions they perform in order to construct it. In order to study how something unfolds in practice, actions need to be uncovered through direct experience. I was thus inspired by ethnographic methods. The empirical material in this study was collected between March 2014 and August 2016, over the course of 30 months, or roughly 2.5 years. I was present at the organisation during two separate periods: March - July 2014 and September 2015 - August 2016. According to Kunda (2013), ethnography consists of four basic activities. The first of these is *observing* people's activities, the second is *talking to people* willing to answer questions about their lives, the third is *collecting*

[8] Data from a powerpoint presentation shown at the entrance lobby (2016-01-20).

texts of different sorts produced and consumed by the people you are studying, and the fourth is *keeping records* of all this material.

3.1.1 Observations

I made three types of observations: i.e. observing creativity-related events, shadowing the employees working with creativity and innovation, and observing the office spaces.

Since this is a study of how both management and employees try to organize creativity in practice, it made sense to observe activities assigned to creativity. Therefore, the first kind of observation concerned the *creativity-related events* of the organization. This focus is a consequence of the theoretical selection: These events were thought to be critical situations, during which the justification and critique process can be expected to unfold. At the start of this study, a taskforce had just been created with the aim of increasing the creativity of the organization: i.e. the Creativity team (C-team). This group consisted of 12 people who met on a regular basis, i.e. a weekly lunchtime meeting. These meetings are considered creativity-related events since they take place in order to increase the creativity of the organization. At these meetings, the main focus was planning events. However, many other creativity-related topics were also discussed, such as the purpose of the C-team, the creativity needs of the organization, and the friends and foes of creativity within the organization. In total, 23 such lunchtime meetings were observed, lasting between 1 and 2 hours.

Examples of creativity-related events planned and carried out by C-team include how-to-become-creative workshops for other employees, or project-related workshops where specific creative tools were used under the coaching of C-team. C-team was not alone in planning and executing such creativity-related events in the organization, thus creativity-related events organized by others were also observed, in particular, the Innovation team and the main innovation driver on site, but also other innovation structures. Examples of events organized by others include hackathons, design thinking workshops and the evaluation of new ideas in the organization's innovation management system. Twenty-four such creativity-related events were observed, lasting between 1 and 8 hours. Together with the C-team lunches, this makes a total of 47 creativity-related events.

The criterion used for deciding whether or not these events were relevant was their engagement of C-team members, either as regards their time (direct work involvement) or emotionally/mentally (where there are opinions, feelings, or expectations). Then, I haphazardly observed creativity-related events without knowing beforehand that they would be taking place. So, how did I stumble upon creativity-related events in an unplanned manner? Primarily while doing

the second type of observation: shadowing C-team and Innovation team members.

When *shadowing* the different employees in the C-team and the Innovation team, I followed my hosts for the day in all their daily activities. Their days consisted of meetings, conversations, reading and writing emails, working with different programs on their computers (coding, testing, reviewing etc.), using PowerPoint slides during presentations, logging into different software in the computer, checking their diaries, getting coffee, answering personal and work phone calls, and more. Shadowing did not occur in the classic sense of the word: The focus was not on the roles of the people being shadowed and neither was it objects (Bruni 2005, Czarniawska 2014). Instead, I was shadowing events and regular work in order to be able to juxtapose the creativity-related events with the other work being done in the organization. Only focusing on creativity-related work, i.e. tasks that are creativity-enhancing, would make it difficult to identify the tension between different worlds. Shadowing the employees throughout their working days not only enabled the identification of the tension, it also allowed me to stumble upon creativity work that I did not know about beforehand, and to find out about creativity-related events. For instance, when shadowing one member of the C-team, s/he attended a meeting where new ideas were being evaluated using the company's innovation management system; when shadowing the main innovation driver on-site, I also observed a design thinking workshop that s/he designed and hosted with the aim of increasing creativity during a project meeting.

I shadowed 9 different people; i.e. 7 from C-team and 2 working with innovation, for 11 days (two people were shadowed twice) and for around 8 hours each time. Of all the people I asked for permission to shadow, only one declined, feeling that it was intimidating. Instead, he was interviewed. I attended 13 non-creativity-related meetings while shadowing (regular work). On at least three occasions, the informant asked the manager concerned if my presence was ok at regular work meetings. Sometimes, I knew of an event beforehand that was labelled as creativity-enhancing, and thus I arranged to shadow a person on that specific day, making sure I had a reason to be present.

Also, some people changed their roles during the study and two were shadowed twice, not because they were more interesting to shadow than the others but as a way of attending a creativity-related event that was relevant to the study. Thus, while the number of occasions of shadowing was 11, the number of people who were shadowed is 9.

The third and final type of observation was *observation of the office space*. Physical artifacts are stabilized ideas –ideas inscribed into material objects. In this study of how an organization works towards increasing its creativity, the objects of

interest are anything showing traces of creativity-increasing activities. During my presence at the offices of the company, I took notice of and noted as many elements in the surroundings as possible. Such elements included:

- Framed posters featuring official messages
- Internal information screens
- Posters and printed matter in the corridors
- Whiteboard texts and drawings
- The entrance lobby
- Professional items on desks, shelves, and walls (e.g. flowcharts, hardware, coffee cups)
- Personal items on desks, shelves, and walls (e.g. diplomas, work-related cartoons, rubbish)
- Private items on desks, shelves, and walls (e.g. photos of family, plants, coffee pods, fruit)

Every day when I arrived to the office I had to wait for someone to pick me up at the entrance lobby, giving me time to observe people entering and leaving the building. These observations would last between 5 minutes and 1 hour. During a day of shadowing, the whole day can be considered an observation of the office spaces, but it was also intertwined with interviews with people. Therefore it is difficult to assign a time measure to the observations. Even when arriving for an interview, there would always be a chance to do observations when walking through the building at the very least. The total number of observations can be counted as 58, which is the number of days when I visited the organization (for observations, shadowing or interviews).

When observing, I made handwritten notes and tried to capture as accurately as possible what was happening without making judgements about what was important and irrelevant. I tried not to let the conscious part of my observation suffocate the unconscious part (Swedberg, 2012), as many activities are taking place simultaneously. All the senses should ideally be used: e.g. sight, hearing, smell, touch, and taste. Warren (2012) refers to this as aesthetic ethnography, while I like to think that I am using my body as an instrument of data collection. The aim was to get information about what people do when they try to be creative in practice in an organization, which was as detailed as possible.

The way the observations were made in this study may not capture all the creativity work done in the organization as this can take place at other places and other times than those I was observing. However, it is not possible to observe all the creativity-enhancing activities of an organization, since such activities can take place everywhere, and be done by anyone at any time. It was simply not possible for me to plan to be there all the time, and everywhere.

However, I did observe enough creativity-enhancing activities to be able to identify the challenges of such activities, the tension between creativity events, and other work. I could see how challenges were repeating in different ways, and how different actions were repeated or abandoned for different reasons.

The different types of observations are summarized in Table 1. The vast majority of observations were made at the site, in their office space, but with a few exceptions when meetings took place in restaurants over lunch or coffee. About 350 double-sided A5 pages of handwritten observation notes were taken, including both text and drawings. Shadowing was also a way of interviewing, which will be further elaborated on in the next section; *Talk*.

Type of observations	2014	2015-2016	Total number
Creativity-related events	**8**	**39**	**47**
C-team lunches	6	17	23
Other	2	22	24
Shadowing as observations (days)	**3**	**8**	**11**
Regular work meetings	3	10	13
Observations of work spaces	**17**	**41**	**58**

Table 1 Observations

3.1.2 Talk

The second activity of ethnographic research is to *talk with people* (Kunda 2013). Talking with people happened in two different ways: i.e. during shadowing and observations, and in interviews.

During *shadowing* and *observations*, talk occurred naturally since spending time with people without talking to them would be awkward. When the person I was shadowing was working in front of his/her computer, or with other people during meetings, my talk was minimal. The same applied during observations of meetings or creativity-related events. Staying completely silent is not possible if you want to avoid being perceived as odd person; however, I tried to say as little as possible in order not to interfere too much with the ongoing business. However, there were also moments when I asked questions; during shadowing, in particular, it was as if one long conversation took place throughout the day. I asked questions when the person I was shadowing was on his/her way between meetings, over coffee and lunch. Also, the person I was shadowing often told me things, on his/her own initiative, about what s/he was doing. When

observing creativity-related events too, I talked with people. Sometimes, I talked with them during breaks, or afterwards, to clarify things that I did not quite understand during my observation, or concerning their general impression of the event. At other events, I interacted with people who are not involved in C-team, or the innovation team. I would speak with them about their work; in return, people often asked me questions about what I do and why. Then they often talked with me on their own initiative, telling me how they view creativity and innovation and what challenges they see facing their organization. When they said things relating to creativity-increasing actions, I asked follow-up questions, e.g. why and how. This spontaneous storytelling on the part of the employees was relevant whenever it told of a controversy between organizing and creativity in the organization.

Since this is a study of the efforts to organize creativity in practice, and not what people think or say about it, the bulk of the talking in this study does not come from interviews. However, some *interviews* were conducted: This happened whenever I could not find a legitimate reason for shadowing someone, e.g. employees who were not in the C-team or the innovation team. Therefore, all the managers included in this study were interviewed, except for one, who was shadowed. One interview was conducted because the interviewee did not want to be shadowed. Some interviews were conducted in order to understand things that had happened in the past: Due to the fact that these could not be observed, interviewing was the only way of gaining information about them. The interviews complement my observations: While observations and shadowing reflect my account of their efforts to organize creativity, the interviews reflect their own account of how they try to organize creativity. The questions, both during the interviews and spontaneous talk, were not primarily about creativity. I put questions to the people working with creativity about their work. However, there were also some questions about creativity and about the connection between creativity and innovation, the importance of creativity, which is why it was important at this point in time and so forth.

There are several reasons why I favoured shadowing and informal talk over interviewing. For one, interviews are tricky because people may answer what they think you are expecting them to answer, or because they do not want anyone to discover that they diverge from the official views or practices of the organisation (Silverman 2011). But there were also more practical reasons, e.g. when you ask someone for an interview, they want to know what the interview would be about. That involved me setting a title for the interview, keeping to the topic, and allowing the person to prepare for that topic. In this way, interviews are limited: Both the interviewer and the respondent are supposed to stick to the topic. When observing and shadowing, a wider range of topics can appear, and the researcher can pose more diverse questions. Also, shadowing gave me access

to people for an extended amount of time and I was able to observe things that I could not have imaged beforehand, or that I should have asked about during an interview. Another difference between interviews and talk, while shadowing, is that I was able to ask questions in relation to events. I would not have been able to pose questions about these during interviews because I did not know about them: I only became aware of these events during the day's shadowing. I was able to ask sensitive follow-up questions that I would not have dared to ask during an interview situation. Things became less dramatic because we talked about a specific situation in which both of us had been present, somehow making it easier to talk about sensitive issues. The trust that developed as people "hung out with me" proved useful during later interactions: When I asked an employee if I could talk with him/her, it helped that another employee had previously shown his/her trust in me. In general, it seemed to be easier for employees to let me tag along during their day than to find one hour when they could sit down and talk with me. This hour would need to be accounted for while my tagging along with them would not. Another reason that shadowing seemed easier, in most cases, was that, once people agree to an interview, they are also announcing that they think they know something about the topic of the interview. Sometimes, when asking for an interview, I perceived some hesitation that seemed to be connected to this: The person did not want to claim to have knowledge of the topic of creativity. Shadowing them was easier because it was less prestigious: I shadowed them because they were in the C-team, and no other claims were made.

The people that I talked to are specified in Table 2. Twenty-eight booked interviews and interview-like conversations, during or after observations, were conducted, besides the 11 days of shadowing (as mentioned in the previous section on observations). Some people were both shadowed and interviewed. On becoming a part of the organization, I inevitably ran into the same people several times, with both small talk and more formalized talk taking place, more or less randomly. Such moments are referred to as conversations.

Types of talk	2014	2015-2016	Total
Interviews and conversations	**7**	**21**	**28**
managers		5	5
C-team	6	7	13
innovation team		6	6
other employees	1	10	11
Shadowing (as interviews)	**3**	**8**	**11**
managers		1	1
C-team	3	3	6
innovation team		4	4
other employees			

Table 2 Number of interviews, interview-like conversations and occasions of shadowing

Shadowing is present both as observations and as interviews, since shadowing was, in practice, both. As observations, the shadowing days were counted, and as interviews the type of employees shadowed are specified. As can be seen both in table 1 and table 2 the number of shadowing is 11, and this refers to the same 11 days.

Since individual employees may feature several times in different parts of Table 2, the number of different individuals interviewed or shadowed is presented in Table 3: 26[9]. Here, each individual is only counted once, even if he/she changed his/her role during the course of the study. One category differs between Tables 2 and 3: i.e. the Innovation team members. All the Innovation team members were also members of C-team and, since each person is only counted once, this group disappeared in the second table. The total number of different people featuring substantially in my field notes is 30, meaning that 4 people who were neither interviewed nor shadowed, still play a part somehow in the empirical story; through conversations occurring during observations, for instance. These 30 people are the ones who provided the main input for this empirical material. Many more were met, observed and talked to, and while they may figure in the empirical material, their input was less substantial.

[9] The reason for grouping these two is due to shadowing being like a long interview, intertwined with observations of work activities and office spaces.

Shadowed or interviewed people	26
managers	6
C-team members	11
other employees	9

Table 3 The different people interviewed and shadowed

Most of the time, I avoided recording talk, as it was simply not possible to carry a recorder with me at all times. If I had tried to record all my observations, I would not have been able to observe naturally occurring talk since all those interacting in each situation would have had to have been informed of the recording for ethical reasons. Instead of recording talk, I took notes as thoroughly as possible. In the case of corridor conversations, I would make short notes as soon as I could, sometimes even sneaking off to the toilet to write down verbatim quotes that were as accurate as possible. In order to avoid making the people of the organization feel too uneasy, I tried to be discrete, and to write short notes so they would not feel too observed. Here, it was also useful to take toilet breaks, or to have quiet moments, when I could go back and add notes from previous conversations I had observed. On a few occasions, the person I was shadowing or conversing with asked me to keep the information s/he gave me confidential. In such instances, I would put down my pen so s/he would feel safer, not writing down what s/he was sharing with me. During or after observations of events, I had "interview-like" talking moments with individuals, but I do not refer to these as interviews. Rather, I asked: "Can I talk with you for 20 minutes?" in order to keep the tone informal and conversation-like, and not interview-like. While observing meetings, I took thorough notes, writing down what was said as verbatim as possible. In such instances, I received comments from people asking what I was writing so frenetically. Most often, I would respond to this with a joke.

Nevertheless, 10 hours of interviews and conversations were recorded and transcribed verbatim. These recordings are of the interviews and brief verbal exchanges recorded during shadowing and observations: When I saw that people entered into a flow of inspired talk, and started to get excited and to speak freely, I asked if I could record this. I wanted them to reach this kind of flow so that recording did not intimidate them. On every occasion, the person in question agreed, except for once when someone felt intimidated by the thought of being recorded and declined my request. Recordings were made in order to have access to verbatim quotes, and to be able to process the information more accurately afterwards; however, the bulk of the talk is

documented in handwritten notes, amounting to 350 double-sided A5 pages, as mentioned in the section describing observations.

3.1.3 Collecting texts

The third activity of ethnography is *collecting texts* (Kunda 2013). In this study, texts created by the observed groups have been collected, and emails between them and me have been collected. Annual reports, website videos and texts, and material hanging on the walls have all been analyzed in order to understand the official stories of creativity and innovation, and to describe the context of the creativity work being observed. Physical artefacts are stabilized ideas; thus, texts (which are physical artefacts) will reflect the efforts to organize creativity. To find out the official story regarding the creativity of the organization, I analyzed:

- Information videos/PowerPoint presentations in the entrance foyer
- Books about the history of the company
- The official website
- Annual reports
- Material hanging on the walls.

I have collected several emails that are relevant to the themes emerging in my work. I have used them to highlight and describe the themes. I (almost) only have emails that I asked my informants to forward. I collected images taken by the employees of events. These images most often represent the official discourse – this is what they want me to see. Sometimes, I also asked the employees to take photos for me, because I did not have clearance to take them. Sometimes I did drawings in my field notes, since I had no permission to photograph.

The fourth activity of ethnography is keeping all the material organized: *keeping records* (Kunda 2013). All the observations and meetings in which I took part were entered into an Excel file accompanied by brief descriptions and times, with all the collected documents and transcribed recordings being linked in this Excel file. The handwritten notes were copied in order to have the originals in an archive and to allow me to only work with the copies. All the transcribed material, handwritten notes and collected documents were printed and placed in chronological order in three binders. This is the basis for the analysis.

3.2 Analysing the material

In the first part of my analysis, I tried to mimic previous works using orders of worth as an analytical concept. However, this proved tricky, and several dead ends were encountered. Nevertheless, slow progress was made and this led me to understand I needed another analytical tool: i.e. boundary work. Once I had

found this analytical tool, pattern identification became more straightforward. The first phase of my analysis is described as *thought trials leading forwards slowly*, while the second phase, when I actually managed to identify patterns, is described as *pattern identification*.

3.2.1 Thought trials leading forwards slowly

The first step of my analysis followed what has been termed "disciplined imagination" by Weick (1989), in which the material went through several steps of thought trials, being sorted in various ways before reaching satisfactory categories, or patterns. This process was also inspired by the grounded theory method (P. Y. Martin and Turner 1986, Jaccard and Jacoby 2009, Gioia et al. 2013, Koppman 2014, Reay and Jones 2016), following these four steps:

1. Reading the material: transcribed interviews, field notes and documents.
2. Marking key events and quotes, i.e. coding, that relate to the thought trial I had set up.
3. Grouping the codings into larger themes.
4. Going back to step 1 [with a new thought trial].

Many thought trials were carried out; here, I will describe three. During the first thought trial, I wrote down the chronological story of what I had witnessed in a detailed case description, inspired by process theorizing (Langley 1999, Harvey 2014, Fortwengel et al. 2017). This process started even during the observation period; however, most of it took place once the material collection had finished. To assist me, I made a timeline and looked for the critical events, turning points or phases in what I had observed. These were not easily identifiable and, what is more: Chronology cannot pass for causality (Czarniawska 2013). Since no transformation was visible to my eye, and since the material I had gathered varied in nature, I was unable to produce a neat narrative. However, it did help to advance my understanding that the story I had in my hands was an attempt by one group to change the others at the company so that they became more creative.

At this point in my analysis, I had realized it was full of dichotomies and tensions, present in various forms, which led me to the second thought trial: searching for critical moments. This was inspired by earlier French pragmatist work, whereby different discursive moves were analysed and connected to different orders of worth, leading to the unveiling of the development of controversies (Patriotta et al. 2011, Taupin 2012, Gond et al. 2016), or how different truces can be developed during a controversy (Reinecke et al. 2017). Additionally, several researchers have also stressed the importance of tests (Cloutier and Langley 2007, Dansou and Langley 2012, Potthast 2017), another reason why it seemed relevant to look for the critical moments when testing

would take place. The dichotomies I had identified were loaded with goods from different orders of worth. Examples include "creativity problem versus innovation problem", "the creativity believers versus the reluctant people", "fun versus work", and "exploration versus reaching goals". In all these examples, the first element seemed to belong to the inspirational order, while the second one seemed to belong to the industrial order. The same dichotomies could be found, in various ways, in the material. As an example, the "fun versus work" dichotomy could be found at the C-team internal meetings when they were discussing how one activity they were planning to do would be perceived by the others in the organization, and in their own reasoning as regards why they should carry it out. Then, when they were carrying out the activity, this tension could be observed in action; how it played out in practice during confrontations with other people in the company. The same fun versus work contradiction was also present in other attempts to organize creativity in the company, e.g. installing swings in the office space. This way, each tension could be identified in different ways in the material. However, I was unable to identify tests: There were no moments of controversy, when different worlds confronted each other during discussions, or different worths were ordered. Due to lacking moments of testing, controversies and critical moments, this thought trial ended up with arguments, objects and people still moving around between orders of worth chaotically in my material.

In my material, the presence of controversy but absence of contestation was surprising, but can be explained. My empirical material was messy because the different elements were not comparable with each other. There were interviews intertwined with observations of events, spontaneous talk, workshops, different kinds of meetings, a theatre performance, small talk on the bus, the creation of different teams and sections, the choice of working without a strategy, clusters of post-it-notes, eavesdropping behind my back, videos, and posters on the walls etc. I had much discursive material from observations, documents, and interviews, but I also had observed actions which people did not talk about, e.g. the choice of the C-team working without a strategy, or how the other employees reacted to the creativity-enhancing events that the C-team organized, or the atmosphere at a creativity workshop. I had their accounts, but I also had my own accounts of what I had observed. This made it difficult to identify moments of contestation; different types of actions were potential contestations, but all these things had happened in parallel and causal links were impossible to make. If you look at the methodological choices of other French pragmatists studies, they have often used one type of material, e.g. interviews (Gherardi and Perrotta 2016), discursive action (Oldenhof et al. 2014), or written texts (Boivin and Roch 2006, Jagd 2011, Patriotta et al. 2011, Taupin 2012, Gond et al. 2016), in controversial settings thus making it possible to identify critical moments of

contestation. However, I had set out to include various types of actions in my study, as an attempt to balance the dominant discursive attention shown by previous studies within French pragmatism (Jagd 2011, Gond et al. 2015, Potthast 2017); once again, I was lost. It looked as if there were many different pockets[10] of creativity in the company, but how they came about and where they went after they had dissolved was difficult to see.

During the third thought trial, I attempted to make sense of the events by returning to the material. I sorted the material on the basis of who had authored it and what his/her/their intent was. The first category of observation I had started with was the *C-team lunchtime meetings*, which was then expanded to the second category: i.e. observations of *events* that the C-team organized to increase creativity among the other employees. Then, the third type of material was the observations made while shadowing the employees, during which I followed the work they were carrying out that was related to their membership of the C-team, as well as *other work*. Then, at a certain point, I found myself, led by the subjects of my study, on the Innovation team, at design thinking workshops, at hackathons, at the symphony orchestra and at other meetings they deemed relevant to me. *Other creativity-related meetings and structures* became the fourth category. These were indeed relevant, if only for the fact that they had been categorised as creativity-relevant by my subjects, but they contributed towards making my material even more eclectic. This way of categorizing the material was guided by the idea that maybe different, higher goods would be defended or contested in the different kinds of material, or maybe different orders would be claimed to be worthy by different actors, or in different settings. Different kinds of dichotomies were tested against each other, for instance; "team internal activities" (e.g. team lunchtime meetings and internal workshops) versus "team external activities" (e.g. the activities being arranged for the other employees) and believers in creativity as the power that will save the company (e.g. C-team members) versus non-believers (the antagonists of the C-team). However, the orders of worth were still all over the material, and thus it was not possible to group the various actors or actions into different orders, or as manifestations of different worths, in any sensible way.

Since the story was about how one group of people had tried to increase the creativity of the others, and since I had identified many dichotomies, I returned to the theory, deciding to delve into the boundary work literature. This provided the tool I needed to be able to connect the material with the selected theoretical framework.

[10] Metaphors can be a powerful tool in theorizing processes (Bacharach 1989).

3.2.2 Pattern identification

Boundary work, as an analytical tool, helped to identify what was going on in the material by providing two ways to sort the material. The first way related to the location of the boundary. I looked for the tensions, or dichotomies, and found that there were three sorts: i.e. between *people*, between *spaces,* and between what was considered legitimate and illegitimate *work*. How these three categories were constructed is shown in Table 4.

The second tool related to the kind of overarching movement being performed: i.e. actions that were boundary-drawing and actions that were boundary-crossing. Examples of boundary-drawing processes include actions differentiating between two elements, e.g. creative people and non-creative people, or the creative space and the regular space. The boundary-crossing processes were the actions whereby items were moved between realms, e.g. when the mess of the creative spaces was overflowing into regular work, or when engaging in food dumpster diving with an artist during working hours (an activity that has no apparent connection with the core business of the company).

With the help of boundary locations and boundary processes (drawing and crossing), I was able to see how actions and counteractions were taking place, how arguments and counterarguments were playing out, and how people moved between groups and worlds. In a part of my material, this was the official and managerial way to make divisions between creative work and other kinds of work, while another part of my material was something else: This was an attempt by the employees to do boundary work. The managerial way is presented in the first empirical chapter, *Creating space*, while the following three empirical chapters, *Creating change*, *Structures* and *Activities*, cover the boundary work of the employees.

Boundary between:	Codes:
People	Who performs the boundary work (managers or employees) Who is in the C-team (selection and identification) Who is creative (identification) How people between the creative and the regular state Construction of the creativity problem
Spaces	What makes creating spaces creative (how they differ from regular work) How creating spaces are created What or who enters the creating spaces How to enter the creating spaces
Work	Creative and regular working methods (which work is creative and which non-creative) Fun and work dichotomy Rule-breaking and rule-compliance

Table 4 Categories and the codes constituting them

This stage of my analysis was an inductive process, which can be called *pattern induction* (Reay and Jones 2016). This was a process of coding the material into meaningful categories constituting a pattern. Later, when bringing orders of worth back into the discussion (Chapter 8), a process similar to *pattern matching* took place. Pattern matching consists of comparing ideal types with observed categories. Here, orders of worth were viewed as ideal types and used as a reference during comparison. However, the aim here was not to determine the distance between the ideal type and the observed categories as pattern matching indicates (ibid.), because the observed categories were not of the same type as the ideal types: The observed categories were the various boundary processes and locations while the ideal types are orders of worth. Following the pattern matching method entirely would mean problematizing the orders of worth, or worlds. Instead, in this study, the relationships between the "ideal types" were problematized, in order to unveil the relationships between the orders of worth. In other words, the relationships between orders of worth were analyzed as boundary work processes between people, spaces and work. Focusing on what kinds of tension were at stake, and on what kind of boundary work was being performed, enabled the boundary work between orders of worth to be analyzed and discussed.

3.3 Trustworthiness

Since "every scientific work is a product of a writer" (Czarniawska 2014: 135), the reliability of social science research is not dependent on the results but on the researcher. In this section, I provide some glimpses of the work done behind-the-scenes in this study. I will account here for how I gained access to the firm, and how I have acted as a researcher. My aim is to provide the reader with sufficient insight to enable him/her to evaluate the trustworthiness of this study.

3.3.1 Access

Before starting this study, I had already been in contact with the company under study through my previous line of work. I had, for some years, been working on developing the creativity and innovation capacity of organizations through collaborations with artists, with the company in question being a client. As such, I knew there was a lively interest in creativity issues within the company. I contacted the first-line manager (whom I did not know personally) that had been in contact with my previous employer to arrange a meeting to discuss the possibility of studying how the company works with creativity. I found out that the company had set up a team whose focus was to increase the creativity of all employees. I then asked if I could follow the work of that team to see what it would choose to do in practice. After a 30-minute conversation, the manager decided I should meet the team; the members of the group themselves would be the ones to decide if it was ok for me to study their work.

The team had a lunchtime meeting each week to share information and ideas. I was invited as a guest to one of these lunches, when I introduced myself and presented my research, then answering a barrage of questions regarding why I had chosen them. It was an intense interview they put me through, in order to find out what they could gain from my presence, my view of creativity, my experience of business organizations, and my knowledge about their company etc. The atmosphere was friendly, enthusiastic and welcoming; when I left, I sensed that they liked me, which was confirmed later the same day by one of the members of the team who stated that they would be happy to have me studying them. They selected me – not only the other way round.

I am an engineer, and I conducted my undergraduate studies at the same university as many of the employees working at the studied site. This proved useful in gaining access: I was able to answer their questions in a way that showed we were alike, at least in some senses. This likeness was also useful throughout the study; whenever I needed to renegotiate or legitimize my presence, I had the vocabulary enabling me to be understood and accepted. Understanding some things without having to ask about them also helped me. This is also a risk: I risk taking for granted some things that the reader may need to have explained. I have tried to mitigate the problem of taken-for-grantedness by focusing on actions in practice, rather than interpretations and thoughts.

A vast amount of research has previously been done in and on the company, as with most large corporations in Sweden. The amount of research done on and in the company will also influence the image of itself that the company wants to present. Research stabilizes and solidifies the image, while helping the company to develop and adjust over time to the ruling ideals (as does this thesis). It also

means that the employees are used to having researchers coming in and out, making my presence rather undramatic.

I am not sure what the employees' attitudes were towards me. I know some of them developed something resembling trust; however, it could also be the case that they were fed up with their working situation and saw me as a way of making some sort of rebellion, or ventilating. Others did not develop this closeness to me; some seemed afraid or suspicious, perhaps not of me as a person, but of the controversies and conflicts my work and presence could cause.

3.3.2 My role as a researcher

Writing research is an ethical act as well as a descriptive practice, since first you decide to do it, and then how to do it (Rhodes 2009). Therefore, in order to maintain sincerity and openness vis-à-vis the Other (i.e. the studied individuals), and not close them off, the empirical material was made available for them to read and comment on before publication. As an ethical act, it is important to remember whose voice is allowed to be heard in the study. The openness of each employee in speaking with me and allowing me access to his/her work was at his/her own discretion. When I shadowed one person, I affected this person's status within the organization, and influenced the trust s/he enjoyed in others' eyes. This was not always in a positive way, since creativity was controversial, and the employees struggled to be taken seriously. My presence was highlighting that they were working with creativity, and not "really" working. I could see this in, for instance, the way that some people walked with me through the building, who they said hello to on the way, who they were hiding from, and who they wanted to be seen by. There seemed to be tensions between the different informants; my liaising with one could have affected my liaising with others. When shadowing one person, I may have elevated the importance of that person in the others' eyes. Those I shadowed or interviewed have been given space in my material, and I could understand that, when one person was my centre of attention, the others seemed slightly worried and uneasy, due to my possibly gaining, in their perspective, the "wrong impression".

This does not mean that the different people in the organization have to be shadowed equally. It does mean, however, that I could not know which other doors may have been closed to me because of my being seen more with one person than another. As mentioned earlier, when I spent time with someone, trust developed, which sometimes opened doors to other informants. However, it also blocked off other potential informants, in conflict with, or holding opposite views to, my informants. For instance, on one occasion, I tried to shadow or interview the opponent, i.e. a person working in a very different way

and taking a very different approach to what is relevant to the organization, of one of my informants. My informant said it was impossible; s/he could not approach this person as this would be seen as aggression, and it would then be impossible to cooperate with this person in the future. This reveals the strong level of controversy existing in the organization regarding creativity and its importance.

Over and above spending equal amounts of time with each informant, it is important to cover a variety of actions and perspectives in order to allow the complexity of the issue to be shown in the study. Therefore, I tried to include as many different views as possible, to expose the study to the complexity of creative work in the organization. Even though it was not possible to interact with the opponents, or the people who are the most reluctant regarding the creativity-enhancing efforts, because I was interacting with the creativity-increasing employees, I did try to let other people have a voice in this study too. This is the reason why I spoke with people I randomly met during observations of events and in other places, such as seminars or the airport. By approaching people randomly, I tried to introduce a variety of stories and actions.

Even if there are opposite views and ways of working within the organization, which I was not able to reach, I still found several controversies. This means that there is a myriad of experiences and views in the organization: this study will reveal some of them, but does not claim to reveal all of them. Nevertheless, some patterns did develop and the addition of more dimensions or examples would not have brought more analytical dimensions. It could have altered the categories of the analysis, but it would not have altered the overall analysis. I know that because the material collected is full of controversy that is repeated in different examples. I spent enough time in the company, and with my people, to have seen the same issues repeated over and over again, which is commonly used as a measure telling you when to stop your fieldwork. But this does not guarantee that no other issues were in play, something which never appeared in my presence. Additionally, I was also given confidential information and access to behind-the-scenes happenings because I developed good relationships with my informants. But these were of little value to my analysis because they were precisely that; i.e. confidential information and secrets. Ultimately, I tried to "behave like a responsible adult, showing respect and sympathy for others" (Czarniawska 2014: 54).

4 Creating spaces

In contemporary organizations, people are typically assigned tasks and have goals to fulfil. Each person, team, or unit has a role to play in achieving the aims of the organization. This ensures that the overall aim of the organization is met and provides a predictable and controlled manner in which the offering of the company is delivered to its clients. This rational way to organize work has a long tradition and is a guiding principle at many companies (Mainemelis and Ronson 2006). Creativity, on the other hand, is rebellious, chaotic and irrational (Blomberg 2014); thus, creative processes can be challenging for organizations. Creative ideas do not fit easily into an organization because they presuppose change, while the organization itself is a stabilised system of interlocked roles and processes of standardisation (Woodman et al. 1993, Andersen and Kragh 2015). Moreover, it is also difficult to combine new ideas with already-established processes (Andersen and Kragh 2015) because there is simply neither the space nor the time for anything other than the already-agreed on course of action. In order for a new idea to develop, new space/time has to be found seeing as the already existing time slots have been assigned to other tasks. This resonates with the rational-efficient logic of organizing: assign each type of work a specific time, place, employees and goals. Specifically, the division between creative work and the productive/efficient work is sometimes described in terms of exploration (of new ideas) and exploitation (of old certainties) (March 1991, Benner and Tushman 2003, Gupta et al. 2006). Exploitation concerns making the most of the existing processes, i.e. efficiently exploiting current knowledge and investments, while exploration concerns another process that has to take place simultaneously in order for the company to survive; i.e. future possibilities and ideas have to be explored. The capacity of an organization to balance exploitation and exploration is referred to as its ambidexterity (Gupta et al. 2006, Raisch et al. 2009).

This chapter describes how the studied company managed the separation of exploration from exploitation; how ambidexterity was practiced. This was done through several innovation management structures that the company had installed, whereby certain spaces and times were dedicated to creative exploration work; by creating such spaces, new ideas that did not fit with current goals and the tasks of people and teams were able to exist in a parallel dimension to regular exploitation work. There were *fixed* creating spaces, which were created once and for all, or at least for a certain amount of time, making these spaces somewhat stable. There were also *temporary* spaces, which were created with some regularity or at certain intervals. Then there was also a *virtual* space, which was constantly there, but not always materialized.

4.1 Fixed spaces

Some spaces at the company were physically delineated spots labelled as creating spaces, or spaces connected to creativity. Two such examples of this are the space *under the tree* in the café and the *innovation room*.

4.1.1 Under the tree

At the studied site, there was a "main innovation driver", sitting under a tree. This person was assigned with dedicating 50% of his/her work time to stimulating, or driving, innovation at the site by providing "services to encourage innovation based on curiosity and pull" and by "supporting grass-roots to boost new business" (observation 2016-04-06, written on an information banner under the tree). The main innovation driver, in an interview, described this work as "removing bullshit" and "obstacles" to innovation (field notes 2015-11-27), for people from all units at the company. For all the people on-site, being an innovation driver meant coaching others in their innovation work, and helping people engage with innovation. This would be done by facilitating workshops, engaging in external collaboration, giving presentations about innovation, organizing and hosting a monthly network event, and having what was called "tree availability" (field notes 2015-11-27).

Tree availability meant that the main innovation driver would be sitting under a tree in the atrium/ground floor patio rather than sitting at a desk in the office space. The innovation driver came up with the idea of providing tree availability; the manager agreed because at the tree s/he was more available to people than at a desk in the regular office space. When he/she was seated under the tree, anybody was welcome to come up and talk about anything innovation-related with the innovation driver. This person saw him-/herself as a connector, building a generous rather than centralised network because, according to him/her, connecting people was of the utmost relevance to stimulating innovation. For instance, an innovator leaders' meet-up was organized by the

driver every month under the tree, when about 15 innovator drivers would meet. The purpose of these meetings was to connect people from different parts of the organization who had a passion for innovation. Anybody who was interested in innovation was invited, regardless of their formal role. Over the past year, said the innovation driver, roughly 60-70 people, who previously had no connection with each other, had now come to know each other thanks to these meet-ups.

The tree was located in the middle of the building, in a highly visible spot. At this site, when entering the building through either entrance, every employee had to pass the atrium/patio. This was an indoor patio covered with a glass ceiling, furnished with various sofa groups and chairs, with tables, and divided up into different sections using real trees planted in large pots. The main innovation driver had a work space under one of these. On each side of the atrium, there were two five-floor buildings where the office spaces were located, and there were also elevated walkways along the façades of the buildings. The walkways were connected by open staircases and by air-bridges connecting the two buildings on each floor. Adjacent to the stairs, there were also lifts. Every morning, around lunchtime, and at the end of the day, a steady stream of people would walk across the ground floor/patio and go through the main entrance. The lifts were located along the indoor walkways so every employee had to cross the atrium on his/her way in to and out of the office space, even if not on the ground floor. A habit of many employees was to get a coffee, upon arrival, from the café also located in the patio. Here free coffee was served, meaning that, during peak arrival times, there would be a constant queue for the café, near the tree.

The façades of the buildings around the patio had windows facing the office spaces, meaning that people in the office spaces were able to look out over the atrium/patio. Sitting in the atrium/ground floor café meant sitting in the middle of the building, next to the best coffee in the house (the only filter coffee in the building, with all the other coffee coming from machines). As such, it was a natural meeting place; on the hour, a queue would develop at the café, as people ran to get some of the nice coffee between meetings. Sandwiches, ice cream, snacks and other drinks were also available at the cafe, which could be purchase at a reduced price. It was also a place to observe people, like on a theatre stage, since everyone moving around within the building was able to see what was happening on the ground floor. This was the place where the main innovation driver had set up an office space under a tree.

The space under this tree was always filled with things like post-its, posters, flyers, images etc, even when the main innovation driver was not there. When the main innovation driver was sitting in this spot, on the other hand, anyone

was welcome to approach him/her with any innovation-related issues: This could involve pitching an idea, asking for advice on how to progress, or asking for help with a workshop. The main innovation driver often tried to encourage people to "come in under the tree": When making an innovation presentation at a division meeting, for instance, s/he would explain, at the end of the presentation, that his/her innovation services were available to everyone and that s/he was available "under the tree" (field notes 2014-06-16).

4.1.2 Innovation room

The company had a special room called the innovation room. This room had been created as part of the previous innovation management system at the company, jointly developed with a company called Ideo[11], and was geared towards enabling design thinking workshops. At the studied company, design thinking was a work method, or a structured process, used during workshops. This method focused on reframing a problem and understanding it better, before moving towards a solution. By better understanding the problem at hand and focusing on the needs creating the problem, it is thought that a more adequate and creative solution can be found. After understanding the needs and framing them, the next step is to generate ideas (called *ideating*), and to create concepts that address the challenge. This step usually involves working with sticky notes, and clustering different sticky notes on the basis of the ideas written on them. After clustering them and deciding what to move forward with, a solution is prototyped, often using very simple tools (e.g. drawing, role play, clay models etc.). During design thinking processes, prototyping is started very early on, so that the idea can be tested (on a colleague for instance), and then further developed. This ideation – prototyping – testing sequence is performed several times, i.e. iterated; each time, the test results are used to refine the prototype and the idea. The point is to build simple prototypes and make fast iterations, until the optimal solution is found.

The room had whiteboards on all its walls, and no windows facing the outside world, only the corridor. It was full of objects differing from the open office space dedicated to regular work. There were snacks, drinks, different kinds of pens, papers, mosaics, wigs, glue, piles of sticky notes, sweets, feathers, foam boards containing images and sticky notes, rollups, scissors, electronics, an old phone, cable extensions, a broken coffee cup, a photo of a cat, and fun exclamatory sentences on the whiteboard, e.g. "Aesthetic knowledge is the shit!", "Insights? HUNCHES!", "To do: buy more medals" and a hand-drawn stylized logo of the company with the name "Banksy" written next to it, mixed with remnants from previous conversations and workshop planning, e.g. a

[11] A world-renowned consultancy in design thinking.

poster for a workshop entitled "How do we use technology to reveal the unknown?" (observations 2015-09-23, 2015-10-22, 2015-11-12, 2015-11-30).

The innovation room had windows facing the corridor; or rather, the wall facing the corridor was made of glass. As such, what was happening in the room, and the mess, was visible from the outside. Also, things were hanging on the glass walls facing both directions, making the innovation room overflow into the corridor. Physical delimiters like walls are usually fixed, and do not easily expand. But, in the case of the innovation room, they did: This room overflowed into the corridor due to posters and notes hanging, not only on the walls of the room, but also on the walls outside of it. Even though it was prohibited, and there were generally no posters on the walls, outside the innovation room, this rule did not seem to be obeyed. Walking down the hall, the messiness overflowed, making any passer-by aware that he/she was approaching something different. In this way, the innovation room was expanding, and the space outside it was also becoming a creating space. Also, the glass wall of the innovation room was helping to make the mess inside visible, and to visually spread into the otherwise orderly space outside.

One day, a manager urged the former innovation management system employees to clean up the space, saying the room was full of "crap" (field notes 2015-11-12). The employees' response was that sometimes, when you are doing rapid development in the workshops, you need pre-fabricated props, because there is no time to build everything each time. The innovation management team had appropriated the space and had created a space at the company that did not resemble any other space, because the physical aspect of the design thinking workshops requiring this. They defended the fact that the room needed to be full of crap. Still, a clean-up and a clear-out were carried out, which involved throwing many things away and sorting and putting others back in place. The manager was pleased with the result, saying that the space now looked much nicer. The manager thought this was important because the room was often used for guests from other organizations, whereas other spaces at the company could be disorganized because no guests ever visited them (informal conversation during shadowing, field notes 2015-11-12).

The kind of playfulness seen in the innovation room was also found in the common area on the ground floor, where swings had been placed along the glass wall, offering a view of the outside. However, these were seldom used, with one employee saying "I never use the swings because people think I'm not doing any work if I'm there" (observation, field notes 2014-03-24), showing that being playful seems to be taboo and inappropriate in the workplace – even in a space designated for playfulness.

Physical delimitations and information posters thus separate creating spaces from other spaces in the organization. The designated creative spaces have physical and constant borders, such as walls and doors, which function as division markers; in the case of the tree, the dividing line is invisible but clear since it is literary *the area under the tree*. These spatial delimitations mark the space around the physical location of creativity at the organization. At the entrance to the innovation room, there are notes providing information about what is in the room, while under the tree, there is a banner around the trunk, and a table stretching around the tree and clearly indicating exactly where *under the tree* is, as well as informing about what the space under the tree is all about for anyone wondering. Besides the information banners telling people where creativity was located, it was also possible to identify with bare eyes that these spaces were different due to the visual aspect. These spaces were messy, in contrast to the cubicles in the open office space (i.e. regular workspaces). Both under the tree and in the innovation room, there was an abundance of sticky notes, pens, and tech objects, as well as garbage like old sweet bags.

Entering a designated creating space is easy because it has a physical location: it is clear where to go. However, it is also difficult as entering such a space may not be legitimate for all. For instance, employees said there was a taboo attached to sitting in the swings in the open space, indicating that it may not be easy to go into the innovation room, or at least this may come at a price: losing face in terms of seriousness and dedication. Approaching the main innovation driver under the tree may also be difficult. Standing under the tree, talking with the innovation driver, means being exposed and seen by colleagues. Others (managers and peers) at the company may wonder what a particular employee is up to talking to the innovation driver, so it may not be permissible for everyone to be under the tree. In this sense, it is easier to enter the innovation room because it is less exposed. However, you need an errand to be there whereas you could just stop under the tree to say hi in an informal and spontaneous way. Under-the-tree and the innovation room functioned like back offices for creativity, where the resources to be creative were stored, rather than spaces for generating creativity. To generate new ideas, there were instead temporary spaces organized.

4.2 Temporary spaces

Spaces were created temporarily so that creative work could take place, two examples being design thinking workshops and hackathons.

4.2.1 Design thinking workshops

At the end of 2015, the main innovation driver was asked to design and lead a workshop regarding a potential research collaboration with several other

companies and a university of technology. The aim of this workshop was to have the different organizations explain their reasons for collaborating, and to find the common points so they could design the collaboration in a way jointly meeting the different goals of the participant organizations. The main innovation diver, being an expert on workshops, seemed to be ideal to lead the workshop, but had not explicitly been asked to organize a *design thinking* workshop. However, seen as this person was a design thinking expert, s/he used the design thinking methodology in the workshop. The vignette below explains how the workshop practices create tension, and how this evolves during the course of the workshop:

Main innovation driver (design thinking) workshop

This workshop has a dozen participants and the main innovation driver arranges the tables into small islands with four participants each. Four companies (including the studied one) and the university of technology are represented. The main innovation driver explains that it is people who collaborate, not organizations. Therefore, the first step during the workshop is an exercise whereby the various participants introduce each other and their interest in the workshop using sticky notes. This exercise takes a considerable amount of time away from the scheduled workshop, and some participants seem impatient. One person tells the main innovation driver during the break, that it is time to start discussing synergies and common needs because time is running out; there are only 40 minutes left. The main innovation driver says not to worry, there is enough time, and then smiles. The participant says "ok", but looks worried and doubtful.

After the break, the main innovation driver gets them to do an exercise where they present their different views of what to do next, again using sticky notes. The answers include making a plan, setting up clear goals, and finding a common ground for collaboration. The participants ask for "crisp and concrete areas", wanting to "find win-win scenarios for all". These were the aims of the workshop from the outset. Some of the faces seem worried as they are more than halfway through the workshop and still have, what seems to be, all their work ahead of them. The main innovation driver delicately asks if they can decide on an action plan. A conversation starts to unfold whereby the different participants start raising doubts about the collaboration, revealing what they are afraid of. For the hosts, unequal participation seems to be the biggest fear; they don't want to be "just a technical component" of the research project.

After only a few minutes of conversation, the main innovation driver has to wrap things up to finish the workshop, and a quick round of evaluation is done. The participants are asked to stand in a circle and then each one is given 30 seconds to provide feedback. Comments from the round of evaluation show a mix of contradictory impressions. Some people thought the workshop was neither "concrete" nor "crisp" enough, while others thought the "atmosphere" and "flow" in the group were interesting.

The main innovation driver has to quickly wrap up the workshop as time has run out, but all the participants stay and continue discussing things. This is quite surprising, seeing as it is Friday afternoon and most people want to rush home to their families. Twenty minutes later, nine people are still in the room discussing things and it takes all of 40 minutes to empty the room. During this time, the main innovation driver recollects the work, takes photos of the post-its (to send to the participants as notes from the workshop), and puts the tables and chairs back into their original positions. (field notes 2015-11-27)

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During the workshop, the participants showed some frustration over the lack of efficiency and clarity in what they were doing: They had expected something more direct, exercises directly linked to finding common points of interest. Others seemed intrigued by this alternative approach, appreciating the unusual atmosphere that had been created by moving away from the structural level towards the individual level. Two participants arrived late, but separately. Both times, the leader needed to interrupt the ongoing activity and introduce the newcomers to the work being done. This interrupted the flow of work, and the latecomers were still unable to participate as actively as the rest because they had not been part of the preceding activities. There is, thus, some kind of flow and dependency in the activities of the workshops, making it more difficult to join in when arriving late. Also, recapping the status of the workshop for the newcomers interrupts the flow of the work, which is annoying for all the participants present from the beginning. The best thing is when everyone is present all the time, meaning that there is little flexibility; ideally, you are either in for the full ride, or you are out.

The method used by the main innovation driver during the workshop was perceived as unusual, and as somewhat uncomfortable for the participants. The participants came to the workshop expecting to dive into the topic immediately, finding common ground and the needs common to the organizations, but they were stopped by the main innovation driver. S/he made them look at themselves as people instead of representatives of their respective organizations, and made them meet on a personal level, on a human basis. Some of them were provoked, maybe even feeling it was a waste of time as they did not start on creating an action plan. Also, they were not so aware that their late arrival was not a good idea, showing that this way of working was new to several of them. Reflecting on the workshop, the main innovation driver explains: "You have to dare to step back and wait a little, to be very lost sometimes. Result-oriented people may be paralyzed" (field notes 2015-11-27). S/he recalls a workshop where one person had to leave because s/he could not handle moving away from focusing on the goal. Engineers seem to be trained to find solutions fast; thus, stepping back and taking a planned detour before reaching a solution is

not easy for all employees. However, at the end of the workshop, the discussions were lively, and the participants openly discussed issues that were quite sensitive regarding their doubts and fears about the collaboration; i.e. issues that you would not expect to hear from people at a pre-project meeting, according to the main innovation driver.

Another example of a design thinking workshop was when the company tried to collaborate with the city's symphony orchestra. The reason the company tried to set up this collaboration with the orchestra can be traced back to the notion of open innovation being talked about at the company. At the company, open innovation is the notion that not all new ideas arise internally: There is a need to collaborate with other people, people in other domains, to get more creative ideas: "We will not be able to do all our innovation ourselves in the future, the competition is fierce." (First-line manager A, meeting observation, field notes, 2014-06-25). Therefore, when the Site Manager (the manager responsible for the site as a whole, and the highest manager at the site) met with somebody from the city's symphony orchestra, the notion that maybe something interesting could be born of collaborating with them was kindled. The Site Manager did not have anything specific in mind more than the belief that something interesting could happen. Some employees shared this belief, eagerly deciding to jump on board by booking an initial meeting with the administrative staff of the orchestra in order to look for common challenges and to see if they could collaborate on a joint project that would be helpful to both organizations. Both parties were concerned with their long-term survival: The symphony orchestra feared lacking musicians for their orchestra in the future, while the employees of the company foresaw a future lack of engineers and people with an interest in technology to employ. In the music world, children are using apps more and more to create music, while classical music is fading out. In the same vein, the employees explained that, today, children are using a lot of technology but few are interested in making it (field notes, meeting observations 2015-09-24). After successfully managing to find this joint challenge they believed they could help each other with, they had a second meeting, this time during a design thinking workshop at the studied site. The following vignette illustrates how the workshop was designed and played out:

Design thinking workshop with the symphony orchestra

The aim of this workshop is to find the needs and aims the company shares with the symphony orchestra. This workshop is scheduled to take six hours and is moderated by an employee with a PhD in innovation management. Twelve people are present in the room: i.e. 6 from the company, 4 guests from the symphony orchestra, the workshop leader, and myself. Before the first workshop activity takes place, they are asked to do a warm-up exercise: i.e. doing portraits of each other working in pairs. They do several rounds of quick portraits, under

different limitations, e.g. not lifting the pen from the paper, not looking at the paper, and spending only 30 seconds on the drawing. Then it is time for a "fishbowl".

The fishbowl is set up by seating the four symphony orchestra people at a table facing each other and letting them speak about their visions and challenges, under the guidance of the moderator, who poses questions. The people from the company listen and take notes. After 15 minutes, the conversation is interrupted by the moderator and the listeners repeat what they have been hearing over the past 15 minutes, with the orchestra employees taking notes. Several times during this activity, the moderator strongly reminds the participants "don't jump to solutions!", focus instead on the needs underlying the problems. Then, the same process is repeated but with reversed roles: i.e. the company employees discuss while the orchestra people take notes, and then repeat back what they have been hearing.

The intensive listening and note-taking is done on post-it/sticky notes. During the next step, the post-its are put up on one of the glass walls of the meeting room. A process of "affinity diagramming", or clustering, is started up, during which common themes start to crystallise. After that, they start prototyping ideas, in two teams, as regards what they could do together that meets as many of the challenges/needs as possible. They prototype and present their ideas to the other team several times to get feedback and refine the idea further. The ambiance is relaxed if slightly stressed as a lot of work has to be done in a very short period of time. Laughter can be heard on several occasions in the room: people seem to be enjoying themselves. They work with pens, paper, scissors and a mountain of random things such as magazines, feathers, glitter, and glue. Some of the ideas that pop up are not very feasible in their current state, but the company employees encourage these ideas, explaining to the orchestra employees that, although an idea may be crazy, it might still be conductive to other, more realistic solutions. (field notes, 2015-10-13)

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During this workshop, the leader made an effort to keep the participants in visionary mode, several times, rather than killing their ideas off too soon because they were not realistic: In one of the projects being developed, a space journey was involved. Another thing that presented a challenge was focusing solely on problems and visions initially, during the fishbowl activity, and not attempting to find solutions.

It is interesting to observe how a different practice was embraced by all the participants: They all actively engaged in cutting, gluing, and drawing, using other items available in the room, e.g. chairs and scarves, to illustrate their ideas when pitching them to the other team. The design thinking workshop thus constitutes a moment in time when the rules of regular work are set aside, and other rules apply: Visionary and crazy ideas are encouraged, and people are allowed to be crazy and theatrical.

During the two design thinking workshops, the glass walls are used as spaces for clustering sticky notes and making drawings, making the work done visible to the other side. During one of the workshops, the leader says that the cleaning staff do not appreciate the glass being used, but that they will do that anyway. There is a whiteboard in both of the rooms that can be used for the same purpose, but the glass walls, in both cases, are much larger than the whiteboard, allowing more people to work together and to make the clustering area larger than needed, thus providing more space in which to be creative. During both workshops, there were discussions about certain sticky notes, which had been moved back and forth by different participants. One solution implemented to settle this quarrel was to make a copy of the note, so that it could be included in two different clusters. The unlimited space used for the clustering gives a sense of an unlimited number of potential clusters, even making unlimited numbers of duplicates possible, in such a way that a smaller surface such as a whiteboard would not provide.

During both workshops, the flow of activities is meticulously planned beforehand. In the case of the first design thinking workshop, the main innovation driver planned it all alone. In the case of the symphony orchestra, the leader of the workshop did it jointly with all of the innovation people and two students (5 people in total) the day before. The flows of all the activities were drawn on a whiteboard, and time slots were assigned. These were discussed and readjusted several times, and the order of activities was also altered several times. During design thinking workshops, structure is important and rigid, making it a planned and programmed activity that people need to sign up to in its totality. It is not a drop-in activity you can enter and exit as you please, like hackathons.

4.2.2 Hackathon

Hackathons are hacking (i.e. coding) marathons, usually 24 or 48 hours long, when people get together in a designated area and jointly work on ideas, both intensively and in parallel groups. The idea of the hackathon is to develop ideas and work on things outside of your regular work. As such, hackathons create a moment in time when employees can let go of their regular work and engage in coding things that have not (yet) become part of the business offering of the company, having some fun at the same time.

These creative moments, or hacking events, are organized globally or locally. Sometimes, they have a specific topic, e.g. a research project, and sometimes they are more generic, e.g. one event was called "Global hackathon" because hackathons were held in all the facilities of the company globally, and in parallel. This hackathon had been announced on posters in the building about a week before the actual date of the hackathon. The location of this hackathon was in

the ground floor cafeteria/atrium. The atmosphere at this hackathon was different from the regular work climate, as this vignette shows:

Global hackathon

On entering the building, the buzz in the atrium is higher and more people are visible than usual. Temporary workstations are created on the café tables and many objects, not usually present in the atrium, are visible: i.e. TV screens, moveable whiteboards, displays with moving text, a sleeping bag, electronic gadgets, lots and lots of extension cords and cables, bags of potato crisps and a pile of energy drinks. The atmosphere is something like a 'nerdy hackers get-together'; chaotic and relaxed but focused and hardworking. One of the TV screens is showing live cams from the other sites; all the hackathon people are able to watch each other working in real-time.

Teams are set up on the basis of interests: Each table is designated for an idea and people can come and go as they please. At any given time, the people at one table may never have met before. Around 40 people are engaged in the Hackathon. However, it is difficult to see who is in the hackathon and who is not since the participants are constantly moving around, stepping aside to speak to a passer-by, and sometimes a passer-by sits down for a short while, either to provide input or just to listen or observe.

At one table, 5- 6 guys are sitting with their laptops open. They are in their 40s-50s, and they are not the average coders: These guys are a bit better dressed than the t-shirt, old jeans and indoor slippers commonly seen among coders. Instead they wear polos, shirts with rolled sleeves or even a blazer, and shoes. They set up a virtual chat room, even though they are sitting right in front of each other, because it is easier to share code this way. For periods of several minutes, not much happens at the table, although people are chatting and moving around in the background. Those at the table click on their laptops and exchange a sentence or two here and there: "Clients don't want to see services. They want products." or "My boss thought I should work instead [of joining in with the hackathon]. I'd better duck out for as long as I can and do my work tonight instead". It is difficult to grasp what they are doing just by observing; however, they are clearly not brainstorming in the real world since there is little talk, and neither are they in the virtual since there is not much keyboard chatter. When one of the guys at the table summons the others, for a "quick demo" of a programming tool, they all get up and go to look at his screen. They stand quietly watching, some with their hands in their pockets, others with their arms folded. Some passers-by also stop and look. One of the observers exclaims "Damn, that's really cool!" and they move back to their seats, or move on to other tables (in the case of one passer-by).

Suddenly, someone speaking into a microphone on the other side of the main innovation driver's tree interrupts the quiet ambiance at the table. Some of the people at the table get up and join the crowd that is building around the speaker, while others stay at their laptops. The person with the microphone started interviewing a few people about the pros and cons of two

different coding languages, and this talk was broadcast to the other hackathon sites. (field notes, 2015-10-22)

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The hackathon showed, in three ways, a more unrestricted way of working than usual. Firstly because the people themselves decided whether or not to participate; if they did participate, they were able to change table, or the idea to work on, during the course of the hackathon. This kind of flexibility is not part of a regular work day, when different meetings are set up with other people and deadlines have to be met. Secondly, the people in the hackathon were working across organisational boundaries; often, those collaborating had never met before, something which also indicates a different way of working than usual. Thirdly, the ambience was very different to that of the regular work space:

> At the hackathon, it's totally undemanding. 'We have a crazy idea, maybe this could be done, does anyone want to join in?' And so 'yay, that sounds like fun!' What do we have, how should we do things, we don't know, somebody just starts building, software development is creative in itself!
>
> Hackathon participant,
> recording of informal conversation 2015-10-22

The people and the gadgets were occupying a space not usually designated for work: i.e. the café. The gadgets were not only useful when it came to making the hackathon a reality, they also sent a strong symbolic message: i.e. here, something out of the ordinary is happening and it is slightly crazy. For instance, one person had brought a sleeping bag. This sleeping bag somehow symbolizes the true spirit of a hackathon – *you work nonstop until the end of the hackathon, you do not abandon your team and go home*. In reality, the employees rarely sleep over during a hackathon, but it has happened at least once (field notes, 2015-10-22). The space was not unlike a gaming convention, with the hardware, the snacks and the engaged yet relaxed as well as free atmosphere. The term "crazy" is an important element of the hackathon, according to the quote above, too. It should allow craziness, e.g. making a competition regarding the first team managing to write code that heats up the hardware (a Raspberry Pi) so much that it starts to burn (field notes 2015-10-22).

Design thinking workshops, and hackathons, set up a temporary situation, or episode: A specific place (e.g. a room) is temporarily assigned the status of a creation space where the ongoing activities and the rules of regular work are temporarily suspended and where creative work flows for a limited period of

time. As such, the creating spaces push regular work aside and invite creative work to take the focus instead, asking participants to leave their regular work and enter into a creative work mode. When the time is up, everything goes back to normal, i.e. regular work. The entering process differs between the two temporary creating spaces. Participants are invited to design thinking workshops. Thus, the employees do not choose themselves to take part (of course, they do decide whether or not to accept an invitation, but participation is only possible by invitation), as they do in hackathons. Hackathons are open to anyone to participate in, with posters informing people of their existence a few days in advance. Entering the hackathon is at the discretion of the employee; each employee can choose to participate or not. This is not entirely true since there is no guarantee that all managers will approve of their employees engaging in the hackathon; this also depends on how the regular workload is at the time in question, something which will make it more or less likely that an employee will join the hackathon. However, participation is freer than in the design thinking workshops.

Besides the need to be invited to a design thinking workshop, there are also other elements that make participation in hackathons less complicated than the design thinking workshops. During a hackathon, people are allowed to move freely between ideas and to come and go as they please, since hackathons are self-organizing. Even those not involved in a hackathon most likely know that it is happening: Hackathons are advertised several days in advance, in common spaces and lifts, and when they take place in the middle of the building, nobody can avoid seeing or hearing them. During the design thinking workshop, the moderator has planned the session, meaning that there is a certain level of dependency between the activities, and the participants cannot come and go as they please. They need to agree to join in for the entire duration of the workshop or risk disturbing the workshop; the workshops are not advertised in the same way as hackathons since only the invitees need to know about them. Although entering a hackathon is easier than entering a design thinking workshop, because there is no gatekeeper deciding who is invited, this also makes participation in hackathons less legitimate. The participating employees sometimes need to compensate by working in the evening, and trying to hide from their managers. During the design thinking workshops, on the other hand, participation is more legitimate: The invitee has been judged to be useful for a certain task, and thus it is easier to accept than to decide to drop regular work and engage in exploring a hackathon. A gatekeeping function can thus help to make the transition to the creating space easier – because it involves selecting who is supposed to enter.

Design thinking workshops take place behind closed doors, making walls and doors their physical limits, similar to the designated space. However, due to

being a temporary space, design thinking workshops generally do not have information posters indicating the occurrence of a design thinking workshop (as the designated spaces have posters indicating that they are designated creative spaces). This is not relevant as only the selected and invited participants are expected to take part, and they know that the workshop is taking place, and where. Hackathons, on the other hand, have less clear physical delimitations. When organized on the entrance floor, at café tables, it is not clear where a hackathon starts and ends; other people, who are not in the hackathon, can be having an informal meeting at a table right next to the hackathon, and can seem to be a part of it. The hackathon does not, however, extend to the whole building, so there is a limit: This is drawn by means of the invitation posters stating the location, e.g. the "ground floor café", and by means of the mess, but not by means of clear lines such as walls. There are also screens mirroring hackathons at other sites. These screens create a sense of a hackathon going on beyond the here and now, while simultaneously creating a gateway to a different dimension (both physically and in terms of temporality, since these spaces are taking place in other time zones).

4.3 Virtual space

Not all spaces have physically-manifested spatial dimensions; in what follows, a virtual space is presented, namely the idea box.

4.3.1 Idea boxes

An Idea box is a virtual tool for collecting ideas. In practice, the idea box is an online platform where employees post new ideas, with the appropriate division or unit then evaluating these ideas. Each unit has its own idea box: When an idea is posted, the assigned reviewers (a selected group of employees) get an email. They then follow the link and read it. The reviewers look for keywords in the description, e.g. the name of their own product, while reading the proposal, in order to quickly find where they should be paying attention (observation, field notes 2015-12-16). The reviewers then meet up regularly to discuss and assess the ideas. If an idea is judged to be feasible and interesting, the initiator will be given a week to develop it further. After that, the idea is reassessed, and the evaluator group makes a decision as to whether and how to proceed. If the idea seems promising, it will be handed over to a unit of relevance to its further development and implementation. Some ideas, on the other hand, are abandoned. An idea box meeting is described in the vignette that follows, illustrating how new ideas are juggled around current strategies.

Idea box meeting

Three people are present in the room, and one is on the phone, calling in from a site in China. A spreadsheet entitled "Idea Analysis", in which all the ideas are included is being projected on a screen, and the different ideas are being discussed in the order that they appear in on the spreadsheet. The spreadsheet has columns labelled "name of idea", "idea link", "creator", "round 1 start date", "1st round funded", "1st round completed date", "comment", and "[Innovation Management System] contact". Ideas are undergoing different stages, and the progress of each one is being followed up, with the next actions being decided on. Some ideas are hibernating; those are omitted and not discussed at the meeting.

In the case of one idea on the spreadsheet, they start by looking at a PowerPoint slide where the idea is presented. "First round test case" appears on the screen, which is a slide with a table containing data on different "use cases". The first-line manager says "I'm looking for some textual conclusions", as s/he clicks her way forward through the PPT presentation. The group reads the conclusions, on one of the last slides, and one person says "This idea is very realistic for production. Where should we put it organization-wise?". They decide that the manager will ask a few people if they are interested. No comments are added to the spreadsheet.

Another idea includes a change in a technological aspect. One person says "Some research has been done, I can ask him to look at it." They agree with one dimension of the idea, but are doubtful about two other dimensions because the company "is not looking at replacing" the elements that the idea would replace. The manager concludes that this is "Good creative thinking. X is a good creative person so we shouldn't discourage him" and then they decide that the manager will "ask him to relate to the strategies we already have" and "give him some background material." The manager writes this in the spreadsheet.

The next idea had "gained a lot of support, at least in France." Without discussing it any further, they decide that the manager will ask the submitter of the idea "if he wants to spend a week investigating whether or not it can be done", writing this down in the spreadsheet.

When discussing the next idea, the person on the phone says that "X has very little time to pursue this right now". The manager writes down all the progress that the person on the phone reports, in the comments section of the spreadsheet, and then asks whether they should "maybe postpone this for a month or two?" The person on the phone replies "I'll talk to him."

For the next idea, the submitter of that idea has specified that s/he needed people to collaborate on it. The manager says "I don't think we have the bandwidth to support X in Italy". The manager then writes "send to the support organization, maybe they want to engage with this" in the spreadsheet.

They talk about three more ideas during the meeting, which lasts 1 h 10 min. Before splitting up, they decide on a date for their next meeting, which is one month later. (field notes, 2015-12-16)

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At the idea box meeting, one challenge lay in understanding the level of feasibility and how to move forward with ideas that are too new, not very concrete, or too visionary. However, the evaluators knew the importance of not discouraging people from sharing ideas through the idea box, and were careful not to reject an idea too soon. Instead, they tried to align this creative idea with current strategies, i.e. bring it closer to current operations. Another challenge lay in finding the right context for further developing the idea. They exchanged ideas about different projects and teams, and tried to find a fit between each idea and the aims and strategies of an entity within the organization. They needed to find someone who would find the new idea of interest for already ongoing work. This was not, however, an easy task. On other occasions, ideas are frozen because the idea owner (the one delivering the idea to the Idea box) is busy doing other work. The evaluators faced the same challenge for all the ideas: i.e. finding who, or which unit, would be the recipient of the idea. In the case of not being able to find an existing unit, or existing strategy, to connect the idea to, they would go back to the idea-generator and ask him/her to align better with the strategies in place. Ideas that were too wide or radical faced the same fate: In order to make ideas more understandable, the idea-giver was asked to align them with current strategies, thus bringing them closer to current operations, rather than letting them spin off in some unknown direction.

At a different meeting, one employee described being disappointed with the Idea box: "The [idea box] says 'nice idea, how much time do you need to develop that', but no, I need help! So I stopped bringing ideas to the idea box" (employee 3, observation, field notes 2014-06-25). There is some frustration at the fact that, when an employee puts an idea in the idea box, what they can get is the time to develop it, when what the employee really wants is someone to work on it with. Finding interested stakeholders for a new idea is not always easy, especially when the idea is ground-breaking, since it is difficult to find a receiver or a unit prepared to develop it further. Another employee explains, during an interview, that s/he never posts things in the idea boxes because:

> nothing ever happens [with those ideas]
>
> author: what do you mean?
>
> Ehm… because we don't have the critical mass needed to start a development process, a debate. An idea reaches 7-8-10 people tops, absolute tops, and it's always the same people. There isn't enough 'soil' for ideas to grow in, so I simply don't believe in it /…/ Creativity, it's these wild ideas flying around that plant a seed somewhere. It isn't possible to capture it. It isn't possible to document it and to think that 'then we'll be able to see what kinds of innovations we should invest in because these [ideas in the idea boxes] have the best potential value'.

> Innovations die during this process. Except [the ideas] of people who are good at documenting and writing customer cases.
>
> Employee 18, recording 2016-09-07

According to this person, the organization fools itself by thinking that innovations are to be found in the idea boxes. The only ideas that survive in the idea boxes are the well-articulated ones, which are not necessarily the best ones. This employee also believed that the idea boxes did not reach enough people in order to be able to grow: Ideas need a crowd to develop them, which the idea boxes do not provide.

Lifting ideas out of regular work, and into a parallel dimension like idea boxes, involves two processes. Firstly, an idea has to be materialized into a text, or PowerPoint presentation, which can be communicated to others, i.e. the idea has to leave the mind of the person. Each idea has to be described in a written text, and then the idea is evaluated based on this text. Sometimes, presentations are held, and the evaluating team can go back to the slides used during the presentation. Nevertheless: the quality of the idea will depend on the ability of the inventor to communicate it. A confusing idea description will leave evaluators confused, and thus unable to assess the quality of the idea, with the risk of early rejection. The second process occurs when the idea, in its materialized form, travels from person to person: from the idea generator to the evaluators, and then back to the generator, who has to develop the idea further, then back to the evaluators again, and then hopefully on to an organizational unit which is interested in the idea and which can develop or implement it. As such, the idea box becomes a virtual space where creative ideas are separated from the idea-generator and where ideas can travel from person to person.

In idea boxes, creative ideas are lifted out of regular work and discussed by others at a different time and in a different place. As such, idea boxes make a temporal and spatial division between regular work and creative ideas. This division is created every time a person thinks of a new idea but chooses not to let this new idea interfere with the ongoing and regular work, instead redirecting the idea into the software. While the idea box helps in keeping regular work purely goal-focused, it is also thought to both save and capture the creative ideas by channelling them into a different, virtual, dimension. Since the software is constantly there, it becomes a designated creating space, albeit a virtual, designated space where the creative ideas go.

4.4 Discussion: creating spaces through boundary work

Since all work done at the company was scheduled and planned, there was also a need to find space for creative work, and to find ways of dealing with the creative ideas amidst the already-scheduled work. Therefore, various spaces were created in which to create. These spaces were created by management and went first and foremost under the label "Innovation management" – no discursive, explicit connection to creativity was made, although they were seen as spaces for creation or creative ideas. These were spaces organized *for* creativity, i.e. spaces where creativity was allowed to take place, and they were also a way to organize creativity, making sure that all creative ideas were channelled into these spaces. Creative work and regular work are not expected to happen simultaneously; instead, people have to let go of regular exploitation work in order to do creative exploration work. Switching between creating spaces and regular work spaces was one way for the company to be ambidextrous and to manage the two differing modes of work exploration (creative work) and exploitation (regular work), which are assumed to be unable to, or should not, happen concurrently. As such, these solutions represent a rational-efficient approach to organizing creativity. Regular work can stay efficient, predictable and controlled while, at the same time, creative work can stay efficient too, according to it's own rationality of mess and freedom etc.

First, the ways in which the spaces were set up is addressed, i.e. how the creating spaces were created, because this explains how the distinctions between creative and regular work were made, and what kinds of boundaries were set. Second, the differing temporality of the various spaces is addressed. Finally, the way the spaces relate to regular work is covered, revealing how boundary practices can connect the creative work in creating spaces with the regular work.

4.4.1 Labelling, crossing and differentiating

Spaces are established by means of distinction-drawing processes, making boundaries a building block of spaces (Weinfurtner and Seidl 2019). Therefore, the work of establishing spaces can be viewed as boundary work. Three boundary work processes were identified: i.e. labelling, boundary crossing, and differentiating. These boundary work processes resulted in different kinds of boundaries: i.e. physical, temporal, symbolic, and social (Bucher and Langley 2016).

Labelling was one way in which the creating spaces were constructed, meaning that certain spaces were labelled creative. All the creating spaces were labelled: The physical spaces and hackathons had information posters labelling them, the idea boxes had software with a name that indicates creativity, and the design thinking workshops were named thus. Through labelling, physical, temporal and

symbolic boundaries were drawn, pinpointing where and when the work of creating was taking place.

Engaging in creative work always involves a *boundary crossing* process: i.e. moving physically into the hackathon, the design thinking workshop or the fixed spaces, or placing an idea in the virtual space. When something has to move across a boundary, it acknowledges the existence of that boundary. Therefore, boundary crossing processes can be one way of reinforcing a boundary, or at times even of drawing it. During design thinking workshops, there was a gatekeeping function that decided who was invited, functioning as an agent for boundary drawing. This was not the case in the other creating spaces: anyone could decide to contribute during hackathons, idea boxes, under the tree, or in the innovation room. When there was no gatekeeper to decide who was in and who was out, it was easier for anyone to enter. However, the lack of a gatekeeper also made participation more difficult because this was less legitimate. The gatekeeper drew a social boundary that decides who is in and who is out. Spaces lacking a gatekeeper, on the other hand, had a symbolic boundary which was sometimes difficult for individuals to cross due to the pressure to stay focused on goals and current strategies. For every space, it was people who had moved into that space, except for the idea boxes, where it was ideas that had to cross the boundary. The boundary crossing of ideas consisted of people writing these up and posting them in the idea boxes software. As such, this was the easiest way of contributing to creativity as it did not involve any bodily movement. The boundaries that the idea had to cross were temporal, physical, and social. Writing up an idea in an idea box could be done at any time, and hidden from the eyes of peers and managers. In all the other spaces, people were visible because they had to physically move into them.

A third way of creating a boundary around a creating space was by *differentiating* that space from regular work: The inside of the creating space was more boundary-less, in various ways, than regular work. For one thing, inside the creating spaces, imagination and visionary ideas were expected to arise. Crazy ideas were supposed to at least stay alive for a while, even though they may not be realizable or aligned with strategies or goals. A kind of expansion of the mind was attempted, by lifting the boundaries of imagination. During the hackathons, a space was created where visionary boundaries are expanded through an atmosphere of freedom and craziness. By allowing craziness, an opening up of the mind was welcomed, and weird and quirky things were temporarily accepted, even if these were outside the boundaries of current strategies. The same applied to the design thinking workshops; however, during the workshops, there was a leader who supervised the work, reminding the participants to remain visionary without jumping to solutions too soon. In this way, normal rules and goals were suspended for a while, allowing crazy ideas to live long

enough to be tested and to thus not be dismissed too soon because of their unfeasibility. Under the tree, and in the innovation room, creativity was materialized in the objects. Many of the objects were things that were out of place, coming from other domains, symbolising the fact that things over and above everyday work can happen in these spaces. The tree was also a symbol of a boundary-less existence through the organic matter that a tree constitutes. Trees are governed by laws of nature, growing in their own, unpredictable way; the fact that leaves randomly fell on the people under the tree was a constant reminder (and wake-up call) as regards unpredictability, and also, consequently, as regards one aspect of creativity.

Another example of the boundary-less work done inside the creating spaces was how organizational boundaries were temporarily suspended. During hackathons, people choose which table to work at based on their personal interests, and for as long as they chose to be there, breaking the regular structure of the organization and allowing people to work with people they have never met before. This broke the internal organizational boundaries: The connections created during the hackathon were unpredictable. During the design thinking workshops, organizational outer boundaries were temporarily viewed differently to how they usually were. When collaborating with other organizations during a design thinking workshop, the aim was to find common goals and visions that could cross the boundary between the different organizations. In this way, organizations that do not otherwise collaborate may find something they share which they could pursue together, e.g. a tech company and a symphony orchestra. Also, in the fixed spaces, people could meet across organizational boundaries in an unpredictable way, and in the idea boxes. All the creating spaces thus bypassed the regular organizational structure, and people who had never met before could meet concerning mutual interests, thus contributing to the boundary-less-ness of the creating spaces. This was erasing the social boundary within the space, while maintaining a social boundary with the outside.

A third example of how the inside of the spaces was different to regular work concerns the messiness, symbolising boundary-less activities that lack control and order. Both under the tree and in the innovation room, there were messy piles of sticky notes, pens, tech and art objects, and rubbish such as old sweet bags and craft materials such as feathers, old magazines and theatre costumes. In the case of the innovation room, the physical boundary was not respected; instead, the mess inside the space was overflowing into the corridor. This overflow symbolises the uncontrollable nature of creativity, breaking even physical boundaries such as walls. Establishing a physical boundary thus helped to elevate the un-bounded nature of creativity: creativity does not recognise boundaries. During the design thinking workshops, the messiness was part of the activities of the workshop: brainstorming, or ideation, the clustering of

sticky notes on the glass walls, and the building of physical prototypes using crafting materials. These activities did not just involve sticky notes and moving around in the room; for the prototyping, all kinds of craft materials and theatre props were useful. During the hackathon, on the other hand, the nature of the work done is the same as during regular work: i.e. coding. As such, the messiness that forms the boundary with regular work is the free and crazy atmosphere of the hackathon, as well as the abundance of objects such a sea of cables, sleeping bags, and empty crisp bags. In both the designated and temporary spaces, a mess was allowed and maybe even expected. If people were to engage in this free and messy behaviour without it being labelled as a "hackathon", or "under the tree", it would not necessarily be welcome.

The idea boxes were not, however, associated with a mess. Being a virtual object, idea boxes had a different materialization than the other spaces, with the space being shared online. The idea box was only materialized once the idea box evaluation teams had had meetings and the ideas were available in both the spreadsheet and the software itself, which was another materialization of the idea boxes. The boundary-drawing process occurred with the help of the software. The meetings did not have an air of being free: They looked like any other meeting where the participants around the table had open laptops. Visionary and out-of-the-box thinking was not stimulated; rather, the opposite was happening. Imagination was constrained and confined when ideas were moulded to fit current strategies and goals, with organizational boundaries not being suspended, but reinforced and respected.

4.4.2 Temporality

The hackathons and design thinking workshops were set up every once in a while. The hackathons were initiatives that usually popped up out of nowhere. Someone had decided to label a time and space a "hackathon" and people joined if they had both the time and the desire to do so. Design thinking workshops were scheduled locally, based on whatever needs existed in projects, especially projects featuring outside collaborations; however, in the same way as with hackathons, a certain time and space was labelled a design thinking workshop. These spaces were engines for generating new ideas. The time and space for creativity are concentrated to a specific moment in time and place, with the people having to cross the boundary to enter this space. In these creating spaces, the rules governing regular work are suspended in order to create a space where minds can be freer. It is like taking a holiday from regular work and entering the bubble of a hackathon or a design thinking space. In the temporary creating spaces, the work done there is messier than regular work: It involves other work practices than usual work, and efforts are made to keep minds open and visionary. Individuals are encouraged to think outside the box

and to be more playful in these spaces than during regular work. In such spaces, it becomes possible to work other than regularly, partly because of the distance to the regular practice that you are taking a break from, and partly because of the boundaries around the space, which protect the interactions occurring in the creative spaces from being interfered with by the regular work. In these spaces, different rules apply, similarly to the spaces described by Zietsma and Lawrence (2010), Andersen and Kragh (2015), Bucher and Langley (2016), and Weinfurtner and Seidl (2018). Consequently temporal alternations between creative work and regular work is a way to draw boundaries, and the crossing into these spaces confirm and strengthen this boundary.

The temporal alternation between creating spaces and regular spaces brought dynamic variation to the work, allowing people to cross into spaces that were somehow different to regular work. Such boundary crossing has a transformational power because "something new is generated in the interchange of the existing practices, precisely by virtue of their differences" (Akkerman and Bakker 2011: 152). Creating differentiated spaces creates more boundaries in the organization which people can cross; thus, creativity can also be increased because people are being confronted with new practices, and something that is different (e.g. a mess, arts and crafts, rule-breaking, organizational-boundary breaking etc).

Other creating spaces, on the other hand, were constantly present. The designated spaces, e.g. under the tree and the innovation room, were constant materializations of creativity showing where creativity is located physically in the organization. However, even if the designated spaces act to constantly materialize creativity, this does not mean that creative work is constantly taking place there. Rather, these spaces serve as the back office of creative work, where those passionate about working with creativity meet and plan. But they also serve as creativity reminders because when passing by the room or the tree, you are suddenly struck by something that is visually different. Thus, although the space is constantly there, for the regular employees, it pops out every once in a while when passing it by, and in this way reminds people engaged in regular work about creativity.

The idea box was also a constantly present creating space. In idea boxes, it was decided which ideas should be developed, how they should be re-routed, and how they could be aligned with current strategies. These were not spaces where messiness, rule-breaking, work expansion, or the visionary expansion of the mind were allowed to rule. Instead, idea boxes were a tool for bringing ideas closer to the strategies in place: i.e. the wildest ideas were brought closer to current operations. This process made idea boxes function as a safety net for capturing ideas, only allowing recognizable ideas to pass through into the

organization, while ideas that were too creative were left out. This aspect made the idea boxes a tool for aligning ideas with the strategies and goals already in place, rather than a creating space. However, since idea boxes also connected up people and interests across organizational boundaries, they succeeded in maintaining at least one boundary-less characteristic of creating spaces: i.e. they cut across social boundaries.

The different roles that the spaces had (generators, nets, and back office), are not clearly split between the different kinds of spaces, instead overlapping. The designated spaces can also be places for generating ideas because they serve as spaces where people can either be inspired or reminded to be creative. They also serve as places in which to capture what is already there by providing a space where ideas can be shared with others. The temporary spaces also capture ideas that people carry inside them, with the virtual space also providing a space where ideas can be generated. While all spaces can, in reality, perform all the roles, every space is especially attuned to one of the purposes and thus they complement each other.

4.4.3 Practice boundaries and boundary practices

Something different happening inside the creating spaces makes a boundary with regular work. In all the creating spaces, except the idea boxes, practices were different in terms of messiness, art and craft tools, rule-breaking, visionary work mode, and organizational boundary-breaking. Thus, besides symbolic, physical, social and temporal boundaries, there were also *practice boundaries* between the creating spaces and regular work spaces (Akkerman and Bakker 2011, Lindberg et al. 2017).

What is more, there were also *boundary practices*: Practices that were overlapping between the creating work and regular work. During design thinking workshops, ideas were prototyped and elaborated using arts and crafts, which is not a common practice at the company. The design thinking workshops thus expanded work practices from coding to also include crafting using toys and art materials. The practice employed inside the design thinking workshop was different in terms of its materiality. During hackathons, the same kind of mess was to be found, with the addition of tech gadgets and junk food. However, while the design thinking workshops introduced unusual work practices, the hackathons consisted mostly of coding. Not only did this allow people to stay within their comfort zone, as regards what they are used to doing at work, it also strengthened the legitimacy of the work done during the hackathon since coding is a practice recognized as a part of regular work. This may explain why the hackathons were seen so positively within the organization: The use of a regular practice provided a bridge between regular work and creative work, making it legitimate and easy to reconnect with the regular work. As such, coding became

a boundary practice, i.e. a practice that can cross the boundary between the creative space and the regular space, in the case of the hackathon. Looking at the design thinking workshops, a boundary practice was at play there, too: i.e. the rigid method. The design thinking method has certain steps and, while the facilitator designs each design thinking workshop individually according to the specific needs and aims of that workshop, there are some features that remain constant. For instance, there is always a timed exploration phase (called ideation), with sticky notes being used to collect thoughts which are then clustered. What differs between workshops is the questions posed in order to ignite the process; however, there is some stability and predictability in the method itself. The planned and predictable nature of design thinking workshops became a boundary practice providing a link with regular work. In terms of ambidexterity, this is referred to as tight and loose coupling (Benner and Tushman 2003). The design thinking and hackathon spaces were tightly coupled with regular work in one dimension (predictability and coding), while being loosely coupled in another dimension (arts and crafts, and messiness and freedom).

Boundary practices thus build a bridge between creating work and regular work by providing a recognizable element from regular work inside the creating space. However, this is only a question of making the creating space more similar to regular work, and thereby more legitimate and less different from regular work. A bridge however implies elements can travel in two directions: The things happening in creating spaces, how do they travel into the regular work? No such movement was identified in this study, although it was an issue discussed by innovation managers, as will be seen in the next chapter.

Summary: In this chapter, one approach to organizing creativity has been described: The managerial way, in which creative work was separated from regular work. Ambidexterity has been described as a boundary work process. Certain moments were organized whereby it was permissible to be irrational and to engage in temporarily-sanctioned rule-breaking (exploration), without disturbing the order of the regular (exploitation) work. Such differentiation can stimulate creativity through the temporal displacement of people into different settings, and is also a consequence of the rational-efficient logic assumption that exploration and exploitation cannot, or should not, take place simultaneously.

5 Creating change

People working in organizations have differing roles, tasks and backgrounds; thus, their view of a particular problem will also differ. Making changes to organizations, e.g. increasing creativity, may thus trigger tensions between various views of how to make these changes, or whether to make them at all. Such disparate views are often treated as a problem by companies, with efforts usually being made to convince (preferably) everyone that the new course of action is the appropriate one. It is commonly believed that all employees should work towards the same goal. However, there is a different way of dealing with the variety of views existing inside an organization; i.e. utilizing them instead of trying to neutralize them.

Organizations that embrace the multitude and perplexity of different views have been characterized as heterarchical (Stark 2009). These are organizations that maintain the "heterogeneous criteria of organizational 'goods'" (p. 5). Simply put, they try to use the fact that ideas and convictions regarding what is good and right differ within the organization, and to their advantage. Instead of separating creative work from regular work (for instance, using creative units and regular units), they try to generalize exploration throughout the organization. In practice, one outcome of such an approach entails at least some degree of differentiation and decentralization being allowed, and people being given some latitude to decide what they deem important and relevant as regards fulfilling the goals of the organization. This chapter describes the consequences of heterarchical organization.

At the studied organization, different creating spaces were set up in order to stimulate and take care of creative ideas (as shown in Chapter 4). While both management and the employees shared the view that creativity had to be increased, they did not necessarily agree on how this should be done. Being a heterarchical organization, there was space for alternative views, with some

employees not being sure that organizing spaces for creativity was the right way to stimulate creativity.

This chapter describes an alternative view of the creativity challenge, i.e. the way the *employees* framed the creativity problem. The first section describes how they viewed the urgency of the creativity problem, and the second focuses on how they viewed the problem. These ideas and constructions lay the foundation for the actions they took to make a change, which is described in the third section; *Bottom-up creative work* which introduces two alternative efforts to organize creativity: i.e. skunkworks and a creativity team.

5.1 The urgency to innovate more

A frequently-cited rationale as to why the company needed to become more creative was that it had been, for some time, a world leader in its business sphere, but that this position was now under threat because of the increased rate of change both on the market and in the world. One example concerning the time when the company had lost part of its business to a competitor, a few years earlier, was often cited as an argument as regards why creativity was important to the organization:

> We lost our [business segment] to [competitor x] because we lacked vision. And we weren't thinking outside the box, it's a worn out expression, I know. But [competitor x] wiped the floor with us. We thought we had a damned fruitful business idea, and we stuck with it. We didn't see that this business idea's time was up. But [competitor x] saw it coming. So, in just a year, they completely wiped us out.
>
> (Employee 1, interview, recording 2016-02-17)

This failure was still remembered by several of the employees, sometimes serving as a warning about what could happen; competitors could wipe out your business segments. As a consequence, the employees were very conscious of the fact that revolutionizing inventions could appear out of nowhere, causing a dramatic and rapid market change. This unknown potential threat, where even a 12-year old child in India could be their worst competitor, according to one employee, was one reason why this company wanted to increase its creativity:

> Right now it looks like it's more important to have, to be creative because otherwise you can't cope with the speed of the market, or the speed of things, the speed of change
>
> (Employee 5, observation, recording 2014-07-03)

Some believed creativity was both so important and indispensable for the survival of the company that it was viewed as a matter of life and death, or at

least they used this metaphor to stress the importance of creativity when discussing things during a coffee break:

> People die from not being creative enough … what is the equivalent, in the past, of dying, is now not dying but maybe the company… won't last.
>
> (Employee 2, observation, recording 2014-07-03)

Creativity is needed in order to develop strategies or tools with which to hunt or find food in the forest, for instance, and thus, in previous societies, people would die from not being creative enough. Today what is at stake instead is the life of the company. Increasing creativity is a way of increasing innovation, and actually more difficult than innovation:

> It's easier to be innovative than creative. You can innovate without being creative: you can iterate your way to a solution. But if you're creative, innovations come faster and you have better chances of standing out on a market of increasing competition.
>
> (Employee 16, interview, notes 2014-03-21)

According to this employee, the survival of the company would be secured if creativity was increased, and this relief could not be provided by innovation alone. Increased creativity was viewed as a way of speeding up innovation.

5.2 Obstacles to creativity

In order to step up their game, and to become more innovative, the employees envisioned needing to increase their creativity. This seemed to involve certain changes such as breaking habits, leaving one's comfort zone and opening one's mind. While these statements describe what employees believed needed to be done, in order to increase creativity at the company, they also describe how the current status of the organization was viewed. It was believed that people set up barriers to creative thinking. They are confined by their habits, stick too much to their comfort zones, and have closed minds. Whether people have chosen to be all of the above (closed-minded, habitual, unfree), or whether they have just become like that does not matter. The starting point for constructing the creativity problems of the organization is that the people there are stuck in their comfort zones and held back by barriers. There are several ideas concerning life in the organization which explain how these problems came about, e.g. regular work and control systems.

5.2.1 Regular work

Regular work, for most employees of the company, consists of writing code. The employees engage in other work as well, e.g. having meetings and writing

emails, but this does not count as work. If someone had spent his/her whole day in meetings, and helping others with their work, instead of coding, then this would have to be compensated for by coding at home in the evening (employee 7, informal conversation shadowing, field notes 2014-06-11). Much coding work consists of correcting lines of code and making improvements. When people work too much with error correction, they forget how to be creative:

> If innovations seldom happen, and the organization is still there, it means that the organization is working with something else, right? The same thing happened when I was employed by the company. Nobody had been hired for a long time, and nobody knew what the process looked like. Ehm… when you haven't done something for a long time, the organization attunes its activities to something else. But what will happen if we think of something new and good again, and we don't have the capacity to execute it?
>
> (Employee 5, interview, recording 2015-10-09)

Even if somebody has an idea about the next big thing, if the organization is in a kind of stupor, it will find it difficult to mobilize and take action to realize its full potential. Another employee also described the same inertia at the organization after having developed a new, creative idea jointly with a client which the company then decided to reject: "Selling is not the difficult part. The difficult part is getting acceptance internally to sell." (employee 20, interview, recording 2016-10-27). Management were scared to risk promising something they might fail to deliver. In this situation, there was already a client, so there was no market risk, and there were many more potential clients so the business case was not the problem. The problem was that management had become comfortable and too risk-averse to innovate. Doing the same thing day in and day out drains people's creativity and makes managers more comfortable with the status quo, which is why regular work jeopardizes the capacity to innovate.

Regular, everyday work at the organization – coding – is viewed by some employees as routine work that makes people forget how to be creative. As such, regular work holds people back from being creative. Some other employees, on the other hand, believe that regular work is nothing but creative, and that people are creative without even knowing it. One employee elaborated on this during an interview:

> Innovation is my day-to-day work. I do 10 hours of innovation every day. Can I write it all down as innovation? No. But this is what we do, this is what they pay us for: finding new ideas, solving technical problems, that's innovation /…/ we're engineers. That's what we do. There are other engineers that only do calculations, but we're not that

> kind of engineers. We're innovation engineers. We're supposed to do innovation.
>
> (Employee 21, interview, recording 2016-09-07)

Ideas are popping up all the time everywhere, seeing as solutions are being found constantly. The opposing views – i.e. that the work done at the company is creative and that it is not creative – can be explained by the view that regular work is not creative by default, and that it is not un-creative by default, but that it *can* be creative. It is, for instance, possible to do the regular work, i.e. coding, creatively. Regular, routine work can be an obstacle to creativity, but it can also be done creatively, and it can even be viewed as creative in essence, since it is problem-solving, something which, from an engineering perspective, is creative in nature.

In order to get a better understanding of the creativity status of the company, two first-line managers sat down to evaluate the ideas in their idea boxes - not because they were asked to do this, but because they saw it as an important issue. They evaluated these as very good ideas, but very close to their current business:

> The conclusion we drew was that there are many good ideas, but they're within, they're like ... well, all the ideas were, well, yes they were the very close to the product! And it was good stuff, a lot can be patented, and you can make money on patents and so on. But it was not, [short pause] it didn't reach *outside*. / ... / We're stuck in our small, in our inner world sort of, our small cogwheels instead of seeing the bigger picture. What the *hell* are we going to do to make us think wider?
>
> (First-line manager A, interview, recording 2016-02-19; emphasis in italics)

They thought the problem of the ideas in the idea boxes not being innovative enough could be because idea boxes were not prepared for 'broader' ideas concerning the 'bigger picture', as if the space for thought was somehow limited.

5.2.2 Goal focus and control systems

Another explanation as to what is holding people back concerns the division of labour. Based on job descriptions, people are assigned different roles at the company; goal setting will regulate what people do at work. Several people, e.g. the main innovation driver and an employee from R&D, believed that the employees were good at solving problems but often forgot to ask what the problem *really* is, and *whose* problem it is, before proceeding towards solutions. When people are too focused on finding quick solutions, without drilling down

into the problem enough, and understanding the underlying issues causing it, solutions will not always be very creative. The control systems that pressure employees into delivering and achieving goals hinder employees from being creative, because people will not spend enough time drilling into the problem before proceeding towards solutions.

Also the creating spaces were perceived as being too controlling, albeit for a different reason. When an employee approached the innovation room and the design-thinking people with an idea, this idea ended up in a process that took several weeks and had to go through certain stages, designed by the world-renowned innovation consultancy Ideo. One first-line manager explained that people were lacking a forum in which to speak about new ideas and to obtain quick feedback:

> I was a bit critical of what we were doing with [the innovation management system] at the time, with Ideo and design thinking. /.../ There was too much format. At first I thought, 'yes, great, here we have the [Innovation management] team! I have a small idea, if I go in to the innovation room I can discuss it" [recounting a short dialogue illustrating what happened when a person brought an idea to the innovation management team:] - no no no, stop, first you have to go through this phase, then this phase, then that phase, and all of this takes 8 weeks.' [Big sigh] I didn't think it had to be this way. [continuing to recount the dialogue:] - Yes, now we've done some training at Ideo and this is the way to do it. - But can't we just do it a bit faster? -No, it's important to take these steps…' It was a bit like that, and I was opposed to that. So I thought we needed to do something else. That feeling started me off.
>
> (First-line manager A interview, recording 2016-02-19)

The design thinking people were the experts in focusing on problems and dedicating more time to getting behind the first obvious problem in order to really understand it before proceeding towards solutions. This was also perceived as being too controlling, perhaps because the process lasted too long. Hackathons were also perceived as being too controlling because the hackathon people were asked to be creative at a specific time and in a specific place, something which, according to the employees, was ridiculous:

> We had something called 'Innovative Mondays'. This was four hours on the first Monday of each month. For these four hours, we sat together and looked for innovations. Without any demands! [ironically] and if someone comes up with an idea, we have to type it into this tool which

> helps us to see how much money we can make from it in the end [idea boxes]. Well, that can kill off just about any innovation!
>
> (Employee 21, interview, recording 2016-09-07)

Asking people to be innovative at certain times kills creativity. As regards the idea boxes, they were too controlling because they were measured:

> [The Idea box manager] was working with the [innovation management] tasks and emails, the idea box emails and all this, and was reporting to the [innovation] manager in the US and all that, delivering all the KPIs and all that… [the idea box manager] was bogged down in all that. Which should be so creative and yet it was, somehow, it was a bit like, everything had to be measured and checked.
>
> (First-line manager A interview, recording 2016-02-19)

Measuring innovation was perceived to run counterproductive to creativity, and was even ridiculed by employees – it is just not possible to measure. However, besides strict goals and explicit control, there was also something invisible that was stopping people:

> You're not supposed to be having fun. You're supposed to be sweating out your existence. That's the motto… You do what you've been told to do because what the people in authority say is very important. Doing your duty.
>
> (First-line manager A interview, recording 2016-02-19)

The climate at the company is infused with a work ethic which states that hard work is how you should lead your life. Actually, the people themselves also exercise control over themselves, as a consequence of the control systems used by the company:

> At this company, we measure creativity [the number of ideas in the idea boxes]. This creates a total blockage because people start putting a filter on themselves: 'Is this really an idea that's worth posting in the idea box?' Well, the people working here aren't small entrepreneurs, are they?! Entrepreneurs don't have such filters, they just do it. Entrepreneurs crash and burn ten times in order to succeed at the eleventh attempt. But those people aren't here, and there's a reason for that. Because the people here, they want the security and stability of a large corporate, and that means that the people here automatically have the filter: 'Is this worth going for, do I dare, what if I fail?' These are the thoughts holding people back from posting stuff in the idea boxes
>
> (Employee 21, informal conversation, recording 2015-10-22)

This view explains that a large company will not be creative simply because the people in it will be safety-seekers and risk-avoiders. Something in the large company structure also makes creativity difficult, as opposed to a small company, according to the following interview:

> We're so slow and ineffective. We're stuck in our old habits. We know how to sell large products, and for that a large organization is needed, but it's difficult to change direction. It's like a big ship: it isn't easy to make a quick turn.
>
> (Employee 1, interview, notes 2016-11-21)

As a large company grown accustomed to delivering large products, they have developed a large structure attuned to producing these large products. This structure seems to be a hinder to innovation because it is too rigid, while innovation requires flexibility and adaptability. Smaller companies on the other hand, are perceived as more flexible to develop innovations:

> Small competitive businesses pop up, putting wedges in our system design. Stuff we could have done ourselves! … They are innovative and creative in a way we can't, we can't hatch that here at [the company] because we don't have that culture.
>
> (Employee 1, interview, recording 2016-02-17)

It is believed that innovation takes place in the beginning of the life of an organization. As it grows, it transforms into something that is not good at innovating: inflexible and difficult to manoeuvre. They perceive that there are small firms popping up everywhere around them, with more innovative innovations because smaller companies are more flexible. The issues with these small companies is that their innovations are able to put "wedges" in their large systems, i.e. sometimes competing innovations are not compatible with their large systems, which can become a problem. Either they adapt their system to fit those innovations, or they will lose customers. Or they can be the ones leading the innovation.

What is more, at a large company, people will make an effort to maintain the status quo because they want to keep their jobs. For instance, there was some controversy surrounding a new technology that some people brought up too frequently at meetings and during coffee breaks, according to management. This technology was developed by other firms, and could potentially destroy the market for the company, according to some employees, but others did not see the same threat. One employee explained that people were denying and ignoring it because they were scared that it would eliminate some of the things that the company was working with right now. Tesla was used as an analogy to illustrate

this. The attempts of other car manufacturers to become like Tesla are not going well. They cannot take the gearbox out of the car because they have many employees making them. Tesla could make a car without a gearbox, and was thus able to locate one electrical motor over each wheel. As long as Volvo insists on retaining the gearbox, it will never reinvent itself. Thus, the structure of a large organization prevents it from being (radically) innovative. As long as the company employs many people, resistance to acknowledging the competing technology under development will be fierce, which could be dangerous for the survival of the firm. At a new and smaller company, people are freer to think in a new way, because less people have invested their careers in the firm, or in a technology.

Thus, goals, measurements, an innovation management system and the size of the company, in addition to invisible control systems such as the work ethics, everyday rut and risk aversion of the employees as well as management, all constitute obstacles to creativity. These are the elements that limit how visionary people are, and somehow close their minds. Some people tried to work towards alternatives, that they thought was better suited if the company was going to survive in the long run.

5.3 Bottom-up creative work

Sometimes, the people of the organization do not care about keeping within their job descriptions. At the studied organization, this is sometimes referred to as skunkworks (employee 1, interview recording 2016-02-17) or pirate projects (skunk worker 1, informal conversation recording 2015-10-22), and happens when people engage in unsanctioned projects. In the following sections, two different kinds of unsanctioned work are described; i.e. the kind labelled skunkworks by the employees themselves and another kind of unsanctioned "skunk-like" work, resulting in the creation of a creativity team.

5.3.1 Skunkworks

Skunkworks start off with an idea (e.g. from an employee or client), which is then developed without its own budget, in hidden mode, and which ends with the presentation of the idea, i.e. making it official. Those who engage in skunkworks are rebels working against management. One skunk worker described a group of employees presenting an idea that came up during a meeting with a client, and the manager then explicitly responding that they were not going to do it: "over my dead body" (skunk worker 1, interview recording 2016-09-07). Nevertheless, this group of employees started working on the idea, even after the manager had explicitly prohibited it. The rationale behind taking such a risk, of going against the orders of management, is partly believing in the idea and partly having fun, as the skunk worker explains in an interview:

> You want to have fun at work, so you don't care about the budget and you go for it, setting up your own pirate projects, we just do it anyway. We steal some hours from these projects and put a few hours a day into this, it's a private hobby! And so, when you've put a prototype together to show off, you get a 'hallelujah!' reaction. We've spent quite a lot of time over the years just like that. Because it's fun. And you think it's fun because you know that, in the end, it'll be something that our customers use.
>
> (Skunk worker 1, interview, recording 2016-09-07)

Skunk workers disobey rules, follow their gut instincts, and are different. The skunk worker described being different to the average employee. Of the 20 people in this skunk worker's regular team, four were equally "crazy":

> Our group stands out from the crowd… some project managers think we're like a group of alley cats: impossible to manage. There is some truth in that! … [The 4 of us reach] peak level crazy, which is a bit difficult to handle.
>
> (Skunk worker 1, interview, recording 2016-09-07)

Note that the terms "crazy" and "alley cats" are used here as positive attributes of creative people, or skunk workers. Skunk workers know they do things differently; it is generally acknowledged that they break rules and cut corners.

Skunkworks represent a hidden cost, often meaning that time is stolen from other tasks, which is how it is carried on unnoticed by management. Skunkworks are generally hidden from management, but not always. Sometimes, managers just know about the concept of skunkworks, and can suspect something is going on undercover. At other times, managers are fully aware this work is going on; there are even managers who try to encourage this kind of unsanctioned operation:

> I remember when I had a manager, when I worked at a different division, my boss, when he came, he came down here sometimes… he could come into the room and say 'Well, uhm, what skunkworks are you working on?' That was what he asked. [smiles] … It was so much fun! It's not really like that today. I think our current manager is still pretty unique, but it's not quite on the level it used to be before… there are too few skunkworks nowadays I think. Yes, how are we going to find the time and space? How am I going to report my time? ... we're under pressure. We're under pressure to deliver.
>
> (First-line manager A interview, recording 2016-02-19)

Doing skunkworks is not an official way of working, although everyone knows it exists. Skunkworks are both encouraged and prohibited. This reflects its dual position as something simultaneously positive and negative. Negative because employees spend working time doing things they were never asked to do (or even explicitly prohibited), thus wasting company resources. At the same time, some of the company's most successful products were initially skunkworks. Skunkworks are where innovations are born, and innovations are what will carry the company into its future business dealings. This is why it is also positive, as one employee explains during an interview:

> So, our entire, uhm, success story is based on people having fun while working and doing things they haven't been ordered to do. They do skunkworks…but now they don't think it's efficient to have uncontrolled projects like that. And we have financial control systems and things like that so you can't sneak off for even one hour to do some skunkworks. And still, our history is paved with successful skunkworks that have become our best sellers. And they don't get it. Then they try to make a constructed, an engineered, uhm well, try to make an organized channel for creative innovation. Because they don't trust skunkworks. And that might be right, maybe it's a correct assessment. Perhaps today's system [the product they are selling] is far too complicated and doesn't allow skunkworks to be done in the same way. The skunkworks era might be over. Maybe, maybe not.
>
> (Employee 1, interview, recording 2016-02-17)

A strong pressure to deliver keeps the possibility of doing skunkworks at bay; however, when the possibility of doing skunkworks is taken away, the future survival of the company is jeopardized. Therefore, some employees refer to the reduced space available for skunkworks as a problem. They explain that skunkworks are dead today, and that innovation systems are there to replace them; however, it is not clear if the innovation systems can replace skunkworks:

> This organized creativity, for instance using hackathons and so on, is a way of trying to compensate for this [uncreative culture]. And of harvesting the little creativity that still exists. But I don't think it's the same thing [as providing the slack enabling skunkworks to take place].
>
> (Employee 1, interview, recording 2016-02-17)

The organized structures and highly set goals that reduce slack minimize skunkworks and, according to the employees, the creative flashes and volatile ideas that skunkworks used to be are nowadays squeezed into formalized and transparent innovation systems. However, organized creativity does not seem to be as fruitful, i.e. as creative, as skunkworks.

Other employees do believe that skunkworks are still alive, albeit not to the same degree as before. These opposing views can be explained by the secrecy involved; skunkworks simply remain unknown until after the fact. However, some within the organization believe that there are rebels working in hidden mode within the organisation, and in opposition to the official narrative. And they believe this kind of work should exist, even though the organizational systems minimize the possibility of doing skunkworks by imposing strict temporal and budgetary controls.

Engaging in skunkworks means bypassing authority and taking decisions on a lower hierarchical level than is allowed. This may be triggered by troublemakers seeking fun and excitement, but may also sometimes be triggered because it is unclear whether or not an idea is aligned with strategy. Evaluations of the relevance of undertaking a certain project can differ; belief in the executability of an idea can also differ. Some people just take matters into their own hands and risk going against the will of superiors and forsaking other projects, and/or personal time, by engaging in unsanctioned or prohibited projects. When engaging in something during your own time, and running the risk of forsaking other duties that are not secret, people decide to do this because they are driven by passion and the desire to have fun at work, or because they know that it will be a success, or perhaps also because they seek excitement. While skunkworks are theoretically possible for anyone to do, it is only possible for brave people willing to take a risk.

To sum up, skunkworks threaten efficiency since it delays the progress of mandated work. It also threatens effectiveness since skunkworks are highly risky, at least from a managerial perspective. Nevertheless, they are perceived to be an essential part of the organization and an important factor in explaining the success of the company: This is where several the ground-breaking innovations were developed which went on to become important elements of the company's core business. One explanation for the positive view of skunkworks could be that only successful skunkworks are known about: The amount of time lost by employees engaging in unsanctioned work is unknown. It also relates back to an understanding of creativity as uncontrollable, and rebellious. It is through breaking rules that creative ideas come – at least some of the employees were convinced of this.

5.3.2 Creativity team

The doubt as regards whether or not the innovation management system was the right way to do things led to one first-line manager starting to look for other ways of working and stimulating creativity. This person had only recently turned his/her attention to the need to increase creativity and could explain how this shift came about:

> I'm very obedient. I'd rather do the things I have to do than the fun things… But then I thought; 'damn, now I'll do what I *feel* like doing for once'.
>
> (First-line manager A, interview, recording 2016-02-19, emphasis in italics)

This employee experienced a shift in his/her mind-set, transforming from an obedient employee, operating within the authorized and defined framework, into someone who follows his/her own feelings and actively searches for the unexpected. When coincidentally coming into contact with a creativity consultant, this first-line manager became curious.

The consultant worked with artists and artistic methods, applying these to non-artistic organizations. In the spring of 2013, the first-line manager was invited to take part in a 24-hour innovation lab led by an artist, free of charge, as a way of showing what the consultant could do for the company. However, at the last minute, the manager had to cancel, but passed on his/her invite to a colleague, who was another first-line manager. The lab was about alternative ways of seeing innovation, more specifically socially-responsible innovation. The lab involved eight people working at different companies and four students travelling around town in an old, ornamented hippie bus. The participants visited about 10 different sites in Gothenburg (including the offices of the studied company and the School of Business Economics and Law), evaluating them in terms of how well these places stimulate innovation. They all slept together on the floor of the consultancy office, then building their own innovation-stimulating environments in an abandoned warehouse, based on the input gained from analysing the other sites. The first-line manager from the company seemed very pleased and inspired; according to the other first-line manager, s/he was on fire upon returning. It had been a unique experience, something out of the ordinary. The manager of the unit (a few levels above the first-line managers) said:

> [S/he] was very enthusiastic after returning, feeling like it had started a lot of thought processes. Then we thought about how we could spread this to more people at the organisation, because it felt like it had started something, something good, although it was hard to put your finger on exactly what it was.
>
> (Unit manager, interview, recording 2016-03-01)

Among the two first-line managers and the unit manager, there was a feeling that something promising had started, without really knowing what, and they were enthusiastic about it. The two first-line managers decided they wanted to do something about these problems – the slowness of the innovation

management system developed with Ideo and the low degree of creativity regarding the idea boxes – so they met up with the creativity consultant who had organized the free innovation lab. They asked how much an innovation lab within their division would cost, then asking the unit manager for the funding. They also asked the first-line manager responsible for the idea boxes for permission, to avoid stepping on anyone's toes, and they were given it.

Together, the two first-line managers selected 12 people (out of 600) to take part in the second innovation lab. They selected people they thought were "interested in doing things" (First-line manager A recording 2016-02-19), making sure they came from different divisions within the unit in order to get a good spread. The selected people received an email inviting them to a 24-hour workshop called Innovation Lab. The participants did not know about each other, i.e. they did not know who had been selected, or why they had been invited. Neither did they know very clearly what the workshop was about, as the email had been very vague: it asked them to bring comfortable and durable clothes, and stuff for a sleepover. When asked why they had been selected, one team member recalled the email as giving "you're open and curious" as an argument for why this person had been invited to the innovation lab (field notes, interview with me 2014-03-11). The ones who agreed to join the workshop thought it sounded fun and important. They arrived at the workshop, which, it turned out, was being led by an artist, and the theme was dumpster diving, i.e. picking food out of the refuse bins outside supermarkets, and then cooking it and eating it. They dumpster-dived during the night, met dumpster divers and learned more about it as a movement of resistance and about the practical issues involved with it, sleeping on the floor of the consultancy (again – although this time the people were different) and, to end the lab, serving a dumpster-diving after-work buffet at the company.

After their dumpster-diving, the initiating duo (neither of them participated in the workshop but were there for the dumpster-dived food buffet) thought they should do something with the inspiration and energy the participants had gained during the innovation lab:

> We thought 'well, what do we do with this?' Because they [the dumpster-diving participants] were on fire! And they'd been pushed outside of their comfort zones and had dared to try a lot [of new things]
>
> (First-line manager A, interview, recording 2016-02-19)

The two first-line managers came up with the idea of forming a team with the aim of developing the creativity of the entire unit. They asked all the dumpster-divers if they would be willing to continue and work for creativity at the unit. The dumpster-divers responded immediately to this question and came up with

a name and a logo, already at the first meeting, surprising the initiating duo with their readiness for action: "They said 'we're going to be called the Creativity Team' and they'd drawn a logo and everything" (First-line manager A interview recording 2016-02-19). The unit manager also recalls the energy of the dumpster-divers in an interview:

> When they came back, they all felt like 'wow! we want to continue this!', and that's how the Creativity Team was created.
>
> (Unit manager, interview, recording 2016-03-01)

Here again, feelings are involved in decision-making: there was a feeling of 'wow', and there were people who were 'on fire'. Fun was also quoted as important to the Creativity Team, as can be seen in this quote from the other founding first-line manager: "I don't think you saw this as an assignment but as something fun to do. I hope. Having a team like this is the way to go!" (First-line manager B, field notes observation 2014-06-25). It seemed important that people had decided to join the team voluntarily and because they thought it would be fun, rather than just meeting orders. It was hoped that a team like this would bring in a freer way of working than had been the case to date: "We really steer innovation at the company. Maybe the next step for us is to work with creativity." (First-line manager B, field notes observation 2014-06-25). Innovation is more controlled than creativity and a creative way of working would be less controlled and "steered", and thus freer than the regular way of working. The idea was for creativity to set innovation free and to thus make innovation more radical.

This is how the Creativity Team (subsequently referred to as the C-team) was born: out of frustration combined with an initiative on the part of both management and the employees. The frustration concerned the slowness of the innovation management system, the rigidity of the design thinking methodology, the lack of creativity of the idea box ideas, and the limited scope of action. At this particular moment in time, an unusual energy was identified by some people, and they managed to take action.

While the C-team consisted of selected people, who were perceived to be willing to do something different, several of the C-team members did not identify themselves as creative. When describing why they had been selected, they were usually able to recall something that they had previously done which others may have understood to be creative, but they still did not see themselves as creative: "[We] are no experts in creativity, just normal people trying to learn and to do something useful" (field notes, team interview with author, 2014-03-11). As such, they did not perceive themselves to be a team of creative people, but a team of people trying to increase the creativity of the organization. The aim of

the team was not to provide creative input for others, or to do the creative work. Instead, the aim was to create a creativity work structure that would develop something else, something more creative than the current situation.

5.4 Discussion: the creativity problem as boundary work

Some employees were not convinced that the way in which the company was organizing creativity was allowing creativity to flourish enough, and they sensed an urgency to do something more to increase creativity. These employees believed that, when confining creative work to certain times and spaces, as in creating spaces, all the creative opportunity from the work done outside the creative spaces would be lost. They had identified regular work as an overlooked resource that they could activate to increase the creativity of the company. This doubt parallels a tension between creativity and organization, namely whether creativity can be managed at all (Hjorth 2004). Seeing as creative ideas can emerge anywhere and at any time (De Paoli et al. 2017), and seeing as creativity cannot be aimed for directly, instead appearing serendipitously (Ortmann and Sydow 2017), it is understandable that some people at the company questioned the creating spaces. They were not sure it was right to ask people to be creative at a certain time during a hackathon, for instance, believing instead that creativity should be a part of everyday work. While the creating spaces separate the exploration activities from the exploitation activities, using spatial boundaries, the C-team wanted make regular work more creative and, in doing so, blur the boundary between exploration and exploitation activities. These employees understood there were boundaries holding creativity back connected to the way the organization worked, such as goal focus, everyday rut, the safety-seeking employees etc. These were viewed as boundaries needing to be altered: i.e. through rule-breaking or through stepping out of the rut of regular work.

5.4.1 Rule breaking

The creativity-seeking employees identified a series of items which were believed to negatively influence creativity, and which describe how they drew the line between creativity and everything else. They knew that creativity would *not* be increased by means of a hard-working culture, by means of people staying within the invisible boundaries of their minds, habits and comfort zones, by means of non-entrepreneurial employees, by means of employees wanting to preserve their jobs at the risk of forsaking creativity, by means of people being too focused on fast solutions, by means of control and measurement etc. What is understood to be creativity-enhancing, or a characteristic of the desired creative state, is the opposite: People who do not follow rules (rule-breakers), people who take risks and dare to risk their own jobs (by means of developing new technology that makes their own knowledge potentially obsolete), less organizational control (some slack, making it easier to do skunkworks for

instance), and employees who are less solution-oriented and more problem-oriented. These were viewed as actions that would increase the creativity of the organization once implemented. At the same time, these actions were not viewed as pertinent to the work being done at this organization. Therefore, in order to implement these new ways of working, the boundaries of what constitutes work had to be redrawn. They perceived the organization they worked at to be viewing work too rationally and efficiently. Role models regarding what they did not want were abundant. Through their reasoning, it seemed they knew that, for instance, the monotony of Taylor's (1911) organizations would not provide the stimulation they needed today and that the bounded rational organization of Cyert and March (1963) would cut off the random curiosity that ignites new ideas. Changing these aspects of work, i.e. releasing the rational and efficient ideals, would require changes being made to work norms in order to reconceptualise the whole notion of what constitutes work. They knew of many role models that were not creative enough for what they needed; role models regarding their desired state were scarcer.

They knew that, for a state where creativity flourishes, the organization should not be too rational or too efficient. Instead, there should be some space for rule-breaking, where the boundaries of what is legal, or seen as correct behaviour, are interrupted or provoked. People who broke rules doing skunkworks had created the most creative innovations the company had seen (at least, that was how it was remembered). Therefore, rule-breaking should become the norm. However, if incorrect behaviour is officially sanctioned, it then becomes correct behaviour and stops being illegal. In doing so, it loses its power to instigate rebellion: A sanctioned protest is not a protest in the same way that allowed rule-breaking is not really rule-breaking. Therefore, in line with their own reasoning, allowing rule-breaking would *not* be creative.

Employees were elevating skunkworks as essential creative work at the company because it was thought that skunkworks had generated the company's greatest market successes through the years. At the same time, everyone knew that engaging in skunkworks had entailed some boundary violation. Instead of working efficiently and rationally towards the goals they had been assigned, they had worked secretly and on what they themselves had decided to do, for fun. This means that skunk workers had acted against hierarchy boundaries. Moreover, often they had also worked in their free time, meaning that they had potentially infringed their personal work/free time boundary. Knowing this, people (both employees and managers) still spoke positively about skunkworks.

Management systems control what employees do and set the rules regarding work. In order to do something else, people need to get approval higher up in the hierarchy, or fool the system and do it in secret. It could also be the other

way round: The fact that individual freedom and the latitude for making decisions is controlled by the organization may spur a counter-reaction, the will to mess with the system, thus creating a breeding ground for skunkworks and secret, creative intrapreneurship. Huizinga (1949) described this process thus; secrecy can help to create a temporary abolition of the ordinary world, a bubble, where other things can flourish, such as playfulness for instance. At the studied firm, the strict control exerted by the management systems may actually *stimulate* some individuals who want to play more and may help to create a feeling of "we are different and do things differently" (Huizinga 1949: 12), thus making them choose to work on unsanctioned projects such as skunkworks.

The founding of the C-team included a series of rule-breaking actions on the part of the founding first-line managers. One of the initiators of the team felt caught in a rut due to the efficiency and goal focus of the company. This person decided to stop being so obedient and to follow his/her feelings instead. In taking these actions, the first-line manager was violating the rule that employees had to work to meet their goals and, ultimately, the strategies, and to not allow their own feelings to interfere with their work. Another example of such rule-breaking action was when the two first-line managers engaged in evaluating the ideas in the idea boxes. While all employees were supposed to contribute to innovation, these two first-line managers were no more responsible for innovation than any other first-line managers. While this *could* be interpreted as a part of the job description of the first-line manager, it was not interpreted like that by all first-line managers. Therefore, prioritizing this question meant stepping outside of the authority of the first-line manager (which is further supported by the fact that they had asked permission from the idea box manager before mobilizing the C-team). Increasing creativity would, according to these people, necessarily, or naturally, involve rule-breaking and some kind of boundary provocation.

5.4.2 Trying something new

Several of the remedies for the creativity problem involved stepping "out of the box" and trying something new: opening people's minds and helping them to move out of their comfort zones. What was needed was to ignite both the will and the desire to try new things. One example of a person stepping out of his/her comfort zone is the first-line manager who decided to do something that s/he felt for once. This was a new action that s/he had never taken before: taking a decision based on desire. Skunk workers also take new action like this, at least the first time they engage in skunkworks.

The innovation labs are also examples of these new and unusual things. The first innovation lab was an unusual workshop: It involved dedicating free time, sleeping on the floor of an office, moving around town evaluating spaces

according to social innovation standards (none of which forms part of the mission of the company) and then building prototypes of physical meeting spaces (not part of the work done at the company). The lab thus pushed the participating first-line manager outside of what was normally considered to be work: The boundary regarding what constitutes work was crossed. The 12 participants in dumpster-diving experienced the same strange detour: Dumpster-diving had no connection with achieving the goals of the company. But it did involve trying something new, i.e. taking a risk and engaging in the exploration of new possibilities. These were workshops that were very unusual, and even contested, in the case of dumpster-diving: To some in the organization, it seemed to be completely nuts, and even provocative, to engage in such an activity during working hours (even though the fact that they also gave up hours from their free time had potentially mitigated the problem), confirming that creative people are exposed to conflict because they do not necessarily comply with norms (Anderson and Gasteiger 2007).

5.4.3 Heterarchy as boundary work

The fact that the mobilization of a C-team could happen, in a bottom-up, almost guerrilla-like way, shows that there was some latitude for decision-making within the organization and that the preoccupation with innovation and creativity had reached all levels of the company – although perhaps not all people or structures. This reflects the fact that there were different views regarding how creativity was best organized in practice, and these different views were granted the space to exist and be tested. As such, the company was heterarchical (Stark 2001).

The same events can also be seen as boundary work. The C-team had a view of how creativity should be managed that differed from the official and managerial view of organized creativity. They believed that more rule-breaking and stepping-out-of-boxes should be part of the work, and less importance should be given to rationality and efficiency. This put them on a path where they tried to alter the boundaries of what constitutes work at the company.

Many boundary work studies have described how professions emerge or gain legitimacy (Gieryn 1983, Star and Griesemer 1989, Fournier 2000), or how professions conduct boundary work when they exercise their profession (Chreim et al. 2013, Koppman 2014, Liao 2016). In this study, however, professional boundary work is different: Those in the profession try to imagine or visualise the necessary change to their practice that would accommodate a different (i.e. the desired) approach to creativity in the organization. Since different ideas about how creativity should be organized were allowed to co-exist within the organization, boundary work that carved out different organizational creativity solutions was done (e.g. a C-team or skunkworks). This

makes it possible to view heterarchy in practice as a boundary work process, where people with different practices or views need to negotiate with others (engaged in other practices or with other perspectives) in order to gain some space for action.

Summary: At the company there were different views about how to best organize creativity. While management had set up spaces for creativity, the employees believed this was not creative enough, and that it was an ineffective way to organize creativity. Instead, breaking rules and trying to do new things to move out of the box were two actions that the employees believed to be necessary and desirable in order to stimulate creativity. In not working in an efficient and goal-focused way, as most of the work in the organization, it was believed that other, more creative, ideas could be found. These employees started up an alternative structure to work with creativity outside the creating spaces; the C-team, which is the focus of the next chapter.

6 Creating structures

Seeing as the company was trying to be heterarchical, and to spread the responsibility for innovation throughout the organization, different views of how to work with creativity and innovation had surfaced. One group of people who believed creativity to be too organized, in all current efforts, started to work towards making a change: They formed a creativity team called the C-team.

These people believed that the employees were stuck in their regular, routine work and not being able to see the bigger picture, and that the company's strategies and control systems were making people too focused on goals and on solving problems fast, limiting the creativity of the employees by killing their passion. In trying to break free from structures and systems, they were actually constructing one: i.e. a team. Even when trying to increase freedom and rule-breaking at the company, the employees had to stick to the rules. They were, as Ortmann and Sydow (2017) describe it, "dancing in chains". Control systems ensure efficiency, goal alignment and complexity reduction, in doing so constructing a chain which binds action within certain constraints. Trying to "dance" within those constraints (or attached to a chain) represents a way of playfully and creatively dealing with the very same constraints, possibly nudging or budging them so as to alter the chains. As such, this chapter offers an insight into how employees "dance within chains", as opposed to the top-town solutions for organizing creativity presented in Chapter 4 *Creating Spaces* where specific spaces for creative work were organized.

Much previous research within the field of organizational creativity, has focused on creative teams or professions (Hargadon and Bechky 2006, Sailer 2011, Bozic and Olsson 2013, Harvey 2014, Perry-Smith and Mannucci 2017). While such studies offer insights into *the creative process,* they are based on an output-oriented perspective of creativity: They are studies of the work of acknowledged creative

teams (which are successfully creative). This study, on the other hand, focuses on a team working in order to *increase creativity,* rather than on a creative team. This gives priority to *understanding the creative process as interpreted by practitioners* at a high-tech firm, which is independent of the outcome. This team is not a creative team in the regular sense: It does not work in the creative industries, and it is not an R&D team, or a team developing a new product. This is a team trying to increase creativity. For this, it needs to be creative, of course; however, this study does not focus on the team's creative process but on its perception of organizing creativity and its efforts, in practice, to organize creativity.

This chapter describes how the creativity team worked: how it managed to formalize, seeing as it was bottom-up, and how it tried to strategize, seeing as it was necessary to communicate with the others. How formalizing and strategizing were conducted differed from the way things were usually done at the company. This alternative way of organizing creativity shows an interpretation of creativity, in practical terms, that differs from the creating of spaces.

6.1 Formalizing the C-team

The C-team was born in the late autumn of 2013 and tasked with increasing the creativity of the rest of the 600 employees at the unit, on the current site. Because the company had followed the agile way of organizing, all the employees there were organized into teams: The managers had teams called leadership teams, the executives had an executive team, and the engineers were grouped into teams with specific names, e.g. birds or emotions, with each team having goals and strategies to follow. Seeing as all work at the company is organized via teams, the creation of another one was nothing out of the ordinary. However, the way in which it fitted into the structure of the organization was not common. The first-line manager initiating the C-team personally spoke with the direct managers of all the selected members (the ones who had been at the dumpster-diving workshop starting off the team, see Section 5.3.2), in order to free up some time from their current duties so they could all dedicate 4h/week to the work to be done by this team[12] (First-line manager A, interview, recording 2016-02-19). This means that each team member would still work for 36h/week in his/her regular team. Eleven of the 12 initial dumpster-diving participants constituted the core of the team at the end of 2013. (Only one workshop participant declined to join the team, with someone from the support unit being selected as a replacement.) Speaking

[12] Each employee, in his/her job description, has a certain percentage of different tasks. Each hour of work is reported via an internal system, using different "numbers". The different numbers are different accounts, or cost centres, relating to the different tasks.

individually with each of the managers of the team members and asking them to let the team members work 4h/week with the team was an action that broke the hierarchical order: Normally, this would have been communicated via senior managers. Making agreements in a lateral way not only bypasses the hierarchical order, it also risks people engaging in work that is not aligned with their goals (and ultimately with the strategy, seeing as the goals of each individual are intricately connected with the overall goals of the team/unit/section/company).

Besides the series of rule-breaking actions surrounding the birth of the C-team (described in section 5.4.1), there were also other elements that made this team stand out from the rest. For one, the C-team was not a full-time dedicated team, like most other teams in the organization: It was a group of regular employees, with other, regular team memberships and tasks, who formed a team in order to address a task they were convinced was important. The fact that the C-team members were given only a marginal amount of time (4h/week), no budget nor manager was unique compared to the other team formations in the organization, where team members would have full dedication to one team, and a team leader with some budget. The team was never formally introduced and neither was it given any authority or space in the organizational chart. When compared with other teams, C-team had the widest spread but lowest percentage of work time involvement per employee. This could be an advantage because it brought many different perspectives into the team; it also meant that knowledge of the team could more easily be spread through the unit. However, this also meant that they were isolated upon returning to their regular colleagues, also sometimes feeling frustrated because nothing had changed in their regular work. Additionally, it also meant that their creativity work was marginal, not only in terms of time, but also in terms of people, since the team members spent more time with regular workers than with other team members.

All the team members were engineers except for two, one of whom was an administrator while the other was a communications manager (both working in the Support Unit). The team members belonged to different divisions of Unit P, schematically represented in Figure 2. Each division of the unit (Product A-D and Overall Development) had one manager; underneath this manager, there were several first-line managers. Each of these first-line managers in turn had several teams to manage, with 8-12 employees in each team. The C-team was different since it had no representation in the organigram, it did not belong to a division (and thus lacked a first-line manager), it had no budget of its own, and its people only dedicated a small part of their time to the team.

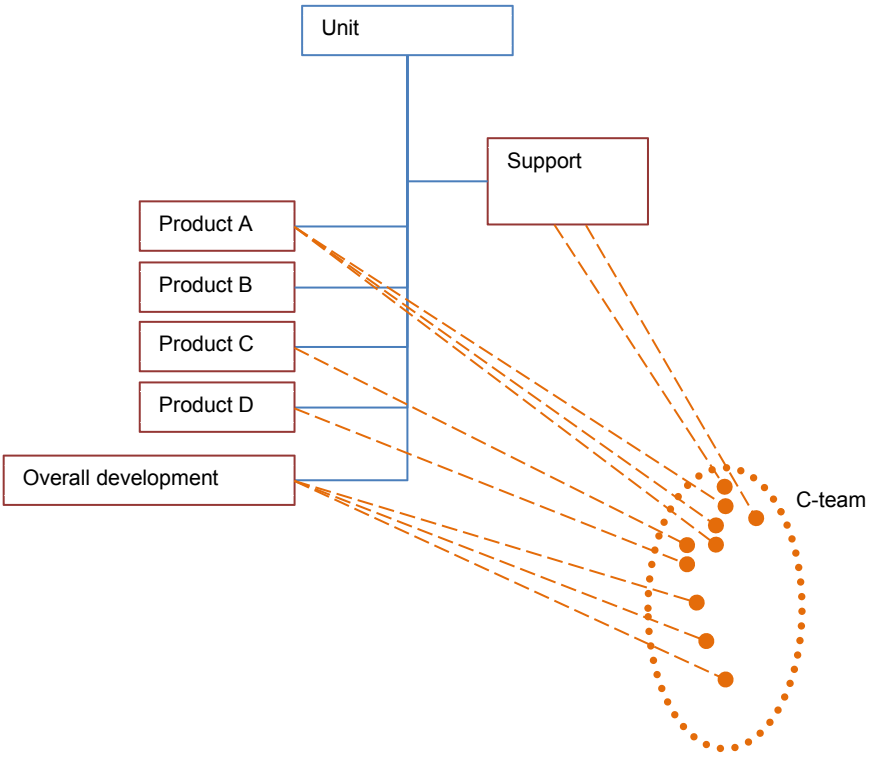

Figure 2 The C-team within the organization

The list of members of the team varied over time, and it was not always clear who was a member and who was not: "Now I don't know who is in the C-team, after the last email list clean-up" (Member 5 interview recording 2015-10-09). Some people were "prospects" or "potential new members" (field notes 2015-09-23), i.e. people invited in to replace others who had left the team, more or less explicitly, so it was not clear who was in the team. Moreover, there was no transition between being a prospect and a member, so it was not clear when and who had entered the team. The same applied to members leaving the team. Some people were members but never showed up, and the team members discussed how to handle this kind of situation like this: Should they be allowed to be part of their email conversation, or should they be asked to become more active? The size of the team (10-15 people) thus depended on how it was measured: The names on the mailing list, the number of people with a 4h/week time allotment in their job descriptions, the ones appearing at the weekly lunches, or the ones contributing to the work done by the team – all these

would yield a different member list (thus Figure 2 should be viewed as a rough representation of how C-team was made up).

The timeframe the team had was one year – one year to deliver something which is not clearly defined; creativity. The team members themselves saw this as the deadline by which they would have to prove they were useful, in order to have the possibility, hopefully, to continue, albeit in a different shape (Field notes from C-team interview with me 2014-03-11). The way their success would be measured was by its level of impact; how well known they would become. The ultimate goal, the greatest possible success, would be the CEO, at some point, mentioning the C-team (First-line manager A, interview, recording 2016-02-19).

This team was thus born bottom-up and was official, but it was not known all the way up through the organization. It was a team that was not visible in the formal organigram of the company, (all employees at the company work in teams that are visible in the organigram), and was never introduced anywhere in an official manner so not everybody at the company, or site, or even the division, knew about it (or could be expected to know about it). These factors; i.e. marginal work, unclear membership, no budget, no manager, and no place in the organigram, all meant that the C-team had a less clear and less formalized boundary around it than the other teams, making this boundary weaker than the one around the other teams.

Working in a less formalized way than usual can be interpreted as an action aligned with the desire to break free of the control and routine understood to be hindering creativity. It could also, however, be a consequence of the team's bottom-up creation: It was mainly the decision of one first-line manager (the one who spoke with the other first-line managers) who had a low level of authority and decision-making scope. It was simply not possible for somebody on this hierarchical level to make it more formalized: This would have required actions on the part of managers higher up in the hierarchy.

6.2 Workflow

During the first year, the team met for lunch one day a week to share information and ideas. The team had taken on the task of making the unit more creative. Therefore, the team spent their meetings discussing what they were going to do, what their role was, and what problems and challenges the organization was facing in order to decide what to do. The lunch meetings usually took place in the canteen at their office building on Tuesdays between 11.30 and 13.00. Sometimes, a room in the lunch restaurant on site was booked (a room designed for lunchtime meetings) and at other times the team either ate together in the common, but noisy, area or went out to one of the many local

restaurants. It was also the case that, after eating, they transferred to the large open meeting space for after-lunch coffee and a more focused and fast-paced meeting. The meetings had no agenda, so the topics would come from different team members, and you never knew exactly what would come up for discussion during them.

The focus of the meetings was on informing each other about how the different activities were developing, discussing new requests made by other people within the organization, solving problems related to the different activities, and sharing feedback from others. This would be intertwined with unstructured and spontaneous brainstorming. The pace was often fast and discussions would happen in parallel; topics were left hanging in the air, only to be taken up again later. The following episode, during one lunchtime meeting, illustrates this cacophony of topics and voices (happening at a fast pace):

Lunch meeting

Someone brings a question to the table: Could the team organize something in the café/atrium on the ground floor? They discuss bringing in old hardware, and "crap" that can be recycled. This would be an "art-activation" event. Another person suggests making a video to show on the intranet entitled "Why are [the company] people picking up trash?". A third person says they should "make a 6-monthly summary to communicate what we've done, advertise our work internally". A fourth person questions what this kind of communication should be about, is it "what we do or who we are?" They start discussing the difference, and one team member compares the team to the band Daft Punk and a video in which they wear white helmets, saying they should aim to achieve a state where "nobody knows who we are only what we do". Yet another team member asks: "Are we talking about one or two things? The discussion returns to the topic of art-activation at the café, with one team member asking if they're "allowed to do this? Leave stuff for people to play with?" Someone answers: "Don't ask for permission". They move on to discussing whether this kind of activity should be "advertised" or not, i.e. communicated to the employees, or if they should "just put the stuff there". (Field notes 2014-06-03)

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Ideas regarding what the C-team should do to stimulate the creativity of the other employees could originate from individual team members or the spontaneous brainstorming. This would often start with someone presenting a problem they had observed, with the team then engaging in finding solutions. For instance, two team members raised the concern that too much of the work done at the company is in the "sweatshop style", meaning that people are working both hard and as individuals at their workstations. One idea for mitigating this problem was having a "flash mob", but another team member countered this by saying that "this place requires surgical precision tools; they'll

be staring at their screens even more!" (Field notes 2014-07-01). They were worried that this problem required solutions on a level they would not be able to provide, so no action was taken at this time to provoke or change anything and both the conversation and the potential idea to intervene were dropped. But the will to find solutions was still there. At other times, the team engaged in meta-conversations about their purpose:

> - Sometimes I'm thinking 'what are we looking for?'. People are creative every day. We should look for something new.
>
> - We have visions, but our activities require a lot of practical work.
>
> - We need a focus. We need to know what to do. Should we [the company] work with [a new technology]?
>
> - We could look at what [the company] doesn't do. Something completely new.
>
> - We have to go out and meet other people, our friends outside the company, to find out what they need.
>
> - Asking people what they need isn't good – we should lead the way.
>
> - So maybe ask them 'what the problem is?'
>
> - That's like the Ford story; if he'd asked people what they needed, they would've said a faster horse. But that wouldn't have led to the invention of the car.
>
> (C-team members 7, 11, 12, observation, field notes 2014-06-10)

Even when engaging in meta-discussions, solutions became mixed into the conversation about the problems, the reasons for the problems, and the potential consequences of the problems. During another meta-discussion, about the importance of engaging with the whole body during creative work, one member recalled a piece of performance art by artist Marina Abramović[13], where the artist sits down and the visitors to the exhibition are invited to sit in front of her, in silence, for as long as they wish. This piece involves two people (the artist and the visitor) just sitting looking at each other. The C-team member described the fact that, during the performance of this piece of art, the artist and the visitor get to know each other via this simple act: i.e. just by looking at each other (C-team member 15, observation lunch meeting 2015-09-30), as a way of describing the metaphysical nature of the work they had set out to do.

Many conversations were like the three examples above: the problematization of the current state and concrete solutions mixed with examples of the creative

[13] "The artist is present" at the Museum of Modern Art, New York, 2010 https://www.moma.org/interactives/exhibitions/2010/marinaabramovic/marina_exhibition.html (accessed 2018-11-06)

endeavours of other people or organizations. In the sweatshop problem, the potential solution was a flash mob, while during the meta-discussions, the solution was to invent something analogous with what Ford had done: inventing the car in a world where people use horses as a means of transport, or something that the artist Marina Abramović had accomplished: i.e. a physical experience.

All three examples are expressions of criticism of the consequences of efficient and goal-focused practices: i.e. the efficiency of a sweatshop, the production of current (non-revolutionizing) technology, and the unhuman and unemotional experience of the work done within the organization. To solve this situation, they discussed various potential solutions. In the first example; breaking the rules regarding what is allowed to happen at work (including dancing); in the second, revolutionising the existing market (inventing something that totally changes the market); and in the third, expanding what is considered to be work (to not only include mental work, but to also involve an emotional and bodily experience). The team was full of desire and passion to increase the level of creativity, in addition to being eager to find solutions, so much so that the problems sometimes became entangled with the solutions, leaving them unable to take measures, as in the vignette. At other times, they came up with solutions that were of a magnitude which was close to impossible: These were rare revolutions, such as inventing the car. At still other times, they were unable to match the right solution from their toolbox with the problem at hand, e.g. using a flash mob to solve the sweatshop problem.

During the lunchtime meetings, the team brainstormed ideas about possible solutions to the identified problems, in order to find ways of stimulating creativity at the company: They focused on stimulating playfulness, rule-breaking, emotions, and something that was generally different. The team also tried to involve people from outside the organization (e.g. creativity consultants and students), in order to learn more about creativity. For instance, they held a creativity workshop internally for their team, with a student from the design faculty. During this workshop, the C-team was hoping to increase its own understanding of creativity; since the student was supposedly more knowledgeable about creativity, the instruction regarding what to do during the workshop was left open to the student's own interpretation.

One element of the workshop showed what other companies do to achieve creativity. These other companies were not just any old companies; they were acclaimed and commonly recognized as creative companies (Google, Apple, Spotify and Facebook). First, the workshop leader showed them images of these companies' office spaces, which included playful toys such as slides, swings and colourful interiors. After that, the workshop leader made them visualise how

their own company would be if it was more creative. Attempts to mimic what those companies do happened immediately: several of the ideas that people had come up with during the workshop clearly overlapped with what the workshop leader had previously shown on her PowerPoint slides: "More colours and shapes. People having fun", "I see trees, swings, dancing, soccer, the feeling of having a free mind", and "Kindergarten! Different things to play with and the freedom to enjoy". (Field notes 2014-03-24). This shows that, when trying to envision the future, the C-team would pick up images of what seems to work, what has proven itself to work. Just like Ford being used as a role model in the example of the meta-discussion, there are other company names here that are used as illustrations of the ideal, creative states that others have achieved and that the C-team wants its own company to achieve. The difference is that Ford's secret for success remains hidden and unknown, whereas contemporary companies' secret for success seems to be decipherable: for instance, they have slides and Lego play stations. The examples of playfulness, colourfulness and fun constitute an example of how to increase creativity at the company (according to the C-team members): Fun and play need to be included at work.

With the help of an outside expert, they calibrated, or aligned, their vision, i.e. a playful and almost childlike work environment, then jointly deciding on role models (other successful and creative companies). This showed them role models they could relate to: The team members were able to use them as absolute points of reference, i.e. the truly creative state to strive for. Even though this workshop was not aimed at aligning the different individuals in the team, it may have served to calibrate the team members' different visions; i.e. playfulness and collaboration, due to what the team members had said reflecting what her PowerPoint presentation had brought up. As such, it served a strategizing function in aligning and forming the ideas of the team as regards what they needed to do to achieve an increased level of creativity at the company. However, the team did not work with a strategy in the way teams usually worked with strategy in the company.

6.3 Strategizing

When new organizational units (divisions, sections, teams etc.) are created, a common activity is setting up a strategy. The importance of strategizing and following strategies is highlighted in the organization's annual report, where the strategy process is described. Each year, strategy is developed on different levels of the organization, and then approved by the board of directors (annual report 2015). Following approval, the strategy is then disseminated throughout the organization in a top-down manner, and "cascaded" throughout the organization. The strategy, as described in the annual report, is first planned and then "executed" or "implemented". Strategies are used to direct and control the

work of employees and to divide up tasks between people and units. Each employee of the organization has a job description detailing what s/he has to do in relation to the overall aims of the organization, i.e. each individual has a part to play in making the organization achieve what it has set out to do. The goals of each individual, team, division, and unit within the organization relate to a myriad of strategy documents, with each goal being (or at least assumed to be) traceable all the way up to the top strategy: the *raison d'être* of the organization. As such, strategies are tools for maintaining order, control and reliability, also describing who is responsible for what.

In practice, the process of first setting up a strategy and then executing it was also applied. For instance, when an innovation section was created, the manager called the employees to a meeting in order to jointly create a strategy as regards what form the innovation section should take. The meeting was entitled "Way forward", and its aim was to regroup and define what is to be done, and to decide on a strategy as regards how to move forward in the new innovation section. For the meeting, the manager had prepared a mind-map agenda, and done some digging around on the intranet, searching for relevant strategy documents that they could connect with. The centre bubble was entitled "The purpose and aim[14] of the innovation section", and there were seven subheadings, e.g. Experience, Input and Output. The mind-map also linked to other documents: three different PowerPoint presentations of innovation-related strategies (Field notes observation 2015-11-30). The manager's view of the "way forward" was to find the relevant bullets in other relevant documents, and to make them the section's own, sort of adopt them. One way of justifying the existence of a unit, section or team seems to be to aligning its strategy with a higher order strategy. Strategies are thus not only cascaded throughout the organization: Units also align themselves to the strategies when they are born.

The C-team did not set up a strategy when the team was born at the end of 2013. Instead, they brainstormed activities that they could do to increase the creativity of the unit and then put up their ideas on sticky notes on a whiteboard; after that, the different suggestions were voted on using sticker dots. The board was labelled "Creativity activity board", and placed in the shared office of two members. Examples of activities on the white board included "Help in creative activities" and creating the "walkshop" meeting format (field notes observation 2015-12-02). They used the "activity board" several times, and activities were taken out as they were performed, while new ones were added and voted on in a procedure that was repeated several times throughout the entire time the team was active.

[14] The plural noun "aims" may have been intended here; however, in Swedish, this word has the same singular and plural form: i.e. *mål*/*mål*.

The practice of relating all actions to strategies and focusing on achieving the goals of the strategies keeps people focused and prevents them from working in alternative directions, which would (potentially) be unproductive. Strategies can however also be viewed as obstacles to creativity. One employee explained, during an informal conversation, that: "It's hard to be creative when you're being guided by such detailed goals, for instance delivering a product with such and such specifications." (Field notes, 2014-05-08). Goals and strategies can be viewed as an obstacle to creativity, because they limit the room for manoeuvre, and set up a range of acceptable actions constituting what is viewed as work. Moving outside the strategy is viewed as unproductive and undesirable, something which hinders people from being creative. Thus it made sense for the C-team to try to work without a strategy. By not setting up a traditional strategy, they were trying to communicate that this is something different to regular work: It was a way of materializing the notion of creativity. In order to find something unusual, something new, something undefined beforehand, i.e. something creative, it is necessary to embark on an explorative process, and there is no possibility of setting up a strategy: It is not possible to decide beforehand where to reach.

The lack of strategy was not so much a problem for activity coordination as it was for communicating information about work to others within the organization. The manager initiating the C-team, quite early on, asked them to "propose things, come up with a plan, goals. Not just events." (Observation, field notes 2014-06-25), due to a list of activities being insufficient. At the end of 2015, 1,5 years after this request from the first line manager A, when the C-team had existed for two years, the team members decided to write a manifesto containing its vision and mission, as a way of visualizing the aim of its work for others, and to use it as a tool for aligning its work with the vision and mission of the company: "It's a way of checking with managers if we've perceived the task correctly" (Field notes C-team member 4, informal conversation 2015-11-04). When asked why they did not already have such a document, as regular teams, units and employees all have strategy documents describing what they are supposed to do, C-team member 4 replied: "Because in the first year, we had clearer tasks than now" (Field notes, informal conversation 2015-11-04). Up until this point in time, the team had been using the "activity board", but it was not recognizable to others within the organization as a strategy, although the team used it as guidance regarding what to do (so, in some sense, it was a strategy). There was no perception of needing a more formal strategy as long as it was clear(er) what had to be done or, rather, when it was a struggle to understand what to do, it was decided that a strategy was needed.

C-team member 4 volunteered for this task and created an initial version of the manifesto, shown in Figure 3 (email conversation 2015-11-05). This manifesto described what the team was and how it worked. The only reference made to what the team was going to do was a description of its mission: "to get [the unit] to be more creative in order to increase innovation". One piece of feedback received from another team member suggested changing that sentence into "make the working atmosphere of [the unit] more encouraging of creativity and innovation" (email communication C-team member 13, 2015-11-06). Another

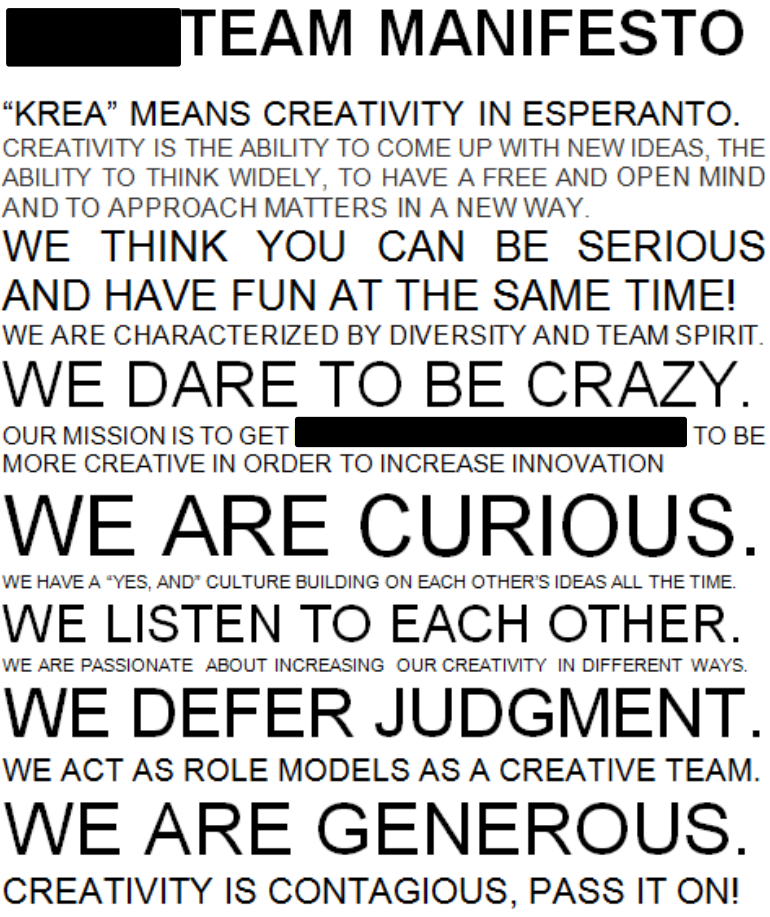

Figure 3 First draft of C-team manifesto

member wanted to add this: "Creative is a verb[15] – something that you do, not that you are" (email communication member 6, 2015-11-05). These changes were accepted during a lunchtime meeting.

The manifesto was written in a form that was not common in the organization: It stood out graphically, using exclamation marks and several adverbs not frequently associated with the regular work done by the organization: i.e. "crazy", "curious", "generous" and "contagious". Again, a certain feeling is evoked in the manifesto, both in the text ("passion") and through the format (e.g. the new format and irregular font). It explicitly highlights what are perceived to be opposites within the organization: That it is possible "to be serious and have fun at the same time". Moreover, it highlighted the role the team perceived they had: "to act as role models" and actually work creatively themselves.

Moving away from strategies and a goal focus was one way for the C-team to introduce a different way of working into the organization. When they finally decided to produce a strategy-like document, it was intended to help them align their work with management and in doing so strengthen the legitimacy of the team. It would communicate that they have a goal, and that they control and plan their work towards that goal. It would increase their recognition as an expert team. However, they did not make a strategy in the common sense of the word; instead, they made a manifesto. In initially not working with a strategy document, and then making a manifesto, they were not only saying to the others that they were crazy and different, they were also showing it. By writing it in an unusual and fun way, which embodies their idea of creativity, they were able to communicate something other than the norm: fun and crazy as elements that should be a part of work.

Creating a manifesto instead of a strategy was an attempt to reconcile the rebellious, independent and risky with the reliable, controllable and planned. A manifesto provided a potential compromise: It was a way of communicating with management, but it was still a different way of communicate with management, allowing some of the crazy and unexpected parts of creativity to be present and not removed. The fact that the team only made this strategy-like document when it was less certain about what it was to do means that it eventually gave in to the pressure exerted by the organization to work towards goals, and the need to set up a strategy describing the scope of the action allowed. By inscribing words such as "crazy" and "curious" into its manifesto it was telling the others within the organization that the C-team is crazy; writing it

[15] Creative is an adjective, but the call by this C-team member was to view it as a verb, and can be understood as an attempt to highlight that people need to act in order to become more creative.

in a text would also make it more legitimate to actually be crazy and curious, even though this was not perceived as permissible by the organization.

As agents promoting creativity, it is not surprising they choose to show unusual ways of working and independence, something which they achieve by *not* creating a strategy. The activities of the C-team seemed to be jumping from one task to another rather intuitively, never achieving a coherent idea about how they were contributing to the creativity of the unit. The team represents something alternative; they remind other employees that it is possible to do different things, and to do things differently. In doing so, they believe they are showing other employees that other ways of working and thinking are possible. Not setting up a strategy was thus one way of showing a different way of working, which is why not making a strategy becomes the rational choice. If their aim was a goal, they would only achieve a solution that was already known and had been established *a priori*. Therefore, in order to come up with something new, they deliberately tried to avoid goals.

However, embarking on something and not knowing what the outcome would be was seen as provocative by others in the organization. For instance, one member reported, during an interview, the scepticism of a colleague not in the team. This colleague had questioned why there had been a dumpster-diving workshop at all: "Why? Something we should do when we lose our jobs?" (Member 7, field notes 2014-03-21), thus not seeing at all the creativity-enhancing potential of doing such a strange thing as dumpster-diving.

6.4 Interface with innovation structures

The C-team was created as a response to the ongoing innovation structures at the company, which they believed were insufficient for the level of innovation that the company, in their view, needed to reach. Innovation structures existed on various levels: there were specific spaces for creative work as part of the innovation effort of the company (as described in Chapter 4 *Creating spaces*), there was an Innovation manager in the board of directors next to the CEO and there were Innovation Coaches in all units of the company that had taken a innovation course designed specifically for the company and given by an international innovation consultant. These innovation experts were awarded diplomas, and were more knowledgeable in innovation than other employees. These employees would as a consequence be invited to take part in innovation projects that for instance came out of the idea boxes or from research projects. Then there was also an Innovation team in the same unit of the company as the C-team, born during the existence of the C-team. This team consisted of four people, out of which three were C-team members and one was an Innovation Coach. The Innovation team became the regular team of these four, and it was where their names belonged in the organigram. While the Innovation team had

no manager, just like the C-team, it was still introduced during a re-organization kick-off and had thus become established within the company in a way that the C-team had not been. This gave the Innovation team more visibility; together with the fact that the members were dedicated to the team, and not split between regular work and (invisible) creativity work, like the C-team members were, this also gave them a clearer identity.

The Innovation team acted like a support team, or internal consultants: They responded to requests made by others. People would turn to them when they thought they needed some innovative input into their work, similar to the main innovation driver, whom they occasionally collaborated with. However, the main innovation driver (see section 4.1.1) was appointed to serve the whole site, while the Innovation team served only their own unit. The Innovation team would lead design thinking workshops, as well as take part in workshops when invited to. They were jointly involved in different research projects with other companies and academia regarding, for instance, user interface and interaction design, and they also tried to develop collaborations with organizations such as the local children's science museum and a symphony orchestra (as described in Section 4.2.1). The Innovation team also developed and conducted innovation training for leaders, which was given to all team leaders and managers of their unit; in all, over 60 team leaders and managers. During this training, design thinking methodology was used to make managers more aware of what hinders employees from being creative. The Innovation team, in its own interpretation, was not expected to develop innovations; it was expected to help others to develop innovations. In the words of one of the members, its:

> goal was not creativity, its aim was rather to create innovation capabilities, for ourselves, and to then spread these within the organization. To create an over all strategy for how we work with innovation.
>
> (C/Innovation team member, interview recording 2015-10-09)

This quote makes a distinction between innovation capabilities and creativity: The goal of the Innovation team was not to increase creativity, but to develop a strategy for how to work with innovation.

Even though the C-team wanted to increase creativity in order to make innovation higher and more creative, they did not team up with any innovation structures: not the Innovation champions, idea boxes managers, hackathon organizers, or the Innovation team. The only collaboration they had with the innovation structures was occasional collaborations with the main innovation driver on site. The distinction between the C-team and the innovation work was

described by one former C-team member that now was engaged in innovation work this way during an interview:

> If the C-team opens the door a little bit [to a parallel, creative world where other things are possible], that's very good. In innovation capabilities [referring to innovation structures in general], we say that both creativity *and* structured ways of working, where creativity plays a part, are things we need to introduce into our culture or personalities… [pause]
>
> Author: What does such a structured way of working look like?
>
> For instance, what I've worked with the most is design thinking.
>
> Author: Is design thinking a structured way of working with creativity?
>
> No. It's a structured way, ehm, of creating value for someone specific.
>
> (C/Innovation team member, interview, recording 2015-10-09)

Design thinking represents the more structured way of working with innovation compared to the creativity work done by the C-team, at least in the view of this former C-team member. The top innovation manager in the board of directors and employees involved in innovation project both agreed that the company was a long way from the innovation visions that had been set: "We're not even close to fulfilling these words [written in the vision]. What we have right now is mostly incremental innovation" (Field notes, innovation meeting between top innovation manager and innovation employees 2015-11-12), meaning that they were conscious that something other than incremental innovation was needed to fulfil the vision. However, they did not see the lack of creativity as the factor holding back their business. They were convinced that creativity was not the problem: The company's employees are bursting with ideas, and hackathons are enough when it comes to stimulating creativity, as the following quotes show: "It's difficult to push new ideas down through the organization", "We're good at finding new ideas", "We have lots of creative individuals, but new ideas are rejected too often". From the innovation workers' perspective, the problem was not that the employees were not creative enough and unable to come up with radical innovations; it was capturing ideas and turning them into something the organization can make money from. For them, the challenge was to identify the factors that could take innovations to market success. They were searching for something that turns ideas into items the organization can earn money from. The C-team, on the other hand, wanted to increase creativity in the name of innovation. The team believed creativity was needed in order for the company to survive because this would make innovation more radical and radical innovation was what was needed in order to come up with the next big thing. From the C-team's perspective, the problem was rather how to add creativity to

the innovation process, so that innovation would be more innovative (and radical).

The C-team did not try to convince the innovation managers. It simply did not view innovation management as its clients. Similarly, innovation management seemed to ignore the existence of the C-team. When asked, the C-team members explained that innovation structures were not rivals, but sometimes innovation people managed to take over some of the C-team tasks: "We were going to organize a hackathon, but the Innovation team grabbed that" (C-team member 4, observation, field notes 2015-09-02). The boundaries between the two were not clear, and also other employees were struggling to understand the difference between the two: "The boundaries are blurred, what is the Innovation team, what is the C-team?" (Employee 17, informal conversation, notes 2015-09-23).

6.5 Discussion: bottom-up boundary work

The creation of the C-team shows the employee's way to both exert creativity and try to act as a role model. It involved several boundary-violating actions, e.g. bypassing the hierarchical structure, dumpster-diving, and strategy-less work based on fun and intuition. On the other hand, boundaries were also set up around the team– without a boundary, no team. However, the teams' boundaries were fuzzy and difficult to detect.

6.5.1 Violating work boundaries – dancing in chains

Starting up the team involved several boundary-violating actions: first-line managers overstepped hierarchical boundaries, workshops with themes that were not in line with the purpose of the company, and people stepped out of the purposeful and controlled way of working to engage in tasks because they found them fun and more relevant. As boundary-violating actions, these were symbols of creativity, more precisely the uncontrolled and rule-breaking nature of creativity that does not respect the boundaries of the organization. Also, the action of *not* making a strategy was aligned with the unruliness of creativity, and was a boundary-violating action.

The C-team was aligned with the general notion that the company needed to increase its creativity, but it did not elaborate upon a strategy that would connect with the other strategies of the company, like teams usually did. Working without a strategy was not the prescribed and expected way of working; therefore, choosing to remove the strategy, an element commonly present at work, was one way of violating the work boundary. However, if breaking a rule would suffice, they could have broken any other rule, e.g. delivering on time or not making noise in the office space. Choosing to work without a strategy also violated the work boundary in another way: it highlighted the fact that strategies

hinder creative work by setting up boundaries regarding what people are expected to do at work. Therefore, removing the strategy was also a symbolic act highlighting the exploratory and uncertain nature of creativity. Two boundaries were violated here: i.e. the boundary regarding the expected way of working (with a strategy) and the boundary that strategies constitute by delimiting work.

Since the team had finally given in to the pressure exerted by the others, and made a strategy, it did not succeed in violating the work boundary: It could not continue working in an alternative way. However, it replaced the common strategy with a manifesto. While not managing to violate the boundaries, at least it managed to alter the team's work boundary. In a manifesto, unlike a strategy, the team could choose more freely how to express its aims and strategies in a way that was less constrained by that form than a strategy would be: they expanded the boundary. Everyone knows what a strategy is for and how it should look– but a manifesto can be anything. By choosing to make a manifesto, the team managed to materialize several aspects of creativity: both in the name of the strategy-like document and in its content.

When a boundary does not seem appropriate for a group of actors, this group may engage in distancing itself from boundaries, and re-appropriating them (Farias 2017). Since it was believed that creativity needed freedom, it was thought that distancing yourself from, or releasing, the boundaries of strategies and goals was appropriate. By denying strategy, the C-team was trying to distancing itself from working in a goal-oriented way. Strategy was a dirty object (Farias 2017) to the C-team: It represents an unsuitable belief system. However, at a certain point in time, it changed its view, and tried to make a strategy-like document. This action was a re-appropriation of the goal as a boundary-practice at the company, because it was a different strategy than usual: It was a manifesto. The C-team had transformed strategy into something more appropriate for the task at hand (i.e. a manifesto) making the manifesto an example of the kind of creative outcome that may originate from the constraints of the dominating system (Farias 2017, Ortmann and Sydow 2017).

The team organized its own resistance to the dominant system of beliefs by creating its own system of deviant values and practices (i.e. re-appropriating). The setting up of the C-team was, thus, the act of dancing in chains (Ortmann and Sydow 2017): Chains had been somewhat altered (boundaries had been violated through distancing), but new chains were set up (new boundaries were drawn or, rather, re-appropriated). Thus, for the C-team, boundary violation was not possible – it engaged in the subtler acts of boundary distancing and boundary re-appropriation. This is not surprising seeing as it is difficult to resist a system while also being embedded in it (Butler 2011/1993, Farias 2017).

6.5.2 Drawing a fuzzy team boundary

The boundaries around the C-team were difficult to detect: It was not visible in the organigram, team membership had not been clearly formalized, the team had not been introduced anywhere, and they had neither a manager nor a budget. On top of this, it decided to try to work without a strategy. The unclear boundaries around the team explains the pressure to produce a strategy document: The rest of the organization could not understand the C-team. When it finally decided to make a manifesto, this was a boundary-drawing action, but there was no really distinct boundary since there was no clear strategy, but a manifesto. However, since the C-team had understood that creativity does not obey rules, setting up a team with fuzzy boundaries made sense.

The fuzziness surrounding the mission of the C-team was not only caused by the lack of strategy, it was also caused by the inconsistency in the aim and practice of the team. The reason for mobilizing a C-team was making innovation more creative: As such, one way to see the team was as a supplier of creativity for the innovation process. In practice, however, the team did not work as a supplier of creativity for the innovation process: It did not view innovation structures as its clients, nor did the innovation structures view the C-team as a supplier, they were working in parallel, competing against each other somewhat. Instead, the C-team focused on making regular work more creative. This would also, it was believed, indirectly increase the height of innovation, while also contributing, however, to confusion regarding the role of the team. Yet another inconsistency was the way in which the team's evaluation criteria were set up: Their success would be measured by how high up in the hierarchy they would be known, and thus not related to creativity outcomes. The absence of boundary-setting actions, combined with the mix of inconsistent boundary-setting actions, created fuzzy boundaries that were difficult to detect.

The division between C-team and innovation structures accompanies the division between innovation and creativity, according to the bulk of the literature, where innovation is the successful implementation of creativity into business (e.g. Woodman, Sawyer et al. 1993, Amabile, Conti et al. 1996, Styhre and Sundgren 2005). It follows that the C-team works at increasing creativity while innovation management works at transforming creativity into sellable objects, i.e. how to capitalize creativity. Therefore, innovation employees can dismiss the need for creative work and creativity-increasing work: It was stated that creativity is already there and that what the organization needs to improve on is the processes that pick up creativity and transform it into business, i.e. into profit. While employees saw creativity as a part of innovation when talking and in interviews, in practice they were not overlapping concepts, as research has defined it. Instead people were working in parallel on the two. Negation of the need for creativity-increasing work meant that the team's boundary was not

recognized by, perhaps, the most significant others: i.e. the innovation structures. Had the boundary been clearer and more visible, then its negation would not, perhaps, have been possible, or at least as easy as in this case. This becomes extra surprising given that some of the C-team members were also Innovation team members (one of the innovation structures). The same people who were working to increase creativity for the sake of innovation, when working with innovation were not including creativity in their innovation work. The C-team members themselves, when working in with innovation, were not recognizing the team boundary.

The team was full of desire and passion to increase the level of creativity, and eager to find solutions, so much so that the problems sometimes became entangled with the solutions, leaving the team unable to take measures. At other times it came up with solutions that were of a magnitude that was close to impossible: These were rare revolutions, e.g. inventing the car. At still other times, they were unable to match the right solution from their toolbox with the problem at hand because their toolbox included tools on a different level than the problems they had identified, e.g. using a flash mob to solve the sweatshop problem. These are also consequences regarding the fuzzy boundary: The team struggled to understand how to match solutions with problems. The fuzziness of the boundary surrounding the team may also be a consequence of the bottom-up approach: The team was mobilized on such a low level in the hierarchy that the managers founding the team did not have the authority needed to create stronger boundaries.

Summary: By doing things in a different way, the C-team had tried to push the boundaries of the organization slightly. One such way was by working without a strategy, another was by working with a manifesto, while a third way was by creating fuzzy boundaries around the team. These are all aspects of how the C-team tried to provoke the organizational system in order to become more attuned with what they perceived was a better approach to organizing creativity. Using creative actions, but still staying within the current organizational rules, they were dancing in chains. In the next chapter, the focus is on how the team tried to persuade others to follow in their steps.

7 Creating activities

So far, efforts to organize creativity have been described in terms of structures, changes and spaces. In this chapter, our attention finally turns to the actual hands-on actions aimed at increasing creativity: i.e. the activities the C-team organized.

Many studies have described the creative processes of organizations by studying creative teams (Hargadon and Bechky 2006, Sailer 2011, Bozic and Olsson 2013, Harvey 2014, Perry-Smith and Mannucci 2017). These studies have generated broad knowledge of organized creativity, and the creative processes of organizations, by focusing on the creative processes of creative professionals – the experts in creativity. The idea is that others can learn from the creativity experts. In this chapter, on the other hand, the focus is on regular people, not creativity experts. It is not uncommon nowadays for professionals outside creative professions to have some insights into creativity-enhancing methods. Ideas such as brainstorming, Google's Free Fridays, and items from the list of 29 ways of staying creative, on the wall in the office (see page 1 of Chapter 1 *Introduction*), are at least to some degree common knowledge. This preconceived or general knowledge will impact how creativity is organized at companies as well (Bissola and Imperatori 2011); it is this, "the lay-wo/mans" perspective on creativity, that is brought to the fore in this chapter.

What the C-team tried to do was to make the work that takes place outside the creating spaces more creative by activating people's creativity and giving them the tools to be creative. They tried to subvert and ignite something unexpected within the ordered and regular work of the company, so people would be creative without moving out into a creating space. What this entails, in practice, is the topic of the first part of this chapter, labelled "Stimulating others to be creative". Despite the activities carried out to increase creativity, the C-team did

not manage to become permanent, nor did the team give birth to any other creativity-stimulating initiatives. The second half of the chapter is about how the team struggled, and finally disintegrated. The title of this section is "Not *real* work", which is the main factor contributing to the demise of team's efforts.

7.1 Stimulating others to be creative

What characterises the activities the C-team came up with is that these were directed at stimulating, almost teaching, others to be more creative – C-team wanted to give the other employees of the company the tools to increase the creativity of everyday work. The reasoning behind these kinds of activities was that the C-team believed that everybody should think about creativity as an inherent part of work: "Creativity is not where the rainbow ends and unicorns live – it's day-to-day work!" (member 5, C-team conversation, field notes 2014-06-24). 'Unicorns' is a common expression used by tech workers (at this company as well as in the industry generally) to describe a dream scenario, e.g. the perfect solution to a problem. It is something beyond your wildest expectations. Stating that creativity should not be about unicorns and dream scenarios means that creativity should be brought down to earth, and to the everyday activities; it manifests a desire to de-dramatize and demystify creativity.

Rather than seeing creativity as a Boolean variable; you are either creative or you are not, the C-team constructed the notion that every person has a certain level of creativity. The maximum level of creativity a person can achieve is being super creative, but not everybody is super creative. This is fine as long as the company has enough creative people, as illustrated by the following quote taken from a conversation between two C-team members:

> Member 5: We don't all have to be on the same level [of creativity], and some people can't be into it at all, I think it's fine, as long as we achieve a certain level. The fact that those people can lift the others [short pause] what I mean is, like, if we have 10 people out of 1700 people who are very creative, that probably won't be enough. So there's a critical mass that we need to reach. That's in order to be able to lift the others let's say.
>
> Member 2: I believe it's actually enough to have a thousand people, one of whom is creative, it's enough for an organization because this person can raise the others, it'll just take a *hell* of a lot more *time* than having more people who have worked on their creative capabilities or behaviour, so they can come up to a creative level faster.
>
> (recording 2014-07-03; emphasized words in italics)

Even if everybody can be creative, this is not necessary, as long as there are enough creative people. The larger the critical mass, the faster this conversion process will be, meaning that the organization will be more creative and thus more successful. If there is no critical mass ensuring that the organization as a whole achieves a certain level of creativity, this may be fatal for the company: "Organizations die, maybe that's because they lose these individuals who might lift the others, the entire organization." (C-team member 5 recording 2014-07-03) These C-team members believe the company needs to achieve a critical mass and a certain level of creativity, or the organization may die.

In order to achieve a state whereby more employees are working more creatively in their day-to-day work, they designed several activities attempting to introduce the tools for becoming more creative at the company. Three of the activities were: bringing playdough to work, employing a creativity consultant for a creativity workshop, and performing a theatre play.

7.1.1 Playdough in the office

During the first 6 months of the existence of the C-team (in the spring of 2014), one of its members suggested, during the regular Tuesday lunchtime meetings, that the team should do something small and easy in order to mark its presence since it was not doing so much at the time. Since the team was working with more long-term projects that would only show up in a few weeks' time, it was thought that there would only be enough energy to do something small and easy, but there was a desire to do this in order to raise awareness of the team's existence. The team burst into a spontaneous brainstorming session, as usual (see Section 6.2), with several ideas popping up. One idea started to develop more than the others: placing playdough (a clay-like substance for children to play with) in the office. The team did a quick search on the Internet to check how much it would cost to buy the playdough needed. One member offered to buy it the same day, and the team decided not to open it until the budget had been approved in case the playdough had to be returned to the shop (since the team did not have a work budget of its own). It was decided to put playdough on the coffee tables in the division's seven different coffee areas, in order to create a buzz, as opposed to only putting it in one place. Friday was chosen since people are in a good mood on Fridays, revealing some concerns about how such a prank would be received. The team members discussed whether or not they should leave papers featuring their logo together with the playdough. If this was to serve as a publicity campaign, they would need to sign the activity and show their names in connection with the playdough. On the other hand, if the initiative were to fail, or not be appreciated, they would be blamed. They decided to print their logo and put it on the tables, meaning that they would assume the risk (Field notes 2014-03-18).

Four days after planning the playdough prank, Playdough Friday arrived. In the morning, three C-team members put playdough in the division's seven different coffee areas, together with a laminated A4-sized paper featuring the team's logo and name. The members walked through the areas several times during the day to have a look at developments and to take photos. Since they thought little was happening, i.e. people were not interacting with the playdough as they could see that the jars remained untouched, they started playing with the dough themselves in order to break the ice. They believed that if there were proof that someone had already been playing with the dough previously, then more people would feel it was allowed and would therefore also start playing with the playdough. Throughout the day, less than 10 figures appeared, which had been made by other employees (Field notes 2014-03-22).

Opinions varied as regards whether or not this had been a success. This was discussed during a meeting with the two founders of the team. Some C-team members thought that everything had been perceived as good, referring to the fact that they had only received positive feedback from people. Others thought that the playdough's reception had been mixed: "People were afraid of the playdough, wasn't that a failure?" (C-team member 6, field notes 2014-06-25). A year and a half later, thoughts regarding whether or not the playdough activity had been a failure or a success remained mixed. During an interview, one C-team member cited the playdough as the least successful activity the team had done, and was amazed at all the negative opinions circulating within the unit about it. During a regular lunchtime meeting, one team member explained that the team was still not being taken seriously, with people referring to them as "the playdough group" (C-team member 3, field notes 2015-12-02). Another team member's response was that the playdough itself was not the problem, but failed to continue elaborating on this statement, although it was greeted by a moment of silence from the other team members. For some, it was enough not to have been punished for doing a playdough prank, and that some people had touched the playdough, while for others, it was a failure because few people had touched the playdough and it had caused people not to take them seriously.

The playdough event was an attempt to introduce play and fun into the workplace, inspire people to be more playful and to open up the range of acceptable ways of working at the company. Nevertheless, the playdough was confined to coffee breaks: It was not put in any of the meeting rooms, or on people's desks, which would show that playfulness is expected to form a part of work. Right now, playfulness was being marked as a part of the break from work, i.e. separated from work. Choosing the coffee areas also showed that creativity was seen as a collective action: One individual could not sit in front of his/her computer, at his/her desk, playing with playdough. Upon entering a coffee area, you do not expect something out of the ordinary to happen.

Sometimes you find unknown, or barely known, people there; however, finding playdough on the tables is not something you would expect. Toys are rather removed from the objects used at the company, making the playdough a kind of foreign body there. In fact, upon finding an object like that there, an employee might not know whether it is ok to touch it or whether it belongs to someone else, perhaps someone who had brought a child to work and needed to keep him/her busy. The playdough activity was undertaken as a way of raising awareness of the team as well. Some team members, however, thought that the image which had been created was wrong: They were not the ones playing with playdough - they were the ones increasing their creativity by adding a playful element to work. They thought this message did not get through.

The team had no formal authority to tell people to work in a certain way, which explains that it tried to ambush them using fun. The team believed that, if only people would try creativity, they would then sign up for the mission of becoming more creative because they would find it fun. However, the company needing more creativity does not necessarily mean that its employees should be playing with playdough. Using toys could be interpreted in many different ways by the other employees – even negative ways. For instance, it could be interpreted that the C-team was calling the employees childish in a derogatory way, or criticising them for not being spontaneous or playful enough. Bringing in an unexpected object like playdough created a divide between the C-team and the others, because the C-team had taken upon itself to decide what the employees needed in order to increase their creativity, i.e. playfulness, and could in the act have offended people who already saw themselves as creative.

The attempt to make creativity a part of day-to-day work, via playfulness, had no visible result. A weak, or tepid, interest in playdough had shown that playfulness was somewhat lacking, according to the team members. This served, however, to prove to the team that their work was necessary, and a gauge of the creative climate at the organization. However, since the team felt unable to communicate the seriousness of fun, and was facing a serious challenge, it tried to find support from creativity experts outside the organization. An example of this is a creativity workshop held by a creativity consultant.

7.1.2 Creativity workshop

The C-team engaged a professional organizational creativity expert (different to the one facilitating the dumpster-diving workshop in Chapter 5) to hold a creativity workshop for all the employees of the unit. This consultant was employed to work with creativity part-time by another multinational company, while simultaneously working as a professional improvisation theatre actor, and an independent consultant on creativity development. All this information was included in the invite to the workshop, along with the fact that he had been

working as a programmer for 10 years (E-mail 2014-06-04). The aim of the workshop, according to the C-team, was for the people of the company to learn practical things in order to make them more creative. The consultant held the workshop free of charge, as a teaser to show what he could do for the company. As such, the C-team knew very little about what would happen during the workshop.

All employees of the division at the studied site (600) were invited to the workshop; however, as usual, it was mostly those who were already convinced that creativity was important who showed up, making a total of about 60 participants. The title of the workshop was *The "dare to say 'Yes and…'" creativity workshop,* referring to a common answer to crazy ideas: i.e. "Yes, but ...". The consultant explained that, whenever someone espouses an idea, one common way of responding to it is starting off with the word "but", which insinuates that the idea is contested and criticized. Starting off with the word "and", on the other hand, signals something positive; i.e. building ideas and visions together, rather than puncturing them by finding flaws. This idea is also an important rule in improvisational theatre: Always affirm and build on the crazy ideas of your co-actors, never reject an idea, which explains why the consultant's improvisational theatre career was relevant information in the invitation.

The consultant introduced several exercises to help the participants achieve creative behaviour. Besides making the participants practice saying "yes and …" to the ideas of others, he also involved them in an exercise about "regular and un-regular solutions" [sic] to problems. During this exercise, the workshop leader made the participants work in pairs and say association words, one after the other and taking turns. After a few minutes of making associations, he interrupted the lively chatter of the participants, concluding that they had now experienced how easy it is to find regular, common and easy solutions to problems. For a moment, the participants seemed surprised. He explained that research had shown that, when a person says the word "plus", 90% of people will associate it with the word "minus", and when someone says "table", 80% of people will think of the word "chair". Therefore, "minus" is the common answer to "plus" and "chair" is the easy answer to "table". Finding the regular solution to a problem is just as easy as associating plus with minus. In order to find new ideas, and break free from the usual chain of thought and finding only common, easy answers to problems, you need randomness, even when this seems unpurposeful. What he suggested was taking a longer route to a solution, in order to find an original, irregular, and new solution, instead of the fastest, regular, and average solution, that anyone else could have found. One way this could be done would be by inviting a "joker" to a meeting, i.e. a person who is not in any way connected with, or expected at, a meeting, e.g. a neighbour or a friend's friend (Field notes 2014-06-18).

Using playdough, the C-team was trying to make others more creative by placing a creative tool (toy) in the hands of the employees (or rather, in the office space). The team itself was ambushing the others in a playful way, with the activity embodying the message. For the workshop, on the other hand, they took an advocate for their cause: A professional improvisational theatre actor, engineer, and creativity consultant to other large firms, that hopefully would bear more legitimacy and credibility to put creativity tools in the hands of the employees. This was an expert. This also made the content easier to understand, seeing as letting an expert teach employees about something, using the workshop format, is a common practice at the company. In this way, the workshop was clearer and more understandable than the playdough. The content of the workshop was slightly out of the ordinary, since there were new exercises that the participants had to engage in. These exercises did not, however, involve any foreign objects or foreign methods: They involved talking in pairs. Moreover, when coming to a workshop, people are already somewhat prepared that something out of the ordinary will happen. It also reached more people: There were more people at the workshop than were touching the playdough (judging by the number of items made of playdough). Bringing in the consultant to teach others to be more creative was a more straightforward way of giving the employees tools than the playdough was, because it was a recognizable way of working.

7.1.3 Using a theatre play to present work

One and a half years later, in the autumn of 2015, the C-team members openly discussed their struggle. During a lunchtime meeting, team members said that working in the team was very tiring and that the team was not being taken seriously. Another member described where the team was by drawing a downward curve with his/her hand, pointing out that it was at the bottom. They were tired of inventing what to do by themselves: "I'll drop out of the team if we don't find something to do" (C-team member 3, observation, field notes 2015-09-02), perceiving that the climate the team was working in was not receptive and that some people were against the team. The members were tired and had lost their stamina. They agreed that they needed a task, something that would give them a boost; thus, when a task appeared, they were excited about doing it.

The task that appeared was performing a theatre play describing one of the products the company works with. This piece of theatre was to be performed at one of the information meetings regularly taking place at the company, where people shared things with each other, e.g. knowledge sharing sessions, tech days, and tech talks. This particular meeting was called Learning Day, and took place several times a year. It is a day when different units show the employees of the

other units what they are doing in order to increase the flow of knowledge and information across and within the different units, teams and sections. The play was written by one of the team members and based on a schematic description of that member's work, presented at a conference some years earlier. In this play, the team members took on the different roles of the elements constituting the hardware that they deliver; during the performance, the team had also, by chance, included the manager of the unit, spontaneously entering into the play, representing the end-user of the product (Field notes 2015-09-23).

The person calling them in to do the task said that he wanted something fresher to provide an idea of how the product is. He explained that he asked them to stage the performance because they would be able to communicate it in a different way:

> Not because they were the most qualified at explaining what our product was, but because we wanted to say to people 'Look, here you won't learn that much about our product in detail, but you will try to look at it from a different angle'. So this, I guess, is the function they should have as a team. They don't develop new products. They can help us to think differently when developing a new product.
>
> The manager requesting the play (recording 2015-10-06)

He asked the C-team to stage the play in order to show that things can be done in a different way, even an unorthodox way, considering that the usual way to do this would have been by one person doing a talk with PowerPoint slides. Doing things in a different way stimulates creativity, according to him, because people see that there are other ways of doing things than the usual way. Doing things in a different way will potentially bring new results; doing things the same old way lowers the probability of something new being born.

The manager asking the C-team to stage the play was pleased with the outcome, describing the performance as fresh and nice. It brought amusement without being ridiculous, and people bought the concept. The only negative feedback he had received about the play concerned the fact that they were not professional actors, and that they would have benefited from more rehearsal. The team also thought the theatre performance was a great success, and had been appreciated. Moreover, it had served to restart and energise the team, who felt their energy levels had been down prior to the play.

Some photos from the event were posted on Facebook later that evening, showing that the C-team members, as well as other employees, were proud of both the event and the theatre and wanted to show this to the outside world. In one of the posts, a character from the play (i.e. a C-team member) was posing in a photo and the hashtag *#havingfunatwork* was used. The three people

commenting on the photo picked up on the "fun" element of the post: "You do so many fun things at work", "seems like a lot of fun and interesting! Maybe export it to [another site]?", and "so much fun! We're looking forward to seeing the video!" (Facebook comments 2015-09-23). Two of the three were, consequently, colleagues wanting to know more about the event, and showing an interest in bringing the play to their site, because it seemed to be such fun.

While all the C-team members additionally had their regular team memberships, they were not quite the same as regular team members, as they were appearing on the stage in their capacity as C-team actors, while the regular team members stayed in the audience. Up on the stage, they performed a theatre play, which was not something usually done by employees, especially since they were not generally trained as professional actors. This was further accentuated by the fact that the theatre performance had literally put the team in the spotlight, making them visible and differentiating them from regular employees, symbolically demarcating the distance vis-à-vis the others. The theatre performance thus showed that the C-team members were brave enough to step outside their professional roles and to dare to stand in the spotlight and do something unusual. In this way, the theatre play distanced the C-team from the others, differentiating them as brave people who do funny things that are out of the ordinary. The manager ordering the play explained this in an interview:

> The C-team, in my understanding, has the function of being some sort of eradiating [that radiates and shoots out] centre of creativity, some sort of creativity engine, creativity pulsing spirit, reminding us that we can do this, reminding us that we can look at this from another perspective. So, even if they are involved here and there, in specific shows or performances and so on, the message is not linked to a single show or performance, it is supposed to be a memo [a reminder]: i.e. remember to think in another way, remember to do things the other way, too.
>
> The manager ordering the play (recording 2015-10-06)

The team was a provider of quirkiness; however, the original task of the team – enhancing the creativity of the organization – had taken a backseat. Thus, in practice, the C-team, as bearers of the value of 'creativity', were seen as providers of anything out of the ordinary, as a way of amusing and enriching the work environment, and as a reminder of the imperative of creativity, rather than as a team contributing to innovative products and business ideas for the future – which was the original idea behind starting up the C-team. The C-team had become the bearers of the value of fun; or worse, they were the funny people. This had been the intention of neither the team nor the team members.

7.2 Not *real* work

Although the activities of the C-team were successful to varying degrees, the team was struggling, especially given the hostile and non-receptive climate, as they perceived it. This situation had become clear to the team members as early on as 6 months after the team was born. During an evaluation meeting, with the two first-line managers who founded the team, the members explained that they were frustrated and felt like losers (field notes meeting observation 2014-06-25). The team members thought that the others at the company were not taking them seriously, not viewing what they do as work. People even asked them if they were creative for fun, as if creativity were just for fun, and not something useful as regards work. Others seemed scared; however, it was not clear what people were scared of. They may have been scared of the C-team, or creativity, or engaging in C-team initiatives, or bringing creativity into their own work. Regarding their activities, they understood that people did not connect it with their work. They would say: 'This is fun, now I'll get back to work'" after C-team activities (member 2, observation, field notes 2014-06-18). The C-team members think the other employees see them as funny people who are not working.

One and a half years later, after several creativity-increasing activities had been conducted, including the theatre, the playdough, and the workshop featuring the creativity consultant, the team was still struggling. During one of the C-team's weekly lunchtime meetings, a passer-by was chatting briefly with one of the team members; when she found out that all the people at the table were having a C-team lunch, the following chat ensued between her and the C-team table:

> Passer-by: What do you guys do? Ah, yes, you're the ones who go dumpster-diving!
>
> C-team member 14: We play with playdough and straws [ironical response]. No, actually, we work with our long-term survival, so the outside world doesn't surprise us.
>
> Passer-by: I didn't know it was so female-dominated. [walking away quickly and joking]: Somebody has to work while you guys fool around!
>
> (Field notes 2015-11-04)

Some of the team members found the incident funny, while others sighed wearily or lifted an eyebrow. The fact that she thought the team was dominated by women was potentially offensive both to the men and women at the table, but shows that a team (or perhaps a lunch table) with more than 20% women visually stands out in the company. But what was more upsetting yet, was the cynical joke about them not working, but playing around. In the innovation room (section 4.1.2), too, this non-receptive climate had been highlighted. There

were many drawings, images and quotes on the walls; among other things, a photo of a cat with a handwritten speech bubble added to it:

> What the HELL are yo doin'! Do real WORK!
>
> Quote on the wall of the innovation room
> (Field notes 2015-09-23)

It had been put there for purposes of irony by the C-team members themselves, to illustrate the attitude towards them within the organization. The C-team tried working against this negative flow and tried to convince the others to align with this creativity quest of theirs.

7.2.1 How do we convince the others?

The C-team experienced the resistance as fierce, and thus put a great deal of energy into discussing how to make more people sign up to their beliefs. They were not sure whether or not to focus on convincing "the most reluctant people" first, or to build on the "low-hanging fruit" (field notes 2014-03-18, 2014-06-21) principle, i.e. approach the ones they knew to be easy to convince. They understood that there were different levels of antagonism among the other employees: Those seen as low-hanging fruit have *some* belief in creativity, while the most reluctant people are those with a negative attitude towards creativity. Converting one very reluctant person of high status at the company would have a great symbolic value and could pave the way for making other employees more creative. On the other hand, convincing those seen as low-hanging fruit would be easier. These people could in turn help the C-team to convince the more reluctant ones. The reasoning was that, by creating more allies, critical mass could be achieved and the number of people convinced of the importance of creativity would grow, with the conversion process of becoming more creative being faster. No decision was explicitly taken regarding which course of action to take, i.e. convincing the most reluctant ones first or starting with those who were easy to convert; however, there were some ideas regarding how convince the others: i.e. through fun, measurement and advocates.

By showing others that working with creativity is *fun*, the team believed it could make more people engaged in this quest:

> C-team member 14: How can we make others come than the ones who are just like us?
> C-team member 13: Show them that it's fun, then they'll join in.
>
> (Field notes observation lunch meeting 2015-11-04)

It was believed that, if people experience creativity, they will feel the fun and join in on the team's side: "When they [the others] join in, they will discover the joy of this kind of religion" (member 2, C-team conversation field notes 2014-

06-24), meaning that if others are tricked into trying out creating activities, they will be converted. The playdough event was an example of how they tried to show others that it is fun to be creative, with the hope that this realization would make more people engaged in the quest to increase creativity. "Fun" was thought to be a key to success – but it was also the issue that made others reluctant, and not take the C-team seriously. They understood that the employees needed to get it into their heads that it is permissible to have fun at work.

One C-team member suggested that *measurements* could be the key to proving to the antagonists that creativity is important: "Could you measure the in-house creativity? Then we could put it on display!" (C-team member 6, lunch meeting, field notes 2014-05-13). Since the team members did not know how to measure it, one team member asked the creativity consultant in the '*Yes and…' creativity workshop* (described in section 7.1.2). He explained that, when people practice their creativity, their IQ increases by ⅔σ, and that people with an IQ >110 have greater correlations with creativity measures. However, these measurements were not enough for the C-team. After the workshop, during an informal conversation between the C-team and the consultant, the founder of the C-team asked if he could evaluate whether they were creative – not only the C-team, but all 1700 employees of the unit. The consultant said he knew too little about their organization to answer. Trying a different route, the team asked him for help in convincing the reluctant people, and in how to show value. The consultant tried to answer by explaining how creativity is defined: It is something original and useful. He explained that creativity can be measured using patents, or by using self-reports, because self-reports correlate with true creativity. He also referred them to the research of Ryhammar and Ekvall regarding the creative climate[16]. The idea of the creative climate equalling creativity on an organizational level, or counting patents, did not seem to convince the C-team as useful to convince their antagonists: One member emitted a humming sound, while another one pulled a facial expression that seemed doubtful, with a third one concluding exactly why they were disappointed: "We want something but don't know what it is" (Field notes, 2014-06-18). They did not know what they needed, but what the consultant was able to offer was not what they needed, this was clear. The manager of the unit, on the other hand, showed no concern about measuring creativity in an interview:

> I must admit I've never felt the need to measure it. [laughter] Maybe because I think it's very difficult to measure. Really. And measuring things that are difficult to measure usually takes a lot of effort and does

[16] See for instance Ekvall, Göran, and Lars Ryhammar. (1999) "The creative climate: Its determinants and effects at a Swedish university." *Creativity Research Journal* 12(4): 303-310

> not give you so much, so… no, I've never felt that need. It'd be fun to see if there was a method that works though.
>
> Unit manager, recording 2016-03-02

Neither were skunk workers interested in measurements, not even of innovation (where established assessment measures exist):

> As soon as you measure it, you kill it… These are such ridiculous measurements, people laugh their asses off: [recounting an imaginary conversation] 'How much did you innovate today? Eh, what the hell, 7!' [laughing ironically]
>
> (Skunk worker 1, interview recording 2015-10-22)

The simple act of measuring creativity and innovation renders them useless, according to this person. On the other hand, one innovation manager stated the opposite. According to this person, it is important to measure innovation because it guides behaviour: "You get what you measure. That's how it is." (Interview recording 2015-09-23). If the company does not follow up, control and measure innovation, people will not innovate – it is as simple as that. These different views of the value of measuring creativity and innovation can be understood by uncovering why some people thought that creativity and innovation should be measured, while others thought they should not.

While the unit manager and the people at the company acknowledged as being creative (skunk workers) did not care about measuring creativity, the employees working to increase creativity and the innovation manager did. For the latter, measurements of creativity or innovation could function as a way of convincing other employees and managers that their work was important. For the C-team, this reflects the fact that it had little authority and legitimacy. It looked for other tools that could convince others of the importance of its task and what it believed in. Since it carried little authority and legitimacy, it wanted a figure, or something tangible at least, in order to convince its antagonists that they must change and become more creative, i.e. making others expand their work to also include craziness and fun. The people who did not need to convince others that creativity and innovation were important could not see that a figure was important.

A third way of trying to convince others was finding *advocates* of the team's work, in order to raise the team's status. Being a member of the C-team did not bring the members status and was not perceived to be a career move by the team members themselves. To remedy this situation, an attempt was to mobilize people within the organization with more status, e.g. asking managers for support: "You, the management team, need to advertise our work so people

don't see us as funny. So people don't see us doing something that's not work" (Member 2 to first-line mangers A and B field notes 2014-06-25). Another way involved trying to engage employees with a different kind of status in activities, with a technical status, i.e. the senior technical specialists, but there was little response. The first-line manager who started the team remembered it was not possible to engage these highly-respected technical specialists in the dumpster-diving workshop that kicked off the C-team:

> We thought we needed to have some of the slightly older people, mostly men, who hold rather senior and respected technical positions but are a bit conservative too. We couldn't even get one of them to participate. None of them would participate, which I thought was sad.
>
> First-line manager P
> (interview recording 2016-02-19)

The conservative, or reluctant, people with a high technical status, as described by this first-line manager, were not engaged in raising the status of the team. However, one person holding a senior and respected technical position did join the C-team after the dumpster-diving. This person was a senior technical specialist. The senior technical specialists have proven their outstanding excellence, being experts in a specific technological area. This grants them status and legitimacy. These people are both allowed and expected to deliver new and technically genial ideas. However, their legitimacy is not unlimited and the senior technical specialist in the C-team felt s/he was running low in terms of reputational capital. This person had to withhold some of his/her craziness or creativity because the trust and reputation s/he had built up, as a senior technical specialist, had run out. The creativity work was so ridiculed that even a senor technical specialist could lose the respect and status in the organization if doing too much of it.

The team struggled to gain recognition and legitimacy, from normal employees, managers and senior technical specialists. Nobody was convinced, either by fun or by measurements. After a period of time struggling like this, a division started to appear in the team over a controversy regarding a Christmas film.

7.2.2 Christmas film

In the middle of the struggle to be taken seriously, two of the team members (the two employees in the support unit) were involved in making a Christmas film with the site manager. This turned out to be one of the last actions on the C-team lunch table before the team dissolved.

The two team members working on the film decided to turn to the C-team for help in coming up with ideas about how to visually represent and materialize a virtual element in the film. When asked for help at the team's regular lunchtime

meeting, the team members went unusually quiet. This reaction was very different to normal: Whenever a problem was put before the team, it would normally immediately start brainstorming for solutions. The only ones responding to the request were very critical about the set-up: "I feel like I'm only executing orders. I don't feel like I'm a part of the design process. I really don't know anything about this process!" This person felt like a sub-contractor, only executing what others wanted. The reluctance to help solve problems like a subcontractor, and the desire to be part of the process earlier on, led to no help being received from the team (Observation, field notes 2015-12-09).

At a large organization, not everyone can be involved in every activity; however, it seems that a task that is too small and chopped up is not one that can be given to the C-team because the members of that team want to do meaningful things, things they can vouch for. Becoming a creative subcontractor, and solving one problem in the film, did not feel meaningful to the team due to the team's uncertainty as regards vouching for the film. Even though the request came from two of the team members – working on the film was part of their job description – the rest of the team were not willing to contribute as they had not been a part of the process and were afraid it would not contribute to their cause, or could even reflect negatively, perhaps, on their legitimacy. As one team member said in an interview: "I'm tired of being the clown" (C-team member 5, field notes, 2015-12-10).

The disagreement within the team regarding the film shows that there was some confusion, or disagreement, about the team's role. The team members asking for help thought the team was a sounding board with which the team members could support each other in their tasks, if they required creative input. At this point, the other team members were not prepared to deliver this. They were tired of being seen as the funny people, or the clowns. The team had not been able to prove that fun is serious and now the team members were trying to find their way back to the seriousness of regular work. They did not want to take any more risks in the name of creativity. Moreover, this revealed that the C-team members saw the relationship between fun and creativity contrastingly.

While they had focused on fun together during earlier activities (e.g. playdough and a theatre play), fun had become a controversy during this activity because the reasons for seeing fun as important were different. While organizing the previous activities, all the team members had seemed to agree that fun was important when it comes to increasing creativity. This view aligns with the explicit reason for the birth of the C-team: Creativity needs to be increased in order to raise the level of innovation at the company and, in order to increase creativity, fun needs to be mainstreamed into the organization. The causality here is that creativity requires fun: Fun is an important element of creativity.

The second view, which became visible during this activity, is quite the opposite: Creativity is important because it generates fun. When asked, during an interview, why fun is important, one C-team member answers: "If you don't have fun at work, you only do what you have to do." (C-member 10 field notes 2015-12-09). If a person has fun at work, s/he will be likely to do more than he/she has been asked to do; s/he will be willing to put more of his/her own energy into working, which is good for the company. Fun makes people more motivated, they work harder and thus they do a better job, with the success of the company increasing.

The first view means seeing fun as an important component of creativity while the second means seeing creativity as a tool for having fun. Both these routes to success recognize that fun needs to be taken seriously, albeit for different reason. The C-team members who requested the help of the others were more aligned with the second view: They thought that creativity would generate fun. Therefore, they could not have foreseen the reactions of the others, who were more concerned with creativity than fun itself (the first view); thus, they thought the request for providing a creative solution was too disconnected from their purpose of increasing creativity. Their purpose was not to provide creative input, or fun input, it was to increase creativity. Although they had focused on fun earlier (e.g. playdough and theatre), at this point, they were worn out and not prepared to help with this task.

When the team had started, the founder of the team explained (in Chapter 5) that all the managers of the members had agreed to the selected employees dedicating 4h/week to the C-team. However, in practice not all the managers had made any adjustments to the work descriptions of their employees that engaged in the C-team. The original members still in the team had no memory of their participation ever being included in their work description (observation, lunch meeting 2015-12-02). When new members joined the C-team, it was each member's own responsibility to anchor their work in the C-team with their superior. As it happens, most of them did not discuss with their superior to make sure to include C-team into their work description. They reasoned that since it was only a lunch meeting, they did not need to discuss with their superior: Lunches are private time. Thus, neither the new nor the old members had made sure to get the approval from their manager on paper, with some members not even discussing their participation in the team with their supervisor. This made the C-team a volunteer team at this point, and also explains why some of the members were reluctant to take on tasks: It was not in their job description. Therefore, when the team received requests from others, the members needed to evaluate what it would mean for them as individuals and for the team to take on that request. The way in which requests were evaluated differed from member to member; usually, any controversy was solved by

allowing each team member decide for him-/herself whether or not s/he wanted to contribute towards realizing a particular activity. If a request matched the aim of the team, it made sense for more members, or all of them, to carry it out. However, when the aim was not clearly matched, such as in the case of the Christmas video, there would be fewer reasons for team members to engage. There may have been other, individual reasons for taking on a task, e.g. personal career goals. Sometimes, their motivation was not, consequently, the purely altruistic argument regarding the "long-term survival" of the company – sometimes they looked for personal gain. Helping other people with their work on a voluntary basis, even when it was C-team members, without knowing what kind recognition would be received in terms of thanks for your efforts, seemed unattractive at this point in time.

This feeling of hostility also entailed consequences for the team and its meetings; few members participated in the lunch meetings. People complained that they did not have the energy to send mails every week to ask people to show up at the lunchtime meetings, reducing the energy of the team even further. In order to make more members show up, it was decided to make one person responsible for bringing a dessert to the lunchtime meeting. Even with this extra-sweet attraction, the turnout was low and, in one email to the full team following one lunch, one team member wrote, rather coldly:

> Hi everyone
>
> Participants at lunch today:
> New record, 2 people: [member 6] and [member 13]
>
> Have a nice day.
> /[Member 13]

Email 2016-03-16

The meetings were more like social gatherings now than in the beginning, and it was still not possible to activate the team members at an acceptable level. They were avoiding speaking about what they were really there to speak about: i.e. increasing creativity. They themselves realized this and commented on it frequently during the lunchtime meetings, for instance: "And so we managed to avoid talking about our future activities this week as well." (C-team member 14, field notes 2016-02-17). The C-team was even referred to as "the lunch club" (C-team member 1, field notes 2016-02-17) by the team members themselves, in a playful tone, during their own lunches, referring to the fact that they did little actual work. Their lack of productivity seemed to worry them.

Sometime during the spring and summer of 2016, the C-team was dissolved, or as one team member put it during an interview: "The C-team needs a

defibrillator" (C-team member 1, e-mail 2016-10-11). No formal decision to close was taken, but the members were more worried about other agendas and did not want to work with the C-team. One nostalgia lunch (2016-11-09) and one reunion lunch (2017-08-23) were organized by different members; however, during these lunches, the subject of the C-team was not discussed.

7.3 Discussion: boundary work for creativity

The aim of the C-team was to increase creativity at the company in a way that would complement the creating spaces. To this end, they took action by organizing activities that would make the others more creative: Activities that would teach the others to be more creative in their day-to-day work, thus increasing the creativity (and innovation) of the company. Since most of the activities were directed at all the employees, they had decided, in practice, to broaden their quest to increase creativity by trying to raise the creative level of everyone, and not by focusing on making a few employees super creative.

The team's attempt to stimulate creativity in the organization involved a series of boundary work activities outside of the jurisdiction of the team, i.e. the blurring of other people's work boundaries. At the same time, these activities produced an accidental boundary between the team and the others, i.e. the ones they were trying to teach. Finally, the last part of the discussion describes boundary work in the process of the team disintegration.

7.3.1 Dirty tools for blurring work/play boundaries

In the activities the C-team planned and carried out, the team was trying to introduce creativity tools into the organization, i.e. tools that people could use and in doing so become more creative in their day-to-day work. It was perceived that, while people differentiated between creative work and regular work by confining creative work into the creative spaces, much creative potential would be lost simply because people would not allow their minds to be creative during regular, day-to-day work. Creative outcomes are often thought to be the result of something that has happened during an extraordinary moment, like a lightning strike hitting the mind of a person (Styhre and Sundgren 2005). However, when viewed as a process, creativity does not occur at an isolated point in time, but during a series of events, or practices, over time (Fortwengel et al. 2017) and by means of shared activities (Hargadon and Bechky 2006, Harvey 2014, Thompson 2018). Still, both the lightning and process analogies provide an understanding that creativity can happen any time. This in turn means that day-to-day work is full of creative potential. It is this potential that the C-team were trying to take advantage of.

Both the playdough and the theatre play were attempts to introduce playful ways of working into the company, using practices from other fields that were not common within the organization. By adding playfulness and adopting unexpected practices from other fields or professions (e.g. childhood or the arts), day-to-day work would become more playful and unpredictable. It was believed that these tools were means of increasing creative ways of working at the organization, because a creative way of working should also, according to the C-team, be playful. Simply put: no play, no creativity; thus the attempt to make playfulness more accepted when working with playdough and the theatre.

Play fosters creativity by facilitating the cognitive and affective dimensions of the creative process, but also indirectly by affecting the social context and, in doing so, the creative process as well (Mainemelis and Ronson 2006). Through play, people train their abilities to reframe problems, refining their divergent thinking and developing affective pleasure (i.e. the joy of seeking and achieving novel insights). At the same time, personal relationships in the workplace also develop through play, improving the social setting for creativity. This makes people more proficient in creative processes, in terms of developing both domain-relevant skills and creativity skills: i.e. they become better at the "skills of creating novelty" (ibid: 102). Play is also a liminal space, between the real and the imagined. By engaging in play, a liminal space is created giving way to alternative, creative behaviour (ibid.). By introducing these objects and practices, the C-team had tried to introduce play and unusual ways of working into the organization, as a way of stimulating creativity.

Introducing toys and theatre are practices associated with childhood and play, and/or with the arts and artistic expression. As such, it also introduces an awkward, dirty, element into the work environment. This element is dirty because it represents tools for something other than work, i.e. playfulness and the arts; at an efficient and business-like company, such activities have no place and will be questioned. Some people will even say: "You can't have people acting like it's a kindergarten or an art school" (Stark 2017: 389) about such an effort. These items have transgressed boundaries (Farias 2017) and are dirty, or polluting, in their new setting (Douglas 1966, Nippert-Eng 1996). Still, the C-team's idea was that unusual elements would pave the way for playfulness and, by doing things in a different way, new things would be discovered. The team seemed to believe that dirty objects or practices can be a way of stimulating creativity.

During the workshop, on the other hand, they tried a more common practice: i.e. an expert teaching creativity methods. While the toys and the theatre play had materialized what they were advocating, the consultant told about and taught this message in a more controlled and recognizable way, in a learning

environment. The hope was that his expertise and authority would grant him sufficient legitimacy at the company for people to be able to do what he told them. In the case of the workshop, there were also two creativity tools. One was randomness, when the consultant told the employees to invite jokers (a person who was out of his/her context, e.g. a random neighbour) to their meetings, while the other was affirmation, when he taught them to say "yes and …" instead of "yes but …" whenever a new idea was being expressed. Both these actions were irrational and unexpected, and potentially silly, but they were only suggested, not thrown at the employees as in the case of the playdough. The outcome of inviting a random person to a meeting, or engaging in infinite affirmations, runs the risk of a meeting ending up in a very silly place, without any business potential or realistic outlook. However, it was also loaded with the potential to lead ideas to new places, which is how creative ideas are born. Allowing this kind of normally undesirable behaviour was one way in which the C-team envisioned creativity at the company being increased; by strategically engaging in fun and randomness, day-to-day work would be disrupted in a creative way.

The activities, taken together, offered employees at least four different kinds of dirty tools and practices to choose from (playdough, theatre, randomness, and affirmation) which would help them blur the boundary between day-to-day and creative work, thus replacing how things are usually done with new, different, and creativity-stimulating ways of doing things. In other words, it was by blurring the boundary between creativity and day-to-day work that day-to-day work would become more infused with creativity.

Work is not commonly associated with play, playfulness or childlikeness. These are activities usually connected with people's free time and leisure time, especially because these activities have an organizational cost (Mainemelis and Ronson 2006), i.e. the cost of unpredictability, error and waste. However, since creativity is required by many jobs today, play is nowadays entering more and more into work contexts, becoming the *origin* of work rather than an element outside of it (Mainemelis and Ronson 2006). Blurring the boundary between work and leisure, where play traditionally belongs, is not a new occurrence in contemporary work life (Nippert-Eng 1996, Kreiner et al. 2009). For instance, in software programming and at high-tech companies, play can be a way of mitigating the problems of long working hours, by providing a way of making sense of the time spent at work, as well as a way of socialising with others and of constructing one's own identity as a programmer (Hunter et al. 2010). Others view play as a way of disguising long working hours, or a way of making people work for their company during their free time too, by trying to turn work into play (Walker 2011). In this study, however, the employees' view of fun and play

was different. They believed that play was a necessary component of achieving creativity.

Since both the playdough and the theatre were unusual, the reason why one was more successful than the other cannot be explained by comparing the unusualness with the usual ways of working, i.e. the difference in success is not connected with how similar the creative way of working was to the regular practices of the organization. One difference between the two events was that one replaced a common way of working (the theatre replaced a PowerPoint presentation) while the playdough was the addition of a new element to the workplace (adding playdough to coffee breaks). The theatre had a connection to regular work because it was replacing something regular – the playdough, on the other hand, was more contested. Replacing a practice was more successful than adding an unexpected practice – perhaps because it was easier to connect the replaced practice with the regular way of working (the PowerPoint presentation) than when adding a new item such as the toys – what they were for was not obvious. In other words: It is easier to introduce a dirty object when it replaces a regular object than when it is introduced out of the blue. The workshop, on the other hand, was a *usual* practice at the company, not offering anything new in form, only in content. The route to change during the workshop was not via introducing dirty practices, but via a very common practice; i.e. having an expert teach the employees. Being a practice recognized at the company, no employees batted an eyelid in response to this.

7.3.2 Reinforcing the accidental boundary

While trying to blur boundaries between creative and day-to-day work, the activities initiated by the C-team were also reinforcing boundaries. The first example of this is the playdough activity. The team was well aware of the difficulty of integrating what is learnt during a workshop into day-to-day work, which is why the members brought playdough to the office: It could help to integrate fun and creativity into the work space by bringing the toy inside the walls of the company. However, putting it in the coffee area rather than in the meeting rooms further separated it from day-to-day work, leaving it in the leisure time domain. While trying to blur the boundary between day-to-day work and creative work (bringing toys to the office), the team was accidentally reinforcing it (by putting the toys in the coffee area instead of in normal work areas). The workshop activity featuring the creativity consultant was also a way of separating creative work from day-to-day work. Although the creativity workshop was not a place to do creative work, like the creating spaces were, the workshop format itself demarcates when and where, and by whom, creativity is to be addressed, similar to the creating spaces, thus reinforcing the boundary between creative and day-to-day work. The theatre play also reinforced a

boundary: i.e. the one between the team and the others. Standing on stage, as the centre of attention, performing such an out-of-the-ordinary activity put them in the position of being the creative people – not the ones teaching others to be creative. It proved difficult separating a group in order to integrate creativity into everyday work.

The grouping of people into a C-team was not aimed at ascribing creative work and innovation to certain groups: It was a team for helping others with their innovation work. In reality, however, it turned out differently: Even though the C-team was not trying to take on the creative work, somehow the creation of the team and the activities made them the creative ones. The creation of a creativity team meant that the others, the non-selected ones, could just call in that team. In doing so, the others could let go of the preoccupation with creativity and did not have to develop creativity and innovation competencies, or learn the tools. The creation of a creativity team thus makes it difficult to integrate creativity into everyday work at the company: The team became, in practice, the creative ones. In the attempt to expand their own boundary and to blur other people's boundary between day-to-day and creative work, they were drawing a boundary between themselves as judges of creativity and the others, potentially creating more antagonists and shrinking their own boundary, thus decreasing their reach and their possibility of achieving the goal.

The C-team started out with the idea of making others more creative. As such, the team members did not view themselves as creative people, but as the "people increasing the creativity of the organization". The idea that the company needed to increase its creativity could, in itself, be controversial as it assumed that people were not creative (enough). This may have generated a negative response from the others within the organization, especially those who see themselves as creative people. Creative people may not believe that the company needs to increase its creativity because they do not see creativity being hindered there, simply because they themselves are creative. Skunk workers, or "crazy cats", managed to be creative – they may thus assume that others also can manage to be creative at the organization if they really want to. What is more, it may also generate negative feelings in creative people to hear that the company is not creative enough since this downgrades the perceived value and recognition of their work. Creative people may feel their work is not being appreciated. Therefore, although the C-team values creative people, the reverse is not necessarily the case. In its attempt to sign more people up for its creativity quest, and to make others more creative, the team was potentially creating more antagonists. Creative people are perceived as antagonists by the C-team, not because they are against creativity, but because they do not believe creativity needs to be increased. As such, they are antagonists of the C-team, but not of creativity.

7.3.3 Un-creating boundaries

The fact that the team got requests for activities, e.g. the theatre play, proves that it was recognized by others at the company: It had successfully set up a boundary. This boundary was not, however, perceived in the same way it was intended: The activities they were asked to carry out were not creativity-enhancing but anything out of the ordinary, or different to usual. The C-team was identified as the right people to do new, creative activities: Its members had become, in the eyes of the others, the go-to people for anything out-of-the-ordinary, the "out-of-the-ordinary stuff" being more creative than the routine and ordinary stuff.

In the case of the theatre play, the team took on this task partly because it was struggling to mobilise itself, and eager to get a task from someone else at the company. The task mostly functioned as a reminder to do things differently, to dare and to have fun. It would provide an idea for a tool others could use, i.e. theatre, during their day-to-day work. However, it did not involve practicing creativity techniques with a broader range of employees (like the other activities). When the team decided to take on activities, which were not in line with its purpose, the reason for doing these activities anyway was that they would provide the team with visibility and legitimacy. During this particular activity, purpose was traded for visibility, which also contributed towards shifting the boundary away from the desired role towards the role of the "go-to-people-for-anything-out-of-the-ordinary". In an attempt to gain visibility and legitimacy, the team was drawing its boundary, but simultaneously drawing the wrong one. The team had moved its boundary to a place it did not identify with: It had traded its purpose for visibility and legitimacy and become the funny people as opposed to the others, who were the serious people.

Since the team had no formal authority to force others to join in with its activities, it tried to make others join by providing fun and by ambushing the others, like a guerrilla group, with fun, and also by bringing in creativity experts who were more legitimate and could advocate creativity. All three activities provided tools that people could bring with them into their day-to-day work (physical tools such as playdough and theatre, or mental tools such as affirmation and randomness). Whether these tools were used by regular employees in their work remains unknown since no such instances were identified during the course of the study. What was identified though, was that the team was ridiculed and highly contested (as the members themselves perceived it), in the case of the playdough, and viewed as the funny and daring people, in the case of the theatre. Few, if any, of the intended effects of their activities were visible. And the team struggled throughout its entire existence.

As the C-team stopped taking initiatives of its own as regards performing activities, it became an internal consultant called upon to solve problems, turning into a group that others could call upon for any activity that was out-of-the-ordinary. It transformed from an active organism, trying to change the employees, into a passive taskforce mobilised whenever it was asked for. This also meant that it stopped trying to define itself and to prove its usefulness, and allow others to define who the members are and what they are useful for: i.e. providers of fun. They also lost their drive, falling into a passive state, i.e. a lunch club, and eventually fading away, because nobody needed them. They were not called upon to provide any creativity-enhancing activities – only for something that was out-of-the-ordinary. As the team boundary dissolved, people became more self-interested, looking more at how the team actions would reflect on their personal careers than how they would affect the future of the C-team. This of course also further dissolved the team boundary. Their struggle to make fun (in the name of creativity) a serious activity was unsuccessful. Ultimately, this also revealed a boundary within the team, demarcating two different beliefs: One group believed that creativity was a way of having fun, while the other believed that fun was necessary in order to achieve creativity.

The team had taken on the task voluntarily; the support it had internally was weak, resulting in it having no authority. This led to a struggle on two fronts: The team members struggled both to make themselves legitimate and to make creativity legitimate at the company. Both of these struggles were unsuccessful. However, this case provides a basis for understanding creativity from the perspective of the employees, rather than management or creativity experts. When management tells people to be creative, some employees may do this because it has been mandated. Here, on the other hand, no such authority is in play, offering a different perspective than that of most previous studies. By separating the power and authority issue (since the team had none) from creativity-organizing efforts, this story of so called failure offers insights into what it is about creativity that is controversial within an organization, or why it is so difficult to organize creativity. Consequently, even if the team had disintegrated as a consequence of its legitimacy problem, this turn of events reveals even further the legitimacy issues surrounding creativity. Since nobody can pressure anyone else at the company to be more creative, people interpret the call for increased creativity in ways they deem relevant and adequate, especially since the company is heterarchical. The consequence of this is that creativity is not important in comparison with all the other, more important things, e.g. achieving goals and working in a focused way.

Summary: C-team tried to introduce an alternative approach to organizing creativity in practice, in a bottom-up way. They were trying to make people blur the boundary between work and play, because the members believed that was necessary if people in the organization were going to be creative. The team introduced dirty objects in order to stimulate people into being more creative, but perceived the others to be utterly averse to playfulness. While taking actions to awaken playfulness and providing the tools so that employees could be more creative, the team was accidentally drawing a boundary between itself and the others. Also a boundary within the team started to appear. Some people believed play to be necessary for creativity, others thought that creativity was a way of having fun at work. This created a boundary within the team; ultimately, the controversy over the work/play boundary, both outside and inside the team, made it difficult for the team to survive.

8 Discussion

The empirical chapters showed how efforts to organize creativity unfold in practice within an established manufacturing organization. It was found that one way to organize creativity was to create spaces where creative work would take place at certain places and times, and involve certain people. The employees, on the other hand, believed something else was needed and took action to change the course set out in current strategies. Regular work seemed to be an obstacle to creative ideas and the creating spaces seemed insufficient for the creativity that was needed to achieve a competitive level of innovation. Therefore, people engaged in un-sanctioned work, e.g. skunkwork and creating a creativity team. This team tried to embody their way of seeing creativity as something that does not respect rules or boundaries by drawing alternative boundaries and engaging in the moving of elements away from regular work into creative work and vice versa, sometimes in unconventional ways. Here, another type of boundary work became visible: While trying to make other people's work/play boundary more permeable, they were accidentally reinforcing the boundary between themselves and others in a counterproductive way.

The boundary work between people, spaces and work, as identified in the empirical chapters, will be used in this chapter to understand how boundary work between orders of worth is performed during the effort to organize creativity. Orders of worth are higher common principles that define appropriate forms of conduct (Patriotta et al. 2011: 1805). When the employees engaged in challenging the existing common order, i.e. the current way to organize creativity, they engaged in what constitutes a moment of critical questioning or a "test of worth" whereby they were questioning if the right order of worth was used to determine what was important or "good" (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006/1991, Gond et al. 2016).

In the following discussion, the order of the orders is first addressed, to understand the current situation and the claimed "better" situation. Second, the boundary work concerning the inspirational order of worth is isolated and several different boundary drawing processes, that create "bubbles" of inspirational order, are discussed. Such boundary drawing was both official and un-sanctioned. In the third section of this discussion, the interaction between the orders of worth is discussed; in particular, how items move between orders and how this movement builds worth or devalues orders. Finally, the connection is made between organizing creativity and creative organizing; in fact, both these processes were taking place by means of mobilizing different orders of worth.

8.1 Orders of worth in creative work

Looking at the boundary work done in when organizing creativity, using an order of worth lens, shows that several orders of worth were mobilized during the effort to organize creativity. This is no surprise seeing as "*Even* in organization, often portrayed as confined environments, there is a plurality of interfering orders of worth" (Potthast 2017: 342, italics in original). While human beings can manifest themselves in different worlds, and have the critical capacity to mobilize worths from all the worlds, things are attached to a single world (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006/1991: 215 ff.). Drawing on an element (object, subject or human dignity) worthy in one order of worth is a mobilization of that order of worth. Understanding which world an action mobilizes or manifests (i.e. which higher principle is being called on) shows what matters to the person undertaking the action, or what s/he believes to be worthy in the organization, at least in that specific situation (Taupin 2012, Gond et al. 2015). Therefore, understanding how the orders of worth were juggled, justified and manifested in the organization gives an understanding of the orders of worth that people involve in the effort to organize creativity.

The first order of worth identified in the effort to organize creativity was the *inspirational* one. In this order, the higher common principle is inspiration, human dignity is built on love, passion and creativity, and people invest by means of risk, detour and escaping from routines (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006/1991). Worthy subjects are children and artists, while worthy objects are spirits, dreams and the unconscious. Creativity was viewed in the company as a manifestation of the inspirational order of worth. For instance, it was argued that, in order to be creative, the people needed to be adventurous, open minded and playful like children; all worthy in the inspirational order. This indicates that the employees see creativity as an outcome of mobilizations of the inspirational order. In other words, creativity is performed using actions that are worthy in the inspirational order. Interestingly enough, the inspirational order was not

argued using inspirational mobilizations to any greater extent. The attempt of the C-team to include play in its regular work, and arguing for the importance of play to creativity, can both be identified as arguments *for* the inspirational order of worth *from* the same. However, these arguments did not gain any traction, and were used to ridicule the C-team, revealing that such arguments were not worthy. While creativity is viewed as the result of inspirationally-worthy actions, the reason for increasing creativity was that the inspirational order would contribute towards achieving a higher state of worth in *other* orders.

The *market* order was one other order of worth argued to be in need of inspirational order, i.e. the inspirational order needed to be mobilized because it would help in achieving a higher worth in the market order. In the market order, the higher common principle is competition, human dignity is built on consumption and self-interest, and people invest based on opportunism (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006/1991). Worthy subjects are clients, sellers, and competitors, while worthy objects are luxury items and wealth. Sometimes, this connection was made in a direct way, i.e. by being worthy in the inspirational order, they will be more creative and thus stay ahead of others on the market. The need to increase creativity was constructed discursively by means of vivid stories told by the employees in describing when the creativity of the organization had been held back, with market failure as a consequence (drawing on worthy subjects such as clients and competitors). The argument that the company will only survive on the market if it is creative enough, i.e. it sells exciting new products, is an example of how the market order of worth is mobilized in order to defend the inspirational order of worth: It needs to be worthy in the inspirational order if it wants to be worthy in the market order. At other times, this connection was made via another, and third, order of worth, making it more nuanced.

One such connection was made via the *industrial* order. In this order, the higher common principle is efficiency and performance, human dignity is built on work, energy, and activities, and people invest based on effort and progress (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006/1991). Worthy objects are tools, plans, norms, methods and tasks, while worthy subjects are professionals and experts. In the company, it was thought that the inspirational order, together with the industrial order, was needed to deliver the innovative products needed to be relevant on the market. Without mobilizing the inspirational order of worth during innovation, there would only be industrial mobilizations, leading to innovations that would be cost-efficient but probably not so creative. In order to achieve the new, higher and more creative dimension of innovation, it was necessary to mobilize the inspirational order of worth. Put succinctly, both industrial and inspirational orders need to be mobilized in order to achieve innovation and thus worth in the market order. The argument that creativity had to be increased

to make innovation better, and more radical, relies on an understanding of a causal link where, by means of increasing creativity, innovation becomes "higher", i.e. more creative, and thus more attractive on the market (and worthy in the market order). Such a construction of a cause-and-effect chain can be understood as a mobilization of the industrial order of worth. Believing that the relationship between innovation and creativity is what delivers market success and mobilizing this chain of causality to defend the need to increase creativity, or the inspirational order of worth, is a manifestation of how the inspirational order of worth is defended by drawing on worths from the industrial and market orders.

Another connection between the inspirational and market orders was through the order of *fame*. In the order of fame, the greater common good is the public opinion, human dignity is based on reputation and visibility, and the way to invest is through abandoning privacy and appealing to the majority opinion (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006/1991). Worthy subjects are stars, fans, and leaders, while worthy objects are media, brands and campaigns. Being worthy in the inspirational order would make the company famous in the same way as Google, Spotify, Tesla or Apple, and thus worthy in the order of fame. This, in turn, would translate into market worth because people would see the company in a more positive way, then making them more attractive to customers. Being viewed as creative increases market status because it makes the company seem cool and grants its employees membership of the "cult of cool" (Fleming and Spicer 2004). It is believed that cool companies have greater success than uncool ones because they attract the best employees and more customers.

There were also mobilizations of what seemed to be other orders in making the inspirational order worthier. For instance, there were arguments that could be interpreted as coming either from the *civic* order, whereby civil rights and freedom are worthy, and the common higher principle is the collective, or from the *domestic* order, where human dignity is built on comfort and ease, and worth is based on being benevolent and well-bred (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006/1991). These orders were manifested through the idea that creativity was important because it would make people feel good at work. This can be understood in terms of believing that the organization should contribute to its employees having a good life (*domestic*), or because that would reflect on happier citizens and thus a better society (*civic*). However, the thought behind this argument was that an employee who feels good will also be more motivated as regards making a bit more of an effort, which will make a difference, i.e. working harder (see Chapter x). This is a mobilization of the industrial order. Trying to create a "humane workplace" as a "cover for the intensification of exploitation" (Walker 2011: 373) is, thus, not just an action originating from those in power: The employees themselves also embraced this argument, and

not necessarily as something negative. Perhaps they had already reconciled themselves with the idea that work is intensive and demanding; consequently, making sure it is also fun and nice makes it more endurable (Hunter et al. 2010). The argument that inspirational worths would make employees feel good at work was thus also, ultimately, an industrial argument.

The way that the arguments for different orders of worth are manifested shows that the ultimate goal was achieving worth in the market order. This is not surprising given that the purpose of the enterprise is to generate return on investment and accrue wealth. In order to achieve the most worthy order, the market order, other orders were mobilized. The inspirational order was mobilized in order to achieve market worth, but also to achieve market worth through fame worth and industrial worth. This is illustrated in the hierarchical order of the orders in Figure 4. The arrows point in the direction in which the argument was built: The inspirational order was important for raising market worth, while the fame and industrial orders were instrumental in achieving the market order.

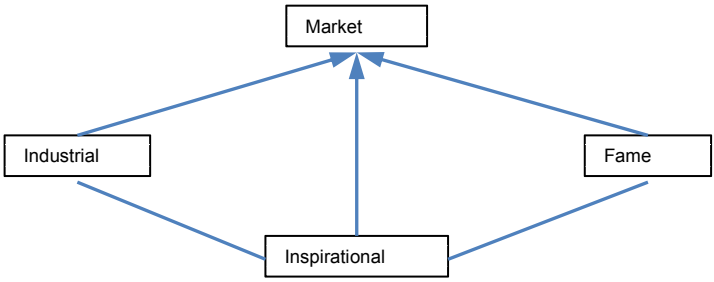

Figure 4 The hierarchy of the orders and how the orders help to build worth in other orders

Creativity is only appreciated if it helps and supports efficiency and/or sales, and the inspirational order is only worthy when it can be used to support industrial, fame, and market common goods. The actions reported on in this thesis thus take place in a setting where the industrial, fame and market orders have primacy over the inspirational order. When using the term "regular work", the following is the characteristic being referred to: A context where the industrial and market orders are superior to the inspirational order. Because of the imbalance between the worth of the different orders, and the conviction that creativity is important, certain spaces for creativity were created wherein the inspirational order of worth was locally worthier than is the case in regular work.

8.2 Boundary work around the inspirational order

According to orders of worth, the social order is negotiated on an ongoing basis (Patriotta et al. 2011), meaning that the process of establishing order is continuously happening via the actors who have the legitimacy to make claims in order to decide what is worthy and how. In the company, creative work was organized by drawing boundaries around spaces where the inspirational order of worth, temporarily and/or locally, was made worthier than is the case in regular work. This was carried out by different actors with different levels of legitimacy to do so, resulting in different boundary drawing processes. Boundaries were drawn in a visible and clear way by labelling certain spaces for creative work. Boundaries were also drawn in an ambiguous way, making the boundary around the inspirational order almost invisible. Finally, they were also drawn in an accidental, or unplanned, way as a consequence of work.

8.2.1 Drawing visible boundaries

One way in which a boundary was drawn around the inspirational order was by means of assigning certain spaces and times (temporarily, virtually or permanently, as described in Chapter 4 *Creating spaces*) for creative work. This involved scheduling when, in addition to delineating where and planning by whom, creative work was going to happen, e.g. during hackathons, in idea boxes or under the tree. This was boundary drawing around the inspirational order: The inspirational order appeared like a "bubble" in the organization. In these bubbles, the worth of the industrial and market orders is temporarily and/or locally suspended (and sometimes other orders as well): Instead, rules consistent with the inspirational order of worth are allowed to reign, i.e. crazy, fun, spontaneous and rule-breaking actions are locally and temporary more worthy than in regular work. The industrial order of worth was still mobilized in these spaces, especially the temporary spaces: However, when moves in the direction of effectiveness and goal orientation manifested themselves, the participants would remind each other to stop pursuing those actions, from the industrial order of worth, and to stay within the inspirational order. The spaces were thus designed to help generate ideas by temporarily suspending the iron cage of the industrial and market orders of worth, with the people in the space continuously blocking out the industrial and market orders in order to stay visionary and creative.

Bucher and Langley (2016) found that spaces for reflection or experimentation, amidst routine work, can be created by making social, physical, temporal or symbolic boundaries. Labelling a space for creative work involved drawing a physical and a symbolic boundary around the inspirational order. Sometimes, there were walls and windows, while at other times, the boundary was intangible but still visible through the mess, and through the arts and crafts kinds of

objects lying around. Under the tree, the leaves randomly fell on people, further reminding them to be creative and highlighting the uncontrollable nature of the inspirational order. The falling leaves were thus also drawing a physical line between creative space and non-creative space (under the tree was a space that extended as far as the leaves could fall). The drawing of the symbolic boundary consisted of making certain kinds of work and actions acceptable in the space labelled as creative – actions that would not be accepted or relevant in other, regular work spaces (e.g. the mess). The physical aspect, thus, did not consist of physical distance from the regular work, as in Bucher and Langley (2016), but of the drawing of physical boundaries inside the company. Also, temporary boundaries were set up. In the case of temporary spaces, this was done by assigning the date and time. However, there was also a temporal aspect in the permanent spaces, seeing as the people in the organization would only enter or pass by the designated creating spaces occasionally, and it was not possible to spend all of your working time inside a creative space. Social boundaries were drawn by means of the selection processes regarding who was in and who was out of the creating space. There were different selection mechanisms whereby people sometimes chose to enter the creating space themselves, or not, at other times being selected to do so. What was clear, however, was that the whole company was not a creating space. Instead, creating spaces were created inside the company. Creating a space that was different from regular work allowed other activities to take place, and the boundary between regular work and creative work was drawn, similar to the work/leisure (Hunter et al. 2010), work/play (Dougherty and Takacs 2004) and work/home (Nippert-Eng 1996, Kreiner et al. 2009) boundaries.

Labelling, or naming, something as a space for creativity is a boundary drawing process with a performative aspect (Butler 2011/1993), meaning that, when stating that a certain space is dedicated to something creative, it also becomes a creating space through the actions of the people inside the space because this makes certain kinds of behaviours allowed. One visible aspect of this was the mess in the creating spaces (Chapter 4). The existence of the mess materialised the uncontrollable nature of the inspirational order in the creating spaces. This way, the mess was drawing a physical boundary, highlighting the fact that creative work takes place in the messy area, but not in the tidier open office space. The material differentiation of the content inside the bubble of inspirational order, compared to the regular work, was thus a way in which the boundaries around the inspirational order were drawn. First, the boundaries were explicitly drawn by means of symbolic labelling, then they were physically drawn through the materialization of the inspirational order inside the space. Social, physical, temporal and symbolic boundaries were drawn around the

creating spaces, thus creating bubbles of reflexive and/or experimental spaces (Bucher and Langley 2016) inside the company.

Another aspect of boundary drawing is that assigning a certain space with certain qualities or meanings, and delimitating it with a boundary, constructs the other side of the boundary as something different (Gieryn 1983, Ellis and Ybema 2010, Walker 2011, Pouthier 2017). Deciding that creative ideas are to be channelled into certain spaces also entails deciding that regular work is to be void of creative ideas. Thus, the idea that regular work is not creative is also a consequence of the construction of creating spaces.

8.2.2 Drawing but not drawing

The employees' answer to the managerial top-down industrial order approach to organizing creativity was that something other than the existing creating spaces was needed: All work being done needed to be more creative than it currently was. They were in what can be labelled a state of "eyes open" (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006/1991, Thévenot 2009, Dansou and Langley 2012, Hansen 2016), meaning that they were in a situation of levelling criticism and questioning the status quo. They believed that the organizing of creating spaces was an approach to creativity that was too planned and organized, and this was not giving the inspirational order the freedom it needs to flourish. In short, according to them, the company prioritized the industrial order over the inspirational order by labelling the creating spaces. In order to stimulate creativity, they created other, alternative, spaces of inspirational order of worth: the C- team and skunkwork (described in Chapter 5 *Creating change* and Chapter 6 *Creating structures*). These spaces were created using alternative boundary drawing processes that differed from the boundary drawing around the visible boundaries around the creating spaces.

One example of an alternative way to draw boundaries around the inspirational order is skunkwork. Skunkwork breaks the rules of the structure because engaging in unsanctioned work means stealing hours from other, sanctioned work, and drawing hidden temporal and physical boundaries since this work needs to be kept hidden. This means that skunkwork threatens efficiency, the highest worth of the industrial order of worth, since it delays the progress of mandated work and threatens effectiveness (industrial worth), due to skunkwork projects being risky. It also bypasses hierarchy and thus destabilises authority. As such, this way of creating bubbles of inspirational order was in contrast to the explicit and clear boundary drawing common to the organization, which was designed to achieve the greater good of the industrial order.

Another example of the alternative boundary drawing around the inspirational order was the invisibility and marginal nature of the C-team: This team was not

visible in the organigram and was not inscribed in most of the team members' job descriptions. Instead, the team members had their "real", and visible, team memberships, and the work of the C-team would be incorporated into already-existing targets in their individual job descriptions[17]. Organigrams and job descriptions are tools that can be used to draw clear and visible social and temporal boundaries between people and teams, also being tools that are worthy in the industrial and domestic orders of worth because they highlight who does what and the hierarchy (in doing so, providing efficiency and distributing authority). Not drawing boundaries using these tools limited the visibility of the team. Furthermore, the employees of the organization did not have access that would enable them to find out that such a team even existed; also, it was not clear who was in the team. The team did try to raise its visibility. For instance, the playdough prank was partly aimed at showing its existence, and a logo had been designed and there was one email address for the entire team. However, taken together, the social and temporal boundaries around the C-team, as a bubble of inspirational order, were fuzzy and nearly invisible.

Drawing fuzzy boundaries was a level of change within the authority of the first-line managers; they had no authority to create a visible team boundary, and the team members still had to fulfil the same goals that had been established prior to the birth of the team[18]. Thus, while the first-line managers were drawing unusual and difficult-to-detect boundaries around the C-team, at the limits of their authority, boundary drawing around the inspirational order, through the creation of the C-team, respected the industrial order. On the other hand, the fact that some of the employees agreed to engage in this marginal and almost unsanctioned work was an unusual act that was not consistent with the worths of the industrial order; however, it was consistent with the inspirational order, where the unusual and risky is worthy. By means of not being visible in the formal tools, the team was in existence; however, at the same time it was not, which created a nearly invisible boundary around it. The only visible boundary drawing was a symbolic boundary around the C-team as a bubble of inspirational order: The team existed because some employees and first-line managers had decided it would (with the Unit Manager thinking it was a good idea without taking any further actions or making any adjustments to make space for the team within the formal structures). This near-invisibility made sense to the team members, given that they wanted to create an alternative space for the inspirational order.

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[17] Some of the team members may have had adjustments made to their job descriptions in order to make their work in the C-team explicit, but most of them had not.

[18] And no modifications were made in order to include the C-team in the goal setting of any units throughout the team's existence.

Another unusual boundary drawing move was trying to work without a strategy. More specifically, it was an attempt to *not* draw a boundary. A strategy is a managerial tool in the industrial world (Daigle and Rouleau 2010), and a way to draw a boundary regarding what a team, or any other unit, is expected to accomplish (similar to the job descriptions of individuals). Setting up goals and strategies is a mobilisation of the industrial order, which seemed incompatible with the inspirational order: when aiming for a goal, the end-point is already known and established *a priori*. If the aim is known at the start of an endeavour, it is not new, and thus not creative. Therefore, goals and strategies were not understood to be suitable or relevant when setting up a bubble of inspirational order of worth. A strategy also serves as a tool for measuring how well the team or unit has performed at the end of the day. This is yet another way to build worth in the industrial order, placing an attempt to work without a strategy in opposition to the industrial order. In short: Working with a goal and strategy goes *against* the inspirational order while working without goals and strategies goes *against* the industrial order. Therefore, avoiding goals and strategies can be interpreted as an attempt to stimulate creativity: This act built inspirational worth and made it more difficult to achieve industrial worth.

Omitting the formal, explicit and discursive way of usual boundary drawing in the company (such as formalizing the team, writing a strategy and labelling creating spaces), and favouring "doing" by taking actions without the expected *à priori* planning, was not only a different, alternative way (worthy in the inspirational order and unworthy in the industrial order), it was also a way to show the hard work and the focus on results that are worthy in the industrial order. Thus, in doing this, the C-team was trying to mobilize the worths of the industrial order in a different way: Instead of first saying what they were about to do and drawing a clear boundary around what was being aimed at (in a strategy), before actually doing it, they tried to be worthy in the industrial order by means of hard work and results that would boost others' interest and their own legitimacy without any active boundary drawing. The team tried to function as a role model and to lead the way in working "inspirationally worthily" by being productive (industrial worth) rather than by boundary drawing. This again shows the supremacy of the industrial order: The team were trying to work in a way that could build worth in the industrial order, although they had set out to be worthy in the inspirational order. The C-team expressed disagreement with the world in which the adequate test should be carried out. In rejecting strategy, and what they believed to be a focus on excessive solutions and goals, they were rejecting the test that builds industrial worth: i.e. achieving goals efficiently. Instead, they were proposing an inspirational test, because this would build the creativity that the market order was thought to demand: They were proposing a test that would build explorative and experimental worths.

The bubbles of inspirational order, created bottom-up, were unsanctioned and unruly, and served a boundary-buffering function (Faraj and Yan 2009), or a safe haven (Oldenhof et al. 2016) where like-minded people could vent their concerns over the precarious state of the inspirational order of worth in the company with others, and discuss issues that were controversial in regular work settings. These bubbles can be viewed as resistance movements, or underground movements. What differentiates these bubbles from, for instance, the resisting enclaves that successfully managed to alter, in a bottom-up manner, the planned course of action of management in the study of Courpasson et al. (2012) is that they (the C-team or skunkworks) did not start with a written statement. They started by mobilizing themselves and taking actions that were possible within their limits of authority (and perhaps slightly beyond that), instead of writing a strategy. However, while action is seen as worthier than words and documents by the company, the documents and discourses seem necessary when it comes to framing and explaining intentions and actions to others: The others were requesting a formalization of the strategy, both explicitly (Chapter 6 *Creating structures*) and implicitly by ridiculing the team (Chapter 7 *Creating activities*).

8.2.3 Drawing unintended boundaries

The aim of the activities that the C-team arranged (Chapter 7), was often to blur or eliminate the boundary between creative and regular work. By introducing things from the inspirational order (playdough, theatre and an improvisational theatre actor), they were taking actions that would make the inspirational order more worthy within the organization and transform regular work so that it would be more inspirationally worthy. In order to do this, however, they also created spaces separating creative work from regular work, unwillingly. When introducing playdough, or organizing workshops, physical and visible boundaries are inevitable – creating activities had a space and time and certain employees participated. The activities were not global or constant and did not involve all employees, which would make them unbounded, or all-encompassing, just like regular work. Instead, the activities involved marking where, when and who was allowed, or expected, to be creative and draw on worths from the inspirational order of worth. In doing so, the activities also separated creative work from regular work, even though the intention was the opposite. Thus, the activities they created to erase the boundaries between the industrial and inspirational orders were also bubbles of inspirational worth, with a dedicated time and space.

Another unintended boundary that was drawn was the boundary around the team itself. The team did not engage very actively in drawing a boundary around themselves because this made no sense in relation to their task: They wanted to make the *others* more creative, and this task was not about them, but about the

others. Therefore, they did not want to be *too* visible, even though the only evaluation measurement they had was visibility (see section 6.1). However, there was an unintended boundary drawing process around the team. By organizing the activities, they drew a boundary around themselves as the ones who were authorized to decide what the others needed to learn, or do differently. They took the authority to decide what the company needed to do to increase its creativity, thus differentiating themselves from the regular employees, as a team endowed with a higher reflexive capacity than average. As a consequence, by the very construction of the team and the actions they took, the others could rest their preoccupation with creativity: There was a C-team that was creative. All these actions were drawing boundaries, albeit unintended ones, around the C-team. By not drawing a boundary around themselves, using a strategy for instance, or via a budget, project manager and a box in the organigram, they were not in control of their own boundary. The lack of boundary work resulted in an unintended, accidental boundary that they did not perceive to be purposeful for their task: They had become clowns and the ones carrying out the tasks which did not fit the job descriptions of anyone else, i.e. the group that could be expected to make an extra effort without asking for anything in return (volunteer, extracurricular, unremunerated work).

Boundary work in one place may lead to boundary work somewhere else, as a side-effect. Even when boundary work is not being engaged in, it will happen, supporting the idea of Hernes (2004) that organizing can be viewed as boundary work processes. In this case, the employees, while attempting to erase boundaries between regular and creative work, and engaging in inspirational boundary drawing, were also drawing accidental boundaries around themselves in an industrially worthy way. This was inevitable because the industrial worth was the dominant one: It was only possible to do something wild and new if it could fit into the already-existing order. The performative aspect of labelling as boundary drawing can be used consciously by means of designating a space for creative work, meaning that the work done in a creating space becomes creative because it was labelled as a space for creative work. This performative aspect of labelling also takes places, however, in an unplanned manner, sort of as a side effect, both through the creating activities and through the creation of the C-team.

Treating the C-team as a creating space and bubble of inspirational order is not, perhaps, a straightforward choice and may thus require some clarification. The formation of the team did create a space where employees concerned about the perceived creativity problem could meet and plan their actions. As such, it was a space for creative work, and thus a bubble of inspirational order of worth. At the same time, however, it was also a structure of people who believed in creativity and who tried to take actions to stimulate it, thus providing an

example of how employees try to mobilize the inspirational order of worth within the context of a company where the industrial and market orders are more worthy. Being a structure, other boundary work also took place, relating authority and legitimacy. Boundary work concerning structures, e.g. teams or groups of professions, often takes place in order to raise the authority and legitimacy of a group and to secure resources for the work of a group trying to gain legitimacy and authority (Gieryn 1983, Rachel and Woolgar 1995, Fournier 2000, Chreim et al. 2013, Koppman 2014, Liao 2016, Azambuja and Islam 2019).

The boundary work concerning the C-team was mainly limited to two activities. In order to gain authority, they tried to find advocates and to convince others of the importance of their *cause* – not of their existence or competence. For instance they did not try to collaborate with the innovation structures that were seen as more serious than the C-team, and may have been able to help them raise their authority as well as legitimacy. For their legitimacy, they tried to work hard and show results. But their main concern was not their own boundaries and liaisons; the team was trying to erase the boundaries between inspirational and industrial worths. However, since the organization was so used to placing people and work in boxes (who does what), the actions it took to increase its creativity were interpreted by the others as an action of drawing a boundary around the team, ultimately leading to them being labelled as the creative ones, or the group of non-working, unserious people. The team boundary was a necessary evil that created the buffering space the heroes of the story needed, but they were not relevant to their work: They worked towards erasing boundaries. The existence of the team, however unformal and invisible, required structural team boundary drawing. Even if the team's drawing of a boundary around itself was nearly invisible, others had performed the boundary drawing around it. This makes it possible to explain the ultimate demise of the team in terms of the inspirational order of worth: The team struggled for authority and legitimacy through inspirational order boundary drawing, which was too invisible and random for the organization, where the industrial order was worthier.

The three (visible, "invisible", and unintended) boundary drawing processes around the inspirational order mainly concerned a boundary negotiation between the industrial and inspirational orders of worth. This is not surprising considering that these two needed to be combined in order to support the worths of the market order: In order to fulfil the market order worths, the company needed to act worthily in both the industrial and the inspirational orders of worth. The market and the fame orders were not involved in conflicts concerning organizing creativity: The market was the highest principle of worth, and was not called into question. The fame order was mobilized as a tool for

achieving the market order, but was significantly less than the industrial and inspirational worths, at least in the context of creativity. Put bluntly, people did not question the market worth and they were not trying to do things for show which would increase their fame: They were trying to do things that built up the market worth and were using the fame argument moderately.

The industrially worthy way to draw boundaries consisted of drawing all the types of boundaries identified by (Bucher and Langley 2016); i.e. physical, social, temporal and symbolic. This boundary drawing was explicit and visible, with these boundaries coinciding with the boundaries of the orders of worth: They are found in the same interface, meaning that the space boundary coincides with the order boundary. As such, the four types of boundaries can be used to describe industrial order boundary drawing between spaces. During inspirationally-worthy boundary drawing, the boundaries were constructed by means of more subtle boundary drawing, or through the non-drawing of boundaries, making them more difficult to detect and diagnose.

8.3 Boundary crossing between orders of worth

While the effort to organize creativity involved boundary drawing, whereby different orders of worth were separated and different spaces were created during which orders of worth were prioritised differently, these spaces also had some relationships with each other. The process whereby elements move between orders of worth is referred to here as boundary crossing.

When drawing on worths from another order, people engage in "transport of one world into another" (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006/1991: 221). Such people may be "accused of being concerned with another world instead of being engaged with what they are doing in the current world" (ibid), or engaging in a state of *eyes open* (p. 233), meaning that they chose to engage in a critical mode and to question the ongoing course of actions (when engaging in work without questioning critically, i.e. doing what you have been told, you are engaged in a state of eyes closed) (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006/1991).

Several examples of boundary crossing between orders of worth are raised here. Elements were travelling in two directions: From the inspirational order into the industrial order, to arouse it from what was understood to be a snoozing state, and in the opposite direction, from the industrial order into the inspirational order, in order to make it more controllable and domesticized.

8.3.1 Provoking industrial order

Through its work, the C-team was trying to make creativity more worthy within the organization. To this end, the actions taken can be viewed as a series of boundary crossings: They were moving elements that were worthy in the

inspirational order into regular work, where the inspirational order, in their view, was being suppressed. The creating activities that the C-team created (described in Chapter 7) provide one example of how elements from the inspirational order of worth were moved into regular work in order to tease the people that knew very well how to mobilize industrial worth but had forgotten (how) to mobilize the inspirational order. This is particularly well-illustrated in the case of the playdough. Playdough is a toy for children, who are subjects worthy in the inspirational order, while playing is an activity through which inspirational worth can be expressed. Bringing this object, worthy in the inspirational order, into the regular work space was an attempt to remind people doing regular work of the importance of creativity and to let them practice creativity skills such as playfulness and imagination (skills that build inspirational worth). This object travelled across the boundary from the inspirational order into regular work; as such, this was a dirty object that was "out of place" (Douglas 1966) and an object that belonged (i.e. was worthy) in a different order of worth. This action seemed particularly important when some orders were viewed as being too dominant for the good of the company (i.e. the industrial and market orders), while another order seemed dangerously unworthy (the inspirational order).

The manifesto (Chapter 6) is another example of employees moving tools from the inspirational order into regular work in order to arouse and provoke. Manifestos are texts written with the aim of directing and steering work, also being a practice commonly found in the arts, especially in the modernist *avant-garde*. Examples include Hugo Ball's "Dada Manifesto" from 1916[19], describing the ideas and ideals of the Dadaist arts movement, and the Danish film directors' "DOGMA 95 – The Manifest", describing the "vow of chastity"[20] that filmmakers need to take when seeking to be a part of the Dogma group. Both these manifestos describe the aims, reasons and ways of working of artists seeking to be a part of the dada or dogma movements. As an artistic tradition, a manifesto is an object imbued with inspirational worth. The fact that the C-team created a manifesto instead of a strategy can be interpreted as an action whereby it tried to raise the worth of the inspirational order in regular work by moving the inspirationally-worthy tool into the organization. This action was an attempt to reconcile two different worlds: i.e. the rebellious, independent, and risky inspired world with the reliable, controllable and planning industrial world. The manifesto was similar to a strategy in that it could be used to communicate with others what the team was to do and to legitimise its existence, but only being used as a last resort in attempting to resurrect the team. However, by using a

[19] https://www.wired.com/beyond-the-beyond/2016/07/hugo-balls-dada-manifesto-july-2016/ (accessed 2019-06-17)
[20] http://www.dogme95.dk/dogma-95/ (accessed 2019-06-17)

different format than the regular bullet points of a strategy, it allowed them to write what they wanted in a freer way. Manifestos did not have an established status within the company, so it was possible to do something unusual with it, which is consistent with the inspired order of worth. This was an attempt to let the inspirational order of worth override the industrial order of worth, while still respecting the rules of the industrial order of worth. The manifesto becomes an example of a compromising device that is able to cross the boundary between the two orders of worth: It is an attempt at creating an alternative strategy document, using the inspirational order of worth.

Yet another way in which elements worthy in one order were transferred into another order is exemplified by the alternative structure that the C-team constituted. The team existed within the organization, where the industrial and market orders were primarily the worthiest. Through their various and unusual actions, such as the fuzzy and almost invisible team boundary, the team attempted to embody and align its existence using a construction of creativity that was worthy in the inspirational order: i.e. something unusual, disturbing and risky. Mobilizing an unusual team was the rational action: If creativity were to be increased, they would need to do something differently; more specifically, something less organized and less aligned with the regular, business and corporate ways of doing things. As such, the team represents something from the inspirational order that is trying to disturb and provoke regular work, where the industrial and market orders were the worthiest. While the team was aiming to disrupt and arouse regular work, which had fallen into a state of dangerous hibernation, according to some of the employees, the C-team members themselves belonged inside the very same organization that they wanted to arouse. In other words, they were trying to resist the norms that they themselves had been produced by (Butler 2011/1993). Since they were neither children nor professionals experienced in the inspirational order of worth, e.g. artists, they had limited experience of and expertise in other ways of working and the mobilizations of other orders. Moreover, their actions would still be constrained by the organization they were embedded in or, as Ortmann and Sydow (2017) described it: They were trying to dance but they were still chained to the existing. They could only provoke *that* much, not only because the organization was designed in a way that constrained their space of maneuver, but also because they were somehow in the same snoozed (anti-creative) state they were trying to alter.

In the case of the innovation room, items were moving from the inspirational order into regular work in a rather visible manner: The mess (symbolising the uncontrollability of the inspirational order) was overflowing into the corridor (belonging to regular work). This is yet another example of how items from the

inspirational order move into regular work, disrupting (at least visually) regular work.

Boundary crossing from the inspirational order of worth into regular work reveals a number of insights into how the employees tried to manage the orders of worth. They tried to move various elements (tools, practices and objects) from what they perceived to be the suppressed order into regular work (where the industrial and market orders were worthier). This move mainly had two purposes: Firstly, to fertilize the regular worth with inspirational worths that had been oppressed or forgotten and, secondly, to raise the level of appreciation and understanding of the importance of the inspirational worths. The moving of elements across boundaries, between the orders that the C-team was engaged in, can best be understood as a belief that one order could be fertilized by worths from another order; i.e. they were trying to cross-fertilize regular work with creative work. Bringing worth from another order into industrially-imbued regular work was not very well received and no cross-fertilization was noted, meaning that they were instead reinforcing the status quo rather than altering it, similar to the failed attempts to bring about a change in the study of Taupin (2012).

When mobilizing worth from one order inside another order, *awkward moments* surge (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006/1991). Indeed several awkward moments took place when the C-team tried to transport elements from one order to another. Examples include the mess that was criticized (Chapter 4), that they were asked to make a strategy (Chapter 6) and the fact that the playdough was ignored by many employees (Chapter 7). In both these situations the "test is not adapted to any of the worlds to which the beings present in the scene belong" (ibid.:227): The playdough and the mess were evaluated with industrial worth, as was the lack of strategy, and all these acts were deemed unworthy. From a boundary work perspective, however, these kinds of actions are not awkward, but expected: These are actions taken by people who try to change the boundaries they perceive to be erroneous, by re- appropriation and with the help of dirty objects (Douglas 1966, Farias 2017). What the boundary work perspective adds, thus, is a different way to see the moving of items across orders of worth: To accomplish change in order to bring about a "better" situation not because it would be more just (levelling privileges, as described by Boltanski and Thévenot (2006/1991)), but because it would be purposeful to achieve the highest order: i.e. the market worth.

Sometimes the team took decisions to *not* move elements across boundaries, because of fear of these "awkward moments". This highlights that objects are rather static and almost "belong" in one order of worth, i.e. an object can only be worthy in one order. Examples of decisions to not move items between

orders of worth are the rejection of the flash mob idea as a solution to the sweatshop situation at the company (Chapter 6) and deciding that measurements of creativity made no sense (section 7.2.1). The sweatshop problem was seen as a consequence of the goal focus, time constraints and efficiency paradigm, i.e. it was a problem caused by worths of the industrial order. They had a solution worthy of the inspirational order that would solve a problem in the industrial order, but these did not seem to connect well; they would create an awkward moment. The measurement question was the reverse: they were trying to use a tool worthy in the industrial worth to measure elements from the inspirational worth. However, the tool would not deliver results that would be worthy in the inspirational order. While objects are only worthy in one order, the boundary work framework offers a different perspective: it is possible to develop objects that cross the boundary, i.e. are worthy in both orders.

8.3.2 Neutralizing inspirational order

While moving elements from the inspirational order into regular work was one way to arouse the worths that had been suppressed, the opposite action was also taking place: The provocative worths from the inspirational order were being neutralized by moving elements from the industrial and market orders into the bubbles of inspirational worth. The two different temporary spaces (in Chapter 4) illustrate this particularly well. Each of the temporary spaces contained elements of the industrial order, providing a bridge between the bubble of inspirational order and regular work. In the case of the hackathon, it was the practice of coding, which forms part of regular work. As such, coding became a boundary practice, i.e. a practice that can cross the boundary between the inspirational and the industrial order of worth, and be worthy in both. At the design thinking workshops, on the other hand, work was more unconventional within the company, including practices such as arts and crafts (inspirationally worthy). Still, the design thinking method itself has certain steps, with some features always remaining constant. This reliance on the method reflects the common way to work in the company, where methods and standards were common practices. This rigid method thus forces the design thinking workshops to include a part of the industrial order inside the bubble of inspirational order, namely predictability and stability, thus creating a bridge with the industrial order. Following a strict methodology, or setting up constraints, is also a common practice in the arts: For instance, in improvisational theatre, a common rule is always affirming other actors' ideas, while at art exhibitions, curators commonly create an overarching theme on which basis the exhibition is created (even if, sometimes, the theme only becomes apparent after the fact) (Obrist et al. 2008). The standardised method also becomes a boundary practice that can be worthy in both the industrial and inspirational orders of worth.

Planting worths from the inspirational order inside the bubbles of inspirational order can make them more similar to, and compatible with, the dominant industrial order, and neutralize the inspirational order, something which is perceived as dangerously destabilizing. In the case of the playdough there was no such boundary practice, and instead the answer by the rest of the employees to the C-team prank was rejection, i.e. they simply ignored the playdough. That way the others were neutralizing the dangerously fun, childish and destabilizing inspirational order of worth.

Another example of this move happened in the virtual spaces. Creative ideas were placed in this bubble of the inspirational order of worth; however, at the same time, a tool of the industrial order was brought into this space: i.e. the strategy. In aligning ideas that are too far 'out there', with strategies in place, and in finding receivers within the organization that may have some use for the idea in their current operations, the virtual space becomes a gatekeeping function between wild ideas (ideas infused with too much inspirational order) and current operations (aligned with market and industrial orders of worth), whereby ideas that were too wild were kept out of operations or modified into something that could work within existing operations. This was a move intended to bring the inspirational order of worth closer to the industrial order of worth, meaning that the originality of the idea was at stake and the inspirational order of worth had been harnessed. Previously, the virtual creating space was described as a bubble of the inspirational order of worth. However, looking at the boundary crossing in and out of this space reveals that it also served the opposite function, i.e. it was a tool used to neutralize the unruly inspirational order. The virtual creating space was a gatekeeper of the industrial order of worth, which made sure that the inspirational order was kept at a reasonable level. This transformation took place not only through the attuning to current strategies, but also through the materialization process that ideas had to go through. Ideas had to be materialized into written documents in the idea box and, as such, there was one extra materialization step in the virtual space. In the other creating spaces, on the other hand, it was people that collaborated or met. This was, perhaps, either too formal or information was lost. Whatever the reason, this step was a disadvantage for the inspirational order of worth in the virtual creating space, when compared to the other spaces where people could talk directly to each other and use other cues to communicate an idea (e.g. arts and crafts tools, or coding).

The terms *current* and *existing,* used here to refer to orders of worth, are aimed at highlighting the temporary stability of the orders. Just as the market, strategies, and laws change, the materialization of one order of worth can also change over time. For instance, gender roles alter with time (Butler 2011/1993) and resistance movements can be successful in altering the course of action of a

company (Courpasson et al. 2012), with orders of worth also being able to describe such development processes (Denis et al. 2007, Patriotta et al. 2011, Cloutier and Langley 2013). It is not just what is worthy that changes: The manifestation of the worth also changes. However, the virtual space is not a channel via which new ideas are used to alter existing strategies and to contribute to change and innovation, but tools of stabilization and alignment with the current perception of what is worthy and how it is manifested.

The unruly inspirational order of worth was made more domesticized by using tools from one order in another order, i.e. applying an industrially worthy tool to inspirational worth. In particular, measurements (Chapter 5) serve as an example illustrating this move. The idea of measuring the creativity of the organization was an attempt to make the inspirational order more worthy in regular work. By applying a method from a superior order of worth (in this case, measurement from the industrial order) to an inferior and unruly order of worth (in this case, the inspirational order), it was thought that the inferior and wild order could be made more worthy and controlled in the industrial order: Once inspirational order worths had been made measurable and had been measured, the inspirational order could become worthier in the industrial order. However, the impossibility of satisfying the measurement criteria of the industrial order in the inspirational order proved the idea to be futile; such a measurement was not worthy in neither orders. Base on the inspirational order, it seemed immeasurable and therefore futile and, based on the industrial order, the measurements that were possible seemed invalid, e.g. counting patents or using self-assessments of perceived creativity. Moreover, it was not clear, for instance, what a value of 8 on a 10-point scale of creativity would mean in terms of the market order, which, after all, was the highest common principle.

The elements crossing the boundaries between orders of worth were practices (e.g. theatre, arts and crafts, coding, which level to focus problems and solutions on, the unusual team construction), tools (e.g. the manifesto and measurements), and objects (e.g. playdough and mess). The movement across the bridges from the inspirational order of worth was made in order to fertilize regular work so that it would be more creative, with this taking place in a guerilla-like manner. In the opposite direction, however, the movement was made in order to neutralize and mitigate the disrupting effects of the inspirational order by making it more industrially worthy, with this taking place in the open and officially legitimate way. It was a way to neutralize the disturbing nature of the inspirational order and to make it more acceptable in the organization. When adding a pinch of the known (in this case, worths from the familiar industrial order) within the scary and unruly inspirational order, it seemed more familiar and less dirty.

The different ways in which cross-fertilization took place in the opposite direction may simply be a consequence of the inferior position of the inspirational order (as shown in section 8.1). When employees wanted to mobilize the inferior inspirational order of worth, they felt the need to use undercover strategies and to ambush the people who had dozed off during industrially-worthy regular work – or else this would not work. It did not seem as if official and standard ways to introduce inspirational worth would work; something more radical was needed. This could also be explained by the awkwardness of the situations, whereby the C-team was mixing elements of different worths. The C-team believed that if it could show other employees that working creatively is fun, then this would convert them to working creatively in regular work too. However, in order to feel the fun, the team members needed to reach their colleagues personally and not professionally. The inspirational order was more likely to be aroused in the employees if the C-team was able to reach each employee's inner child by ambushing them using playfulness and children's toys than by asking them to play. Arousing the other employees' inner children would trick them into being creative; however, if such an action were to be announced in advance, and inscribed into a strategy, it would be believed that the resistance shown would have been stronger (the other side would have the chance to mobilize a defence). Transporting value from the inferior inspirational order to the superior industrial order, in order to open the eyes of others, was thought to function only through a guerrilla-like tactic.

Boundary work aimed at provoking and arousing the industrial order was carried out in order to cross-fertilize the industrial order with the inspirational order, i.e. arouse creativity. The way this was carried out, using the guerilla tactic, was a manifestation of the inspirational order: It was the unruly and not the common, habitual way to do things. On the other hand, neutralizing the inspirational order was carried out in the usual, planned way. As such, this was a manifestation of the industrial order.

8.4 Organizing creativity and creative organizing

The boundary drawing and boundary crossing processes both provide insights into two ways in which the orders of worth are juggled; i.e. using industrially-worthy actions and inspirationally-worthy actions. This can also be interpreted such that sometimes *organizing creativity* takes place, while at other times *creative organizing* takes place instead.

The boundary drawing processes were not only shielding orders of worth from each other, they were also manifesting orders of worth. Boundaries that were drawn clearly by means of labelling, as well as selection of the time, place and participants, were boundaries protecting the efficiency of both orders, keeping the tools of the different worlds separate and making work predictable and

planned. Hence, this was an industrially-worthy way to draw boundaries whereby both orders were protected from the degenerative worths of the other, i.e. both orders were kept efficient (industrial worth). This way to draw boundaries between orders is similar to what is set out in the ambidexterity literature; i.e. ways of separating the exploration (inspirationally-worthy) from the exploitation (industrially-worthy) activities (March 1991, Raisch et al. 2009, Wikhamn et al. 2016). Boundary crossing, too, was performed with industrial worth. When boundary crossing was carried out in order to neutralize the inspirational order, this took place in the usual, planned way, which can be interpreted as a manifestation of the industrial order. Industrially-worthy boundary work can best be described as *organizing creativity*: It focuses on finding the right time and place (and sometimes people) to do creative work, and to transform unruly creativity into controllable and harnessed creativity.

By contrast, from an inspirational worth point of view, deciding when to be creative is futile because ideas can come any time. Therefore, boundaries drawn by mobilizing the inspirational order were fuzzier and almost invisible, and sometimes secret or even non-existent, which is aligned with the disturbing and rule-breaking worths of the inspirational order of worth: The inspirational order of worth is independent and cannot be placed in a frame, or a box. This is more in line with the heterarchical perspective, trying to distribute the exploration activities throughout the organization and infuse exploration work with exploitation (Stark 2001, 2009). Boundary crossing in order to provoke and arouse the industrial order was performed using inspirationally-worthy actions: It was rule-breaking and not the habitual, usual way to do things. Inspirationally-worthy boundary drawing can best be understood as *creative organizing*: It focuses on new and experimental ways to organize work, in a way that makes it more creative.

Organizing creativity consists of industrially-worthy processes, whereby boundary drawing is clear and functional, and boundary crossing is controlled. Drawing visible and unintended boundaries, as well as neutralizing boundary crossing, were processes whereby creativity was organized. These processes made creativity more harnessed and controlled: In an orders-of-worth perspective, these were industrially-worthy ways of trying to stimulate creativity by making limited and controlled space for the inspirational worth. On the other hand, c*reative organizing* consists of inspirationally-worthy processes whereby boundary drawing is fuzzy and boundary crossing provokes and attempts cross-fertilization. Drawing fuzzy and almost invisible boundaries and provoking boundary crossing are two examples of creative organizing. These were actions whereby unusual ways of doing things were attempted, and new ideas were tested, with some organizational structures being altered. In other words, these were inspirationally-worthy actions that were nudging the industrially-worthy

order. Even though they did not turn out to be fully useful to the organization, they were still useful from the inspirational order perspective: These were actions that raised the worth of the inspirational order, which is why it is possible to call them creative, even in output-defined terms (Blomberg 2016)

Inspirationally-worthy boundary drawing was what the employees tried to do as an alternative solution: They were trying to do creative organizing as a contrast to the way management did things; i.e. organizing creativity. *How* to do things is an important aspect of organizing creativity that is inspirationally-worthy: It is by doing things in a different way that creativity is achieved. Therefore, in practice, organizing creativity is about creative organizing.

9 Conclusions

The study of how creativity unfolds in practice at a multinational high-tech firm shows that two different processes were taking place in order to organize creativity. One part of how organizing creativity unfolds was the process of creating the space for creative work and ideas. This was the managerial way of organizing creativity, consisting of the separating of activities and the drawing of clear boundaries between creative work and regular work. As such, this was boundary drawing in ways that were industrially worthy. Boundaries were drawn by first labelling a space for creativity and then filling it with creative work, making sure that the two different kinds of work were kept intact and were unaffected by each other and that both creative and regular work were able to remain efficient (industrial worth). This process is coherent with previous research on organizational creativity. For instance, these spaces were designed in a way that would fulfil the conditions stimulating creativity by following organizational creativity research (Csikszentmihalyi and Sawyer 1995, Amabile et al. 1996, Ekvall 1996, Agars et al. 2011, Sailer 2011, Anderson et al. 2014), by using well-known and well-spread techniques (e.g. brainstorming, affinity diagramming, prototyping, or design thinking), and by allowing different behaviour than was usually the case (e.g. messiness, playfulness, or ignoring structural boundaries). Switching between creative work and regular work has been described by previous research on ambidexterity (Raisch et al. 2009, Wikhamn et al. 2016), whereby the employees in different ways alternate between creative exploration work and regular exploitation work. This way, a truce is settled between the two incompatible worths: creative work and regular work are separated so that clashes between the two are avoided.

Besides arranging conditions whereby some freedom was granted, vis-à-vis regular work, there were also limitations to this freedom. Boundary crossing illustrates this. Boundary crossing took place to plant some industrial worth inside the space for inspirational worth: This was a way to limit the scope for

manoeuvre of the inspirational order of worth and to keep creative ideas within reasonable boundaries (e.g. aligning ideas that were too creative with current strategies in idea boxes, sticking to a strict methodology during the design thinking workshops, or time-limiting hackathons). These acts limited creativity and kept creative work within the boundaries of what was expected to take place within the walls of the company. Through boundary crossing, the potentially disturbing and inspirationally worthy creative work was kept within reasonable boundaries and rendered somewhat predictable (industrial worth). Industrially worthy boundary work is, consequently, one of the processes of how creativity is organized in practice, thus consisting of both organizing *for* creativity through boundary drawing that makes space for creative work, and boundary crossing in order to constrain the creative work done in those spaces. The unruly inspirational order of worth is thus neutralized.

The other process taking place to organize creativity at the company was the employee's way. This bottom-up way to organize creativity consisted of inspirationally worthy boundary work during which the employees tried to push the boundaries of the rules and practices, and to do things in a different way. This can be described as a *creative organizing* process, revealing an alternative approach to the organizing of creativity. Creative organizing took place through boundary drawing in ways that were inspirationally worthy: the drawing of almost invisible boundaries and unintended boundaries, as well as inspirationally worthy boundary crossing in order to provoke industrially worthy regular work and to cross-fertilize industrially worthy regular work with inspirational worths. The boundaries the employees tried to push were those limiting how and what is allowed to take place within the walls of the company, or in other words: making it purposeful to not follow the determined goals and codes of conduct (inspirational worth). Creative organizing can be interpreted as acts of opposition and revolt within organizations (Courpasson et al. 2012), or described using the myth of Pandora's Box. Creativity, symbolised as the box, is desired, but opening it is scary because bad things may come out of it, meaning that, when opening the Pandora's Box of creativity for real, the much desired creativity *will* happen but *will not* always be in line with what management desires or has planned. For instance, management allowed the C-team to exist, but they still expected a strategy from the team and they did for sure not expect a playdough prank from them. Management had opened the secret box of creativity by giving freedom to the C-team to decide what actions to take, but what came out of the team was, as could be expected, surprising, to say the least.

Another useful metaphor for describing what creative organizing means is "dancing in chains" (Ortmann and Sydow 2017), which describes attempts to be creative while still being chained to the structuring and organizing forces active within the company. For instance the team had been given freedom, but not

really: The employees still had their "regular" jobs to which they were held accountable, the team had no budget or authority. It was a symbolic freedom because the employees were still kept within the regular organizational boundaries. These two metaphors, *Pandora's Box* and *dancing in chains,* describe the two sides of creative organizing: The managerial order may be disturbed by allowing something different to happen, but at the same time, creativity will be constrained within the managerial system, if it is maintained.

Since the actions of this particular group of employees deviated from the actions of management, and from other employees' actions, this case in particular lends itself to being seen as an example of a heterarchical (Stark 2001, 2009) process, in action. By keeping various worldviews and contradictory priorities alive within the organization, creativity can be stimulated, according to Stark (2009). In this study, it was not possible to identify any such useful, creative consequences of the friction between the contradictory worths (e.g. the industrially worthy view that employees should focus on achieving goals, and the inspirationally worthy view that employees should break the rules). One interpretation of this is that not enough freedom was granted to allow a new (creative) idea regarding inspirationally worthy boundary work to develop. For instance, organizational goals were still being utilized to direct the employees' work and they still had the same role descriptions against which they were evaluated on a yearly basis (industrial worth), with the inspirational worth being restricted to the creating spaces set up by management. Creative organizing entails not setting up truces between orders of worth, but allowing them to clash and thus allowing the inspirational order of worth to provoke regular work.

A second conclusion from this study relates to the mix of the theoretical frameworks selected. Making an item (person, action, practice or object) worthy in one order entails, according to the theory (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006/1991), the action of calling in the worthy elements from that order of worth. This study has been able to show that there is another way to perform the same action: An item can also be made worthy by mobilizing a worth from *another* order. This occurred, for instance, when it was argued why the company needed to become more creative, whereby other orders were mobilized to argue for the inspirational order of worth. These were dominated by discursive action; however, when studying other kinds of actions, an even more complex image of how people mobilize the orders of worth appeared: Orders of worth can be made more worthy or unworthy *indirectly* through the mobilization of items from other orders. Raising the worth of an item that is worthy in one order indirectly devalues the item viewed as its opposite, thus devaluing another order of worth. Also, the inverse holds true: Devaluing one item can make worthier the item viewed as its opposite, thus raising the worth of another order than the one being mobilized. One example of this is the C-team trying to work without a

strategy. Through this action, the team manifested strategy (an industrially worthy object) as unworthy and instead tried to make the opposite worthy: i.e. working exploratively, intuitively and without control. This was a way to raise the worth of the risky and visionary inspirational world. This can also be understood as the inverse: They were raising the inspirational order by working without a strategy in order to devalue the industrial worth. Both ways of understanding this action (devaluing a worth from one order to raise a worth from another, or raising the worth in one order to devalue a worth in another), reveal that people not only use different orders of worth reflexively (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006/1991, Patriotta et al. 2011); they also use these worths in an intricate and calculated way – even though they do not express this verbally and may even be unaware of it themselves. They did not start a campaign telling people "strategy kills creativity"; instead, their action was to kill strategy. Thus, by adding boundary work to the analytical process, this study provides more action-oriented constructivist research that goes beyond discursive action and yields a more dynamic and complex view of the interaction occurring between orders of worth than is commonly seen in studies applying economies of worth.

Using only orders of worth during the analytical process in this study would mean looking at the relationship between orders of worth, as critical moments of tests with contestation and justification, on the one hand, and temporary truces and compromises that stabilize the clashes, on the other. Since this study aimed to understand how the efforts to be creative in an organization unfold in an embedded and constructivist way, the process of organizing creativity was not easy to single out and there were no visible moments of contestation or truces. The actions were not interrelated in any clear way, as in several previous studies applying orders of worth, where, for instance, the development of argumentation in newspaper articles has been analyzed (Patriotta et al. 2011, Gond et al. 2016), making it possible to relate arguments in a sequence through the referencing and chronology of journal articles. The actions achieved neither stability, as truces for instance (Reinecke et al. 2017) nor compromises (Oldenhof et al. 2013). The absence of moments of contestation and truces does not mean they were not there: It means that they were intermingled with other processes and messy, like organizational life is, and thus difficult to identify. By turning to boundary work, it was possible to see how actions and counteractions were carried out in an embedded way, and to make sense of the events in a non-sequential way. Adding boundary work to the analytical process thus facilitates the inclusion of other actions than discursive ones (e.g. the action of not making a strategy, or the action of placing playdough on the tables) and allows the study of a messy phenomenon (the efforts to organize creativity) within an organization in a dynamic way.

A third conclusion from this study is that it has been able to disclose how the assumed tension in organizational creativity plays out in practice. Smith et al. (2017) explained that tensions tend to be nested and interwoven, and this study has shown how. The boundary at the centre of the controversy that makes organizational creativity difficult is not between the need to organize and control versus the need to be visionary and rebellious (i.e. creative); rather, the boundary that was more controversial, in practice, was between the idea that creative work and regular and controlled work should be separated, and the idea that they should be integrated, and that regular work should be creative. The former is an industrially worthy boundary work process (comparable to ambidexterity), while the latter is an inspirationally worthy boundary work process (comparable to heterarchy). While the fact that different views were allowed to surface in the organization (the deviant view of the C-team had a place) can be understood as an attempt at heterarchy; management allowed this view some space, or at least a team. However, the team was not granted any more than just a little space: No amendments to individual appraisals were made in order to reconcile the task of the team with the individual job descriptions of the members, the team had no budget and no team leader. Their scope for action was limited from the outset, and they did not manage to expand it in any substantial way. While management were more focused on the ambidexterity of the organization, the employees were struggling to make the organization more heterarchical.

Two other tensions also appeared at the centre of the effort to organize creativity in practice. One is the tension between fun and work, and the controversy of how much fun that can take place at work before it is considered unserious and not work anymore. While previous research has investigated the role of play at work (Hjort 2004, 2005, Mainemelis and Ronson 2006, Hunter et al. 2010), fun, which is not the same as play, was a controversial issue in this study that was not possible to agree on, potentially because it was not recognized. The other tension relates to creativity versus innovation. Previous researches have posited them as almost overlapping, where creativity is seen as a part of innovation (Amabile et al. 1996, Perry-Smith and Mannucci 2017, Rosing et al. 2018). This study has shown that while management was concerned with innovation structures for handling and harnessing creativity, this was believed to not be creative enough by the employees. Innovation was a managerial concept used to organize creativity, and in practice, creativity and innovation were more in competition than cooperation with each other.

9.1 Contributions

One contribution made to the organizational creativity literature relates to the view of the tension that underpins much organizational creativity research: i.e.

the tension between the need to be rational and efficient, on the one hand, and the need to be creative and irrational, on the other. What has been shown in this study is that the tension between organized work and being creative had appeared to be utilised in a purposeful way. The inspirational order was used to arouse and activate the inert and stable industrially worthy processes, while the industrially worthy order was mobilized in order to calm and harness creativity. What was also found, however, that in practice, the tension between the need to be efficient and the need to be creative in an organization can been broken down into three tensions (that differ from the three tensions described in the introduction): the tension between including or excluding creativity from regular work, the tension between fun and work (or how much fun is allowed at work), and the tension between creativity and innovation. By unpacking the complex tension that previous studies have struggled with, this study offers a new insight into what, in practice, constitutes the contradictions between being creative and being organized at a company.

Most previous research on how to organize creativity has focused on learning from creative processes, i.e. processes which have led to creative outcomes (Chen 2012, Blomberg 2014). This study differs from others as regards the kind of creative work studied: i.e. the effort to achieve creativity rather than the processes that lead to creative outcomes. While the study highlights two processes taking place as creativity unfolds in an organization; i.e. organizing creativity and creative organizing, it is also a case of failed creativity in practice. The efforts of the C-team were a creative exercise during which they tried to come up with a new and useful methodology enabling the company to be creative, but these were efforts which failed[21]. This provides an insight into organizational creativity in practice: People interpret creativity as a matter of how to work, i.e. it is believed that doing things in a different way than usually will lead to different and creative outcomes. At least one thing is sure; the C-team members knew that doing things as per usual would lead to the usual results. Accordingly, when trying to be creative, it was surely necessary to do things differently. Exactly how this "doing things differently" would look is something they were unsure of, however, with the case providing several different kinds of attempts at this via creative boundary work. Creativity thus affects work even when it is not achieved: People try to do things in a different way in order to achieve new and creative solutions and ideas.

By using two frameworks it has been possible to find movements that would not have been possible to identify by only using one framework alone. The

[21] The creative effort to change the organization to make it more creative failed within the timeframe of this study: Whether or not this effort had any effects in a long-term perspective remains unknown, however.

analytical tools commonly associated with orders of worth, e.g. critical moments/tests and compromises/truces, favors searching for stability rather than accepting a dynamic interpretation (Stark 2009). Simultaneously selecting boundary work as a complement added a more dynamic tool to the theory, making it possible to use orders of worth in a more dynamic way and beyond discursive practices that have been dominating previous research deploying the orders of worth framework (Gond et al. 2015, Potthast 2017).

9.2 Practical implications

Based on this study, we now know that creativity affects work even when it is not achieved. One thing in particular to consider is the pressure to continuously be creative and to deliver over and above what has been agreed: It can be straining and tiring for employees to continuously have their eyes open, questioning everything and on the look-out for new ideas and opportunities. On the other hand, it is not fruitful to ask people to be creative at specific times and places. If this is the reason why creativity is so difficult to mainstream in an organization, then other creativity models need to be developed. In other words: Instead of asking employees to challenge the boundaries that management sets up and asking employees to channel their creative powers into certain spaces and times, try to work differently. One element that was controversial in the studied company was fun. Perhaps working more consciously and purposefully at integrating fun into regular work could yield a more creative level of engagement?

In this study, creative organizing efforts did not gain traction. This could be explained by the fact that the actions taken were embedded within a company where control and predictability were more worthy than creative and unpredictable work. What if the actions taking place in this organization were to happen on a larger scale? For instance, instead of teaching people to be creative within the rigid structures of control, why not experiment with having a company without a strategy? We are so used to certain actions that failing to perform them seems unimaginable – but maybe we should at least try to push the boundaries of what organizing can entail. This echoes what Stark (2009) also suggests: i.e. in order to increase the search for new ideas, we need to make the search more explorative – not more controlled.

9.3 Future research

Several avenues for future research can be identified on the basis of this study. More kinds of boundary work processes (besides crossing and drawing) are likely to be at play during the negotiations between orders of worth, paving the way for future studies to broaden the range of boundary work processes. Along the same lines, future studies could be located in settings where more orders of

worth intersect. Both these avenues are more complex than the current study in that they require that more aspects (worlds or processes) are included. However, if this can be done practically and without becoming overly complex, it will have the potential to fruitfully contribute to a better understanding of the paradoxes and tensions in other organizational phenomena beyond organizational creativity.

Most boundary work research has focused on intended boundaries, e.g. how people demarcate their competence or authority vis-à-vis others (Gieryn 1983, Rachel and Woolgar 1995, Koppman 2014, Liao 2016), or on visible boundaries, e.g. between work and home (Nippert-Eng 1996, Kreiner et al. 2009), organizational units (Oldenhof et al. 2016, Azambuja and Islam 2019), nationalities in multinational firms (Yagi and Kleinberg 2011), or organizations (Scott 2003, Ellis and Ybema 2010). The discovery of unintended boundaries in this study, on the other hand, lays the foundation for a potentially new direction for future research. Now we know that boundaries may exist even when they are not recognized: They may be unintended because they are not planned beforehand, or because they are invisible. Even if boundaries are not known, they can still have significance as regards what is going on in an organization; as such, identifying potential boundaries that are not so visible is an interesting avenue to take in studying tensions, paradoxes or dichotomies. This study has further shown that boundary work, as an analytical tool, can be used to study worlds or other abstract categories, and not just visible ones. Potentially, this can be useful in future research when studying boundary work in a wider range of tensions, especially relating to such "hard-to-pin-down" boundaries as those found in this study.

The contradiction between the need to be efficient and the need to be creative in an organization has through this study been nuanced. The rather abstract terms of organizational *efficiency* and *creativity* (abstract in the sense that they are not straightforward and easy goals to reach) has been broken down into three tensions in practice, that can be further elaborated: the tension between including or excluding creativity from regular work, the tension between fun and work (or how much fun is allowed at work), and the tension between creativity and innovation. The identification of these tensions bring the generic "creativity versus organization" contradiction down to a practice level, which can be further investigated in order to better understand what is at stake when companies try to be more creative.

The question of how the things that are created in alternative spaces are brought back to regular spaces is a still an issue, both in this company and in previous research (Bucher and Langley 2016). Cartel et al. (2019) suggested a method for how to dissolve boundaries around an experimental space in a way to support

the diffusion of what happened in the space to the outer, regular work space. The idea of boundary practices could be an interesting avenue to further investigate how this diffusion, or infusion, can be done.

One limitation of this study, which could be addressed in future research, is that, when including other actions than discursive ones, the interpretation of the researcher takes precedence, thus moving away from focusing on the agency of people, which is at the core of the theory (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006/1991). This can be mitigated (and has been in this study) by talking to people about their actions. However, people may not always be able to relate their train of thought since actions may be based on intuition or experience which has not been made explicit and talkable. Therefore, if other actions than discursive ones were to be included in the study of how people use different worlds to justify and critique what they believe to be right and wrong, then it might be necessary to allow a certain degree of researcher interpretation with regard to actions. Especially in work that is done in silence (Kociatkiewicz and Kostera 2003).

9.4 Epilogue: A note on gender

In this study, the gender of the informants was kept secret in order to secure their anonymity. However, the results of this study could also be viewed as a result of gender stereotypes, which would then shed a different light on the findings. The majority of the company's employees were male: i.e. 80%. In the C-team, however, the female quota was higher: i.e. between 60 and 70%. Innovating is a gendered social practice (Pecis 2016) and gender is enacted and reproduced during innovation processes (Ahl 2004, Alsos et al. 2013), just as it is everywhere in organizational and working life (Kanter 1977, Butler 1990). These gendering processes are relevant to how the team was constructed, possibly explaining why it ultimately failed.

Today, women are still typically viewed as more competent at care-taking and relational matters than men (Ahl 2004, Kelan and Nentwich 2009); thus, it is not surprising that the team consisted of women, who are seen as more apt to change the culture and take care of the ambiance. Also, the fact that these women decided to take on this role is interesting. Being a minority group constantly in need of "proving-it-again" (Williams 2014, Ettinger forthcoming), meaning that they constantly need to prove their ability throughout their careers to a greater extent than the majority group (in this case males). Women also have to work harder to be evaluated on a par with their male colleagues (J. Martin 1990, Ahl 2004, Gorman and Kmec 2007); therefore, engaging in voluntary, almost extracurricular, activities is a way of being seen and perhaps engaging in something successful that can help to advance their careers. While the C-team was a team that resisted the industrial worth, the fact that its members were women was more of an act of compliance to stereotypical gender

roles, showing the behavior of a minority group needing to work harder than the majority group to gain recognition.

The team never gaining any traction can also be explained by the fact that they were women doing the typically feminine work of taking care of the social dimensions of work – and not the technical ones, which are seen as more important (Rachel and Woolgar 1995) and thus more worthy. Traditionally male innovations, e.g. high-tech products, fit better with the view of what constitutes an innovation than, for instance, processes relating to social dimensions, which are viewed as feminine innovations, but do not fit very well with the commonly-held view of what constitutes an innovation (Andersson et al. 2012). Ideas about how to organize the company creatively potentially fall into the feminine category due to being concerned with soft and relational issues. Therefore, this was potentially viewed as less of an innovation than a hard, masculine tech innovation, and thus ultimately less worthy of attention and reaction than a tech innovation. Recognizing the fact that the team consisted mostly of women could also have had an effect on how its work was received: The same idea when presented by a man has a higher chance of a positive reception than when it is presented by a woman (Parmentier et al. 2017). There may thus have been some gender stereotyping and discrimination in play during the story that unfolded, paving the way for a future research potential take a gender perspective on creativity and innovation

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